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SOMETHING TO BELIEVE IN

Delivered by

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Executive Chairman

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MORAL CONFUSION IN AMERICA

This is a frightening time. There appears to be a moral confusion. Nobody knows what to believe in. So many persons, not only the young, turn from reality and seek escape. Drugs tempt; a new, very open and permissive attitude toward sex appears; parental guidance about values is rejected, because the children believe the parents to be hypocrites. This may be the Age of Aquarius, but certainly not of inquisitiveness, of searching for goals in life. This is a time when the drifter, the hedonist, the non-directed, the ostrich person appears to have become dominant - and the concerned person is either a rebellious black, or a rebellious youth, or a rebellious Jew. The great silent majority certainly is.

A shock is vibrating slowly throughout America today. What did we do at My Lai? Was this really done by nice clean-cut American boys, brought up in 4-H clubs, taught to drink orange juice for vitamin C, players of basketball? Did they shoot the babies in the head, the women in the belly as casually as the newspaper reports seem to indicate? American boys are not Nazis, trained to do atrocities, hardened by a sadistic machine. How, then, could this have occurred? The country is bewildered, and like some huge blind Samson, hunched over, reeling, tries to pierce through the blackness to find some inkling of what is happening to itself.

Obviously, there are no simple answers. It was not Captain this one or Lt. that one - it was not one villain of any rank - nor was it the whole general staff of all ranks. Horrible, outrageous, obscene, unforgivable, brutality appears to have taken place that day, not as an "accident of war", to use the disgusting phrase of some official whose name I have happily forgotten - but because of the moral breakdown.

Depart from the details of this episode, for a moment. Much will yet be written as to whether the village did or did not harbor Viet Cong; much will be said as to whether the slaughtered old men and women were really so innocent or not; much testimony will emerge concerning the duty of soldiers to obey orders, or whether orders actually were issued by some commander, or not;

much will be told of the provocation of the men, who had lost so many buddies killed in and near this village. Our purpose here is not to conduct a court of inquiry. Let us leave alone the details and look instead at the event in its broadest sense.

Young men, some black and most white, have seared the soul of their country by a deed which caused millions of Americans, let alone all others in the world, to experience a cold shudder of fear about what kind of a nation we have become. Particularly since we have always pridefully considered ourselves to be the exact opposite of what we now look like. Our shame may yet turn to panic, if self-doubt becomes acute enough.

Let me warn against this. National guilt could develop in unhealthy directions. People could begin to look for scapegoats. This would not be good. Instead we must look for the most reasonable cause, and attempt to remove it. The explanation I suggested seems most logical - moral breakdown and lack of values. Senator Fulbright used the same words the other day. He said (3 December 1969), "We are susceptible to the same virus of brutalization that other societies have come to, and nothing contributes more to a moral breakdown of a society than the long continuation of an unjust and an unnecessary war."

So - here it is. The very war itself is so unpopular with so many Americans - and there is such confusion as to whether we should be fighting it - and there is such a widespread lack of belief in its purpose - and there is such a tremendous malaise among the youth, those called to do the actual fighting - that there is little wonder one president was rejected because of it, and another is being judged by what he does about it. Thank God, turning against the leader in America does not bring bloody revolution and mass executions with it. To that extent, at least we are still the most civilized nation on earth. But lack of faith in the leader is exactly a sign of lack of direction and values in the society.

The long war in far-off Asia drags on; the black-white war in far-off Los Angeles, Chicago and New York drags on; the old-young war in every household drags on; and America falters in this age of her most brilliant technical achievements. We are the world's benefactor in medicine, biology, physics, communications - and our men walk on the moon, preparing for the long leap into black space. It's so beautiful - so cool, yet so sad. Technical skill will not redeem this nation, nor heal its soul unless we discover once again some transcendental purpose, such as the Pilgrim Founding Fathers possessed.

In mass media magazines recently, there appeared a two-page full-color advertisement showing a shiny new 1970 automobile with the caption, "Something To Believe In." A car is not something to believe in. It is an inanimate object, made so its occupants are killed if the object is heavily impacted. It is a toy, for grown men to tinker with. It is a status symbol, like a string of crocodile teeth in other cultures. It is even a sex substitute, with its attractive brutal power. But it is not something to believe in. A car is many things but it is

not a goal, it is not a value, it is not an ideal, it is not a purpose. And if this concept that a car is something to believe in, really represents American thinking, then we are in deep, deep trouble.

The soul of America bleeds and hungers - we don't want to do massacres - we yearn instead for some higher challenge - and what are we offered? A car to believe in. This is absurd! No wonder there is cop-out and freak-out and turn-away.

Rise, America, and find yourself again! Three centuries ago the first immigrants to these shores came with some beautiful ideas and in spite of much obscurantism in their lives, they laid foundations for a rational society based on tolerance and equality which gave America the halo we wish would shine again. Two centuries ago a tremendous burst of idealism exploded into a revolution followed by the creation of a form of government so nearly perfect that no major changes have been required over this long period. One century ago we suffered a huge inner convulsion as we tried to solve the black question afflicting us so sorely. The question bothers us, precisely because we do know which is the moral way and because the national goal is in conflict with individual white prejudice.

If we have had in the past, three, two and one century ago, periods of moral clarity, in which the nation and citizens were suffused with the heat and passion of creative achievement and struggle for goals which seemed meaningful - then once again America must find the path on which to go, so that health and balance and pride can be re-established. A healthy America will always give birth to a Martin Luther King, who will seek to articulate high goals for the nation; a sick America will always murder him.

We are Jews, not only Americans. As Jews, thank God, we do not have this malaise. We are not afflicted by this moral confusion. If there is one thing we do have, it is a sure and certain sense of purpose, set of values and clarity of goal. Our 4000-year-old purpose is to create a decent society on earth; our values place man above property; and our goal is to survive so that we can achieve our purpose. These mandates constitute a unique mission which we are expected to discharge until the Messiah arrives to announce that we have succeeded. Under these terms we will be creatively busy for a long time.

ISRAEL AT WAR

As Jews, our greatest moral obligation is to Israel. Israel too is at war - but this is not an unpopular one, because her people understand it, support it, sacrifice for it, and hope that eventually it will bring them peace, paradoxical as that may sound. The war in Israel is not for the sake of expanding territory, or taking hostages, or acquiring raw materials. It is not even ideological. The war is being fought so that she can live - nothing more complicated than that. Hence there is no moral confusion - for when a man is fighting for his life,

against an enemy who constantly threatens to destroy him, that man thinks in very simple and direct terms. The Prime Minister stated the principle quite clearly (in a luncheon to an Editors Committee on 28 November 1969):

"Our first injunction is to live, and for that we have to fight for our independent survival. If we do not wish to be killed, then we have to shoot back. When one fires, someone else gets killed."

The war is causing heavy casualties. In all the fire-fights, skirmishes, raids, ambushes, patrols, shellings, heavy bombings, there are dead and wounded every single day, relentlessly. The totals, since the 6-Day War, up to 22 November 1969, are:

	<u>Dead</u>	<u>Wounded</u>
soldiers	404	1354
civilians	<u>84</u>	<u>543</u>
	488	1897

More manpower is needed - and the men above 49, up to age 55, are also placed in the reserves now, subject to mobilization. For those under 49, new regulations call for service of 50 to 60 days per year on active duty. The saying now is that all civilians are in the army with 10 months leave per year.

In the face of all this, morale is very high. An Israeli spokesman (one of the generals, speaking to a weekly flight group in early December 1969) recently analyzed the mood of the country. "The people were never so united despite the high taxes, the daily casualties and the lack of prospects for peace. Israel is unique - a state with the mission of providing shelter for every Jew in the world who needs or wishes to come. One big Jewish community in the world wishes to leave for Israel but cannot because it lives in a great prison. We think that prison will open sooner than many believe. We need a big shelter for that great exodus. That is why we are confident we can stand on these borders no matter how long, no matter how difficult. The quality of the army is improving day by day and the quality gap between Israel and the Arab states grows wider year by year. For Israel's future we rely not only on that quality gap but also on world Jewry. The destinies of a nation are determined by the quality of its youth. Israel's youth serves gallantly and devotedly. It knows no university riots, no drugs. Its ambition is to be better than the parents."

The time for terrible testing is likely to come again soon. On 16 October, Moshe Dayan gave warning that a combined onslaught from both the Egyptian and Jordanian fronts next summer was possible. He urged the inhabitants of the Beth Shean and northern Jordan valley to strengthen their shelters against Jordanian and Iraqi artillery battalions facing their settlements. He said that

next summer Israel expected a redoubled Arab offensive, and that he could not even guarantee a quiet winter.

On 7 November 1969, Nasser proved him right, in a violent speech before the Egyptian National Assembly. He declared there was no alternative but war and said, "There is no other way to get out of our situation except by violence and force on a sea of blood and under a horizon blazing with fire." He accused the United States of assuming "the position of our enemy. Our friend is the Soviet Union." He said Egypt had put half a million men under arms. The Assembly burst into thunderous applause at his declaration that "the Palestinian commandos are here to stay until the Palestinian nation is established." He called for an Arab summit meeting and thanked the people of Egypt for their willingness to endure.

The New York Times next day headlined its editorial "Nasser Takes the Wrong Road", and commented "Although he speaks as if from strength, the Egyptian President's bombast in fact betrays desperate weakness."

A few days after his speech, agreement was reached by Foreign and Defense Ministers of 13 Arab States, to hold the summit meeting he requested. Time - 20 December (eight days from now); Place - Rabat, Morocco; Agenda - "mobilization and preparedness for the inevitable battle."

On 23 November, Mr. Eban declared that the forthcoming Arab summit was being convened to discuss plans for a renewal of war - active preparation for war. He noted that Nasser had now even abandoned his pretense of being interested in peace.

There is no sense in speculation. In a few days we shall know the tenor of the meeting and the intent behind the resolutions. Whatever they say or publish, it is clear that it will not be an offer to sit and negotiate peace. They are clearly on the path toward intensification of the war; escalation of weaponry and activities; greater vigor in their attacks. We should prepare for the worst, and hope that what happens will be not quite so bad.

Any attempt to generalize is difficult and dangerous, but the following observations can be made of the situation at this moment:

1. Israel is confident it will win another war, if it comes.
2. Israel's whole effort is to deter another war, by constant demonstrations to Egypt that she cannot win.
3. The daily airforce strikes, and occasional land raids, are intended to dampen the Egyptian will to fight, by showing her she is not prepared.

4. Israel has succeeded in preventing Egyptian seizure of any territory east of the Canal.
5. Israeli strategy has been to try to force a return to the cease-fire, but this has failed. The Arab states do not even maintain the pretense of a cease-fire. Rather, they say it does not exist.
6. Israel is not in favor of capturing territory deep within enemy country. The strategic policy is essentially defensive, maintaining a defense line, supplemented with counter-blows, in depth and breadth, in unexpected places, to hit out at them, hit out but return. (Dayan statement September 1969).

In a major review, Dayan stated on 11 November 1969, that Israel's strategic objective was "to prevent escalation to all-out war." Putting it simply, he said: "We want the Arabs to reach the conclusion that they will lose the next war."

In the same review, he gave some statistics on Arab re-armament. All losses of the 6-Day War have been more than made up with newer and better equipment. The combined Arab strength is now 60% greater in airpower and 50% greater in armor than before the war.

Gen. Mohammed Fawzy, Egyptian War Minister in a speech to the National Assembly, on 17 November, said that the Soviet Union was supplying weapons and equipment of a kind which Egypt never had before. The Egyptian mission in Russia this very day may well be discussing details of new transactions.

FATAH, TERRORISM, AND SABOTAGE

The level of guerrilla activity in the occupied areas is increasing. It is estimated that there are 8000 active Arab terrorists, and about 2000 have been killed since the war. The Fatah have obtained world-wide publicity, as have other commando organizations. They give interviews to journalists, open their training camps to photographers, boast of conquests, take credit for bombings, explosions, air hijackings, and indeed have developed enough audacity to challenge established Arab governments in Lebanon and Jordan, and to make deals in Cairo. They are constantly caught by the police and army. There are now more than 3000 in prison in Israel, yet they are well supplied with more recruits and plenty of money to keep their operations going. It is quite clear they are a phenomenon which will not disappear, and therefore Israel's best efforts will simply contain them and reduce their effectiveness.

The real and more important question for Israeli authorities is how to handle the million Arabs in the occupied areas among whom the terrorists hide.

Dayan has insisted on a policy of giving the Arabs as much freedom as possible - letting them govern themselves, with the Israeli army almost invisible; run their own schools; truck their produce across the open bridges to Amman; send their children to universities anywhere in the Arab world; receive money from their relatives as far afield as Kuwait; take jobs in Israel; receive their health and welfare services from Israeli ministries. In other words, he feels they should be treated as much like Israeli citizens as is possible recognizing that they might hate Israel in their hearts, but believing that the great bulk of them will remain quiet under these liberal circumstances. And underneath it all, unspoken, is the Jewish ethic about how one should treat the stranger in one's midst.

There is an alternative, of course. That would be to maintain a standard army of occupation, with very strict regulations of curfew, non-fraternization; showing the heavy and obvious hand of military government everywhere; disregarding poverty among the vanquished; closing the bridges and giving no access to neighboring Arab states. That alternative is considered much less desirable.

With a liberal policy firmly established and working, what should the Israeli attitude be toward the Arab who gives refuge to a guerrilla, or watches him plant a mine without reporting it, or witnesses a terrorist act but does not cooperate with the investigating authorities? Should the house of such an Arab be blown up?

Up to now, Israel's policy has been to blow up the empty house, after carefully removing all inhabitants and furnishings, of those who are caught actively participating in acts of terror, and also of those who are caught actively cooperating with the perpetrators. No house is blown up without concrete and specific evidence. Under this policy, the total of demolitions since the war, until 30 October 1969, has been 388 houses, of which 220 were in West Bank and 168 in Gaza Strip.

The new and more severe policy now in effect for the past month or so, has been called "neighborhood punishment" and includes the houses of those who are aware of an act of terror and remain passive while it takes place - i.e. do not interfere with the perpetrator nor call the Israeli authorities. In reply to a question concerning the moral justification of such punishment, Mr. Dayan replied that it must be judged as a situation where the terrorist is waiting in ambush in the doorway of a shop to throw a grenade from there at a vehicle of the Israel army, with the knowledge of and shelter provided by the shopkeeper. The moral question is whether the shopkeeper, who did not actually throw the grenade, should be free from punishment. The practical question is that if the shopkeeper is not duly punished all the shops will become jungle which will serve as a hide-out for Fatah terrorists and enable them to throw grenades at will.

Dayan says, "I am aware of the fact that by the liberty they enjoy to arrange their lives independently and by the freedom they have to send their children to universities in Cairo and Damascus, they are actually given the opportunity to get organized for enemy activity against us...But we have to arrive at a co-existence with them. That is why I am against closing the bridges and locking them in. Since the other side is not ready to sign peace treaties with us yet, we are the ones who have to build the blueprints for that kind of co-existence which will have to be. They must be able to send their children to universities in Arab countries like we are free to send ours to America and France...Maybe this is a more difficult way than conquering Amman or Cairo or Damascus, but it is more realistic."

Most important of all is the self-restraint of Israel. There is no mob violence against Arabs - either in the West Bank or in old Israel. It is simply not permitted. The other day, in Acre, when a car full of explosives, driven by two Israeli Arabs, blew up, hundreds of police and soldiers immediately moved in to prevent a crowd of Jewish youth from breaking into the Arab quarter to do violence. Some stones were thrown, gangs swirled through the streets for a few hours, some Jewish kids were arrested for beating up Arabs - and gradually it all subsided when the people saw the police meant business. The New York Times headline (24 November) was beautiful - "Israeli Police Bar Attacks on Arabs."

The most dramatic aspect of this self-restraint is that there has not been a single death sentence passed on any terrorist, even those known to have caused death. Mrs. Meir said proudly (28 November) that Israeli policies in the areas are still the most liberal ever pursued by any army in a territory it occupied. "We must not forget that two and a half years after the war, despite all the acts perpetrated in the areas, there is not and I hope there will not be a single death sentence carried out, even in cases where terrorists have been caught in the act. I do not know if there are any parallels anywhere else in the world."

Thus, the conclusion would appear to be that terrorism is part of the long war with which Israel must learn to live; that it cannot be completely eliminated; that the best attitude toward it is to keep cool, and not be tempted to depart from the essentially liberal policy of Arab self-administration, open bridges, no death sentences and no mob violence.

ECONOMICS OF THE WAR

1. The present rate of defense expenditure is \$3 million per day - over \$1 billion per year.
2. The defense costs will consume more than 40% of the total budget - and more than 80% of taxation income; which leaves less than 20% for all social welfare services.

3. Defense expenditures in foreign currency for 1970 will be around \$550 million.
4. Defense expenditures are about 25% of the total GNP.
5. There will be a deficit in the dollar account with the United States in fiscal 1970 of almost \$100 million. This means that dollar purchases in the United States will be greater than dollar flow to Israel from all sources.
6. Dollar reserves in Israel are dropping dangerously. The total is already down to \$450 million - and will continue to go down and down next year. Israel is importing at the rate of \$200 million per month. Her reserve at this point can barely cover two months worth of imports.
7. Every child born in Israel today has a mortgage on his head of approximately \$700. This represents the accumulated debt of the government, mostly for defense expenditures.
8. Perhaps the simplest way to sum it all up is to say that defense costs in 1970 will be more than twice as much as defense costs during 1967, including the 6-Day War itself.

IMMIGRATION, ABSORPTION, HOUSING,
AGRICULTURE, EDUCATION

It was estimated in September 1969 (and that estimate may already be low in view of certain events which have transpired since) that the non-military expenditures including social service, as well as immigration and absorption costs, would approximate \$750 million for 1970; of which about \$500 million would be in non-governmental areas of traditional philanthropic responsibility as follows:

	<u>\$ million</u>
Immigration, transportation, absorption, social welfare services	135
Immigrant health services, maintained at 1968 levels	60
Education (non-compulsory; pre-kindergarten, secondary, vocational)	75
Institutions of Higher Learning	55
Youth care and training	10
Absorption in Agricultural settlements (excluding occupied Areas)	40
Immigrant Housing	<u>125</u>
TOTAL	\$500 million

This calculation was based on an estimated immigration for 1970 of 40-50,000 persons. Recent events have caused a revision upward to 60,000 - and the money figures, therefore, will be tens of millions of dollars higher.

The Jewish Agency reception center at Lydda airport has been closed - for it is now inadequate to handle the daily arrivals. Instead the immigrants are taken directly from plane or ship to one of 14 absorption centers located in various parts of the country, and are processed there by Government and Agency officials. Transit visas are exchanged for an Israeli citizenship identification card; arrangements are made with the Jewish Agency for housing; IL 50 cash loans are given to each individual; free sick fund insurance for 6 months; bedding and furniture vouchers are issued - and the job is quickly done.

There is a real housing crisis. The efforts to expedite construction of immigrant housing admittedly is running into difficulties. Minister Mordecai Bentov recently stated, "The position with regard to supply of housing for new immigrants is becoming graver and graver." He said that attempts to restrict public building and regulate construction so that workers and raw materials could be diverted to immigrant buildings have not been very effective as yet.

The situation has been summarized as follows:

1. A total of 20,000 housing units would be required for the mass influx of 1970. This would be obtained as follows:
 - a. 8000 conventional apartments are under construction for 1970.
 - b. 7000 units will be purchased from private contractors.
 - c. 5000 pre-fabs will be erected.
2. After a great deal of public controversy, it was nevertheless decided to order 1000 aluminum one-story 2-family structures, as temporary housing. Many people were opposed because they wanted no return to the old maabarot of the 1950s, no new "instant slums." While these buildings, are admittedly not permanent, housing experts have admitted, nevertheless they do have a life-span of 15 years, they are comfortable and not ugly, and they can be erected quickly to ease the crisis somewhat.
3. There are four additional interim solutions which will be used:
 - a. sending immigrants to kibbutzim, wherever space is available and all parties agree.
 - b. using empty flats in far-away development towns, at least temporarily, where immigrants don't usually want to go, because jobs are scarce.

- c. making newly married couples wait for an apartment.
- d. making large families in over-crowded flats, especially in the slums who had been promised bigger quarters, also wait.

These latter two solutions cause real hardships to veteran members of the population - in favor of the newcomers. But the policy decision remains - that everything possible must be done to give a home to the newest immigrant.

- 4. In order to serve the immigrants and the existing population in 1971, 45,000 housing starts must be made in 1970 - and building costs have increased 40% since the war.

It is clear that there will be many months, perhaps a whole year of difficulties with this housing problem. The Jewish Agency is trying its best to increase bed capacity in the 14 absorption centers, in ulpanim and in hostels for all those who remain in these institutions for 6 months to study Hebrew. The total number of places is being built up to 7500 - which means 13,000, during two 6-month terms. There will still be much individual hardship and maladjustment until once again housing has caught up with the number of arrivals - yet, in a certain sense, what a happy difficulty this is, based upon the rescue and homecoming of so many. Construction will eventually catch up, if the money holds out.

As for employment, Israel today is a country where almost every able-bodied immigrant quickly finds a job. True, many who come with no skill whatsoever, and with literacy problems, often find sub-marginal work which places their income below the poverty line. About one-fourth of Israel's families are below that line, defined at about \$100 per month, and do require social welfare assistance. But on the other end of the vocational ladder, there are today over 2000 job openings for university-trained personnel, according to the Director of the Absorption Unit of the Ministry of Labor. During the year of 1969 about 2500 immigrants with professional academic qualifications will have arrived in Israel, and in addition the various universities and professional schools will have graduated 4000. Even with this, there is still a shortage and many jobs go begging.

Unemployment among immigrant professionals is less than 5%, and most of those are persons with degrees in humanities, economics or law. On the other hand those with technical training such as engineers, natural scientists, architects and doctors are snapped up immediately, even while they are still studying Hebrew at the absorption centers. Re-training courses are given for those whose qualifications are not in demand; and in other individual cases on-the-job training is provided.

RUSSIAN JEWRY

In the midst of this increased immigration ferment, an old hope has suddenly re-asserted itself in new form. "Soviet Jews have become more daring and militant in their efforts to secure the self-realization denied them in the Soviet Union", says the editorial in the Jerusalem Post (20 Nov. 1969). This refers to a series of letters and appeals which have been made public, and even debated openly in the United Nations, from Jews in Russia who wish to emigrate to Israel.

On 10 November a long letter signed by eighteen families in Georgia, and addressed to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, was released by Ambassador Yosef Tekoah to whom the letter was sent for transmission. These people, not afraid to sign their names and addresses, wrote a terribly moving, touching plea asking for permission to go to Israel. They explained that it was not racial or even religious discrimination in Russia which forced them to leave. Rather it was the national memory of the Jewish people which tugged them to Jerusalem.

They wrote: "Although the dust of Jews is dispersed throughout the world, their memory is alive.

"Their blood is in our veins, our tears are their tears.

"The prophecy has come true: Israel has arisen from the ashes. We have not forgotten Jerusalem and it needs our hands.

"There are eighteen of us who have signed this letter. But whoever thinks there are only eighteen is mistaken. There could have been many more signatures.

"They say that there are only twelve million Jews in the world. But whoever thinks there are only twelve million is mistaken. Because with those who pray for Israel are hundreds of millions, of those who did not live long enough, of those who have been tortured to death, of those who are no longer here. They walk with us in the same ranks, the unvanquished and the ever living, those who have transmitted to us their traditions of struggle and of faith.

"This is why we want to go to Israel.

"We shall wait for months and for years, if necessary for our entire life, but we shall not renounce our faith and our hope.

"We believe: our prayers have reached God.

"We know: our appeals will reach men.

"Because we do not ask for much - let us go to the land of our ancestors."

Tekoah asked U Thant to use his good offices to help the signatories - and thus the plight of Soviet Jewry is now officially brought to the United Nations by Israel for the first time.

Hard on the heels of this letter came the publication of another - this time an open letter addressed to Kosygin from a Moscow Jewish woman Tina Brodetskaya who wrote:

"My desire to go to Israel is caused by national feelings alone, and not by hostility towards the Soviet Union.

"During the Second World War my father was killed at the front. I followed Soviet troops to Germany with my mother - an army physician. I saw German concentration camps and crates with soap inscribed "Jewish fat". I decided there was only one road for me - to live for my people.

"In 1957 I was sentenced to prison for Zionism. My stay in prison did not change my convictions. I don't want to assimilate. My desire to live in Israel is unshakable.

"I have already applied my letters to the leaders of the Soviet Government, but in answer I would receive a postcard with the request to telephone. My phone calls were answered by unknown persons, saying that the right of departure has been refused to me. I am forced to apply to you, Aleksei Nikolayevich Kosygin, in an open letter. There is no other way out for me.

Respectfully yours,"

Following this, there was a special debate in the Knesset on 19 November, attended by President Shazar, in which Premier Golda Meir demanded openly, as an elementary human right, that all Soviet Jews who wish to leave to settle in Israel be allowed to do so. She said the USSR must realize it has failed, after a half century of effort, to silence the Jewish voice and cut them off from the rest of the Jewish world. Therefore, because Russia's leaders are realistic people, they should have the courage to admit their failure and let the Jews go.

After the Knesset debate, there was a mass rally of 20,000 student demonstrators in Tel Aviv expressing solidarity with Soviet Jewry. Again the Prime Minister spoke to the crowd, which had gathered from all the universities in the country, saying: "We know full well what a mighty power stands between us and the Jews of the Soviet Union, but we also know that the Jewish spirit cannot be subdued. Our schools and fields will yet be filled with the young Jews of Russia."

How significant all this must be for her - what memories and hopes it must evoke. She herself came from Russia - more than seven decades ago - then served in Russia as first Ambassador - more than two decades ago. And

now at the height of her career and power, she speaks for the Jews of Russia, calling them home, and when she visualizes the fields full of them, she undoubtedly thinks of herself again as a young girl - and what idealism she brought to Israel and what she gave it, of herself, and what it would mean for Israel to be strengthened and enriched by myriads such as she.

A third document reached the United Nations just two weeks ago (25 November 1969), from a widow who claimed that her son, a writer, was expelled from the writers union because he applied for emigration to Israel, and the two of them are now living on her pension of 49 rubles per month - approximately \$50. When he tried to get his job back, he was told to "repent". Her letter to the United Nations ends thusly:

"Dear Sirs, I am an old woman and for over ten years I have been bedridden with a serious illness. I have no possibility of following my son. But I apply to you with the most insistent request that a mother can make: help my son to leave this country. There is such a thing as conscience in this world and someone must hear our pain: we have given this country everything we had. I have lost my husband here, the father of my children, a person whose entire life had been given to Russia. Is this sacrifice not enough? Must my son become a new victim, just as terrible and senseless? Who needs this?

"I cannot and do not want to believe that the Soviet Government needs this. But my voice and my appeals do not reach the Soviet Government through your great international organization.

"Dear Sirs: I want to believe that you will add your authoritative voice to the voice of a mother.

"Please let me know the results of my appeal.

Yours respectfully,

Elizaveta Isaakovna Kapshitzer"

One thing is clear. The whole question of the fate and future of Soviet Jewry - rights to emigrate, to express identity, to organize, to seek self-expression internally - is now very much on the open agenda of world public opinion. Out of all this renewed activity only good can come for those Jews - for they are no longer so silent - and therefore the world cannot be either.

And so the next great move in the historic drama of Jewish Migration is perhaps gestating slowly and laboriously. It is like the heavy steady surging of the seas below the frozen Polar ice. Nothing can be seen or even felt until some break occurs, and then the water pours and pounds in all its demonic fury. Thus maybe the tidal wave of hundreds and thousands, perhaps even millions of Russian Jews will come crashing on Israel's shores in a historic rush toward home.

With the deepest joy in our hearts will we welcome that day - and provide whatever it takes to embrace the wave and make it ours.

At the same time, whenever we speak or think of Russian Jewry, we must always be alert to that other aspect of the problem - equal rights inside the Soviet Union for Jewish religious, cultural, linguistic and communal self-expression. Over and over have the responsible Jewish organizations documented the case, explained it to the United States government, presented it to Russian officials, sought ways to bring it to public attention without being shrill or demagogic. Over and over has it been demonstrated that the Jews in the Soviet Union are called a nationality, individuals are so labelled in their passports, and yet the concomitant attributes of nationality are not permitted - neither a newspaper, nor press, nor literary journals, nor federation of communities, nor rabbinical seminary, nor membership in international Jewish organizations, nor any tool or instrument, in Yiddish or Hebrew, which a nationality should legitimately be entitled to, and which scores of other nationalities in Russia do enjoy, to express national sentiments and aspirations.

Thus - as we hope and pray for the migration, the reunification of families, the freedom to choose to live in Israel - so too do we seek for the freedom of Jewish self-expression inside the Soviet Union.

JDC - JEWS ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Our warm feeling for the Jews of Russia is not unique. It is simply a part of that totality of concern which unites all Jews in one tightly linked brotherhood. More than fifty years ago the concern was formalized in the creation of a remarkable organization with a global outlook and a mandate to extend relief to any and all Jews anywhere on this planet who needed it. The American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee has done just that with efficiency and affection through wars and revolution, droughts and floods, earthquakes and fires, the Nazi period, the DP era and the various mass migrations as the Jews of the world have passed through the cataclysms of this century.

Quietly and modestly, working with a small professional elite of many skills, the JDC has fought hunger and disease in far-off continents and remote countries: taught children in dozens of languages and fed them at the same time; soothed the aged; trained the unskilled by subsidizing the programs of ORT; and sustained religious tradition. Large-scale programs are set up, local Jewish personnel recruited to help carry them out, American and Israeli experts brought in to advise - and then as time passes and problems are solved, some programs are dismantled and new ones inaugurated according to need. The whole outlook is flexible and professional.

For 1970, about \$24 million will be required to assist almost one-third of a million people. This money will be spent in four main areas:

- | | |
|--|-----|
| 1. General relief in cash, in kind, and in feeding | 30% |
| 2. Care of the aged and sick | 25% |
| 3. Educational, cultural and religious activities | 25% |
| 4. Miscellaneous services, such as children's homes, summer camps, loan funds, sheltered workshops | 20% |

Geographically, the funds will be apportioned approximately as follows:

	\$million
1. Israel	7
2. Western Europe	3
3. Eastern Europe	almost 2
4. Relief in transit	3
5. Arab and Moslem Countries	4
6. ORT	2 1/2
7. All miscellaneous programs, one-time grants, and operating costs	2 1/2
	<u>24 million</u>

Looking into the years ahead, there are four discernible trends regarding distribution of expenditures:

1. Decrease in Western Europe, as the local Jewish communities grow stronger.
2. Increase in Eastern Europe, if channels for assistance remain open.
3. Significant increase in Israel, in response to expanding requirements for handicapped newcomers and others.
4. Decrease in Moslem countries, as emigration continues.

All these generalizations and statistics tend to obscure the human beings involved. The whole program can best be understood by picturing individuals. Think of an Egyptian Jew, who has been jailed in Cairo then helped to get out, and is now in Paris gradually overcoming his feelings of terror, but is penniless and must come each week to a small office to draw a few francs of relief money from JDC.

Think of a Rumanian Jew living in the Carpathian Mountains, waiting for an exit visa to get out, meanwhile enduring a freezing winter, needing a warm coat and wood for fuel, which he can receive from the local synagogue through funds provided by JDC. Think of a Polish Jew, expelled in this present anti-Semitic period, sitting in Rome waiting for a visa to Canada which is being processed for him by UHS and during the months of waiting, eating his daily meals at the expense of the JDC. Think of a Czech or Hungarian or German Jew, broken and tormented by Hitler, now living out his last years, in the beautiful peace of a flower-strewn village for the aged in Israel, with even pocket money provided for his dignity by the JDC. Think of all this in terms of men who have suffered much, women who are worn and tired, children for whom a good future can blot out early memories of hardships and anguish.

This work shall go on, responding to one crisis or another, meeting the ongoing needs, so long as Jews anywhere call for help.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

CONCLUSION

The path ahead is quite clear. No one can predict specific events as they will occur, but general trends are set. There will be no peace but war. The Jewish people in Israel will be fighting on many fronts. There will be war along the Canal and terrorism along the Jordan. There will be political tension, possible world disapproval and struggle along the East River. There will be huge economic strain, danger of collapse, shrinking of reserves, and terrific ingenuity required, to avoid running out of money and credit. There will be human agony as every nerve and muscle of an overworked population is stretched to capacity performance.

At the same time there will be the continuous superhuman effort to maintain the high pace of immigrant absorption. For in our queer stubborn appraisal of the meaning of our existence, we will feel that we have lost the war if we close the door on a single immigrant. The immigration, in a sense, is also a war we dare not lose, for if we lose it only once, we have lost self-esteem and *raison d'etre*. Fighting the military war, taking the casualties, spending the treasure, becomes meaningful and makes sense, so long as the sovereignty so painfully won is utilized to give the precious gift of freedom to every Jew who comes.

To those who ask for the word of hope - this is exactly it. There will be another year of war ahead - but during that year 60,000 men, women and children will be rescued. There will be senseless waste of money on war in the year ahead - but there will also be fruitful creation of homes and farms and schools. There is no alternative to the war - and there is no other way to peace except by holding on in strength - but there is also creative building during this same period, so time is not being wasted. One year from now, when we meet again, the war may still be on, but the Jewish people in Israel

and throughout the world will be one year stronger and healthier if we all do our share properly. Let each year go on this way, and slowly the road toward peace will open, for the other side will surely realize they must adjust, and we meanwhile will have continued to build each year so that land and people grow.

The Jewish people outside Israel is joined in this struggle totally and irrevocably. Vast sums are required. Much more than was ever contributed before. Much more than was given in the year of the Six Day War. One-quarter of a billion dollars - 250 million dollars - must be raised in 1970. Forget all previous standards. There are no yardsticks by which to measure. A treasure must be poured forth, if a people is to be saved. Our philanthropic dollars will be used as always to pay for the great immigrant absorption programs, including health and welfare and higher education and housing and farming and youth care and much, much more. These hundreds of millions of dollars must be spent by us, the free Jews of the outside world, for inside Israel, beleaguered on all borders, her citizens are busy with many other matters. Tens of thousands of new souls will be brought to Israel in the year ahead and become fulfilled, if we pay for it. We must and will.

Duty and courage were always fierce and fiery words. They moved Moses and David and Ezra and the Maccabees. And they move the sons of Israel today. But vision and perseverance were perhaps even more important words - because they gave sustenance for the long, long endurance required to face a future with confidence.

Isaiah said (9:9):

"Bricks are fallen, but we will build with hewn stones;

"Sycamores are cut down, but cedars will we put in their place".

Malachi said (1:4):

"We are beaten down, but we will return and build the waste places".

And so we have - and so we do - and so we always will - look to the future. This is our genius. We coined the concept of Messiah - which simply signifies the setting of far future goals, with faith in their attainment.

It is all a matter of faith - something to believe in - a higher hope and a wider destiny to draw us forward. How happy are we children of Israel that our God and ancestors imposed a vision which demanded of us and consumed and drove us, so there was no time to doubt or waver.

Remember the moratorium march in Washington last month? One keen reporter (Pete Hamill) ended his account with these words: "At 5:52 PM on 15 November, the last chorus ended and the sixties were over. They had begun in hope, and when the crowd drifted away, there was no feeling left except remorse and loss and waste. The country had failed these children, and you could promise them nothing any more except a dark and fearful future".

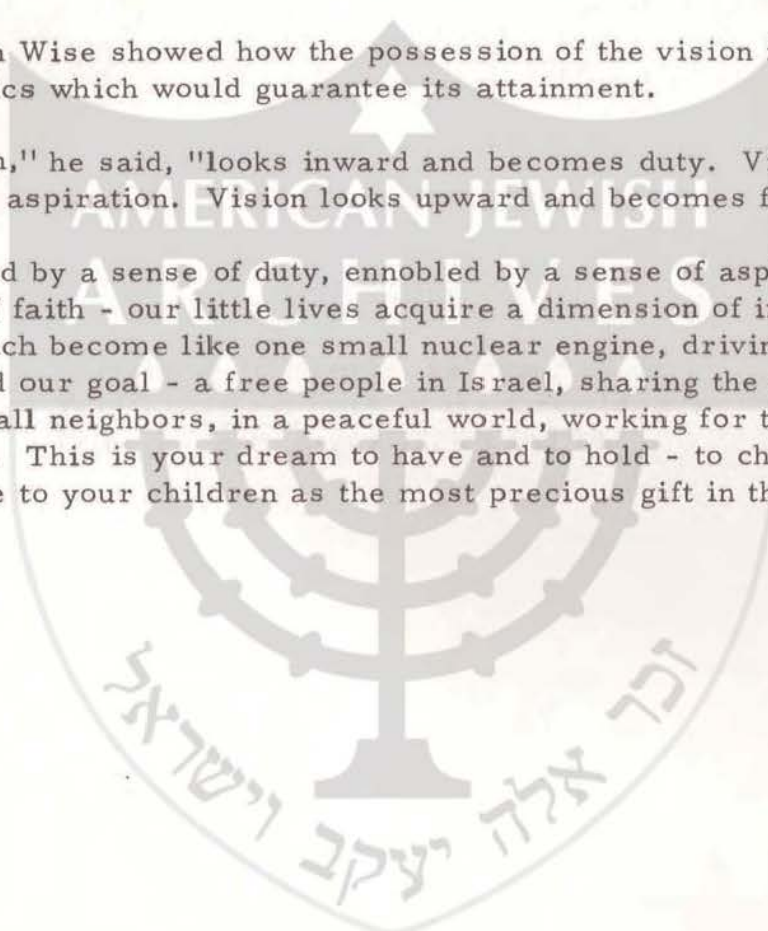
What promise lies before our children, the children of Israel? Do we send them out into the dark, promising nothing? No, rather, there is the promise of a bright and glorious future - one filled with hard fighting, blood, death and sacrifice, as always, but with tremendous purpose and destiny and hope.

Our vision beckons always: The nation-state Israel, warm, safe, prosperous, once again illuminating life with a spiritual sense, directing man toward the glorious age of a perfect society on earth, with peace and justice for all. When we say it, the words are not banal - for the world knows we mean it.

Stephen Wise showed how the possession of the vision itself created the characteristics which would guarantee its attainment.

"Vision," he said, "looks inward and becomes duty. Vision looks outward and becomes aspiration. Vision looks upward and becomes faith."

Prodded by a sense of duty, ennobled by a sense of aspiration, sustained by a sense of faith - our little lives acquire a dimension of incredible strength, so that we each become like one small nuclear engine, driving with enormous power toward our goal - a free people in Israel, sharing the fruits of a good society with all neighbors, in a peaceful world, working for the betterment of all humanity. This is your dream to have and to hold - to cherish and make real - to give to your children as the most precious gift in the world.



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

APPENDIX

Containing full texts, as reported in
The Jerusalem Post, of the three letters
referred to on pages 12, 13 and 14.



'Let us go to the land of our ances

Text of letters from 18 Jewish families in the Soviet Union, in which they ask for help in

Translated from Russian:

*To the Honourable Joseph Tekoa
Representative of Israel at the United
Nations Organisation*

We hereby attach copy of a letter to the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man. We ask you to take immediate measures to obtain in the shortest possible period of time a permit for our emigration to Israel.

We also ask you to take measures to distribute the attached letter among the members of the U.N. and also to have it published in the press, mentioning the full list of the signatories, with their given and family names and, if necessary, their addresses.

Because the time of fear is over — the time for action has come.

Because if not I myself, then who?
And if not today, then when?

★ ★ ★

*To the Commission for the Rights of
Man, United Nations Organisation
New York, U.S.A.*

WE, 18 religious Jewish families of Georgia, ask you to help us emigrate to Israel. Each of us, summoned by a relative in Israel, had received the necessary questionnaires from the proper organs of the U.S.S.R. and had filled them out. Each had received an oral assurance that there would be no obstacles to his emigration. Each of us, awaiting a permit from day to day, has sold his property and has resigned from his job. However, long months have passed — and for some even years — and the emigration has not yet been permitted. We have sent hundreds of letters and telegrams — they disappeared like teardrops in desert sands. We hear, orally, one-syllabled refusals, we see no written answers, nobody explains anything, our fate concerns nobody.

But we are waiting, because we believe.

We, the 18 religious families of Georgia, consider it necessary to explain why we want to go to Israel.

Everyone knows how justly the national policy in the U.S.S.R. is carried out, the theoretic foundations for which had been formulated by the founder of the State, V.I. Lenin. For ages there have been no Jewish pogroms in the country, there is no pale of settlement and no *numerus clausus*. Jews can walk the streets without fearing for their lives, they can settle wherever they like, occupy any post — even up to the post of a Minister — as can be seen from the example of V. Dymshits, the Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

In the Supreme Soviet there is even a Jewish deputy — A. Chakovsky, the editor-in-chief of the "Literaturnaya Gazeta."

Therefore, it is not racial discrimination that forces us to leave the country. Perhaps, then, it is religious discrimination? But, in this country, synagogues are allowed and we are not forbidden to pray at home either. However, our prayers are with Israel, because it is said: "Let my right hand shrivel up if I forget thee, Jerusalem," because we, religious Jews, consider that there is no Jew without faith, as there is no faith without tradition. Of what, then, consists our faith and our traditions?

For a long time the Roman legions made a siege of Jerusalem. But, in spite of the well-known horrors of the blockade — hunger, lack of water, sickness and much else — the Jews did not renounce their faith and did not give up. However, even human forces have their limit. The barbarians finally burst into the Holy City. Thus, thousands of years ago, the Holy Temple was destroyed, and together with it, the Jewish state. But the nation remained. Although those Jews who could bear arms did not give themselves up to the enemy and killed one another, there remained the bleeding wounded and there remained the old men, the women and the children.

And whoever could not leave, was killed on the spot. And whoever could, went into the desert and whoever survived reached other countries in order to believe, to pray and to wait. From then on they had to search for a living in other people's lands, among people who hated them. Pelted with insults, splashed by the dirt of slander, scorned and oppressed, they earned their bread by their blood and their sweat and they brought up their children.

Their hands were calloused, their souls were bleeding. But the main thing was, the nation did not perish — and what a nation. The Jews have given the world religion and revolutionaries, philosophers and scholars, rich men and sages, geniuses with the heart of a child and with the eyes of old men. There is no branch of knowledge, no branch of literature and art to which Jews hadn't given their contribution. There is no country that has given shelter to the Jews that they hadn't thanked by their work. And what did the Jews get in exchange?

When all lived bearably, the Jews in

fear awaited other times. And when things became bad for all, the Jews knew: their mortal hour had come and then they either hid or fled from the country.

And whoever fled, began everything from the beginning.

And whoever could not flee, perished.

And whoever hid himself well, awaited other times.

Who hadn't oppressed the Jews? In their persecution all united.

Whenever untalented generals lost a war, at once it was among the Jews that the culprits for the defeat were looked for. Whenever a political adventurer failed to fulfil the heap of promises he had made, the reason for this was immediately found — the Jews. They perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition in Spain and in the Fascist concentration camps in Germany. The anti-Semites brandished, like a bugaboo, the Dreyfus Affair in enlightened France and the Beilis Affair in illiterate Russia.

And the Jews had to bear it all.

At the same time they could have lived peacefully — like others, they only had to pass over to another faith. Some did so — everywhere there are people of little courage. But millions and millions preferred the life of martyrs, and often even death, to renunciation.

And even if they roamed over the earth without a shelter — God had place for all.

And although their dust is dispersed throughout the world, their memory is alive.

Their blood is in our veins, our tears are their tears.

The prophecy has come true: Israel has arisen from the ashes. We have not forgotten Jerusalem and it needs our hands.

There are 18 of us, of those who have signed this letter. But whoever thinks that there are only 18 of us, is mistaken. There could have been many more signatures.

They say that there are only 12 million Jews in the world. But whoever thinks that there are only 12 million of us, is mistaken. Because with those who pray for Israel are hundreds of millions, of those who did not live long enough, of those who have been tortured to death, of those who are no longer here. They walk with us in the same ranks, the unvanquished and the ever living, those who have transmitted to us their traditions of struggle and of faith.

This is why we want to go to Israel...

History has placed a great mission

November 20, 1969

tors'

emigrating to Israel.

on the United Nations — to think about people and to help them. Therefore we demand that the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man should take all the measures that it can and, in the shortest possible time, should obtain from the Government of the U.S.S.R. the permit for our emigration. It is incomprehensible that, at the end of the 20th century, it should be possible to forbid people to live wherever they wish. It is strange how one can forget the widely broadcast appeals concerning the right of nations for self-determination and, naturally, the rights of men, out of whom nations are composed.

We shall wait for months and for years, if necessary for our entire life, but we shall not renounce our faith and our hope.

We believe: our prayers have reached God.

We know: our appeals will reach men.

Because we do not ask for much — let us go to the land of our ancestors:

Signatures:

1. Elashvili, Shabata Mikhailovich, Kutaisi, Dzhaparidze 53.
2. Elashvili, Mikhail Shabatovich, Kutaisi, Dzhaparidze 33.
3. Elashvili, Izrael Mikhailovich, Kutaisi, Kirov 31
4. Elashvili Yakov Aronovich, Kutaisi, Mayakovsky 15
5. Khikhashvili, Mordekh Isakovich, Kutaisi, Makhharadze 19
6. Chikvashvili, Mikhail Samuilovich, Kutaisi, Khakhanashvili 88
7. Chikvashvili, Moshe Samuilovich, Kutaisi, Tsereteli 32
8. Beberashvili, Mikhail Rubenovich, Kutaisi, Klara-Tsetkina 9
9. Elashvili, Yakov Israilovich, Kutaisi, Tsereteli 54
10. Mikhelashvili, Haim Aronovich, Poti, Tskhakaya 57
11. Mikhailashvili, Albert Haimovich, Poti, Tskhakaya 5U
12. Mikhailashvili, Aron Haimovich, Poti, Dzhaparidze 18
13. Tetrushvili, Haim Davidovich, Kutaisi, Dzhaparidze 42
14. Tsitsashvili, Isro Zakharovich, Kutaisi, Shaumiana 1, Lane No. 5
15. Tsitsashvili, Efrem Isrovich, Kutaisi, Shaumiana 1, Lane No. 6
16. Yakobishvili, Bension Sholovich, Tbilisi, 4, (Poste Restante), (lived on Bornova St. 91)
17. Batoniashvili, Mikhail Rafaelovich, Kutaisi, Dzhaparidze 53
18. Tetrushvili, Mikhail Shalomovich, Kulash, Stalin No. 114

22 Av.
August 6, 1969

But one road — to live for my people

Says Moscow Jewish woman in open letter to Kosygin

OPEN LETTER

To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., A.N. Kosygin
From: Tina Brodetskaya, Moscow G-285, 1 Mosfilmovskiy Pereulok 5, Corpus 14, Apt. 183.



Tina Brodetskaya

I APPLY to you in an open letter because in reply to my repeated applications to the Soviet authorities with the request to permit me to emigrate to my relatives in Israel, I have been receiving refusals. In accordance with the accepted order, these refusals are given orally, by telephone, without any statements concerning the reasons for the refusal or concerning the identity of the persons who had made these decisions.

My desire to go to Israel is caused by national feelings alone, and not by hostility towards the Soviet Union.

During the Second World War, my father, who had volunteered for the front, was killed. Many of my close relatives were also killed. In my early childhood, together with my mother — an army physician — I followed the Soviet troops from the Ukraine to Berlin. I saw German concentration camps, embalmed heads of Jewish commissars and crates with soap inscribed: "From Jewish fat." I had to realize why such things happened to the Jews. Later I understood that the defencelessness of the Jews was caused by the absence of a Jewish State, and that the fate of Jews really mattered only to the Jewish State.

I decided that there was only one road for me—to live for my people. In my student years I sought to awaken national feelings in Jews. In 1957, I was sentenced to prison for Zionism. My stay in prison did not change my convictions. I still consider Israel as my national homeland.

I consider that under conditions that make it impossible to express one's national essence and to educate the growing generation in a national spirit, the Jewish people in the U.S.S.R. is totally doomed to forcible assimilation. I don't want to assimilate. My desire to live in Israel is unshakeable. I, therefore, demand the satisfaction of my natural right to decide my fate for myself and to be allowed to go to Israel.

I have already applied by letters to the leaders of the Soviet Government, but in answer I would receive a postcard with the request to telephone. My phone calls were answered by unknown persons, saying that the right of departure has been refused to me. I am forced to apply to you, Aleksei Nikolayevich, in an open letter. There is no other way out for me.

Respectfully yours,
(signed) Tina Brodetskaya
October 1969

November 27, 1969

PLEA TO U.N. TO HELP SON LEAVE RUSSIA FOR ISRAEL

By a Special Correspondent

NEW YORK. — A letter from a Jewish woman in Moscow pleading for help in persuading the Soviet authorities to allow her son to leave for Israel has been received at the U.N. here.

Following is the text of the letter:

To the 24th General Assembly of the United Nations Organization,
From: Kapshitser, Elizaveta Isaakovna,
U.S.S.R., Moscow 6-96
2nd Filievskaya St., No. 7/19, Apt. 27
Tel. 144-49-04.

Statement about Violation of the Rights of Man.

Dear Sirs,

A year has already passed since I applied to the U.N. Commission for the Rights of Man, through the director of the Moscow Information Centre of the U.N., Mr. Chechetkin, but I have received no reply until now. It only remains for me to suppose that Mr. Chechetkin has not transmitted my complaint.

This forces me to apply to you with a new letter. Please excuse me if, in some places, in my complaint I am going to repeat what I had written in 1968. But I have no certainty that you have received it. It is only because of very difficult circumstances that I feel obliged to turn to you again.

It is already two years since my son, Vitold Kapshitser — a writer — has been thrown out of the society surrounding him and has been deprived of all means of livelihood. My son and I are forced to exist on my pension, which is 49 rubles. In this letter I shall try to explain for what sins we have been punished so severely.

Gives up citizenship

My son had never been distinguished by nationalism. On the contrary, he had received a true international education. But he did not think it possible to pass over the insulting attitude towards his people. He could not pass by the injustices and the cruelties and could not reconcile himself to the degradation of man. He always considered national enmity as the greatest of ills.

In 1966 my son decided to write a book connected with the history of the Jewish people, so as to attain mutual understanding between peoples and nations. He was, however, denied the possibility of carrying

out this work. However, my son could not reconcile himself with a situation in which one nation is raised in every way and all its actions are proclaimed holy, while another, a small people, is debased in every way.

Therefore in 1967 he applied to the Government of Israel with a request to admit him as a repatriate. In answer to this request he received an invitation to come to Israel. The Soviet authorities agreed to examine my son's application for an exit permit only on condition that he should give up Soviet citizenship. He was, therefore, forced to apply to the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. stating that he was giving up his Soviet citizenship. He sent this statement on May 31, 1967 but till today has received no official written answer, although he has been told orally that his request to give up Soviet citizenship has been denied. At the same time, because of his making this statement, he has been expelled from the Committee of Writers of the literary fund of the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet trade union, which has deprived him of a possibility of working and of earning a living.

In answer to his request to give him employment, it was demanded from him to "repent." But what should he repent of? Is devotion to one's own people a crime? Are the feelings of human and national dignity forbidden feelings? Has a man no right to defend himself and his people from insults? My son has drunk to the full his cup of suffering and of degradation. Around him for many years there existed an atmosphere of militant anti-Semitism, as a result of which his family disintegrated. Even in his early youth he was expelled from school because he refused to recognize his father as an "enemy of the people." Later he was persecuted by the organs of the state security, was prevented from working and it was demanded from him that he should "frankly confess" that he had allegedly written an "anti-Communist manifesto."

I am a mother. You, sirs, know what this means. You will easily understand how much suffering it costs me to see my son thrown out of life, existing on these pitiful crumbs that I can with difficulty provide for him and, at the same time, to wait every day and every night for vio-

lence to be done to him. And still, I can't tell him: "Go and confess, betray your people and yourself."

I applied to the Soviet authorities, I told them: "your society, your country have denied my son, then give him the right of free departure, give him the possibility of beginning his life anew."

Block departure

In April 1969, my son again received from the Israeli Foreign Ministry an invitation for permanent residence. The Soviet authorities, however, under various pretexts, refuse to let him go. I cannot understand why they need him. For two years he has been pushed aside from any participation in the life of society, he knows no state secrets, he has no intention and no possibility of harming the Soviet state in any way. Can the reason really be just cruelty in principle? And we had always believed in the highly humane principles of the Soviet society.

Dear sirs, I am an old woman, and for over 10 years I have been bed-ridden with a serious illness. I have no possibility of following my son. But I apply to you with the most insistent request that a mother can make: help my son to leave this country. I know that it is only the Soviet Government that has the power to solve this request. But there is such a thing as conscience in this world and someone must hear our pain: we have given this country everything we had. I have lost my husband here, the father of my children, a person whose entire life had been given to Russia. Is this sacrifice not enough? Must my son become a new victim, just as terrible and senseless? Who needs this?

I cannot and do not want to believe that the Soviet Government needs this. But my voice and my appeals do not reach the Soviet Government through your great international organization.

Dear sirs: I want to believe that you will add your authoritative voice to the voice of a mother.

Please let me know the results of my appeal.

Yours respectfully
(signed) E. KAPSHITSER

September 24, 1969.