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Box 72, Folder 5, Soviet Jewry, 1984.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 25, 1984
to FIELD STAFF
from David Geller
subject SOVIET JEWRY

As I am sure you are aware, there has been a serious deterioration in the situation of Jews in the USSR. According to the most recent information, the following describes the latest turn of events.

The decision to curtail emigration, which was made about four or five years ago, was the first manifestation of the attempt by the USSR to develop a new policy regarding Soviet Jews. This new policy bodes great difficulties for the Soviet Jewry movement. Emigration is stopping but not completely...as of January 16, fifty Jews were allowed to leave. The fact that some small number is allowed to emigrate means that there remains some hope that eventually there will be a change.

For the Jews remaining in the Soviet Union there remain few options. Many individuals have been able to assimilate but as a national entity that is impossible, and the Soviets must deal with their "Jewish problem." They are now attempting to isolate the masses from the activists. The masses must learn new rules and these new rules are being communicated in a variety of ways, primarily through the newspapers. "Good" Jews are identified, i.e., the newspapers have been reporting the names of workers who have achieved certain goals, professionals who have published certain papers, etc., and the names mentioned have been very Jewish. The use of this device is not new; it was used by Khrushchev during the period of the "economic trials" but at that time it was used in an opposite way, i.e., the newspapers emphasized the Jewish names of people involved in economic crimes in order to paint such crimes as "Jewish.") It is clear that the local Anti-Zionist Committees are trying to teach Jews that you can make it in the Soviet system. In 1984 more Jews will probably be accepted to the universities, albeit not to all departments. Probably most will be accepted in the departments of liberal arts, humanities, etc.

There has been a decrease in the publication of anti-Semitic books, such as the one by Kitchko, or the recent book by Korneyev. In fact, it has become very difficult to obtain copies of the Korneyev book and it is believed that the government has recalled most of them.

On the other hand, pressure on the activists has increased. In newspaper articles activists' names are mentioned. More and more, we find descriptions of these activists as "enemies" linked with Zionists and/or the CIA, as well as ulpanim being described as an introduction to individuals who represent a "fifth column" in the USSR. It is significant that in the case of Iosif Begun, the formal charge did not contain any mention of links to foreign circles but

focused on his attempts to teach Hebrew. In fact, the Soviet press has described the private and unofficial teaching of Jewish history and Hebrew as "subversive and antithetical to Soviet law." (It was announced at the meeting that the recent Begun appeal had been turned down last week.) In general the trials of activists have been given much publicity and the sentences have been harsh.

Sadly, this Soviet pressure has been relatively successful. There is now, in fact, less activity and many of the activists have started to keep a low profile. This trend has been reinforced by the fact that there have been two or three people recently allowed to emigrate who were activists who had been "quiet" a long time.

Another manifestation of this new policy is the effort being made by the Soviets to demonstrate that Jewish culture is available to Jews. Recently, there was a Yiddish book published in Birobidzhan and the Birobidzhan Theater has made several appearances in a number of cities. (Interestingly, they have made only one appearance in Birobidzhan.) The director, Yuri Sherling, has given interviews to the foreign press and wears a T-shirt with a Hebrew word on it. A number of small booklets regarding the Jewish theatre have been published in very limited quantities and they are made available primarily to the foreign press. In addition, there may be more students allowed to study at the yeshivas in Budapest.

Other noticeable changes can be attributed to the fact that Soviet diplomats no longer try to evade or deny the issue. They now agree to discuss it openly and the central theme of these discussions is that there is no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and that charges to the contrary are myths sold to the West by Zionist circles in order to increase immigration to Israel. These diplomats, other officials and government publications distributed in the West make an effort to create a distinction between Zionism and Judaism. Concomitantly, the Soviets are trying to find Jewish individuals and/or organizations who might agree with, and thereby legitimize their views. We should also expect an increased effort by the Soviets to split Israel and the diaspora as part of their attempt to split Zionism and Judaism.

Originally, the Anti-Zionist Committee was created as an organ to deal with the Jewish question on a diplomatic level. That attempt failed. Now there has been some change in tactics, exemplified by the recently publicized letter from fifty Jews which included some from the Anti-Zionist Committee who did not identify themselves as such. We should also expect more activity by the Soviets outside the Soviet Union to deal more publicly and aggressively with the Jewish question. It is possible that one or two of the POCs will be released.

Added to the above, we must be aware of two new trends: (1) The KGB has been much strengthened. (We should remember that Israel is the only country except for Albania with which the USSR has no diplomatic relations and that is because the KGB does not want it.) (2) It is increasingly difficult to get information regarding Jews in areas outside Moscow and Leningrad. For example, on the day of the NCSJ meeting, a man was being tried in Samarkand. His name is Moshe Abramov; he is a religious Jew who spent some time studying at the "yeshiva" in Moscow. Though he was arrested December 19th, it took some time

(3)

before we knew what circumstances led to his arrest and the specific charges against him. (3) For travelers to the USSR it may require greater sensitivity in terms of the effect a visit may have on the activist who is visited.

One thing is certain; The Soviet Jewry issue must be kept high on the international agenda, especially in the U.S. but also in Europe.

Please do what you can to make sure that political candidates from your area speak to the issue of Soviet Jews. Also, if you identify the names of delegates to the Republican and Democratic conventions, please inform me so that we can send them appropriate materials. Of course, it would help if representatives of your chapter got in touch with them as well.

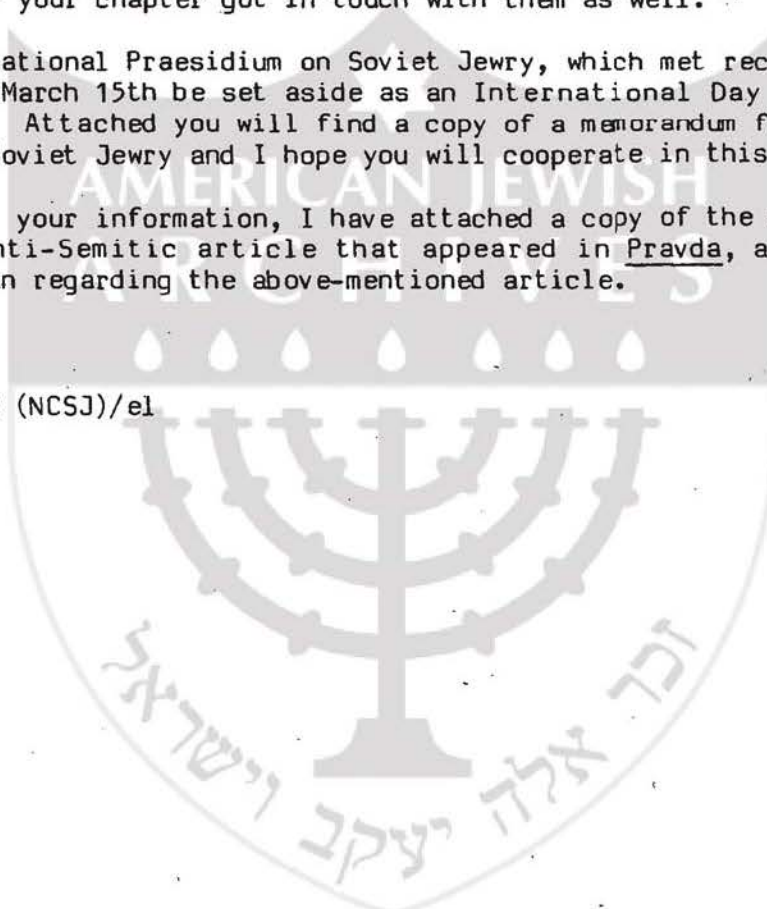
The International Praesidium on Soviet Jewry, which met recently in London, has urged that March 15th be set aside as an International Day of Concern for Soviet Jewry. Attached you will find a copy of a memorandum from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry and I hope you will cooperate in this endeavor.

Also, for your information, I have attached a copy of the AJC news release on a recent anti-Semitic article that appeared in Pravda, and the letter to President Reagan regarding the above-mentioned article.

DG

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The American Jewish Committee

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022 • 212/751-4000 • Cable Wishcom, N.Y.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

January 18, 1984

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I wish herewith to add my congratulations to the many others who found your speech on Soviet-American relations eloquent, moving and eminently fair.

I was particularly impressed and grateful for your specific mention of the problem of Jewish emigration from the USSR. As I am sure you are aware, the campaign against Jewish culture, the strident anti-Semitism expressed in the Soviet media, and the growing discrimination in the areas of education and employment, have brought the general situation of Soviet Jews to the lowest point in decades. The fact that Jewish emigration has been virtually closed off makes the Jewish community even more vulnerable, and inspires, in us and in all supporters of human rights, great anxiety for their future.

The Soviet Government's aim has been to sever the relationship between Jews in the USSR and their coreligionists abroad and to mute, as much as possible, concern in the outside world. Consequently, the leader of the free world raising this critical issue in a major address brings new hope to the almost three million Jews in the USSR as well as to all freedom-loving people.

With best wishes,

Howard I. Friedman

HIF:jg

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NEWS

FROM THE

COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Jan. 18....Responding to a Reuters report of a "vicious anti-Semitic article" published in the Communist Party daily Pravda, the American Jewish Committee today wired Anatoly F. Dobrynin, the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, requesting a meeting between the Ambassador and top AJC leaders.

Howard I. Friedman, AJC's National President, also sent a cable to Ambassador Max Kampelman in Stockholm, Sweden, who is accompanying Secretary of State George P. Shultz at the East-West Conference on Security in Europe, asking Mr. Kampelman to discuss the article with the Secretary and with other appropriate people, and to urge the U.S. government to repudiate the charges in the article.

Mr. Friedman also issued a statement, declaring that the American Jewish Committee was "shocked and outraged over the savage and immoral attack...on the Jewish people, Judaism, and the State of Israel."

"This latest expression of verbal violence," he said, "is the culmination of a mounting Soviet campaign to demoralize and delegitimize the existence of the Jewish people and Israel. It is redolent of the worst anti-Semitism of reactionary Czarist Russia and the murderous anti-Jewish hatred unleashed on the world by Adolph Hitler and the Nazis."

Pointing out that the anti-Semitism expressed in the official Communist Party newspaper "violates the Soviet Constitution and its commitments to UN declarations that prohibit incitement to group hostility and hatred," Mr. Friedman declared that "it must be viewed as another salient aspect of current Soviet intensification of anti-Americanism and of the Soviet's global drive against democratic values and societies."

The full text of Mr. Friedman's statement follows:

- more -

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chairman, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chairman, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chairman, Board of Trustees.
William S. Trosten, Acting Director

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

"The American Jewish Committee is shocked and outraged over the savage and immoral attack by the Soviet Communist newspaper, Pravda, on the Jewish people, Judaism, and the State of Israel.

"This latest expression of verbal violence is the culmination of a mounting Soviet campaign to demoralize and delegitimize the existence of the Jewish people and Israel. It is redolent of the worst anti-Semitism of reactionary Czarist Russia and the murderous anti-Jewish hatred unleashed on the world by Adolph Hitler and the Nazis.

"To understand the seriousness of this Soviet anti-Semitic campaign, it must be recalled, as historians and social psychologists have demonstrated, that physical destruction of a people is always preceded by such propaganda efforts to dehumanize those people. Verbal violence invariably leads to physical violence and destruction of human lives.

"This obscene anti-Semitism, officially orchestrated by Soviet authorities, in fact violates the Soviet Constitution and its commitments to UN Declarations that prohibit incitement to group hostility and hatred.

"It must also be viewed as another salient aspect of current Soviet intensification of anti-Americanism and the Soviet's global drive against democratic values and societies. And it must be opposed by all the moral strength of all groups committed to human rights and elemental decencies.

"In that perspective, we are today cabling Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin with a request for an immediate consultation with our leadership to discuss this threatening development."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * *

84-960-27

A, EJP, FOR, Z, RTV-F, ED, ED-L, N, TS, JN, ITF-W



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

DATE: January 17, 1984
TO: Board of Governors, Member Agencies,
Interested Parties
FROM: Jerry Goodman, Executive Director
SUBJECT: International Day of Concern for Soviet Jewry
March 15, 1984

March 15, 1984 has been designated as "International Day of Concern for Soviet Jews" by the World Conference on Soviet Jewry. This action is being undertaken in a coordinated effort with our colleagues abroad, and in cooperation with the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council.

A committee of national agency and local community representatives met and recommended the following minimum activities to take place, on two levels: individual and community-wide involvement.

ACTION: Communicate with the Minister of the Interior, who has responsibility for emigration procedures and for the prison system. To ensure a maximum number of cables, enlist support now by asking individuals to commit to the cost of at least one cable, to be sent on March 14th, to:

Vitali V. Fedorchuk
Minister of Interior
Ulitsa Ogarev 6
Moscow, 103009
RSFSR, USSR

Cables sent on that date will reach Fedorchuk on March 15th. Each one should be signed by an individual, rather than be collective or from a Jewish institution. (See attached for sample texts.)

ACTION: At this time we must seek maximum publicity and public awareness. Governors, State Legislatures, Mayors and/or City Councils should proclaim March 15th as an "International Day of Concern for Soviet Jews in (your city)." Actions on the state level should be coordinated with CRC's in other cities, where appropriate. Any declaration or proclamation should receive wide press coverage. To maximize media exposure, we urge:

1. A Press Conference with elected officials in a government building
2. Letters to the Editor
3. Op-ed articles
4. Guest appearances on local radio and TV

- over -

As we begin preparing for the Purim festival, let us remember the plight of Soviet Jews. Facing difficulties reminiscent of the Jews in ancient Persia, Soviet Jews have sought their right to be free of their "Haman."

ACTION: March 15, Tanit Esther, and March 17, Purim, should be marked by reflection on and activities for Soviet Jews. Organize purimspiels to take note of similar events in Soviet cities, organized by Jews behind closed doors. Hebrew school classes might devote some of the "fun" of Purim to the understanding of the situation for Soviet Jews.

Anatoly Shcharansky was arrested on March 15, 1977, and he will have spent 7 years incarcerated in Soviet prisons, in deteriorating health. On March 15, 1983, nearly 3,000 supporters of Soviet Jews gathered in Jerusalem at the Third World Conference on Soviet Jewry. On March 15, 1984, our voices should reach the Soviet Union en masse, demanding freedom for our people.

Under separate cover you will be receiving a packet of materials, including:

NCSJ Report: 1983: The Year of Yuri Andropov --
Implications for Soviet Jews
Sample Press release
POC Birthday Poster

Encls.



NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
10 East 40th Street Suite 907
New York, New York 10016

Sample texts for cables to: Vitali V. Fedorchuk
Minister of the Interior
Ulitsa Ogarev 6
Moscow 103009
RSFSR, USSR

In the spirit of peace, and the relaxing of tensions:

1. Allow Jews to be repatriated to their homeland, Israel.
2. Thousands of Jews wish to live in Israel. Let them go.
3. Let Jews be reunited with their relatives.
4. Implement the Helsinki Accords. Let Jews be reunited with family.
5. Free the Jewish Prisoners now. Let them go to Israel.
6. Free Anatoly Shcharansky. Let him go to Israel.
(See below for POC list)
7. Boris Chernobilsky has served his sentence. Let him go to Israel.
(See below for Former POC list)

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

Iosif Begun
Viktor Brailovsky
Lev Elbert
Yuri Federov
Igor Guberman
Boris Kanevsky
Vladimir Kislik
Feliks Kochubievsky
Osip Lokshin
Aleksei Murzhenko
Aleksandr Panarev
Aleksandr Paritsky
Valery Pilnikov
Valery Senderov
Anatoly Shcharansky
Simon Shnirman
Yuri Tarnopolsky
Vladimir Tsukerman
Stanislav Zubko

FORMER PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

Boris Chernobilsky
Kim Fridman
Grigory Geishis
Grigory Goldshtein
Boris Kalendariov
Evgeny Lein
Mark Nashpitz
Ida Nudel
Dimitri Shchiglik
Isaak Shkolnik
Vladimir Slepak
Moisey Tonkonogy
Aleksandr Vilig

DANIEL P. MOYNIHAN
NEW YORK

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

May 8, 1984

Dear Friend:

On Sunday, May 6, I proudly marched with thousand of my fellow New Yorkers to protest the harsh treatment Jews in the Soviet Union continue to receive.

"Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry" is one of the largest annual human rights demonstrations in the world. It is an event that has become increasingly important as conditions worsen for Soviet Jews. The formation last year of an officially-sanctioned Soviet "Anti-Zionist Committee," and the harsh sentences Jewish activists are receiving in Soviet courts, are ominous signals that the future holds still greater suffering for Jews who must remain in the Soviet Union.

Most disturbing is the drastic decline in the number of Jews allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. In the first four months of 1984, only 303 Jews were permitted to leave! There is no indication that the figures for the rest of this year will improve.

For a number of years, shortly before each Solidarity Sunday, I have introduced Senate resolutions to put the Congress formally on record in support of this rally for Soviet Jewry. Each year the Senate has unanimously supported these resolutions. This year, sadly, was the first year that our friend Senator Henry M. Jackson could not be among the co-sponsors. At Sunday's rally, I had the great honor of introducing Mrs. Helen Jackson and presenting to her, in Scoop Jackson's memory, a copy of this year's resolution.

I am enclosing a copy of the resolution for you and my recent remarks to the Senate on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Sincerely,


Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Enclosure



United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 130

WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 25, 1984

No. 10

Senate

SOLIDARITY SUNDAY

The Senate proceeded to consider the resolution (S. Res. 367) to express the sense of the Senate in support of "Solidarity Sunday."

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, I rise today to invite my colleagues to join me in supporting Senate Resolution 367, a resolution expressing the sense of the Senate that Congress supports Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry. On April 11, 45 Senators having joined as original cosponsors, I introduced Senate Resolution 367. Thanks to the gracious cooperation of the majority leader, (Senator BAKER), the minority leader (Senator BYRD), the chairman of the Judiciary Committee (Senator THURMOND), and the ranking member (Senator BIDEN), the resolution was placed immediately on the Senate Calendar.

Sunday, May 6, 1984, is Solidarity Sunday, in New York City, when thousands of Americans of all faiths will gather to march together in a demonstration of their solidarity with the nearly 3 million oppressed Jews of the Soviet Union. First organized and coordinated by the Greater New York Conference on Soviet Jewry 13 years ago, Solidarity Sunday has become a tradition. One regrets that this has been necessary, but one is heartened by the continuing willingness of Americans to undertake this effort.

This resolution would be an important expression of our unwavering concern as a free people for the plight of Soviet Jews and other persecuted minorities in the Communist world. Solidarity Sunday is especially important this year, given the increasing pressure by the Soviet Government on Soviet Jews who wish to express themselves religiously and culturally. Despite commitments undertaken in the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Soviet Government has in recent months intensified its persecution of Jewish citizens. Hebrew classes are disrupted, prayer services are dispersed, Jews are prevented from practicing their faith.

In this season of Passover—the holiday when Jews around the world commemorate the exodus of the ancient Israelites from slavery in Egypt—Jews in the Soviet Union remain in religious and cultural bondage. The Passover Seder is an expression of freedom that is not allowed in the Soviet Union. Soviet authorities will not even permit Jews to gather to share the holidays of their history, so central to their faith.

One obvious measure of the officially sanctioned campaign of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is the ease or restrictiveness of emigration. In 1983, only 1,314 Jews were permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union. This represents the lowest level of Jewish emigration in 20 years, and the declining trend appears to be continuing in 1984. In March, only 51 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government, and the official Anti-Zionist Committee it established 1 year ago, would have the world believe that most of the Jews who wish to emigrate already now have done so. They assert, contrary to all evidence, that religious freedom is not an issue in the Soviet Union. We know this is deception; we must never forget the facts.

It is a fact that there are close to 3 million Jews today in the Soviet Union. It is a fact that at least 400,000 Jews have begun the difficult process of applying for emigrant visas. It is a fact that once a Soviet Jew has applied for a visa, he or she is subjected to KGB harassment, physical intimidation, and often outright dismissal from their jobs. Sadly, there is no insurance that conditions for Soviet Jews are improving in 1984.

Mr. President, the free world must continue to speak out against this injustice. The hopes of the beleaguered Jews of the Soviet Union rest on our efforts.

Anatoly Shcharansky's suffering in Chistopol Prison must teach us to never forget the fate awaiting observant Jews in the Soviet Union who do dare to speak out. In October 1983,

Iosef Begun received a sentence of 12 years, for the crime of teaching Hebrew. Aleksandr Paritsky, Ida Nudel, Levi Elbert—the list goes on and on, of people yearning for freedom. We will not forget them.

I invite all my colleagues to join me in supporting Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry. May 6, 1984, can and must send an important message to the Government of the Soviet Union.

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the resolution be printed in the RECORD.

The resolution (S. Res. 367) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

The resolution, and the preamble, are as follows:

S. Res. 367

Whereas on May 6, 1984, the constituent agencies of the Greater New York Conferences on Soviet Jewry will convene the thirteenth annual "Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry" in reaffirmation of the American People's resolve to secure freedom for Soviet Jews and beleaguered persons everywhere; and

Whereas Americans of all faiths will join in myriad activities on that day in public expression of solidarity with the long suffering Jewish community in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the right to emigrate freely and to be reunited with one's family abroad is denied Jews and many others in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the Helsinki Final Act explicitly assert guarantees of those rights; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union has nevertheless continued to implement new restrictive measures further reducing the number of persons able to emigrate, bringing Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union to a virtual halt in 1983; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting its Jewish citizens and denying them even those few rights and privileges accorded other recognized religions in the Soviet Union; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union discriminates against Jewish cultural activities by banning and suspending Hebrew and Jewish cultural classes, by arresting teachers of Hebrew, and by harassing those Soviet Jews who seek only to prac-

tice their religion; and

Whereas leading Soviet Jewish activist and prisoner of conscience Anatoly Shcharansky, who was arrested in March of 1977 and falsely charged with espionage and "anti-Soviet agitation", continues to suffer exceptionally harsh treatment in Chistopol prison; and

Whereas a virulent anti-Semitic campaign continues unabated in the Soviet Union and Soviet Jews are increasingly deprived of occupational and educational opportunities; and

Whereas thousands of innocent Jews and other persons, having applied to leave the Soviet Union, have been subjected to immediate induction into the armed forces, improper incarceration in mental institutions, expulsion from school, and constant surveillance and harassment; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union will not succeed in isolating Soviet Jews from their friends in the free world so long as those who cherish liberty continue to speak on behalf of beleaguered people everywhere; and

Whereas "Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry" shall provide vigorous expression of American determination to secure freedom for Soviet Jewish prisoners of conscience incarcerated solely for their desire to emigrate; and

Whereas the Government of the Soviet Union refuses to permit the free exercise of religious beliefs and cultural expression and also refuses to remove all obstacles to the free emigration of its Jewish citizens and others who wish to leave and live in other countries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the Congress fully supports "Solidarity Sunday for Soviet Jewry" and encourages Americans to participate.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
10 East 40th Street Suite 907
New York, New York 10016

SOVIET JEWISH PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE

MOSHE ABRAMOV

Born: 1956. From: Samarkand. Occupation: Ritual slaughterer (Shokhet). Arrested: 12/19/83. Charge: "Hooliganism." Tried: January 1984. Sentence: 3 years imprisonment; modified to "working for the national economy" (to 1/86). Address: Navoi, Uzbek SSR, USSR. Sister: Mina Aminov, 11 Zigelbaum St., Kiriat Shalom, Tel Aviv, Israel.

IOSIF BEGUN

Born: 7/9/32. From: Strunino. Occupation: Mathematician and Hebrew Teacher. Arrested for an unprecedented third time: 11/6/82. Charge: "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Tried: 10/12-14/83. Sentence: 7 years labor camp, 5 years internal exile (to 11/94). Address: Permskaya Oblast, Chusovskoy Rayon, St. Polovinka, Uchr.VS 389/37, RSFSR, USSR. Previous arrests: (1) March 1977 - "Parasitism," sentenced to 2 years internal exile. (2) May 1978 - "violation of passport regulations." Completed exile term 8/80. Wife: Inna Begun, Dmitrievna Raketny Bulvar 11/1-51, Moscow 129243, RSFSR, USSR.

ALEKSANDR CHERNIAK

Born: 1949. From: Kiev. Occupation: Construction engineer. Charges: "Forgery" and "embezzlement." Tried: March 1984. Sentence: 4 years imprisonment with foreclosure of personal property. Address: Unknown. Wife: Polina Cherniak, Vasilkovskaya 4-24, Kiev 40, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

YURI FEDEROV

(Tried with Jewish defendants in the First Leningrad Trial). Born: 6/14/43. From: Moscow. Occupation: Student. Arrested: 6/15/70. Charges: "Treason," "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," "Anti-Soviet organization," "Stealing state property." Tried: 12/70. Sentence: 15 years (to 6/85). Camp: Perm. Address: UCHR. VS 389/36, Posiolok Kutchino, Chusovskoy Rayon, Permskaya Oblast, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Natalia Federova, emigrated to USA: 278 Barrow Street, Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

IGOR GUBERMAN

Born: 7/7/36. From: Moscow. Occupation: Author/Electrical Engineer. Arrested: 8/13/79. Charges: "Acquisition or marketing of property known to have been criminally acquired (icons)." Tried: 3/11/80. Sentence: 5 years, with confiscation of property (to 8/84). Transferred 12/80 from camp to "labor for the national economy" at a "free settlement under guard." Address: Do Vostrebvaniya (Poste restante), Borodino, Rybinsky Rayon, Krasnoyarsky Krai, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Tatyana Guberman, Zelenogradskaya 23-2-173, Moscow 125475, RSFSR, USSR. Sister-in-law: Nina Patlas, Merkaz Klita Gilo "Aleph" 80/37, Jerusalem, Israel.

BORIS KANEVSKY

Born: 1945. From: Moscow. Occupation: Mathematician. Arrested: 6/17/82. Charge: "Circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." Tried: 1/21/83. Sentence: 5 years internal exile (to 6/87). Address: Posiolok Vagai, Tumenskaya Oblast, 626140, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Elizaveta Kanevsky, 1-YJ Mosfilmovskiy 5-14-176, Moscow, RSFSR, USSR.

FELIKS KOCHUBIEVSKY

Born: 10/5/30. From: Novosibirsk. Occupation: Electrical Engineer. Arrested: 9/12/82, Charge: "Circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." Tried: 12/6/82. Sentence: 2½ years labor camp (to 3/85). Address: 618 Solikamsk, 2-Permskaya Oblast, P/ya 389/15, Otryad 1, Brigada 13, 618500, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Valentina Kochubievsky, Vatutina 75-1-45, Novosibirsk 630064, RSFSR, USSR. Sons: Viascheslav and Aleksandr Kochubievsky, Harav Bloi 5-6, Petakh Tikva, Israel.

MARK OTCHERETYANSKY

Born: 1940. From: Kiev. Occupation: Construction engineer. Arrested: 1983. Charge: "Violation of passport regulations." Tried: October 1983. Sentence: 1 year imprisonment (to 10/84). Previous arrest: June 1980 - "abusing position" - sentenced in 9/80 to 1 year labor camp; released after 3 months. Wife: Olga Otcheretyansky, ul. Strazhenko 11-49, Kiev 252165, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

ALEKSANDR PARITSKY

Born: 3/12/38. From: Kharkov. Occupation: Radio electronics engineer. Arrested: 8/28/81. Charge: "Circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." Tried: 11/11/81. Sentence: 3 years labor camp (to 8/84). Address: P/ya. 94-4, Vyd-rino, Kabanskiy Rayon, Buryatskaya ASSR, 691111, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Polina Paritsky, Tankopiya 19-2-48, Kharkov 310091, Ukr.SSR, USSR. Brother: Itzhak Paritsky, Ben Tzvi 10-8, Azur, Israel.

VALERY SENDEROV

(Arrested with Jewish colleague, Boris Kanevsky.) Born: 1945. From: Moscow. Occupation: Mathematician. Arrested: 6/17/82. Charge: "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Tried: 2/28/83. Sentence: 7 years labor camp, 5 years internal exile (to 6/94). Address: VS-389/35, Permskaya Oblast, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Elena Krichagina, Ulansky Per. 14, Apt. 54, Moscow 101000, RSFSR, USSR.

ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

Born: 1/20/48. From: Moscow. Occupation: Computer Technologist. Arrested: 3/15/77. Charges: "Treason," "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Tried: 7/14/78. Sentence: 3 years imprisonment, 10 years special regime camp (to 3/90). Camp: Chistopol. Address: Uch. UE-148/ST4, Chistopol, Tatarskaya ASSR, USSR 422950. Mother: Ida Milgrom, ul. Kooperativnaya 8, Istra, Moskovskaya Oblast, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Avital Shcharansky, 34 Shderot Herzal, Jerusalem, Israel 96105.

LEV SHEFER

Born: 1931. From: Sverdlovsk. Occupation: Engineer. Arrested: September 1981. Charge: "Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Tried: April 1982. Sentence: 5 years imprisonment (to 9/86). Previously served 3 years in 1970's for "anti-Soviet" activities. Address: Permskaya Oblast, Chusovskoy Rayon, St. Vsesvyatskaya, Posiolok Tsentralny 385/19, (Moscow, Uchr. 5110/1 V.S. 389/35), RSFSR, USSR. Mother: Maria Shefer, ul. Bazhova 125/113, Sverdlovsk, RSFSR, USSR.

SIMON SHNIRMAN

Born: 11/8/57. From: Kerch. Occupation: Chemical Technician. Rearrested: 1/12/83. Charge: "Draft evasion." Tried: 2/15/83. Sentence: 3 years labor camp (to 1/86). Address: Unknown. Previously arrested: 5/78. Charge: "Draft evasion." Tried: 6/27/78. Sentence: 2½ years imprisonment (completed 11/80). Mother: Faina Shnirman, ul. Kirova 7931, 334518 Kerch, Krymskaya Oblast, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

YURI TARNOPOLSKY

Born: 10/14/36. From: Kharkov. Occupation: Chemist. Arrested: 3/16/83. Charge: "Circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." Tried: 6/29/83. Sentence: 3 years labor camp (to 3/86). Address: 672022 CHITA, P/ya G14/6, 5th Group, RSFSR, USSR. Wife: Olga Tarnopolsky, Per. Krasnoznanemy 2-17, Kharkov 310002, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

STANISLAV ZUBKO

Born: 10/26/37. From: Kiev. Occupation: Chemist. Arrested: 5/16/81. Charges: "Illegal keeping of arms," "Illegal possession of drugs." Tried: 7/21/81. Sentence: 4 years labor camp (to 5/85). Address: Uchr. MX-224/31, Izyaslav, 281200 Khmel'nitskaya Oblast, Ukr. SSR, USSR. Mother: Anna Levitskaya, Dneprovskaya 11-15, Kiev-98, Ukr.SSR, USSR.

ZAKHAR ZUNSHAIN

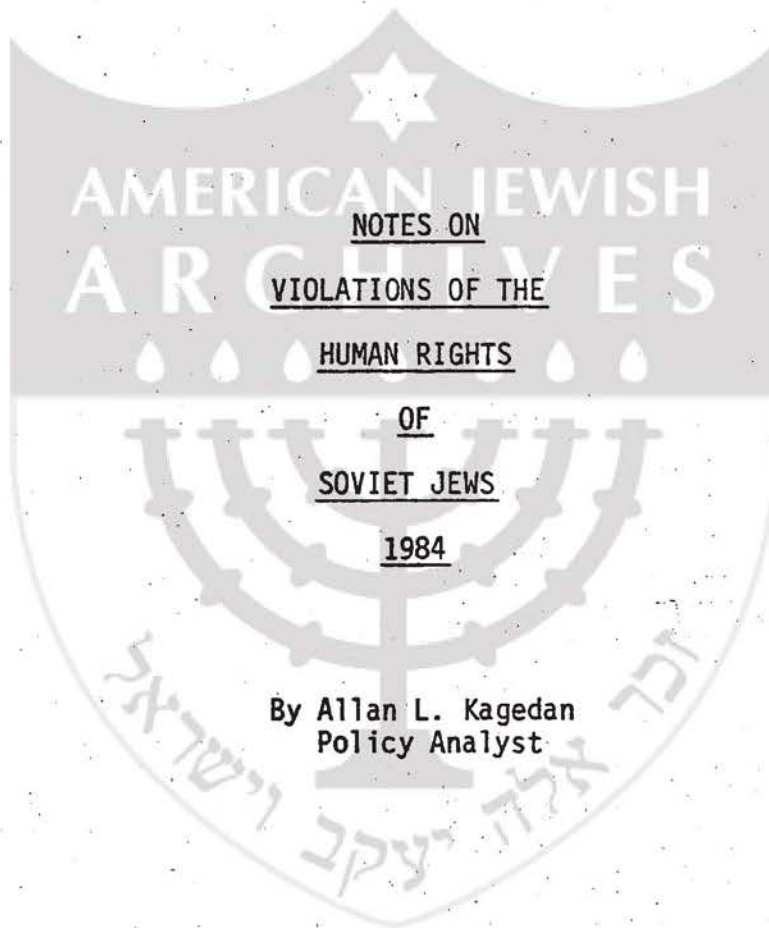
Born: 1951. From: Riga. Occupation: Physicist. Arrested: 3/6/84. Charge: "Circulation of fabrications known to be false which defame the Soviet state and social system." Tried: 6/28/84. Sentence: 3 years imprisonment (to 3/87). Wife: Tatyana Zunshain, ul. Lenina 111-22, Riga, Latvian SSR, USSR.



The American Jewish Committee

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INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION
Sidney Liskofsky, Director



By Allan L. Kagedan
Policy Analyst

8/3/84

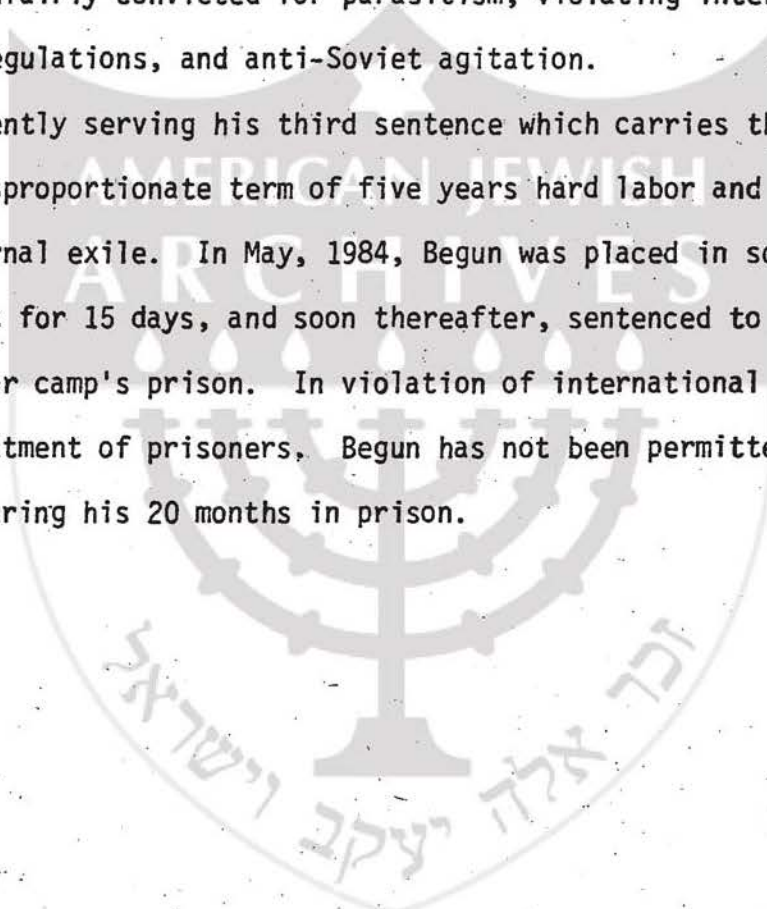
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RIGHT TO ENJOY ONE'S CULTURE

The Soviet Union refuses to permit Jews to teach and study Jewish religion and culture, including the Hebrew language. The State neither provides nor sanctions facilities for the study and teaching of Hebrew and harasses and imprisons those individuals who pursue its study. A particularly instructive case here is that of Iosif Begun.

Constantly harassed for his Jewish cultural activities, Begun has been unfairly convicted for parasitism, violating internal passport regulations, and anti-Soviet agitation.

He is currently serving his third sentence which carries the cruelly disproportionate term of five years hard labor and seven years internal exile. In May, 1984, Begun was placed in solitary confinement for 15 days, and soon thereafter, sentenced to 6 months in the labor camp's prison. In violation of international agreements on the treatment of prisoners, Begun has not been permitted any visitors during his 20 months in prison.



FREEDOM OF RELIGION

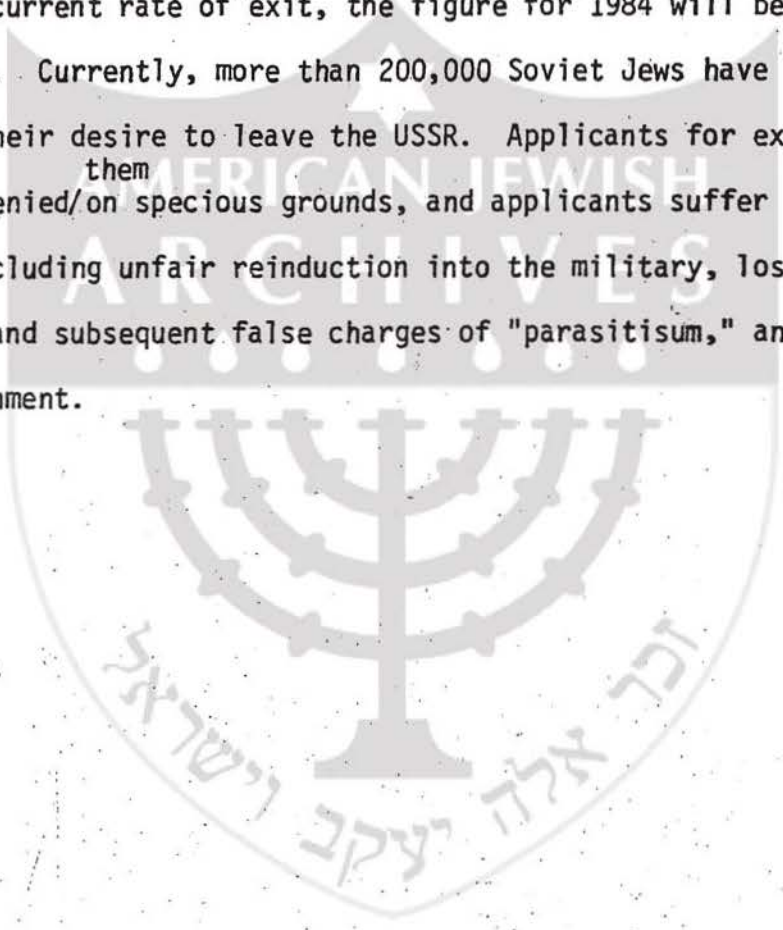
The Soviet Union denies its Jewish citizens their right to practice their religion. In distinction to the treatment accorded other religions, no Jewish religious periodical or bulletin is permitted, Judaic ritual objects cannot be manufactured and it is generally forbidden to send them from abroad, and there are no facilities for training rabbis in the USSR. Those Jews who hold private religious ceremonies are subject to harassment and imprisonment. In addition, the Soviet media characterize Jewish religious texts, such as the Torah, in demeaning and insulting ways.



8/2/82

RIGHT TO LEAVE

In violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13, and other international legal instruments, the Soviet Union has prevented Soviet Jews from exercise of their right to leave. In 1970, the USSR permitted 51,000 Soviet Jews to leave; and at the current rate of exit, the figure for 1984 will be below 1,000. Currently, more than 200,000 Soviet Jews have expressed their desire to leave the USSR. Applicants for exit visas are denied/^{them} on specious grounds, and applicants suffer harassment, including unfair reinduction into the military, loss of employment and subsequent false charges of "parasitism," and imprisonment.



8/2/84

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

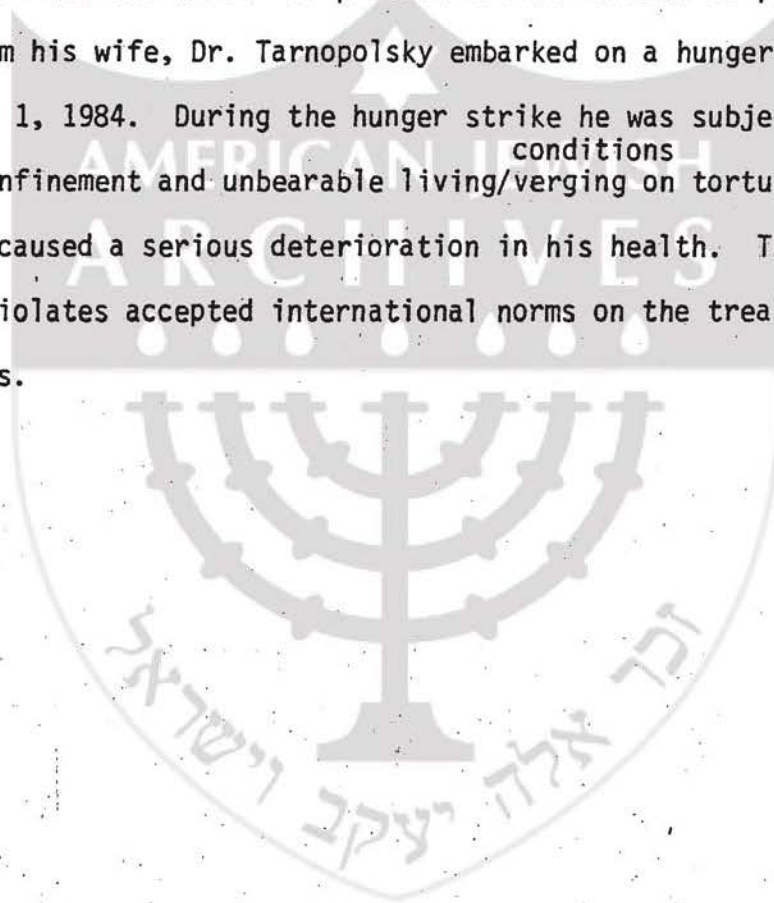
The Soviet government practices discrimination against qualified Jewish students who apply for admission to higher educational institutions. Between 1971 and 1981, the number of Jews admitted to Soviet universities plummeted and this decline is explainable only by discrimination.

One instance of such discrimination is the method of administering admissions tests at Moscow State University where Jewish students are separated from their peers during admission exams, and are given exam questions impossible to answer in the allotted time.

For exposing these discriminatory practices, two Soviet mathematicians, Boris Kanevsky and Valery Senderov were sentenced to harsh prison terms on the false charge of defaming the Soviet state. Dr. Andrei Sakharov has also pressed for an end to discrimination against Jewish students, calling this an "evil practice."

TORTURE

On June 29, 1983 a Soviet Court sentenced Dr. Yuri Tarnopolsky, who had been denied the right to leave and subsequently protested this denial in several written communications, to three years in prison for allegedly defaming the Soviet state. Since his arrest on March 15, 1983, Soviet authorities have refused Dr. Tarnopolsky permission to see his wife. To protest Soviet refusal to permit a visit from his wife, Dr. Tarnopolsky embarked on a hunger-strike on February 1, 1984. During the hunger strike he was subjected to solitary confinement and unbearable living/verging on torture, conditions which have caused a serious deterioration in his health. This treatment violates accepted international norms on the treatment of prisoners.



8/2/84

RACIST INCITEMENT

Both Soviet and International Law prohibit racist incitement, whether the target of the incitement is an ethnic or nationality group. The Soviet media, operating under government endorsement and control, frequently make false and absurd charges against Jews which are borrowed from anti-Semitic traits of the Nazi era. Examples from the newspaper Pionerskaia Pravda, October 10, 1980, and a book, Sitting On a Stone Near The Road (1981), are the nonsense accusations that Jews provoke war, manipulate the international economy, and control the world media.



**ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION IN SOVIET
HIGHER EDUCATION**

**By ALLAN L. KAGEDAN
Policy Analyst
International Organizations Division**



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56 Street
New York, N. Y. 10022**

ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION IN SOVIET HIGHER EDUCATION

Allan L. Kagedan
Policy Analyst
International Relations Department

One of the chief claims made by the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public, formed on April 21, 1983, is that no anti-Jewish discrimination exists in Soviet higher educational institutions. Even before it was formally established, members of the Anti-Zionist Committee issued a statement on April 1 deriding the charge of such discrimination as "Zionist propaganda" and "slander."¹ Soviet sensitivity to the charge of anti-Jewish discrimination was underscored by the appearance of Nataliya Grindberg, said to be a student at Moscow University's Mechanics-Mathematical Department, at an Anti-Zionist Committee meeting on May 15, 1984. "Western propaganda claims that young Jews are barred from higher education are lies," Ms. Grindberg was quoted as saying.²

Official Soviet analysts of Jewish affairs support the Anti-Zionist Committee's assertions by affirming that the principle of equality is embodied in Soviet law. A Soviet pamphlet entitled Jews in the USSR, published in 1982, asserts that "the Soviet state has created for Jews better conditions than any other country." The booklet claims that the "USSR leads the world in respect of the proportion of Jewish population with a higher education," and terms accusations of discrimination in the USSR as "lies." To bolster their claim that Soviet Jews suffer no discrimination, Soviet spokesmen point to article 36 of the Soviet Constitution of 1977, which reads in part:

"Any direct or indirect limitations of the rights of citizens or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt is punishable by law."³

Contrary to the Soviet Constitution and to assertions made by Soviet officials, however, Soviet Jews are indeed deprived of equal opportunity in education and employment. Discriminatory practices affect all Jews --including those who have not applied for emigration -- and also affect non-Jews with partial Jewish ancestry. As Roy Medvedyev, a well known Soviet historian, stated in 1970, the practice of discriminating against Jews, initiated in the 1950s was "refined and perfected" in the 1960s. Furthermore, the fact that Jews suffered discrimination was "no secret...either in our country or abroad."⁴

Still, the nature and scope of this violation of the human rights of Soviet Jews is little understood in the West.

¹ Pravda, April 1, 1983.

² Moscow, TASS in English, May 15, 1984.

³ Avtandil Rukhadze, Jews in the USSR (Moscow, 1982), pp. 46-49.

⁴ Roy Medvedyev, "Samizdat: Jews in the USSR," Survey Spring 1971, pp.181, 191.

This paper will outline the latest evidence, based on Soviet sources and the testimony of Soviet emigres, which demonstrates conclusively that anti-Jewish discrimination exists in the USSR. The reasons for this policy and its implications for the USSR will also be discussed.

Statistical Evidence

In the decade 1971-1981, the number of Jewish students attending higher educational institutions in Moscow and the Soviet Union as a whole dropped sharply. According to a Soviet statistical booklet issued periodically, called Moscow in Figures, the number of Jewish youths in Moscow's higher educational institutions plunged from 19,058 in 1971 to 9,911 in 1981. For the Soviet Union as a whole, there were 111,900 Jews enrolled in higher educational institutions in 1969; yet by 1979, the number had dropped to 66,900.¹

Some of the decline in the number of Jewish youths attending universities and technical schools may be attributed to emigration. Yet according to a study done in the 1970s by the London-based Institute for Jewish Affairs, emigration caused a decline the Soviet Jewish population of 15.8% in the USSR, and 13.2% in Moscow. This cannot explain the 50% plunge in Jewish student enrollments in Moscow and in the USSR.²

Similarly, the aging of the Soviet Jewish population does not explain the precipitous decline. An Israeli scholar places the differential in the size of age cohorts of Soviet Jewish young people for the 1960s and 1970s at between 10% and 20%, not 50% or more.³

Inference from Soviet Government statistics is but one source of evidence about discrimination against Soviet Jews. Moscow mathematicians, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, prepared a series of analyses of the admission policies of Moscow State University and the Moscow Physics and Technical Institute, among the most prestigious teaching institutions in the Soviet Union.

A study of 1983 admissions to Moscow University's Mathematics Department and to the Physics and Technical Institute, conducted privately by teachers in Moscow high schools for gifted students in mathematics, reveals clear evidence of discrimination. Authors of the study divided the 82 graduating students from Moscow's four special mathematics schools into three categories: those with no Jewish ancestry (41), those with at least one Jewish parent or grandparent (27), and those identified as Jews in their official documents (14). Of the students with no Jewish ties 76% were admitted to the mathematics and physics departments; 56% of those with some Jewish ancestry also gained admission. Only 14% of the Jewish students were admitted, however. This, despite the fact that nine

¹ Moskva v tsifrah, 1971, p. 132; 1981, p. 186; 1979, p. 157.

² Lukasz Hirszwicz, "Jewish Students in Moscow and the USSR," Research Report, Institute for Jewish affairs, no. 5, 1982.

³ Mordechai Altshuler, Soviet Jewry Today (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1979, p. 58.

of the fourteen Jewish students had received the highest grades in mathematics through high school. Of the two Jews who did gain admission, one was the son of a lecturer at Moscow State University.¹

In June 1982, two mathematicians who released results of previous studies, Boris Kanevsky and Valery Senderov, were arrested. In January 1983, Kanevsky was sentenced to 5 years internal exile; in March, Senderov was given a 12-year sentence, 7 years in prison, and 5 years in internal exile.²

Senderov and Kanevsky focused their surveys³ on the Mathematics and Mechanics Department of Moscow University. In 1981, of 64 applicants to the department, 49 were not Jewish and 15 were Jewish, or partly Jewish (having at least one Jewish grandparent).

In the university mathematics entrance exams, Jewish applicants were awarded, on average, 3.6 points less than non-Jews. Yet the average grade of the two groups--Jews and non-Jews--in the high school comprehensive final exams in mathematics, taken at the same time as the university entrance exams, were precisely equal." One is forced to conclude that the university entrance exams were graded in a discriminatory fashion - and, indeed, testimony from applicants supports this contention. As a consequence of these unfair examination procedures while only 13.33% of the Jewish students were accepted, 83.66% of the non-Jewish applicants were admitted to the university.

A survey by Senderov and Kanevsky in 1979 produced analogous results. In that year, 87% of non-Jewish applicants were admitted to the Mathematics Department, and 13% of Jewish applicants were permitted entrance. The figures for 1980 were strikingly similar: 73% of non-Jews were admitted and 13.3% of Jews gained admission. On the basis of their previous records, equal numbers of Jews and non-Jews should have been admitted. Because of a quota to limit Jewish entrance into the Mathematics Department, qualified Jewish applicants were barred from admission.

To argue that this is a process of reverse discrimination which assists deprived nationality groups, as some observers might reason, is misleading. No members of Central Asian nationality groups or Northern nationalities entered Moscow's Mathematics Department because of discrimination against Jews: ethnic Russians did. In other words, in the case of Moscow State University, anti-Jewish discrimination rewards an already dominant ethnic group; it favors those now privileged.

¹ Associated Press, December 15, 1984.

² Jewish Telegraphic Agency Bulletin, Jan. 25, 1983; New York Times, March 2, 1983.

³ Boris Kanevsky and Valery Senderov's research was published in unofficial, samizdat, documents. Their 1980 report is summarized in The Chronicle of Higher Education, May 11, 1981, p.1.

Individual Cases

Statistics cannot convey adequately the anguish which discriminatory practices cause. To appreciate the human dimension of the problem the best source of information is the Soviet emigre community in the United States. The names of persons interviewed have been withheld because these individuals fear compromising relatives still in the USSR.

A young woman who applied to Moscow University in the late 1970's reports that as part of the application procedure students must submit internal passports, in which their ethnic origin and the names of their parents are recorded. Examiners thus know who the Jewish applicants are in advance. Before the 1977 entrance examination to the Mathematics Department, she relates, students were divided into two groups: Jews and non-Jews. During the exam, Jewish students were given three questions, impossible to answer in the time allotted. In the Soviet mathematical community, these questions have been dubbed "Jewish questions."

In addition, at variance with customary practice, exam questions were given orally; normally, problems are drawn randomly by students from a box. After being mocked by one examiner, the young woman was told that she had failed the exam. She then gave the questions to senior mathematics professors. Unable to solve them in the ten minutes allotted to Jewish students,¹ the professors needed a full hour to solve the problems.

Dr. Andrei Sakharov, a noted Soviet physicist, described his attempt to take the mathematics exam given to a Jewish high school graduate who applied to Moscow State University:²

I chose one of the problems on the list. Of course, the student taking the examination is not allowed to choose the particular problem he wished to solve. I found a very pretty solution to my problem, but it required a nontrivial and ingenious argument, and it took me much more than one hour. Moreover, I was able to work quietly at home. I needed to use my considerable experience in solving these difficult mathematical problems as well as my large store of mathematical knowledge.

Nothing demonstrates anti-Jewish discrimination better than the case of Gleb Koshevoy, who applied to Moscow State's Mathematics faculty in 1979. Suspecting Koshevoy was Jewish, the examiner assigned him failing grades. Koshevoy then submitted a family tree to the admissions committee to prove that he had no Jewish ancestors for at least three generations. Subsequently, Koshevoy's exam grades were raised, and he was admitted to the Mathematics Department.³

Another tactic used to discriminate against Jewish applicants to universities is to fail them on examinations extraneous to their major field. In an interview, a graduate of Moscow University explained that he had applied for entrance into the institution's graduate physics program in 1966, and was denied

¹ Interview, June 13, 1983.

² Document 112, The Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Nov. 5, 1979.

³ Document 112, The Moscow Helsinki Monitoring Group, Nov. 5, 1979.

admission for failing a test in the history of the Communist Party. During the examination, examiners simply discounted his answers as incorrect. He was admitted to graduate school subsequently and left the USSR in 1975. He is now Professor of Physics at a major American university.¹

Discrimination is not restricted to Moscow. An emigre scientist, now employed by a major American corporation headquartered in New York, relates how discrimination plagued him throughout his university career in Soviet Central Asia. A resident of the Kazak USSR, in 1967 he was elected "president" of his class for receiving the highest grades. This achievement would normally entitle him to a Lenin scholarship. A non-Jewish student with lower grades, however, received the award. He was forced to conclude that his Jewish origin had placed the Lenin scholarship out of bounds. Subsequently employed as a professor in a textile institute also in the Kazak SSR, this scientist was refused permission to participate in an exchange program with Austria, run by the institute. He learned from the institute's director that he was refused because he was Jewish.²

Soviet Jews encounter discrimination in employment in scientific research institutions as well as in universities. After graduating with a Master's degree in geology from Leningrad University, a Jewish woman, now living in New York, was offered three positions. Yet, after the initial offer, she was told by a chief of a research department that, despite her academic qualifications, she could not be hired because she was Jewish.³ In 1971, a graduate of Saratov University in the RSFSR, who received his M.S. in mathematics was asked to join a secret research institute, known as "10." After submitting an application to the institute, this young man was told he could not be hired because he was Jewish.⁴ Similarly a holder of a Candidate's degree in science (equivalent to the Ph.D) from Moscow University, was unable to find a job in his field upon graduation in 1972. On one occasion, a member of the hiring commission told him that he was refused the job because he was Jewish.⁵

Discrimination is not restricted to scientific fields. A woman who graduated with top grades from the English Department at Leningrad University in 1953 was refused admission to the post-graduate program in English. When she asked why, she was told by a teacher that at a Department meeting "everyone had agreed "that to accept a Jew" was "out of the question."⁶

Anti-Jewish discrimination may also be practiced through using subtle remarks. After an initial interview, a graduate of the Moscow Institute of Civil Engineering was told by the director of a research institute that he would be hired. The man subsequently submitted an application which mentioned his Jewish nationality. The research institute's assistant director than told him that he could not be hired. When the applicant asked why this was so, the official said: "You should recognize your position."⁷

1 Interview, June 8, 1983.

2 Interview, July 7, 1983.

3 Interview, July 6, 1983 (a).

4 Interview, August 6, 1983.

5 Interview, July 6, 1983 (b).

6 Letter, June 27, 1983.

7 Interview, June 9, 1983.

Historical Facts

Why is discrimination against Jews encouraged and tolerated by the Soviet Government? Why are the talents of Soviet Jews not being channelled where they would be most effectively used? The answer relates to two mutually supportive tendencies in Soviet life: historically rooted bias against Jews, manifested today by hostility toward Israel and toward Jewish attachment to Israel, and the requirements of a nationality policy for internal control.

Since the end of World War II, the Communist Party and Soviet officials have judged Jews a security risk and subversive of Soviet interests. This biased view has deep roots. The notion of the Jew as an alien is familiar in Russian history. Medieval Russians perceived Jews as dangerous aliens, transporters of pernicious rationalist and Western ideas and unscrupulous traders; similarly, the anti-Semitic legislation of the tsars reflected fear of Jews.¹

Despite official Soviet statements condemning anti-Semitism in the 1920s, anti-Jewish sentiment remained pervasive. Hostility toward Jews was expressed in books by Communist Party members such as Iurii Libedinskii's A Week (1922) and in comments made by communists during the Lenin succession struggle in the late 1920s, to discredit Jews in the Soviet leadership, such as Leon Trotsky.²

The creation of a Jewish state in 1948 reinforced anti-Jewish attitudes and fostered discrimination. The Soviet Government recognizes ethnic origin, in part, through a system of territorial units carrying the names of nationalities. According to Soviet theory, territorial units are supposed to enhance the loyalty of various nationalities to the Soviet state. Jews are one of the few Soviet nationality groups which have a state outside the borders of the USSR. Thus Soviet recognition of the importance of ethnic territories and ethnic emotional bonds has led Soviet leaders to conclude Jewish attachment to Israel is yet another manifestation of Jewish disloyalty toward the USSR.

Soviet theory has never come to grips with the existence of Israel as a Jewish state, characterizing it instead as a state of the Israeli people. Although Soviet leaders may concede an Uzbek's attachment to the Uzbek S.S.R., they are unwilling to accept a Jew's connection with Israel.

Discrimination against Jews in Soviet science began on a large scale in January 1953. Shortly before Stalin's death, the Kremlin announced that it had uncovered a plot by doctors, most of them Jewish, to poison the Soviet leadership. A few months later, after Stalin died, the Kremlin admitted that no "doctors' plot" had ever existed and declared the doctors named as innocent.

¹ Salo Baron, The Russian Jews under Tsars and Soviets, 2nd. ed. revised (New York, 1976) pp. 1-62.

² Maurice Friedberg, "Jewish Themes in Soviet Russian Literature," in Lionel Kochan, ed. The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917, 3rd. ed. revised (Oxford, 1978), pp. 197-216. Joseph Nedava, Trotsky and the Jews (Philadelphia, 1972), pp. 168-182.

In the interim, however, "thousands of specialists of Jewish nationality were dismissed from all medical organizations, institutes, hospitals and establishments of higher education." The Soviet Government had declared Jews to be traitorous; no institute wished to be tainted by their presence. Once the false nature of the doctors' plot was exposed, Jews were rehired -- but at lower levels than they had occupied previously. Most significantly, a precedent had been set: The Soviet regime had declared Jews to be enemies of the state, who could not be trusted and had to serve in minor positions.¹

During Nikita Khrushchev's tenure, discrimination continued, now in the guise of reverse discrimination. Speaking to a delegation of the French Socialist Party in 1956, Khrushchev warned Jews that "indigenous inhabitants" of Soviet republics resented Jews holding the "foremost occupations." Khrushchev was providing the rationale for quotas to limit Jews to working only at lower positions in research institutions, which are all government run.²

Signals from the top made themselves felt locally. An emigre now living in New York tells of how, in 1956, he was informed by Leningrad school officials that he had won a gold medal for graduating at the top of his high school class. Inexplicably, a few days later, the offer of the prize was withdrawn. The young man's family was given to understand that a quota had been established to limit the number of Jewish prize winners.³

According to Soviet emigres interviewed, and according to available statistics, discrimination against Jews intensified during Leonid Brezhnev's tenure as Soviet leader. Two developments set the stage for heightened anti-Jewish discrimination.

First, in response to the democratic movement, which received its most striking affirmation in the "Prague Spring" attempt to liberalize Czechoslovakia in 1968, officials decided to purge Soviet society of "Western" influences. Since most Jews lived in the West, Soviet authorities viewed Soviet Jews with increased suspicion.

Second, pressure from Soviet Jews for the right to emigrate grew in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and "to let off steam" authorities decided to permit 13,022 Jews to leave in 1971. Possibly fearing a spill-over effect to other Jews and other nationalities, between 1969 and 1971 the Soviet media launched an "anti-Zionist" campaign to discredit the emigrants. Soviet Jewish emigrants were depicted as unscrupulous materialists who were disloyal to the USSR.

Thus, about 1970, a memorandum began to circulate in the scientific community which stated that scientific workers who belonged to nationality groups with ethnic homelands unfriendly to the Soviet Union should not be placed

¹ Medvedyev, p. 169.

² Realities, no. 136 (May, 1957), pp. 64-67, 101-4.

³ Interview, June 9, 1983.

in responsible positions in defense-related industries. The memorandum would apply principally to one group: the Jews. (Soviet Germans could also be affected, but they counted for fewer scientific workers.)¹

According to a samizdat document, entitled "About non-admission of Jews to the Universities in the USSR," circulated in the early 1970s, in 1968 members of the Department of Mechanics and Mathematics at Moscow State University convinced the Central Committee of the CPSU that potential loyalty, rather than talent, should determine who is admitted to mathematics programs. Given deep-rooted suspicions about Jews, this proposal encouraged an intensification of anti-Jewish discrimination.

There is another reason why the Soviet regime discriminates against Jewish students. The Soviet regime is trying to quell Russian nationalist feelings. These nationalistic tendencies are most visible in the urban middle class which sees Jews as its competitor. University training in the USSR is a passport to the middle class and the Soviet leadership tries to win favor among the Russians by discriminating against Jews and seeming to open up more opportunities for Russian advancement. Thus, anti-Jewish discrimination in Soviet higher education is one of the means used to co-opt Russian ethnic nationalism: a force which, if left unchecked, could be turned against the regime.²

Such discrimination is dysfunctional even from a Soviet perspective. In the first place, the regime is losing the skills of talented individuals - Jews - who are not permitted to realize their full scientific potential, a problem Soviet officials acknowledge.³ Second, since the virtual cut-off of Jewish emigration, the Jews denied opportunities to seek scientific employment will be placed in competition with a lower social class, creating yet new bases for anti-Semitism. Once the principle of merit is abandoned in education, ethnic groups are encouraged to think in terms of group "rights" to jobs and this foments inter-ethnic conflict.

Securing Fundamental Freedoms

Prominent Soviet citizens who have protested against the discrimination practiced against Jews in higher educational institutions in the USSR and other human rights violations, have been criticized and even punished for their efforts. Nobel laureate Andrei Sakharov referred to anti-Jewish discriminatory policies as "absolutely intolerable" and to the special tests given Jewish students as "evil."⁴ Writing in 1970, Soviet historian Roy Medvedev has asserted that, even taking a narrow economic perspective, anti-Jewish discrimination is contrary to the economic interests of the USSR. He stressed that it was pointless to state that discrimination against Jews does not exist, and that only a change in policy could improve the Soviet image abroad.⁵

¹ Samizdat document, "The Jewish Question in The USSR (Theses)," Bulletin on Soviet and Eastern European Jews, no.6 (May 1970), pp. 48-50.

² Victor Zaslavsky and Robert Brym, Soviet Jewish Emigration and Soviet Nationality Policy (New York, 1983), pp. 64-67.

³ Zaslavsky and Brym, pp. 115-116.

⁴ Sakharov in Freiman, Appendix C.

⁵ Medvedev, pp. 169-70.

Beyond considerations of economic self-interest, it must be stressed that discrimination is morally wrong; it deprives the person who discriminates of dignity, and leads the victim of discrimination to question his self-worth. Stating, as Soviet officials have, that Jews suffer discrimination outside the Soviet Union does not justify anti-Jewish actions in Soviet higher educational institutions.

Racial discrimination, including anti-Jewish discrimination in the Soviet Union, flagrantly violates international norms of human rights. Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states: "Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms." The Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, ratified by the USSR on December 4, 1969, affirms in article 5 (e)(v) that all parties to the Convention must "undertake to prohibit and to eliminate racial discrimination in all its forms, and to guarantee everyone, without distinction as to...ethnic origin"...- "the right to education and training." Most recently, Principle 11 of the Concluding Document of the Madrid Follow-Up Conference on the Helsinki Final Act stressed "the importance in ensuring respect for an actual enjoyment of the rights of persons belonging to national minorities..."

For all people who abhor racial prejudice and value human dignity, defeating discrimination is a primary goal. The challenge to the Soviet Government is clear.

Revised August 6, 1984

84-560-31

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With Compliments

To: All Members of the International Council

Please find enclosed the following items:

1. Survey of Events, October 1984
2. Situation of the Jews in the USSR
According to the Soviet Press and Radio, November 1984
3. On the Program "Mercenaries and Collaborators"
Shown on Leningrad TV on November 12, 1984
4. Article by William Korey "The Quiet Pogrom in
the Soviet Union"

THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE
FOR SOVIET JEWRY



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

OCTOBER 1984

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

U. S. A. & C A N A D A

Tens of thousands New Year greetings were sent from various cities throughout the US to refuseniks in the USSR. For example, from Euston alone - 20,000 cards were sent, and from Phoenix - 10,000. A special "Soviet Jewry High Holiday Kit" was sent to all Rabbis, and a specific sermon was dedicated to Soviet Jewry and the Hebrew teachers.

Oct. 3 Israeli Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr. Yitzhak Shamir, in his statement in the General Debate of the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly, called upon "the Government of the Soviet Union to remove the harsh limitations and restrictions imposed upon Jews who seek repatriation and reunion with their brethren in Israel".

Two lawyers, expert in International Law left for Moscow, Leningrad and Talin, with the intention of being present at Kholmiansky's trial.

Oct. 12 Yosif Begun

Mark Kac, Joel L. Lebowitz and Paul H. Plotz of the Committee of Concerned Scientists, published Inna Begun's letter in SCIENCE. In her letter she describes Yosif's unfortunate fate ever since he first applied for an exit visa to Israel in 1971.

On October 12 an ad signed by more than 1000 people was published in the Gazette in Montreal. The text of the ad was : "We the members of congregation Beth Tikvah, Dollard des Ormeaux, stand united with our Jewish brethren in the Soviet Union at this Festival of Sukkot."

Oct. 14 Solidarity Day in Canada

In Montreal, a petition with thousands of signatures protesting the policies and harassments of Jews in the Soviet Union, was handed over to the Canadian government, climaxing a massive rally with the participation of 5000 people. Several members of Parliament and Jewish community leaders led the march. The event received coverage in the media.

In Ottawa - 700 people participated in a rally across the Soviet Embassy.

In Toronto - 500 people participated in a Simchat Torah rally.

Congressmen Lawrence Smith, Silvio Conte, Steve Bartlett and Stephen Solarz initiated a petition to Chernenko, calling for the release of Kholmiansky, Edelshtein and Levin; calling the Soviet Union to adhere to the provisions of international law and to allow the teaching of Jewish religion and culture in "a free and open environment". The petition was signed by nearly 25% of the House of Representatives. They cited the cases as the "beginning of an alarming, stepped-up Soviet determination to eradicate Hebrew teachers and Jewish culture from Soviet society".

A Human Rights Award was presented to Jane Fonda by the Soviet Jewry Council of the JCRC of greater Philadelphia.

In Chicago the first week of hunger-strikers included Rabbi Mark Shapiro of Temple B'nai Joshua Beth Elohim, who began the sympathetic protest on Sunday, October 21. Also protesting were Rabbi Joseph Edelheit, President of the Chicago Association of Reform Rabbis, and Rabbi Alan Bregman, Director of the Union of American Hebrew congregation.

- Oct. 15 Long Beach, Ca. On the occasion of the opening of Bill Aron's Photographic Exhibit - "By Spirit Alone: Jewish Life in the Soviet Union Today" - the CRC organized some lectures on various aspects of the plight of Soviet Jewry.
- Oct. 20 The American Society of Civil Engineers wrote to Proc. Gen. A. Rekunkov, expressing their concern over Aleksander Yakir's arrest, and hoping that charges against him will be dropped.
- Oct. 21 In a Simchat Torah rally in front of the Soviet Consulate in San-Francisco, 3,000 participated, including the chairman of the House of Representatives in California, Mr. Willie Brown. The event received full coverage in the media.
- Oct.21-23 Delegates from across the US, as well as senior representatives of the Reagan and Mondale Election campaign, attended the NCSJ Leadership Assembly in Washington and were present when Secretary of State George Shultz denounced Soviet mistreatment of Jews and pledged his continued support on their behalf. Shultz received the NCSJ Humanitarian Award. His speech was reported to the Washington Post, USA Today, the N.Y. Times and the L.A. Times. In a later ceremony, Jane Fonda was presented the NCSJ Solidarity Award in recognition of her efforts on behalf of Ida Nudel. At 12.30 delegates from the assembly held a vigil in front of the Soviet Embassy, with the participation of Rabbinic leadership of the NCSJ in a Prayer Vigil for Soviet Jews.

- Oct. 24 Former Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford, along with several political and religious leaders, sent a letter to Soviet president Konstantin Chernenko, requesting improved treatment for Soviet Jews. This letter came at the initiative of Sen. Charles Percy. Others who signed the letter included former secretaries of State Dean Rusk, William Rogers, Cyrus Vance and Alexander Haig; Cardinal Joseph Bernardin, archbishop of Chicago; Archbishop Iakovos of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America and the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of the University of Notre Dame.
- Oct. 25 The Washington Post published an article on the Carter-Ford letter to Chernenko.
- Oct. 25 George Klein, Max Fisher, Gordon Zacks and Richard Fox handed a letter to President Ronald Reagan, concerning Kholmiansky, Edelshtein, Levin, Mark Nepomniashchy and Yakov Mesh. In their letter they also refer to Prisoners of Zion and to refuseniks, who fear the KGB attempts of planting weapons and/or drugs in their apartments.
- Oct. 24 NJCRAC issued a memo to all its Member Agencies and those of the CJF, calling for hunger strikes in all communities in solidarity with Soviet Jews. This comes in response to a hunger strike (started on Oct. 20) of 42 Soviet Jews, in protest against the recent arrests of Hebrew teachers and other activists in the USSR.
- Oct. 26 The Jewish community in Hartford Connecticut had a day of fast to express solidarity with the hunger strike in the USSR.
- Oct. 29 311 conferees from 10 countries, at the Annual Meeting of the American Physical Society Plasma Physics Division in Boston, sent a petition to Soviet authorities on behalf of Yakov Alpert. In addition to that, a special human right session took place, in which the situation of Soviet scientists was discussed.

The New York legal coalition for Soviet Jewry published a memorandum in support of the legal rights of four Soviet Jewish Hebrew teachers (Kholmiansky, Levin, Gorodetsky and Edelshtein.)

UNITED KINGDOM, NETHERLANDS
AND EIRE

UNITED KINGDOM

- Oct. 2 The NCSJ summarized the results of the Universal Postal Union Congress in Hamburg, held in July 1984, and suggested future action.
- Oct. 2 The NCSJ issued a press-release - "Martyrdom of an Innocent Man", referring to Zakhar Zunshain, whose sole "crime" was teaching Hebrew.
- Dr. Michael Yudkin initiated worldwide activity of biochemists on behalf of Dr. L. Goldfarb.
- Oct. 4 Mr. Martin Gilbert spoke on BBC Radio in a special programme about the situation of Zakhar Zunshain, and called for wide public support for the plight of the refuseniks.
- In MANCHESTER, between 1st and 4th October, major Jewish organizations held a daily vigil in solidarity with Soviet Jewry. The vigil was held at the Shcharansky Tree in Manchester, and focussed attention on Yakov Levin, Aleksander Kholmiansky, Yuly Edelshtein and Yakov Gorodetsky.
- Mr. John Marshall, Member of the European Parliament, spoke in North London on the Soviet Jewry situation, resulting in increased involvement.
- Oct. 15-26 Major launch in London of a 'phone-in' appeal to the Soviet Information Department on behalf of Aleksander Kholmiansky. All outlets were asked to phone in on the hour, and excellent results were achieved.
- Oct. 17 In an extract from an article published in the Daily Express : "Soviet switchboards throughout Britain will be jammed with calls today from people protesting against the persecution of Aleksander Kholmiansky a 34 year old schoolteacher.... charged with 'attempting to organize Jewish seminars', a charge which carries a minimum sentence of 7 years hard labour".
- Oct. 19 Christian friends protested at the visit of the Soviet Cosmonaut Valentina Tchereskova at the Labour Party Headquarters in London. Banners featured the harassed Hebrew teachers.
- Oct. 23 A recent edition of the YORKSHIRE POST publishes in its leader column an article headed "Soviet Jews". It begins : "It is hard to credit that Soviet Jews are suffering even more this year than they did in 1983, and yet that is surely the case". It concludes : "So far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the Helsinki Final Act has been a farce in many more ways than one".
- Oct. 30 Chief Rabbi Yakobowitz sent a telegram to the Soviet Ambassador in Britain, protesting the general situation of the Jewish population in the USSR and the arrests of Hebrew teachers.

UNITED KINGDOM, NETHERLANDS
AND EIRE

UNITED KINGDOM

- Oct. 30 The NCSJ Chairman met Mrs. Barbara Castle, Member of the European Parliament. Mrs. Castle is now tabling a resolution on Soviet Jewry for the European Parliament, to include the names of refuseniks submitted to her. Steps are being taken to obtain a large number of signatures from MEPs of all parties.
- The Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. Hugh Montefiore, gave a lecture at the House of Commons, organized by CONSCIENCE, at which he warned that the Soviet authorities were determined to wipe out Judaism and Jewish culture in the USSR, and called for action to counter this intention.
- Oct. 21 A special meeting of the Heads of Jewish Organizations in England, in solidarity with the hunger-strikers in the USSR. It was decided to express the concern of the community by appealing to the Soviet delegations in the UK - on the phone and otherwise.

NETHERLANDS

- October The Dutch Solidarity Committee for Soviet Jewry published a special booklet on the latest situation.
- Oct. 19 A demonstration was held outside the Soviet Embassy in The Hague.
- Oct. 19 A meeting of the Bureau of the European Inter-Parliamentary Conference for Soviet Jewry was held in The Hague. Members of the Bureau attended a Press Conference on the same day.
- Oct. 20 On Simchat Torah, a big demonstration was held in Amsterdam attended by 5,000 people, and fully covered by the Dutch media.
- Oct. 22 3000 people participated in a march organized by the Solidarity Committee for Jews in the Soviet Union, which ended in the city center. Avital Shcharansky and Rabbi Soetendorp were also present. The demonstration received wide coverage in the press.

EIRE

- Oct. 4 The Irish National Council for Soviet Jewry met the Irish Foreign Minister, who agreed to help them in putting forward a special appeal to the European Parliament.
- The Irish National Council informed all Members of the European Parliament of the latest situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union, requesting them to raise the subject in a special Debate in the European Parliament.

S W E D E N

- Oct. 4-7 Swedish physicist and mathematician held a seminar in Moscow and visited refusenik-scientists.
- Oct. 5 14 members of the Swedish Parliament addressed the Supreme Soviet on behalf of Leonid Brailovsky.
- Oct. 6 In Malmo, in Göteborg and in the Orthodox synagogue in Stockholm, rabbis dedicated their Yom Kippur sermons to the plight of Soviet Jews.
- Oct. 12 A Swedish MP, an ex-MP, an employee at the Parliament and a Jewish physician visited refuseniks in Moscow.
- Oct. 17-24 Hundreds of phone calls to Soviet institutions in Sweden, concerning Kholmiansky.
- Oct. 18 The Rabbi of the Great Synagogue in Stockholm dedicated his sermon on Simchat Torah to Soviet Jews.
- Oct. 19 A Swedish Parliamentarian participated in the coordinating meeting of the European Interparliamentary Conference, which took place in The Hague.
- Oct. 19 Vice Chairperson of the Swedish Academy, Ms. Inga Hjalmars-Fischer and Norwegian Prof. Kristoffer Gjatterud met Mr. Schopper (Head of CERN organization) in Geneve, in the hope that he will succeed in getting a confirmation in writing that Irina Brailovsky is no longer involved in secret material.
- Oct. 21 In a gathering in the Community building, the Youth Organization distributed information on Kholmiansky's condition and asked all interested citizens to call Soviet institutions in Sweden on the phone for further details on his situation.
- Oct. 23 The Swedish Jurists Committee decided in its meeting to send a lawyer to Moscow and Talin, in connection with the trials of Kholmiansky and Edelshtein.
- Oct. 24 600 people participated in a public event on behalf of Soviet Jewry, which was held in the main church of Göteborg - Hagakyrkan. Among the speakers were the Head Priest of the church, Mr. Bo Eek and an ex-MP Ms. Ingrid Segersted Wiberg.
- Oct. 26 Swedish MP Ann Cathrine Haglund, presented interpellation No. 1984/85:147 to the Swedish Foreign Minister on "Measures in connection with certain trial preparations in the Soviet Union", referring to A. Kholmiansky and Y. Edelshtein. This act was reported of in the press.

A few months ago, Ms. Ebba Grönroos of Södertälje, having been deeply moved by Ida Nudel's personal history, adopted her, and addressed in writing delegates of 35 countries represented in the "Conference on Confidence and Security Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe", seated in Stockholm. She also wrote to various newspapers.

SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK

Among others, she has received responses to her letters from delegates of the following countries : U.S.A., West Germany, Austria, Ireland and GB. All of them express their devotion to the Human Rights cause.

ARTICLES IN THE PRESS

- Oct. 3 An article on the oppression of Jews in the USSR in Ljusnan.
- Oct. 5 Göteborgs Posten published an article titled "The Tragedy of the Soviet Jews is not taken seriously in the West".
- Oct. 11 A long article in Göteborgs Posten titled : "Emergency Meeting Concerning the Jews in the Soviet Union - Their Lives are Unendurable". This article followed the International Council for the World Conference for Soviet Jews which convened in London in September.
- Oct. 11 A long article in the Swedish Christian paper Hemmets Vän titled "Anti-Zionism is Anti-Semitism", including a survey on the situation of Jews in the USSR.
- Oct. 19 An article in Gefle Dagbladet on Soviet Jewry.
- Oct. 24 Nerikes Allehanda published an article written by a Swedish MP following her visit to the USSR.
- Oct. 25 Details on Kholmiansky's case in an article in Expressen.
- October Bulletin No. 6 of the Swedish Committee contains an article on the "Plot against Hebrew teachers", with details on Kholmiansky and Edelshtein.

N O R W A Y

- Oct. 3 A Norwegian journalist, having returned from a trip to the USSR, gave a lecture on the plight of Soviet Jewry in an Open House meeting.
- Oct. 9 During a debate held in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on Human Rights, a member of the Norwegian Committee presented the problem of Soviet Jews.
- Oct. 20 In Oslo's main street, the Soviet Jewry Committee set up a stand with material on the plight of Soviet Jewry, with special stress on Zakhar Zunshain's fate. The material distributed contained postcards on Zunshain addressed to Chernenko, and brochures with details on : Shcharansky, Nudel, Paritsky, Begun and Kochubievsky.
- Oct. 20 On the occasion of the 75th anniversary celebrations of the JUF (Jewish Youth Federation) in Oslo, members of the Soviet Jewry Committee gave lectures on the plight of Jews in the USSR.

SWEDEN, NORWAY, DENMARK

ARTICLES IN THE PRESS

- Sept. 25 Arbeiderbladet published an article on "Cry of Distress from Jews", following the London meeting of the Presidium.
- Oct. 2 A news item in Morgenbladet on Kholmiansky and Levin, titled "The Jews in the Soviet Union".

D E N M A R K

- Oct. 16 Bjørn Elmquist, Danish MP, took the opportunity of a visit of a Soviet Delegation headed by Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Ivan Poliakov, to the Danish Folketing, and asked about : Nahum Meiman and his wife; Ida Nudel and Victor Brailovsky and their right to leave the Soviet Union. The delegation denied any knowledge of the four.
- Oct. 17 Details on the above in two newspapers - Jyllands Posten and Politiken.
- Oct. 17-24 Hundreds of phone-calls to Soviet institutions in Copenhagen on Kholmiansky's case.

FRANCE

F R A N C E

- Oct. 2 In accordance with the Chief Rabbi's request, the BJC supplied all Jewish communities in France with information sheets on Soviet Jewry and a poster for Simchat Torah.
- Oct. 3 The Committee on behalf of Prof. A. Lerner sent him a copy of the petition composed during the Vith International Congress on Cybernetics and Systemics held in Paris, Sept. 10-14, 1984. Among the signatories were very prominent cybernetists.
- Oct. 3 A press release on the sudden collapse and death of Zakhar Zunshain's mother, was sent to all the Committees on behalf of Soviet Jewry in Paris and in the provinces, with a request that letters be sent to his family. Le Monde published the above announcement.
- Oct. 9 A Round Table meeting of scientists, presided by Mr. Laurent Schwartz, on behalf of scientific colleagues in the USSR. A report on a recent visit to the USSR was given, followed by a debate on ways of aiding scientific refuseniks.
- Oct. 16 Mrs. Avital Shcharansky held a press-conference in Paris, after having applied for a visa to the USSR to visit her husband, Anatoly Shcharansky. In this press-conference, attended among others by Mrs. Marie-Claire Mendès-France and Françoise Fabius, Avital brought up the deteriorating condition of Jews in the USSR.
- Oct. 17 Press release on the arrest of Yacov Mesh in Odessa. It was sent to various Committees, with a demand that letters should be sent to the Soviet Authorities asking his release.
- Oct. 17, 22-23 A 'phone campaign' by several Jewish organizations to Soviet institutions in Paris, asking to get details on Aleksander Kholmiansky's case.
- Oct. 16 On the occasion of the 60th anniversary celebrations of the French-Soviet Friendship, a delegation of the Commission on Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly left for the USSR, after having been briefed by the Solidarity Committee with Soviet Jewry.
- Oct. 1984 Details on the situation of Aleksander Kholmiansky and the Hebrew teachers was sent to the Jewish press and to various Committees in France.
- Oct. 1984 Mr. François Jacob, Nobel Laureate of Medical Sciences and Chairman of the CODHOS (Committee of the Defence of Human Rights), sent telegrams on behalf of Aleksander Kholmiansky to the Soviet authorities in Moscow and Tallin.
- Oct. 25 During the First Congress of the French Society of Chemistry, the Yuri Tarnopolsky Committee initiated a petition on behalf of Tarnopolski. The petition was signed by prominent chemists and sent to the Chairman of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, to the Procurator in Kharkov and to the Director of the camp.

FRANCE

- Oct. 26 The Chairman of the Soviet Jewry Committee of the CRIF issued a statement on the deterioration of the situation of Jews in the USSR, culminating in the recent arrests, which were followed by many hunger strikes.
- Oct. 26 On the occasion of the 60th anniversary celebrations of the French-Soviet Friendship in the Soviet Embassy, the Solidarity Committee with Soviet Jewry sent a telegram to Mr. Laurent Fabius, Prime Minister and to Mrs. Lionel Jospin, Chairwoman of the Socialist Party, who took part in the celebrations. In the telegram there is a demand that Begun, Shcharansky, Kholmiansky & Tarnopolsky be released and granted the right to emigrate to Israel.
- Oct. 29 Prominent personalities, members of the Committee for the Defence of the Jewish culture in the USSR signed telegrams to : K. Chernenko, A. Rekunkov and Yuli Vorontsov (Soviet Ambassador to Paris), demanding the release of : A. Kholmiansky, Y. Edelshtein, Y. Levin, Y. Mesh and M. Niepomniashchy. A press-release was issued on this matter and on the hunger strikes of more than a hundred activists in the USSR protesting the recent arrests.
- Oct. 29 The Medical Committee for Soviet Jewry held a meeting to decide on steps to be taken on behalf of physician-refuseniks, such as : daily publishing of a physician-refusenik's case in "Le Quotidien de Médecin", followed by the sending of a cable to the Soviet authorities on this specific case.

ARTICLES IN THE PRESS

- October Information Juive published an article on the deteriorating situation of Soviet Jewry, pointing out the recent arrests and the spiritual revival of Jews in the USSR. The article calls for greater pressure of the West and all Jewish communities on the Soviet authorities, so that Jews who wish to emigrate will be allowed to do so.
- October An article in Droit de Vivre on the persecution of the Jewish culture in the USSR, following the arrests of Hebrew teachers in Leningrad, Moscow and Odessa.
- Oct. 4 The Catholic paper La Croix published an article on Yosif Begun who was punished in the camp, owing to his wish to commemorate the day of the Holocaust.
- Oct. 7-8 Le Monde published an article on Kiev to-day, on Babi-Yar and on Jewish life in general.
- Oct. 11 An article in Le Monde on the increase of anti-Semitism in the USSR.
- Oct. 12 The Monthly magazine of the BJC has become the source of information for articles in important newspapers. Thus, the Le Quotidien de Paris published a two-pages article on the similarity between Nazism and Soviet anti-Semitism based on material supplied by the BJC.

B E L G I U M

Prior to Yom Kippur, with the financing of the Sephardi Community of Brussels, the 35s organized the sending of parcels of food to families of Prisoners of Zion.

Radio Judaica broadcasts a weekly half-an-hour programme on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Oct. 21 A gathering of about 300 people on behalf of Soviet Jewry took place in La Regence synagogue in Brussels, on the occasion of Simchat-Torah. The gathering was organized by the 'Comité de Coordination des Organisations Juives de Belgique' (C.C.O.J.B.) (Coordination Committee of the Jewish Organizations of Belgium), the Consistoire and the Jewish Community in Brussels.

I T A L Y

October 17 - 24 As in various other European capitals, in Rome also - many concerned Jewish citizens launched a phone-attack on Soviet offices, protesting against the condition of Jews in the USSR.

Oct. 22 A lecture on the plight of Jews in the USSR was delivered during the conference WIZO held in Ancona.

Oct. 24 "Jabotinsky Youth" decided to send a daily cable to the Soviet Ambassador in Rome, until Kholmiansky's trial opens.

Oct. 27 In the Teachers' Conference in Desenzano, the subject of the situation of the Jewish minority in the USSR was brought up. Prof. Maria Pia Ruggero initiated a protest to be forwarded through the Soviet Embassy to the Soviet authorities.

Oct. 28 In the meeting of the Zionist Federation in Milan, a lecture was held on the situation of Jews in the USSR.

Oct. 30 A TV report on the hunger strike of more than a hundred Jewish activists in the USSR, in protest of the latest arrests.

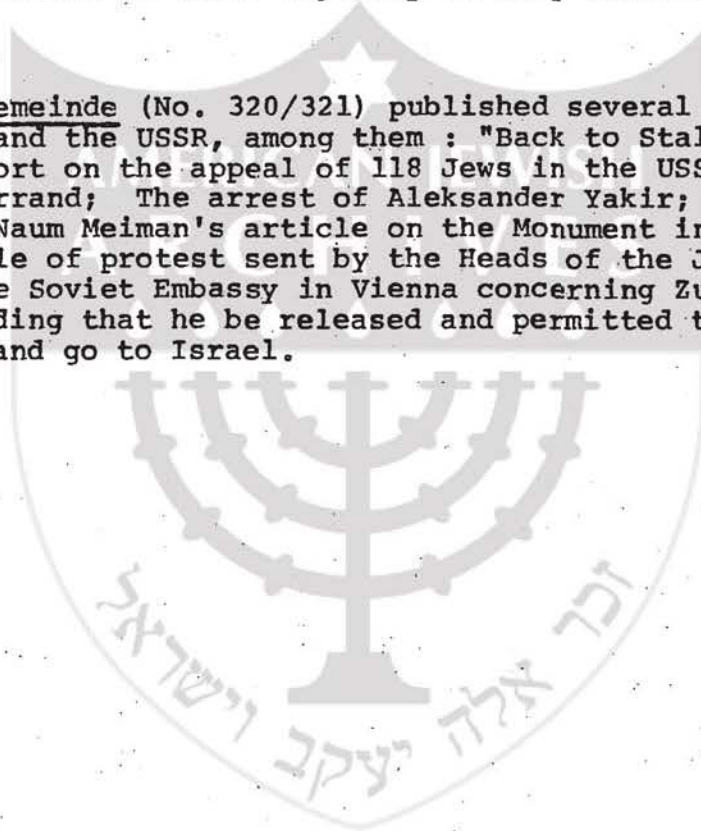
AUSTRIA

A U S T R I A

Rabbis in all synagogues in Vienna, in their New Year and Succoth sermons talked of the plight of Soviet Jews, and dedicated two rounds (Hakkaffot) on Simchat-Torah to Prisoners of Zion.

On the boards inside the synagogues, the International Committee for Soviet Jewry placed 'letters of solidarity' with the struggle of Soviet Jews, including a promise to do whatever in their capacity to help them leave the USSR.

Die Gemeinde (No. 320/321) published several articles on Jews and the USSR, among them : "Back to Stalinism"; A report on the appeal of 118 Jews in the USSR to President Mitterrand; The arrest of Aleksander Yakir; Extracts from Naum Meiman's article on the Monument in Babi-Yar; A cable of protest sent by the Heads of the Jewish Community to the Soviet Embassy in Vienna concerning Zunshain's arrest, demanding that he be released and permitted to leave the USSR and go to Israel.



MEXICO & LATIN AMERICA

M E X I C O & L A T I N A M E R I C A

The Committees on behalf of Soviet Jewry in Argentina, Venezuela, Costa-Rica and Columbia are organizing appelas to the Soviet Ambassadors in their respective countries with the request to meet them in order to form a Latin-American delegation that will visit the USSR.

Oct. 7 The Jewish Community in Mexico sent a cable of support to Zakhar Zunshain.

A cable from the Committee in Mexico was sent to the Procurator in Talin on behalf of A. Kholmiansky.

Oct. 8 An Emergency Meeting of Rabbis in the Community Building in Mexico City, to decide on steps to be taken in accordance with the London Presidium Resolutions. In addition to specific actions for Simchat-Torah, it was decided to hold twin Bar-Mitzvah ceremonies with refuseniks' children who have reached Bar-Mitzvah age and are deprived of the possibility to celebrate it according to the Jewish tradition.

On Simchat-Torah, the synagogues in various Latin American countries - Panama, Costa-Rica, Equador, Peru, Columbia & Venezuela, dedicated 2-3 rounds to Prisoners of Zion, especially the Hebrew teachers : A. Kholmiansky, Y. Levin, and Y. Edelshtein.

Oct. 26 "The Mexican Committee for the Protection of the Human Rights of the Jews in the USSR, having heard of the unjustified arrest of Hebrew Teachers in the USSR - A. Kholmiansky, Y. Levin, Y. Mesh, Y. Edelshtein and Yehudit Niepomniashchaya by the Soviet authorities, express their protest against the breach in the right to teach this language. At the same time they express their solidarity with the group of refuseniks who appealed to President Mitterrand, asking for his interference with the Soviet authorities in a demand to honour the Jews' right for repatriation". The above was cabled to the Soviet Ambassador in Mexico City, with a request that it should be brought to the attention of the President of the USSR. Among the signatories - totalling about 60 - there were former Ministers in the Mexican government, Supreme Court Judges, Universities' Professors, scientists, the Heads of the Jewish Community and Headmasters of Jewish schools. Guest of Honour at the meeting that decided to send this cable was Mr. Abe Harman from Israel.

Jewish school-children in Uruguay were given lectures by various activists on the plight of Soviet Jews, and were asked to send greetings to refuseniks.

MEXICO & LATIN AMERICA

- Oct. 27 Memos on the situation of Soviet Jews were distributed among participants in the meeting of the Central Jewish Committee of Uruguay, which is considered to be an event of high political importance of the Jewish Community of Uruguay.
- Oct. 28 The Jewish Committee in Montevideo supplied SFIDU (The Federation of the Jewish Women Organizations) and B'nai B'rith with personal data on refuseniks, to encourage their personal treatment.



ISRAEL

I S R A E L

- September 1600 Israeli citizens signed a petition pleading for the release of Aleksander Yakir.
- Oct. 17 The Israeli Public Council set up a stand to enable people protest against the arrest of Aleksander Kholmiansky. This stand was integrated in the vigil organized by the organization of ex-Prisoners of Zion outside the Finnish Embassy in Tel-Aviv.
- Oct. 23 In the TV program "Mabat Sheni" (Second Look), dedicated to the plight of Soviet Jews, the General Secretary of the Israeli Public Council was interviewed.
- Oct. 24 The Knesset held a special session on the plight of Soviet Jews, with the participation of many activists.
- Oct. 25 The Presidency of the Israeli Public Council met in Tel-Aviv to plan actions to be taken during the Solidarity Week (in Chanukkah).
- Oct. 27 Members of Kibbutz Rosh Tsurim in Gush-Etsion, having adopted Aleksander Kholmiansky, held protest rallies and hunger strikes in the room they allotted him. As from this date, the Israeli Public Council launched a campaign which will include as many Kibbutsim as possible wishing to adopt Prisoners of Zion and refuseniks.
- Oct. 30 The General Secretary of the Israeli Public Council briefed a group of youth from Kfar Silver Youth Village, who are involved in a project dedicated to Soviet Jews.
- Oct. 31 A group of teachers departing for the Teachers' Conference abroad, was briefed by the General Secretary of the Israeli Public Council and supplied with up-dated material on Jewish activists in the USSR.

"SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN THE USSR
ACCORDING TO THE SOVIET PRESS AND RADIO"
NOVEMBER 1984

During November 1984 there was an increasing tendency to prove that the Jews live well in the USSR.

The article "Opinion of American Tourists" ("Sovetskaya Moldaviya," 20 November 1984) is indicative. In it an American Jewish student tells how he visited the synagogue in Kishinev and was told there that there is no oppression. The correspondent who spoke with him declared that "the so-called 'Jewish question' does not exist in our country and never did. The Jews are about 0.7 per cent of the population in the Soviet state. Yet among specialists with higher education they are 4.1 per cent. The number of Jewish students in the USSR is significantly larger than in Israel, even though the total number of Jews in the USSR is about half." This article was reprinted in "Argumenty i Fakty" (No. 48, 27 November 1984), which indicates how important it is considered to be.

The same trend is indicated by the publication of an article on Sholom Aleichem with his portrait and a translation of his story "If I Were Rothschild" with illustrations in the journal "Sputnik" (No. 11, 1984), which is published in five languages.

Among the writers who were awarded Orders of the USSR, more than 6 per cent were Jews, according to the article "Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet" ("Literaturnaya Gazeta," No. 47, 21 November 1984).

It is indicative that among these, Vergelis received the Order of the October Revolution and Solodovnikov received the Order of the Friendship of Peoples.

Articles about Jews in a positive light (or which mention such Jews) were about five times more numerous than articles about Jews in a negative light (or which mention such Jews).

We should also note that the number of articles about the crimes of the Nazis which mentioned Jews increased somewhat.

The article "Vanessa Redgrave and the Bosses from Boston" ("Sovetskaya Kultura," No. 137, 15 November 1984), under the heading "Mechanism of Spiritual Violence," asserts that the "Jewish Defense

League" persecutes the famous actress.

Three other articles will be examined in the supplement to this review.

Birobidzhan

The tendency to show how good things are for Jews in the USSR is still more sharply evident from the articles on Birobidzhan.

The article "In the Brotherly Family of Equal Peoples" ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 13 November 1984) is a review of the film "In the Family of Equals," which "exposes the fabrications of Western propaganda about the so-called 'Jewish question' in the USSR."

From the review we learn that in the film an idea not so usual for Soviet propaganda is expressed. One of the heroes of the film says: "Well, if the Zionists assert that /discrimination against Jews exists in the USSR-S.T./, then there is nothing that can be said to them on this topic. But it could be that the simple people abroad, in Israel, in Europe, or across the ocean say the same thing." We note that till now it was the imperialists who "dance to the Zionists' tune," and not the "simple people."

We also learn that D. Dragunskii met twice with authors of the film at one of the meetings of AKSO. The film tells about the activity of AKSO, and the author of the review sees this as the main significance of the film.

The English language "Soviet Weekly" (10 November 1984) printed an item about a play dealing with the Second World War which was performed by the Birobidzhan Peoples' Theater in Yiddish.

Of particular interest is the article by the Editor-in-Chief of the "Birobidzhaner Shtern," L. Shkolnik, "Escape from the Ghetto" ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 27 October 1984). To be more precise, Shkolnik's article is not as interesting as the fact that Boris Kravtsov's book has been published, which is what the article discusses under the heading "Zionism without Masks." Kravtsov is known as a writer who exposes the intrigues of Zionism. His book was published by "Lenizdat" Publishing House and has the same title as the article, "Escape from the Ghetto."

The book discusses a manuscript of a former Soviet Jew, Shpollanskii,

who returned to the Soviet Union as a tourist and left a manuscript in OVIR in which he tells about his life in Israel and the USA.

We want to emphasize that giving a manuscript to OVIR is a still more outstanding phenomenon than the fact of a former Soviet citizen coming to the USSR as a tourist.

Also, we note that the author of the Epilogue in Kravtsov's book was Professor and Doctor of Philosophical Sciences A. A. Novikov, a Jew.

The Moscow publishing house "Detskaya Literatura" published the collection "First Earnings" by the Jewish writer Tevye Geins in an edition of 100,000 ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 4 November 1984). This same publishing house put out a literary reference book in which Jewish writers were widely represented ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 11 November 1984).

Works by the poet Maks Riant were translated into Russian and Uzbek, and the Jewish folk tale "The Boy Bebele" was included in the collection "Folk Tales of the Peoples of the USSR" which was published by the Minsk publishing house "Yunnatstvo" ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 4 November 1984).

The "Sovetskii Pisatel'" Publishing House published a new novel in Yiddish, "Forward" by Yekhiel Shralbman ("Birobidzhaner Shtern," 11 November 1984).

As we see, a lot was done to prove that there is no "Jewish question" in the USSR.

A review of the book "The Secret War against Détente" by B. Bannov was published in "Birobidzhaner Shtern" (13 November 1984), under the title "Tourism with Luggage Having a False Bottom." The article was supplied by the "Novosti" News Agency.

On 2 November 1984 Moscow radio broadcast to France and Belgium a discussion in which it was stated that Yiddish may be studied freely in the USSR. (SWB, 10 November 1984.)

12 December 1984

S. Tartakovskaya

SUPPLEMENT TO "SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN THE USSR," NOVEMBER 1984

The Journal "SShA: Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologika" (No. 11 1984) had another excerpt from the book "America In Search of Itself. The Making of a President, 1956-1980" by Theodore White.

The 9th Issue of this Journal published the first excerpt, which discussed the situation of women in the US. In this connection it was reported that "neither in Israel, nor in England, nor in any other country of the West can the women be compared with those of America... Women rabbis have begun to appear as preachers." (P. 91.)

The 10th Issue of the journal published another excerpt which examined the Issue of Immigration. We cite the following: "The last wave brought settlers from Southern and Eastern Europe - Poles, Yugoslavs, Italians, and Jews." (P. 95.)

"Spanish has become the second language of mid-Manhattan much more than Yiddish or Italian were previously." (P. 96.)

"...No one can predict how this city /Los Angeles-S.T./ will look in the future, this city where Indians and blacks, Mexicans and Philipinos, Vietnamese and Israelis have found shelter." (P. 96.)

"Recently passed legislation grants them /Spanish-speakers-S.T./ special rights... They may be Sephardic Jews, whose names often end in 'es' (for example, Lopes) or in a vowel (Kardozo), but in any case laws which are not applicable to Jews of European origin, whose names end in 'sky' or 'ovits,' will apply to them." "If they want to teach their children their native language or to acquaint them with their national heritage, they may do this at the expense of their community, like, let us say, Germans or Jews who maintain their own private schools and evening classes. Japanese and Chinese who live in the USA have recently begun to engage in this noble enterprise..." (P. 98.)

From the last quotation it is clear that "to teach their children their native language or to acquaint them with their national heritage... like... Jews" do, is a "noble enterprise."

On the pages of the Soviet press such assertions sound dissonant.

Finally, the 11th Issue of "SShA," that is, the one for November 1984, has a third excerpt from Theodore White's book, in which the question of ethnic groups is investigated. From this we cite the following:

"In the American Political lexicon when speaking of ethnic groups, four are usually meant: Slavs who came from the Eastern European countries; Jews who came from different corners of the world; Italians; and Irish."
"...Usually people... try to remove a black stain from their family tree - like a great-grandmother from an Indian tribe,... a grandfather who was a rabbi in Pinsk." (P. 91.)

"As the next ethnic group we should mention persons of Jewish origin, like myself. Numerically this is a group which is growing smaller in the US. Once it numbered more than six million persons, but now it is less on account of a low birthrate and frequent mixed marriages. This group probably reached the peak of its political influence in 1980: of 100 senators not less than 8 were of Jewish origin. In 1980 two of them were not reelected and one left his post on his own. But the influence of this group is as strong as before since it participates in elections ardently, especially in primary elections, and comes to the polling booths more actively than any other group of electors. Its influence is also great in the cultural life of the country - in universities, on television, in the press, theater, and science. As before they most often vote for the Democrats, but not so monolithically as before. If Israel were to be threatened with destruction, they would unite into a compact mass, but on other questions their opinion is less predictable than, let us say, the point of view of the Irish."

"It would be unjust, when talking about Italian Americans, to list only the names of the political leaders they have given, as we did when we spoke above about the Irish and the Jews in the 1940s."

* * *

The journal "Novoe Vremia" (No. 46, 9 November 1984) published an article called "Career of a Preacher," devoted to Raymond Aron, and in particular to his last book, "Memoirs. Fifty Years of Political Reflections," about which it is said that it became "a kind of encyclopedia of anti-Communist ideas and views."

After such an assertion it is not difficult to imagine the kind of criticism to which Aron and his book are subjected. In particular, the section called "Playing Up to the Fascists" asserts that Aron played up to them in "a masterfully disguised" fashion.

"Thus, In Aron's recollections about the 1920s and 1930s he makes several intriguing statements about his 'leftism': 'An Intellectual of Jewish origin, a man of good will, who chose a career as a writer, an alien to his relatives, who remained in the textile trade or in the sphere of finance, I could not but feel myself a leftist... I was born a leftist... I will remain one..'"

The last section of this article, as is clear from its heading, "On the Payroll of the CIA," asserts that Aron was in the pay of the CIA.

The article has with it the following collage: a sculptured head in a laurel wreath with Aron's face appearing in place of the original and a photograph of a sculpture of Voltaire by Antokolsky.

In addition, R. Aron was mentioned in the article "...And It Keeps on Turning" ("Sovetskaya Litva," 6 November 1984), devoted to the subversive activity of the CIA and the whole West against the USSR.

* * *

The journal "Sovetskaya Etnografiya" (No. 4, 1984) published an article entitled "Anthropological Studies on the Island of Sokotra," about the work of a Soviet-Yemen joint scientific expedition. The article brings comparative tables and diagrams, in which there is data about the Bukharan Jews, the Jews of Central Asia, and Jews as such.

The article is intended exclusively for specialists, but as far as we can make out, it deals with similarities between the Sokotrans and other peoples, including the Jews.

12 December 1984

S. Tartakovskaya

*AD853 (10/26/84)

(The USIS has full rights to the following:)

THE QUIET POGROM IN THE SOVIET UNION (1,530)

By William Korey

Mr. Korey is director of International Policy Research of B'Nai B'rith International, a Jewish anti-defamation organization.

It was in 1787 that the imaginative Potemkin, the principal adviser of Catherine the Great, erected entire villages in southern Russia and the Crimea made up of but one street, and filled them with people shouting tumultuous greetings to a caravan headed by the Tsarina and her guest, Emperor Joseph II of Austria. The purpose was to impress the Hapsburg visitor so that he might more easily succumb to the diplomatic importunings of Catherine.

Two centuries later, Russia's rulers, to still a deepening concern in the West about the Jewish condition in the USSR, are busily throwing up "Potemkin villages" of a supposedly thriving Jewish culture. The "villages" are especially appropriate for the year 1984, which cannot fail to remind one of a novel of the same name in which the totalitarian Ministry of Truth of George Orwell inverted language to turn things into their opposite. But just as Joseph II was not deceived in 1787 so too no sophisticated observer today will fall for the new "Potemkin villages." The reality of "a quiet pogrom" cannot be covered up or distorted.

Since the beginning of this year, Tass and Soviet broadcasts abroad have saturated Kremlin hand-outs and radio frequencies with a glowing picture of a flourishing Jewish culture, especially in Birobidzhan. A new Yiddish-language primer, the so-called Jewish Chamber Musical Theatre and orative events, built around the birthday of Sholem Aleichem, constitute the major props in the Kremlin-mounted "Potemkin" production.

To assist in reinforcing the illusion, specially-selected Jewish personages, clearly approved by the Kremlin, have been sent abroad, especially to the United States, to applaud the presumed new Jewish vitality. Thus an Aron Vergelis, editor of the Sovietish Heimland, will wax enthusiastic about "Yiddishkeit" in the USSR while Adolf Shayevich, Chief Rabbi of Moscow, attributes the attendance of 3,000 in the Choral Synagogue and 5,000 outside the Synagogue over Passover as the result of a new Jewish desire "to identify with one's roots."

Reality, of course, is quite otherwise. The primer, for example, was produced in an edition of 5,000 copies and largely restricted to Birobidzhan. The Jewish population of this highly trumpeted "Jewish Autonomous Region" numbers a mere 10,000 persons, only 5.4 percent of the region's population and less than one-half of one percent of the Soviet Jewish population. Even as the official title of the region is an anomaly so is the title of the 272-page primer -- "A New Yiddish Primer." The concept of Jews as a Soviet nationality is absent from the book. Neither Is-

rael nor the Diaspora are even indirectly mentioned. No reference is made to Jewish history, ancient or modern.

Equally anomalous, although in a somewhat different way, is the situation confronting the Jewish Chamber Musical Theatre, directed by the talented Yuri Sherling. Again, it is required to be based in Birobidzhan, with its tiny Jewish population, rather than in the large Western cities of Russia with sizable Jewish communities. When the chamber group finally was permitted to give performances of "Fiddler on the Roof" in Moscow, it was restricted to a mere three performances in a tiny theatre on the outskirts of the city. Leningrad, Kiev, Odessa and other major Western cities were off limits to the troupe; instead, they were to give performances in Georgia and Central Asia where Jews do not understand Yiddish.

Pulverization of Jewish institutional life and obliteration of Jewish consciousness remain the aim of Kremlin ideologues. There are no Jewish schools in all of the USSR. Only in distant Birobidzhan was there recently permitted the introduction of the Yiddish-language in three classes. For the over two million Soviet Jews, only two press organs exist: the Birobidzhaner Shtern, a Yiddish newspaper of four pages which appears five times a week in an edition of 1,000 copies; and the monthly literary journal, Sovietish Heiland, published in 7,000 copies of which, it is estimated, half are sent abroad.

Strikingly, not a single Jewish press organ is allowed in the Russian language, which is spoken by 97 percent of Soviet Jews.

And the number of Russian translations of Yiddish books has radically declined from an annual average of 25 volumes in 1959-1970 to 14 volumes in 1971-75 and to nine in 1976-78. (The drop is paralleled in the translation of Jewish belle lettres in Soviet Russian journals.)

Since less than 15 percent of Soviet Jews speak Yiddish -- and this figure is declining -- the Russian-language as a medium of Jewish culture would have been appropriate, but is clearly avoided by the authorities.

Even more tormenting is the plight of those seeking to study Hebrew, a language which numerous Soviet Jews seek to study. If the language is officially recognized by the Soviet authorities and is taught in specialized institutes in three higher educational institutions (as well as in theological seminaries of the Russian Orthodox church), it is treated as taboo when Soviet Jews formally request Hebrew-language classes.

Faced by the official rejections, many Soviet Jews in major cities have organized self-study groups. The authorities, especially in recent years, have stepped up a vindictive campaign against these groups. Harassment and intimidation of private Hebrew classes are often accompanied by police raids, arrests and confiscation of language textbooks and Russian-Hebrew dictionaries. Teachers of Hebrew have been threatened with arrests on charges of "parasitism" and the organizer of the self-group study system, Yosef Begun, has been subjected to a long and harsh punishment. Over the last couple of months, the campaign against

Jewish culture has seriously worsened with the arrest of a half-dozen of the most prominent cultural activists by the KGB.

Soviet media, at times, depicts Hebrew as linked to the "racist" philosophy of Zionism or the archaic religion of Judaism and, therefore, virtually "subversive." Disabilities facing Judaism are indeed burdensome. The only Yeshiva, a religious school, in the USSR has not ordained a single rabbi. Of the country's half-dozen rabbis, three were trained and ordained in Budapest. (It is notably ironic that Hungary with only 70,000 Jews can offer seminary instruction while the USSR with thirty times that number can provide nothing remotely similar.) Only 55 synagogues are known to exist in a country which as late as 1926 officially contained over one thousand synagogues.

The thrust against Jewish consciousness has taken on a special dimension this year through a determined effort to cut the links between Jews in the West and Soviet Jews. Mail, for example, does not reach its destination, a fact extensively documented by U.S.-Congressman Benjamin Gilman.

Warnings are aired in the Soviet media against having contacts with Western "Zionists." Jewish visitors from the West, to an increasing degree, have been plagued by police harassment, especially in Leningrad.

What aggravates the plight of Jews, even as the "quiet pogrom" proceeds, is the virulent anti-Semitism in the media, masquerading as anti-Zionism. The new tone was set early this year by a special article in Pravda (January 17), written by Vladimir Bolshakov

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equating Zionism with Nazism. Repetition of this theme with its obscene and provocative overtones has evoked deep concern in the Jewish community. The climax was reached with the recent official publication of a 112-page book, The Poison of Zionism, which blames Jews for the breakdown of detente as well as for every conceivable evil from militarism to crime.

A similar vicious assault upon Jewry and Jewish tradition is to be found in a new Novosti publication, available in Soviet hotels, entitled Enemy of Peace and Progress by Georgi Fyodorov.

Anti-Semitism in the USSR has its direct impact upon enrollment in higher education. Between 1968-69 and 1976-77, the number of Jews admitted into higher education in all Soviet universities has dropped from 111,900 to 66,900 -- a 40 percent decline. While no more such figures have been published, it is clear that the anti-Jewish trend continues. A volume on the city of Moscow, published in 1982 shows that the number of Jews enrolled in Moscow's higher educational institutions was cut in half during the preceding decade. As universities are the means for upward mobility, young Soviet Jews are keenly aware that their future is indeed bleak.

At the same time, Jewish emigration levels from the USSR have reached the traumatic point. Less than one hundred a month have been allowed to leave during this year as compared to some 4,500 a month in 1979. The annual rate is lower today than at any time in the last twenty years.

It is such emigration figures, together with the deepening plight of Soviet Jewry in cultural, religious, and civil terms

that has prompted a host of new appeals to world leaders and organizations. These appeals, signed by hundreds of Jewish activists in major Soviet cities, cry out for emigration in order to be reunited with their kin in Israel.



TRANSLATED from RussianOn the Program "Mercenaries and Collaborators"
Shown on Leningrad Television on November 12, 1984

The video-film "Mercenaries and Collaborators" was advertised in the "Television and Radio Programs", No. 45, of November 11, 1984. It was shown the next day and the following is the text of the narrator's commentary on the film. It was read by the narrator in a dramatic manner and it was accompanied by Jewish tunes, sounds of shooting, "detective story" motifs, etc.

"Zionism and Israel should play the part of a splinter in the body of the Communist movement, around which an infection will gradually develop" (From the newspaper "Ha'aretz", Tel-Aviv, Israel).

On the night of 6 April 1984, the police detained on the outskirts of the city (of Moscow - Tr.) two men suspected of having engaged in speculative dealings. The two were US citizens, Bernard Livani* and Steven Shore. Following the establishment of their identities, they were asked to explain why they were sneaking around town so late at night and what they were doing before that. The reply was an interesting one. "We did not intend to do anything that contradicted the laws of the Soviet state. We merely wanted to meet some people whose addresses we received beforehand. We wrote these addresses down while visiting a New-York synagogue, having copied them from some lists we found on the wall there. When we travel, instead of sightseeing we meet people whose names are well known in America. They are Jews. We are Jews too, and we like to meet our co-religionists."

It seemed, at first glance, that the foreigners' explanations were quite innocent. However, it so happens that these emissaries of the American Zionist centres, Livani and Shore were deliberately seeking to meet only those people whose pro-Zionist views have made them famous abroad.

...2

* Levine (?)

Why were the foreigners only interested in such people? "Aliya" - (this word means "exodus" in translation from Hebrew) - is a term which was previously known only to specialists in Semitology, but today it is actively being used by international Zionism. Aliya is not just a movement for resettling all the Jews in the world in Israel; it is, first and foremost, a wide-scale campaign for befuddling and deceiving Jews, a campaign which imperialism has been conducting in the framework of its global psychological war against the Communist system.

"Jews, come to Israel!" - goes the chant of Zionist propaganda, - "The Promised Land of your forefathers is waiting for you!" The American administration also does not hide the fact that a strong Israel would correspond with the US' own interests. Urging Tel-Aviv on to new military conquests, Washington is turning Israel into its obedient gendarme in the Middle East. After all, the crimes of the Zionists serve first of all, to broaden and strengthen American interests in the region.

Two years ago the 30th World Zionist Congress was held in Jerusalem. The following declaration was made there: "The main task of the World Zionist movement in regards to aliya is to increase the Israeli population to 6 million people." What is the meaning of these global policy lines? Having conquered territories, the Zionist state has started turning them into settlements in which the indigenous population is being replaced by Jewish emigrants arriving from other countries. The local population has been killed or expelled from the country, while the newly arrived emigrants settle in militarized villages set up for the purpose of serving as outposts for defending these lands from their rightful owners.

Israel needs new human resources and additional working hands for yet another purpose: for saving the chronically ill economy of the Zionist state and for developing its industry, oriented primarily towards arms production: the rate of Israeli inflation has reached a world record, but the state spends more than 50% of its budget on military needs. Frenzied militarization, hardly oriented to defence. The task of the military is to wage wars

against Arab states. For conquering new territories and for genocide against their population, Israel also needs people, soldiers, cannon fodder. World aliyah has to provide these too.

What heights of vandalism and inhumanity must have been reached by Zionism if today its acts are equated with the crimes of the fascist barbarians. Racism, police truncheons, acts of police reprisals and humiliation - these are the realities of every-day life in Israel. An attempt is being made to turn people who come from more than 100 different countries and who speak 82 different languages, people separated by different kinds of morals and alienated by class differences, into a single nation. The country ruled by the Zionists is being torn apart by crisis.

More and more people in Israel itself are speaking out against the dirty policies of their government. One of the professors at Tel Aviv University stated recently in his appeal to the public: "Israel's crazy war is more barbarian than all its previous wars. We shall do everything to prevent the Begin and the Sharons from achieving their goal: to liquidate the Palestinians as a nation and the Israelis as beings that still have human characteristics."

Yes, humaneness and humanism are alien to Zionism. And this is why every year up to 37 thousand people leave Israel by not coming back from business trips and tourist visits, as well as by failing to come back after completing their studies. And this is probably the reason why thousands of young citizens of this country refuse to serve in its army of occupation, why they desert, preferring the harsh sentence of a military tribunal to the fate of becoming murderers at the orders given by Zionists.

Members of the very large Jewish community of the US are in no hurry to move to modern-day Israel. Monopolistic Jewish capital in America can dictate to the US government any conditions in order to support Israeli interests. Israel is enforcing a new order in the Middle East, an order which the US finds suitable. American Zionists readily supply the land of their forefathers with financial as well as military, political and moral support. A mess of pottage made up of dollars keeps arriving from beyond the ocean. But the people, the workers, the martyrs being used for

the reclamation of empty deserts and as soldiers in the army are not to be supplied by America, according to the Zionists' plan. They are to come from among the Jews coming from East European countries, from the socialist countries and, first of all, from the Soviet Union. The Zionists try to lure Jews to the Promised Land by lies, deception and playing on their religious feelings, while trying to conceal the racist, colonialist and increasingly fascist character of the State of Israel. Zionist propaganda is directed primarily against our country. Thousands of organizations, centres, conferences and committees are conducting a pro-Zionist "working on" Western public opinion and are spreading slander against our people and our government.

The "Voice of Israel" radio station has been broadcasting programs almost around the clock in which information on the living conditions of persons of Jewish nationality who live in socialist countries is distorted and in which all sorts of cock-and-bull stories are told about Jews being persecuted in the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the happy and carefree life in the State of Israel is publicized in thousands of copies of magazines, brochures and leaflets printed in Russian and brought across our borders by numerous emissaries of the Zionist organizations, people like Livini and Shore, who pose as simple tourists.

They talk hypocritically about the need for human contacts, while bringing in Zionist literature in special pockets sewn into their coats or skirts, or in special belts worn under their clothes.

Two Frenchmen, Benshimon and Lerner, were emissaries of the Zionist organization "The Committee of 35" which functions in France. They were detained already at the border and later expelled from the country in disgrace. During the investigation at Leningrad Airport these young Zionists were not very confident as they tried to prove the harmlessness of the printed material they had brought as souvenirs. They certainly could not give a good explanation for having tried to hide this material under their clothing and in a double-bottomed suitcase. It would not have been easy to justify such an obvious attempt to smuggle such material into our country

Agents of international Zionism, provocateurs, liars and hypocrites impudently trying to "work" on our soil in order to "repay" the tourist trips financed by Zionist centres. You can see how many of them have been unmasked in Leningrad only during the few months this year. All of them, when caught red-handed, started talking about peace and friendship, and the importance of human contacts. They said, more or less, the following: "What has really happened? So, on the street we met some people we did not know and we went and visited them, and we had some tea there, and gave them a couple of lectures on Israel? And then we asked them some questions about their life and gave them some presents: some cigarettes to one of them and a tape-recorder to another. We took some papers from them to be taken overseas. And it is none of our business that these papers contain slander and abuse directed against the Soviet Union. We did not understand very well what was written in them anyway."

It really sounds rather harmless, does it not? No, it was not harmless at all. We evaluate these actions as directly stimulating aliya and instigating emigration among persons of Jewish nationality. It also encourages the anti-social provocative activities of those Zionist yes-men in our society on whom the West has openly called to slander and defame our country.

Colourful but untruthful booklets about modern-day Israel conceal quite a lot. They conceal, for example, the truth about the humiliations suffered by people who believed the stories told by Zionists and who are now staying in transit camps in Europe guarded by police machine guns.

These books also keep silent about the people who attempt to escape from Israel after having to make ends meet without work or income, about their selling their last belongings at the infamous Porta-Portese fleamarket in Rome and about the curses aimed at the Zionist slanderers and hawkers by those whom they keep sending into battle.

Israeli propaganda keeps telling lies in a shameless and

impudent manner. Many people who believed its stories about the life of bliss kept coming to the Promised Land. There are fewer and fewer such gullible people today. This is well known in Western propaganda centres, where they are well aware of the unfoundedness and absurdity of the theory calling for the settlement in Israel of all the Jewish population of the world. After all, even now the number of people leaving Israel is significantly larger than the number of those arriving in that country. However, propaganda for aliyah is not getting weaker because there is yet another crafty reason for its existence: those Soviet Jews who are denied on lawful grounds the right to leave for Israel are turned into heroes of the aliyah, martyrs allegedly persecuted in the Soviet Union. And such persons become some sort of "internal" emigrants who exert a corrupting influence on those surrounding them.

You will now see fragments of a foreign pre-Zionist film. It reveals quite clearly both the persons whose support the Zionists are trying to enlist in our society and the impudent manner in which the foreign emissaries act.

Here, for example, a resident of Leningrad, Lev Shapiro, a man who has been presented abroad as one such martyr for a long time, is granting an interview. You will see him now. "My name is Lev Shapiro. These are my wife and two children. We have been dreaming of the possibility to emigrate for a long time. Jews cannot live in the Soviet Union. We have been receiving refusals to our requests to go to Israel for a long time and we don't know when we will be given an exit visa."

Lev Shapiro did not say that because of the nature of his work he was familiar with information which would never have allowed him to leave freely any Western country. Yet Shapiro keeps demanding to be allowed to leave, expanding on this before the emissaries and helping our enemies to "work on" Western public opinion, turning it against the Soviet Union.

Look at the readiness with which people of the Shapiro type pose before the cameras of the Zionist emissaries, while realising very well who they are talking to and in what way these materials

will be used. Despite all that, they are proud of their actions, which contradict civic responsibility. They are testing our patience and are deliberately challenging the society which has given them everything they need.

One of them is Yosif Radomyslsky, aged 28. He graduated from a Leningrad university as an engineer, works as a night watchman, does not hide his Zionist views. He readily entertains at his apartment foreign guests who systematically come to visit him, as if he really has nothing to hide: "Thank you very much, gentlemen, for your help, your friendship and your gifts. I'm always at your service."

The same can be said about Grigory Vasserman and about several other accomplices of international Zionism who are ready at any suitable moment to bow before their foreign masters. Having lost all shame and conscience, they sell themselves and betray us. Such people are, in a way, the ready reserve of the forces of reaction. They are the first to be visited by foreign messengers. Their collaboration with forces hostile towards our state is not stimulated by moral support only. We will show you the way this is done by using materials from the above-mentioned film. Let us follow the activities of one of the emissaries of a foreign Zionist organization. The following are the comments used in the film itself:

"This woman's name is Lynn. She is a member of one of the numerous Zionist organizations, "The Committee of 15", which has made it a rule to send an emissary to the Soviet Union at least once a month. Lynn is going to Moscow. She knows that her mission will be considered subversive there and she is therefore acting stealthily. The scenario followed by her has been used many times by other emissaries. At first she has to "melt in" among the other tourists of her group, act in an innocent manner and take part in the sightseeing. Then, after finding an appropriate excuse, she will go out sightseeing on her own and when she is all alone, she will visit the people whose addresses she received in advance. She had to learn by heart both the addresses and the messages to be passed on to the people there. She was not supposed to do anything that might

arouse the suspicion of people around her. The man visited by Lynn has been denied a permit to leave the Soviet Union for reasons of state and therefore the Committee of 15 is helping him. Lynn brought him some rare medicine and asked him what else he might need. The man demonstrates how he listens to the "Voice of Israel", the BBC and Radio Liberty, which constitute his main source of information.

"For the members of another family Lynn's visit became for a short while the embodiment of their dream about the West. The expensive gifts brought by her are a sort of compensation for the fact that the emissaries of the Committee of 15 do not come here often. After all, jeans and shirts and catalogues of fashionable clothing are quite expensive. The hosts are very grateful for Lynn's assistance."

Yes, the luggage of the Zionist emissaries demonstrates graphically in what form the West pays its Zionist yes-men. Not only innocent souvenirs and mementos such as cigarettes, wines, sweets or ball-point pens, are given to them. The emissaries' bags are full of fashionable clothes. There are also some taperecorders, computer products, sets of expensive photographic equipment. You want to use it - use it. You want to sell it - sell it. The West will send some more of it if you keep on shouting promptly about your unbearable life, about the repressions and the allegedly-existing anti-Semitism. Collaboration with Zionists is paid for by hard cash, imported rags and propaganda publications. The people whose faces you saw before also readily accept such assistance. Therefore, sometimes engineers or reputable scientists become, let us say, bath attendants or watchmen because they feel confident that they and their families will be able to enjoy a quite secure existence financed by payments received from the Zionists for their services. Just like it is done, for example, by this citizen, Aba Yakovlevich Taratuta, a former astronomer and now a bath attendant. The name of this man has been known in the West for quite a while and he is one of those who have been receiving foreign-made gifts regularly both for himself and the members of his family.

Subversion, deception and noisy propaganda have been favourite methods of activity not only among the Zionists. The same methods have been used for similarly anti-Soviet purposes by reactionary groupings of Russian emigrés of the notorious NTS*type, by Ukrainian nationalists and by the CIA espionage centre - Radio Liberty. They all work for one purpose - to fight Communism by all available means.

"This is Radio Liberty. Here are the headlines..."

The inveterate Zionist, Eduard Kuznetsov, has long been entrenched at Radio Liberty. His respectable appearance is deceptive. Only a few years ago he cold-bloodedly planned a murder, working on a terrorist plan to hijack an airplane in a Leningrad airport, murder the pilots and escape abroad. He intended to take part in its realization. Everything you see here now: truncheons, gags, an axe and brass-knuckles, all these are the tools of crime which were prepared by Kuznetsov and his accomplices. That act of violence was prevented from taking place and its initiators and participants received their due. Having served his term Kuznetsov moved to Munich after a while. His criminal past served as the best reference for him among the staff members of Radio Liberty. Today this traitor and murderer is one of those who are trying to teach Soviet Jews how they should live. And it is from people like Kuznetsov that foreign emissaries keep coming here bringing instructions similar to the one you will now see on the screen:

"The most important thing is to make a lot of noise and to make it as loudly as possible. Don't wait for the details and the reasons for which someone was denied an exit visa. Keep saying everywhere and report to us as soon as possible that the refusal (to grant the exit visa) is illegal and inhuman and that the applicant is gravely ill and lives in penury. In the West your silence might be considered a lack of desire to act."

This is so frankly stated that any comments would be superfluous.

Psychological warfare precedes war of physical destruction, the war towards which imperialism has been pushing the whole world.

...10

"Narodno-Trudovoi Soyuz" - A Russian emigré organization based in Munich - Tr.

But it is impossible to vanquish the wish for peace among the nations. The number of fighters for peace is growing everywhere. And the nations are raising their voices in protest against war and rearmament. Anti-war meetings and demonstrations, peace marches and encampments of supporters of peace set up near army bases have become an integral part of political life in Western Europe. The peace movement is a force with which imperialism must reckon. What human right is more natural than the right of living in peace and working for the benefit of the people?

In the last week of October hundreds of thousands of Leningrad residents came out into the streets and embankments, the roads and the squares of the city to declare their firm "No" to the arms race launched by the present US administration and to the militaristic aspirations of the reactionary forces in the West, and to express their protest against the increasing threat of nuclear war.

Yes, we know much too well what war means. And we cannot allow it to happen again, so that the people have to go through what our nation has already gone through once before. And therefore, in these difficult times, when imperialism is engaged in ideological subversions accompanied by threats of war, while trying to change the course of history, let us redouble our vigilance in regards to those who help them in this.

* * *

Some group photographs were shown in the course of the film. In addition to the persons named in the text, someone recognised the faces of Roald Zelichenok and Evgeny Lein. A picture of Yakov Gorodetsky was shown in a close-up.

National Executive Council Meeting

SHABBAT SERVICE & DISCUSSION
Saturday, November 3, 1984, 10:00 AM

Service conducted by Rabbi A. James Rudin, Director
Interreligious Affairs Department

Sermon Sister Ann Gillen, Executive Director
National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Participants

Mimi Alperin, Chair, Interreligious Affairs Commission

Professor Andre LaCocque Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
Co-Leaders, National Interreligious
Task Force on Soviet Jewry

Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler, Executive Director
National Institute of Women Today

Cantor Lori Lippitz

Torah Reader: Harry Kahn

DISCUSSION: "The Plight of Soviet Jewry"

Presiding Leo Nevas

Remarks * Alexandra Finkelstein

* Alexandra Finkelstein immigrated to Israel in 1983, after a twelve-year struggle. Born in Moscow, Alexandra participated in the refusenik community there, assisting the families of "Prisoners of Conscience" and providing information to other Jewish families wishing to begin the emigration process. The Finkelsteins now live in Ra'anana, Israel.

Presentation of
AJC's Media Award to the
St. Petersburg Evening Independent Edward E. Elson

Response Michael L. Richardson

"Human Rights in the Soviet Union: A Personal View"

Remarks * Tatiana Yankelevich

* Tatiana Yankelevich is
Andrei Sakharov's stepdaughter

SHIRU LADONAI
SING UNTO THE LORD

A Freedom Shabbat Service of Prayer & Song
In Honor of the National Interreligious Task Force on Soviet Jewry



The American Jewish Committee
National Executive Council Meeting
Hyatt Regency Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

November 3, 1984

Heshvan 8, 5745

Compiled by

Rabbi A. James Rudin

CONGREGATION:

Sing a new song to the Lord!
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!
Let the earth ring out in song to God.
Sing to the Lord a new song!
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!
Let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice.
Let the sea roar, and all that fills it.
Let the field exult, and all its creatures.
Let the trees of the forest sing for joy.

Sing to the Lord, all the earth!
Sing to the Lord a new song!
Let the rivers clap hands.
Let the mountains sing for joy.
Sing to the Lord, all the earth!
Break forth, sing aloud, shout praise!

Behold how good and how
pleasant it is for brothers
and sisters to dwell
together in unity.

הנה מה טוב

הנה נה טוב הנה יעים

Hiney ma tov u-mah-nayim
Shevet achim gam-yachad

שבח אחים גם יחד

READER: Once the Baal Shem Tov stopped on the threshold of a House of Prayer, and refused to enter. "I cannot enter", he said. "It is crowded with teachings and prayers from wall to wall, and from floor to ceiling. How could there be room for me?" When he saw that those around him were staring, unable to understand, he added: "The words of those whose teaching and praying does not come from hearts lifted to heaven, cannot rise to heaven; instead, their words fill the house from wall to wall and from floor to ceiling."

RESPONSIVE READING:

There are days
when we seek things for ourselves
and measure failure by what we do not gain.

On the Sabbath

we seek not to acquire, but to share.

There are days
when we exploit nature as if it were
a horn of plenty that can never be exhausted.

On the Sabbath
we stand in wonder before the mystery of creation.

There are days
when we act as if we cared nothing
for the rights of others.

On the Sabbath
we are reminded that justice is our duty
and a better world our goal.

Therefore we welcome the Sabbath---

day of rest
day of reflection
day of peace.

Let the glory of God be extolled.
Let God's great name be hallowed
in the world whose creation God willed.
May God's kingdom soon prevail, in our
day, in our own lives, and in
the life of all Israel, and let us
say: AMEN!

Let God's great name be blessed for
ever and ever. Let the name of the Holy
One be glorified, exalted, and
honored, though God is beyond all the
praises, songs, and adorations that
we can utter, and let us say:
AMEN!

READER'S KADDISH

חצי קדיש

יְהוָה לְיִתְקַדֵּשׁ שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא בְּעַלְמָא דִּירְבָּא כְּרַעוּתָהּ,
וְנִמְלִיד מַלְכוּתָהּ בְּתַיִכּוֹן וּבְיוֹמֵיכּוֹן וּבְחַיֵּי דְכָל-בֵּית
יִשְׂרָאֵל, בְּעַנְלָא וּבְזַמְן קָרִיב, וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

יְהִי שְׁמֵהּ רַבָּא מְבָרַךְ לְעָלְמֵי וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמַיָּא.

יְתַבְרַךְ וְיִשְׁמַבַּח וְיִתְפָּאֵר וְיִתְרוֹמַם וְיִתְנַשֵּׂא, וְיִתְהַדָּר
וְיִתְעַלֶּה וְיִתְהַלַּל שְׁמֵהּ דְקוּדְשָׁא, בְּרִיד הוּא, לְעָלְמָא מִן
כָּל-בְּרַכְתָּא וְשִׁירָתָא, תְּשַׁבַּחְתָּא וְנַחֲמַתָּא דְאִמְרֵינוּ בְּעַלְמָא,
וְאָמְרוּ: אָמֵן.

(Congregation rises)

Praise the Lord, to whom our praise
is due!

Praised be the Lord, to whom our

בְּרַכּוֹ אֱתֵי הַמְבָרָךְ!

בְּרוּךְ יְיָ הַמְבָרָךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד!

praise is due, now and forever!

(Congregation is seated)

We thank You, O God, for this new day, for morning sun and evening star, for flowering tree and flowing tide, for life-giving rains and cooling breezes, for the earth's patient turning, the seasons' alternations, the cycle of growth and decay, of life and death.

When our eyes behold the world, when we feel its beauty, and grandeur, we come to see the wisdom and goodness of its Creator.

We awake, and behold! A new day! Lord, renew us unto life. Teach us to recognize Your presence in creation. Grateful then for Your gifts, we will dedicate all our powers to Your service.

יוצר
ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, יוצר אור ובורא חֶשֶׁךְ,
עֹשֶׂה שְׁלוֹם ובורא אֶת־הַכֶּל.
הַמְאִיר לְאָרֶץ וְלִדְרִים עָלֶיהָ בְּרַחֲמִים, וּבְטוֹבוֹ מְחַדֵּשׁ
בְּכָל־יּוֹם תְּמִיד מַעֲשֵׂה בְּרֵאשִׁית.

מָה רַבּוֹ מַעֲשֵׂיךָ, יי! כֹּלֵם בְּחֻכְמָה עֲשִׂיתָ, מְלַאֵה הָאָרֶץ
קִנְיָנֶךָ.
תְּחַבְּרֶךָ, יי אלהינו, עַל־שִׁבְחֵךָ מַעֲשֵׂה יְדִיךָ, וְעַל־מְאֹרֵי־אֹר
שְׁעֵשִׂיתָ: יִפְאָרוּךְ. סְלָה.
ברוך אתה, יי, יוצר המאורות.

READER: In the scrolls of the Torah, where there are no vowels attached to the Hebrew words, multiple meanings pour out from every letter. When we chant SHEMA YISRAEL, perhaps we see two words instead of one.

Yisrael: The Nation, the People of Israel
Yashar El: Straight to God...justice, righteousness, truth.

CONGREGATION: Shema Yisrael
Hear O Israel
Shema Yashar El

READER: Listen, hear, be aware of righteous godliness. Be aware that justice and liberation are godly, that uprightness is godly, that peace is godly.

Yisrael, listen, hear, heed the commandments...Yashar El...straight to godliness.

CONGREGATION: Adonai Echad...

READER: Unity and continuity, the oneness of God and the oneness of the Jewish people.

As we sing and read the SHEMA, let us hear in a new way and be aware of the music of our souls, and rejoice and delight in our love of the godliness that is within each of us.

(Congregation rises)

Hear, O Israel! the Lord is our God,
the Lord is One!

שמע ישראל: יי אלהינו, יי אחד!
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד!

Blessed is God's glorious kingdom
forever and ever!

(Congregation is seated)

You shall love the Lord your God with
all your heart, with all your strength,
with all your being.

Set these words, which I command you
this day, upon your heart. Teach them
faithfully to your children; speak of them
in your home and on your way, when
you lie down and when you rise up.

ואהבת את יי אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך
ובכל מאדך.
והיו הדברים האלה, אשר אנכי מצוה היום,
על לבבך.

Bind them as a sign upon your hand; let
them be a symbol before your eyes;
inscribe them on the doorposts of your
house, and upon your gates.

ושננתם לבניך, ודברת בם בשבתך בביתך
ובלכתך בדרך, ובשכבך ובקומך.
וקשרתם לאות על ידך, והיו לטטפת בין עיניך,
וכתבתם על מזוזות ביתך, ובשעריך.

Be mindful of all My mitzvot, and do
them; so shall you consecrate your-
selves to your God. I, the Lord, am
your God, who led you out of Egypt to
be your God; I, the Lord, am your God.

למען תזכרו ועשיתם את כל מצותי, והייתם קדשים
לאלהיכם. אני יי אלהיכם, אשר הוצאתי אתכם מארץ
מצרים להיות לכם לאלהים. אני יי אלהיכם.

READER: When will redemption come?
When we master the violence that fills our world.
When we look upon others as we would have them
look upon us.
When we grant to every person the same rights we
claim for ourselves.

READER: As we observe this Shabbat, we know that Soviet Jews are not free---not free to leave, not free to learn of their Jewish past or to transmit their heritage to their children. They cannot learn the languages of their mothers and fathers. They cannot teach their children to be the teachers and the rabbis of future generations.

As the Soviet Jews courageously assert their proud determination to live in Israel and other lands of freedom, we add our voices to theirs, and we are joined by all whose consciences are aroused by the wrongs inflicted on Soviet Jews. Thus shall they know that they have not been forgotten, and they shall yet emerge into the light of freedom.

READER: Once we were in bondage, then we became free. In that first liberation our people saw revealed the power of the Most High. They perceived that God's presence redeems time and event from the hands of the tyrants. We, too, acclaim the power that makes for freedom. We sing the song that celebrates our deliverance from ancient Egypt and from all bondage.

Who is like You, Eternal One, among the gods that are worshipped?
Who is like You, majestic in holiness awesome in splendor, doing wonders?

מִי־כַמְכָה בְּאֱלֹהִים, יי?
מִי כַמְכָה, נֶאֱדָר בְּקִדְשׁוֹ,
נֹרְאָה תְהִלָּתוֹ, עָשָׂה פְּלֵאָה?

A new song the redeemed sang to Your name. At the shore of the Red Sea, saved from destruction, they proclaimed Your sovereign power: "The Eternal will reign for ever and ever!"

שִׁירָה חֲדָשָׁה שִׁבְחוּ גְּאוּלִים לְשִׁמְךָ עַל־שִׁפְתַי הַיּוֹם; יַחַד בְּלֵב הַיּוֹדוּ וְהִמְלִיכוּ וְאָמְרוּ: "יְיָ יִמְלֹךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד!"

O Rock of Israel, come to Israel's help. Fulfill Your promise of redemption for Judah and Israel. Our Redeemer is the Lord of Hosts, Holy One of Israel. Blessed is the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

צוּר יִשְׂרָאֵל, קוּמָה בְּעִזְרוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל, וּפְדֵה כְּנַאֲמֶךָ יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל. נִאֲלָנוּ יי צְבָאוֹת שְׁמוֹ, קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל. בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי, נְאֻל יִשְׂרָאֵל.

(Congregation rises)

Eternal God, open my lips, that my mouth may declare Your glory.

אתה גבור לעולם, אדני, מחיה הכל אתה, רב להושיע.

Lord, You are our God, even as You were the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the God of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, and Rachel, the God of all the ages of Israel.

They are our past as we are their future.

מכלכל חיים בְּחַסֵּד, מְחַיֶּה הַכֹּל בְּרַחֲמִים רַבִּים. סוֹמֵךְ נוֹפְלִים, וְרוֹפֵא חוֹלִים, וּמַתִּיר אֲסוּרִים, וּמְקַיֵּם אַמּוֹנָתוֹ לִישְׁנֵי עֶפְרָיִם.

We recall their vision and pray for the strength to keep that vision alive: Help us, O God and Shield, to keep their faith.

מִי כְמוֹךָ, בְּעַל גְּבוּרֹת, וּמִי דוֹמָה לָךְ, מְלַךְ מִמִּית וּמַחְיָה

O God, Shield of Abraham, Sarah's Help, in all generations be our Help, our Shield, our God!

וּמְצַמֵּיחַ יְשׁוּעָה? וְנֶאֱמַן אֵתָּה לְהַחְיֹת הַכֹּל. בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי, מְחַיֶּה הַכֹּל.

Eternal God, the power of Your spirit pervades all creation. When we open our hearts to You, we are filled with Your strength: the strength to bear our afflictions, the strength to refuse them victory, the strength to overcome them.

And then our will is renewed: to lift up the fallen, to set free the captive, to heal the sick, to bring light to all who dwell in darkness.

Add Your strength to ours, O God, so that when death casts its shadow, we shall be able to say: O Source of blessing, You are with us in death as in life!

קדושה

SANCTIFICATION

We sanctify Your name on earth, even as all things, to the ends of time and space, proclaim Your holiness; and in the words of the prophet Isaiah we say:

נְקַדֵּשׁ אֶת־שִׁמְךָ בְּעוֹלָם, כְּשֵׁם שֶׁמְקַדִּישִׁים אוֹתוֹ בְּשֵׁם מְרוֹם, בְּכַתּוּב עַל־יַד נְבִיאֶךָ: וְקָרָא זֶה אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאָמַר:

Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is filled with God's glory!

קְדוֹשׁ, קְדוֹשׁ, קְדוֹשׁ יי צְבָאוֹת, מְלֵא כְּלֵי־הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ.

Source of our strength, Sovereign Lord, how majestic is Your

אֲדִיר אֲדִירְנוּ, יי אֲדִירְנוּ, מְהֻאָדָר שִׁמְךָ בְּכֵלֵי־הָאָרֶץ!

בְּרוּךְ בְּבוֹרֵי: מִמְּקוֹמוֹ.

presence in all the earth!

Blessed is the glory of God
in heaven and earth.

Our God is one. The Most High is
our Ruler and our Helper; and
in mercy God is revealed in the
sight of all the living:

אֱתֵד הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ, הוּא אֲבֵינוּ, הוּא מְלִכְנוּ, הוּא מוֹשִׁיעֵנוּ;
וְהוּא יִשְׁמִיעֵנוּ בְּרַחֲמָיו לְעֵינֵי פְלִתָּי:

I AM ADONAI YOUR GOD!

The Lord shall reign for ever;
your God, O Zion, from
generation to generation.
Halleluyah!

אֲנִי יי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

יְמִלֵךְ יי לְעוֹלָם, אֱלֹהֵיךְ צִיּוֹן, לְדוֹר וָדוֹר. הַלְלוּהוּ

To all generations we will make
known Your greatness, and to all
eternity proclaim your holiness.
Your praise, O God, shall never
depart from our lips. Blessed is
the Lord, the Holy God.

לְדוֹר וָדוֹר נִגִיד וְנִדָּלָה, וְלִנְצַח נִצְחִים קִדְשָׁהּ נִקְדִישׁ.
וְשִׁבְחָהּ, אֱלֹהֵינוּ, מִפִּינוּ לֹא יִמוּשׁ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד.
בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי, הָאֵל הַקְּדוֹשׁ.

(Congregation is seated)

READER: O God, You have called us to peace, for You are
Peace itself. May we have a vision to see that each of us, in
some measure, can help to realize these aims:

CONGREGATION: Where there is ignorance and superstition,
Let there be enlightenment and knowledge.

READER: Where there is prejudice and hatred,
Let there be acceptance and love.

CONGREGATION: Where there is fear and suspicion,
Let there be freedom and justice.

READER: Where there is poverty and disease,
Let there be prosperity and health.

CONGREGATION: Where there is strife and discord,
Let there be harmony and peace.

READER & CONGREGATION: O Sovereign Lord
of peace, let Israel, Your people, know

שְׁלוֹם רַב עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמָּךְ תְּשִׁים לְעוֹלָם, כִּי אַתָּה הוּא

enduring peace, for it is good in Your
sight continually to bless Israel
with Your peace. Praised be the
Lord, Who blesses the people Israel
with peace.

מְלֶךְ אֲדוֹן לְכֹל הַשְּׁלוֹם. וְטוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ לְבָרֵךְ אֶת-עַמְּךָ
יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּכָל-עֵת וּבְכָל-שָׁעָה בְּשְׁלוֹמֶךָ.

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יי, הַמְּבָרֵךְ אֶת-עַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּשְׁלוֹם.

READER: That's the difficulty in these times: ideals,
dreams, and cherished hopes rise within us, only to meet the
horrible truth and be shattered.

It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all
my ideals, because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry
out. Yet I keep them, because in spite of everything, I still
believe that people are really good at heart. I simply can't build
up my hopes on a foundation consisting of confusion, misery, and
death.

I see the world gradually being turned into a
wilderness. I hear ever approaching thunder, which will destroy
us too. I can feel the sufferings of millions and yet, if I look
up into the heavens, I think that it will all come right, that
this cruelty too will end, and that peace and tranquility will
return again.

In the meantime, I must uphold my ideals, for
perhaps the time will come when I shall be able to carry them out.
(Anne Frank, 1929-1945)

READER: As God was preparing to place the responsibility
of the Torah upon Israel, the people were summoned and God said
to them: "My children, I have something precious that I would
like to give you for all time. Only you must be willing to accept
My Torah and to observe My commandments." The people then asked:

CONGREGATION: "Sovereign of the Universe! What is the precious
gift You have for us?"

READER: God replied: "It is the world to come."

CONGREGATION: "Then show us a sample of the world to come."

READER: "The Shabbat is a sample of the world to come,
for that world will be one long Shabbat."

CONGREGATION: Let us all rise to greet with open hearts
this joyous promise, for the Torah is now our possession.

(Congregation rises)

The world is sustained by three
things: by Torah, by worship,
by loving deeds of righteousness.

עַל-שְׁלֹשָׁה דְּבָרִים הָעוֹלָם עוֹמֵד: עַל הַתּוֹרָה וְעַל הַעֲבוּדָה
וְעַל גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים.

READING OF THE TORAH

The Torah is taken from the Ark

For out of Zion shall go forth the Torah, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תּוֹרָה, וּדְבַר-יְיָ מִירוּשָׁלַיִם.

Praised be the One Who in holiness has given the Torah to Israel.

בְּרוּךְ שֵׁנִתָּן תּוֹרַח לְעַמּוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּקִדְשָׁתוֹ.

Hear, O Israel: the Lord is our God, the Lord is One!

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל: יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, יְיָ אֶחָד.

Our God is One, our Lord is great, Holy is God's name.

אֶחָד אֱלֹהֵינוּ, גָּדוֹל אֲדוֹנֵינוּ, קָדוֹשׁ שְׁמוֹ.

O Magnify the Lord with me and together let us exalt God's name.

גָּדְלוּ לִי אֱתֵי וּגְרוּמָה שְׁמוֹ יְהוָה.

Yours, Lord, is the greatness, the power, the glory, the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in heaven and earth is Yours. Yours is the kingdom, O Lord; You are supreme over all..

לְךָ, יְיָ, הַגְּדֻלָּה וְהַקְּבוּרָה וְהַתְּפָאֶרֶת וְהַנִּצָּח וְהַהוֹד, כִּי כָל בְּשָׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ, לְךָ יְיָ הַמְּמֻלָּכָה וְהַמְתִּישָׂא לְכָל לְרֹאשׁ.

(Congregation is seated)

Before the Torah Reading

Praise the Lord, to Whom our praise is due!

בְּרַכּוּ אֱתֵי יְיָ הַמְּבָרָךְ

Praised be the Lord, to Whom our praise is due, now and forever!

בְּרוּךְ יְיָ הַמְּבָרָךְ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד

Blessed is the Lord, our God, Ruler of the universe, Who has chosen us and given us the Torah. Blessed is the Lord, Giver of the Torah

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ, מֶלֶךְ הָעוֹלָם, אֲשֶׁר בְּחַרְתָּנוּ מִכָּל-הָעַמִּים וְנָתַתָּנוּ אֶת-תּוֹרַתוֹ. בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה, יְיָ, נוֹתֵן תּוֹרָה.

GENESIS 12:1-3, 15:13-14,

The Lord said to Abram, "Go forth from your native land and from your ancestral home and from your father's house to the land that I will show you.

I will make of you a great nation,
And I will bless you;
I will make your name great,
And you shall be a blessing.
I will bless those who bless you

And curse him that curses you;
And all the families of the earth
Shall bless themselves by you.

And God said to Abram: "Know well that your offspring shall be enslaved and oppressed four hundred years; but I will execute judgment on the nation they shall serve, and in the end they shall go free..."

After the Torah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God,
Ruler of the universe, Who has
given us a Torah of truth, implanting
within us eternal life. Blessed is
the Lord, Giver of the Torah.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר נתן לנו תורה
אמת וחי עולם נטע בתוכנו. ברוך אתה, יי, נותן התורה.

READING OF THE HAFTARAH

Before the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler
of the universe, Who has chosen
faithful prophets to speak
words of truth. Blessed is the
Lord, for the revelation of
Torah, for Moses God's servant,
and for the people Israel, and
for prophets of truth and
righteousness.

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, אשר בחר בנביאים
טובים ורצה בדבריהם הנאמרים באמת. ברוך אתה, יי,
הבוחר בתורה ובמשה עבדו ובישראל עמו ובנביאי
האמת וצדק.

ISAIAH 42:6-7, 61:1, 58: 6 & 8
PSALMS 79:11, 146:5-6
ZECHARIAH 9: 11 & 12

I the Lord have called you in righteousness,
And have taken hold of your hand,
And kept you, and set you for a covenant of the people,
For a light to the nations;

To open the blind eyes,
To bring out the prisoners from the dungeon
And them that sit in darkness out of the prison house...

The spirit of the Lord God is upon me;...
To proclaim liberty to the captives,
And the opening of the eyes to them that are bound...

Is not this the fast I have chosen?
To loose the fetters of wickedness,
To undo the bands of the yoke,
To let the oppressed go free...

For the Lord hearkens unto the needy,
And does not despise the prisoners...

Let the groaning of the prisoner come before God;
According to the greatness of Your power set free those that
are sentenced to death...

God executes justice for the oppressed...
The Lord frees the prisoners...

I will send forth your prisoners out of the pit
Where there is no water.
Return to the stronghold,
You prisoners of hope...

After the Reading

ברוך אתה, יי אלהינו, מלך העולם, צור כל העולמים,
צדיק בכל הדורות, האל הנאמן, האומר ועושה, המדבר
ומקים, שכל דבריו אמת וצדק.

After the Haftarah reading

Blessed is the Lord our God, Ruler
of the universe, Rock of all
creation, Righteous One of
all generations, the faithful
God whose word is deed, whose
every command is just and true.

For the Torah, for the privilege
of worship, for the prophets,
and for this Shabbat that
You, O God, have given us
foe holiness and rest, for
honor and glory, we thank
and bless You. May Your name be
blessed for ever by every
living being. Blessed is
the Lord, for the Shabbat
and its holiness.

עליה תורה ועליה עבודה ועליה נביאים ועליום השבת
הזה, שנתת לנו, יי אלהינו, לקדשה ולמנוחה, לכבוד
ולתפארת, עליה כל, יי אלהינו, אנחנו מודים לך,
ומברכים אותך. יתברך שמך בפי כל יחי תמיד לעולם
ועד.

ברוך אתה, יי מקדש השבת.

SERMON

RETURNING THE TORAH TO THE ARK

God's splendor covers heaven and earth; God is the strength of Israel, making glorious the Lord's faithful ones, Israel is a people close to God. Halleluyah!

הודו על ארץ ושמים, וירם קרן לעמו, תהלה לכל-
חסידיו, לבני ישראל עם קרובו. הללויהו

The Torah is a tree of life to those who hold it fast, and all who cling to it find happiness. Its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace.

עץ חיים היא למחזיקים בה, ותמכיה מאשר.
דרכיה דרכי נעים, וכל נתיבותיה שלום.

Help us to return to You, O Lord; then truly shall we return. Renew our days as in the past.

השיבנו יי אלהיך, ונשובה. חדש ימינו כקדם.

Now, let us praise the Lord of all, to ascribe greatness to God Who formed the world in the beginning, for God chose us to make known the Divine unity, and God has invested in us a portion like no others. We bow in reverence and thanksgiving before the Holy One of Israel.

עלינו לשבח לארון הכל לתת גדלה ליוצר
בראשית שלא עשנו כגויי הארצות ולא שקמו כמשפחות
הארמה שלא שם חלקנו בהם ונגלנו ככל המונים:

ואנחנו כורעים ומשתחוים ומודים
לפני מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא.

(Congregation is seated)

READER: In March and April, during interrogation, the chief investigators warned me that in the position I have taken during investigation, and held to here in court, I would be threatened with execution by firing squad, or at least 15 years. If I would agree to cooperate with the investigation for the purpose of destroying the Jewish emigration movement, they promised me early freedom and a quick reunion with my wife.

Five years ago, I submitted my application for exit to Israel. Now I'm further than ever from my dream. It would seem to be cause for regret. But it is absolutely otherwise. I am happy. I am happy that I lived honestly, in peace with my

conscience. I never compromised my soul, even under the threat of death.

I am happy that I helped people. I am proud that I knew and worked with such honest, brave, and courageous people as Sakharov, Orlov, & Ginzburg, who are carrying on the traditions of the Russian intelligentsia. I am fortunate to have been witness to the process of the liberation of the Jews of the Soviet Union.

I hope that the absurd accusation against me and the entire Jewish emigration movement will not hinder the liberation of my people. My near ones and friends know how I wanted to exchange activity in the emigration movement for a life with my wife, Avital, in Israel.

For more than 2,000 years the Jewish people, my people, have been dispersed. But wherever they are, wherever Jews are found, every year they have repeated "Next year in Jerusalem." Now, when I am further than ever from my people, from Avital, facing many arduous years of imprisonment, I say, turning to my people, my Avital: Next year in Jerusalem!

Now I turn to you, the court, who were required to confirm a pre determined sentence: to you I have nothing to say. (Anatoly B. Shcharansky's closing words in a Moscow court on July 14, 1978 before being sentenced)

READER:

Birth is a beginning
And death a destination.
And life is a journey:
From childhood to maturity
And youth to age;
From innocence to awareness
and ignorance to knowing;
From foolishness to discretion
 And then, perhaps, to wisdom;
From weakness to strength
Or strength to weakness---
 And, often, back again;
From health to sickness
 And back, we pray, to health again;
From offense to forgiveness,
From loneliness to love,
From joy to gratitude,
From pain to compassion,
And grief to understanding---
 From fear to faith;
From defeat to defeat to defeat---

Until, looking backward or ahead,
 We see that victory lies
 Not at some high place along the way,
 But in having made the journey, stage by stage,
 A sacred pilgrimage.
 Birth is a beginning
 And death a destination.
 And life is a journey,
 A sacred pilgrimage---
 To life everlasting.

KADDISH

Yit-ga-dal ve-yit ka-dash
 she-mei ra-ba be-al-ma
 di-ve-ra chi-re-u-tei,
 ve-yam-lich mal-chu-tei
 be-cha-yei-chon u-ve-yo-mei-chon
 u've-cha-yei de chol beit
 Yis-ra-eil, ba-a-ga-la
 u-vi-ze-man ka-riv,
 ve-i-me-ru, a-mein.

יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא
 בעלמא דירבא כרעותה;
 וימליך מלכותה בחייכון וביומיכון,
 ובחיי דירכל בית ישראל, בעגלא ובומן קריב,
 ואמרו אמן.

Ye-hei she-mei ra-ba me-va-rach
 le-a-lam u-le-al-mei
 al-ma-ya.

יהא שמה רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמא.

Yit-ba-rach ve-yish-ta-bach
 ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-romam
 ve-yit-na-sei, ve-yit-ha-dar
 ve-yit-a-leh ve-yit-ha-lal
 she-mei de ku-de-sha, be-rich
 hu, le-ei-la min kol bi-re-cha-ta
 ve-shi-ra-ta, tush-be-cha-ta ve-
 ne-che-ma-ta, da-a-mi-ran
 be-al-ma,
 ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יתברך וישתבח, ויתפאר ויתרום, ויתנשא ויתהדר,
 ויתעלה ויתהלל שמה דירקדשא, בריך הוא,
 לעלא (ולעלא) נוך כל ברכתא ושירתא,
 תשבחתא ונחמתא, די אמירן בעלמא,
 ואמרו אמן.

Ye-hei she-la-ma ra-ba
 min she-ma-ya ve-cha-yim
 a-lei-nu ve-al-kol Yis-ra-eil
 ve-i-me-ru: a-mein.

יהא שלמא רבא מדשמא, וחיים,
 עלינו ועל כל ישראל,
 ואמרו אמן.

O seh sha-lom bi-mero-mav
 hu ya-a-seh sha-lom a-lei-nu
 ve al-kol yis-ra-eil, ve-i-me-ru:
 A-mein.

עשה שלום במרומו, הוא יעשה שלום
 עלינו ועל כל ישראל,
 ואמרו אמן.

May God Who makes peace in
high places, make peace
for us, and for all Israel, as we
say: AMEN!

Portions of this Shabbat Service have been
excerpted from GATES OF PRAYER, edited by
Chaim Stern.



NEWS

FROM THE COMMITTEE



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, Nov. 14...Noting the perilous situation facing Jews in Syria and the Soviet Union, the American Jewish Committee has called upon all Americans who support human rights to continue to speak out on behalf of Jews in both nations, and who are denied their rights to emigrate as they continue to suffer from discriminatory abuses in business, employment and education.

In addition, the AJC's National Executive Council, which passed unanimously the resolutions decrying the human rights violations, issued a special appeal to the Soviet Government "to heed the multitude of appeals and petitions from throughout the world and release Nobel Laureate Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, whose struggle for human rights in the USSR and for world peace touches us all."

At the same time, the NEC urged the U.S. Government "to continue to express to the Soviet leadership at every opportunity the concern of the American people for the Sakharovs, and the need for immediate and independent confirmation of their status."

Regarding the 4,500-member Syrian-Jewish community, who are barred from employment in government and banking and suffer restrictions on their rights to sell or inherit property, the AJC called upon Syria to live up to its obligations undertaken in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and to allow Jews the right to join their relatives in countries where they may live in freedom and free from fear.

In the Soviet Union, the National Executive Council voiced "its grave concern" over the serious deterioration of the situation of Soviet Jews, including the virtual shut-off of emigration, the campaign against Jews by the media, and

more....

Howard I. Friedman, President; Theodore Ellenoff, Chair, Board of Governors; Alfred H. Moses, Chair, National Executive Council; Robert S. Jacobs, Chair, Board of Trustees;

David M. Gordis, Executive Vice-President

Washington Office, 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • Europe hq.: 4 Rue de la Bienfaisance, 75008 Paris, France • Israel hq.: 9 Ethiopia St., Jerusalem 95149, Israel
South America hq. (temporary office): 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022 • Mexico-Central America hq.: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533, Mexico 5, D.F.

CSAE 1707

rising incidences of forced entry into the homes of Jews where religious items are either seized or destroyed.

The resolution also expressed "special concern" over new statements by police officials who have alleged that Jews use drugs for their religious practices.

"We acknowledge with gratitude," the text continued, "the persistent efforts of our government to maintain this issue as a priority on the agenda of U.S./USSR relationships. We call upon the U.S. and other Western delegates to the Madrid Review Conference follow-up meetings in 1985 -- the Human Rights Meeting in Ottawa and the Cultural Forum in Budapest -- to insure that the issue of Soviet Jews receives the attention it merits."

In addition, the resolution, prepared by the AJC International Relations Commission, headed by Leo Nevas of Westport, Connecticut, and directed by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, called on scientists, educators, and religious and ethnic groups to continue to speak out on behalf of Jews deprived of practicing their professions, cultural traditions, religious beliefs and ethnic heritage.

The text ended with an appeal to the Soviet Government "to forsake its anti-Jewish policies and to abide by the international treaties and conventions to which it is a signatory."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

* * * * *

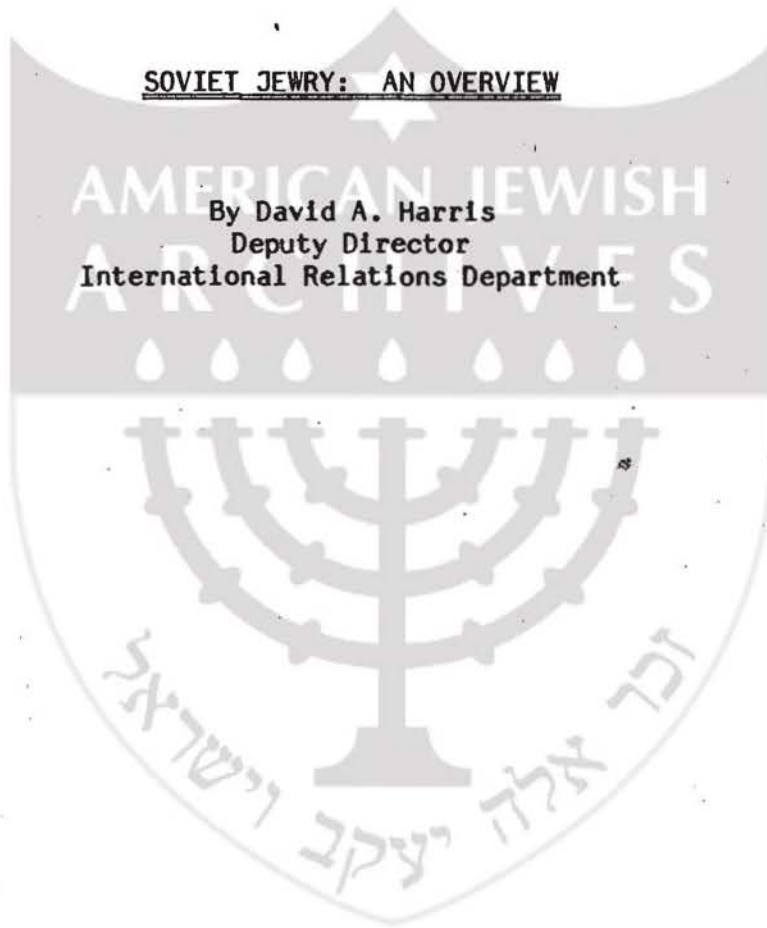
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SOVIET JEWRY: AN OVERVIEW

AMERICAN JEWISH
By David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations Department
ARCHIVES



The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York, NY 10022

SOVIET JEWRY: AN OVERVIEW

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American Jewish Committee

I. Background

The Soviet Jewish community, officially numbering 1.8 million,¹ is the third largest Jewish community in the world. As a juridically recognized nationality, one of more than 120 nationalities in the USSR, Jews in the Soviet Union are in the unique position of being both a nationality and a voluntary religious community. Thus, a child born to Jewish parents must, at the time of registration for an internal passport (required of all Soviet citizens at age 16), indicate "Jew" as his/her nationality, even though he may not have any religious identification.

Although the Soviet policy toward nationality generally is one of ostensible encouragement of native language, culture and folklore, the Jews have been targetted for assimilation by a deliberate effort to deny them even the basic means of transmitting culture, identity and history afforded virtually every other group. The reasons are complex but derive from a traditional policy of anti-Semitism that predates the October 1917 Revolution, coupled with political exploitation of a visible and vulnerable group, scapegoating to divert public attention from other pressing problems, and fear of the possible implication of a strong, identified Jewish community.

Thus, surviving at great cost the horrors of Stalin's terror, particularly the "Black Years" from 1948 to 1953 - the charges of "Cosmopolitanism," the murder of Yiddish writers and poets, the infamous Doctors' Plot and Stalin's planned deportation of all Soviet Jews to Siberia on the eve of his death; the loss of more than one million Soviet Jews during the Holocaust; and the effort to relegate Jews to a denial or even shame of their identity (at the same time that, ironically, Soviet nationality policy forced the Jewish identity, through the passport system, on children of Jewish parents), Soviet Jews became "The Jews of Silence," to borrow the title of Elie Wiesel's moving book about his visit to the USSR in 1965.

II. THE EMERGENCE OF A MOVEMENT

How remarkable; therefore, that, despite fifty years of Soviet pursuance of such a policy of forced assimilation, the Israeli victory in the Six Day War in 1967 virtually galvanized the Jewish community into a sense of pride and nascent

1

Unofficial estimates of the Soviet Jewish population, taking into account inadequacies in the census method and other factors, range from 2.2 to 3 million.

activism. At about the same time, the novel Exodus by Leon Uris was being unofficially circulated (in Russian) and also had an extraordinary impact on Soviet Jews. In 1968, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia dashed the emerging hopes spawned earlier in the decade of a possible thaw or liberalization in the Soviet bloc, including the USSR. Many Jews, reacting to these developments, and to the growing anti-Semitism/anti-Zionism in the Soviet bloc in the wake of the Six Day War and the liberalization efforts in Poland and Czechoslovakia, began a campaign for repatriation to Israel, the Jewish homeland. And thus an extraordinary phenomenon occurred whose importance cannot be overstated. In the midst of a totalitarian state which had amply demonstrated its willingness and ability to suppress individuals who challenged any aspect of Soviet authority, a movement emerged. Petitions to Soviet and Western government officials, demonstrations in public squares and in the offices of state authorities, contact with the Western press corps in Moscow, and other open manifestations to underscore the Jewish demand to be permitted to leave for Israel, started in the late 1960's and increased from year to year.

It is important to note that, from the beginning, the Jewish activism was based on certain principles: repatriation, family reunification,² respect for Soviet Law, non-violence.³ It was the notion of repatriation, in particular, that distinguished the Jewish movement from a number of other movements in the USSR. Jews did not seek to change the nature of the Soviet system, a fundamentally threatening concept to Soviet authorities, nor did they seek the unrealistic goal of free emigration, much as they may have privately shared these aims. Rather, the Jews sought to leave for Israel, which they considered their historic homeland, pursuant to Soviet precedents which have permitted the repatriation of specific groups -- Germans, Greeks, Poles, Turks -- to their respective homelands.

As the Jewish movement spread to both the main and smaller Jewish population centers -- to such cities as Moscow, Leningrad, Riga, Minsk, Tblisi, Odessa, Kharkov -- large numbers of Jews began the application process by requesting a vyzov, an affidavit from relatives in Israel. At the same time,

2

The concept of family reunification was endorsed by Premier Kosygin in 1966 in a statement in Paris in which he indicated the U.S.S.R. would permit reunification of its citizens with family abroad. It took on additional importance in 1975 with the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act. This document, to which the U.S.S.R. was signatory, specifically endorsed the principle of family reunification.

3

The one event that might be interpreted to have been other than non-violent was the 1970 attempt of nine Jews and two non-Jews to hijack a plane from Leningrad to Sweden. No weapons were involved, and the group was arrested before boarding the plane. Importantly, the arrest and the subsequent trial, at which two defendants were given the death sentence, literally galvanized world public opinion and Western leaders, aroused attention to the dramatic plight of those seeking to leave, and led to the commutation of the death sentences (to long prison terms).

the emergence of unofficial private study groups in Hebrew language, Jewish history and culture, and Judaism occurred in the absence of any official opportunities and as an intrinsic part of the growth of national Jewish consciousness.

III. THE BALANCE SHEET

Struggling against extraordinary odds, in the midst of a totalitarian state, the movement achieved a number of successes:

1) From 1968 to 1984, more than 270,000 Soviet Jews, previously thought to have been assimilated, asserted their Jewish identity, took the risk of applying and were successful in obtaining exit visas.

2) Interest in the issue came from many quarters: Democratic and Republican Administrations, the U.S. Congress, the academic, labor, religious and scientific communities, foreign governments. Seldom had such a human rights cause generated such support both in the U.S. and abroad.

3) There emerged an heroic group of people in the U.S.S.R. who took special risk by teaching, writing, speaking out and demonstrating, that is, who became activists and symbols in the struggle.

On the other hand, there have been very serious and growing problems:

1) The rate of departure has fluctuated and is today at the lowest point since 1970. Less than 75 Jews per month left in 1984 compared to an average of more than 4,000 per month in 1979, and only 29 emigrated in October 1984.

2) A number of activists have been arrested, tried in courts on trumped-up charges, and sentenced to terms in prison or labor camps. Prominent among the Prisoners of Conscience are Anatoly Scharansky (13-year sentence) and Iosif Begun (12-year sentence). In 1984 a new wave of arrests occurred, targeted at Hebrew teachers and other Jewish activists, and involving defamation of Judaism, allegations of links between Jewish ritual practice and drugs, and desecration of Jewish religious items.

3) Many exit applications of Jews have been denied. There are today an estimated 10-15,000 "refuseniks" in the USSR, several hundred of whom have been waiting for ten years or more while living in extremely difficult conditions without regular employment and often under surveillance.

4) Anti-Semitism, often thinly disguised as anti-Zionism, and manifested in policies affecting higher education and employment, and in books, magazines and newspaper articles and television programs, including Nazi-like caricatures and cartoons of Jews and Judaism, continues unabated.

5) There are but a handful of rabbis, mostly aged, to serve the remaining 50-55 synagogues. There are no rabbinical seminaries in the USSR, no Jewish religious associations or institutions, no courses of Hebrew available to Jews, no courses in Jewish history, no teaching of the Holocaust. As part of the "Potemkin Village" or facade built for primarily Western consumption, visitors will find a few synagogues in reasonably good condition, a handful of Yiddish books (but no Hebrew titles), a rare musical or theatrical offering, and a few

Jewish spokespersons, often under the rubric of the so-called Anti-Zionist Committee (formed in 1983), who hasten to assure Western visitors that all is well in the USSR.

IV. TALKING TO SOVIET OFFICIALS

Western visitors who have sought to discuss the plight of Soviet Jewry with Soviet officials have encountered a variety of responses, such as:

- a) There is no more emigration because no more Jews seek to leave.
- b) The only Jews who are refused exit visas are security risks.
- c) The issue is an internal matter and Western inquiries represent unjustified interference.
- d) All Soviet nationalities are treated equally in the spirit of the Leninist concept of encouragement of the development of nationalities.
- e) There are more anti-Semitic instances in the U.S. than in the USSR; indeed, anti-Semitic vestiges of the Tsarist period have been eliminated under Bolshevik rule.
- f) If anything, Jews are a privileged nationality, disproportionately represented in such professions as law, medicine, science and the arts.
- g) There is no such thing as a Prisoner of Conscience -- Scharansky and the others are criminals convicted of criminal acts.
- h) Jews do not need to go to Israel; they have a homeland of their own -- the Jewish Autonomous District (Birobidzhan) in the USSR.
- i) The issue of Soviet Jewry is unimportant and irrelevant in the context of East-West relations and the hovering threat of nuclear catastrophe.
- j) The issue is not within "the competence" of the official.

Let us briefly examine each of these responses:

a) More than 375,000 Soviet Jews have requested affidavits from Israel but have not yet left. Thousands of Western visitors, including parliamentarians, other public officials, journalists and religious leaders of many faiths have personally met with Soviet Jews unable to leave in a score of cities.

b) Many Jews are refused for no reason or for patently false reasons that have nothing to do with security. Some are refused for work they performed 10-15 years ago; others are refused because of an absence of parental permission (regardless of the age of the applicants); still others because of the vagaries of the bureaucratic system.

c) The USSR, being signatory to a number of international agreements which guarantee freedom of conscience and religion (Helsinki Final Act, Universal Declaration of Human Rights), freedom of culture (UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education, International Covenant on Civil and Political

Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights), freedom of family reunification and right to leave (Helsinki Final Act, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), and freedom from discrimination and persecution (UNESCO Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights), cannot claim that these issues are strictly internal matters.

d) Jews, as has been discussed above, are not only not treated equally with other nationalities but have been targetted for cultural and religious disappearance. While other nationalities do encounter often serious difficulties, none is as threatened today with respect to its very continuity as are the Jews.

e) Documentation of anti-Semitism in the USSR abounds and Soviet anti-Semitism, unlike any anti-Semitism that may exist in the U.S., is either government-inspired or government-sanctioned.

f) Young Jews seeking to enter Soviet universities have increasingly little chance of acceptance at the prestigious universities and find many career paths closed. A study of admissions policy at Moscow University's Mathematics Faculty clearly demonstrated a pattern of discrimination against Jewish applicants (and landed the two authors of the study in prison). Certain professions are entirely closed to Jews, and vertical mobility in others is increasingly limited.

g) Scharansky, Begun, Nudel, Brailovsky and the scores of others were imprisoned only for their beliefs and their Jewish activism, not for any criminal acts. The "crime" of Ida Nudel, for which she was sentenced to four years internal exile on a charge of "malicious hooliganism," involved displaying a banner from her Moscow apartment which read "KGB, Give me a visa to Israel". Iosif Begun's "crime," for which he has now been sentenced a third time, was the teaching of Hebrew.

h) Birobidzhan is a distant, desolate region in the Far East, thousands of miles from the Jewish population centers, and has a small Jewish population numbering well under 10,000. Since its founding in 1934 as a Jewish autonomous region, it has never been able to attract a substantial Jewish population, nor has it ever been permitted to develop Jewish educational, cultural or religious institutions.

i) The issue of Soviet Jewry has always been important to the West because it underscores the repressive nature of the Soviet system, undermines Western confidence in Soviet willingness to adhere to international agreements and norms of behavior, and represents an unacceptable legacy in the wake of the Holocaust. On the other hand, Soviet moves to increase emigration and ease the plight of Jews would surely help to remove a stumbling block to improved East-West relations.

j) Western specialists believe that all Soviet officials who have contact with foreigners must report either vertically and/or laterally to the appropriate organs the substance of discussions, therefore, it is important to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry at most, if not all, meetings with Soviet officials.

V. CONCLUSION

The success of the Soviet Jewry movement has always depended on four factors: a) the courage and determination of Soviet Jews themselves to assert their identity and to seek the right to leave and to return to their historic homeland; b) the existence of the State of Israel as a home of the Jewish people and the support Israel has given to the movement; c) the role of Western governments in advocating on behalf of Soviet Jews in bilateral and multilateral forums; and d) the role of Western public opinion, generated by concerned Jews and Christians who have spoken out, demonstrated, raised the issue with Soviet officials, visited Jews in the USSR, organized and prayed for the redemption of the Soviet Jewish community. It is only through continued and, indeed, intensified efforts in the West to reverse the current bleak situation that the gates may once again be reopened, and that those who seek to leave are permitted to do so.

December 1984
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Appendix: Jewish Emigration from the Soviet Union



| | |
|--------------------|--------|
| 1968 - 1970 | 4,235 |
| 1971 | 13,022 |
| 1972 | 31,681 |
| 1973 | 34,733 |
| 1974 | 20,628 |
| 1975 | 13,221 |
| 1976 | 14,261 |
| 1977 | 16,736 |
| 1978 | 28,864 |
| 1979 | 51,320 |
| 1980 | 21,471 |
| 1981 | 9,447 |
| 1982 | 2,688 |
| 1983 | 1,314 |
| 1984 (Jan. - Nov.) | 805 |

SOVIET ANTI-JEWISH PUBLICATIONS

1979-1984

An International Relations Department Background Memorandum

Allan L. Kagedan,
Research Analyst

In December, 1979, Soviet troops occupied Afghanistan, causing a rupture in East-West relations. Shortly thereafter, the Soviet leadership executed an internal crackdown on persons affirming their human rights. Part of the new purge was directed against Soviet Jews.¹

The Soviet regime in recent years has permitted accelerated publication of anti-Semitic articles in widely circulated, prominent, newspapers and journals. The dissemination of anti-Jewish publications reached a heightened level of seriousness with the appearance of such a piece in Pravda, the journal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, (circulation 10,600,000*) on January 17, 1984.

Soviet publication of anti-Jewish materials is particularly troubling because the USSR is a superpower with global reach. Soviet anti-Semitic publications have an impact far beyond Soviet borders. Articles from the USSR targeted at Third World and Western states encourage hostility toward Jews, and tarnish the Jewish image around the world.

History teaches that disseminating racist propaganda is dangerous. Publications which portray a racial or ethnic group as inferior, subversive or criminal have the immediate effect of encouraging hostility toward that group. Racist propaganda's most perilous long-term result is to convince a society that physical attack of a particular group is praiseworthy. Anti-Semitic publications of the

*This data is from the authoritative Soviet publication, Letopis' Periodicheskikh i Prodolzhaushchiksiia Izdaniia (Moscow, 1981).

¹ Peter Reddaway, "Dissent in the Soviet Union," Problems of Communism, November-December 1983, pp. 1-45.

1920s and 1930s made it easier for Europeans to accept, and to participate in Hitler's "Final Solution" of the Jewish question. Because of the role it plays in inciting racial hatred, racist propaganda has been condemned by international law.

In states with a free press, racist publications circulate, and it is the task of political leaders and private groups to combat their spread; in certain cases, courts punish distributors of racist materials. Yet in countries with controlled media -- where publication is sponsored by the government, such as in the Soviet Union -- it is the special duty of the regime to quell racist propaganda.

On numerous occasions, the Soviet Government has claimed that it opposes the dissemination of racist, including anti-Semitic, materials. The Soviet Constitution of 1977 (article 36) states that "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law."² Yet, without support from high Soviet leaders, anti-Semitic publications would never appear in the USSR. Soviet citizens and even members of the Soviet hierarchy may find propagating such racist notions distasteful or politically unwise. Exposing the nature and scope of these writings will, it is hoped, deter the Soviets from purveying anti-Semitism.

This study concentrates on the years 1979 to 1984. First, to gauge the origins and nature of the anti-Jewish themes in Soviet writings, there will be a brief survey of two important anti-Semitic works, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and Adolph Hitler's Mein Kampf. This will facilitate analysis of the chief varieties of Soviet anti-Jewish publications: those which are undisguisedly anti-Semitic; and those which masquerade as "anti-Zionist" critiques, yet, in fact, stimulate hostility toward Jews. Each section is divided into an analytical overview and textual documentation of Soviet anti-Semitic publications.

Modern Anti-Semitic Publications

It is a tragic, but irrefutable, fact that Soviet anti-Semitic writings borrow concepts from classic anti-Semitic writing. The term anti-Semitism has been defined as "hostility toward Jews," and anti-Semitic publications seek to foment such hostility. Perhaps the two most prominent anti-Semitic books in the modern age are The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (1905) and Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf (1925-27).³ The Protocols, which purport to be minutes of meetings held by a conspiratorial group of Jews, were a forgery prepared by members of the

² Boris Topornin in The New Soviet Constitution (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980), p. 249.

³ Page references from: The Protocols and World Revolution (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1920); and Hitler's Mein Kampf (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

right-wing Union of the Russian People; Mein Kampf, which borrows from the Protocols, was Hitler's most extensive political tract, dictated to Rudolf Hess while Hitler served a prison sentence in the 1920s.

A basic theme shared by the Protocols and Mein Kampf is that a group of Jews seeks to dominate the world. To achieve international supremacy, the books state, these Jews, residents of various countries, adopt any means necessary: (1) provoking war, (2) manipulating the economy, (3) controlling the media, (4) conspiring with Freemasons, (5) forming a Jewish state as an operational base, and (6) stimulating anti-Semitism to promote internal Jewish unity. While a small group of Jews direct the conspiracy, the anti-Jewish tracts argue, they have enlisted other Jews in the cabal, making all Jews potential conspirators.

The notion that Jews seek to rule the world has been termed the "deadliest anti-Semitic notion of the modern age because it is "the kind that results in massacre and attempted genocide."⁴

TEXTS: Anti-Semitic Publications in the Modern Age

(1) Jews are pictured as war mongers who profit from violence: "We [the Elders of Zion] must be able to overcome all opposition by provoking war...[and] by assassination and terrorism..." (Protocols, pp. 28-29). Or as Hitler put it, the Jew "weaves a net of enemies around peoples who offer too violent a resistance...[and] incites them to war." (Mein Kampf, p. 285).

(2) Manipulating the Economy:

"We will be surrounded by a crowd of bankers, traders, capitalists and most important of all, by millionaires,..." the Elders of Zion assert. (Protocols, p. 30). Hitler stated that, historically, the Jew becomes "active in economic life, not as a producer, but exclusively as a middleman...in a short time commerce threatens to become his [the Jew's] monopoly." (Mein Kampf, pp. 280-81).

(3) Controlling the Media:

"We will deal with the press in the following manner: ...we will shackle it and keep a tight rein on it ... our government will become the owner of most periodicals." "...a second weapon in the service of the Jews [is]: the

⁴ Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 16.

press... [the Jew] seizes possession of it. With it he slowly begins to grip and ensnare, to guide and push all public life..." (Mein Kampf, p. 286).

(4) Conspiring with Freemasons:

"This constituted a base for our organization of secret masonry which is not known to and whose aims are not even suspected by these cattle, the GOYS," (Protocols, pp. 38-39). In Hitler's words, "...in Freemasonry, which has succumbed to him [the Jew] completely, he has an excellent instrument with which to fight for his aims..." (Mein Kampf, p. 286).

(5) Jewish State as an Operational Base:

... "While the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the national consciousness of the Jews find its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state...all they [the Jews] want is a central organization for the international world swindle...a haven for convicted scoundrels and a university for budding crooks." (Mein Kampf, p. 294).

(6) Stimulating Anti-Semitism to Promote Internal Jewish Unity:

"...if any of the governments raise a protest against us, it is done...by our order, because their anti-Semitism is necessary to enable us to control our smaller brothers." (Protocols, pp. 30-31).

The themes present in these quotations now serve as an inspiration to Soviet anti-Semitic writers.

Soviet Anti-Semitic Publications

Soviet anti-Semitic writers borrow from early anti-Semitic publications, including the Protocols and Mein Kampf. They focus on tactics allegedly used by Jews to seek world domination, and allude to these activities as characteristic of Jews. Thus, for instance, Jews are said to manipulate the world economy since they are, inherently, usurious. In other words, anti-Jewish stereotypes are used to convince readers of dangerous international Jewish conspiracy. And the intent behind these writings is clear: to encourage hostility toward Jews.

Distinguished by their unoriginality, anti-Jewish writers in the USSR are satisfied to embellish traditional comments on Jews with occasional allusions to contemporary affairs. The international Jewish cabal is said to be headquartered in Jerusalem, with tentacles stretching to Western Europe and America, for instance.

Soviet writers have developed one new -- remarkable -- theme: that Jews are responsible for the death of millions of Jews in the Holocaust. Even this, however, is patterned on the earlier notion that Jews themselves foment anti-Semitism.

The number of Soviet anti-Semitic writers -- those who "specialize" in this area -- is not large. There is some evidence that Soviet officials find these anti-Jewish publications distasteful, or at least embarrassing. Ruth Okuneva, former senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute, who submitted a report on Soviet anti-Semitic writings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in April 1980, received an invitation to meet with a Central Committee official, A. A. Sazanov. The Soviet official claimed that he was concerned about "exaggerations in this literature."⁵

Similarly, according to a report of a press conference held by the official Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public on June 6, 1983, a Committee member referred to Lev Korneev's book, The Class Essence of Zionism as an "improper exposition."⁶

On the other hand, anti-Jewish writers are awarded prestigious degrees and positions. Lev Korneev, for instance, holds a Candidate of Historical Sciences degree, equivalent to a Ph.D., and serves currently as a staff member of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Oriental Institute. The Soviet Academy of Sciences counts among its members the USSR's leading scientific personnel.

The sustained production of anti-Semitic propaganda, however, demonstrates that those in the Soviet leadership who support its dissemination have the upper hand. The materials are so objectionable that even Soviet officials feel compelled to make excuses for them.

TEXTS: Anti-Semitic Publications in the USSR

(1) Provoking War

"The majority of large monopolies which produce armaments are controlled by Jews and bankers. The business of blood brings them large profits. Soaring bombs and shells in Lebanon

⁵ "Brezhnev on Anti-Semitism," Insight, May 1981, p. 2.

⁶ "Soviet Says the Jews Who Asked to Leave Have Largely Gone," New York Times, June 7, 1983.

-- are making bankers Lazar and Levy wealthy." (Lev Korneev, "Lies for the Sake of Money and Power," Pionerskaia Pravda, a journal of the Young Communist League, (circulation-9,850,000), October 10, 1980). The reference to Lebanon is incidental; Korneev's point, like anti-Semites before him, is that Jews provoke conflicts to amass money.

(2) Manipulating the Economy

E. Evseev reports that a group to plan *economic* moves, a "conference of Jews-millionaires" has been meeting regularly in Jerusalem since 1967. Lists [of members] drawing from all the corners of the world, bring to Jerusalem "bankers, weapons merchants, boss stockbrokers, real-estate speculators and industrialists" who conspire in financial matters while giving funds to Israel. (E. Evseev, "How events happen," Sotsialisticheskaia Industriia, a journal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, (circulation 900,000), September 9, 1980.)

Lev Korneev adds that Jewish manipulation of the economy has occurred since medieval times: "As a result of their dispersal over the planet the Jews in the course of the centuries turned into a special type of ethnic group, dominated by a wealthy ruling clique -- rabbis, merchants, usurers and other exploiters. Having their bridge-heads -- the Jewish communities -- in a majority of the countries of the world, the Jewish merchant usurer group already in the Middle Ages had special advantages.... (in V. Tarasov, Posidi na Kamne u dorogi Novsibirsk, 1981, p. 262).

(3) Controlling of the Media

N. B. Koputin, writing about the U.S. during the Carter Administration, explains that public opinion turned against the USSR because "The Jewish bourgeoisie exerts a significant influence on the position of many means of mass communication, for instance The New York Times and The Washington Post..." (N. B. Koputin, "The Carter Administration and the Zionist Lobby," USA Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, a journal of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, (circulation 35,000), October 1980.) Lev Korneev offers a concise summary: "Not less

than nine-tenths of the mass media of capitalist countries are under the influence of the great Jewish pro-Zionist bourgeoisie..." (in V. Tarasov, Posidi na kamne u dorogi, Novosibirsk, 1981, p. 267.)

(4) Conspiring with Freemasons:

This notion, which originated during the years following the French Revolution, is still popular among Soviet anti-Jewish journalists. It alleges a union of two conspiratorial groups: Jews and Masons. The conspiracy is hatched in suitably mysterious circumstances. "Only the candles in the seven-branch candlesticks lit up the Star of David," V. Savtsov writes, "Another meeting of the masonic lodge has started... Strictly speaking the Jewish national branch of Masonry chronologically preceded Zionism... Already in 1843, the most influential and wide-spread Jewish organization, the B'nai B'rith was functioning." (V. Savtsov, "Under the Mask of Piety," Radyanska Ukraina, a journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, July 7, 1981.)

(5) Jewish State as an Operational Base

In the nineteenth century, Lev Korneev tells his readers in the armed forces journal Krasnaia Zvezda, "A cock-and-bull story about founding a refuge for Jews in a "promised land," in the Hills of Zion concealed the goal of the large international Zionist bourgeoisie to found...a political, military and ideological center for Jews-moneybags the world over." (L. Korneev, "In the Struggle for Good Deeds," Krasnaia Zvezda, central journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation 254,700), March 3, 1980.) "Put precisely," "the great cosmopolitan Jewish bourgeoisie, which strives to maximize its growth in the capitalist world, uses Israel as its economic, political, military and ideological center." (Lev Korneev, "Zionist Lobby in Washington," Krasnaia Zvezda, September 25, 1980.)

(6) Stimulating anti-Semitism to Provoke Jewish Unity

Soviet anti-Jewish writers like to claim that anti-Semitism exists only because Jews them-

selves create it. This is a useful ploy designed to deny their own anti-Semitism. According to M. Starushko, Adolph Eichmann was executed because Zionists feared him revealing Zionist-Nazi collaboration. Starushko continues: "This fact is far from being the only one... Among those who financed the National Socialist Party were Jewish bankers, and not in Germany alone, but also in other European countries..." (M. Starushko, "The Black Hundreds of Imperialism," Komsomolskaia Znamia, journal of the Communist Youth League of the Ukraine, (circulation 254,700), March 28, 1979.)

"Anti-Zionist" Publications in the USSR

Israel is the subject of much discussion in the world's media. In the natural course of events, Israel is both praised and criticized by reporters. In the USSR, commentators treat Israel with great hostility, and often give misleading reports. These are not the subject of this study, however. By the same token, Soviet writers have criticized Zionist ideas and practices, in a distorted fashion: but again, these articles merit consideration elsewhere. The focus here is on articles worthy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, or even Mein Kampf, using the term "Zionists" to disseminate calumnies against Jews.

"Anti-Zionist" articles are more numerous in the Soviet press than anti-Semitic pieces. It is understandable that authors prefer to attack Zionists. Especially since the passage of the Soviet-sponsored 1975 United Nations resolution, which equated Zionism with racism, it has become acceptable to criticize "Zionists." This maneuver leaves the writer less vulnerable to characterization as an anti-Semite. Furthermore, since 1917 official Soviet doctrine has opposed Zionism and so anti-Semitic writers inject the term "Zionist" into their work to make it welcome to Soviet officialdom.

An analysis of Soviet anti-Zionist articles demonstrates that the very term "anti-Zionist" is a misnomer. Zionism is a political doctrine which advocates Jewish statehood; Zionists believe that Israel may serve as a refuge for Jews, and should serve as a Jewish cultural center. Soviet articles which attack "Zionists" do not criticize Zionist ideas or practice. These articles savage Jews, deemed "Zionists," who bear a striking resemblance to Jewish conspirators in classic anti-Semitic works.

Soviet propagandists, as has been seen, purposely mention Jews and Zionists in the same passages. For instance, Korneev writes "not less than nine-tenths of the mass media...are under Jewish pro-Zionist influence." (see Soviet Anti-Semitic texts, no. 3.) By alternating between using the terms "Jews" and "Zionists," the authors wish to suggest that the two groups are interchangeable, that they, in fact, form one identity.

The content of the anti-Zionist articles also confirms this point. What charges do Soviet anti-Jewish journalists level against Zionists? They allege that Zionists act in line with traditional Jewish conspiratorial activities: provoke war, manipulate the economy, control the press, conspire with Freemasons, use Israel as an operational base, and stimulate anti-Semitism. By pinning standard anti-Semitic stereotypes on Zionists, Soviet anti-Semitic writers try to utilize and enhance negative feelings toward Jews.

Are the tactics of these writers successful? There is reason to believe that they are. A professor at a Canadian university who recently spent six months in the Ukraine noted that when the average Ukrainian reads "Zionist," he thinks "Jew." To the average Soviet citizen, the history or meaning of Zionism is of no concern; he interprets remarks about Zionists as comments about Jews.

Writers portray Zionists as agents of the Jews: "The Jewish financiers and industrialists strive, through the system of a Zionist network of agents (the lobby) to direct the domestic and foreign policies of the USA, England, France, FRG [West Germany], Belgium and other capitalist countries..." (Lev Korneev, "Zionism -- the Tool of Imperialist Expansion and of Neo-colonialism," Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil, journal of the Chief Political Directorate of the Soviet Armed Forces, (circulation unavailable) March 1979). To put it concisely: "The Jewish financial oligarchy manufactured Zionism." (Lev Korneev, "United with Imperialist reaction," Sovetskie Profsoiuzy, November 1979, pp. 39-40). Soviet writers wish to establish the proposition that Jews and Zionists are two interchangeable entities, engaged in the same ominous conspiracy.

The fact that "anti-Zionist" writers try to stimulate anti-Semitism is hardly surprising: these same authors write anti-Semitic articles as well. Korneev, Savtsov, Evseev -- anti-Semitic journalists discussed above -- also produce much of the anti-Zionist material. Having exchanged the term "Jew" for "Zionist," they repeat the same canards under a new heading.

TEXTS: Anti-Zionist Publications

(1) Provoking War:

The popularity of the theme that Zionists are like Nazis, bent upon death and destruction, has grown precipitously among Soviet anti-Semitic writers in recent years. A story in a Soviet newspaper in October 1983 refers to "the crimes of the Israeli Nazis,": the crimes of "thugs wearing six-pointed stars [Magen David] insignias ripped open the bellies of pregnant women with Teutonic cold-bloodedness, smashed babies' heads against walls, raped girls before the very eyes of their parents, bayoneted old

people." (Ivan Rudin and Kirill Somov, "A Formula for Treason," Prizyv, October 30, 1983.)

Zionists, according to Soviet writers, have embraced the doctrine and methods of Nazism. Thus, "Zionism is akin to facism, both sooner or later lead to death camps and to crematoria chimneys smoking 24 hours a day and to genocide." (L. Chernousko, "Zionism--the Poisoned Weapon of Imperialism," Voenny Vestnik, journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation unavailable), January 1979.)

"The Zionists borrowed much from Hitler and the Nazis: [for instance] the doctrines of "Blitzkreig" and concentration camps... People are not born monsters. They become this as a result of education in the spirit of racism... The Zionist six-pointed Star of David has replaced the spider like swastika." (A. Svidnitskii, "Zionism: Illusion and Reality," (Rabochaia Gazeta, a journal of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, (circulation 330,000), February 11, 1983.)

Taking this concept one step further, Soviet anti-Jewish writers now affirm that not only have Zionists embraced Nazism, but that Zionists formulated ideas later adopted by Hitler. It is worth citing a recent article which advanced this proposition at some length:

"As is known, Hitler called for the destruction of millions of people of 'inferior race.' But this cynical statement rightfully belongs to one of the 'pillars' of Zionism, Max Nordau, who spoke about the Palestinian Arabs in this manner long ago... Successive Zionists have translated Mr. Nordau's credo into reality by conducting genocide against Arabs..."

The article continues with a phrase culled directly from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: "For years Zionists have envenomed the Israeli people by preached abhorrence of 'goys'." (V. Bolshakov, Fascism and Zionism: Roots of Alliance," Pravda, January 17, 1984, p. 4.)

(2) Manipulating the Economy:

This same uninhibited anti-Semitic writer, V. Bolshakov, used the term "Jewish moneybags" in his Pravda article. (V. Bolshakov, "Fascism

and Zionism: The Roots of Alliance," Pravda, January 17, 1984, p. 4) Usually, when invoking the classic anti-Semitic notion of Jewish economic manipulation, Soviet writers prefer to substitute "Zionist" for "Jewish."

Following Jewish activist Iosif Begun's conviction in October 1983 for "Anti-Soviet activity," a Soviet newspaper ran a story on Begun, in which he was characterized as a "Zionist agent," and also as "a cunning and impudent wheeler-dealer selling the interests of his Motherland both wholesale and retail." Begun became a Zionist, according to the story, because it made possible to earn "American dollars and Israeli shekels, as well as other handouts from the Zionists' dirty pockets." (Ivan Rudin and Kirill Somov, "A Formula For Treason," Prizy, October 30, 1983.)

Soviet writers play on two aspects of this theme. First, Zionists exploit workers to earn money: "The [Israeli] State is enriched at the expense of collections, and sometimes of extortion of millions of dollars... American billionaires of Jewish nationality are particularly generous in giving handouts. However, it is known that the money...has been made [by exploiting] the labor of...the masses..." (L. Chenousko, "Zionism --the Poisoned Weapon of Imperialism," Voenny Vestnik, January 1979.) Second, the capital thus amassed emboldens Zionists to pursue "even grander plans." The power and influence of the Zionist group in America is grounded first and foremost in the financial might of the great American bourgeois Jewish line of persons, which forms an inseparable part of the ruling industrial-financial oligarchy." (Viktor I. Hagaichuk, General Headquarters at the Split, Kiev, 1982, p. 41.)

(3) Controlling the Media

It is common to read in Soviet publications that, "Zionist centers control up to 80% of American and other Western information agencies." (A. Frenkin, "Zionism Without a Mask," Literaturnaia Gazeta, journal of the Soviet Writers Union, (circulation, 2,302,600), January 24, 1979.) On occasion, Soviet propagandists move beyond generalization to specifics: "it has been ascertained for certain that the newspapers New York Times, Washington Post,

people." (Ivan Rudin and Kirill Somov, "A Formula for Treason," Prizyv, October 30, 1983.)

Zionists, according to Soviet writers, have embraced the doctrine and methods of Nazism. Thus, "Zionism is akin to facism, both sooner or later lead to death camps and to crematoria chimneys smoking 24 hours a day and to genocide." (L. Chernousko, "Zionism--the Poisoned Weapon of Imperialism," Voenny Vestnik, journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation unavailable), January 1979.)

"The Zionists borrowed much from Hitler and the Nazis: [for instance] the doctrines of "Blitzkreig" and concentration camps... People are not born monsters. They become this as a result of education in the spirit of racism... The Zionist six-pointed Star of David has replaced the spider like swastika." (A. Svidnitskii, "Zionism: Illusion and Reality," (Rabochaia Gazeta, a journal of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, (circulation 330,000), February 11, 1983.)

Taking this concept one step further, Soviet anti-Jewish writers now affirm that not only have Zionists embraced Nazism, but that Zionists formulated ideas later adopted by Hitler. It is worth citing a recent article which advanced this proposition at some length:

"As is known, Hitler called for the destruction of millions of people of 'inferior race.' But this cynical statement rightfully belongs to one of the 'pillars' of Zionism, Max Nordau, who spoke about the Palestinian Arabs in this manner long ago... Successive Zionists have translated Mr. Nordau's credo into reality by conducting genocide against Arabs..."

The article continues with a phrase culled directly from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: "For years Zionists have envenomed the Israeli people by preached abhorrence of 'goys'." (V. Bolshakov, Fascism and Zionism: Roots of Alliance," Pravda, January 17, 1984, p. 4.)

(2) Manipulating the Economy:

This same uninhibited anti-Semitic writer, V. Bolshakov, used the term "Jewish moneybags" in his Pravda article. (V. Bolshakov, "Fascism

are equipped...to ensure the interests of Israel not only as a State, but also as a Zionist center... The actions of...the Zionist secret service are frequently aimed at intimidating or liquidating politicians, public figures and journalists..." (E. Evseev, "Israel's Diplomacy in the Service of Aggression," Mezhdunarodnaia Zhizn, a scientific-political monthly, published in Russian, English and French, August 1979.)

The notion that Zionists use Israel as an operational base is sharpened when joined with an accusation that Zionism is using Soviet Jews to reach its goals. This is an invitation to mistrust and despise Soviet Jews: "The Zionist attempt to...form a Fifth Column of Zionism in our country." Soviet Jews interested in emigration are described as "Philistines, money-grubbers,..." (B. Kravtsov, "Zionist Influence on Soviet Jews Censured," Leningradskaya Pravda, a journal of the Leningrad Regional Committee of The Communist Party, (circulation 580,000), April 19, 1983, pp. 2-3.)

(6) Fomenting Anti-Semitism

The popularity among Soviet anti-Jewish writers of the canard that Zionists aided the Nazis in murdering six million Jews has soared in recent years. Soviet writers also assert that Zionists encouraged and aided the Nazis, that they fomented anti-Semitism, to advance their own narrow interests. After disclosing alleged connections between Zionists and Nazis, Lev Korneev offers a statement by Chaim Weizmann as proof of Zionism's evil nature. According to Korneev, Weizmann described European Jewry as "the economic and moral dust of the great world..." Echoing neo-Nazis, Korneev denies that six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust. (Lev Korneev, "The Second World War and Myths of Zionist Propaganda," Voенно-Istoricheskii Zhurnal, a journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation unavailable) June 1982.)

The Zionism is Nazism theme was repeated recently on Moscow radio. In an interview on December 3, 1983, Professor Yevgeny A. Nozhin stated that Zionists see "anti-Semitism as a

blessing, as a force ensuring the separateness of the Jews..." Professor Nozhin also asserted that "The Zionists were essentially the Hitlerites' accomplices and even participants in the mass annihilation of the Jews..." (Question and answer program, "Lenin University of the Millions," Moscow Home Service, December 3, 1983.)

The theme that Judaism and Nazism are indistinguishable also finds expressions in Soviet cartoons. Anti-Jewish cartoons have a long history, and are an important vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitic themes in the USSR; space permits comment on only one such cartoon, which is attached.

This cartoon appeared in Perets, a mass circulation Ukrainian-language journal, in June 1983 (issue no. 11). Entitled "Israeli Conquerors in Lebanon," the cartoon's background (top left) shows Israeli soldiers surrounding prisoners whose houses are in flames. This may suggest that the prisoners are homeless civilians. In the lower left corner, an Israeli soldier is saluting his commanders in "Heil Hitler" fashion. The foreground shows four Israeli soldiers and one caricatured, hook-nosed, bearded, black-caftaned, Jew, inspecting plans for the prisoners. The Jewish figure is drawn in the classic style of right-wing, including Nazi, cartoonists, and this figure -- who has "Zionism" stamped on his back -- is holding the plans, which suggest that it is his idea. On the plan itself are the words "Auschwitz, Maidanik and Buchenwald" under the heading "Concentration Camps, 1933-1945." The swastika, the letters "SS," and the English word "Block A," possibly suggesting American or British collusion, are also included. The cartoon's caption carries the order issued presumably by the Jewish caricatured-figure: "Start building the camps according to models already tried." The Israeli soldiers look on, stupidly. It may be that the editor of Perets asked the cartoonist to draw an anti-Israel cartoon; the cartoon, however, is undisguisedly anti-Semitic. The word "Zionism" is written on the back of a hook-nosed Jew -- demonstrating that any distinction between "anti-Zionism" and anti-Semitism is purposely blurred.

Inciting Racial Hatred

Soviet anti-Semitic publications are dangerous and immoral. Whether these writings attack Jews openly or under the guise of anti-Zionism, the clear impact of this racial propaganda is to create hostility toward Jews. Soviet writers use classic anti-Semitic canards, altering them to suit contemporary circumstances. Themes present in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and in Mein Kampf today find expression in prominent publications throughout the Soviet Union. These writings sustain and encourage anti-Jewish feelings which lead to discrimination in day-to-day life and prepare the ground for physical attack if a crisis should occur.

Analysts have argued that the motivation behind the anti-Jewish publications goes beyond wishing to intimidate Jews to drop Jewish attachments. The Soviet regime wishes to win favor among the ethnic Russian population by driving Jewish professionals from positions of respectability in Soviet life to make room for even more Russians. Doubtless historic animosity toward Jews and Judaism, which can be traced back hundreds of years, also plays a role.

Anti-Jewish publications, which encourage racism and threaten the well-being of Soviet Jews also run counter to positions the Soviet Union espouses before the international community. The Soviet Union is, for example a member of UNESCO and in 1978, UNESCO's General Conference passed a Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, which states:

The mass media and those who control or serve them, as well as organized groups within national communities are urged...to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals and groups and to contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudice, in particular by refraining from presenting a stereotyped, partial, unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various human groups. (Article 5 (3).)

This UNESCO declaration is an elaboration of provisions condemning incitement to racial hatred included in other international legal instruments ratified by the Soviet Union, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Addressing a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on April 10, 1984, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko expressed support for "eliminating national strife and fostering fraternal friendship between different peoples..." As long as the officially-sponsored Soviet media disseminates anti-Jewish canards, however, it will be promoting racial hatred.

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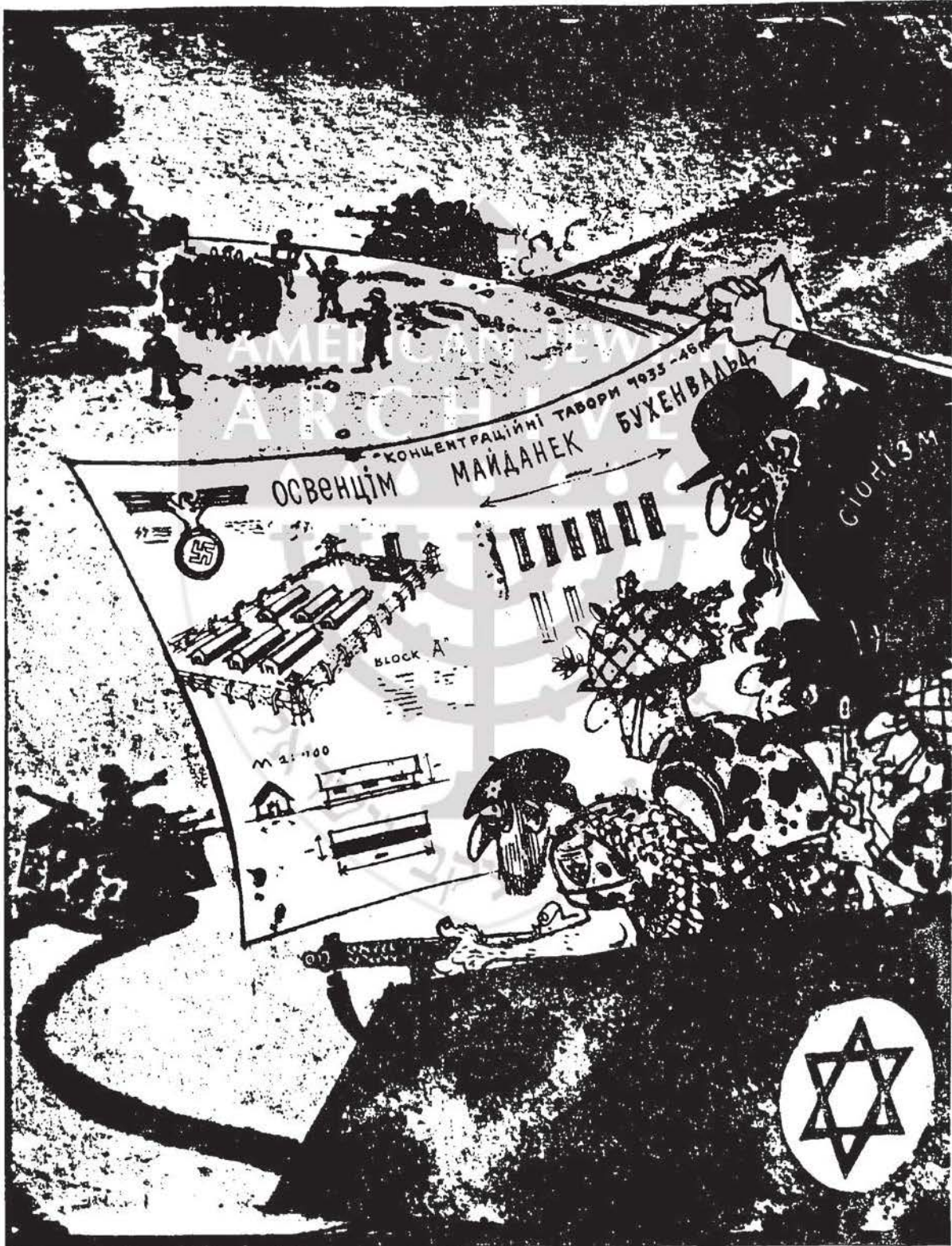
"Перець", №11, червень 1983

Видання: "PERETS", No.11, June 1983
(Ukrainian)

Індекс

Мал. В. ЗЕЛІНСЬКОГО

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"ISRAELI CONQUERORS IN LEBANON"



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**SOVIET ANTI-JEWISH PUBLICATIONS
1979-1984**

**BY ALLAN L. KAGEDAN
Policy Analyst
International Organizations Division**

**AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES**

**A Special Report of the
International Relations Department**



**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 East 56 Street
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SOVIET ANTI-JEWISH PUBLICATIONS

1979-1984

Allan L. Kagedan,
Policy Analyst

In December, 1979, Soviet troops occupied Afghanistan, causing a rupture in East-West relations. Shortly thereafter, the Soviet leadership executed an internal crackdown on persons affirming their human rights. Part of the new purge was directed against Soviet Jews.¹

The Soviet regime in recent years has permitted accelerated publication of anti-Semitic articles in widely circulated, prominent, newspapers and journals. The dissemination of anti-Jewish publications reached a heightened level of seriousness with the appearance of such a piece in Pravda, the journal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, (circulation 10,600,000*) on January 17, 1984.

Soviet publication of anti-Jewish materials is particularly troubling because the USSR is a superpower with global reach. Soviet anti-Semitic publications have an impact far beyond Soviet borders. Articles from the USSR targeted at Third World and Western states encourage hostility toward Jews, and tarnish the Jewish image around the world.

History teaches that disseminating racist propaganda is dangerous. Publications which portray a racial or ethnic group as inferior, subversive or criminal have the immediate effect of encouraging hostility toward that group. Racist propaganda's most perilous long-term result is to convince a society that physical attack of a particular group is praiseworthy. Anti-Semitic publications of the

*This data is from the authoritative Soviet publication, Letopis' Periodicheskikh i Prodolzhaishchiksiia Izdaniia (Moscow, 1981).

¹ Peter Reddaway, "Dissent in the Soviet Union," Problems of Communism, November-December 1983, pp. 1-45.

1920s and 1930s made it easier for Europeans to accept, and to participate in Hitler's "Final Solution" of the Jewish question. Because of the role it plays in inciting racial hatred, racist propaganda has been condemned by international law.

In states with a free press, racist publications circulate, and it is the task of political leaders and private groups to combat their spread; in certain cases, courts punish distributors of racist materials. Yet in countries with controlled media -- where publication is sponsored by the government, such as in the Soviet Union -- it is the special duty of the regime to quell racist propaganda.

On numerous occasions, the Soviet Government has claimed that it opposes the dissemination of racist, including anti-Semitic, materials. The Soviet Constitution of 1977 (article 36) states that "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt are punishable by law."² Yet, without support from high Soviet leaders, anti-Semitic publications would never appear in the USSR. Soviet citizens and even members of the Soviet hierarchy may find propagating such racist notions distasteful or politically unwise. Exposing the nature and scope of these writings will, it is hoped, deter the Soviets from purveying anti-Semitism.

This study concentrates on the years 1979 to 1984. First, to gauge the origins and nature of the anti-Jewish themes in Soviet writings, there will be a brief survey of two important anti-Semitic works, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and Adolph Hitler's Mein Kampf. This will facilitate analysis of the chief varieties of Soviet anti-Jewish publications: those which are undisguisedly anti-Semitic; and those which masquerade as "anti-Zionist" critiques, yet, in fact, stimulate hostility toward Jews. Each section is divided into an analytical overview and textual documentation of Soviet anti-Semitic publications.

Modern Anti-Semitic Publications

It is a tragic, but irrefutable, fact that Soviet anti-Semitic writings borrow concepts from classic anti-Semitic writing. The term anti-Semitism has been defined as "hostility toward Jews," and anti-Semitic publications seek to foment such hostility. Perhaps the two most prominent anti-Semitic books in the modern age are The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (1905) and Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf (1925-27).³ The Protocols, which purport to be minutes of meetings held by a conspiratorial group of Jews, were a forgery prepared by members of the

² Boris Topornin in The New Soviet Constitution (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980), p. 249.

³ Page references from: The Protocols and World Revolution (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1920); and Hitler's Mein Kampf (London: Hutchinson, 1969).

right-wing Union of the Russian People; Mein Kampf, which borrows from the Protocols, was Hitler's most extensive political tract, dictated to Rudolf Hess while Hitler served a prison sentence in the 1920s.

A basic theme shared by the Protocols and Mein Kampf is that a group of Jews seeks to dominate the world. To achieve international supremacy, the books state, these Jews, residents of various countries, adopt any means necessary: (1) provoking war, (2) manipulating the economy, (3) controlling the media, (4) conspiring with Freemasons, (5) forming a Jewish state as an operational base, and (6) stimulating anti-Semitism to promote internal Jewish unity. While a small group of Jews direct the conspiracy, the anti-Jewish tracts argue, they have enlisted other Jews in the cabal, making all Jews potential conspirators.

The notion that Jews seek to rule the world has been termed the "deadliest anti-Semitic notion of the modern age because it is "the kind that results in massacre and attempted genocide."⁴

TEXTS: Anti-Semitic Publications in the Modern Age

(1) Jews are pictured as war mongers who profit from violence: "We [the Elders of Zion] must be able to overcome all opposition by provoking war...[and] by assassination and terrorism..." (Protocols, pp. 28-29). Or as Hitler put it, the Jew "weaves a net of enemies around peoples who offer too violent a resistance...[and] incites them to war." (Mein Kampf, p. 285).

(2) Manipulating the Economy:

"We will be surrounded by a crowd of bankers, traders, capitalists and most important of all, by millionaires,..." the Elders of Zion assert. (Protocols, p. 30). Hitler stated that, historically, the Jew becomes "active in economic life, not as a producer, but exclusively as a middleman...in a short time commerce threatens to become his [the Jew's] monopoly." (Mein Kampf, pp. 280-81).

(3) Controlling the Media:

"We will deal with the press in the following manner: ...we will shackle it and keep a tight rein on it ... our government will become the owner of most periodicals." "...a second weapon in the service of the Jews [is]: the

⁴ Norman Cohn, Warrant for Genocide (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 16.

press... [the Jew] seizes possession of it. With it he slowly begins to grip and ensnare, to guide and push all public life..." (Mein Kampf, p. 286).

(4) Conspiring with Freemasons:

"This constituted a base for our organization of secret masonry which is not known to and whose aims are not even suspected by these cattle, the GOYS," (Protocols, pp. 38-39). In Hitler's words, "...in Freemasonry, which has succumbed to him [the Jew] completely, he has an excellent instrument with which to fight for his aims..." (Mein Kampf, p. 286).

(5) Jewish State as an Operational Base:

..."While the Zionists try to make the rest of the world believe that the national consciousness of the Jews find its satisfaction in the creation of a Palestinian state...all they [the Jews] want is a central organization for the international world swindle...a haven for convicted scoundrels and a university for budding crooks." (Mein Kampf, p. 294).

(6) Stimulating Anti-Semitism to Promote Internal Jewish Unity:

"...if any of the governments raise a protest against us, it is done...by our order, because their anti-Semitism is necessary to enable us to control our smaller brothers." (Protocols, pp. 30-31).

The themes present in these quotations now serve as an inspiration to Soviet anti-Semitic writers.

Soviet Anti-Semitic Publications

Soviet anti-Semitic writers borrow from early anti-Semitic publications, including the Protocols and Mein Kampf. They focus on tactics allegedly used by Jews to seek world domination, and allude to these activities as characteristic of Jews. Thus, for instance, Jews are said to manipulate the world economy since they are, inherently, usurious. In other words, anti-Jewish stereotypes are used to convince readers of dangerous international Jewish conspiracy. And the intent behind these writings is clear: to encourage hostility toward Jews.

Distinguished by their unoriginality, anti-Jewish writers in the USSR are satisfied to embellish traditional comments on Jews with occasional allusions to contemporary affairs. The international Jewish cabal is said to be headquartered in Jerusalem, with tentacles stretching to Western Europe and America, for instance.

Soviet writers have developed one new -- remarkable -- theme: that Jews are responsible for the death of millions of Jews in the Holocaust. Even this, however, is patterned on the earlier notion that Jews themselves foment anti-Semitism.

The number of Soviet anti-Semitic writers -- those who "specialize" in this area -- is not large. There is some evidence that Soviet officials find these anti-Jewish publications distasteful, or at least embarrassing. Ruth Okuneva, former senior scientific associate of the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences Scientific Research Institute, who submitted a report on Soviet anti-Semitic writings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in April 1980, received an invitation to meet with a Central Committee official, A. A. Sazanov. The Soviet official claimed that he was concerned about "exaggerations in this literature."⁵

Similarly, according to a report of a press conference held by the official Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public on June 6, 1983, a Committee member referred to Lev Korneev's book, The Class Essence of Zionism as an "improper exposition."⁶

On the other hand, anti-Jewish writers are awarded prestigious degrees and positions. Lev Korneev, for instance, holds a Candidate of Historical Sciences degree, equivalent to a Ph.D., and serves currently as a staff member of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Oriental Institute. The Soviet Academy of Sciences counts among its members the USSR's leading scientific personnel.

The sustained production of anti-Semitic propaganda, however, demonstrates that those in the Soviet leadership who support its dissemination have the upper hand. The materials are so objectionable that even Soviet officials feel compelled to make excuses for them.

TEXTS: Anti-Semitic Publications in the USSR

(1) Provoking War

"The majority of large monopolies which produce armaments are controlled by Jews and bankers. The business of blood brings them large profits. Soaring bombs and shells in Lebanon

⁵ "Brezhnev on Anti-Semitism," Insight, May 1981, p. 2.

⁶ "Soviet Says the Jews Who Asked to Leave Have Largely Gone," New York Times, June 7, 1983.

-- are making bankers Lazar and Levy wealthy." (Lev Korneev, "Lies for the Sake of Money and Power," Pionerskaia Pravda, a journal of the Young Communist League, (circulation-9,850,000), October 10, 1980). The reference to Lebanon is incidental; Korneev's point, like anti-Semites before him, is that Jews provoke conflicts to amass money.

(2) Manipulating the Economy

E. Evseev reports that a group to plan economic moves, a "conference of Jews-millionaires" has been meeting regularly in Jerusalem since 1967. Lists [of members] drawing from all the corners of the world, bring to Jerusalem "bankers, weapons merchants, boss stockbrokers, real-estate speculators and industrialists" who conspire in financial matters while giving funds to Israel. (E. Evseev, "How events happen," Sotsialisticheskaiia Industriia, a journal of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, (circulation 900,000), September 9, 1980.)

Lev Korneev adds that Jewish manipulation of the economy has occurred since medieval times: "As a result of their dispersal over the planet the Jews in the course of the centuries turned into a special type of ethnic group, dominated by a wealthy ruling clique -- rabbis, merchants, usurers and other exploiters. Having their bridge-heads -- the Jewish communities -- in a majority of the countries of the world, the Jewish merchant usurer group already in the Middle Ages had special advantages.... (in V. Tarasov, Posidi na Kamne u dorogi Novsibirsk, 1981, p. 262).

(3) Controlling of the Media

N. B. Koputin, writing about the U.S. during the Carter Administration, explains that public opinion turned against the USSR because "The Jewish bourgeoisie exerts a significant influence on the position of many means of mass communication, for instance The New York Times and The Washington Post..." (N. B. Koputin, "The Carter Administration and the Zionist Lobby," USA Ekonomika, Politika, Ideologiya, a journal of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, (circulation 35,000), October 1980.) Lev Korneev offers a concise summary: "Not less

than nine-tenths of the mass media of capitalist countries are under the influence of the great Jewish pro-Zionist bourgeoisie..." (in V. Tarasov, Posidi na kamne u dorogi, Novosibirsk, 1981, p. 267.)

(4) Conspiring with Freemasons:

This notion, which originated during the years following the French Revolution, is still popular among Soviet anti-Jewish journalists. It alleges a union of two conspiratorial groups: Jews and Masons. The conspiracy is hatched in suitably mysterious circumstances. "Only the candles in the seven-branch candlesticks lit up the Star of David," V. Savtsov writes, "Another meeting of the masonic lodge has started... Strictly speaking the Jewish national branch of Masonry chronologically preceded Zionism... Already in 1843, the most influential and wide-spread Jewish organization, the B'nai B'rith was functioning." (V. Savtsov, "Under the Mask of Piety," Radyanska Ukraina, a journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, July 7, 1981.)

(5) Jewish State as an Operational Base

In the nineteenth century, Lev Korneev tells his readers in the armed forces journal Krasnaia Zvezda, "A cock-and-bull story about founding a refuge for Jews in a "promised land," in the Hills of Zion concealed the goal of the large international Zionist bourgeoisie to found...a political, military and ideological center for Jews-moneybags the world over." (L. Korneev, "In the Struggle for Good Deeds," Krasnaia Zvezda, central journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation 254,700), March 3, 1980.) "Put precisely," "the great cosmopolitan Jewish bourgeoisie, which strives to maximize its growth in the capitalist world, uses Israel as its economic, political, military and ideological center." (Lev Korneev, "Zionist Lobby in Washington," Krasnaia Zvezda, September 25, 1980.)

(6) Stimulating anti-Semitism to Provoke Jewish Unity

Soviet anti-Jewish writers like to claim that anti-Semitism exists only because Jews them-

selves create it. This is a useful ploy designed to deny their own anti-Semitism. According to M. Starushko, Adolph Eichmann was executed because Zionists feared him revealing Zionist-Nazi collaboration. Starushko continues: "This fact is far from being the only one... Among those who financed the National Socialist Party were Jewish bankers, and not in Germany alone, but also in other European countries..." (M. Starushko, "The Black Hundreds of Imperialism," Komsomolskaia Znamia, journal of the Communist Youth League of the Ukraine, (circulation 254,700), March 28, 1979.)

"Anti-Zionist" Publications in the USSR

Israel is the subject of much discussion in the world's media. In the natural course of events, Israel is both praised and criticized by reporters. In the USSR, commentators treat Israel with great hostility, and often give misleading reports. These are not the subject of this study, however. By the same token, Soviet writers have criticized Zionist ideas and practices, in a distorted fashion: but again, these articles merit consideration elsewhere. The focus here is on articles worthy of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, or even Mein Kampf, using the term "Zionists" to disseminate calumnies against Jews.

"Anti-Zionist" articles are more numerous in the Soviet press than anti-Semitic pieces. It is understandable that authors prefer to attack Zionists. Especially since the passage of the Soviet-sponsored 1975 United Nations resolution, which equated Zionism with racism, it has become acceptable to criticize "Zionists." This maneuver leaves the writer less vulnerable to characterization as an anti-Semite. Furthermore, since 1917 official Soviet doctrine has opposed Zionism and so anti-Semitic writers inject the term "Zionist" into their work to make it welcome to Soviet officialdom.

An analysis of Soviet anti-Zionist articles demonstrates that the very term "anti-Zionist" is a misnomer. Zionism is a political doctrine which advocates Jewish statehood; Zionists believe that Israel may serve as a refuge for Jews, and should serve as a Jewish cultural center. Soviet articles which attack "Zionists" do not criticize Zionist ideas or practice. These articles savage Jews, deemed "Zionists," who bear a striking resemblance to Jewish conspirators in classic anti-Semitic works.

Soviet propagandists, as has been seen, purposely mention Jews and Zionists in the same passages. For instance, Korneev writes "not less than nine-tenths of the mass media...are under Jewish pro-Zionist influence." (see Soviet Anti-Semitic texts, no. 3.) By alternating between using the terms "Jews" and "Zionists," the authors wish to suggest that the two groups are interchangeable, that they, in fact, form one identity.

The content of the anti-Zionist articles also confirms this point. What charges do Soviet anti-Jewish journalists level against Zionists? They allege that Zionists act in line with traditional Jewish conspiratorial activities: provoke war, manipulate the economy, control the press, conspire with Freemasons, use Israel as an operational base, and stimulate anti-Semitism. By pinning standard anti-Semitic stereotypes on Zionists, Soviet anti-Semitic writers try to utilize and enhance negative feelings toward Jews.

Are the tactics of these writers successful? There is reason to believe that they are. A professor at a Canadian university who recently spent six months in the Ukraine noted that when the average Ukrainian reads "Zionist," he thinks "Jew." To the average Soviet citizen, the history or meaning of Zionism is of no concern; he interprets remarks about Zionists as comments about Jews.

Writers portray Zionists as agents of the Jews: "The Jewish financiers and industrialists strive, through the system of a Zionist network of agents (the lobby) to direct the domestic and foreign policies of the USA, England, France, FRG [West Germany], Belgium and other capitalist countries..." (Lev Korneev, "Zionism -- the Tool of Imperialist Expansion and of Neo-colonialism," Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil, journal of the Chief Political Directorate of the Soviet Armed Forces, (circulation unavailable) March 1979). To put it concisely: "The Jewish financial oligarchy manufactured Zionism." (Lev Korneev, "United with Imperialist reaction," Sovetskie Profsoiuzy, November 1979, pp. 39-40). Soviet writers wish to establish the proposition that Jews and Zionists are two interchangeable entities, engaged in the same ominous conspiracy.

The fact that "anti-Zionist" writers try to stimulate anti-Semitism is hardly surprising: these same authors write anti-Semitic articles as well. Korneev, Savtsov, Evseev -- anti-Semitic journalists discussed above -- also produce much of the anti-Zionist material. Having exchanged the term "Jew" for "Zionist," they repeat the same canards under a new heading.

TEXTS: Anti-Zionist Publications

(1) Provoking War:

The popularity of the theme that Zionists are like Nazis, bent upon death and destruction, has grown precipitously among Soviet anti-Semitic writers in recent years. A story in a Soviet newspaper in October 1983 refers to "the crimes of the Israeli Nazis": the crimes of "thugs wearing six-pointed stars [Magen David] insignias ripped open the bellies of pregnant women with Teutonic cold-bloodedness, smashed babies' heads against walls, raped girls before the very eyes of their parents, bayoneted old

people." (Ivan Rudin and Kirill Somov, "A Formula for Treason," Prizyv, October 30, 1983.)

Zionists, according to Soviet writers, have embraced the doctrine and methods of Nazism. Thus, "Zionism is akin to facism, both sooner or later lead to death camps and to crematoria chimneys smoking 24 hours a day and to genocide." (L. Chernousko, "Zionism--the Poisoned Weapon of Imperialism," Voenny Vestnik, journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation unavailable), January 1979.)

"The Zionists borrowed much from Hitler and the Nazis: [for instance] the doctrines of "Blitzkreig" and concentration camps... People are not born monsters. They become this as a result of education in the spirit of racism... The Zionist six-pointed Star of David has replaced the spider like swastika." (A. Svidnitskii, "Zionism: Illusion and Reality," (Rabochaia Gazeta, a journal of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, (circulation 330,000), February 11, 1983.)

Taking this concept one step further, Soviet anti-Jewish writers now affirm that not only have Zionists embraced Nazism, but that Zionists formulated ideas later adopted by Hitler. It is worth citing a recent article which advanced this proposition at some length:

"As is known, Hitler called for the destruction of millions of people of 'inferior race.' But this cynical statement rightfully belongs to one of the 'pillars' of Zionism, Max Nordau, who spoke about the Palestinian Arabs in this manner long ago... Successive Zionists have translated Mr. Nordau's credo into reality by conducting genocide against Arabs..."

The article continues with a phrase culled directly from the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: "For years Zionists have envenomed the Israeli people by preached abhorrence of 'goys'." (V. Bolshakov, Fascism and Zionism: Roots of Alliance," Pravda, January 17, 1984, p. 4.)

(2) Manipulating the Economy:

This same uninhibited anti-Semitic writer, V. Bolshakov, used the term "Jewish moneybags" in his Pravda article. (V. Bolshakov, "Fascism

and Zionism: The Roots of Alliance," Pravda, January 17, 1984, p. 4) Usually, when invoking the classic anti-Semitic notion of Jewish economic manipulation, Soviet writers prefer to substitute "Zionist" for "Jewish."

Following Jewish activist Iosif Begun's conviction in October 1983 for "Anti-Soviet activity," a Soviet newspaper ran a story on Begun, in which he was characterized as a "Zionist agent," and also as "a cunning and impudent wheeler-dealer selling the interests of his Motherland both wholesale and retail." Begun became a Zionist, according to the story, because it made possible to earn "American dollars and Israeli shekels, as well as other handouts from the Zionists' dirty pockets." (Ivan Rudin and Kirill Somov, "A Formula For Treason," Prizy, October 30, 1983.)

Soviet writers play on two aspects of this theme. First, Zionists exploit workers to earn money: "The [Israeli] State is enriched at the expense of collections, and sometimes of extortion of millions of dollars... American billionaires of Jewish nationality are particularly generous in giving handouts. However, it is known that the money...has been made [by exploiting] the labor of...the masses..." (L. Chenousko, "Zionism --the Poisoned Weapon of Imperialism," Voenny Vestnik, January 1979.) Second, the capital thus amassed emboldens Zionists to pursue "even grander plans." The power and influence of the Zionist group in America is grounded first and foremost in the financial might of the great American bourgeois Jewish line of persons, which forms an inseparable part of the ruling industrial-financial oligarchy." (Viktor I. Hagaichuk, General Headquarters at the Split, Kiev, 1982, p. 41.)

(3) Controlling the Media

It is common to read in Soviet publications that, "Zionist centers control up to 80% of American and other Western information agencies." (A. Frenkin, "Zionism Without a Mask," Literaturnaia Gazeta, journal of the Soviet Writers Union, (circulation, 2,302,600), January 24, 1979.) On occasion, Soviet propagandists move beyond generalization to specifics: "it has been ascertained for certain that the newspapers New York Times, Washington Post,

St. Louis Post Dispatch, the newspaper "chain" of Samuel Newhouse, the journals Newsweek, Time, Vogue, Glamour, and the TV networks CBS, NBC, and ABC, to one or another degree, are under the direct control or influence of the Zionists... In addition, hundreds of local newspapers, journals, radio and TV stations throughout the country have been caught in the nets of Zionists." (V. Gan, "The Lobby Pushes Its Way Through," Komsomol'skaia Pravda, journal of the Communist Youth League, (circulation 9,850,000) September 25, 1982, p. 5.)

What is the purpose of control? "The Zionists systematically poison the international atmosphere...and come out rabidly against any step that leads to mutual understanding between countries with different social and economic systems." (L. Dadiani, "Under the Mask of Peacemakers," Azia i Afrika Sevodnia, a journal of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, distributed internationally, Moscow, February 1982.) In other words, Zionists used the media to obstruct improvement in East-West relations, and thus harm the USSR.

(4) Conspiring with Freemasons:

An article by V. Savtsov, cited above, establishes an identity between Masons, Jews and Zionists. The writer quite bluntly states that this group is an enemy of the Soviet people. "Far from everything is knowing, of course, about the criminal activities of the Mason-Zionists. In the shadow of their lodges and in the Western 'corridors of power' they go on weaving their nets of intrigues and provocations directed against the Soviet Union." (V. Savtsov, "Under the Mask of Piety," Radianska Ukraina, July 7, 1981.)

(5) Jewish State as an Operational Base

This theme, common to the Protocols and Mein Kampf, is given greater play now that a Jewish state has been formed. Soviet writers endeavor to portray Israel as a State different -- more menacing -- from all others. Naturally Israel, like all countries, possesses an intelligence service; Soviet journalists picture it as an arm of a Zionist world conspiracy: "In addition to carrying out their ordinary functions, the diplomatic and propaganda journals of Israel

are equipped...to ensure the interests of Israel not only as a State, but also as a Zionist center... The actions of...the Zionist secret service are frequently aimed at intimidating or liquidating politicians, public figures and journalists..." (E. Evseev, "Israel's Diplomacy in the Service of Aggression," Mezhdunarodnaia Zhizn, a scientific-political monthly, published in Russian, English and French, August 1979.)

The notion that Zionists use Israel as an operational base is sharpened when joined with an accusation that Zionism is using Soviet Jews to reach its goals. This is an invitation to mistrust and despise Soviet Jews: "The Zionist attempt to...form a Fifth Column of Zionism in our country." Soviet Jews interested in emigration are described as "Philistines, money-grubbers,..." (B. Kravtsov, "Zionist Influence on Soviet Jews Censured," Leningradskaya Pravda, a journal of the Leningrad Regional Committee of The Communist Party, (circulation 580,000), April 19, 1983, pp. 2-3.)

(6) Fomenting Anti-Semitism

The popularity among Soviet anti-Jewish writers of the canard that Zionists aided the Nazis in murdering six million Jews has soared in recent years. Soviet writers also assert that Zionists encouraged and aided the Nazis, that they fomented anti-Semitism, to advance their own narrow interests. After disclosing alleged connections between Zionists and Nazis, Lev Korneev offers a statement by Chaim Weizmann as proof of Zionism's evil nature. According to Korneev, Weizmann described European Jewry as "the economic and moral dust of the great world..." Echoing neo-Nazis, Korneev denies that six million Jews were killed in the Holocaust. (Lev Korneev, "The Second World War and Myths of Zionist Propaganda," Voенно-Istoricheskii Zhurnal, a journal of the Soviet Defense Ministry, (circulation unavailable) June 1982.)

The Zionism is Nazism theme was repeated recently on Moscow radio. In an interview on December 3, 1983, Professor Yevgeny A. Nozhin stated that Zionists see "anti-Semitism as a

blessing, as a force ensuring the separateness of the Jews..." Professor Nozhin also asserted that "The Zionists were essentially the Hitlerites' accomplices and even participants in the mass annihilation of the Jews..." (Question and answer program, "Lenin University of the Millions," Moscow Home Service, December 3, 1983.)

The theme that Judaism and Nazism are indistinguishable also finds expressions in Soviet cartoons. Anti-Jewish cartoons have a long history, and are an important vehicle for the dissemination of anti-Semitic themes in the USSR; space permits comment on only one such cartoon, which is attached.

This cartoon appeared in Perets, a mass circulation Ukrainian-language journal, in June 1983 (issue no. 11). Entitled "Israeli Conquerors in Lebanon," the cartoon's background (top left) shows Israeli soldiers surrounding prisoners whose houses are in flames. This may suggest that the prisoners are homeless civilians. In the lower left corner, an Israeli soldier is saluting his commanders in "Heil Hitler" fashion. The foreground shows four Israeli soldiers and one caricatured, hook-nosed, bearded, black-caftaned, Jew, inspecting plans for the prisoners. The Jewish figure is drawn in the classic style of right-wing, including Nazi, cartoonists, and this figure -- who has "Zionism" stamped on his back -- is holding the plans, which suggest that it is his idea. On the plan itself are the words "Auschwitz, Maidanik and Buchenwald" under the heading "Concentration Camps, 1933-1945." The swastika, the letters "SS," and the English word "Block A," possibly suggesting American or British collusion, are also included. The cartoon's caption carries the order issued presumably by the Jewish caricatured-figure: "Start building the camps according to models already tried." The Israeli soldiers look on, stupidly. It may be that the editor of Perets asked the cartoonist to draw an anti-Israel cartoon; the cartoon, however, is undisguisedly anti-Semitic. The word "Zionism" is written on the back of a hook-nosed Jew -- demonstrating that any distinction between "anti-Zionism" and anti-Semitism is purposely blurred.

Inciting Racial Hatred

Soviet anti-Semitic publications are dangerous and immoral. Whether these writings attack Jews openly or under the guise of anti-Zionism, the clear impact of this racial propaganda is to create hostility toward Jews. Soviet writers use classic anti-Semitic canards, altering them to suit contemporary circumstances. Themes present in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and in Mein Kampf today find expression in prominent publications throughout the Soviet Union. These writings sustain and encourage anti-Jewish feelings which lead to discrimination in day-to-day life and prepare the ground for physical attack if a crisis should occur.

Analysts have argued that the motivation behind the anti-Jewish publications goes beyond wishing to intimidate Jews to drop Jewish attachments. The Soviet regime wishes to win favor among the ethnic Russian population by driving Jewish professionals from positions of respectability in Soviet life to make room for even more Russians. Doubtless historic animosity toward Jews and Judaism, which can be traced back hundreds of years, also plays a role.

Anti-Jewish publications, which encourage racism and threaten the well-being of Soviet Jews also run counter to positions the Soviet Union espouses before the international community. The Soviet Union is, for example a member of UNESCO and in 1978, UNESCO's General Conference passed a Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice, which states:

The mass media and those who control or serve them, as well as organized groups within national communities are urged...to promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among individuals and groups and to contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination and racial prejudice, in particular by refraining from presenting a stereotyped, partial, unilateral or tendentious picture of individuals and of various human groups. (Article 5 (3).)

This UNESCO declaration is an elaboration of provisions condemning incitement to racial hatred included in other international legal instruments ratified by the Soviet Union, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Addressing a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party on April 10, 1984, Soviet leader Konstantin Chernenko expressed support for "eliminating national strife and fostering fraternal friendship between different peoples..." As long as the officially-sponsored Soviet media disseminates anti-Jewish canards, however, it will be promoting racial hatred.

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Avtandil
RUKHADZE

Jews
in
the
USSR
FIGURES
FACTS
COMMENT



Novosti Press Agency
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Data provided by the Central Statistical Board of the USSR Council of Ministers and other Soviet Government organisations and scientific research institutes, material taken from the Soviet and foreign press, consultations given by specialists and officials are used in this booklet



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FOREWORD

In the autumn of 1978 US Senators Jacob K. Javits and Abraham Ribicoff visited the Soviet Union. At a reception given in their honour by Malcolm Toon, then US Ambassador to Moscow, I was introduced to Senator Javits. During our conversation I gave him a copy of the first edition of this booklet, which had just come off the press.

He kindly agreed to grant me an interview and we met next day in the lobby of his hotel, as arranged. Before the interview Senator Javits said he had read the booklet. Though he had some doubts and objections, on the whole he liked it because it presented many facts little known in the West. Some problems were viewed from an angle unfamiliar to Western readers, but it all helped one to form a balanced judgement.

Many readers abroad who have sent letters to the Novosti Press Agency Publishing House express the same view. It corresponds to the aim of my work as I hate to impose my views on anybody and for that very reason I cite so many figures, documents and other facts.

The reader who goes through this booklet carefully and without the bias fostered over many years by Zionist and some other Western mass me-

dia, will, I have no doubt, draw correct conclusions about the life of Jews in the USSR.

That was how I concluded the note to readers I wrote in the autumn of 1981, about a year before the second edition of this booklet appeared.

Many events of importance have occurred since then, directly or indirectly relevant to the theme of this booklet, above all—the bloodshed in Lebanon.

As usually happens in such cases Zionist-Israeli anti-Soviet propaganda was stepped up “in defence of Soviet Jews” and against “official Soviet antisemitism”.

The extent of the anti-Soviet campaign was illustrated, in particular, by the fact that at the height of the Lebanese tragedy what was called an “extraordinary world conference in defence of Soviet Jewry” was convened in Jerusalem in March 1983.

The time and place chosen for this assembly, inspired by international Zionism (such “conferences” had previously been held in Brussels), clearly revealed the aims pursued by the “conference” sponsors and their backers. The aims were *to reduce the intensity of mounting worldwide indignation at the act of Israeli aggression in Lebanon, accompanied by acts of genocide and atrocity against the Palestinian Arab people and the Lebanese; to detract the attention of world public opinion from the crimes of the Israeli military.*

At the same time such an anti-Soviet undertaking fully accords with the calls being issued by Israel's Western protectors for “a crusade” against communism.

Having no real facts at their disposal to prove the existence of “official antisemitism” in the USSR, the anti-Soviet propaganda-mongers usually

refer to articles appearing from time to time in the Soviet press or to books published in the Soviet Union which criticise the ideology and practice of Zionism and condemn the adventurist policy of Israeli extremists. They tear sentences from their contexts, change the emphasis and juggle with the facts.

The Zionist propaganda-mongers go so far as to declare the formation of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion in the spring of 1983 as "a new antisemitic step" arguing in a primitive way that Zionism is identical with the interests of all Jews and anti-Zionism is identical with anti-semitism.

In accordance with such logic all who reject Zionism and condemn Israel's aggressive policy, who regard as just the Arabs' demands for the return of the territories occupied by Israel, are declared to be antisemitic.

Raising the bogey of "antisemitism" in order to recruit Jews to their ranks and get them to emigrate to Israel, the Zionists at the same time resort to blackmail by accusing anyone who criticises Zionism of being antisemitic.

The Israeli obscurantists have long been killing Arabs, who are a kindred Semitic people. They have been driving them from their lands and cynically persecuting them. At the same time Zionist and Western propaganda spares no effort in accusing the Soviet Union of "persecuting Jews".

In Israel, alongside the open persecution of the Arab citizens of Israel, the Jews who came mainly from East European countries, are subject to discrimination in every field. At the same time Zionist-Israeli propaganda keeps harping on "official antisemitism in the USSR".

In Paris a bomb is set off near a synagogue; in California cutthroats from the "Identity" organisation and from a similar organisation called "Posse comitatus" desecrate Jewish cemeteries and attack synagogues. At the same time the anti-Soviet propaganda machine is spreading lies about the "persecution of Jewish believers in the USSR". Bookstalls and bookstore shelves in the United States and in other Western countries are full of antisemitic and fascist literature, but at the same time some circles in the West voice false indignation at "antisemitic publications in the USSR".

In the United States—the richest country of what is called "the free world"—about 200,000 Jews are living below the poverty line. But at the same time propaganda in the West, above all, in the United States, protests hypocritically about the "grievous plight of Jews in the USSR".

I realise that all this is inspired first and foremost by persons and organisations of extremely anti-Soviet and anti-communist views and pursuing selfish political aims. But quite a number of people let themselves be drawn into the orbit of such anti-Soviet propaganda.

I continue to hope that for such people and for those who sincerely want to know the truth about Soviet Jews this booklet will prove useful and helpful.

JEWS IN OLD RUSSIA

Early History—Antisemitic Policy of Tsarist Government—Deformed Social Structure—Bolsheviks Against Antisemitism and Zionism, for Equality of Jews

Jews appeared on the territory of what is now the USSR in very early times. Following the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem in 586 B. C., some Palestinian Jews came to the shores of Colchis and settled in the Caucasus. By the time of the insurrection which Bar Kohba led against the Romans in Palestine in 132 A.D. there was a compact Jewish community in Georgia. This is shown by archeological excavations in Mtskheta, the ancient capital of Georgia.

Jews first settled in the state of Kiev and in Lithuania approximately in the eighth century. Early in the 15th century Jewish communities emerged in Byelorussia. In the history of the state of Moscow the first reference to Jews dates back to 1474. In medieval times a large part of the Jewish population of Western Europe, persecuted and hunted by religious fanatics, sought refuge in Russia. After the Tatars ravaged the Kiev Principality most of the Jewish population there fled to Poland. From early times there was quite a large Jewish population in Poland, whose eastern and central regions formed part of Russia from the end of the 18th century till 1918.

It was the policy of the tsarist government to sow dissension between national communities and to foment religious discord. The Jews too were victims of this policy. Late in the 18th century a ghetto system, called the Pale, was established. Jews were forbidden to live in the capital or major cities. They were allowed to settle only in small towns in several Western regions of the Russian Empire. Jews could not engage in agriculture. A law on "percentage quotas" limited the right of the Jews to education. The tsarist autocracy imposed over 700 legal restrictions of every kind on Jews. Only a very few wealthy Jews and converts to Christianity managed to evade these restrictions and bans.

Such a discriminatory policy could not but affect the social composition of the Jewish population in Russia, which assumed extremely distorted forms. Official statistics showed that on the eve of the October 1917 Revolution the composition of the Jewish population employed in one way or another was as follows:

| | |
|---|---------------|
| workers in big factories | .4 per cent |
| workers in small workshops | 11 per cent |
| artisans (mainly tailors and cobblers) | 18.4 per cent |
| peasants | 2.2 per cent |
| office workers and professional people | 10 per cent |
| traders, peddlers, small-scale entrepreneurs and people of no particular occupation | 54.4 per cent |

Concentrated in small towns the Jewish population was artificially isolated. As time passed they increasingly withdrew into themselves.

The distinguished Soviet statesman and writer Anatoly Lunacharsky (1875-1933) described the position of Jews in tsarist Russia as follows:

"Most of the three million Jews in Russia¹ were degenerating with every generation into weak-chested, shortsighted, feeble and wretched people suffering from foul air and bad food, who could only be cobblers, tailors or peddlers and were incapable of anything else. The Jews became people who had to 'live on air', to exercise their wits to find crumbs in order to survive themselves and feed their families. They became a people with a very high infant mortality, stricken by tremendous suffering and living in unimaginable filth, in inconceivably shocking unhygienic conditions."

Early in the 20th century, when there was an upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Russia, the tsarist government tried to sidetrack mass discontent with the existing system by cultivating chauvinism and antisemitism. Hostility to Jews was persistently fostered by the churches and schools, by reactionary literature, "scientific" Judophobia and provocative lies about Jewish rites and so on. The tsarist authorities organised anti-Jewish pogroms and the beating up of Jews.

Eminent public figures in Russia, prominent writers such as Vladimir Korolenko, Maxim Gorky, the well-known lawyer Anatoly Koni and other progressive Russians vigorously exposed the anti-semitic actions of the authorities and strongly protested against the pogroms.

During the first Russian revolution of 1905-07 workers led by the Bolsheviks undertook to defend neighbourhoods inhabited by poverty-stricken Jews and they repeatedly put the antisemitic mobsters to flight.

¹ Pre-revolutionary Russia included eastern and central regions of Poland.

During this period only the Bolshevik Party led by Lenin firmly opposed all forms of national oppression, including oppression of the Jews. At a time when the policy of Jewish nationalists was to detach the Jewish workers from other workers, a policy which did not help improve their conditions in any way, Lenin, the Bolshevik Party and the Russian proletariat fought selflessly for the social, economic, political and national rights of Jewish workers. The Bolshevik Party was the only party that had a clear, effective and well-considered programme for solving the nationalities question, including the Jewish question.

In 1905 the Bolsheviks circulated among Jewish workers an appeal in Yiddish. In this appeal Lenin wrote:

"In Russia the workers of all nationalities, especially those of non-Russian nationality, endure an economic and political oppression such as obtains in no other country. The Jewish workers, as a disfranchised nationality, not only suffer general economic and political oppression, but they also suffer under the yoke which deprives them of elementary civic rights. The heavier this yoke, the greater the need for the closest possible unity among the proletarians of the different nationalities; for without such unity a victorious struggle against the general oppression is impossible."¹

In examining ways of solving the Jewish question as part of the nationalities question within the framework of the whole country and as a political and social problem, Lenin said it could be solved only after the power of the tsar, the capitalists and the landlords had been overthrown and a socialist society built. That was why the Bol-

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 495.

sheviks worked to rally the workers of all nations and nationalities in all working-class organisations—trade union, co-operative, consumer, educational and other associations—in opposition to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. They realised that only this type of unity and amalgamation could uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital—which was already international and was becoming more so—and promote the development of mankind towards a new way of life that was alien to all privileges and all exploitation.

In exposing the social-nationalism of the Bund¹ Lenin wrote: "One who has adopted the standpoint of nationalism naturally arrives at the desire to erect a Chinese Wall around his nationality, his national working-class movement; he is unembarrassed even by the fact that it would mean building separate walls in each city, in each little town and village, unembarrassed even by the fact that by his tactics of division and dismemberment *he is reducing to nil* the great call for the rallying and unity of the proletarians of all nations, all races and all languages."²

To ensure the interests of the working class and all other working people, to fight tsarism and capitalism it was necessary to establish the fraternal solidarity and complete unity of workers of all nationalities and to give a firm and constant rebuff to the whole nationalistic ideology and pol-

¹ The Bund—a petty-bourgeois Jewish nationalistic organisation in Russia. Its leaders demanded that the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) should be split up on the basis of nationality and that their organisation should be recognised as the sole representative of Jewish workers in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6, pp. 518-19.

icy of the bourgeoisie and its agents. Lenin pointed out:

"... We must strive to unite the workers of all nations as closely as possible, strive to unite them for a joint struggle against *all* chauvinism, against *all* national exclusiveness, against *all* nationalism."¹

The rise of the revolutionary movement in Europe in the late 19th and early 20th centuries frightened not only ruling circles in the European countries, but also rich capitalists of Jewish origin. Seeking to distract the attention of working people from revolutionary struggle the ruling circles in the countries of Europe resorted to various means, including the fanning of antisemitism. So far as Jewish capitalists were concerned, they did their utmost to advance the Zionist notion of a "Jewish state". This period saw the growing activity of Zionism as an extreme expression of Jewish bourgeois nationalism, as the ideology and practice of rich capitalists of Jewish origin.

In the series of such articles as "Does Jewish Proletariat Need an 'Independent Political Party?'" , "Maximum Brazenness and Minimum Logic" and "The Position of the Bund in the Party" which Lenin wrote at the turn of the century, he exposed the bourgeois-nationalist class nature and the anti-popular essence of Zionism. He presented the scientific arguments for the principled attitude of Marxism towards Zionism at a time when the Zionist movement was making its first steps in the political arena. In making a fetish of the "sorry isolation" of the Jews from other peoples the Jewish nationalists were, as Lenin put it, forced to seek grounds justifying their isolation, and in this

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 224.

search grasp at the Zionist idea of a Jewish "nation" or resort to demagogy and scurrilities.¹

In criticising the Bundists, who after their 4th Congress in April 1901 adopted increasingly pro-Zionist positions, *Iskra*, the paper of the RSDLP, wrote then that the "Jewish state" which the Zionists declared to be a necessary precondition for solving the "Jewish question" could become only a "Jewish kingdom" with "its own police, gendarmes, civil servants and its own government", that is to say, a capitalist state ruled by the Jewish capitalists either on their own or with the help of Bundist and Social-Zionist leaders.

In contrast to the epoch-making slogan of proletarian unity Zionism, like any other nationalistic ideology, is energetically preaching "class peace" between exploiters and exploited, between Jewish millionaires, on the one hand, and poor and unemployed Jews, on the other. Lenin exposed these false and poisonous views of the Zionists (and antisemites) according to whom there were no class contradictions among the Jews and there existed a "community of Jewish interests". He showed that these claims were intended to detach and sidetrack Jewish workers from the struggle of the proletariat of all nationalities against the capitalists. Lenin wrote:

"The capitalists and landowners want, at all costs, to keep the workers of different nations apart while the powers that be live splendidly together as shareholders in profitable concerns involving millions... Orthodox Christians and Jews, Russians and Germans, Poles and Ukrainians, everyone who possesses *capital*, exploit the workers of all nations in company."²

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 63.

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 19, p. 92.

Lenin blasted the slanderous statements by the Zionists and Bundists that the workers of Russia and even the Social Democrats were contaminated with antisemitism and that antisemitism was insurmountable. He pointed out:

"To call a fight for the Zionist *idea* of a Jewish nation, for the federal *principle* of Party organization, a 'fight for the equality of the Jews in the world family of the proletariat' is to degrade the struggle from the plane of ideas and principles to that of suspicion, incitement and fanning of historically-evolved prejudices."¹

Lenin repeatedly exposed the link between antisemitism and the interests of the bourgeois and not of the working-class sections of the population.

From the outset Lenin and the Bolshevik Party he led opposed great-power nationalism and all manifestations of national and racial discrimination, including antisemitism. In 1914 on Lenin's initiative the Bolsheviks submitted to the 4th State Duma² a Bill on National Equality. Clause 3 of the Bill read: "All laws, temporary regulations, notes to laws... imposing restrictions on Jews in any sphere of social or state life are hereby rescinded."

The Bill was published in the Bolshevik paper *Put Pravdy* (Path of Truth). It played a great role in exposing the great-power antisemitic policy of tsarism. Referring to this Bill in 1914 Lenin made it clear that the Jewish question could be radically solved only together with other fundamental issues confronting Russia.³ He pointed out

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 102.

² State Duma—an elected legislative body with limited rights.

³ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 172.

that the Bolsheviks had, naturally, never expected the 4th State Duma to lift the restrictions imposed on Jews and other "aliens". But the Bolsheviks believed that the working class had an obligation to state its view on the matter. The voice of the Russian working class was to ring in protest against national oppression, against oppression of Jews too.

As Lenin predicted, the 4th Duma did not annul the restrictions on Jews.

The fight of the Bolsheviks for national equality met with a broad response and support among the masses of working people, and progressive intellectuals of many nationalities actively sided with the Bolshevik Party in the revolutionary struggle. Jews were prominent in its ranks. Among them there were such distinguished revolutionaries as Yakov Sverdlov, Solomon Lozovsky, V. Volodarsky (Moisei Goldstein), Moisei Uritsky, Maxim Litvinov (Finkelstein), and Yemelyan Yaroslavsky (Minei Gubelman).



THE OCTOBER 1917 REVOLUTION AND SOLUTION OF THE "JEWISH QUESTION"

Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia—
Lenin's Decrees—Changes in Social Composition—
Great Contribution to the Fight Against Nazism—
Triumph of Leninist National Policy

The October 1917 Socialist Revolution proclaimed the complete equality of all the peoples living in Russia. The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia signed by Lenin on November 15, 1917, annulled all national and national-religious privileges and discriminations.

The Declaration said that in solving the nationalities question Soviet power would be guided by the following principles:

- (1) The equality and sovereignty of all the peoples of Russia,
- (2) The right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, including secession and formation of an independent state,
- (3) The abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions, and
- (4) The free development of national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia was the first major step taken by the Soviet state toward the national liberation of the peoples inhabiting the former Russian Empire. The masses of working people of all the national minorities of the country welcomed it with enthusiasm.

the document was drafted, Lenin introduced the following addition in his own hand:

"The Council of People's Commissars hereby instructs all Sovdeps [abbreviation for Soviets of Deputies, that is to say, local government authorities] to take firm measures to check antisemitic actions. Mobsters and the inciters of pogroms shall be outlawed."¹

In March 1919 the head of Soviet government made a speech which was recorded on a gramophone record and published in the press. Lenin said:

"The capitalists strive to sow and foment hatred between workers of different faiths, different nations and different races... Only the most ignorant and downtrodden people can believe the lies and slander that are spread about Jews." He ended his speech by saying: "Shame on those who foment hatred towards the Jews, who foment hatred towards other nations."²

The young Soviet state took effective practical measures which abrogated the tsarist laws on Jews, abolished the ghettos—the Pale, and the quotas restricting the admission of Jews to educational establishments and asserted the right of Jews to engage in agriculture.

By abolishing the exploitation of man by man, the Soviet Republic destroyed the roots of racial and national strife and hatred. But Soviet power naturally could not wipe out overnight the prejudices which the ruling circles and the clergy had fostered in the minds and behaviour of people over many years. Firmly advancing the principles

¹ See *Decrees of Soviet Power*, Vol. 3, Moscow, 1964, p. 94 (in Russian).

² V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 29, pp. 252-53.

Together with other government decrees, such as the Decree on Peace, Decree on Land and Decree on Nationalisation, which were to help establish a society of social justice, the Declaration helped rally all the peoples of Russia around the Bolshevik Party for consolidating the gains of the revolution and for repulsing the forces of counter-revolution.

Yakov Sverdlov, an outstanding revolutionary who was Lenin's friend and comrade-in-arms, became the first president of the young Soviet state.

On February 2, 1918 a decree on separation of the church from the state was passed on Lenin's initiative. From then on the Jews, like other nationalities which the tsarist government regarded as religious groups, were given the legal status of nationality, a status that does not depend on the faith one professes, on one's religious or atheist views.

Moreover, Lenin proposed passing a number of decrees directed against antisemitic practices and pogromists. This was of particular importance at a time when the Civil War was raging. The White Guards and the armed forces of fourteen imperialist states, which had come to the rescue of the bourgeoisie whose rule was overthrown by the revolution, tightened their ring around the young Soviet Republic. In the period from 1917 to 1921 brutal anti-Jewish pogroms were incited in the areas overrun by the counter-revolutionaries. In this connection a decree was passed which said that the Council of People's Commissars, as the Soviet government was then called, regarded antisemitism and anti-Jewish pogroms as a "threat to the cause of the workers' and peasants' revolution and urged the working people of socialist Russia to fight this evil with all available means". When

helping Jews to establish themselves on the land, wrote:

"For the first time in history a state—the Soviet state—has undertaken to solve the Jewish question. For the first time in history this question is being dealt with on a comprehensive scale with account taken of all the ensuing consequences, in a specific and practical way, as the question requires."

Besides government authorities, specially created institutions and public organisations, working under the guidance of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, dealt with this question.

From 1929—a year that marked a turning point in the country's economic development—hundreds of thousands of Jews were drawn into large-scale socialist industry. There were 153,000 Jewish workers in 1926, 565,000 in 1935 and 689,000 in 1939.

Thus the class composition of the Jewish population radically changed. Former proletarians exploited by the entrepreneur or proprietor of a small workshop, artisans and peddlers became workers in socialist industry, enjoying equal rights with other members of the working class forming the leading force in the country. In 1930, for instance, Jewish workers constituted 11.1 per cent of the total labour force in the metallurgical industry of the Ukraine, as compared with 6.8 per cent in 1927. Throughout the country, in all its industrial centres Jewish workers were learning new trades to become skilled workers in engineering and in the building industry.

In a short period of time a big working-class section over one million-strong (including families) was formed among the Jewish population.

of Lenin's national policy the Communist Party and Soviet state in the course of building socialism created not only the social and economic conditions but also political and legal conditions for ensuring the real equality and all-round development of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. The first Soviet Constitution of 1918 consolidated and guaranteed the equality of all nations.

For the first time in world history the criminal codes of all the republics forming the Soviet Union provided for severe punishment for people fomenting racial or national strife or outraging national dignity. Such offences were punishable by terms of imprisonment ranging from six months to three years or exile from two to five years.

It is difficult to exaggerate how important all these actions of the young Soviet state were for the millions of people who belonged to nations and nationalities formerly subjected to oppression and discrimination. These acts affected the position of Jews too. Many of them left the Pale to join enthusiastically in building the new life. The country was creating conditions for working people to get an education, to enjoy cultural benefits, to participate actively in production and political life regardless of their nationality or religious belief.

The Soviet state paid special attention to bringing about a gradual change in the distorted social composition of the Jewish population.

Pyotr Smidovich, Deputy Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,¹ who for many years headed a committee responsible for

¹ As the supreme body of Soviet power was called in those days.

icy have dispelled the myth spread by the Zionists about "insurmountable antisemitism" and the only solution to the "Jewish question" being through creating a "Jewish state" and resettling all the Jews there.

* * *

In the USSR the Jews have become true patriots of their Soviet homeland. This was strikingly proved during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 against the nazi invaders.

The Soviet Union suffered tremendous losses in the war against Hitler Germany and its satellites. Victory was won at the cost of 20 million lives. People of more than 100 nations and nationalities living in the Soviet Union contributed to the defeat of the enemy. They all demonstrated great patriotism, courage and a determination to win. The Jews occupy a place of honour among them. On January 1, 1943, when the most critical battles were being fought on Soviet territory, Jews constituted 1.5 per cent of the total strength of the armed forces. Major-General Volkenshtein, Hero of the Soviet Union, said, for instance:

"I am a soldier: All my adult life I have served in the ranks of the Soviet army. In both the Civil War (1918-21) and the Great Patriotic War (1941-45) I fought against the enemies of my homeland. Sons of my homeland—Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Byelorussians, Tatars and Jews—invariably went into battle shoulder to shoulder."

There are more than 100 generals of Jewish origin among past and present Soviet army commanders. Among them: the legendary General Lev Dovidov, posthumously honoured with the title of

By 1927 a considerable proportion of the Jewish citizens were office employees. Before the revolution they worked only as bookkeepers and shop assistants. Under Soviet rule the doors of state bodies in the field of public health, public education, science, culture, industry, transport and construction, and the state and co-operative trade network were open to them. In 1935 up to 30 per cent of office employees in the country were Jews. The early five-year plan periods saw a radical redistribution of Jewish office employees in various sectors of the national economy. Most of them began to work in industry and construction and a smaller proportion at establishments in the cultural sphere. The number of Jewish office employees in the state and co-operative trade network markedly declined.

The drive of the Communist Party to collectivise agriculture helped establish Jews on the land. In the period from 1925 to 1935 the number of Jewish farm workers rose from 111,060 to 270,000. A distinguishing feature of the mass establishment of Jews on the land was that from 1926 on most of the Jews were in collective farms. By 1932 collectivisation was in the main completed on the lands made available to Jewish settlers. The socialist system of farming enabled Jews without farming experience to master advanced methods of agriculture quickly.

Thus during the building of socialism the social structure of the Jewish population changed substantially. By 1935 it consisted of workers, employees, members of the intelligentsia and collective farmers. The Soviet Jewish nationality became a socialist one.

The triumph of the October 1917 Revolution and the Soviet government's Leninist national pol-

Hero of the Soviet Union; Army General Yakov Kreiser, Hero of the Soviet Union; Colonel-General David Dragunsky, twice Hero of the Soviet Union (now heading a military college and Chairman of the anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion), Colonel-General Alexander Tsyrlin, D. Sc. (Military); Lieut.-General Matvei Vainrub, Hero of the Soviet Union, and Lieut.-General Shimon Krivoshein, Hero of the Soviet Union. There are many other Jewish generals who distinguished themselves and whose names command respect in the Soviet Union.

Tens of thousands of Jewish servicemen displayed courage, valour and heroism in the war against nazism and were awarded combat orders and medals. Almost 160,000 Jews were awarded orders and medals and 117 were honoured with the highest award—the title of Hero of the Soviet Union—for feats of heroism on the battlefield.

Together with representatives of other peoples Soviet Jews fought heroically against the nazis in partisan detachments and Resistance groups, especially in enemy-occupied Soviet territory, as well as in other countries. The names of Soviet Jews who organised uprisings in the nazi ghettos of Minsk, Bialystok, Vilnius and Sobibor have gone down in history. This is also true of partisans and heroes of the Resistance movement—Itzik Vittenberg, Girsh Glik and many other renowned underground combatants.

Tatyana Markus, for instance, 19-year-old heroine of the underground movement in Kiev, personally killed many nazi officers while taking part in actions against nazi punitive detachments. When the Gestapo got its hands on this Jewish girl, she died a hero's death performing her last feat of courage; though the nazi butchers subject-

ed her to excruciating torture, she did not betray any of her fellow-fighters in the underground movement.

Soviet people cherish the sacred memory of their heroes. Every city, town and village has a memorial or obelisk in honour of Soviet soldiers who fell in the war. Among the names engraved in golden letters on them are those of Soviet Jews who laid down their lives for their homeland, for the liberation of peoples from the nazi yoke.



EQUAL AMONG EQUALS

Population—Ethnic Groups—Distribution—Natural
Assimilation—Constitutional Guarantees—Participation
in Political, Social and Economic Life—Merited
Honours and Awards

Jews are one of the more than 120 nations and nationalities of the USSR, all enjoying equal rights.

The census of January 1979 showed there were 1,810,876 Jews in the USSR. They thus constituted 0.7 per cent of the total population. In numbers they come 16th among the nationalities dwelling in the USSR.

Among the Jewish population there are four small groups which differ ethnically, culturally and in their way of life: the Georgian Jews, whose native language is Georgian, the Highland Jews, also known as Tats, who live in Daghestan in the North Caucasus and some in Transcaucasia (their native language being Tat), the Bukhara Jews in Uzbekistan whose native language is Tajik, and the Crimean Jews, otherwise known as Karaims, whose native language is Crimean Tatar.

Had it not been for the Second World War the Jewish population would have been much larger. In occupied territories the nazis butchered and tortured to death tens of thousands of Jews. Of the close to 200,000 people exterminated at Babi Yar near Kiev 70,000 were Jews. Large numbers of Jews were killed in Byelorussia, Moldavia, Lat-

via, Lithuania and Estonia. The list would have been much longer if masses of people had not been evacuated by the Soviet authorities from threatened areas.

In January 1971 the late Yehuda-Leib Levin, Chief Rabbi of the Choral Synagogue in Moscow, said of those years:

"I am grateful to my Soviet land for the great deal of good it has done for my people both in peacetime and during the ordeal imposed on them in the Second World War.

"The enemy seized one town after another. But even in those times of severe trial the Soviet government found ways and means of transporting hundreds of thousands of Jews deep into the interior."

The bulk of Soviet Jews now live in the larger cities—Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Vilnius, Kishinev, Odessa, Riga, Tbilisi, Tashkent, Sverdlovsk, Irkutsk and Novosibirsk. In Moscow and Leningrad they constitute from three to four per cent and in Odessa and Kishinev—from nine to twelve per cent of the population.

With the establishment of Soviet rule and especially after the war the process of natural assimilation has become particularly marked among the Jews. The size of the Jewish population has tended to decrease from one census to another. What are the reasons for this?

Addressing a congress of the Society for Assistance to Jewish Farming in November 1926 Mikhail Kalinin, the Soviet head of state, President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, said two paths of development were open to the masses of Jewish working people: they could either live in cities and become assimilated with the in-

digenous population or settle in compact groups on the land.

To help Jews freely choose ways of national self-determination the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR in 1928 provided free lands by the Amur River in the Soviet Far East, where they could settle on a voluntary basis. Later, in 1934, the area was transformed into an administrative-territorial unit, namely the Jewish Autonomous Region.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s the Communist Party launched a programme for the industrialisation of the Soviet Union. This influenced the Jewish population's choice of path for national self-determination. The overwhelming majority of the Jews preferred to work in various branches of the national economy and to live in towns. It was then that the Jews began to move to the cities, leaving the small towns of the former Jewish Pale. The process of assimilation of Jews with the indigenous population of the places they had moved to—with Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other peoples—became increasingly marked.

After the war the process of assimilation developed with particular rapidity. Soviet demographers believe this was a result of the Nazi invasion when the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews were evacuated from Western regions, where they had lived in relatively compact groups. After evacuation they were scattered over a wide area ranging from the Northern regions and the Urals to Central Asia and Siberia. After the war a large proportion of the evacuees preferred to remain where they were. After the war the number of mixed marriages soared. Under Soviet law on reaching the age of 16 children of mixed marriages are free to choose the nationality of either

parent. This led to a fall in the size of the Jewish population of the USSR. This trend has been confirmed by statistics.

Marxists have always maintained and continue to maintain that, provided it is voluntary and not compulsory or enforced, assimilation is a natural and progressive process because it reflects the economic and spiritual affinity of peoples; their desire for consolidation, their equality, friendship and fraternity. Lenin wrote that the proletariat welcomed the assimilation of nations, so long as it was not enforced and was not based on privilege. The proletariat could not support the consolidation of nationalism. It upheld all tendencies leading towards the obliteration of national distinctions and the ending of national divisions, all elements strengthening ties between the nationalities and drawing them closer together, all factors contributing to the merging of nations. Lenin pointed out that to oppose such a line would mean to side with reactionary nationalistic philistinism.¹

Soviet socialist society has gradually rid itself of national and racial prejudices and barriers. Friendship of the peoples has become one of its vital principles. As a result, the process of drawing the nations closer and closer together, including natural assimilation, is increasingly widespread. This process promotes the mutual enrichment of cultures and develops customs, habits, traditions and standards of behaviour common to all the Soviet people. It helps mould all the elements that form the basis of the new historical community known as the Soviet people.

Assimilation is by no means restricted to the "Jewish question" alone. It is an objective and

¹ See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, p. 28.

progressive process typical of the present stage of the development of society. In fact, to one degree or another, this process affects all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union. Just like the Jews, people of other Soviet nationalities residing outside their national republics or regions are undergoing a process of intensive natural assimilation.

The intensity of this process in the USSR is illustrated by the findings of the census of January 1979. Altogether 16,300,000 non-Russians named Russian as their mother tongue and 61,300,000 listed Russian as the second language they had a perfect command of.

At the same time 186,000 Russians living in Union and autonomous republics and in autonomous regions named the local language as their native tongue and 4,300,000 Russians listed these languages as the second language they had a perfect command of.

As a rule, Jews who live among other Soviet nations and nationalities know their languages. Quite often they regard these languages as their mother tongue.

The 1979 census also revealed that 14.2 per cent of Soviet Jews regarded Yiddish or the language of their Jewish ethnic group as their native tongue. For the sake of comparison it would be fair to note that in the US less than 15 per cent of the Jews know Yiddish, while in Great Britain and France the figure is from 10 to 12 per cent.

Persistent implementation of the principles of Lenin's national policy gave a powerful impulse to the further all-round development of nations and nationalities in the USSR. The new Constitution adopted on October 7, 1977, after nationwide discussion, was in this respect an important land-

mark. In particular, it consolidated the experience acquired over many years in solving the nationalities question in the USSR. It was reflected in a number of important clauses of the Constitution.

Thus Article 34 of it reads:

"Citizens of the USSR are equal before the law, without distinction of origin, social or property status, race or nationality, sex, education, language, attitude to religion, type and nature of occupation, domicile, or other status.

"The equal rights of citizens of the USSR are guaranteed in all fields of economic, political, social, and cultural life."

Article 36 advances and specifies the principle of the equality of nations and nationalities. It states:

"Citizens of the USSR of different races and nationalities have equal rights.

"Exercise of these rights is ensured by a policy of all-round development and drawing together of all the nations and nationalities of the USSR, by educating citizens in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and by the possibility to use their native language and the languages of other peoples of the USSR.

"Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights of citizens or establishment of direct or indirect privileges on grounds of race or nationality, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt, are punishable by law."

For the first time the Constitution emphasised the importance of the Soviet citizen's national dignity. This is a distinguishing feature of our Fundamental Law. Regrettably, there are still people who permit themselves to assail the national dignity of a person. In this connection Article 64 is of special importance. It reads:

"It is the duty of every citizen of the USSR to respect the national dignity of other citizens, and to strengthen friendship of the nations and nationalities of the multinational Soviet state."

This thesis is a component part of the Leninist national policy which the CPSU and the Soviet state are following.

Thus in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 26th Party Congress, held in February 1981, we read:

"The national sensibilities and national dignity of every person are respected in our country. The CPSU has fought and will always resolutely fight against such attitudes alien to the nature of socialism as chauvinism or nationalism, against any nationalistic aberration, be it, say, antisemitism or Zionism. We are against tendencies aimed at an artificial obliteration of national identities. And, to a similar extent, we consider their artificial inflation inadmissible. It is the Party's sacrosanct duty to educate the people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, to foster a sense of pride in belonging to the great integral Soviet Union."

The further development of socialist democracy helped draw representatives of all Soviet nations and nationalities, including Jews, into all spheres of political and economic life, into science, education and culture.

Just like people of other nationalities Jews are widely represented both in the government of the USSR (the USSR Council of Ministers) and in the governments of the Union and autonomous republics, as well as in other state and Party bodies.

Eight members of the USSR Supreme Soviet are Jews. Several thousand Jews have been elected to the supreme legislative bodies of Union and auton-

onomous republics and to local government bodies, the Soviets of People's Deputies.

Veniamin Dymshits, Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Lev Volodarsky, D. Sc. (Economics), Chief of the Central Statistical Board of the USSR Council of Ministers; Alexander Chakovsky, writer, editor of the weekly newspaper *Literaturnaya gazeta*; Lev Shapiro, first secretary of the CPSU regional committee in the Jewish Autonomous Region; other statesmen, public figures, scientists and military leaders are Jews.

Though Jews accounted for less than one per cent of the USSR's population in 1980, they constituted 5.3 per cent of the scientists, almost six per cent of those working in the field of culture and the arts, writers and journalists, 3.4 per cent of the medical staff and nearly six per cent of the lawyers working in various fields.

Several hundred thousand Soviet Jews have been awarded orders and medals for outstanding labour feats and for achievements in the political, economic, scientific and cultural fields.

Eighty Jews have been honoured with the country's highest award, the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. Four of these earned this distinction twice and three of them three times.

In the Soviet Union streets and squares of towns and cities are named after distinguished figures, a token of respect to revolutionaries, army commanders, scientists, writers, wartime and peacetime heroes.

Yakov Sverdlov, first President of the Soviet Republic, won tremendous respect. A big administrative and industrial centre in the Ural region—Sverdlovsk, several dozen factories and plants, collective farms and educational establishments, a

central district in Moscow and a central square in that city were named after him.

Dozens of streets were named after well-known Jews in many cities and towns.

Here are a few: Lazar Papernik Street in Moscow (he was a Hero of the Soviet Union), Uritsky Prospekt in Leningrad, Shalom Aleichem Street in Kiev, Nakhimson Street in Yaroslavl (he was a revolutionary), Grigori Feigin Street in Kronstadt (named after a Civil War hero), Slomnitsky Sisters' Street in Berdichev (both were revolutionaries), Itzik Vittenberg Street in Vilnius (he was a hero of the Resistance movement), Yakov Shenkman Street in Sverdlovsk (he was a Civil War hero), Grigori Chudnovsky Street in Dnepropetrovsk (he was a revolutionary), Street of Heroes of the Soviet Union Katunin and Shandalov in Gomel, Street of Hero of the Soviet Union Boris Kugel in Novosibirsk, Street of Hero of the Soviet Union Iossif Bumagin in Vitebsk, and Street of Partisan Alexander Berkovich in Pinsk.

Rivers, seas and oceans are ploughed by cargo and passenger ships named after Jews—prominent political and public figures, leading cultural and scientific workers, war and labour heroes.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Contribution to Multinational Soviet Culture—Books in Russian and Yiddish by Jewish Authors—The Journal *Sovietish Heimland*—Jewish Theatres and Ensembles—Jewish Music

In 1947, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the distinguished Jewish poet and writer Itzik Fefer wrote an article entitled "Resurgence", which gives a vivid picture of the great changes that had taken place in the life of Soviet Jews during 30 years of Soviet rule.

"If any of us had fallen asleep thirty years ago to awaken now," he wrote, "he would not believe that he had slept for only 30, not 300 years, because he would see so many new things around. He would, of course, be stunned to see the Moscow Metro, Dneproges [the Dnieper hydroelectric station], the vast fields, the new canals connecting seas and rivers and the towns that have arisen in the desert. He would be amazed and find it incredible that all this was the fruit of the labours of a single generation. But more than anything else his own people—the people of the former Jewish Pale—would kindle his admiration. Their cultural, moral and mental outlook has changed beyond recognition."

Indeed, far-reaching social and economic changes, the establishment of the Soviet way of life, the coming together of nations, voluntary nat-

ural assimilation, the demographic changes that have taken place among the Jewish population of the USSR over the past half a century have largely determined the course of its cultural progress.

The works of the writers Samuil Marshak, Ilya Ehrenburg, Pavel Antokolsky, Vera Inber, Agniya Barto, Eduard Bagritsky, Isaac Babel, Emmanuil Kazakevich, Mikhail Svetlov, Semyon Kirsanov, Boris Slutsky and Natan Rybak have won universal recognition from Soviet people and many readers abroad.

Violinists David Oistrakh and Leonid Kogan, Lenin and State prize winners, are world-renowned. Maya Plisetskaya, outstanding ballerina of our day, eminent film makers Mikhail Romm, Mark Donskoi, Grigori Roshal and Roman Karmen, Bolshoi Theatre bass Mark Reisen, doyen of Soviet jazz Leonid Utesov, the popular stage comedian and satirist Arkadi Raikin, leading actors Maxim Shtraukh, Mark Prudkin and Elina Bystrikskaya won respect and admiration not only in the USSR, but in other countries too.

Since 1967 some 271 books by Jewish authors have been published in Yiddish in the USSR in a total print of 1,800,000 copies. Among these are novels and stories by Note Lurie, Iossif Rabin, Ikhil Falikman, Natan Zabara, Grigori Polyanker, Itzik Kipnis, Ikhil Shraibman, Irma Druker, Shira Gorshman, Rivka Rubina and Alexander Gubnitsky, and poems by Aaron Vergelis, Abram Gontar, Ovsei Driz, Moisei Teif, Dora Khaikina, Riva Balyasnaya, Mendel Lifshits and Matvei Talalayevsky. In 1980 alone, for instance, 24 books appeared in Yiddish in mass editions.

It should be mentioned that thanks to translations into the languages of other peoples inhabit-

ing the USSR the works of Soviet Jewish writers have become a part of Soviet culture in general. Books by Soviet Jewish authors are put out by publishing houses in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Moldavia and other Union republics in their national languages. Thus in the past 20 years the Soviet Writer Publishing House in Moscow put out in Russian 105 books by Jewish authors in editions totalling 3,131,300 copies. In that same period it published 85 books in Yiddish. From 1968 to 1980 altogether 148 books by Jewish authors were translated into Russian and published in editions totalling 29,200,000 copies.

Jewish classics are widely published. The works of Shalom Aleichem, for instance, have been translated in the USSR into 24 languages in editions totalling 9,500,000 copies. The works of Itzik Perets have been published in 50 editions and those of Mendele Moicher Sforim in 33 editions.

The works of the older generation of Soviet Jewish writers have been given a new lease of life. Among them are the works of Lev Kvitko, David Bergelson, Itzik Fefer, Perets Markish, Der Nistor, Aaron Kushnirov, Samuil Galkin, Ezro Fininberg, David Gofshtein, Aaron Gurshtein, Yekhezkl Dobrushin and Matvei Gartsman.

In the last few years Soviet Jewish prose has been enriched with many works which have been received favourably not only by Soviet readers, but also those of other countries. These include the Yiddish novels *Black Wind* by Ikhil Falikman, *Years of Youth* by Khaim Melamud, *On the Banks of the Niemen*, *Khvele Nejan*, and *I see You, Vilnius* by Iossif Rabin, *The Sky and Land* by Note Lurie, *The Baker from Kolomyia*, *Stronger Than Steel* and *Itzkhok Santos and His Descendants* by Grigori Polyanker, *Spring* by Samuil Gordon, *Our*

Days by Terye Ghen and *The Day Is Still Long* by Natan Zabara. Most of these works appeared simultaneously in Russian each in editions of not less than 100,000 copies.

Jewish poetry has always held a leading place in Soviet poetry. The collection of poems, *Horizons*, which appeared in 1965, gives a good idea of Jewish poets who came to the fore in the early sixties. It is almost an anthology of contemporary Jewish poetry. The 50 poets represented in it have shown that they are worthy heirs and continuers of the traditions established by the founders of Soviet Jewish poetry—O. Shvartzman, David Gofshtein, Perets Markish, Lev Kvitko, Aaron Kushnirov, M. Kulbak, Itzik Fefer, Iza Kharik, Ezro Fininberg and Samuil Galkin. Contemporary Soviet Jewish poetry is marked by the same features as classic Soviet poetry in general—feelings of Soviet patriotism, love and respect for folklore and a keen interest in the main problems of the day.

With the founding of the Yiddish-language journal *Sovietish Heimland* in 1961 a new period in the development of Soviet Jewish literature began. Over 100 writers, poets, literary critics and scholars, journalists, many art critics and artists contribute to the journal, which is published by the Union of Soviet Writers.

In the 20 years since its foundation the journal has published 55 novels, 75 stories, 1,075 short stories, 25 plays, 63 long poems, 5,606 short poems and ballads, 235 feature articles, and 1,098 articles of literary criticism. In the same period about 50 works by Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moldavian, Georgian and Latvian authors have appeared in it. It also regularly publishes the best

works of US, Israeli, French, Argentinian and Canadian writers.

Since *Sovietish Heimland* started publication, poets of striking talent, such as Moisei Teif, Matvei Grubian, Ovsei Driz, Aaron Vergelis, Abram Gontar and Isaac Borukhovich, have flowered. Each has not only his own range of subjects and his own original approach to problems, but also a distinctive artistic style and imagery. Alongside the older poets several younger poets, such as David Bromberg, Abram Katsev, Pinya Kirichansky, Misha Mogilevich and Khaim Gurovich, have been contributing increasingly to the journal.

Its editors pay special attention to the publication of a monthly book supplement. Since January 1980 subscribers to the journal have been receiving a small book with each issue. These supplements constitute what is known as the *Sovietish Heimland* Library. It includes several books of sketches and feature stories by living Jewish writers, journalistic articles, documentary materials and the texts of songs with the music.

Apart from literature, progress has been made in other fields of Soviet Jewish culture, especially in music and the theatre.

There are Jewish theatre companies in various cities of the Soviet Union. The Jewish Chamber Music Theatre directed by Yuri Sherling is very popular. Founded several years ago, its main aim is to preserve and develop Jewish folk traditions. The revival of old dances and songs called for actors with a thorough all-round training. For this reason the troupe is made up of graduates from conservatoires, ballet schools and theatre institutes.

The theatre's very first performances in Moscow attracted attention not only from the Yiddish-

speaking public. The central government newspaper *Izvestia* wrote in a very favourable review in 1980 that the young company displayed a high degree of professional skill combined with great sincerity. The paper expressed the wish that the new theatre would take a worthy place among the national theatre companies of the multinational Soviet Union.

Performances by the Jewish Chamber Music Theatre have been well received in all the Soviet cities and towns it has visited on tour. This success is due not only to the talent of its young actors and musicians, but also to that of its director, Yuri Sherling, who has wide professional experience. He is a graduate of the Bolshoi Theatre ballet school and a music school (in the composition class), and has completed the advanced course of study for producers at the Lunacharsky State Institute of Drama.

Yuri Sherling has staged *Black Bridle for a White Mare*, a rock opera, in which he plays the leading male role. Theatre critics have described the production as a true gem of Soviet music.

Another production, *Lomir ale ineinem* (Let's sing to the bride and bridegroom), packed with robust Jewish humour, is equally successful. It includes very popular Jewish songs and dances, ranging from the "Lomir ale" song which gives the show its title and ending with the ebullient "Freillex". To see these shows one must spend hours on end in the queue for tickets.

The company is now working on a play with a historical theme, entitled *Bar Coch* (Son of a Star).

Along with professional troupes, amateur theatrical and music companies are also popular. These are supported by cultural organisations and trade

unions. Among them is the Birobidzhan People's (Amateur) Jewish Theatre, which celebrated its 15th anniversary in 1980. Composed mainly of young people, it is directed by Basya Shpilman, a Jewish theatre veteran. Its repertoire includes both classic and modern plays.

The Vilnius People's (Amateur) Jewish Theatre, also mainly consisting of young performers, marked its 25th anniversary with considerable achievements. Its performances have aroused much interest not only in the capital of Soviet Lithuania. The troupe has given performances in other Baltic republics, Byelorussia and Leningrad. Its concert programmes, its choir and dance group, and its jazz band have attracted special attention.

Music plays a big part in Soviet Jewish culture. There are many Jewish composers of great note, such as Lev Yampolsky, Lev Pulver, Zinovy Kompaneyets, Riva Boyarskaya, Samuil Senderei, Otiliya Likhtenshtein, Matvei Tabachnikov, Lev Birov and Solomon Faintukh.

The composer Zinovy Kompaneyets, well known both in the USSR and abroad, has been writing music for over 50 years. The author of many rhapsodies and vocal works he has done a great deal to popularise national Jewish music. He compiled a collection entitled *New Jewish Songs*, an anthology of recent works of Soviet Jewish composers. In a foreword to the collection the famous Soviet composer Dmitri Shostakovich wrote:

"The appearance of new, distinctively national songs is always a source of joy to me. Jewish folk music is unique in its emotional resonance. Its echoes can be found in the works of many great world composers. Today Jewish folk music is alive and developing. The present collection, which in-

cludes recent works of Soviet composers, attests to this. I wish the new Jewish songs every success."

The USSR regularly issues records of popular musical works based on Jewish themes. In 1981 alone the Melodiya record company issued Sergei Prokofiyev's *Overture on Jewish Themes* performed by the USSR State Symphony Orchestra and Dmitri Shostakovich's song cycle based on Jewish folk poems, as well as a two-record album of the rock opera *Black Bridle for a White Mare*.



"JEWISH EDUCATION" OR EDUCATED JEWS!

False Western Notions—Why Have Jewish Schools
Disappeared?—Leading Place in Education and
Science—Soviet School of Hebrew Studies

The main theme of anti-Soviet, Zionist and Western capitalist propaganda is the allegation that in the USSR there is discrimination against Jews in education and science. Let us look at the most typical anti-Soviet accusations made by Bernard Levin in his articles published in the London *Times* in February 1980. Apart from the stock charges of "official" or "state antisemitism" he presented "an analysis of the discriminatory policy" of the Soviet authorities with regard to Jews in education and science.

Though claiming to be an "authority on Soviet Russia", he juggles with statistics and quotes non-existent "facts". On this basis he draws the sad conclusion that Jewish education is banned in the USSR. He writes:

"There are now increasingly severe restrictions on the admission of Jews as students in Soviet institutions of higher education... and the decline in the number of Jewish students has become steadily steeper...

"There is not a single school anywhere in the country which teaches Hebrew... as part of its curriculum. No books in Hebrew are produced in the Soviet Union... It is possible to learn Hebrew

in the Soviet Union, *but not for Jews!* (Some Russian Orthodox seminary scholars are permitted to study the language for biblical purposes)...

"The other Jewish language, Yiddish, fares no better."

Let us look at these allegations in the light of the historical facts.

In the early years after the October 1917 Revolution all the areas where Jews lived had a network of general education and vocational schools at which teaching was in Yiddish. The reason was that the masses of Jews whom the tsarist authorities had forced to live in ghettos (the Pale) did not know at all or hardly knew Russian and the other languages spoken by the people among whom they lived.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s hundreds of thousands of Jews moved from the former ghetto areas. As a result, attendance dwindled at schools where the teaching was in Yiddish. So these schools were closed down one after another.

Another important point is that many Jewish families deliberately sent their children to Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian or other schools. They regarded this as a manifestation of their equality, because in tsarist Russia the admission of Jews to educational establishments was limited. Moreover, they took the view that attendance at these schools gave their children broader opportunities.

We are entitled to ask: "Have Jewish educational establishments expanded in other countries?" Not at all. Take the city of New York, for instance, which has a larger Jewish population (approximately two million) than the whole of the Soviet Union. Less than six per cent of the Jewish children in New York get a "Jewish education".

It is worth noting that the American Jewish Council has expressed the opinion that "Jewish education" often boils down to pro-Israeli, nationalistic Zionist indoctrination. It is mainly the children of the poorer families and of conservative adherents of traditional Judaism that get a "Jewish education".

Would it be fair to say that the absence of Jewish schools has adversely affected the level of education of Soviet citizens of Jewish origin? The answer is given by statistics. Today the USSR leads the world in respect of the proportion of the Jewish population with a higher education. Nearly 25 per cent of Soviet Jews have a higher or specialised secondary education.

In the 1978/79 academic year there were 329 students per 10,000 Jewish inhabitants (as compared with 311 in the 1977/78 academic year). The Soviet Jewish community has a higher proportion of students than any other nation or nationality in the USSR. In this they are ahead of the Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians. The average for the USSR is 196 students per 10,000 inhabitants.

It should be pointed out that the absolute number of Jewish specialists with a higher education who are employed in all spheres of state and public life is also increasing every year. The figure was 291,000 in 1960, 357,000 in 1970, 375,000 in 1973, 385,000 in 1975, 389,000 in 1977 and 395,000 in 1978. So far as the number of Jews with a higher education in proportion to the size of the Jewish population is concerned, the USSR is ahead of all Western countries and ahead of Israel too.

Of the 64,800 Jewish scientific workers 4,200 have the advanced degree of Doctor of Science

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The succeeding generation of Soviet Hebrew scholars naturally devoted special attention to the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially their social, economic and ideological aspects. The high quality of these Soviet studies is internationally recognised. Many Soviet scientific papers on this subject have been reprinted in specialist publications abroad.

Dr. Giller Livshits, a historian specialising in Jewish history during the Hellenistic period and under the Roman Empire, has published two monographs, *Class Struggle in Judea and Uprisings against Rome*, and *Essays on the Historiography of the Bible and Early Christianity*.

Dr. Ugu Mazing is studying problems related to Biblical texts and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Seventy-nine-year-old Iossif Braginsky, a specialist in Persian literature, is also engaged in Hebrew studies. As editor of the first volume in the Library of World Literature series he included in it his own translation of *The Book of Ruth* in 1974.

"This book has always fascinated me by its internationalist spirit, to use a contemporary term," says Iossif Braginsky. "The beautiful heroine of the story, so lovingly described by the ancient author, was a Moabite, not an Israelite, in other words, she was an alien. It follows from this that, alongside the anti-humanist myth about 'God's chosen people', other views existed in Hebrew culture, ideas of the brotherhood of all peoples. Like the culture of all nations, Ancient Hebrew culture was marked by a clash between humanist and anti-humanist currents."

After the Second World War another Soviet centre of Hebrew studies was established at the Georgian Academy of Sciences. In Georgia Hebrew studies have deep roots because it was in

Georgia that the earliest Jewish communities appeared on what is now USSR territory. For many years such studies were conducted in Georgia under the guidance of Georgi Tsereteli (1904-73), a member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and an eminent Semitics scholar. One of his first works was an article entitled *Hebrew Inscription Rediscovered in Mtskheta* and one of the last was *On the Tbilisi Scrolls of the Pentateuch*.

His many pupils are now furthering Hebrew studies in Georgia.

Yiddish has already been dealt with in detail in the preceding chapter. Because it is widely spoken among Soviet Jews many periodicals are published in Yiddish, including the journal *Sovietish Heimland*. We might add that since the autumn of 1981 advanced literary courses have been opened for young authors, including those who write in Yiddish, at the Gorky Institute of World Literature in Moscow. Young poets, prose writers, journalists, literary critics and editorial staff members can improve their writing skill by attending these courses.

Among the first students attending them were Boris Sandler, a short story writer from Kishinev, Moishe Pens, a writer from Makhachkala, and Alexander Brodsky and Lev Braginsky, both poets living in Moscow.

That is a true picture of the place of Soviet Jews in education and science.

PRACTICING JEWS

Historical Features—Lenin's Decree on Separation of the Church from the State—Sociological Research Findings—Moscow's Choral Synagogue

To understand the place of Judaism among other faiths in the USSR it is necessary to look at the historical circumstances surrounding its status both before and after the October 1917 Revolution.

Before 1917 the mass of the Jewish population, who were deprived of rights and poverty-stricken, sought to keep to itself, to form a caste, as it were. To some extent the Jewish religion itself fostered this. In such circumstances the Jewish religious community, naturally, exercised a powerful influence on various aspects of the life of Jews in Russia, on the education and upbringing of children, on family and marital relations. Among them many sincerely believed that the only way to salvation from all calamities and misfortunes was faith in their God.

But even then the more enlightened sections of Jewish working people realised that the only path to the emancipation and equality of their people was that of revolutionary struggle together with all the other peoples of the Russian Empire against tsarist autocracy, and not the path of religious segregation. Tens of thousands of Jews

joined the ranks of revolutionaries fighting against autocracy.

On January 20, 1918, soon after Soviet rule had been established, a fundamental decree was passed separating the Russian Orthodox Church from the state. This document of the young Soviet state secured genuine freedom of conscience for all the citizens of Russia. To profess a religion or not to profess any religion at all was now the personal affair of each individual. Believers now enjoyed the right of free worship and non-believers the right of freely proclaiming their atheist views. Information or queries about a person's religion were deleted from all official forms.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this decree. Millions of people who had attended services at church, synagogue or mosque, who had performed religious rites in order to demonstrate their "trustworthiness" and to consolidate their "standing in society" were now able to free their consciences. Those for whom religious observance had been a pretence began to give up religion. This was an inevitable natural process. It affected all religions in Russia without exception, including Judaism. Another factor prompted Jews to abandon Judaism: after the revolution Jews were granted the same rights and opportunities as all the other peoples of Russia. Now reliably protected by Soviet law, many of them no longer needed the comfort they had formerly derived from religion. Jews began to move from the former ghetto areas and to settle where they pleased. So not only their territorial ties, but also their spiritual bonds with Jewish religious communities were weakened.

Later such factors as the rising cultural level of the population, progress in education, to which

all had access, and the advancement of science led many Jews and other former believers to abandon religion. It should be mentioned that this process is not unique to the USSR. It is characteristic of all developed countries without exception. In the US, for instance, where "believing in God" can considerably affect a person's standing in society, a survey of Jews showed that only 40 per cent affirmed their adherence to Judaism. These were the findings of a Gallup poll published in *Newsweek* on March 1, 1971.

In the USSR there are no official statistical data on the numbers of believers professing different faiths. So one can judge how religious the Jewish population is only on the basis of sociological surveys and attendances at services in synagogues. A sociological survey conducted several years ago in Bobruisk, a town in Byelorussia, showed that only two per cent of the Jews polled regarded themselves as believers. Though this may seem a small figure, it coincides quite closely with the data on attendances at synagogues during major Jewish festivals, such as the New Year, Judgment Day and Passover. A sociological survey in Novosibirsk, which has a Jewish population of 11,000, showed that from 100 to 200 people, or from one to two per cent, attend services at the synagogue on religious festivals, in Kuibyshev with a Jewish population of 16,000 synagogue attendance is 150-450, or from one to three per cent, and in Leningrad with a Jewish population of 160,000 (according to the 1970 census) from 2,000 to 2,500 attend the synagogue, or about 1.5 per cent.

Not all believers attend services at the synagogue, of course. But then not all those who go to the synagogue are believers. Some come to honour

the memory of deceased parents or to meet acquaintances.

Sociological surveys have also revealed that the degree of religiosity varies among ethnic groups of Jews. The most devout believers are to be found among the Georgian, Bukhara (Central Asian) and Highland Jews.

As distinct from other Jews, believers in these ethnic groups strictly adhere to traditional customs and rites. In Tbilisi, which has a Jewish population as large as that of Kuibyshev, you will see from eight to ten times more believers attending services at the synagogue on religious festivals. But even though the religiosity of these groups of Jews is rather high—not, however, exceeding 20 per cent—the number of really devout Jews in the Soviet Union as a whole is about 60,000.

Who are they? Among the Jews living in the European part of the USSR they are mainly old-age pensioners. There are few believers among young and even middle-aged people.

Even the older believers are free of religious fanaticism. As a rule, they do not object to their children or grandchildren marrying non-Jews, though they all profess Orthodox Judaism.

An absolute majority of believers do not light Passover candles, do not observe the Sabbath laws, do not always circumcise their sons or grandsons, do not strictly adhere to the laws on kosher food and do not observe fasts, and bury their dead in coffins fully-dressed.

There are 92 synagogues functioning today in the USSR. Eighty of them are in premises the state has made available to believers free of charge for an indefinite term. The other synagogues occupy rented buildings. In some parts of the country there are also small groups of believers

(known as minyans) consisting of 10 to 20 or even sometimes 30 believers who meet irregularly for services, mostly on major religious festivals. The number of these groups fluctuates.

In areas with large numbers of believers, although the Jewish population may be relatively small, there are several synagogues. There are 26 synagogues in Georgia, for instance.

Every year before Passover the Jewish religious communities bake matzos. Matzos is sold not only to members of the congregation, but to all who wish to purchase it. Every year more than 100 tons of matzos are baked. There are also poultry slaughter yards at the synagogues and shops which sell kosher meat.

The Soviet state has never objected to the establishment of a Judaist centre or board. Since there is now no connection between church and state, the organisation of such a body depends entirely on the initiative of the clergy and the believers.¹ At present the Moscow Choral Synagogue performs the function of an ecclesiastical centre recognised by all the Jewish religious communities in the Soviet Union.

The synagogue has a rather curious history. It was built in 1890 when the Moscow chief of police gave his verbal consent to a plan approved by the office of the Moscow *gubernia*, or provincial administration. Up to that time there had been five small Jewish meeting houses which could accommodate only a few hundred worshippers at a time. An important requirement was that the synagogue should not be higher than the surrounding buildings. The gifted architect Eiboschitz, who designed several monumental ad-

¹ It is worth noting that, though several hundred synagogues and many influential Jewish religious communities existed in old Russia, all attempts to form a Judaist centre failed because of the resistance put up by rabbis in the localities who did not wish to be subordinated to anybody.

ministrative and commercial buildings in Moscow, skilfully evaded this requirement by making use of the fairly steep slope of the short street where it was to be built. Though the synagogue building was monumental—it had a magnificent colonnade—and stood halfway down the street, it was not, of course, taller than the buildings at the top end of the street. But nevertheless, as soon as the synagogue was completed, the authorities said that the splendid dome must be removed. This was done without delay. But the synagogue was not opened because it had allegedly been built “unlawfully”—the chief of police went back on his word.

Rabbi Minor and Shneider, the head of the congregation, who insisted on the opening of the synagogue, were exiled from Moscow by decree of Tsar Alexander III. The community was told to sell the building by January 1, 1893, or to hand it over to a charitable body.

After that the synagogue premises were occupied in turn by a vocational school, a Talmud-Torah two-year Jewish school and a hospital. In the intervals between changes of signboards the building lay vacant. Only 15 years later, in June 1906, at the peak of the revolutionary events of 1905-07, was official permission finally given to use the building as a synagogue.

It has a large hall for worship accommodating 2,000 people, with balconies for the women. It is decorated with majolica, mozaic panels and gilt bronze patterns. There is also a small hall for worship, a *mikvah* (a ritual pool), a poultry slaughter room and a kosher kitchen. Not far from the synagogue, also in the centre of the city, there is a mechanised matzos bakery.

At the synagogue there is a *yeshivah* (a Jewish rabbinical school). Five students are studying there. Four other students from the Moscow congregation are attending the Higher Rabbi Seminary in Budapest, one of the most prestigious in Europe.

The present full-time staff of the synagogue consists of 37 people. There are two rabbis, head of the board of the congregation, two members of the board, two cantors, a butcher, a kosher cook

and four shammashim (two men and two women custodians). Charwomen, electricians and technicians see to the cleaning and maintenance of the building so the synagogue can function normally.

The Jewish community in Moscow has many friends in Western countries. Among them is Rabbi Arthur Schneyer of New York, who is a leader of the progressive organisation "Appeal to Conscience". Other friends are Rabbi Teitz of Elizabeth, New Jersey (US) and Rabbi Gechtman of Montreal (Canada). They have repeatedly visited the USSR as guests of the Jewish religious community in Moscow and other cities and towns. Representatives of the Moscow Jewish community have frequently been guests of Jewish communities in other countries. The Moscow Choral Synagogue maintains contacts also with Jewish communities in Western Europe and Israel.

Every year the Moscow Choral Synagogue publishes a religious calendar. In 1979 the first five books of the Old Testament (*Humash*) were issued in a large edition. In 1980 the *Siddur* was republished for the third time in the past ten years. It is the *Peace Prayer Book* which was edited and annotated by Yehuda Leib Levin, the late Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue.

All these books are printed at state printing works in fulfilment of orders placed by the synagogue. The appropriate contracts are signed with the assistance of the Council for Religious Affairs under the USSR Council of Ministers.

This enables the synagogue to provide all the members of its congregation with religious publications and ritual items, such as tallith—prayer shawls, tefillins and mezuzahs, which the synagogue receives from fraternal communities in so-

cialist countries in exchange for religious publications.

The synagogue supplies many other Jewish religious communities in the USSR with religious publications and ritual items. Taking into account the fact that the overwhelming majority of believers are elderly people, that is to say, pensioners, the board of the synagogue fixes minimum prices for religious literature and ritual items. Thus, the first five books of the Old Testament (*Humash*) cost ten roubles, the *Siddur* prayer book five roubles, a tallith 15 roubles and a tefillin five roubles. For the sake of comparison one should note that in the US a tallith or tefillin costs from 200 to 300 dollars.

When the Board of the Moscow Choral Synagogue sends religious literature and ritual items to other religious communities in the USSR it charges only 50 per cent of the retail price to enable those communities to build up their funds.

These are the facts. Clearly there is no foundation for the allegations spread by the Zionists that Judaism in the USSR is still a target of particularly humiliating anti-religious propaganda.

Soviet state and public organisations, like individuals, enjoy the constitutional right of conducting anti-religious propaganda and proclaiming atheist views. But in the USSR atheistic propaganda bears the nature of a reasoned discussion invariably showing respect for the believers' feelings.

THE JEWISH AUTONOMOUS REGION

Practical Right to National Self-Determination—Economic Development—Social Achievements—Cultural Progress—Extension of Rights of Jewish Autonomous Region

On May 7, 1934, the All-Union Central Executive Committee passed a decision on the founding of a Jewish Autonomous Region (JAR). Autonomous national regions were founded in accordance with Lenin's national policy. The purpose was to give nationalities small in size an opportunity to engage in political life and to promote their rapid economic and social progress, the rebirth of their distinctive national culture, the development of their own written languages and the publication of books and newspapers in the national tongue.

The formation of the Jewish Autonomous Region was an event of special significance. This was the first Jewish state for 2,000 years. For the first time since the dispersion of the Jews in the 6th century B.C. Jews were able to exercise in practice their right to national self-determination.

Situated in the Soviet Far East, the Jewish Autonomous Region forms part of the Khabarovsk Territory in the Russian Federation. Surrounded by the picturesque mountains of the Smaller Khingan range the region stretches along the mighty Amur River and is bordered by the watershed of its tributaries—the Bira and the Bidzhan. It has

an area of 36,000 square kilometres—larger than Belgium, for instance. The population is 197,000 and the main centre is Birobidzhan.

Though the overwhelming majority of Jews preferred to move to the bigger cities after the abolition of the infamous Pale, hundreds of families of Jewish settlers had moved to that area by the time the Jewish Autonomous Region was formed.

Many Russians, Ukrainians, Buryats and people of other nationalities settled there together with Jews. So it became a multinational region.

In the early 1930s the region had several hunting and fishing co-operatives and about a dozen semi-artisan enterprises. Since then, assisted by other fraternal peoples, the Jewish Autonomous Region has made major progress in developing its economy. It has built up engineering, electrical engineering, mining and building materials industries, which now occupy a leading place in its economy.

Today the Jewish Autonomous Region has over 50 big modern factories and plants. The Dalselmash (Far Eastern Farm Machinery) plant in Birobidzhan manufactures self-propelled crawler rice-grain and silage combine harvesters of unique design. Collective and state farms in many parts of the Soviet Union, as well as Cuba, Mexico, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Iraq, eagerly buy these machines. A main design bureau has been set up in the city of Birobidzhan specially to work on farm machinery for East Siberia and the Soviet Far East. There are other industries in Birobidzhan: a hosiery and knitwear factory—the biggest in the Soviet Far East, producing 39 million pairs of stockings and socks a year, a textile-garment factory, a knitwear factory and two footwear factories. The local power plant has been expanded

with the addition of two new departments. A large-panel housing construction workshop has been put into operation. A stadium seating 14,000 and named the *Stroitel* (Builder) has been opened, and six gymnasiums have been built in the city. New residential neighbourhoods with modern blocks of flats have appeared in Birobidzhan and other places too.

The region also has 37 state farms, a poultry factory, two big collective farms and an experimental agricultural and land improvement station. The state has given them the use of 667,000 hectares.

In the last ten years investments in the economy of the region have doubled. The region has built big stock-raising complexes and modernised and expanded some of its industries. The first section of a motor vehicle repair works for the Baikal-Amur Mainline railway (BAM)—a great project of this century—is about to be put into operation.

People of many nationalities are living and working together there as a close-knit family. Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and others are living together with Jews and are working fruitfully in all sectors of the economy. Many Jews have won high prestige and recognition by their selfless labour and active participation in public life. Khaya Karasik, a worker at the textile garment factory, has been honoured with the title of Hero of Socialist Labour. Savéli Gleiser, a team leader at the Birobidzhanstroi building organisation, has been awarded the Order of the October Revolution and the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. The chairman of the Birobidzhan City Peace Committee is Vera Gleiser, Merited Teacher

of the Russian Federation, who has been awarded the Order of Lenin.

Many of the leading posts in the regional committee of the Communist Party, in sectors and departments of the executive committee of the regional Soviet of People's Deputies are held by Jews. They also head big factories, plants and construction organisations. The only plant in the USSR which manufactures caterpillar combine harvesters is headed by E. Lipovetsky, who holds the advanced degree of Candidate of Technological Sciences. The manager of the power transformer plant is L. Kogan and of the footwear factory—Y. Shnaiderman. The chairman of the *Zavety Ilyicha* (Lenin's Behests) Collective Farm, which has an income exceeding one million roubles, is F. Glikstein.

Today one in every three persons in the region is engaged in some sort of study.

Every village has a club, library and film projector. Two newspapers are published in the region—*Birobidzhanskaya zvezda* (Birobidzhan Star) in Russian and *Birobidzhaner stern* in Yiddish, Radio Birobidzhan regularly broadcasts in Yiddish and Russian. TV sets receive programmes from Moscow and other Soviet cities, as well as Intervention programmes.

Jewish literature and the arts have made progress in the Jewish Autonomous Region. Excellent stories about the working people of the region by Meyer Alberton and David Bergelson, Samuil Gordon, and Samuil Godiner, and many short stories by Ikhil Falkiman, Terye Ghen, Khaim Melamud, Iossif Rabin, Grigory Bolshtein and Der Nistor have become classics of Jewish Soviet literature. Jewish poets, such as Perets Markish, David Gofstein, Samuil Galkin, Ezro Fininberg, Boris Olev-

sky, Itzik Fefer, Lev Reznik, Aaron Kushnirov and Iza Kharik, have also written about Birobidzhan.

Birobidzhan has nurtured a whole pleiad of Jewish prose writers including Boris Miller, David Goldstein, G. Rabnikov and S. Borzhes and of poets including Emmanuil Kazakevich, Lyubov Vasserman, Isaac Bronfman, Genrikh Koifman and Max Riant. The first literary work to be published in Birobidzhan was a collection of poems by the young poet Emmanuil Kazakevich, who later won fame as a prose writer. The Birobidzhan Drama Theatre gave the first performance of his play *Milk and Honey* about the life of settlers who became farmers. The theatre also stages plays by local playwrights Boris Miller and G. Rabnikov. The regional radio frequently includes in its programmes songs written by local composers to words by local poets.

In 1967 the Soviet government awarded the Jewish Autonomous Region the Order of Lenin for its achievements in economic and cultural development. In 1972 the region was honoured with the Order of Friendship of Peoples for outstanding services in strengthening the fraternal friendship of peoples, for achievements in economic and cultural progress and on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The political structure of the Jewish Autonomous Region is continuing to develop and making further progress. Early in December 1981 the fourth session of the tenth convocation of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation passed laws giving a new legal status to five national autonomous regions, including the Jewish Autonomous Region.

In accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation the law had been previously discussed and approved by a session of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Jewish Autonomous Region. The relevant ministries, departments and scientific establishments of the republic took part in drafting the law.

In accordance with the Communist Party's policy of enhancing the role of local government bodies, the Soviets, in all spheres of life, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic passed a new law extending the rights and powers of the Soviet of People's Deputies of the Jewish Autonomous Region in the fields of state, economic, social and cultural development.

In April 1984 the Jewish Autonomous Region celebrated its 50th anniversary.



THE ANTI-ZIONIST COMMITTEE OF SOVIET PUBLIC OPINION

Appeal by Initiating Group—Reasons for Forming
Committee—Aims and Tasks—First Press Conference—
Beginning of Activities

In April 1983 Soviet newspapers published the appeal of an initiating group consisting of leading Soviet political and public figures, scientists, men of letters and cultural workers of Jewish nationality.

Here is the text of their statement:

APPEAL

The international situation has sharply deteriorated recently as a result of actions by imperialism's most aggressive forces, especially the reactionary circles of the US. Imperialism is pinning its hopes on being able to change in its favour the balance of military forces between the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, between the US and the USSR, and is stepping up the arms race. A psychological war has been unleashed on Washington's initiative, and attempts are being made to launch a crusade against the USSR and world socialism. The threat to peace on earth has increased, and this is a source of deep concern to all honest people.

In its global strategy imperialism makes wide use of international Zionism as one of its shock detachments in the offensive against socialism and the national liberation movement, against the forces of peace and social progress.

The Israeli ruling elite and the leaders of international Zionism are responsible for political adventurism and such crimes as the occupation of Arab territories, the armed aggression against sovereign Lebanon, the killing and injuring of tens of thousands of peaceful civilians, the massacre in

the Palestinian Sabra and Shatila refugee camps, violence and torture in Ansar and other concentration camps.

These crimes have everywhere aroused the indignation of all genuinely democratic forces and organizations of various political orientation, religious circles, prominent government figures and all people of good will.

The reckless, adventurist policy of the Israeli Zionists brings trouble and suffering not only to the Arab peoples. It runs counter to the aims of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and thus to the vital interests of Israel itself.

In spite of all that, Begin and his supporters are continuing their policy of expansion and political terror with all-round aid and support from US imperialism and international Zionism.

In its essence Zionism is extreme nationalism, chauvinism and racial intolerance; it is justification of territorial seizures and annexation and armed adventurism; it is a cult of political arbitrariness and impunity; it is demagoguery and ideological sabotage, sordid manoeuvres and perfidy.

Zionism as a form of racism and the policy of the Israeli government vis-à-vis the Arab peoples have been repeatedly condemned in the decisions of the United Nations Organisation.

We know that the Western mass media, including the Zionist propaganda machine, daily slander the Soviet Union, its history and life today, and present its peaceful foreign policy in a distorted light. The nationalities policy of the CPSU is being falsified most crudely. The Zionist ringleaders claim the right to "defend" Soviet Jews in an effort to persuade world public opinion that there is a "Jewish question" in the USSR.

We vigorously protest against such fabrications. Socialist reality and the successes of our country in implementing the Leninist nationalities policy fully refute them.

Soviet Jews feel only contempt for the attempts of Zionist propaganda-mongers to interfere in their life, and angrily denounce the lies and slander invented about their socialist homeland. Jews who are citizens of the USSR are an inalienable part of the Soviet people.

As one multinational family we are building a new and splendid society—communism; we are fighting for peace and friendship among peoples and rebuffing any attempts to undermine the internationalist community of the Soviet people. We can only describe as absurd the attempts of the Zionist ideologists to depict any criticism of Zionism, any condemna-

tion by the Soviet public of the aggressive policy of the ruling circles of Israel as a "manifestation of antisemitism". It is common knowledge that Soviet people are true internationalists and resolutely reject any form of chauvinism, including Zionism and antisemitism.

Our reason and conscience compel us to address this Appeal to all Soviet citizens.

We call on workers, collective farmers and intellectuals to take an active part in the political exposure of Zionism and firmly rebuff its intrigues.

We call on workers, collective farmers and intellectuals to provide substantiated criticism of the reactionary essence of the ideology and the aggressive nature of the political practice of Zionism.

We call on men of letters, artists and journalists to reveal still more fully in their works and statements the anti-popular and anti-human nature of the subversive propaganda and policy of Zionism.

With the object of coordinating our efforts we propose that a voluntary organisation, the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion, be set up and call upon Soviet citizens of all nationalities to take an active part in its work.

This will make it possible to wage a more resolute struggle against the ideology and political practice of Zionism, the struggle for social progress and peace on earth.

Colonel-General David DRAGUNSKY, twice Hero of the Soviet Union; Academician Martin KABACHNIK, Hero of Socialist Labour, Winner of the Lenin and State prizes;

Genrikh GOFMAN, Member of the USSR Writers' Union, Hero of the Soviet Union; Professor Samuel ZIVS, Doctor of Law, Merited Worker in Science of the Russian Federation;

Boris SHEININ, Member of the USSR Film-Makers' Union;

Professor Grigori BONDAREVSKY, Doctor of History, Merited Worker in Science of the Russian Federation;

Professor Genrikh ZIMANAS, Doctor of Philosophy;

Yuri KOLESNIKOV, Member of the USSR Writers' Union

Pravda, April 1, 1983

As may be clearly seen from the Appeal the forming of the committee was no accident. A decisive stimulus to the efforts of the Soviet public in their struggle against the Zionists' crimes was the escalation of steps taken by imperialist circles to undermine peace and expressed in particular in the bloody act of aggression by Israeli extremists against Lebanon.

Nor could the Soviet people be indifferent to the fact that in accordance with a well-established tradition the Zionist-Israeli criminal acts were accompanied by a fresh outburst of anti-Sovietism and slander against the Soviet nationalities policy. The peak of the anti-Soviet campaign was marked by what was called an extraordinary "world conference" held in Jerusalem in March 1983, which was, of course, "in defence of Soviet Jews".

In such circumstances the Appeal of the Initiating Group for the formation of an Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion met with a positive response among Soviet people. The initiating group and the editorial offices of newspapers received very many letters approving the initiative.

On April 21 the foundation meeting attended by members of the Moscow public and the press unanimously proclaimed the formation of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion (AKSO). At the meeting of the council of founders, consisting of representatives of leading Soviet public organisations such as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (AUCCTU), the Soviet Women's Committee, the Committee of Youth Organisations of the USSR, the Soviet War Veterans Committee, Novosti Press Agency, the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and others, a 37-member committee composed of outstanding public figures, scien-

tists, workers, collective farmers, artists and professional people was elected.

Thirteen people were elected to the Presidium of the Committee. Twice Hero of the Soviet Union, Colonel-General David Dragunsky was elected chairman of the committee, Professor Samuel Zivs, Doctor of Law and Merited Worker in Science of the Russian Federation, was elected first vice-chairman, and Mark Krupkin, Candidate of Law, Igor Belyaev, Doctor of Economic Science, and Yuri Kolesnikov, a writer, were elected vice-chairmen.

Yakov Fishman, Chief Rabbi of the Moscow Choral Synagogue, since deceased, was also elected to the Presidium of the Committee.

In his inaugural speech committee chairman David Dragunsky stressed that the anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion had been formed to unite the efforts of Soviet citizens in giving an organised rebuff to Zionism and in exposing its reactionary essence. In its activities the committee would firmly take the standpoint of the Leninist nationalities policy and of strengthening friendship between the nations and nationalities of the multinational Soviet state on the basis of the principles of internationalism.

"The anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion," he said, "in accordance with its charter aims will render assistance and support to Soviet citizens taking part in the struggle against international Zionism. It will support activities and campaign in the country and abroad to expose the reactionary ideology and political practices of Zionism. It will maintain ties and contacts with progressive organisations abroad which are waging an active struggle against Zionism.

"In connection with the formation of AKSO," David Dragunsky concluded, "I foresee a fresh

howl of anger from the Zionist camp against the Soviet Union. Well, such howls will have no effect upon us. We shall try to do the utmost to unmask the real face of Zionism and its inhuman nature."

First vice-chairman Samuel Zivs noted that one of the important functions of the committee would be to draw Soviet citizens—scientists, men of letters, art workers, journalists—into the struggle against Zionism by producing scientific studies, literary works of high artistic value, films, plays, works of fine art and journalistic works, which will expose the reactionary ideology and practices of Zionism, as well as its anti-Soviet essence. To this end the committee would take an active part in submitting works in the field of science, literature and the arts for Lenin prizes, USSR state prizes, state prizes of union republics, and Young Communist League prizes.

Samuel Zivs went on to explain that the funds of the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion are formed from contributions by Soviet public organisations, voluntary donations by various scientific, artistic and cultural institutions, private donations and publishing revenues.

On June 6, 1983, the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion held its first press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists. Opening the conference committee chairman David Dragunsky noted the great interest and satisfaction displayed by wide sections of the Soviet public in connection with the formation of the committee and the beginning of its activities.

"Our Committee," he said, "has received a full public mandate for its activities. Quite a lot of letters welcoming the formation of the committee have also been received from organisations and individuals abroad."

Answering many questions from Soviet and foreign journalists, leading members of the committee spoke in detail about the tasks and the principles of its work, set out their views on present international problems and rejected the insinuations of Zionist propaganda with regard to the formation of the committee.

First vice-chairman Samuel Ziv stressed in particular that the committee, expressing the opinion of the Soviet public, upheld the right of Israel to exist and the right of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own sovereign state.

Criticism of the nazi methods used by the Israeli government and military in occupied Arab territories in no way meant that the Soviet Union was for the liquidation of the state of Israel as a nazi state. The Soviet Union and its people were condemning only the methods by which the Israeli government and reactionary military leaders tried to solve "the Palestinian question".

Samuel Ziv and other leaders and members of the committee vigorously rebuffed the attempts of Zionist propaganda and some Western mass media to depict any Soviet criticism of Zionism and even the setting-up of the Anti-Zionist Committee as a manifestation of "Soviet antisemitism", as well as attempts to identify anti-Zionism with antisemitism and Jews with Zionists.

It was stressed at the press conference that Zionist practices was nothing new to the Soviet public. In many letters Soviet people expressed their approval of the formation of the committee and stressed the groundlessness of such Zionist methods.

"I have always regarded the Zionists, and I regard them now, as enemies of the Jews, and I have always been, and am today, against those who identify Zionists with Jews. This is done either by Zio-

nists themselves or by antisemites," wrote Eliosius Zeifas, a journalist from Latvia, for example.

Vladimir Derkach, manager of an inter-collective farm in the Ukraine, who had lived through the nazi wartime occupation, wrote: "I do not identify the Zionists with the Jews, just as I did not identify the nazis with the Germans."

"No one will be deceived today by allegations to the effect that our opposition to Israeli genocide and to Israel's policy in the Middle East is a manifestation of antisemitism.

"We are internationalists who reject all forms of chauvinism. That is precisely why we come out against Zionism, against the oppression of one people by another," wrote Perch Zaituntsyan, secretary of the Union of Writers of Armenia, describing his attitude to Zionist hypocrisy in a letter to the Anti-Zionist Committee.

Not only Soviet people think thay way.

I. Brodi, a Jew from Norway, wrote: "We Jews feel ashamed (about the actions of the Israeli military in Lebanon—*Ed.*). We must unite our efforts against Zionism. I appeal to all Jews to deny any support to Zionist Israel. The Zionists claim that they are speaking on behalf of all Jews. But I do not want passively to accept the mass killings. So let them not speak in my name."

Academician Martin Kabachnik, a member of the committee presidium, refuted the fabrications of the Zionist and Western propaganda machine about discrimination against Soviet Jews in the field of education and science. He stressed that as regards the number of people with higher education in relation to the population the Soviet Jews hold a leading place among the nationalities in the USSR and first place in the world.

Refuting the anti-Soviet claims about the "suppression" of Yiddish and Jewish national culture in the USSR, Professor Genrikh Zimanas, Doctor of Philosophy, said: "It can be affirmed with all responsibility that the Zionist self-styled 'champions' of Jewish Soviet culture are absolutely indifferent to Yiddish—the national language of Soviet Jews. Do you know of any Western publishing house which would be prepared to reprint the books of Soviet authors writing in Yiddish or at least to bring out an anthology of works in Yiddish published in the Moscow journal *Sovietish Heimland*? Do you know of a single Western firm that would be prepared to put out records of Jewish songs sung in Yiddish by Iosif Kobzon or Galina Kareva? Would any Western newspaper—from *Le Monde* to *The New York Times*—print a report about this fine Yiddish Primer, approved by the public education department of the Jewish autonomous region and published in Khabarovsk in 1982? Why is all this hushed up? Because if it were made public the true purpose of the 'defence of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union' would become clear to everyone in the West."

Speaking of the escalation of anti-Soviet propaganda in connection with the establishment of the committee, committee vice-chairman Yuri Kolesnikov said: "The most extraordinary thing is that voices 'in defence of Soviet Jews' are heard mainly from those countries where nazi criminals stained with Jewish blood have taken shelter and are living imperturbed."

In their speeches at the press conference the committee leaders affirmed their resolve to fight any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-semitism and Zionism. They expressed their solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people, first and

foremost with the Palestinians, against Israeli expansionism.

In the course of 1983 the committee published several statements in defence of peace in the Middle East, denouncing the continuing crimes against peaceful Palestinians, expressing their solidarity with progressive public opinion in Israel which opposes the militarist policy of the Israeli "hawks".

Almost every day the committee is visited by Soviet citizens and by members of organisations and individuals from other countries too. During talks with visitors committee spokesmen explain the aims and tasks of the committee, exchange information, make contacts of mutual benefit.

Information and publication activities aimed at distributing the important documents and materials on the committee's work are developing successfully.

The Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion is active in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia. City anti-Zionist committees are being formed in Moscow and Leningrad.



WHO ARE THEY, "PRISONERS OF ZION"?

Who Needs Them and Why—Mikhail Leviyev, Embezzler of Public Funds, Speculator and Smuggler—Mikhail Shtern, Extortioner and Bribe Taker in Doctor's Dress—Anatoli Shcharansky, Spy and Libeller—Igor Guberman, Leader of a Gang of Thieves—Viktor Brailovsky, Libeller and Falsifier—Boris Kanevsky and Valeri Senderov, Speculators on Human Weaknesses

The term "prisoner of Zion" is an invention of the Zionist propaganda machine. All Soviet Jews in custody or behind bars after being sentenced by Soviet courts to terms of imprisonment are called "prisoners of Zion". Zionist propaganda claims that these persons voice the "aspirations of all Soviet Jews" and are being punished solely for their Zionist beliefs or their wish to emigrate to Israel.

Here the Zionists are exploiting the fact that offenders and criminals are still to be found among Soviet Jews, as among citizens of other nationality in the USSR. When these criminals are exposed and brought to trial, the Zionist propaganda machine springs to their defence and the Soviet state is accused of "persecuting" and "discriminating against" Jews. The aim of such lies is to foster the myth about "eternal Russian" and, above all, "Soviet" antisemitism and to promote the "exodus" of Soviet Jews to the "Promised Land".

Who are they, these "prisoners of Zion" the West talks and writes so much about?

* * *

Mikhail Leviyev was the manager of the *Tajikistan* special shop in Moscow. Many of the goods

delivered to the shop never reached the counter, but were sold illegally at extortionate prices, well above the ones fixed. That was how 220,000 metres of fabric were sold on the side for 1,500,000 roubles. Leviyev pocketed in bribes 77,500 roubles. In addition, Leviyev engaged in buying gold and reselling it, naturally, at higher prices, as well as in smuggling and illegal trafficking in foreign currency.

When Leviyev was arrested, 40 kilos of gold in coins and bars and two million roubles in money and other valuables were confiscated from him and his accomplices.

In December 1974 the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation sentenced him to be shot for illegal foreign currency trafficking, abuse of his official position, smuggling, large-scale embezzlement and bribery, as well as promoting profiteering in aggravating circumstances. The Supreme Court of the USSR endorsed the sentence. The accused then appealed to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet for commutation of his sentence. His request was granted and the criminal is now serving a prison term.

Leonid Tsypin, a former "champion of Jewish rights", who had come back to the Soviet Union, wrote a letter to a Moscow newspaper in May 1977 describing the methods Western anti-Soviet propaganda resorted to in its bid to present Mikhail Leviyev as a "victim of antisemitism".

"Sometimes these attempts turned out to be simply absurd," Tsypin said. "To describe Mikhail Leviyev as a 'victim of persecution' after he had been proved guilty of large-scale foreign currency trafficking seemed a bit too much even to us. But orders came from London, from M. Shernborn, member of a committee for the protection of the

rights of Soviet Jews. So we went about things in the usual way, that is to say, we drew up a letter in defence of this 'innocent man'. Naturally, the letter had to be signed and many signatures were needed. We did not even take the trouble to collect them, we simply signed the names of people who were not aware of this. Our letter and the report of yet another 'arbitrary act' were sent to Western radio stations which rushed to the defence of an 'innocent victim'. These radio stations again accused the Soviet Union of 'trampling human rights underfoot'."

* * *

The case of *Mikhail Shtern*, a 69-year-old doctor in the city of Vinnitsa, the Soviet Ukraine, merits detailed discussion.

His name first appeared on the pages of some Western papers late in 1974. Mikhail Shtern, then head of the polyclinic of an endocrinological dispensary, was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment for extorting bribes from patients and for swindling (Article 168, Part II, and Article 143, Part II of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

But taking into account the age and state of health of the defendant, and complying with the insistent requests of Shtern and his wife, the Soviet authorities released him in the spring of 1977 before his term of imprisonment expired. He was permitted to leave the Soviet Union with his wife. As soon as Shtern appeared in the West, he decided to "express his gratitude" to the Soviet authorities for their humane approach. In numerous statements to the press, in letters to the US President and other Western politicians Mikhail Shtern in-

produced himself as a "victim of Soviet arbitrary action", as a "martyr who suffered for his convictions", and who was punished allegedly for refusing to condemn his sons Viktor and August, who chose to emigrate to Israel, as well as for intending to follow them himself.

But let us look at the facts. Criminal proceedings were instituted against Mikhail Shtern (and he was taken into custody) on May 30, 1974. His sons applied for exit visas to Israel four months later, in October 1974.

Moreover, when in the course of preliminary investigation Shtern learnt that his sons intended to emigrate to Israel, he condemned them in a statement dated November 3, 1974.

"So far as I personally am concerned I have never wished to leave my homeland—the Soviet Union," he wrote, himself underlining the sentence.

At the examination and public trial it was incontrovertibly proved that Mikhail Shtern, physician, accepted "rewards" for *"actions not connected with his own direct rendering of medical aid to patients"*.

All forms of medical aid are free of charge in the Soviet Union. But it is not against the law to make gifts to physicians in charge of treatment. It was not such gifts, however, that led to the investigation and trial of Shtern's case. Mikhail Shtern was found guilty of extorting "rewards" in advance, even before starting treatment.

Another line in Shtern's criminal activities was systematic profiteering in medicines. In the course of the trial it was established that Shtern forced his patients to buy cheap medicines (costing only a few kopecks) at prices way beyond those fixed by the state.

The evidence produced by 100 witnesses and the findings of forensic medical experts led to Mikhail Shtern being found guilty of extorting bribes, of profiteering in medicines and of fraud. What about Shtern himself? How did he view his own actions?

In a statement he made on October 1, 1974 to the head of the criminal investigation division in the Procurator's Office of the Vinnitsa Region, he wrote:

"Please consider the question of altering the article of the charge and, instead of Articles 168 and 143, *bringing charges against me for abuse of office and profiteering in hormone medicines which are in short supply*" (his own italics).

Is not this statement by Shtern an admission that *he is guilty of the charges brought against him?*

Finally, another fact of no little importance. While the doctor was under investigation, he advanced a significant argument. In a written statement addressed to the Procurator of the Vinnitsa Region on October 21, 1974 he said:

"My conviction in court will give *me the halo of a martyr and this will only play into the hands of hostile propaganda and of the enemies of socialism*" (his own italics).

How should we view this statement? As true insight? Today when, to use his own phrase, he is playing "into the hands of hostile propaganda and of the enemies of socialism", his striking "foresight" is easy to explain. While in the dock, he was already making far-reaching plans to gain publicity on the grounds of nonexistent "Soviet antisemitism".

What they had failed to achieve in Vinnitsa, Mikhail Shtern and company and his Zionist patrons would try to achieve with the help of Western public opinion.

But "the case of Dr. Shtern" only shows that people performing anti-Soviet services are in extremely short supply on the Western market, if the propaganda machine has to resort to the services of a hardened liar who has trampled underfoot the elementary ethical standards of his humane profession and who has profited from the sufferings of his patients.

* * *

In the summer of 1978 a trial was held at a district court in Moscow which gave rise to many false rumours outside the USSR. For five days—from July 10 to 14—a judicial board for criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation examined the case of *Anatoli Shcharansky*, aged 30, a resident of the town of Istra near Moscow. He was charged with espionage on behalf of foreign states and of systematically preparing for foreign clients material deliberately distorting life in the Soviet Union.

His name is widely known in the West because the Western mass media conducted a broad propaganda campaign on his behalf. They pictured Anatoli Shcharansky as a "champion of civil rights", an "active worker for the emigration of Soviet Jews to Israel" and even as an "observer" checking on fulfilment of the Helsinki agreement. The Western media alleged that he was brought to trial because of this.

But the facts present quite a different picture of Shcharansky.

It was proved in court that Anatoli Shcharansky and his accomplices sought to undermine the defence capacity of the USSR. To this end in 1976 and 1977 they collected information about people who

had been refused exit visas because they knew state secrets. The lists Shcharansky drew up not only gave the names of these people, but also information on the location of the defence industries in which they worked, on the security conditions and maintenance of secrecy there, as well as on the executive staff of these enterprises. Up to the time of his arrest in March 1977 Shcharansky regularly sent this information to addresses abroad, taking all possible precautions to maintain secrecy.

At one of the court hearings the accused said:

"I personally took part in collecting this sort of information about people who had been refused exit visas and sent such material to the West."

The evidence Shcharansky presented in court showed that on more than one occasion in 1976 and 1977 he assisted a correspondent of a Western paper who, as the competent organs established, was an agent of a Western intelligence service. Shcharansky's assistance took the form of establishing secret contacts with Soviet scientists and specialists who knew state secrets and of creating conditions in which they could be closely questioned.

At such interviews the "correspondent" displayed an interest in specific matters, such as information about the Soviet space programme, which was not for publication in the press, secret information on sociological surveys, parapsychology and so on. On the "correspondent's" instructions Shcharansky personally questioned a geneticist who divulged information about institutions engaged in genetic in engineering research.

From the autumn of 1976 Shcharansky helped this agent meet another scientist on several occasions to obtain information about the results of his secret research. At his last meeting with the scien-

tist this extremely curious "correspondent" was caught red-handed as the materials were being handed over to him.

The findings of the investigation showed that Anatoli Shcharansky was equally active in another field. He fabricated and sent to addresses abroad surveys and appeals deliberately distorting the national policy of the Soviet state. Many contained direct appeals to Western politicians and governments to put "constant strong pressure" on the USSR to make it change its home and foreign policy on certain questions.

Here are some of these statements.

In July 1974 Shcharansky and his associates drew up an "Appeal to the American people and the US Congress" and sent it to an address abroad. Distorting the Soviet "emigration policy" the appeal urged the US to take a tougher stand on trade and economic relations with the USSR.

In December 1974 the US Congress adopted an amendment to the Trade Act which made the granting of most-favoured-nation treatment to socialist countries dependent on their readiness to allow the US to interfere in their internal affairs. In this connection Shcharansky drafted and sent a new "appeal" abroad. The "appeal" described the US policy of discrimination as an "important achievement" and "invaluable support to persons seeking to emigrate from the USSR".

From 1974 to 1977 Shcharansky alone or together with others wrote and sent at least 17 such documents abroad.

To lend "weight" to such material he did not hesitate to falsify facts. Many witnesses confirmed that the "Lists of Persons Refused Exit Visas to Israel" which Shcharansky regularly compiled included the names of people who had long left the

USSR or had never wished to do so. Many people who had allegedly signed the appeals he drafted knew nothing about it. A forensic examination revealed that thirty signatures to one of the appeals had been penned in Shcharansky's own hand.

In the summer of 1975 Shcharansky, together with two accomplices, handed a false "survey" of "discrimination" against Jews in the USSR to US Senators who were in Moscow at that time.

"Defendant Shcharansky," the public prosecutor said to him at the trial, "you wrote many times in your material that Jews in the USSR were discriminated against. Has your family ever been discriminated against?" Shcharansky had nothing to say in answer to the question and remained silent. Then the prosecutor read out an official document showing that Anatoli Shcharansky, his father, mother and brother had received a higher education in the USSR. All of them had worked in their profession. Upon graduating from an institute Shcharansky himself had worked as an engineer, then as a senior engineer in a defence and scientific-research institution. He had not been overlooked for promotion. He was trusted: he had access to important Soviet state secrets. Neither Shcharansky nor his family were subjected to any discrimination.

"In the material you sent to the West you frequently wrote that Soviet Jews were immediately fired as soon as they applied to emigrate to Israel. Did that happen to you personally after you submitted such an application?" he was asked in another question by the prosecutor. Shcharansky replied that nobody had fired him. He left his job himself because it took him away from his "public activities".

These are only a few facts from the several dozen volumes of material concerning the case of the "champion of human rights" Anatoli Shcharansky. Several states raised their indignant voices in his defence. But what punishment would these states impose according to their own laws for such offences as Shcharansky committed?

Virtually every country, regardless of the social system it belongs to, considers espionage on behalf of a foreign state to be a particularly grave crime meriting very severe punishment.

The deliberate concoction and circulation of distorted information damaging state interests are also serious crimes.

Soviet laws are no exception to the rule. Acting on the basis of procedural legislation the court examined all the circumstances of the criminal case of Anatoli Shcharansky charged with espionage activities and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and, finding him guilty of these crimes, sentenced him to 13 years of imprisonment.

Despite the fact that Shcharansky's guilt was indisputably proved, some circles in the West are still holding "conferences", "hearings" and even "tribunals" in his defence. All this shows that anti-Soviet circles and other enemies of peace, détente and co-operation are trying to play upon the ignorance of some, the credulity of others and the thirst for sensationalism of yet others to further their own selfish political aims.

It is a pity that eminent political and public leaders and parliamentarians are sometimes drawn into these vociferous anti-Soviet campaigns. As a result, they frequently find themselves in an embarrassing situation or just looking ridiculous.

This was the case with Lord Andover, a member of the House of Lords. In a public statement in

December 1979, he alleged that Anatoli Shcharansky was mortally sick in prison, dying of hunger, emaciated and weighing only 41 kilograms. It so happened that exactly three weeks before Lord Andover's statement, on November 19, 1979, physicians had made a regular examination of Shcharansky's physical condition and found it normal.

Shortly afterwards Shcharansky's mother, who was granted permission to see him, confirmed that his physical state was normal. These were the true facts about Anatoli Shcharansky who was alleged to be mortally sick and dying of hunger.

Of course, you can reduce Shcharansky's weight by eleven kilograms. But you cannot reduce the responsibility a politician or public leader bears for his utterances, if he takes on trust and disseminates false "information" of that kind.

In August, 1979, the Dmitrov city department of internal affairs of the Moscow region arrested *Igor Guberman*, a Moscow resident, born in 1936, an electrical engineer by training, who described himself as a man of letters by profession.

After his arrest "committees in defence of Igor Guberman" were formed in the United States, Israel, Britain and France. Western mass media portrayed him as an "outstanding man of letters", prosecuted in the USSR for publishing his work in an illegal anti-Soviet publication called *Jews in the USSR* and for publishing in Israel a book of his verses entitled *Jewish datszybao* (under the pen name I. Garik), as well as for wanting to emigrate to Israel.

When in March 1980 Guberman and six of his accomplices were sentenced on the basis of several

articles of the Criminal Code of the Russian Federation (Articles 15-144, part 2, 17-144, part 2, and 208, part 4) to five years' imprisonment, none of the Western information media which had expressed indignation at "Soviet arbitrariness" informed readers in their countries of the real reasons for Igor Guberman's arrest and conviction. How could they do so when their "outstanding man of letters" and "Israeli patriot" was sentenced on the basis of articles of the criminal code dealing with "preparation and participation in systematic robberies following preliminary conspiracy by a group of people" and with "large-scale sale of property knowingly acquired by criminal means". In the course of investigation and in court it was proved that Igor Guberman had formed a gang of thieves which had long been involved in stealing old icons from villages and settlements in the Dmitrov district near Moscow. The stolen icons were sold at high prices for unlawful gain.

This is the true face of a "prisoner of Zion".

At the present time, in accordance with the amnesty of June 27, 1980, Guberman's sentence was amended to a suspended one with early release from confinement on condition the remaining term is served working at construction sites in the Krasnoyarsk area.

* * *

In June 1981 *Viktor Brailovsky*, aged 45, an engineering programmer, was tried in Moscow. The courtroom was crowded.

The defendant was charged with systematically and deliberately preparing and disseminating false materials defaming the Soviet state and social system. Brailovsky was sentenced to five years' banish-

ment—restricted residence in a designated area, the seven months of preliminary custody being taken into account at the rate of one day of custody for three days in exile. The majority of the people attending the trial met the sentence with approval.

The case was tried by the criminal case board of the Moscow City Court with Judge Vladimir Bogdanov presiding and two People's Assessors—Lyudmila Alyunina, lecturer at the Veterinary Academy, and Nikolai Moslyagin, fitter at a chemical engineering works.

Procurator Tamara Prazdnikova was state prosecutor in court.

Brailovsky's wife Irina and son Leonid were present at the trial.

As soon as the hearing began the defendant said he did not want a counsel for the defence because, as he put it, he had "worked out his own line of defence" and wanted to speak in his own defence. The court granted his request. The presiding judge explained to the accused the additional rights he enjoyed in this connection, in particular, his right to take part in cross-examination and the pleadings of the parties.

Viktor Brailovsky was arrested on November 13, 1980. The indictment read out in court stated that from 1973 to 1980 Brailovsky had systematically prepared and disseminated in written, printed and other form material containing fabrications defaming the Soviet state and social system. He was one of the leading producers of the illegal typewritten publication *Jews in the USSR* and editor and author of articles that appeared in it. Issues of this publication were illegally disseminated in the USSR and also illegally sent abroad, where they were used by anti-Soviet publishing houses and radio stations for conducting propaganda hostile to the Soviet

Union and giving world public opinion a distorted notion of the country.

It is worth noting that anti-Soviet allegations about the conditions of Jews in the USSR were accompanied by such Russophobic phrases as "Russia is the Augean Stables", "Russia—Land of Alcoholics", "Russia—Cultural Decline" and "Russians Hate Everything Beautiful, Talented and Original". Such utterances are a flagrant violation of the Constitution of the USSR which prohibits the defamation of any nationality in any form, as well as manifestations of intolerance, contempt or scorn.

Apart from that, the indictment pointed out that in 1976 Viktor Brailovsky wrote and circulated letters "To newly-elected US President Carter" and "To the US Congress" which contained fabrications slandering the Soviet state and social system. The letter to President Carter, for instance, referred to a "sinister plan to strangle emigration" from the USSR.

In the course of the two-day court hearings the circle of Brailovsky's acquaintances confirmed that he had played a leading part in publishing the illegal journal *Jews in the USSR* and other materials of a slanderous nature.

The testimony of witnesses and material evidence, such as issues of the journal, the letters addressed to the US Congress and the US President, convincingly proved the well-founded nature of the charges, the leading role Brailovsky played in preparing the materials, his authorship of and his participation in disseminating materials slandering the Soviet state and social system and distorting Soviet reality. The testimony of witnesses and official documents also helped establish that *Jews in the USSR* and other slanderous materials were disseminated in the Soviet Union and abroad.

Addressing the court, the state prosecutor, Procurator Tamara Prazdnikova, laid bare the deliberately slanderous character of these materials. The prosecutor cited official statistics and other specific facts completely refuting the fabrications about the "plight" of the Jews in the USSR and other anti-Soviet allegations contained in the materials compiled, written or edited by Brailovsky.

Here is an instance the court examined, an instance of the malicious twisting of facts and statistics by Viktor Brailovsky. In an article he wrote for *Jews in the USSR* Brailovsky claimed that the Soviet authorities were conducting a "tough policy" of discrimination against Jews in education. In support of his statement he cited figures over a period of several years as indicating a fall in the percentage of Jewish students at Soviet higher educational establishments.

The percentage did indeed decline. But it was shown in court that this decline was not due to discrimination against Jews but to the opening of a large number of new higher educational establishments and to an increase in the number of students by tens and even hundreds of thousands, especially in formerly backward areas of Central Asia, Transcaucasia and Siberia. This, naturally, led to a fall in the percentage of Jewish students, as well as that of students of other small nationalities. But programmer Viktor Brailovsky was well aware that the only sound criterion for determining any nationality's opportunities in education is the proportion of students at higher educational establishments to the overall size of that particular nation or nationality. This proportion convincingly shows that in the USSR Jews take a leading place among students at higher educational establishments. They are ahead of most other nationalities. Moreover, there

is a clear tendency for the number of Jewish students in proportion to the size of the Jewish population to increase. Let us recall that in the 1978/79 academic year, for instance, there were 329 Jewish students per 10,000 Jewish citizens, as compared to 311 in the 1976/77 academic year. It should also be mentioned that for the USSR as a whole there is an average of 196 students per 10,000 population.

In her final address to the court the state prosecutor pointed out that in the preliminary investigation and court hearings all the procedural norms had been scrupulously observed. All the requests of the defendant had been granted and he had fully exercised his rights both as the accused and as counsel for the defence.

After Brailovsky two persons, *Boris Kanevsky* and *Valeri Senderov*, were sentenced for similar slanders, though unlike Brailovsky they manipulated not figures but human weaknesses.

It is known that overestimating one's own abilities is a human failing, especially when a person is young and it is a question of his mental abilities (as an ancient sage once said: "Everyone complains of a lack of money but nobody complains of a lack of brains."). If such overestimation is "moderate" then it is of no harm either to an individual himself or to those around him. Moreover, moderate or, we may say, reasonable overestimation may play a good role, encouraging a person to develop his intellect to the level he ascribes himself.

But there are cases where a person overestimates his own abilities beyond all reasonable limits. Such people, as a rule, consider themselves undeservedly

neglected. They blame everybody and everything for their failure in life, allegedly due to others' underestimation of their abilities. They complain to everybody of "injustice".

Precisely such failures among Jewish applicants who did not pass common entrance exams to institutions of higher education were sought out by the so-called "Jewish activists" Boris Kanevsky, Valeri Senderov and their like. Expressing "their warm sympathy" to the worried youths and making great play with the "injustice" which had befallen them, Kanevsky and Senderov drew from these youths complaints about the "bias" of examiners because of their "Jewish origin".

To give their activities greater weight Kanevsky and Senderov even founded "an organisation", and acting on behalf of this "organisation" soon published a "research study". Naturally this "research study" was immediately forwarded to the West where the mass media lost no opportunity of using it to anti-Soviet ends.

All these despicable activities were conducted for precisely this "final result". Indeed, if Kanevsky and Senderov had wanted to depict the true situation as regards the entry of Soviet youth of Jewish origin to institutes, to show the accessibility of higher education in the USSR to Jews, it would have been sufficient to refer to the freely available statistical data.

In Moscow, for example, where there are well-known institutions of higher education (the "research study" of Kanevsky and Senderov made a special point of the "inaccessibility" of Moscow institutes to Jews) the ratio of Jewish students to the number of the Jewish population in the Soviet capital is 340 to 10,000. The allegations in this "research study" that Jewish applicants are delib-

erately asked the most difficult questions are plain lies.

The competitive system of entrance examinations to Soviet higher education establishments assesses applicants' knowledge by answers to three or four questions on a card which the applicant himself picks from a pile of cards. The questions on exam cards fully correspond to the detailed programmes worked out for each subject. As a rule these programmes are available to future applicants a year before the exams. These are indisputable facts. It is no wonder and absolutely right that Kanevsky and Senderov were brought to trial for slanderous statements made for anti-Soviet ends.

As for those, by the way, not so many unlucky Jewish applicants who see the reason for their failure in anything except their poor knowledge, there is a popular joke among Moscow Jews about a stutterer who would complain to everybody that he had been refused a job as radio announcer because he was a Jew.

So we see that the "prisoners of Zion", the moment they lose their propaganda halo and appear in their true colours, are swindlers, embezzlers, extortionists, bribe-takers, profiteers, intriguers, common and state criminals. These people have nothing in common with the overwhelming majority of Soviet Jews who are honest workers and patriots.

THE TRUTH ABOUT EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

Observance of the Helsinki Agreement—Reasons for Refusals—Causes of Decline in Emigration—False Summons

In the Soviet Union there is no social motivation for emigration: no unemployment or poverty exists, and the USSR Constitution guarantees all citizens their vital social and political rights. The living standards of Soviet people are steadily improving. The Leninist national policy ensures the progress of all nations and nationalities. So it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of applications for emigration from the USSR are prompted by the wish of families to be reunited. It is also natural that most of such applications are filed by Jews whose families were disunited during the Second World War and the period of nazi occupation.

Official figures show that in the postwar period—from 1945 to 1981—approximately 250,000 citizens of Jewish nationality, including children, emigrated from the USSR to Palestine and, when Israel was founded, to Israel.

In full compliance with the Helsinki agreement the Soviet state has in recent years taken steps to simplify procedures for leaving and entering the country.

In particular, in order to simplify the procedure for foreign travel the Statute on Entry into and

Exit from the USSR, approved by a decision of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other legislative acts have been brought into conformity with the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act:

— the state duty to be paid by applicant for exit papers was reduced by half (in two stages—in 1975 and 1978); local financial bodies have been granted the right to exempt some citizens from payment of this duty in the light of their financial circumstances;

— payment of state duty for examination of renewed applications for exit papers has been abolished;

— the time for review of cases of refusal of an exit visa has been halved; today such refusals may be reviewed at the applicant's request every six months;

— the procedure for exit from the USSR has been simplified; in particular, the number of documents citizens must submit has been reduced; people applying for emigration permits do not have to produce a reference from their place of work; they now have to present a document stating that their place of work has no material or other claims against the applicant;

— customs formalities have been simplified with respect to household appliances, furniture and personal effects, including durables, such as automobiles, furniture, refrigerators, regardless of when they were purchased.

Some people are refused exit visas upon their first application. But such refusals are of a temporary nature. A decision on exit visas may be delayed until the relatives—those wishing to emigrate and those remaining in the country—come to an agreement between themselves and, in particular, settle any outstanding accounts. Decisions on

exit visas may also be delayed for a specified time in respect of persons who, by the nature of their work, have had access to state secrets or who have had important special military training. Persons under preliminary investigation or serving terms of punishment to which they have been sentenced by courts of law are, naturally, also refused exit visas. Such practices are in full conformity with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights endorsed by the UN General Assembly on December 16, 1966. In particular, this document provides for restrictions on the right of citizens to leave their country in cases connected with the safeguarding of state security, public order and health.

After the necessary period has passed for the secret nature of information to lapse, after all matters have been settled between relatives and after a person has served any term of punishment he has been sentenced to, or been pardoned or released before the expiration of such a term, the applications of citizens who were previously refused exit visas are reconsidered and, as a rule, granted.

As a rule, if a citizen has applied for an exit visa, this does not affect his position at work or his social status. Applicants working at defence enterprises or institutions conducting research of a secret nature form a negligible minority of the total number—they are an exception to the rule. In such cases these persons may be released from their jobs with the consent of their trade union and in conformity with the Labour Law Code. They are given other jobs. Normally, however, such people change their jobs in advance, before filing an application for emigration. Since in the Soviet Union there is a shortage of labour, finding a job is no problem at all.

Emigration affects the lives of many people. So it naturally gives rise to many problems. Two are of special importance.

First, the USSR favours the reunion of families. But quite often the desire of certain people to leave the country to be "reunited with their relatives" leads in fact to the destruction of existing families and family bonds. Children leave their parents behind and vice versa. Husbands divorce their wives and vice versa. Naturally the Soviet authorities protect, above all, the interests of Soviet citizens remaining behind. It is indeed not always easy to find the best way of solving such delicate problems as family relations.

Second, many Soviet citizens who have never even dreamed of emigrating are still receiving "summons" from non-existent relatives and strangers in Israel. The obvious purpose here is to provoke emigration or, at least, to sow mistrust towards people who command respect and prestige. A large number of those who have received such false summons have duly notified the Soviet authorities of it and expressed their rightful indignation.

Judging by the numerous stamps and signatures on such documents, Israeli government and administrative bodies, such as the consular department of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and others, are engaged in sending "summons" of this kind. But "documents" are being issued in the name of persons in Israel who are not relatives at all. Very often they are people whom the recipients of the "summons" have never heard of.

In this way the humane idea of family reunion, which is supported by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, is being exploited for political purposes.

Recent years have seen a marked decline in the number of people emigrating to Israel. On this basis the Israeli authorities and international Zionist circles are trying to incite public opinion against the Soviet Union and are accusing it of imposing "artificial restrictions" on emigration.

Referring to some anonymous experts, some speakers at the Jerusalem "conference in defence of Soviet Jewry," held in 1983, alleged, for example, that as many as 600 thousand Soviet Jews "were ready" to leave the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the competent bodies of the Ministry for Internal Affairs are considering applications for exit visas of a mere few thousand people of Jewish nationality.

Several years ago a high-ranking Zionist official, Joseph Almogi, spoke about 100 thousand Soviet Jews who "desperately" wanted to go to Israel. Commenting on this figure, the deputy Minister for Internal Affairs of the USSR said in an interview with the present author that Mr. Almogi's estimates were most likely based on the number of false invitations sent by non-existent "relatives" to addresses in the USSR copied from, among other sources, the telephone directories of different Soviet cities. Possibly these anonymous experts also make their estimates of the number of Soviet Jews "ready to go to Israel" using this proven method, since the number of false invitations continues to grow.

It should be mentioned that the decline in emigration to Israel is not a purely Soviet phenomenon at all. During the 1970s, for instance, according to the US press, the number of emigrants to Israel from the US, which has a Jewish population of six million (three times bigger than that of the USSR), fell by two and a half times. The number of Jewish emigrants to Israel from countries of the West and the Middle East is also falling. Moreover, the Is-

raeli authorities have acknowledged that in recent years more people have been leaving Israel than immigrating to the country. Significantly, more than 600 thousand people, out of a total of 1.5 million immigrants who arrived in Israel from different countries, have left that country. The Israeli immigration authorities have bitterly remarked that more than half the Jews emigrating from the USSR to Israel never reach their destination because as soon as they cross the Soviet frontier they change their minds and go to other countries.

It should be pointed out that the real reasons for the dwindling stream of emigrants to Israel are the aggressive policy of its leaders which has deprived its citizens of a feeling of security and created a permanent threat of war, the country's grave economic situation, the high cost of living, an unprecedentedly high rate of inflation and extremely high taxation. The people of Israel live in an atmosphere of constant fear, instability and lack of confidence in the future.



TESTIMONY OF THE DECEIVED

Late "Dawning" of Peter Osnos—Social Incompatibility—Appeals Full of Bitterness and Despair

In the mid-seventies the Moscow correspondent of *The Washington Post* was Peter Osnos, renowned as a "friend and protector" of Soviet Jews. It was he who in every possible way incited Anatoli Shcharansky and other "Jewish activists" to prepare material on the "persecution of Jews in the USSR" and helped forward this material to the West. He himself regularly sent his newspaper articles on the "plight" of Soviet Jews. Forced to leave the Soviet Union with his reputation damaged, Osnos found himself in Israel.

In May 1978 *The Washington Post* published an article by Osnos on his usual theme—the "plight" of Soviet Jews, but those now in Israel, a country which while in Moscow he had spared no efforts in urging people to go to.

How did Osnos find the former Soviet Jews in the "promised land"?

For the sake of fairness he notes that for the majority of those who emigrated with economic motives conditions in Israel may seem difficult. Referring to records of the Israeli immigration authorities he says that three years after arriving more than a half of the Soviet immigrants are less satisfied with their jobs in Israel than they were

in the Soviet Union and less than half are satisfied with their salaries. More than 40 per cent of the Soviet Jews said after one year in Israel that their living standards were lower in Israel than in the Soviet Union.

People with skills, the official report continues, face a serious problem in finding a suitable job. Some immigrants, to their extreme disappointment, are becoming convinced that after the year during which they are paid by the government for working in scientific institutions they would be dismissed because there would be no vacancies for them. According to an analysis published by the law faculty of Tel Aviv University these factors, Osnos says, are the main reason why more and more emigrants with a higher education from the Soviet Union do not come to Israel. More than half the Soviet Jews who get visas for Israel go to other countries. By all accounts this figure is continuing to grow.

Peter Osnos stresses other reasons why Soviet emigrants do not want to come to Israel. In particular, it is their fear of a new war in the Middle East and of reported intolerance to mixed marriages. It is difficult especially for immigrants from Tajikistan, Azerbaijan, mountainous parts of Daghēstan and from other regions of the Caucasus to adapt themselves to life in Israel. The report by Hanna Avidor and Rtu Zin of the immigration and assimilation department of the Jewish Agency, based on a survey of the lives of 5,000 immigrants from the Caucasus, says that immigrants from the Caucasus are facing many difficulties in all aspects of life. But no matter what problems they face it is more difficult for Soviet Jews to leave Israel than to come to it, Peter Osnos concludes, as another country has to be willing to accept them. Moreover,

they must pay back all the aid they received from the Israelis, which is a considerable sum. Some of them give themselves up to despair.

Has anything changed since then? Nothing. This was clear from the January 17, 1983 issue of the magazine *Newsweek*, which, by the way, added what had been "overlooked" by Peter Osnos.

This is how a magazine renowned for its anti-Sovietism depicts the position of Soviet Jews in Israel.

"Hampered by linguistic and cultural differences, they seem trapped in a psychological no-man's-land... In Israel they are ashamed to be Russians," said Juri Miloslavski, an emigrant from the USSR.

But finding a satisfying job is a real problem. That is why the newcomers strive to obtain a special status "kviut", which protects them from being fired. But it can be obtained after one or two years of employment and the prospect of obtaining one does not look good at all.

Failing to find here "a place under the sun" many former Soviet citizens would like to go back. They think their coming to Israel was the great mistake in their life.

Their late repentances are not unique. A lot of people deeply regret they yielded to the calls to leave for Israel. "I would crawl back on my knees," said one.

The majority of those who wish to go back are emigrants from the Central Asian and Caucasian republics. These people, who are scornfully called "second-rate people", strongly resent being discriminated against by the local authorities. The Israeli bureaucrats behave arrogantly towards emigrants from the Central Asian Republics. "If you come by mistake into the wrong office they just kick you

out while they have coffee and a cigarette," said a former scientific worker from Tajikistan.

So far as Soviet Jews are concerned, it should be said that one of the important reasons for the drop in the number of people emigrating to Israel is that people who have grown up under socialism find it impossible to adapt themselves to the conditions of a totally different social, economic and political system. They are among strangers. They have written about this in numerous appeals to the Soviet authorities, in letters sent to the Soviet press. These confessions are totally devoid of literary invention or political fantasy. They set out the facts, the plain facts testifying to a personal tragedy, life wrecked, hopes crushed and trust betrayed.

Here is what people say who from first-hand experience have learned what life is like in the "Promised Land" and in other countries of the "free" world.

Sofia Davydovich: "It was in Tel Aviv that for the first time in my life I felt anxious for the future of my son. He would not be able to get a full education, because education fees after the eighth year at school are exorbitant. How could I save up enough money? I could not hope to find even a moderately well-paid job. We saw how unemployment drove people to despair. The arrival of new immigrants brought a resurgence of hostility among the local population, because the newcomers would agree to work for the lowest wages.

"Professional people could find no opportunity to use their talents. I saw a former film director from Georgia earning a paltry sum from showing two nature films he had brought with him. He had tried to get a job as a plain photographer, he told me, but was turned down everywhere."

Indeed, everyone moving to the "free world"

starts looking for a job—not just any kind of job but one suiting his trade or profession, his liking, his plans and dreams. In most cases he runs up against an insurmountable barrier: either there is no vacancy at all, or there is no job he likes. In the USSR he knows (and takes it for granted) that the right to work is not only proclaimed by the Constitution but guaranteed to every citizen. In the Soviet Union the last labour exchange was closed down in 1930, marking the end of unemployment. A socialist society is obliged to provide a job for everybody. A citizen has the right to demand, yes, to demand a job. And it is the duty of the state authorities, the trade unions or, in extreme cases, the courts to see to that.

Soviet people justly maintain that there can be no real personal freedom without a guaranteed right to work. So when a person emigrates from the Soviet Union to the West the impossibility of finding a job, though he is strong and eager to work, comes as a shock, because he is used to regarding work as a measure of a person's worth, a spiritual need, a means of self-expression and self-assertion, and not merely a source of a livelihood. Nobody in the West feels obliged to provide him with work. Get your unemployment relief and be content with it! In most cases you can only dream of getting a job of your own choice, one that matches your vocation.

The incompatibility barrier is particularly formidable for engineers, doctors, lawyers, writers, journalists, teachers, actors, film cameramen and film directors. They find themselves in a sorry plight sooner than others. They feel their lives have been ruined and they do not know what to do. They take jobs as night watchmen, porters and common labourers. As far as they are concerned, self-

expression, self-assertion, self-respect and freedom of creativity are words from their past lives which seem increasingly unreal.

Edward Limonov, who emigrated to Israel but ended up in the US, has given a bitter description of a party attended by several emigrants. He writes:

"It was a feast attended by dish washers, a welder, an unemployed worker and a man on welfare (living on unemployment relief). Only a few years ago, if we had met in the USSR, we would have been a poet, a musician..."

Yevgeniya Schmidt: "It was here in Israel that I first saw and felt people going at each other's throats. Denouncing one another to the authorities, intrigue and deceit are quite the normal thing. You cannot trust anyone. Everybody is trying to get the better of others and they think only of their own interests. We realised we could never get acclimatised to such foul moral atmosphere. And we were not the only ones who thought so. Many emigrants from the Soviet Union thought likewise... They were eager to leave Israel as quickly as possible. But not everybody can do this easily. The authorities do their utmost to prevent immigrants leaving Israel."

Upon returning to the USSR, 70-year-old *Hana Bravshstein*, from Kiev said: "We curse the day we decided to leave for Israel. The year and eight months we spent there was an endless nightmare. It's good to be back home again."

What ordeal did the Bravshsteins go through?

Boris, his wife Sulamif, their two children and Boris' mother Hana left for Israel to take part in "building the Jewish state". The term "build" can be taken literally. Boris graduated from a building institute in Penza and Sulamif from a similar institute in Voronezh. They gained professional expe-

rience at construction sites. Boris started learning Hebrew in Kiev with a textbook edited by Professor Shapiro and published in the USSR.

"Our friends tried to dissuade us from going," Boris says. "Think it over well,' they said. But like many others we fell victim to the political game Tel Aviv was playing. We fell for the propaganda Radio Kol Yisrael fed us.

"The trip from Schönau Palace in Vienna to Lod, the international airport in Israel, was not a long one. And we became 'olim hadashim' (new immigrants). And to use an Israeli term, it was precisely here we felt like 'agalat' (exiles).

"People have often asked me why I left Israel, though I had a job in my speciality and a flat. My family weren't dying of hunger either. I should say that far from everybody manages to settle down there more or less well. I did not leave Israel, I fled from it. I wanted to save my family, my children from the stagnation and wretchedness into which the Zionists have plunged the people of Israel. I realised that the country I had pictured in my imagination does not exist.

"A person who has grown up and been educated in Soviet society, regardless of his nationality, has only one homeland—the Soviet Union. That is what we said on our way back home, as we exchanged views with the Kreis and Zeltser families from Chernovtsy (in the Ukraine), the Ostrovsky family from Odessa, the Fuzeimans from Tashkent, the Kuvents from Nalchik and other families. All of us are boundlessly grateful to the Soviet government for letting us return to our homeland."

After the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion was formed it began regularly to receive letters from abroad from former Soviet citizens, Jews who had left the Soviet Union, in which they

write about their ordeals in strange lands, as well as requests and appeals from their relatives living in the USSR.

It is noteworthy that many of these letters full of bitterness and despair come from those who managed to escape from Israel to countries of what is called the "free world", or from those who left for Western countries on the pretext of emigrating to Israel. Such letters come also from the United States, the richest country of the capitalist world, and from such "prosperous" countries as Austria and West Germany, and also from West Berlin. Let us quote some of these letters, appeals and requests.

AN APPEAL FROM NEW YORK

Dear Comrade Colonel-General Dragunsky!

I, Rosa Faitelevna Gomon (Kagan by marriage), was born and brought up in the Soviet Union.

I have never been a Zionist and I emigrated from the Soviet Union, from Minsk, on September 25, 1979, together with my family including my two children, with an Israeli visa after long persuasion on the part of my relatives. My elder daughter, Julia Borisovna Kagan, didn't want to hear of emigration. But she was under age (she was only 16 when we submitted an application) and was compelled to yield to our persuasion. (The youngest, Ella, who is now 12, is staying with her father, the elder daughter Julia is staying with me).

Only now have I realised what a joy it is to have the right to work, especially if you enjoy a favourite pursuit which makes you and others happy!

A sense of guilt in respect of my elder daughter Julia has been pursuing me from the first day of emigration. Since then we have been living only in the past; we have no present and no future. We can never adapt ourselves to a new society. We

are parted from everyday life. I always feel guilty for leaving my homeland. This feeling is increased by the fact that I have ruined not only my life but also the lives of my children, especially the life of Yulia.

A LETTER FROM WEST BERLIN

Dear Comrade D. A. Dragunsky, dear members of the Committee!

For almost five years I have been away from my homeland which I left under the influence of a relative. I had a homeland, a daughter, a permanent job, friends. I had thoughtlessly deprived myself of what I had.

During my stay away from my homeland I have suffered a lot, thought a lot and understood a lot. The influence exerted by my relative upon me was fatal. I have been deeply mistaken. Having been born in Russia and lived in that country for 41 years, received an education and worked among Soviet people, I experience all the unbearable inner bitterness and complete loneliness to which I have doomed myself.

But no matter what may happen to me I have been, I am and I will be a Soviet person. I will not accept any other citizenship.

Doctor Efim Booz

A LETTER FROM JERSEY CITY (UNITED STATES)

Greetings to you, highly esteemed Comrade Dragunsky!

Former Soviet army officer and former Soviet citizen David Solomonovich Gonta is writing to you. At the end of 1975 I emigrated with my family to the United States. And immediately, two

weeks after our arrival in America, we applied to return to our homeland. Since then we have been worrying and suffering. Life in a capitalist country with its jungle law is alien to Soviet people. We were brought up in the spirit of socialism. We grew up in the country which gave us everything: an education, a job, leisure, free medical care. And all that is important to a human being. In the West a lot is said about the freedom of man, about his rights. But in reality everything is just the opposite.

There can be no question of human rights in the West. For seven years we have been dreaming and trying with all our might to come back to our homeland. To enter an institution of higher education one needs a lot of money. We have no money. Everything in this country is alien to us. We have no life. Especially we fear for our children. What future lies ahead of them?!

A LETTER FROM VIENNA

In January 1970, having yielded to Zionist propaganda, I left for Israel together with my wife, Ester Gershevna Faerman, at the official invitation of my sister who wrote to me about a paradise in "the Promised Land". Upon arrival in Israel I realised at once that I had made a tragic mistake and would never accept the humiliating way of life under the capitalist system... In September 1971 I left with my wife for Vienna. I was born and brought up in the Soviet Union, worked all my life in the city of Bendery (in the Moldavian republic) as a photographer. I had expressions of gratitude for my honest work. On November 23, 1976, a great personal misfortune befell me—my wife, my only friend with whom I have spent all my life, died here in Vienna after a serious operation...

Homeland! This is the most precious word for anyone. We understood it too late, through bitter ordeals.

Yakov Faerman

A REQUEST FROM DONETSK (UKRAINE)

Extreme circumstances have compelled me to apply to you. . . It is a question of, in the full sense of this word, saving two people, my sister, Yelizaveta Yakovlevna Kogan, and her husband, Leonid Yakovlevich Milshtein, who lived in the city of Chernovtsy, where Zionist propaganda was widespread. Yielding to this propaganda in 1978 they emigrated to the United States with an Israeli visa. It did not take them long to understand everything. After only one month in Cleveland in the USA they realised their mistake, which was next to a catastrophe. . . They are physically and morally exhausted. Their letters are a cry from the heart. They cannot forgive themselves for yielding to false promises. They have realised that everything Zionist propaganda advocated was a lie. . . Only recollections of their past life and a hope to return to this life support them.

A LETTER FROM NEW YORK

Greetings to you, dear chairman of the Anti-Zionist Committee Colonel-General Dragunsky. I apply to you as to fair, kind and humane man. I am a former inhabitant of Kiev. On August 31, 1973, through my thoughtlessness I left for Israel. From the first days of my stay in Israel I realised that I had been deceived by Zionists and that they needed only cheap labour and cannon fodder. . .

In Israel I was persecuted for urging people like myself to return to the homeland and for the fact that I wanted Israel to be socialist and to be friend-

ly with all other peoples. After nine months in Israel I was forced to escape to Europe. Then I moved to the United States and settled in the state of Texas. The local Zionists threatened me for my progressive and socialist views... I escaped from Dallas to New York. Life in the United States is becoming impossible. Everything is getting more and more expensive. Medical services are inaccessible to the ordinary American. Dirt and insanitary conditions are everywhere, as well as gangsterism and banditry. We live here like hostages and don't know what will happen to us tomorrow. Inflation is rising, unemployment is growing... There is no law and order. The police are powerless against gangsterism and violence. It is very difficult for a normal and honest American to live in America, but I have been and remain a Soviet man with all my heart and soul...


Boris Bolotnikov

There are many things which people who have grown up in a socialist society and then find themselves in the West cannot understand: they cannot understand social inequality, luxury on the one hand and poverty on the other, inflation, racial discrimination, gangsterism and corruption, the might and impunity of the mafia—it is hard to list everything. Capitalist reality quickly shatters their illusions. It alienates people from the socialist world by its heartlessness and coldness. Such people remember that at home they will always be helped and taken care of. They will always get a job which as a rule corresponds to their abilities and wishes. They can always give their children an education because it is accessible and free, and secondary education is compulsory. When sick they will always get free medical attention and when old they

will be secure. Society and the people surrounding them need them, they will never be left to the mercy of fate.

That is why there is a high barrier of incompatibility. It involves not only work but ideals, notions, life-styles and standards of behaviour. That is how enlightenment comes bitterly and late. This is clearly seen in the numerous life stories and letters of people who left their Soviet homeland.

This is something that should be remembered by those who shout from the housetops, calling for "a mass emigration" of Soviet Jews to Israel.



In December 1982, at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the USSR Yuri Andropov made a profound analysis of the relations between nationalities under developed socialism and set out the main directions towards perfecting them: "The tangible qualitative changes that have taken place in the course of 60 years in the relations between nationalities are evidence that the nationalities question, as it was left to us by the exploiting system, has been settled successfully, finally and irreversibly. For the first time in history the multinational character of a country has turned from a source of weakness into a source of strength and prosperity."

Soviet citizens of Jewish origin, along with all Soviet people, enjoy genuine and full equality in all aspects of state, social, political, economic and cultural life, have ample opportunities and equal rights for their free national development.

They reject with indignation and resentment the slanderous insinuations of Zionist and imperialist propaganda about the alleged existence of what is

called a "Jewish question" in the Soviet Union and they demand that Zionists and their allies should stop their provocative campaigns.

The majority of Soviet Jews have nothing to do with such hackneyed arguments and cliches which Western propaganda centres and Zionist and pro-Zionist pseudo-scientists try to devise and disseminate. The Jews of the Soviet Union are an integral part of the new historic community, the Soviet people. They are actively participating in building a Communist society. They are working honestly and selflessly in many fields of the national economy, medical care, education, science, the arts and literature. Together with the other nations, nationalities and ethnic groups of the Soviet Union Soviet citizens of Jewish origin are engaged in peaceful constructive labour directed toward implementing the grandiose plans outlined by the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.



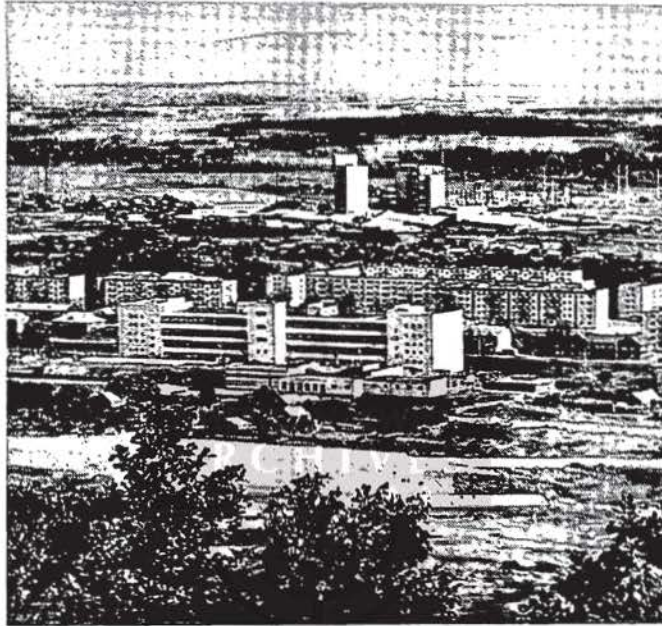
Авандил Константинович Рухадзе
ЕВРЕИ В СССР.
Цифры, факты, комментарии
на английском языке
Цена 40 коп.



Babi Yar in Kiev, site of a monument to the victims of a nazi massacre at the beginning of the Great Patriotic War (1941-45). Many of the victims were Jews.

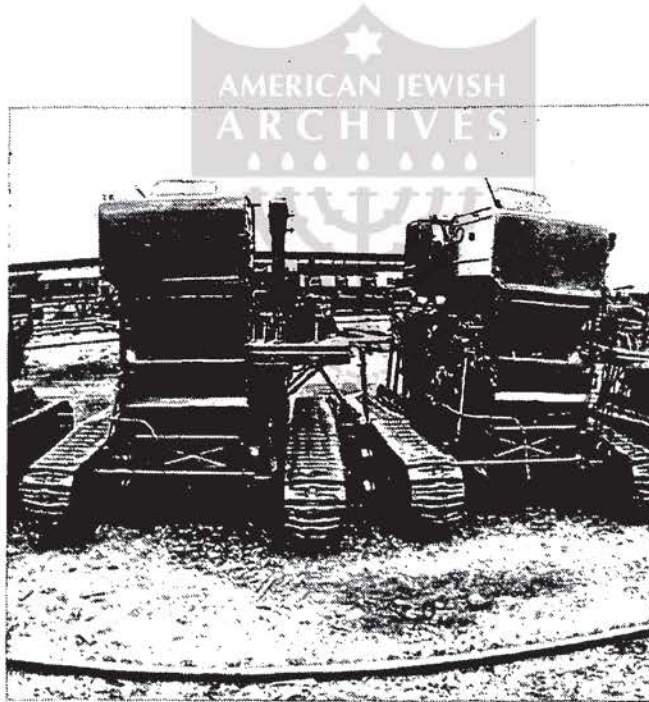


Among the numerous visitors to the monument are men and women who miraculously escaped the mass execution.



Birobidzhan is the capital of the Jewish Autonomous Region.

These rice-harvesting combines are made by Dalselmash, a farm machinery plant in Birobidzhan.





Alexander Chakovsky,
Editor-in-Chief of the
popular weekly newspaper
Literaturnaya gazeta, Hero
of Socialist Labour, and the
author of many books.

EWISH
VES





On the eve of the anniversary of the victory over nazi Germany, Hermann Fogg, military attaché of the German Democratic Republic, awarded the republic's medal to Colonel-General David Dragunsky, twice Hero of the Soviet Union.

The works of Soviet veteran writer Ilya Ehrenburg, shown here in his Moscow flat, are published in many languages.





On June 6, 1983, the Anti-Zionist Committee of Soviet Public Opinion held its first press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists in Moscow. In the picture: the presidium at the press conference.



The historical drama *Bar Kakh* at the Jewish Chamber Music Theatre.



The audience is spellbound—on stage is the famous ballerina Maya Plisetskaya, a Lenin prize winner.



The keen satire of Arkady Raikin, People's Artist of the USSR, attracts capacity audiences not only in this country, but also abroad.



A collection of ancient Jewish poetry published in Tbilisi.



Conducting in the Grand Hall of the Moscow Conservatory is David Oistrakh, People's Artist of the USSR. The violin soloist is his son Igor.



Inside the Moscow Choral Synagogue.



The late Rabbi Yakov Fishman conducting a service in the Moscow Choral Synagogue.



At a press conference in Moscow former Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality who have returned to the Soviet Union tell a dramatic story of their emigrant life in Israel.