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SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION

The Controversy Over Destination

David A. Harris



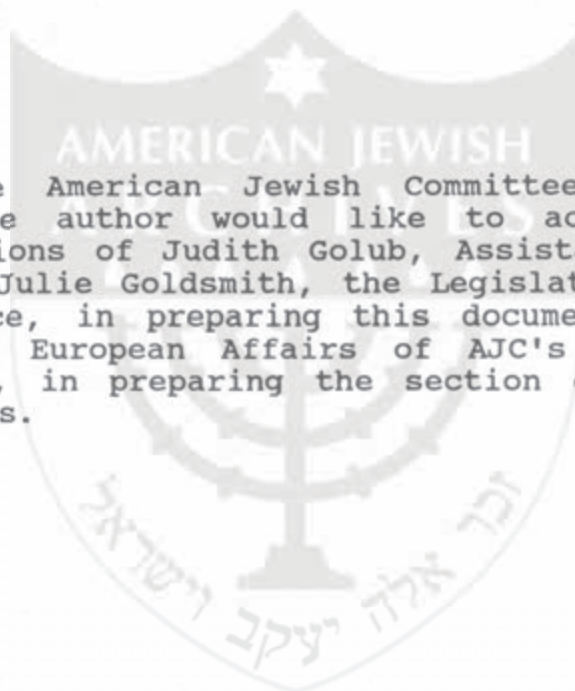
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Introduction

There are few more contentious, complex, or emotional issues in Israeli-Diaspora life than what has been termed the Soviet Jewry drop-out question. Over the years, this issue has aroused passionate debate that recently has intensified. Faced with a Soviet Jewry drop-out rate of nearly 90%, the Israeli Government this year has taken preliminary steps to try and increase Soviet Jewish aliyah.

In 1988, the Israeli Government began to issue immigration affidavits ("vyzovs") indicating that Israeli visas could only be picked up at the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, and the Israeli Cabinet approved a proposal stating that all Soviet Jews who receive exit visas for Israel from the Soviet Union must travel to Tel Aviv via Bucharest. Such a "direct flight" option which channels Soviet Jews through Romania, the only East European country with full diplomatic ties with Israel, would deny Soviet Jews the chance to fly to Vienna where they could "drop out" to other countries such as the United States. Therefore, those wishing to resettle in the United States would have to apply directly to the U.S. for entry visas.

Clearly, Israel cannot unilaterally insure the plan's implementation. Many other factors must be taken into account, including the views of other relevant governments which will be noted later, as well as the differences within world Jewry. The prevailing American Jewish view has been to support freedom of choice for every emigrating Soviet Jew. Yet, American Jews also have expressed the hope that more Soviet Jews would settle in Israel. The Israeli Government contends that the drop-out rate itself has contributed to the Soviet decision to reduce emigration, particularly in the years between 1979 and 1986, and has denied Israel its most important resource, people. Given the issue's complexity, a workable compromise will not be easy to find.

Background

One of the most extraordinary chapters in modern Jewish history began unfolding in the mid-1960s. Soviet Jews, previously thought to have been destined to disappear through a deliberate Soviet policy of spiritual genocide, began to awaken. Almost miraculously, the Kremlin had failed to force some two million Jews to assimilate by denying them even the limited access to religious and cultural self-expression other religious and national groups in the USSR have been afforded.

Gradually, individuals and small groups of Soviet Jews began to demand the right to be reunited with their relatives and to

return to their historic homeland, Israel. From Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania and other outlying areas, and from heartland cities, such as Moscow, Kiev and Leningrad, Jews formulated appeals and petitions to Soviet and Western leaders, engaged in previously unheard of demonstrations, and contacted Moscow-based Western correspondents. They were motivated by many diverse factors: deep-rooted Zionism; desire for reunification with family members dispersed as a result of the Second World War; religious fervor; pride in Israel's lightning victory in the Six-Day War; and the growth of Soviet anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism. Jews claimed the right of repatriation to the Jewish State, consistent with their interpretation of previous Soviet repatriation accords with such countries as Poland and West Germany. Further, they asserted that the right to leave any country, including one's own, was recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international accords to which the USSR had give its assent.

When the Soviet gates finally were opened in 1971, Soviet Jews rushed to leave. Overcoming innumerable obstacles, including an antagonistic and unpredictable bureaucracy, denunciations by former classmates and colleagues, loss of jobs, and the fear of isolation and arrest, many Soviet Jews succeeded in leaving for Israel. Others, victims of Soviet arbitrariness, were denied visas on grounds ranging from the alleged possession of state secrets to the absence, regardless of the applicant's age, of parental permission. Still others, as is well known, were imprisoned for their activities in support of the resurgent Jewish national movement.

Jewish activism in the USSR was directed almost exclusively at the desire to live in Israel. Petitions, letters, and study groups made Israel the centerpiece of the movement. Tens of thousands of Soviet Jews who left the country by plane or train proceeded to Vienna, the Western transit point. Within a few days, with the help of the Jewish Agency for Israel, the quasi-governmental institution, they were on their way to Israel. Until the 1973 Yom Kippur War, only a very few announced upon reaching Vienna that they would proceed to other countries, principally the U.S., largely for reasons of immediate family reunification. Because these cases were so few in number and appeared to involve humanitarian considerations, the Jewish Agency hardly gave them a second thought. The American Jewish community, with the support of the U.S. Government, stood ready to assist these migrants.

The Drop-Out Phenomenon

Few could have foreseen that this trickle of "drop-outs" would become a flood within a very few years. From October 1968 to June 1988, approximately 113,500 Jews left the Soviet Union on Israeli visas, arrived in Vienna, and there declared an intention

to proceed to countries other than Israel. (During the same period 171,500 Soviet Jews resettled in Israel.) But as noted, only in late 1973 did this phenomenon first become noticeable, and it has risen steadily since. (Please refer to Appendix A for statistics documenting this increase). There have been many and varied reasons for this increase in the numbers who drop-out, including:

- Concern about the turbulent Middle East situation in the wake of Israel's decisive but costly victory in 1973, which shattered the image of Israel's invincibility fostered by the 1967 war;
- The limited number of truly committed Zionists among Soviet Jews, partly a result of forced assimilation and vicious anti-Israel propaganda, particularly after 1967;
- Critical letters from Soviet Jews in Israel to their friends and relatives in the USSR focusing on difficult resettlement experiences -- the legendary Israeli bureaucracy, declining economic opportunities, an ambivalence among Israelis about any new group of immigrants, placement in unappealing smaller towns and cities. Not surprisingly, these letters managed to pass the Soviet censor far more frequently than those which praised Israel;
- Exploitation by the Soviet authorities in the press and elsewhere of stories of difficult adjustment by Soviet Jews in Israel;
- Growing awareness of the U.S. option, previously unknown to most prospective Soviet Jewish emigrants;
- The snowballing effect of ever increasing numbers proceeding to the U.S. and, to a lesser degree, to Canada, Australia and other Western countries to join relatives and friends;
- Stories of the tragic circumstances of those Soviet Jews who left Israel seeking to emigrate to other countries, but were unable to benefit from the financial assistance of American Jewish organizations and were no longer recognized by the U.S. Government as refugees eligible for priority admission into the U.S. Many of these Soviet Jews spent months or years in limbo in Belgium, Greece, Italy and other West European countries;
- The realization that it is easier to first resettle in the U.S. and then, if desired, move to Israel than vice versa;
- The growing number of mixed marriages among the emigrants, and;

- The continued threat of war and terrorism in the Middle East.

Essentially, the debate over the drop-out phenomenon has been dominated by political and philosophical arguments. The political argument revolves around whether the Kremlin really cares where exiting Soviet Jews resettle. Those who contend it does have argued that the high drop-out rate could lead the Soviets to curtail emigration altogether as soon as they realize that Soviet Jews could not be viewed as repatriates. The Soviets, unhappy that any of their citizens would seek to leave, would accommodate those they characterized as repatriates. At least in such cases, Soviet citizens who might otherwise demand the same right of emigration could be offered some justification why they were not given permission to leave. Clearly, others besides Soviet Jews would leave the U.S.S.R. if given the chance to do so.

To illustrate the point, a joke circulated in Moscow shortly after the decennial census in 1979. Brezhnev called Kosygin into his office and asked how many Jews were listed in the census. "Nearly two million," responded the Soviet premier. "I have an idea," said Brezhnev. "Why don't we let all those who want to leave, emigrate. That will solve two problems at once. We'll get rid of all the troublemakers here, and we'll win some favorable publicity in the West. What do you think?" "Fine idea," replied Kosygin. "But how many of the two million do you think would actually leave?" asked Brezhnev. "Surely no less than five million!" answered Kosygin.

Thus, given that others doubtless want to emigrate--Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Pentecostals, and a score of other religious and national groups, not to speak of an unknown number of everyday citizens who desire improved political or economic conditions -- Soviet Jews who left the USSR with visas for Israel, but chose instead to resettle in a third country, could no longer be considered repatriates. They thus became indistinguishable from other Soviet citizens. Guilty of deception, they could jeopardize the chances for those left behind who legitimately desired to live in the Jewish State.

Others have argued differently. In their view, the key question for the Kremlin's decision-makers has not been Soviet Jewish emigrants' final destination. Rather, it is whether to let Jews, or anyone else, leave the country. From an ideological viewpoint, should anyone be quitting the "socialist paradise?" And, from an economic perspective, should the country permit often valued and scarce professionals and workers to leave? Once they leave, does it matter to the Kremlin if they proceed to Israel, where they strengthen a Soviet adversary and strain relations between Moscow and the Arab states, or to the U.S., where they are welcomed as refugees by the Soviet Union's most

powerful foe?

In this view, the central question for the Kremlin has been a matter of, not repatriation, but rather the Soviet-American relationship. The rise in emigration from the low point in 1986 may support this position. This increase in no way can be linked to the issue of destination since, even though 80-90% of the emigrants are not proceeding to Israel, the Soviets continue to issue exit visas at a stepped up pace. If Soviet Jewish emigration is one of the prices to be paid for improving superpower ties, the Kremlin may not like it, and may, at times, balk, but it recognizes the linkage. Thus, the ebb and flow of Soviet Jewish emigration has been dependent, not on the final destination of the emigrant, but the state of ties between Moscow and Washington.

On a philosophical level, an equally intense debate has raged. Those who most vigorously oppose and seek remedies to curb the high drop-out rate have argued that there can be no discussion of Jewish refugees in a world where a Jewish State exists to welcome Jews. Refugees are those who have fled persecution or the threat of persecution based on racial, religious, national, political, and ethnic grounds, and seek a new home. But Soviet Jews differ from, say, fleeing Poles or Cambodians. These Jews leave their native country with Israel stamped on their visa as their destination, and Israel stands ready to welcome them and offer them permanent resettlement. Is it not an offense to the State of Israel to recognize an Israeli-visa holder as a refugee? Let Soviet Jews first come to Israel and, if they later decide to leave, they are free to do so, although they obviously would have to qualify for entry into another country. Israel is a democratic society and the hundreds of thousands of yordim (those who have left Israel) give sad testimony to the right of Israelis to resettle in another country.

Critics of the high drop-out rate also argue that the American Jewish community is, in effect, competing with Israel, thereby unwittingly contributing to the weakening of the Jewish State, by making it relatively easy for Soviet Jews to bypass Israel. They note that fewer Soviet Jews proceed to Israel, a country heavily dependent on immigration and that American Jewish philanthropic dollars must be spent in the U.S., rather than in Israel, for resettlement costs.

Opponents of this view maintain that it is unfair to accuse exiting Soviet Jews of deception if they leave the USSR with visas marked Israel, but then proceed elsewhere. How else could they have left the country? Is it not the overriding goal of the Soviet Jewry movement to bring out as many Jews as possible, regardless of their final destination? Does world Jewry have the ethical right to turn its back on fellow Jews in need simply

because they have decided not to resettle in Israel, where, after all, no more than 30% of the world's Jews live? Is it fair of those American Jews who oppose the drop-outs to do so from the comfort and security of their Diaspora homes? What would be the symbolism of the U.S., 43 years after the Holocaust, again closing its gates, even if only to some Jews?

Recent Developments

In the past 18 months, a number of events have occurred that have turned the theoretical possibility of direct flights to Israel, without the chance to drop out in Vienna, into a potential reality. On January 1, 1987, the Soviet Union announced new exit and entry regulations which, in theory at least, permitted emigration applications based on invitations from immediate relatives -- parents, children, siblings, spouses -- in any country, in addition to Israel, with which the U.S.S.R. has diplomatic relations. This change provided the first concrete possibility for a two-track policy: Soviet Jews desiring aliyah would depart the U.S.S.R. with Israeli visas while those -- at least with close family members in, say, the U.S.-- seeking resettlement in the U.S. would leave with an American visa. (See Appendix B for statistics on direct Soviet Jewish immigration to the U.S. with American visas.) Many have suggested that this two-track policy could form the basis for a compromise over the drop-out issue. (See Appendix C for a description of the U.S. refugee and immigration provisions.)

During a visit to the United States the following month, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir asked President Reagan to deny refugee status to Soviet Jews so they would no longer enjoy priority admittance to the United States. In response to Shamir's request, State Department spokesman Charles Redman said that there would be no change in the U.S. policy supporting freedom of choice for Soviet Jews.

The issue did not die, despite the State Department's obvious lack of support for Israel's attempt to prevent further drop-outs. Later in 1987, 144 emigrating-Soviet Jews left the Soviet Union, and chose to proceed to Israel via Bucharest rather than Vienna. They sought to demonstrate support for the Israeli goal of direct flights and the viability of an exit route through Romania.

Against a backdrop of intensified diplomatic contacts between Israel and the Soviet Union, the Israeli Government in April 1988 began issuing amended immigration affidavits ("vysovs"). These affidavits indicated that henceforth the Israeli visa could be picked up only at the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, and would no longer be issued by the Dutch Embassy in Moscow, Israel's representative in the Soviet capital since 1967. If the plan worked, there would no longer be a chance to "drop-

out" as had been the case for exiting Jews whose first destination was Vienna.

On June 10, 1988, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir met at the United Nations. Apart from the Middle East peace process, they focused on the Israeli desire to send a diplomatic contingent to Moscow. Shevardnadze indicated that the Israeli team was likely to be admitted in late July. After their talks, Shamir noted the Soviet Foreign Minister's view that while Moscow was receptive to Israel's effort to channel Soviet Jews emigrants to Israel through Romania, the Soviet Union actually did not care in which country exiting Soviet Jews settled, an apparent rebuttal of the longstanding Israeli contention that the final destination point of the Soviet Jews was of concern to the Kremlin.

On June 19, one week after the Shevardnadze-Shamir meeting, the Israeli Cabinet formally affirmed by a 16-2 vote that Israeli visas would be issued only to those Soviet Jews who in fact wish to come to Israel. Rather than flying from Moscow to Vienna, Jews immigrating to Israel would pick up their entry visas in Bucharest and then proceed directly to Tel Aviv. (Romania is the only Warsaw Pact nation that, not only did not sever diplomatic ties with the Jewish State after the Six Day War, but continued to maintain a wide range of links, including flights between Bucharest and Tel Aviv on both El Al and Tarom, Romania's national airline.)

Supporters of the Israeli action argued that they were not seeking to deny Soviet Jews the right to resettle elsewhere. Opportunities now existed, they noted, for Soviet Jews to apply for immigration to the U.S. However, the fulfillment of the Israeli plan is still subject to some unresolved questions and several potential pitfalls.

Future Prospects

Rumors concerning the plan and its future abound. For the moment, though, there are many more questions than answers, and it is uncertain whether any significant changes will, in the end, result.

What is clear is that Soviet cooperation is needed if the Israeli plan of bringing more Soviet Jews to Israel is to work. The support of the U.S., Dutch, Austrian and Romanian Governments, and a nod from the American Jewish community, also are required, not to speak of assent from Soviet Jews themselves who, after all, are the objects of all this effort.

It's worth looking briefly at each of these important players.

(1) Soviet Union: Will the Soviets go along with the Israeli move? For the Israeli plan truly to succeed -- and that means both an end to the "abuse" of Israeli visas used as no more than exit documents, as well as, much more importantly, an increase in immigration to Israel -- Moscow must cooperate in insuring that Soviet Jews with Israeli documents fly either directly to Israel, which is currently impossible, or via East Europe where presumably it would be impossible to drop-out. As long as Moscow permits Soviet Jews to exit to a Western transit point, i.e. Vienna, the drop-out phenomenon will continue. But is it in Moscow's interests to accede to the Israeli desire? The Kremlin knows both that the U.S. supports freedom of choice and that Arab nations are hostile to greater Soviet Jewish migration to Israel. Some Soviet Jews have speculated that the Kremlin might agree to the Israeli plan only if it determined that, in the end, fewer Soviet Jews would seek to leave than now do under the current system.

Moscow's cooperation also is needed in another area: An Israeli diplomatic team is expected to receive entry visas on July 27 and travel to Moscow the next day, thereby mirroring the presence since 1987 of a Soviet diplomatic contingent in Israel. What will the Israelis' role be in Moscow? Will they eventually be permitted to replace the Dutch -- Israel's representative in the U.S.S.R. since 1967 -- and issue visas? Soviet officials have stated that the Israelis would not now be allowed to do so. In that case, an arrangement between Jerusalem and The Hague is needed. Such an agreement is possible but, as will be seen, uncertain.

(2) United States: The U.S. traditionally has supported freedom of choice for Soviet Jews and has opposed any Israeli move to compromise that principle. But U.S. cooperation is essential for the Israeli plan to work. For example, Israel's position would be undermined if the U.S. broadly interpreted a proposed regulations change on asylum, drafted in April by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. (See Appendix D.) This change could have the practical effect of redefining Soviet Jews arriving in Israel as being eligible for priority admittance to the U.S. as refugees. Such a step of defining these Jews in the Jewish State as refugees would raise profound moral and political questions. However, Secretary of State Shultz has not yet indicated his views on such a change in regulations, although at this point he reportedly is leaning against their adoption. To some degree, Shultz is likely to be guided on this and related issues by the views of the American Jewish community.

The U.S. could invoke still another option that would undermine the Israeli position: The U.S. could press the Kremlin to permit Soviet Jews to depart for Western transit points even if their documents indicated Bucharest as the first destination point, and provide assurances to, say, Austria that Soviet

emigrants arriving in Vienna would be offered resettlement in the U.S.

Finally, the U.S. also could press the Kremlin for a genuine two-track policy. Those who want to go to Israel would leave via Bucharest; those seeking U.S. resettlement would apply for a visa at the American Embassy in Moscow. Indeed, the two-track concept might well serve as a basis for compromise. But, if the Soviets were to relax further their emigration policy and permit even those Jews without immediate family in the U.S. to apply for an American visa, no increase in aliyah likely would result.

(3) Netherlands: As noted earlier, unless the Israeli team in Moscow is permitted to issue visas, the Dutch will continue to play a central role. They have supported freedom of choice and have indicated displeasure with the Israeli plan to reroute emigrants through Bucharest. If there is to be a shared diplomatic arrangement in Moscow, will the Dutch fully cooperate to help implement the Israeli plan? For the moment, it appears not. This issue was on the agenda during the bilateral talks that took place during the Dutch Prime Minister's recent visit to Israel. Reports indicated disagreement between the two sides. A bilateral working group will be established to see if any compromise can be achieved.

(4) Austria: From the Israeli viewpoint, Austria could play a spoiler's role. If the Kremlin should prove indifferent to transit points, thereby permitting Soviet Jews to purchase tickets for Vienna, the way station for 20 years, the Israeli goal would be sabotaged once again. Austria has resisted those past Israeli efforts to bring more Soviet Jews to Israel via Vienna while denying them resettlement opportunities elsewhere.

(5) Romania: Bucharest is the least of Israel's concerns. The iconoclastic Warsaw Pact nation presumably would stand to benefit from the Israeli plan. And with an Israeli Embassy in Bucharest and direct air links between Bucharest and Tel Aviv, logistics would be quite easy.

(6) American Jewry: The vast majority of American Jews have supported Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel as essential to the well-being of the Jewish State. However, most American Jews also have endorsed the principle of freedom of choice. On June 8th, 11 major national Jewish agencies expressed support for the direct flights concept. Several, including The American Jewish Committee, based this support on the existence of a genuine two-track policy that offers Soviet Jews freedom of choice in Moscow. (See Appendix E for the full text of the statement.) It is uncertain at this point that such a two-track policy is in effect, even with the recently announced resumption of the issuing of some U.S. entry visas in Moscow. (The issuing of entry visas had been suspended due to a shortage of funds.)

Unlike the Armenians who have been leaving the Soviet Union for the U.S. at a current rate exceeding 1,000 per month, Jews who apply for a U.S. visa are subjected to a strict interpretation of Soviet emigration policy concerning family reunification. Would American Jews support the Israeli plan if Soviet Jews had only limited opportunity to leave the U.S.S.R. for the U.S.?

(7) Soviet Jews: Here lies the biggest question mark of all. No one can accurately predict how Soviet Jews would react to an Israeli plan to bring more of them to Israel. And if more do not land at Ben Gurion Airport with the intention of permanently resettling in Israel, then what has been the point of the whole exercise? If it all only proves an effort to restore the dignity of the Israeli visa by ending its abuse, it certainly will have come at a high price -- tensions between Jerusalem, Washington and other governments, between Israel and segments of American Jewry, and between Israel and those Soviet Jews who will feel that Israel sought to deny them their freedom of choice, not to speak of the criticism directed at the Israeli plan by some columnists and editorial boards in the U.S. press. But, if the net result is a significant boost in immigration, Israeli officials understandably will deem the effort a success.

The jury is still out on whether the plan will ever effectively be implemented and, if so, if it actually will shift emigration towards Israel. What is not in doubt is that the future direction of Soviet Jewish emigration is one of the most discussed and intriguing questions in Jewish life today.

Recent Chronology

*January 1987. The Soviet Union introduced exit and entry regulations which update a 1970 statute on entry into the U.S.S.R. For the first time, the Kremlin formally recognized that departures by Soviet citizens can, under certain restrictions, be permitted. The Soviet Union began to accept applications for emigration essentially based on invitations from immediate relatives -- parents, children, siblings, spouses -- in any country with which the USSR has diplomatic relations (in addition to Israel). Nine categories for refusal of exit applications were listed. Interestingly, paragraph 30 notes that "Questions of entry into the U.S.S.R. and departure from the U.S.S.R. for personal reasons may also be regulated by bilateral treaties between the U.S.S.R. and other states." This would hold out at least the theoretical possibility of emigration accords between, say, the Soviet Union and Israel or the Soviet Union and the U.S.

AMERICAN JEWISH

*January 1987. Aryeh Dulzin, head of the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization, announced that the Jewish Agency hoped to arrange direct flights from Moscow to Tel Aviv in order to avert dropouts (The Jewish Week, January 2, 1987). "Neshira [the drop-out phenomenon] should be condemned in the strongest terms," Dulzin said, "as should all the organizations that assist them. Soviet Jews are not refugees. Neshira undermines the effort to open the gates of the Soviet Union and provides the Soviet Union with an excuse not to open them " (Washington Jewish Week, January 8, 1987).

*February 1987. Moshe Arens, Israeli Cabinet minister in charge of Soviet Jewry, spoke about the issue of refugee status. Arens said, "We think that it is basically incorrect to say that someone who has received a visa to come to Israel, and who is under the Law of Return and becomes an Israeli citizen when he steps on Israeli soil, is a refugee." Arens also charged that the rise in drop-outs directly resulted in Soviet restrictions on immigration. "The Soviet cutoff had a lot to do with the drop-out problem. . Soviet officials have complained that these people are not going to Israel " (The Washington Post, February 15, 1987).

*February 1987. Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir asked President Reagan to deny refugee status to Soviet Jews so they would go first to Israel. State Department spokesman, Charles E. Redman, said there would be no change in the U.S. policy supporting freedom of choice (The New York Times, February 20, 1987).

*February 1987. In a meeting on February 21 with selected leaders of the Los Angeles Jewish community, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir raised the drop-out issue. Expressing Israel's concerns on three fronts he noted that: (1) The high drop-out

rate threatens prospects for Soviet Jewish emigration generally. He remarked that Soviet officials, including former Soviet Ambassador to the United States Anatoly Dobrynin, had made this point several times. (2) Israel needs Jewish immigration for its survival and growth. (3) The fraud and deception of those who use visas only to drop out is an affront to Israel's sovereignty.

1988

*April 1988. The Immigration and Naturalization Service submitted proposed rule changes on firm resettlement and asylum, among other issues, for a thirty-day public comment period. The proposed regulation state that "An alien is considered to be firmly resettled if he entered into another nation with, or while in that nation received an offer of permanent resident status, citizenship, or some other type of permanent resettlement unless he establishes (a) That his entry into the nation was a necessary consequence of his flight from persecution, that he remained in that nation only as long as was necessary to arrange onward travel, that he did not establish significant ties in that nation . . ." (See Appendix D for full text of proposed regulation. The Federal Register, April 6, 1988)

*April 1988. The Israeli Government began issuing amended immigration affidavits ("vyzovs") which indicate that the Israeli visa can be picked up only at the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest. This represents a change in Israeli policy as it would suggest that the only exit route available to Soviet Jews with Israeli affidavits would be via Romania. There would no longer be a chance to "drop-out" as had previously been the case with Vienna as the first destination of exiting Soviet Jews (Chicago Tribune, April 18, 1988).

*May 1988. An unnamed Israeli Government source familiar with Soviet Jewish affairs commented on Israel's policy on Soviet Jewish emigration. He said Israel is not against freedom of choice for Jewish immigrants, but wants to put a stop to the undesirable practice of using a visa to Israel as a means to go to the U.S. or other countries. He said a two-track system would be best, in which Jews who want to come here (Israel) can do so through direct flights, and those who want to go elsewhere would do so through Vienna or another transit point. He further noted that Soviet Jews who want to go to countries besides Israel can in theory apply directly for visas to these destinations, in accordance with the 1987 statement by the Soviet emigration office. "Israel does not want to prevent Soviet Jews from joining their relatives in America if they want to," he said (Jerusalem Post, May 21, 1988).

*May 1988. A Soviet official denied that Jewish emigrants would in the future be required to travel via Bucharest directly to Israel, according to Karl Blecha, the Austrian Interior

Minister. Blecha stated that he had been told that Jews applying for exit visas will still have the option to emigrate by way of Vienna (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, reported in The Baltimore Jewish Times, May 27, 1988).

*June 1988. Prime Minister Shamir, at a June 6 meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations in New York, said on the drop-out issue, "It is the perpetuation of fraud to grant Israeli visas to Soviet Jews not planning to go to Israel. It undermines our credibility. It impugns our integrity. It undermines our sovereignty."

*June 1988. Eleven major American Jewish organizations issued a joint statement on June 8 in support of Israel's "direct flight" policy but, at the same time, expressed support for a program for direct invitations from Jews settled in North America to their relatives in the Soviet Union. (A copy of this statement can be found in Appendix E.)

*June 1988. Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir met at the United Nations on June 9 to discuss the resumption of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations. After this meeting, Shamir noted that the Soviet Foreign Minister indicated that while Moscow was receptive to Israel's effort to channel Soviet Jewish emigrants to Israel through Romania, the Soviet Union did not care in which country exiting Soviet Jews settled (The Washington Post, Friday June 10, 1988; Washington Jewish Week, June 16, 1988).

Shamir and Shevardnadze agreed to set up a timetable for the next step in Israeli-Soviet interaction. A visit to Moscow by an Israeli consular delegation was agreed to, to begin in late July. Shevardnadze made it clear that while in Moscow, the Israeli consular officials will not be permitted to issue visas to Soviet Jews seeking to emigrate to Israel (The Washington Post, June 10, 1988).

*June 1988. The Israeli Cabinet, by a vote of 16-2 (the negative votes were cast by Ezer Weizman of the Alignment Party and Yitzhak Peretz of Shas), decided on June 19 that Jews who receive exit visas from the Soviet Union to Israel should arrive directly in Israel. Thus, Jews leaving the Soviet Union will pick up their entry visas at the Israeli Embassy in Bucharest, Romania and proceed directly to Israel (Jerusalem Domestic Radio Service, June 19, 1988).

*June 1988. Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, issued a statement on the Israeli Cabinet decision concerning emigration from the USSR. "The action of the Israeli Cabinet is a welcome and positive response to recent changes in Soviet emigration policy," Abram said. "The new Israeli procedure reaffirms the principle of free choice in emigration: Jewish emigrants who wish to emigrate to the United States and Canada should be able to do so by applying to the

embassies of those countries in Moscow after receiving invitations from their family members."

*June 1988. Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov said that Moscow agreed with the United States in opposing Israeli moves to make Soviet Jewish emigres settle in Israel. Gerasimov said that although Israel's intentions were unclear, Moscow supported the position taken by U.S. State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley. Gerasimov quoted Oakley as saying, "that if we stand in favor of freedom of movement, we cannot dictate to people where they go " (Reuters, June 21, 1988).

*June 1988. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak commented on the implication for Soviet Jews of the regulations proposed by I.N.S. in April. "The new regulations . . ." wrote Evans and Novak, "would keep the 'political refugee' door open for Soviet Jews to come here even if they are sent to Israel first. Today Soviet Jews flown to Israel automatically lose their 'refugee' status. If they want to see the Statue of Liberty, they have a long wait in Israel before getting on the regular U.S. immigration quota for Israelis " (Chicago Sun-Times, June 27, 1988).

*June 1988. Reports surfaced of a "deal" between Israel and the Romanian Government, according to which Israel will pay Romania between \$70,00 and \$80,000 for each Soviet Jewish immigrant passing through its territory on the way to Israel. The payments would be made by the United Jewish Appeal and from donations raised for this purpose. It also was reported that Simcha Dinitz, chairman of the Jewish Agency and World Zionist Organization Executive, flew to Romania to wrap up the deal. Romania, according to this report, will also be granted "special trade arrangements," whereby Romania would be able to export wood and glass products to the United States via Israel, thereby benefiting from the tax breaks granted to Israeli exports to the United States (Ha'aretz, June 28, 1988).

*June 1988. Israel's Prime Minister's office and the Jewish Agency denied press reports that Israel will pay about \$80,000 for every Soviet Jew who comes to Israel via Romania. The Israeli spokesman said, "all this story is baseless " (Jerusalem Domestic Radio Service, June 28, 1988).

*June 1988. Representatives of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (H.I.A.S.), the international Jewish agency that assists in the resettlement of those exiting Soviet Jews who desire to migrate to Western countries other than Israel, made it clear that they would oppose any regulations change in American immigration laws that would give refugee status to Soviet Jews arriving in Israel (Jewish Telegraphic Agency, June 29, 1988).

*July 1988. The American Embassy in Moscow temporarily stopped issuing refugee visas to Soviet citizens seeking to

emigrate to the United States. The American Embassy cited financial constraints imposed by the federal budget as the reason for ceasing to issue entrance visas until October 1988, the start of the next fiscal year. This decision affects primarily Armenians but also some Jews in the Soviet Union who have already made their request for U.S. invitations. To accommodate growing numbers of Soviet Armenians and Jews being granted permission to leave, the U.S. Government had agreed to double the FY 1988 refugee ceiling for the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, from 15,000 to 30,000. At the same time, however, no additional funds for processing were requested. The Administration believed it could successfully process the larger number by reducing per capita processing costs, thus stretching existing funds. The estimated shortfall needed to resume processing in Moscow until October 1, the beginning of FY 1989, is \$8 million.

*July 1988. The United States Embassy in Moscow announced that it would resume processing the visa applications of Soviet citizens whose efforts to gain permanent entry to the U.S. in America had been temporarily thwarted due to a lack of State Department funds. This decision applies most immediately to about 400 Soviets who had been stranded in Moscow after the State Department's July 1 decision, leaving their jobs and apartments in the expectation that their U.S. visas would be issued right away. The mission also said it would "seek every possible means to facilitate," the timely departure for the United States of 3,000 other applicants for whom a "protracted delay does not seem to represent the same degree of economic loss or personal discomfort." In addition, the mission said that many of the prospective refugees or their relatives in the United States will now be asked to help pay more of the cost of resettling the refugees in America (The New York Times, July 17, 1988).

*July 1988. Israel and the Netherlands agreed to disagree on the recent Israeli Cabinet decision concerning direct flights to Israel, and decided to set up a four-man committee to propose a mutually agreeable solution on new emigration procedures. In meetings with Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, Israeli Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres suggested that a possible solution might be found if the Dutch only granted exit visas to Bucharest, and the Israeli Embassy there granted visas to Israel. Lubbers told reporters that there had been a "frank discussion," and that both sides found it "useful not to jump to conclusions" on the issue (The Jerusalem Post, July 19, 1988).

*July 1988. Visiting Dutch officials informed Israel that the Soviet Union had issued visas for an Israeli consular delegation to travel to Moscow. The Israeli officials will collect their visas in the Netherlands on July 27. Israel wanted

its representatives to be empowered to discuss exit visas for Soviet Jews and other major issues, but Moscow rejected such a role. The visas were finally issued after Israel agreed to confine its consular talks to "technical matters," such as inspecting the former Israeli Embassy building in Moscow (The New York Times, July 19, 1988).



Appendix A
Jewish Emigration from the Soviet Union
1965-June 1988

YEAR	TOTAL EMIGRANTS	# TO ISRAEL	# ELSEWHERE	%TO ISRAEL
1965- 1967	4,498	4,498	0	100
1968	229	229	0	100
1969	2,979	2,979	0	100
1970	1,027	999	28	97.3
1971	13,022	12,819	203	98.4
1972	31,681	31,652	29	99.9
1973	34,733	33,477	1,256	96.4
1974	20,628	16,816	3,812	81.5
1975	13,221	8,531	4,690	64.5
1976	14,261	7,279	6,982	51.0
1977	16,736	8,348	8,388	49.9
1978	28,864	12,192	16,672	42.2
1979	51,320	17,614	33,706	34.3
1980	21,471	7,387	14,084	32.4
1981	9,447	1,758	7,689	18.6
1982	2,688	734	1,954	27.3
1983	1,314	387	927	29.5
1984	896	340	556	37.9
1985	1,140	348	792	30.5
1986	914	206	708	22.5
1987	8,155	2,072*	6,083	25.4
January- June 30, 1988	6,017	840**	5,177	13.9
TOTAL	285,241	171,505	113,736	60.1

*144 of these immigrants travelled directly to Israel via Bucharest.

** From January 1 to May 30, 1988, 147 of these immigrants travelled directly to Israel via Bucharest.

Source: World Conference on Soviet Jewry



Appendix B

Soviet Jewish Immigration to the United States with a U.S. Invitation 1973-June 30, 1988

YEAR	NUMBER TO THE UNITED STATES
1973	431
1974	551
1975	565
1976	660
1977	489
1978	439
1979	306
1980	205
1981	61
1982	15
1983	18
1984	13
1985	6
1986	27
1987	84
JANUARY- JUNE 30, 1988	193
TOTAL	4,063

Source: H.I.A.S.

Appendix C

U.S. Immigration and Refugee Provisions

I. ENTRY TO THE UNITED STATES

Under American law, aliens who enter the United States to live permanently are admitted as immigrants or refugees. Appendix C describes the refugee and immigration provisions and reviews the implications for Soviet Jews if they were to be admitted to the U.S. as immigrants.

A. Refugee Provisions

Section 101 (a) (42) of the Immigration and Nationality Act defines a "refugee" as

(A) any person who is outside any country of such person's nationality or, in the case of a person having no nationality, is outside any country in which such person last habitually resided, and who is unable or unwilling to return to, and is unable or unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of, that country because of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, or (B) in such special circumstances as the President after appropriate consultation (as defined in section 207 (e) of the Act) may specify, any person who is within the country of such person's nationality, or, in the case of a person having no nationality, with the country in which such person is habitually residing, and who is persecuted or who has a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. The term 'refugee' does not include any person who ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion.

This definition is entirely consistent with the definition of "refugee" under international law, specifically the Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees.

Each year, after consulting with the Senate and House Judiciary Committees, the President sets the ceiling for admitting refugees to the United States. This ceiling is then subdivided into regions of the world from which refugees will come. The ceilings for the federal fiscal year (FY) 1988, which runs from October 1, 1987 to September 30, 1988, are:

East Asia	
From First Asylum Countries	29,500
From Vietnam (direct departure)	8,500
Eastern Europe & U.S.S.R.*	15,000
Near East & South Asia	9,000
Africa	3,000
Latin America & Caribbean	3,500
Unallocated Contingency Reserve	<u>4,000</u>
 TOTAL	 72,500

* An additional 15,000 refugee slots were allocated for Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. under the emergency provisions of the 1980 Refugee Act to accommodate the unexpectedly large outflow of Soviets, primarily Armenians. These additional 15,000 slots included the 4,000 unallocated contingency reserve, thus making the new FY88 total ceiling 83,500.

Because there are always more refugees in the world than available U.S. numbers, the State Department has developed a "priority" system to determine which refugees shall be admitted. The six priority categories are as follows:

- **Compelling Concern/Interest:** Exceptional cases (A) of refugees in immediate danger of loss of life and for whom there appears to be no alternative to resettlement in the United States; or (B) of refugees of compelling concern to the United States, such as former or present political prisoners and dissidents.
- **Former U.S. Government Employees:** Refugees employed by the U.S. Government for at least one year prior to the claim for refugee status. This category also includes persons who are not official U.S. Government employees but for at least one year were so integrated into U.S. Government offices as to have been in effect and appearance U.S. Government employees.
- **Family Reunification:** Refugees who are spouses, unmarried daughters, or parents of persons in the United States. (The status of the anchor relative in the United States must be one of the following: U.S. citizen, lawful permanent resident alien, refugee, or asylee.)
- **Other Ties to the United States:** (A) Refugees employed by U.S. foundations, U.S. voluntary agencies or U.S. business firms for at least one year prior to the claim for refugee status; and (B) refugees trained in the United States or abroad under U.S. auspices.
- **Additional Family Reunification:** Refugees who are: (A) married sons or married daughters of persons in the United

States; (B) unmarried siblings of persons in the United States; (C) married siblings of persons in the United States; (D) grandparents of persons in the United States; (E) grandchildren of persons in the United States; or (F) more distant related individuals who are part of the family group and dependent on the family for support.

- **Otherwise of National Interest:** Other refugees in specified regional groups whose admission is in the national interest.

After the refugee arrival ceilings are established, the State Department uses the above priority categories to determine which refugees from which countries can be considered for admission to the United States. (Consistent with the U.S. Government's commitment, Soviet Jews are processed under all six priorities.)

B. Immigration Provisions

Immediate relatives (parents, spouses and minor children) of U.S. citizens are eligible to enter the U.S. without numerical limitation. All other potential immigrants are subject to a worldwide annual ceiling of 270,000 and a single country limitation of 20,000, as well as a preference system which further limits those who can enter the United States. The preferences are as follows:

- First - Unmarried adult children of U.S. citizens;
- Second - Spouses and unmarried children of lawful permanent residents;
- Third - Members of the professions or persons of exceptional ability in the sciences and arts
- Fourth - Married children of U.S. citizens
- Fifth - Siblings of adult U.S. citizens
- Sixth - Skilled and unskilled workers in short supply

The law then assigns a percentage of the overall annual ceiling to each of the preferences. As a result, waiting periods often develop for each of the preferences. Currently there is no waiting period for the first and fourth preference. The current waiting periods are:

First:	none
Second:	1 year, 3 months
Third:	7 months
Fourth:	none
Fifth:	5 years, 6 months
Sixth:	1 year, 6 months

C. Implications for Soviet Jews' Ability to Enter the United States

If Soviet Jews could not enter the United States as refugees, far fewer would be able to enter at all. And many of those who could enter would have to wait considerable periods of time before they were able to do so.

The family relationships on which Soviet Jewish refugee status are based are much broader than those available under the immigration system. Compare the third and fifth refugee priorities for families with the family reunification immigration preferences. Under the latter, siblings are the most distant relatives who can qualify, whereas the definition is much broader for refugees. Furthermore, under the refugee system, the U.S. "anchor" relatives do not have to be either U.S. citizens or lawful permanent residents: They can themselves be refugees or political asylees.

The only basis under which Soviet Jews could enter the U.S. as immigrants (if they were not considered refugees and if they did not have at least a brother or sister who was a U.S. citizen) would be through the third and sixth, labor-related, preferences. Entering the U.S. through these preferences is a very complicated and time-consuming process, with very limited applicability.

Finally, the backlogs in the second and fifth immigration preferences and the requirement that U.S. relatives must be U.S. citizens (or lawful permanent residents for the second preference) will increase significantly the time families must wait to be reunited. It normally takes six to seven years to acquire U.S. citizenship.

II. RESETTLEMENT BY JEWISH COMMUNITIES

A wide range of publicly-funded services are available for refugee resettlement through state and local governments and voluntary agencies. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (H.I.A.S.) receives per capita grants from the State Department, a major portion of which are passed on to local Jewish communities, specifically for the initial, 30-day reception and placement of refugees. The Council of Jewish Federations (C.J.F.) administers an annual grant from the Health and Human Services Department to assist local Jewish communities in their resettlement efforts once the initial 30-day period is completed. After the initial 30-day period. These federal funds are provided on a matching basis. The Jewish community provides approximately 50% of the funds used for resettlement, essentially matching the H.H.S. grant dollar for dollar.

No such programs or funds are available for immigrants.

Along with the immigration petition, the U.S. relative of a potential immigrant must file an affidavit of support under which he or she assumes financial responsibility for the immigrant's care, maintenance and health care. For the first three years after arrival, the sponsoring relative's assets are deemed available to the immigrant. An immigrant therefore is ineligible to receive public assistance grants or Medicaid.

Note: Appendix C was prepared by David Geller of AJC's International Relations Department



Appendix D

Federal Register / Vol. 53, No. 88 / Wednesday, April 8, 1988
/Proposed Rules

Department of Justice

Immigration and Naturalization Service

8 CFR Parts 3, 208, 236, 242, and 253

(Atty. Gen. Order No. 1267-85)

Aliens and Nationality; Asylum and
Withholding of Deportation
Procedures

Agency: Immigration and Naturalization
Service. Justice.

Action: Revised proposed rule.

208.15 Definition of "Firm Resettlement"

An alien is considered to be firmly resettle if he entered into another nation with, or while in that nation, received, an offer of permanent resident status, citizenship, or some other type of permanent resettlement unless he establishes:

(a) That his entry into that nation was a necessary consequence of his flight from persecution, that he remained in that nation only as long as was necessary to arrange onward travel, and that he did not establish significant ties in that nation, or

(b) That the conditions of his residence in that nation were so substantially and consciously restricted by the authority of the country of refuge that he was not in fact resettled. In making his determination, the Asylum Officer or Immigration Judge shall consider the conditions under which other residents of the country live, the type of housing made available to the refugee, whether permanent or temporary, the types and extent of employment available to the refugee, and the extent to which the refugee received permission to hold property and to enjoy other rights and privileges, such as travel documentation including a right of entry and/or reentry, education, public relief, or naturalization, ordinarily available to other residents in the country.

Appendix E

JOINT STATEMENT ON "DIRECT FLIGHTS"

We welcome the Israel initiative to secure direct flights for Soviet Jews who wish to settle in Israel, and any positive response of the Soviet authorities and the government of Romania to facilitate this program. In order for this program to succeed, and to help maximize the largest number of Soviet Jews who wish to settle in Israel, it is imperative that the program for direct invitations from Soviet Jews settled in North America, to their relatives in the Soviet Union, be set forth quickly and effectively. The Soviet government has indicated its readiness to respond to such direct invitations for family reunification, between Jews in the Soviet Union and their relatives in North America.

It is necessary for the government of the United States to continue to advocate for the stated Soviet emigration policy on behalf of family reunification, in Israel, and the West. The United States government should continuously urge the Soviets to live up to their own commitment to the Helsinki Accords, and other international agreements regarding the basic Right to Leave.

American Jewish Committee
American Jewish Congress
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
Coalition to Free Soviet Jews
Council of Jewish Federations
Hebrew Immigrant Aid
Society (HIAS)

National Conference on Soviet Jewry
National Jewish Community Relations
Advisory Council
Union of Councils for Soviet Jews
United Israel Appeal
World Zionist Organization/American
Section

June 8, 1988



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022-2746

Secret

June 19, 1989
16 Sivan 5749

Dr. Gordon L. Geller, Rabbi
8501 Ventnor Avenue
Margate, NJ 08402

Dear Rabbi Geller:

Thank you for sharing your June 5, letter with me. As you no doubt know, your resolution is not consistent with the position of the UAHC Board, nor my personal convictions.

Nonetheless, I do understand the point of view you articulate and I think it is important to debate and re-examine this urgent dilemma.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Dear Garry

Dear Rabbi

Thank you for


saving your June 5
letter with me. As you

no doubt know, ~~at~~
your resolution is not
consistent with the
position of the UAFHC
Board, nor my
personal convictions.
Nevertheless, I

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do understand ~~sympathize with~~ 
~~the~~ the point of

view you
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and I think it
is important to

debate and

re-examine this
~~urgent~~

dilemma.

~~Thank you for~~
~~with me~~ W
RM



TEMPLE EMETH SHALOM

DR. GORDON L. GELLER, RABBI
8501 Ventnor Avenue
Margate, N.J. 08402

Office (609) 822-4343

"A REFORM SYNAGOGUE FAMILY"

June 5, 1989

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, Pres. UAHC
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y., 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

2) p1fe

This brief but earnest message is to request your personal consideration and support favoring implementation of the enclosed resolution on Soviet Jewish emigration to be presented at the 100th anniversary of the CCAR this June in Cincinnati.

It was necessitated by what I believe to be a well meaning but ill conceived solution to the sudden and unexpected upsurge in Jewish emigration from the USSR. Namely, the launching of a separate fundraising campaign with a flawed funding distribution schema - 3/4 of which will be utilized to support and resettle 90% of that exodus (30,000 - 40,000 this year) into the existing Russian Jewish ghettos of 1/2 dozen American cities rather than Israel.

One can only conjecture that this decision was emotionally clouded by the sad spectacle of thousands of only recently oppressed Jewish families now languishing as free but displaced persons in Italy. Because the practical result of this so called "Passage to Freedom" campaign is their loss to the Jewish state and greatly increased risk of eventual assimilation into the greater secular or gentile American society. Dire plausible consequences based on the specious if noble sounding pretext of "freedom of choice," a myopic American cultural bias overlooking the many years these Soviet Jews were culturally brutalized and systemically brainwashed by pro-Arab and anti-Zionist propaganda. (See Kosharovsky article.)

So that what should be a passage to Jewish freedom has thus been sacrificed to the golden calf of presumed wealth and security, a direct campaign development which represents a moral, psychological and historical blunder of profound implications, among others entailing likely irreparable harm to both Israel as well as the nascent Soviet Jewry itself.

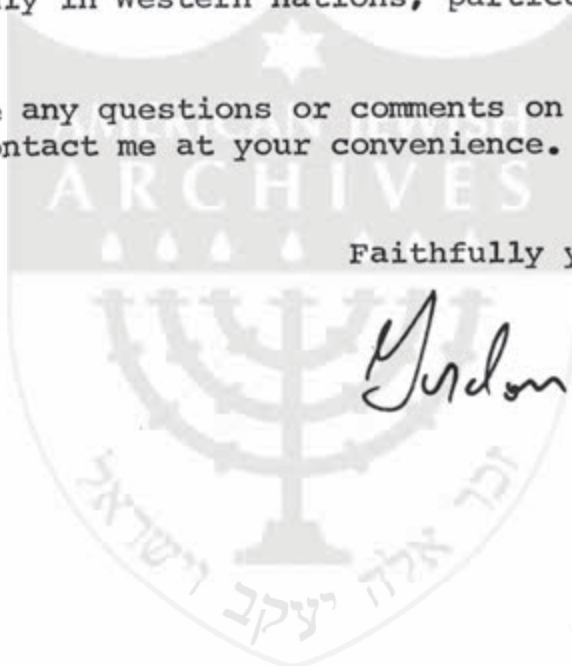
For the above reasons and several others specified in my dissenting resolution, as well as the supporting materials enclosed, I would respectfully recommend the following alternative plan:

1. Priority negotiations between Israel, the USSR, and the USA allowing for direct flights to Israel from the Soviet Union of all Soviet emigrants, followed by a trial settlement period in the Jewish state of said Soviet Jews who would, during this trial period, technically retain their American status as "oppressed refugees" with the right to later settle in the USA.
2. Reapportioning a larger portion of "Second Line Campaign" funds in order to facilitate better absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel.
3. A significant per cent of "Second Line" dollars be spent in the USSR to "reward" the government's glasnost gesture while, at the same time, exploiting and enhancing the wondrous if nascent Jewish national cultural renaissance.
4. The smallest per cent of "Second Line" money be used to clear the pipeline of Soviet Jews in Italy and reunite immediate families only in Western nations, particularly the USA.

Should you have any questions or comments on this proposal, please feel free to contact me at your convenience.

Faithfully yours,

Gordon Geller



LOCAL NEWS

Kosharovsky calls for changes

By MATT SCHUMAN
Special to the Exponent

The vast majority of Jews who are granted permission to leave the Soviet Union are unable to make an informed decision on whether to immigrate to Israel, according to well-known former refusenik Yuli Kosharovsky.

Kosharovsky, an engineer who immigrated to Israel March 11 — 18 years and one day after first applying for an exit visa — is in the midst of a two-week tour of the United States, where he has met with several Jewish community groups, government officials and members of the media.

While in Philadelphia, the man who was commonly known as the "dean of Hebrew teachers in Moscow" served as the lead panelist at a Spring Action Conference at Har Zion Temple in Penn Valley.

Other panelists at Tuesday's conference, which was sponsored by the Soviet Jewish Council of the Jewish Community Relations Council, were Jerry Goodman, former executive director of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and Leon Lipson, H.R. Luce professor of jurisprudence at Yale University. Barry Ungar, immediate past president of JCRC, moderated.

Americans, the 47-year-old Kosharovsky said in an interview before the panel, form opinions based strictly on their own backgrounds. However, he added, "you can't apply the standards of democracy to the Soviet Union."

"Information," he continued, "is not made available to the people of the Soviet Union. You can't ask a person who has spent a lifetime behind the Iron Curtain, who was manipulated by Soviet propaganda, to choose freely where he or she wants to go after leaving the Soviet Union."

Thousands of Soviet Jews have received permission to emigrate in the past



Former refusenik Yuli Kosharovsky seeks to counter Soviet propaganda about Israel, allowing Jews to make informed choices about aliyah.

Photo by Michele Frentrop

few months; the majority have chosen the United States over Israel as their new home.

Kosharovsky, who said he now lives on the West Bank but plans to move to Jerusalem shortly, said the Soviet propaganda machine portrays Israel as a fascist state, filled with terrorist activity, a place where the *intifada* is constantly evident in every house on every street.

Israel, the Soviet government would have its citizens believe, is a place where Jews are filled with hostility toward one another, be it religious versus secular, Conservative versus Orthodox or rich versus poor, Kosharovsky said.

News stories from the Arab media outlets routinely find their way into the Soviet press, Kosharovsky said, adding that the only stories to be found from the Israeli media are those that portray the Jewish state negatively.

"How can you expect a person who has never been to Israel, who was so blatantly manipulated, to make the right

decision" about where to emigrate? Kosharovsky asked. "What you're doing is allowing the Soviet propaganda machine to make the choice, and believe me, that machine has no regard for Jewish interests."

During the panel discussion, Kosharovsky suggested that Jewish community activists initiate a two-tiered campaign on behalf of Soviet Jews. First, he said, the campaign should make the absorption process in Israel more attractive. He speculated that such bonuses as improved housing conditions and a better job market would help convince larger numbers of Soviet emigres to make aliyah.

The second tier would involve developing a Jewish cultural foundation within the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

Lipson agreed with Kosharovsky's approach, saying, "In the past, the only way to be helpful to Soviet Jews was to get them out of the country. Today, that is no longer the case. We stepped up our advocacy efforts when hope seemed darkest. Now that we're getting results, we cannot afford to become complacent."

"Let us not not forget about those who wish to live a decent life where they are."

Goodman said that he looks forward to the day when "the Hebrew language is recognized in the Soviet Union and not merely tolerated, when we no longer have to import certain books into the Soviet Union because we can print them there instead."

He cautioned that although relations with the Soviet Union have improved, activists must never lose an opportunity to make a statement.

"If we don't have a demonstration, let the Soviets know why we aren't demonstrating," he said. "They need to know."



AMERICAN JEWISH

4 JEWISH CHRONICLE MAY 19 1989

Rosen attacks aid for Soviet emigrés

From J.J. GOLDBERG
New York

American Jewry's massive efforts to help Russian Jewish emigrés resettle in the United States were "threatening the future of the Jewish people," Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen, the Romanian Chief Rabbi, said here last week.

"Instead of spending \$100 million on Jews who leave Odessa to move to Philadelphia and assimilate, we should spend it in Russia to prevent assimilation," he said.

He added that equal priority should be given to helping Jews settle in Israel.

In order to save Soviet Jewry, he said, the Jews of the free world must get their priorities straight and act swiftly. He stressed that the time to debate whether the reforms of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, were true or would last was over.

Rabbi Rosen's blunt remarks came at the end of a 10-day visit to the Soviet Union at the head of an international rabbinical delegation which included Chief Rabbi Joseph Sitruk of France and Chief Rabbi Yisrael Lau of Tel Aviv.



Chief Rabbi Dr Moses Rosen of Romania

The United Jewish Appeal and the Council of Jewish Federations are currently attempting to raise \$75 million in a special campaign to resettle Soviet emigrés in the US and Israel.

Rabbi Rosen said that he had addressed a gathering of more than 2,500 Jews in Leningrad on Yom

Hashoah, and had told them that the "time has come to stop blaming the government. From now on, you stand on your own feet. We will help you, but you are responsible for yourselves."

He added that Soviet Jews were ready to establish Hebrew schools, cultural centres and a full religious life, but they would need massive help from the Jews of the West.

Rabbi Rosen acknowledged that American Jewry, unlike most Jewish communities around the world, had no authoritative governing body to impose order among its institutions.

Nevertheless, he said: "You have your Presidents Conference, which unites your voices on Israel for better or worse. The issue of Soviet Jewry is no less critical, and there simply must be one voice. With everyone coming in and starting his own programme, the Russians have begun to laugh at you."

Meanwhile, the "New York Jewish Week," a newspaper linked to the New York Jewish Federation, has broken ranks with the US Jewish establishment and severely criticised the efforts to bring more Soviet Jews to the US.

RESOLUTION ON SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRATION
SUBMITTED BY RABBI GORDON GELLER, MARGATE, N. J.

WHEREAS:

1. in the wake of Israel's Six-Day War (1967) an heroic handful of Soviet Jewish activists were inspired to undergo great personal sacrifice and suffering for the cause of aliyah to their Jewish homeland and thereby originated and wrought a modern political miracle, the first successful Soviet Exodus - now exceeding a quarter million of a U. S. S. R. national minority, their oppressed Jewish kinsmen

WHEREAS:

2. the ensuing and equally wonderous national cultural and religious revival of the Jews of Silence in the U.S.S.R was perceived, interpreted and supported world-wide as an essentially Zionist enterprise whose ultimate goal was, is, and remains their Jewish redemption and recognized right to settle in the Jewish state

WHEREAS:

3. following the widespread destruction of European Jewish civilization in the Holocaust, the State of Israel was founded and universally recognized as a refuge and comfort for the Jewish people, especially though by no means solely for its persecuted adherents, "to build and be rebuilt"; an enterprise that was, is, and remains the principal raison d'etre of U. J. A.

WHEREAS:

4. aliyah today and in the foreseeable future is an absolute imperative for both the security of the Jewish state as well as regional peaceful co-existence with its Arab neighbors, since Israel's continued military superiority, economic independence, productive settlement of the land and overall Jewish identity imply an increase of Jewish population

WHEREAS:

5. in a world where today an estimated eleven million political-economic refugees are desperately seeking a better life by looking toward some different nationhood, world Jewry both morally and logically can only show a prior concern for the plight of Soviet Jewish emigrants on the basis of

mutual and collective Jewish duties, obligations and values - not solely universal human rights and principles such as absolute freedom of choice about where to live

WHEREAS:

6. moreover, because of the current world-wide flood of persecuted refugees from such disparate origins as Vietnam and Central America, who are risking their lives for political/humanitarian resettlement in the U. S. A. - having virtually nowhere else to turn, our American government should and has necessarily become more selective as to the real motive of prospective immigrants; when, in starkly telling contrast, Soviet Jewish emigres seeking entrance into the U. S. A. have a thriving free and democratic alternative, a Jewish nation and society anxious and willing to take them in

WHEREAS:

7. because of the Soviet regime's history, for two generations, of pervasive and oft-times violent anti-semitic and anti-Zionist harassment and suppression of Jewish identity, a majority of culturally brutalized Jewish emigrants no longer seem impelled by the feeling of "home-coming" to their Jewish homeland and choose to settle in the more affluent and secure U. S. A.

WHEREAS:

8. moreover, it is uniformly reported that these new immigrants further drop out of the American Jewish community as well - practically impervious to substantive Jewish institutional contact - thereby greatly increasing the risk of assimilation of their children out of the Jewish fold into the greater secular or gentile American society

WHEREAS:

9. the community of 180,000 Soviet Jewish newcomers to Israel has, by and large, been quite successfully absorbed, for example, representing 3-4 times their population percentage of Israeli doctors and engineers

WHEREAS:

10. arrangements could realistically be negotiated between Israel and the U.S. allowing for a trial adjustment period of settlement for Soviet emigres who would still retain their status as refugees from Communist oppression and thus their right to later resettle in the U. S.

WHEREAS:

11. unless the projected second line campaign of U.J.A. provides much larger allocations for the purposes of absorption in Israel versus resettlement in America, not only will even fewer Soviet Jews opt for Zion but the second line campaign itself will clearly signal a disengagement of U.J.A. and the American Jewish community from Israel as priority Jewish concern

WHEREAS:

12. only an expanding Soviet Jewish community in Israel can assure, via their own Jewish - life example in the Land of the Bible, that crucial cultural life-line for those many hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews remaining in the U. S. S. R., providing the necessary continuing link to their historic Hebraic and religious roots, in order to nurture and maintain the nascent Jewish revival in the Soviet Union

THEREFORE, Be It Resolved that the C. C. A. R., on its 100th anniversary, in consonance with the increasingly Zionist stance of the American and world-wide Reform Jewish Movement calls upon the United Jewish Appeal to notify and request all its recipient organizations as well as the governments of the United States and Israel

1. to adopt a firm policy reaffirming the State of Israel as destination for Soviet Jewish emigrants, with the sole exception of re-unification of families whose spouses, children, parents or siblings already reside in other countries, particularly the United States.
2. to re-order financial priorities so that the greater balance of funds from United Jewish Appeal, including the "Second Line" campaign, will be allocated to absorption of Soviet Jews in Israel rather than resettlement in the United States of America.
3. that the good offices of United Jewish Appeal will be used to urge Israel and the United States to expeditiously negotiate with the Soviet Union for direct flight from the Union of Soviet-Socialist-Republics to the State of Israel of all Soviet Jewish emigrees.
4. that, in addition to the 2nd line campaign for purposes of absorption, United Jewish Appeal is also willing to speedily undertake another major campaign to provide funds enhancing the Jewish national cultural renaissance amidst those nearly assimilated and silent Soviet Jewish masses who, for the foreseeable future, must necessarily remain resident in the U. S. S. R.

*Jewish Journal Article**3-18-87**20*

Why Soviet Jews Should Emigrate To Israel

By Dennis Prager: page 1

There is a very important debate taking place these days between the Israeli government and major Jewish organizations in the Diaspora. It all hinges on an event that all Jews pray will come about -- the exit of tens of thousands of Jews from the Soviet Union.

Israel believes that these Jews must come to Israel. Jewish leaders outside of Israel, in the words of B'nai B'rith International, "believe that Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union should decide for themselves where they want to live. Having been granted freedom, they should not be denied freedom of choice."

To my mind, this debate is a classic example of one in which both parties are right. I suspect that few readers need to have the diaspora Jewish organization position explained. The previously cited words of B'nai B'rith's president, Seymour D. Reich, make the point tellingly. If we are fighting to liberate Soviet Jews, how can we possibly deny them liberty? Moreover, how can we, Jews who ourselves have chosen to live in the diaspora, compel other Jews to make Aliyah?

These are powerful arguments. But they are not as morally compelling as they sound.

In fact, on moral, not to mention Jewish grounds, there are at least as compelling arguments for ensuring that many Soviet Jews go, at least for a trial period, to Israel.

In order to understand this, let us first be clear about why we fight for Soviet Jewry: why do we fight only for the liberation of Soviet Jews and not for the liberation of all Soviet citizens?

The obvious answer is that as Jews our first concern is for our fellow Jews and for Jewish survival. In other words, the answer is Jewish solidarity, not morality (though it

(over)

Prager: page 3

Their desires to leave (freedom) and our reason for fighting to have them leave (Jewish peoplehood) are not the same.

When a Soviet Jew ends up living in America or Australia or France and there loses his Jewish identity, we have liberated a Soviet citizen, not a Jew. This is humane and certainly terrific for that individual, but it is not Jewish and it is not particularly moral either (why him and not another Soviet citizen?).

Since morality dictates saving all the oppressed of the Soviet Union and since Jewish concerns dictate saving Soviet Jews so that they may be free Jews, the argument for giving Soviet Jews complete freedom of choice as to where they will live is therefore neither fully moral nor Jewish.

Moral and Jewish considerations both dictate that if we are to save Soviet Jews and no other Soviet citizens, we ensure as best as possible that the Soviet Jew becomes a free Jew. The best way by far is to have Soviet Jews go to Israel. The next best way is to work very hard in the diaspora at giving the former Soviet Jew reasons and ways to lead Jewish lives and to identify with fellow Jews.

How best to achieve either goal is another subject. What is of immediate importance -- my concern here -- is that we recognize that where Soviet Jews go the day they leave the Soviet Union is an integral part of the struggle for Soviet Jewry. While freedom for Soviet Jews is our primary concern, it is by no means our only concern.

I see no moral problem in Jewry's saying to a Soviet Jew, "We worked to get you out of the Soviet Union solely because you are a Jew. You owe it to us to remain one." In the name of Jewish survival (we need Jews to stay Jewish), Israel's survival (Israel needs more Jews), and even in the name of morality, we do have the right to work for Soviet Jewry's exodus to Israel.



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

June 14, 1989

to AW

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

This is to acknowledge the receipt of \$5,000 as your membership dues for 1988. On behalf of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, I would personally like to thank your agency for its support.

Because of your commitment, we have been able to rescue over 300,000 Soviet Jews. While we rejoice at the encouraging news of recent events, we must neither forget the tens of thousands who choose to remain, the right to live freely as Jews, to practice their religion, and enjoy the rebirth of their cultural heritage.

Cordially,

Shoshana
Shoshana S. Cardin
Chairman

SSC:ag

cc: Betty Golomb
Albert Vorspan
Fred Cohen

A coalition of forty-seven national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

New York Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122 • Fax: (212) 686-1193 • Telex: 237311 NCSJ
Washington Office: 1522 K Street, N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005 • (202) 898-2500 • Fax: (202) 898-0822





123 East 55 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
TElephone 8-5122

Stanley M. David
Rabbi

Stanley M. David
April 24, 1989

Br. Callan 4/24

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10021

Dear Alex,

This is the final draft of the letter which will go out under our signatures. Please notify me if you have any further suggestions for text alteration. If I do not hear from you by Tuesday afternoon, April 25, we will go ahead with the enclosed text.

Many thanks. Chag Sameach.

Stan *[Signature]*

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Dear :

These are heady times for all of us who have worked so many years to secure basic human rights for Jews in the Soviet Union, including freedom of worship and the right to emigrate if they so choose.

All indications are that a new wave of Soviet Jewish emigration is upon us. Now is the time to prepare for that wave.

We are writing to urge you to participate in the special campaign by Israel Bonds to encourage Soviet Jews to settle in Israel.

Soviet Jews know only the negative image of Israel propagated by the Soviet media. What the Israel Bond effort of an "extra Bond for Soviet Jewry" seeks to do is to mobilize a massive infusion of additional Bond investments in order to provide attractive housing and jobs for Soviet Jewish arrivals -- and to do it with such dramatic impact that it will influence the choice of destination being made right now by tens of thousands of Jews who are on the point of leaving the Soviet Union.

We urge you and your lay leadership to begin considering immediately ways of involving your congregants in this historic challenge. We must not fail to grasp this unique opportunity to meet our obligations to Soviet Jews and to strengthen Israel as well, even as we support U.J.A.-Federation's "Passage To Freedom" campaign.

By scheduling an event in our congregations within the next six to eight weeks for sales of Israel Bonds to encourage resettlement of Soviet Jews in Israel, we will reaffirm our commitment to the highest ideals of Jewish moral responsibility.

Dr. Alfred Gottschalk
President,
Hebrew Union College-
Jewish Institute of Religion

M.
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
President,
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations

J.
Rabbi Eugene Lipman
President,
Central Conference of American
Rabbis

Rabbi Stanley M. Davids
National Chairman,
Rabbinic Cabinet,
State of Israel Bonds



123 East 55th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
TElephone 8-5122
FAX (212) 6-4-2158



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(Company) JAHC

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RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

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UAHC - (212) 249-0100 Extension: 210 or 211

June 27, 1988
DATE: 12 Tammuz 5748

TIME: 4:45

MEMORANDUM

From Vorspan's Office
To Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Copies
Subject

Date

6/27/88

According to Myra Sheinbaum, the NCSJ absolutely supports the Israel's Cabinet decision to eliminate drop out opposition for Russian Jews. This was voted on at a Board of Governors meeting in Wash. DC on 5/2. I don't believe there was UAHC representation. I can't reach Betty Golomb. Glenn Stein doesn't recall sending an intern. I doubt there was representation. Subsequent to that meeting, a joint statement was issued on June 8 about a two track system: sending Soviet Jews to Israel, sending Soviet Jews to the US. On June 20 Morris Abram issued a statement.

According to Myra, Morris Abram is currently at the Ramada Renaissance in Jerusalem and he has the statement (if you care to contact him).

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



איחוד
ליהדות
אמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

Soviet Jewry

November 25, 1987
4 Kislev 5748

Rabbi Norman D. Patz
Temple Shalom
760 Pompton Avenue
Cedar Grove, NJ 07009

Dear Norman:

I'm delighted that your letter of November 23 reached me before the long week-end and my departure for Israel on Sunday night. I was excited by the stories you shared and am responding in haste only because time is short for me today and I'll not return to the office until mid-December.

Thank you for the wonderful vignettes. Norman, I am eager to have you serve on our Task Force on Soviet Jewry. We had a marvelous meeting yesterday and some very interesting proposals were shared. I believe you will have much to contribute to the work of this Task Force.

Al Vorspan is the staff member coordinating the work of the Task Force. He will not be going to the World Zionist Congress and I am therefore sharing your letter with him and he will follow-up on your official appointment to the Task Force on Soviet Jewry. I also want him to have an opportunity to know the contents of your letter and your thoughts on this critical area of concern.

With appreciation and warm regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Albert Vorspan

With love

5

November 5, 1987

Ms. Jan Struber
21 Longview Road
Port Washington, New York 11050

Dear Jan:

Unfortunately, I don't know the gentleman whose column you sent me.
You are right, he certainly doesn't sound like a Jew, but, alas, we
can not muzzle anyone.

Cordially,

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

AS:jc



Jan Struber

Dear Alex-

It's hard for me
to believe that this
man speaks for any group
of Jews -

Do you know of him?

Very best regards -

10-28



January 4, 1989
27 Tevet 5749

Ms. Shoshana S. Cardin
Chairman
National Conference on Soviet Jewry
10 East 40th Street, Suite 907
New York, NY 10016

Dear Shoshana:

I received your recent circular letter requesting an increase in our allocation. Unfortunately, our calendar year runs July 1st-June 30th. In other words, our current budget is in place and we can make absolutely no commitment for this year. Your request for an increase will be considered at our upcoming Budget meetings which will be considering the 1989-90 operating years expenses. I can make no promises, obviously. Much depends on the resources that are available to us.

Cordial greetings and much good luck in your new endeavors.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

December 22, 1988

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

My election as Chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry occurred at an auspicious time. Having just returned from Jerusalem as the designated U.S. representative to the World Conference on Soviet Jewry, and after my recent meeting with Secretary of State George Shultz, prior to his discussions with General Secretary Gorbachev, it is evident that a sea change is taking place in the Soviet Union, with many positive effects for our brethren.

Because of your commitment, progress has been made. The news of the last several weeks seems encouraging, but much more remains to be achieved: the freedom to learn and practice Jewish religion and culture; the elimination of all forms of anti-Semitism; a formal policy of systematic, substantial and sustained emigration; and the legitimization of Hebrew as the official language of the Jewish minority. Looking back just a year ago, when I addressed 250,000 participants at our historic Freedom Sunday rally in Washington, D.C., I know how far we have moved towards our goal of rescue, redemption and rebirth of Jewish culture. We all know, however, how quickly the situation could change, and how much pressure we must continue to exert on the Soviets to keep them from slamming the doors shut and clamping down on our fellow Jews.

At the same time, the NCSJ has undertaken its own reorganization, which will assure that each member agency, in good standing, will continue to have a representative on NCSJ's Board of Governors, who is eligible for election to the Executive Committee. Furthermore, you recall that as a result of the CJF Board of Directors' satellite teleconference meeting on June 9, 1988, the NCSJ was given the central responsibility, authority and accountability for Soviet Jewry advocacy. Subsequently, the Large City Budgeting Conference validated the enclosed NCSJ 1989 budget.

The NCSJ has traditionally relied upon its member agencies for funding as well as policy formulation. In order to carry out the NCSJ's mandate, a significant increase in dues for our member agencies will be required. This budgetary increase was initially discussed at the recent meetings of our member agencies. The NCSJ is requesting from your agency 1989 dues of \$ 8,500.

I know your response will be positive. I am doing all I can to help, but I need your support. I am preparing an audio cassette which will be sent to you at the beginning of 1989 which will further update you as to both the situation within the Soviet Union and the progress of the NCSJ's reorganization. I trust that you will make this tape available to members of your membership dues committee. In addition, the NCSJ will arrange for a representative to appear before your committees' hearing. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact Mark Heutlinger, the NCSJ's Financial Director.

Our purpose is clear -- to continue to work for those goals outlined above, and to say "Am Yisroel Chai."

Cordially,

Shoshana S. Cardin

Shoshana S. Cardin
Chairman

cc: Executive Director

A coalition of forty-five national organizations and over three hundred local community councils and federations

National Office: 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016 • (212) 679-6122 • Telecopier: (212) 686-1193 • Telex: 237311 NCSJ
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NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
Comparative Statement of Income & Expenditures
(Dollars in Thousands)

	1987 Budget	1987 Audit	1988 Budget	1988 Estimated	1989 Proj. Budget(a)
<u>INCOME</u>					
Federation Allocations	\$320	\$327	\$400	\$350	\$540
New York UJA/Federation	60	45	75	65	85
Constituent Agencies Dues	86	86	98	91	150
Soviet Jewry Research Bureau(SJRB)	175	225	200	150(d)	200(d)
Contributions, etc.	283	220	224	205	275
Total Income	924	903	997	861	1,250
<u>EXPENDITURES(b)</u>					
Publicity & Promotion	55	68	51	56	75
Public Information & Education	89	50	69	65	70
Consultation & Servicing	185	249	200	205	312
Olim Lecture Tours	14	11	19	12	20
Publications	42	44	52	42	67
Soviet Jewry Research Bureau(c)	155	130	164	149	189
Policy Conference	30	27	28	35	33
Public Meetings	5	11	5	5	9
Washington D.C. Office	230	198	270	240	286
International Consultations	49	74	48	47	76
National Committees	25	22	29	25	35
General Administration	30	40	52	52	70
Capital Disbursements/Depreciation	15	4	10	7	8
Total Expenditures	924	928	997	940	1,250
Surplus (Deficit)	-0-	(25)	-0-	(79)(d)	-0-

(a) Does not include one-time transitional funding of \$425,000 approved by the CJF Board of Directors on September 9, 1988.

(b) See over for description of expenditures.

(c) Includes disbursements of SJRB (Special Grant) for certain ongoing programs and activities in accordance with restrictions made by donor, and related goals of SJRB. In addition, part of this grant is utilized for the overall program of NCSJ.

(d) \$150,000 has been received from SJRB thus far in 1988; an additional \$50,000 may also be forthcoming from this source in 1988 but has not been included. The \$200,000 shown for 1989 is also not definite as yet.

National Conference on Soviet Jewry

PROGRAM SERVICE EXPENDITURES

Publicity and Promotion - Keeping the issue in the public eye by disseminating information and highlighting special events through press releases, press conferences, background briefings and radio and television appearances.

Public Information and Education - Responding to specific requests with updated information to individual cases and developments in the USSR. This is done through mailings to member agencies and local community affiliates, including nearly 300 local Jewish community councils and federations.

Consultation and Servicing - Includes NCSJ staff and officers' travel for briefings and participation in meetings, conferences and seminars, and meetings of the Executive Committee and Board of Governors. Materials, such as guidelines for special projects, are provided through mailings and telephone contact.

OLIM - A special project to use former key activists for meetings and lectures before local community groups. Includes international air travel from Israel, hotel and maintenance expenses, local travel, and the preparation of promotional materials.

Publications - Includes the preparation, production and distribution of pamphlets and periodicals.

Soviet Jewry Research Bureau - Division responsible for gathering, interpreting, and disseminating data on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union.

National Policy Conference - Annual meeting in Washington of national and local leadership to analyze current issues, evaluate policy, and develop programs.

Public Meetings - Public rallies and conferences, including sound equipment, posters, travel and hotel for speakers, special mailings, and rentals.

Washington (D.C.) Office - Service as coordinating body for member agencies in Washington. Provides information and research services to, and as in liaison with, governmental and non-governmental agencies and the media. Involves Members of Congress in specific projects, including Congressional Wives for Soviet Jews and Congressional Coalition for Soviet Jews.

International Consultations - Includes consultations with international organizations and national committees in Europe, Israel, Australia and South America.

National Committees - Includes mailings, meetings and special projects for: the National Lawyers Committee for Soviet Jewry; the Business Advisory Council; the Helsinki Committee; the Council of Associates; and Operation Lifeline.

General Administration - Operating overhead for the administrative functions of the New York and Washington D.C. offices.

Capital Disbursements - Purchases of new equipment.

MEMORANDUM

From Rabbi Daniel B. Syme

Date Jan. 11, 1988

To Mr. Al Vorspan

Copies Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, Ms. Betty Golomb, Mr. Tom Hurwitz

Subject

Soviet Jewry

The Soviet Jewry proposal is excellent, and should be recast for the "Wish Book" in the form we discussed. I'd delete the letter "Exhibits". They really aren't necessary. I would, however, include materials in Russian we've already done to show that we're geared up to move.

The program projected costs should also have 15% added for Central Services.

One caution. Russian VCRS will probably not play tapes shot in American standard. That's not insurmountable, but more costly.

Let's get together to review the proposal at your convenience.

P.S. I've noted a few corrections on the original.



Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR SOVIET JEWRY

One of the most extraordinary events of recent history is the emergence of the Soviet Jewry movement as a major symbol of universal human rights. Soviet Jews, raised in the harsh totalitarian climate of atheism and anti-semitism, miraculously found their voice, managed to learn Hebrew, re-discovered their Jewish roots, and became an authentic Zionist movement. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews found their way to Israel. Aliyah the right to emigration -- became the effective battle-cry of world Jewry and its potent allies in the Congress of the United States and throughout the world. The right to leave continues to be the principle and urgent demand of the Soviet Jewry movement during the period of Gorbachev's Glasnost as it has been for the past two decades of fluctuating fortunes for Soviet Jewry.

At the same time as this "Let My People Go" demand is sustained --- dramatically evidenced by the historic protest march of 250,000 persons on December 6 in Washington DC on the eve of the Summit --- fresh approaches of all kinds must also be considered. One such approach was outlined by Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of the American Hebrew Congregations, at the 59th General Assembly of the Union in Chicago, Illinois, October 31, 1987, in his State of the Union address. He said,

" Virtually all prisoners of Zion have been released. Indeed one of these heroes, Natan Sharansky, will be addressing our closing session on Monday night. Many other refuseniks have been given permission to leave and hopefully, the gates of emigration will open even wider. On the other hand, anti-Semitism in the USSR has increased considerably as reactionary forces are flooding the newly opened communication channels with their poison.

Beyond these contradictions, however, the most significant issue of Soviet Jewish life is the one we speak of least: and that is the severe restraints upon Jewish identity, and the sharp pressures of assimilation that are placed upon the vast majority of Jews who will opt to remain in the Soviet Union no matter how liberal emigration policies might become. Jewish education is obtainable in the Soviet Union only at great risk. Iosif Begun, freed last February, has again been denied the right to teach Hebrew, the very "crime" for which he was imprisoned. Religious and cultural resources are next to nil.

Yes, there have been recent concessions to Judaism and Jews, --- a few rabbis trained in Hungary, one kosher take-out restaurant, the publication of a Yiddish dictionary, and a mirabile dictu, only a few weeks ago, the opening of a modest Jewish library for non-refuseniks in a Moscow apartment. But such glacial progress will scarcely assure the survival of Jewish consciousness in the Soviet Union. Intermarriage, assimilation, all

of the erosive forces with which we contend here in North America, are eating away at the vestiges of Jewish culture and Judaism in the Soviet Union. Add to these ingredients the ugly commonplace of anti-Semitism, and you have what can only be called a forced assimilation.

I profoundly believe that a liberal version of Judaism could improve the prospects of Jewish survival in the USSR, even as Reform has played a preserving role on these shores, and throughout the world.

I tested these waters on my recent visit, as did Bella and Dick Hirsch, who travelled through Russia even while I was there. I concluded that while it would be virtually impossible to encourage the formation of a national movement of Reform Judaism in a society that bars national religious organizations, there is still a great deal we can do to encourage the development of a network of activist Jewish families in the liberal tradition. Such a network could use our educational and liturgical materials. Such a network could in turn "spread the word" along remarkably subtle and effective communication channels that seem almost telepathic in the face of Soviet repression.

On a grassroots level, Reform Jews have done much for the cause of Soviet Jewry. On a national level, alas, the burden has been borne essentially by one gallant lady, Betty Golomb. We require a vastly expanded effort in this realm. Hence, I call for the formation of a special movement-wide Task Force that would address every aspect of the Soviet Jewish situation. It would press for emigration and for the religious rights of Soviet Jews. It would prepare the translation of liberal Jewish educational and liturgical texts into Russian. And it would establish and provide services to a network of liberal Jews in the USSR. The time has come for our Reform movement to play a role of husbandry beyond mere protest --- to tend to the fragile shoots of a Jewish consciousness that are seeking desperately to survive in a harsh and often cruel environment."

A task force of rabbis and laymen from the UAHC and the worldwide Union for Progressive Judaism has been exploring this idea. Dozens of Reform rabbis, in their periodic visits to the Soviet Union, have conducted seminars on Liberal Judaism in apartments of Soviet Jews. They have met with small groups of Jews who have decided they want to remain in their native country but wish to live a Jewish life. Unlike many who have identified themselves with the Orthodox "baalei t'shuva" movement, these Soviet Jews cannot accept Orthodox Judaism and desperately seek satisfying non-Orthodox expressions of Judaism they can identify with. History demonstrates that, in every land, a majority of the Jews will not be willing to accept Orthodox Judaism. History also demonstrates that whether this mass of Jews will assimilate and disappear is determined in large measure by whether or not vital alternative expressions of Judaism are available to them.

Pluralism is not merely desirable. It is essential to Jewish survival, even in totalitarian countries.

Reality therefore compels a serious examination of the role of non-Orthodox Judaism in the Soviet Union. One does not have to swallow the propaganda lies of the Soviet officials to acknowledge that even if the USSR gates were swung open completely, millions of Soviet Jews would not choose to emigrate. For whatever reasons, perhaps even including the hopes generated by Glasnost, they will choose to stay in the land of their birth. A goodly proportion of these people will have no real interest in Jewish life or Jewish survival. But some proportion of them will care. Of these, some -- who knows how many -- will become Orthodox, partly because they are unaware of any alternative, partly because of the effective work of the Lubavitcher movement. That will still leave a ^{vast} reservoir of Jews whose Jewish future may well depend on the alternative Jewish options which are made available to them, with appropriate books and films and educational materials to fill the immense void which now exists.

Will the Soviet government permit us to do these things? They permit virtually nothing now but much occurs anyway. In addition, if Gorbachev is concerned about the so-called "brain-drain", the way to cure it is not to lock Jews in a cage but permit them, as well as ~~all~~ other Soviet citizens, to fulfill their religious and ethnic identities within the Soviet system.

How will we bring non-Orthodox Judaism to the Soviet Union? Hundreds of rabbis, lay leaders, businessmen already visit Jews in the Soviet Union. An informal network is already emerging. (See letter from Rabbi Norman Patz, as Exhibit A at end). What is needed now is the development of materials and resources which can draw these disparate efforts together. To aid us in the preparation of these materials, we are blessed with the participation of a Soviet Jew who emigrated to the USA, enrolled at HUC ^{IR} ~~Seminary~~ and became a Reform rabbi, ^{as well as} ~~five~~ ^{now} Reform cantors, ^{who} ~~serving~~ in the United States, ^{who} ~~emigrated~~ from the Soviet Union.

To give substance to this vision we need educational tools and resources. For example:

1. A Russian-language video tape of an inspiring 30-minute havura-style Liberal Shabbat service, with a Cantor playing a guitar and lively singing, in which Rabbi Victor Rashkovsky, Russian emigre, will lead the service and explain the essential elements of the service.

2. Audio tapes, in Russian, explaining Liberal home observance for Shabbat and Jewish holidays.
3. A Booklet in the Russian language, attractively designed, in which several Soviet Jews now living in the US, Canada, Israel and Western Europe explain how and why they found the ground of their Jewish identity in Liberal Judaism. (See Exhibit B)
4. Reproduce the CCAR's beautifully laminated cards for home observance in the Cyrillic alphabet for distribution in the Soviet Union. These cards deal with Shabbat, etc. (See Exhibit C)
5. Develop materials for Soviet Russian children, drawing upon the curriculum of the Education dept. of the UAHC.
6. Involve Russian Jewish teen-agers in the camp programs of the UAHC, in the US and Israel. Many youngsters from Warsaw pact countries have attended our camps, on scholarship, in past years and efforts should be made to invite Russian Jewish youngsters in the future.

These are beginning steps but they are crucial to the task of liberation of our fellow Jews in the USSR. Liberating those who "choose" to remain in the USSR from ignorance, alienation and assimilation may be as vital in the long run as physically liberating those who choose to leave the hostile and repressive Soviet system. Internal aliyah --- fortifying the inner Jewish life of Soviet Jewry --- is less dramatic but equally compelling ~~a~~ challenge ~~of~~ Jews of the free world.

PRELIMINARY BUDGET

<u>Items</u>	<u>Cost</u>
Film Service	\$ 30,000
Audio home Observance Library	10,000
Booklet	25,000
Reproducing CCAR Home Observance	5,000
Curriculum Development	10,000
Camp Scholarship	20,000
Total	\$ 100,000



TEMPLE SHOLOM OF WEST ESSEX

760 POMPTON AVENUE, CEDAR GROVE, NEW JERSEY, 07009

(201) 239-1321

November 23, 1987
Kislev 2, 5748

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Affiliated with the
Union of American
Hebrew Congregations

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I hope this letter finds you in good health. I want to comment on the Russian outreach proposal you made at the Biennial by way of some information sharing.

Let me start with three vignettes. In the summer of 1985, I was invited to address a group of Russian Jewish scientists. The topic of their choosing was the development of liberal Judaism in the West. I spoke for 2 hours, using the approach of Joseph Blau in Modern Varieties of Judaism. At the end of the presentation they posed one question. How do you draw the lines (i.e. the limitations on accommodation, experimentation); and I challenged them similarly: Since liberal Judaism developed in response to liberal conditions in the West, it didn't seem of much use for them. They needed a highly-structured Judaism to cope with the totalitarianism they lived under. Yes, yes, they said, we know about Orthodoxy. We are students of Essas. But we want to learn about other forms of authentic, non-orthodox Judaism.

Second story. Naomi and I met Boris Klotz at Ben Gurion Airport this summer (we had spent a special day with him in Moscow), and again a week later at his apartment in the absorption center. In the course of conversation he said that he had not observed Shabbat on his first Shabbat in Israel, and when his 10 year old son had asked about the candles' absence, he had no answer. By the time of our visit, however, he had reasoned it out. It was because of the shechorim in the absorption center; you were either with them, or you had to be against them, and Boris couldn't be with them. Naomi and I said - you shouldn't let those mamzerim steal your Judaism. It sustained you in Russia. It should still. Create your own forms and make them work for you....

Third story: I told this story about Boris and his unobserved Shabbat to Dima Ioffe, (son of Alex and Rosa) for whom I had performed a religious marriage in Moscow. He arrived in Israel in February, 1987. When he heard the story, he shook visibly and said "for the same reason, I didn't have a seder..."

When I realized how serious a problem this is, I called Dick Hirsch to discuss it. He volunteered to call Boris (which he has done). But if we are going to address the religious needs of these Russian Olim, we're going to have to move institutionally. If we don't, we'll lose them, Israel will

lose them, Judaism will not benefit from their hearts and energies and their kids will be lost.

For this reason, I spoke out at the grant steering committee to utilize the outreach funds that are not yet committed, for Russian Jewish outreach - meeting families at the plane, welcoming them at the absorption center, inviting them to Shabbat dinners, etc. We have the money; let's hire the social workers, rabbis, outreachers to do the job.

When I spoke to Fred Gottschalk about having our rabbinical students in Jerusalem do this work as a fieldwork project, his response, to my regret, was negative. So too was Paul Steinberg's.

David Saperstein and Stanley Ringler, on the other hand, are already working on outreach programs.

I get the sense that some of our leaders have vision and others don't. Either that, or they are not convinced of our movement's authenticity.

I have initiated action on a second front-getting NFTB to have each of its member Brotherhoods to adopt a refusenik family. The resolution was moved by a past Brotherhood president of my synagogue, who brought Boris Klotz to the NFTB national board meeting in Chicago to stimulate commitment to the project.

Next, on the basis of these stories and after a wonderful confirmation retreat which featured 20 year old Boris Freidlin (arrived from Moscow in June 1987; father part of that liberal/Essas study group), as a values resource, I have suggested to Paul Reichenbach that all NFTY Israel trips have a meeting with Russian peers as a programmatic element, and as an experimental pilot, that my group of confirmands have one Russian kid travel with them in Israel (I will underwrite the land cost for him/her). Such a project obviously has 2 purposes: to expose our kids to another reality factor in Jewish life and to introduce a Russian kid to our viable form of non-orthodox Judaism - a great dual bridge builder.

Finally, I am planning to convene, under the aegis of the UJA Rabbinic Cabinet, a conference on rabbinic travel to the Soviet Union. Its purpose will be to encourage, coordinate and improve the quality of rabbinic visits. If all the "stars" are permitted to emigrate, those remaining will urgently need our help in reorganizing their teaching and learning patterns. A second purpose will be to network rabbis who are visiting, for continuity. Finally, we want to examine curricular resources, to better help Russian Jews learn about not only Judaism but Jews in the 20th century.

For this conference we're up to our third planning meeting. We will have informal endorsements across the board. Our target date for the conference to take place is late January or early February.

Clearly, the focus of this note is to second your verbal initiative, particularly with regard to Russian Jewry in Russia and Israel, but not those in the U.S.A. That demands another kind of attention. I'm very interested in your response to this matter.

Sincerely,

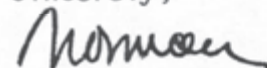

Norman R. Patz
Rabbi

EXHIBIT B



EXHIBIT C



Congregation Emanu El
1500 Sunset Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77005
(713) 529-5771

file

Call Tuesday

Rabbi Judith Z. Abrams

November 25, 1987

Mr. Albert Vorspan
Vice President - UAHC
838 Fifth Ave.
N.Y., N.Y. 10021

Dear Al,

It was a pleasure to speak with you today and to see you yesterday, at the meeting of the Task Force on Soviet Jewry. As you requested, I am sending you the CCAR's estimates on reproduction of the three laminated cards for home observance, which were mentioned at our meeting. These cards which contain services for Kabbalat Shabbat, Birkat Hamazon and Havdallah, would cost approximately \$6,000 to \$7,000 to produce in the Cyrillic alphabet. This represents 5,000 complete sets of three, worth 15,000 total cards. I hope that the Union and the Conference work together and split the cost of production.

Please let me know if and when funding becomes available so that I may begin to work on the project.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Rabbi Judith Z. Abrams

*3 cards for AMS
Done
12/7
Return for reply*

AMS

UAHC TASK FORCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

Minutes of Meeting: Nov. 24, 1987

ATTENDANCE

Betty Golomb; Chair

Rabbi Judith Abrams; Houston, TX
Rabbi Richard Agler; Boca Raton, FL
Rabbi Stanley Davids; NYC
Channa Friend; Manhasset, NY
Neil Gosman; St. Paul, MN.
Rabbi Richard Hirsch; Jerusalem

Ariel Perelmuter; NFTS
Rabbi Victor Rashkovsky; Oak Ridge, TN
Rabbi Alexander Schindler; UAHC (p/t)
Marsha Slivka; Toronto
Rabbi Mark Staitman; Pittsburgh
Al Vorspan; UAHC

Betty Golomb welcomed the Committee, reviewed its charge from the UAHC and introduced Rabbi Alexander Schindler to elaborate on the recommendation he made at the General Assembly in Chicago. In his presidential message, Rabbi Schindler said:

"On a grassroots level, Reform Jews have done much for the cause of Soviet Jewry. We require a vastly expanded effort in this realm. Hence, I call for the formation of a special movement-wide Task Force that would address every aspect of the Soviet Jewish situation. It would press for emigration and for the religious rights of Soviet Jews. It would prepare the translation of liberal Jewish educational and liturgical texts into Russian. And it would establish and provide services to a network of liberal Jews in the USSR. The time has come for our Reform movement to play a role of husbandry beyond mere protest--- to tend to the fragile shoots of a Jewish consciousness that are seeking desperately to survive in a harsh and often cruel environment."

Expanding on these recommendations, Rabbi Schindler hoped that an informal network of Progressive Jews might be developed in the Soviet Union, even while we continue to press for increased emigration. Most Jews will remain in the Soviet Union no matter what. What can we, as Reform Jews, do for them? He said Reform, in all lands, conserves Judaism for the large numbers who cannot and will not choose Orthodoxy: "In any given situation in the modern world, the majority of Jews will not be Orthodox."

Rabbi Richard Hirsch agreed and added his view that glasnost is a double-edge sword. Some Jews will be lost due to the new openness; at the same time, glasnost has also provided openness for anti-semites to come out of the woodwork in the USSR. Nationalism alone is an inadequate diet for Jews in search of identity. He noted that the WUPJ will be taking a substantial group to the Soviet Union in March and will seek to advance precisely the goals outlined by Rabbi Schindler.

Rabbi Victor Rashkovsky, a Reform Rabbi who emigrated from the Soviet Union, stressed the importance of a religious alternative for Soviet Jews. He urged that we proceed with video tapes of lively Reform services in both Hebrew and Russian ---one tape havurah-type service with cantor, guitar, choir and no organ and perhaps a second tape with a formal service in the United States. Betty Golomb noted there were five cantors in American Reform Judaism from the Soviet Union. Cantor Elena Zarkh was invited to participate in this meeting and will join the Committee.

Discussion ensued about the elitist aspects of video tapes. Some thought it would be best to utilize audio tapes which could be more widely used.

Rabbi Mark Staitman reported on the program of the UHA Rabbinic Cabinet, which coordinates travel of rabbis to the USSR, and urged that we cooperate with them. He stated that Rabbi Norman Patz is Chairman of the Cabinet and is eager to cooperate. Patz is also a Reform rabbi.

Rabbi Stanley Davids alerted the Committee to the risks involved in spearheading a Reform Jewish network in the Soviet Union. How will we be received by the USSR government and by the mainstream Soviet Jewry community which has consistently disapproved of efforts to build Jewish life inside the USSR as impairing the demand for aliyah? Can we do both emigration and networking?

Rabbi Richard Agler suggested coordinating approaches by UAHC-CCAR-WUPJ-HUC to build a Reform alternative. He said, based on his trips, that such contacts were already being developed. What is needed is appropriate literature, materials, videos, etc.

Neil Gosman said we should be upfront with the Soviet authorities about what we are doing, avoiding an anti-Soviet mold.

Rabbi Staitman urged publication of a periodic list of rabbis who have been to the Soviet Union in recent months. Other members of the committee urged that we develop lists of congregants as well.

Rabbi Judith Abrams proposed that we publish a book of "testimonials" containing statements of why various Soviet Jews chose Reform and what Reform Judaism means to their lives and identities.

It was agreed that we should:

1. Create a network of Jews in Russia who are open to Liberal Judaism.
2. Implement suggestion made by Marsha Slivka that we assemble all information of what our congregations are doing in twinning, adoptions, visitations, etc. with periodic sharing. Rabbi Hirsch agreed to gather together Soviet emigres in Israel to discuss materials and approaches to Liberal Judaism.
3. Examine existing materials leading to a simple, basic bibliography which should be made available.

It was also agreed that we should seek foundation funding for:

1. Audio tape for Jewish home observance in Russian, with Zemerot.
2. Video tape of an appealing Reform Shabbat service in Russian, with Zemerot.

3. Publication of booklet in Russian of the liberal service which is shown on video.
4. Booklet containing testimonials on Reform.
5. Development of material for children --- possibly generated by Education department of the UAHC.
6. Reproduce CCAR's laminated cards for home observance in the Cyrillic alphabet.

It was further agreed that we would price out all of the above mentioned items, put the numbers together in one package and go forth and apply for funding.

Before the committee meets again, we will re-organize and enlarge the task force into a movement-wide Commission in accordance with the recommendation made by Rabbi Schindler to the UAHC General Assembly.



Sweet Juan
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Al Vorspan

November 19, 1987

Attached are the notes taken at the post-Biennial Rabbis' Breakfast. They will be of interest to you.

I call you particular attention to #2 in re the Baptists and the USSR. When our new committee is in place please bring this to the table.

I will contact Jerry Davidson and Annette re #12 and want you to know I am doing so.



Soviet Jewry

*Relay this
to Al V.*

November 16, 1987
24 Heshvan 5748

Rabbi Cary D. Yales
Temple Isaiah
55 Lincoln Street
Lexington, MA 02173

Dear Cary:

It was good to receive your letter of November 6 with two suggestions for the Task Force on Soviet Jewry. I am grateful for your thoughtfulness. It was also good of you to provide background data on both candidates.

Let me assure you Dr. Michael Dohan and Mrs. Judith Patkin will be given serious consideration for membership on this critical Task Force.

With deepest thanks and warm personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi Paul Menitoff

Tub.



TEMPLE ISAIAH

Rabbi Cary David Yales
Rabbi David S. Wolfman
Lois Edelstein, R.J.E.

55 Lincoln Street
Lexington, MA 02173
(617) 862-7160

November 6, 1987

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
UAHC
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

I was delighted to hear your call for the formation of a Task Force to address "every aspect of the Soviet Jewish situation." I would like to recommend two people from my congregation to serve on that Task Force:

(1) Dr. Michael Dohan. You met him on your recent trip to the Soviet Union and spoke of him at our Rabbi's breakfast. He has been to the Soviet Union two or three times and is thoroughly devoted to the cause. He is a thinker and a doer.

(2) Judith Patkin. Judy is a past president of our congregation and serves as a co-chair for the Boston group, "Action For Soviet Jewry." I venture to say that Action For Soviet Jewry under her unswerving leadership has done some of the finest work in behalf of Soviet Jewry in this country. Her knowledge and her contacts should prove indispensable to the Task Force.

Here are addresses and phone numbers	should you wish to contact
them: Dr. Michael Dohan	Mrs. Judith Patkin
9 Berwick Rd.	27 Suzanne Road
Lexington, MA 02173	Lexington, MA 02173
(h) 617-861-3747	(h) 617-861-8539
(w) 671-272-7787	(w) 617-893-2331

With all good wishes, I remain

As always,



Rabbi Cary D. Yales

copy: Rabbi Paul Menitoff

Affiliated with The Union of American Hebrew Congregations

BETTY B. GOLOMB

Friday, November 6, 1987

Dear Alex:

The Biennial was wonderful -- congratulations

Thanks again for your gracious reference to me and for strengthening the Union's position in support of Soviet Jewry. I would never have persisted for the past 12 years if I did not believe the work was important. We will certainly gain more recruits to fight for the freedom of Soviet Jews as a result of your heartfelt charge to the convention.

Even though advocacy has been the most prominent role I have pursued in the past, my secret goal has always been to make Liberal Judaism available to Russian Jews wherever they lived. The limited experience I've had in the religious absorption of Soviet emigres has led me to believe this was feasible. But, without wider acceptance and substantial financial support, little could be achieved.

Now, with your personal experience and your public declaration, you have made my dream a distinct possibility. Together, we will be able to assure a religious renaissance. Through the offering of an option to orthodoxy and atheism, those Jews who remain in the hostile environment of the Soviet Union will have access to the vibrant modernity of Reform Judaism.

Enclosed is a photo copy of the mailing by Edgar Bronfman for the World Jewish Congress that you asked me for. It should be very effective. Your intention to ask Mr. Bronfman for a share of the money for the publication of books is an excellent one. Moreover, the W.J.C.'s approach is one from which we can borrow ideas for our own fund-raising.

With regards,

Betty

11/8
no further
cc to AEV

"AUTHORITIES TO ALLOW
JEWISH BOOKS INTO THE SOVIET UNION"

Dear Friend:

At last some light has pierced the darkness.

After many long months of intense negotiations with the top Kremlin leadership, we have a remarkable opportunity -- one that has taken years to achieve.

For decades Russia's 2 million Jews have been cut off from their religious and cultural heritage. But finally, the Soviet Union has agreed to permit us to bring Jewish books and other educational materials directly to them.

This development is a "window of opportunity" that can't be ignored.

We at the World Jewish Congress have worked for years to open up Jewish emigration for those who wanted to leave the Soviet Union.

And while demanding freer emigration, we've fought to preserve the right of those remaining to practice their faith and keep their religious heritage alive.

But it's often been a frustrating, thankless effort -- until today.

That is the reason for my urgent letter.

You and I have an extraordinary opportunity -- to give Russian Judaism new life. To help create a "religious renaissance" for the Soviet Union's 2 million Jews.

But we must act right away.

Between now and the first days of Hanukkah, the WJC will complete the first phase of an urgent new program called PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA -- an "airlift" of Jewish culture into the Soviet Union.

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA is an opportunity for you to send a Jewish book to a Russian family -- with your own personal show of support.

(over, please)



PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA
WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS
ONE PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016

Basic religious books like the Talmud . . . the Torah . . . and essential prayer books.

I can't think of a more meaningful way to support the rights of Jews around the world than to seize this opportunity to reach out to our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union.

Russian Jews -- representing 15 percent of world Jewry -- have always been a special focus of the World Jewish Congress . . . and to all of us.

Yet, if they are to remain Jews and pass on Judaism to their children, they must be able to learn about their history, culture and religion, while they are still in the Soviet Union.

And, Russian Jews must keep in touch with their culture and religion for there to be hope for Jewish immigration to Israel.

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA will give them:

- . . . the history books they need to teach their children about their heritage;
- . . . prayer books, the Holy Writings of the Torah, the Talmud -- all the materials they will need to practice their faith; and,
- . . . the intellectual writings that can help salvage Judaism from decades of political, cultural and religious repression.

But we have our work cut out for us.

The books and other educational materials must first be translated into Russian and then printed, bound and crated for shipment to the Soviet Union -- in and of itself an enormous undertaking.

And, our personal escorts in the United States will need to transport the books to the Soviet Union, and transfer them to the WJC's network of Jewish religious and cultural experts who will deliver them where they are needed most.

But in 50 years of history as the diplomatic arm of the Jewish People -- and defender of human rights everywhere -- the World Jewish Congress has faced greater challenges, and triumphed.

From our help in negotiating Germany's \$36 billion reparation payment to the survivors of the Holocaust . . . to our exposure of Kurt Waldheim's Nazi past . . . we have succeeded where others failed.

(next page, please)

To be sure, PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA will be one of the WJC's most ambitious challenges.

But one we must accept.

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA -- like the enormously successful tree planting projects in Israel -- will plant the seeds to ensure the survival of our religion and culture in the decades to come.

This is a project that must be a top priority for the WJC and for concerned Jews everywhere.

That's why your financial support is so important.

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA will require a substantial commitment of World Jewish Congress resources.

And, because it involves hiring expert translators and the printing and shipment of enormous quantities of books, it will be very expensive.

Right now our plan is to begin translating and packaging Jewish religious and cultural materials such as:

- * Text and Commentary on the Torah;
- * The Talmud -- writings from the Talmud;
- * A special collection of prayer books -- daily, Saturday and the Holidays;
- * Jewish calendars detailing major holidays and traditions;
- * Jewish cultural, educational and religious material; and,
- * Children's educational books, including primers for the study of Hebrew and Yiddish.

But your support and that of other concerned American Jews is critical to the success of this unique project.

You and your family can personally select one, two, or as many books as you like to be sent with your show of support to a Jewish family in the Soviet Union.

As you can see from the enclosed PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA reply sheet, you can send a complete Jewish Calendar through the WJC to a Russian family for only \$25.00.

(over, please)

For the especially generous contribution of \$250, the WJC will be able to deliver a complete set of Jewish books and materials: the Talmud -- writings from the Talmud, the Torah, prayer books, children's primers and more.

All books and materials relating to Jewish culture and heritage are in pitifully short supply in the Soviet Union, making complete sets particularly valuable to a Russian family.

Whatever the number of books you decide to give, please sign your name to the corresponding book plate on the enclosed sheet. The WJC will place it in your gift book when it's shipped to the Soviet Union.

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA gives you and me a precious opportunity to help preserve the Jewish heritage and enrich the lives of 2 million Russian Jews.

But we must move quickly. Our "window of opportunity" carries no guarantees -- it could close tomorrow.

So please send me your contribution for these "books of life" as soon as you possibly can.

We've timed the first shipments to arrive just before Hanukkah -- a time when our show of support will mean that much more to the Soviet Union's culturally-starved Jews.

Please give as generously as you can.

You have my heartfelt thanks for whatever number of books you can afford to send.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Edgar M. Bronfman
Edgar M. Bronfman
President

EMB:zhn

P.S. The enclosed note that I received from a Russian Jew should give you an idea of what this project means to Jews in the Soviet Union. He hopes for long-term changes in Soviet policy, but we have no guarantees -- the political climate could change at any time. Please send me your gift for PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA today.

P.P.S. Don't forget to sign your book plates! If you decide to give more than one item, or a set, please sign all of the appropriate plates.

Monday Night

Dear Mr Bronfman!

Books about our history and
worship will keep us together as
Jews.

If Mr Corbacher will let you
get us more books from American
we don't have to make choice
between being a Jew and protecting
ourselves.

That will make my family happy.
I can teach these books to my
children and save the books so they
can teach to their children.

Thank you is say from bottom
of my heart.
Uriah Munnich

PROJECT: BOOKS TO RUSSIA

GIFT PLEDGE

*Living more than
one item would be
especially helpful.
Please be as generous
as you can!*

Dear Mr. Bronfman:

I agree! We must take advantage of this historic opportunity to send these special books into Russia. My contribution in the amount indicated under "Total" is enclosed. Please use my tax-deductible gift to send the item(s) listed below to a needy Jewish family in Russia.

Mr. David L. Golomb
250 E. 73rd Street
New York, NY 10021

Please make your tax-deductible contribution payable to the W.J.C. and return with your book plate(s) and gift pledge form to our Washington office, Post Office Box 90400, Washington, D.C. 20077.

- ☐ \$ 25.00: Jewish Calendar
and Observance Guide
- ☐ \$ 47.50: Text and Commentary
on the Torah
- ☐ \$ 72.25: The Talmud—
Writings of the Talmud
- ☐ \$118.00: The Talmud—
Writings of the Talmud
and the Torah
- ☐ \$250.00: Entire set of the above
- ☐ Other \$ _____

Total: \$ _____
1366

(CALENDAR)

ЭТОТ КАЛЕНДАРЬ—
ОТРАЖЕНИЕ ЕВРЕЙСКОЙ
ЖИЗНИ—В ПОДАРОК ОТ...

Mr. David L. Golomb



כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

ВСЕ ЕВРЕЙ В ОТВЕТЕ ДРУГ ЗА ДРУГА
ИЗ ТАЛМУДА

(THE TALMUD)

ЭТОТ ТОМ ТАЛМУДА, КАК
СИМВОЛ ЕВРЕЙСКОГО ЗНАНИЯ,
В ПОДАРОК ОТ...

Mr. David L. Golomb



כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

ВСЕ ЕВРЕЙ В ОТВЕТЕ ДРУГ ЗА ДРУГА
ИЗ ТАЛМУДА

(TEXT AND COMMENTARY ON THE TORAH)

ЭТОТ ТЕКСТ И КОММЕНТАРИЙ К
ТОРЕ, КАК СИМВОЛ ЕВРЕЙСКОГО
ЗНАНИЯ, В ПОДАРОК ОТ...

Mr. David L. Golomb



כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

ВСЕ ЕВРЕЙ В ОТВЕТЕ ДРУГ ЗА ДРУГА
ИЗ ТАЛМУДА

The message on your book plate(s) reads:

"This (item being sent) is a gift of Jewish
Life from:"



כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה

All Jews Are Responsible One for Another
Shavuot 39

✓
Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

July 7, 1987
10 Tammuz 5747

Speed
Mr. Albert Vorspan

Mrs. Betty Golomb & Mr. Mace Levin

When I was in Israel I had a chance to talk to Dick Hirsch and his experience was not unlike mine. I refer of course to his recent journey to Russia which in many ways was even more meaningful since Bella Hirsch speaks Russian fluently so he was able to reach people I could not possibly communicate with.

He gave lectures on Reform Judaism in the Soviet Union and found a wide response.

I would like to approach both the Memorial Foundation and Herbert Weinstein's Foundation (the Gerald and May Ellen Ritter Memorial Fund) asking support for the preparation of translations of basic works and their eventual publication into the Russian language.

Can I have a projection of costs for such a program? What I believe we need is a pamphlet on Reform Judaism which is less oriented to the American Jewish community; the translation of our prayer books into the Russian language; books like Edie Samuel's Jewish Lexicon and several key books especially for the younger generation. And Betty made what I thought was a good additional suggestion and that is that we prepare a modern Haggadah in Russian.

Be that as it may, I would appreciate getting a proposal from Betty and Mace and from you of course, for the books which we would like to translate into Russian for those materials which we would like to reprint. What the translation cost would be and what the publications cost would ultimately be. I don't know whether the Memorial Foundation and the Weinstein Foundation will come up with a great deal of money but at least we ought to have something for their consideration.

Thanks for following this through. Obviously the sooner I can have the material, the sooner I can get started.

*FW.
Answer on tape to Sheng
memo to ALV - Betty Golomb
+ Anne Leem
The Russian Project
new folder -
Special the was
begin to have
JAN*

May 19, 1987
20 Iyar 5747

Herbert T. Weinstein, Esq.
300 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Herb:

By means of this letter I acknowledge with pleasure the gracious gift of \$5,000. from the Ritter Foundation towards the work of the UAHC. I am grateful for your efforts in this regard and also convey my gratitude and that of the Union to the President of The Gerald and May Ellen Ritter Memorial Fund, Gerald Silbert. You have helped to strengthen the work of our hands and our hearts.

With appreciation and warm regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Gerald Silbert, Esq.

THE GERALD AND MAY ELLEN RITTER MEMORIAL FUND

300 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

909-7708

GERALD SILBERT
PRESIDENT

Handwritten: OHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

May 18, 1987

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union Of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alexander:

It is with great pleasure to enclose this year's
check for \$5,000 from the Ritter Foundation.

I would also like to take this opportunity to confirm
our luncheon on Wednesday, May 20 at 12:00 at the Harmony
Club. I look forward to seeing you then.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Handwritten signature of Herbert T. Weinstein

Herbert T. Weinstein

May 20.



Harmonie
Noon

You + Herb Weinstein
Kathy can't make it

6/2
//

PHONE MEMO

TO

AMS

DATE

3/7

TIME

12.00 PM

FROM

MR Herb Weinstein

AREA CODE

NUMBER

OF

EXTENSION

909-7746

MESSAGE

Rabbi Syme told Krantz
That AMS was trying to
reach him.

SIGNED

Barbara

PS

PHONED ☐

CALL
BACK ☐

RETURNED
CALL ☐

WANTS TO
SEE YOU ☒

WILL CALL
AGAIN ☐

WAS IN ☐

URGENT ☐

March 12, 1987
11 Adar 5747

Mr. Herbert Weinstein
Proskauer Rose Goetz
and Mendelsohn
300 Park Ave.
New York, NY. 10022

Dear Herb:

I hope this letter finds you well. It was a real pleasure being at the Temple. Dough Krantz is indeed a fine young man, and I am grateful to him for bringing us together.

There is one minor matter relating to the Foundation Grant that eluded my attention, but which really should be specified in some manner. I speak of the payment schedule.

According to our records, there are to be five equal annual payments of \$5,000 each. I recall that the first dollars came in about this time last year, but heaven knows that memory should not be the basis of matters such as this.

Therefore, I write to ask how you wish us to remind you, or bill you, in this and the successive years of the grant. We will be guided by your instructions. All I ask is that the check be sent prior to the end of our fiscal year June 30. That way, we will know to include the internship for four more years automatically in the budget.

Mr. Herbert Weinstein
March 12, 1987
Page -2-

I look forward to meeting with you again in the not too distant future. Thank you Herb, not only for your generosity, but for the spirit that motivates it.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Alexander M. Schindler

P.S. Take it easy, save yourself the commuting strain between New York and New Jersey as often as you can.

PROSKAUER ROSE GOETZ & MENDELSON

300 PARK AVENUE
New York, N. Y. 10022

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March 17, 1987

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SPECIAL COUNSEL

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union Of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alexander:

Thank you for your letter of March 12, 1987. It is not only pleasurable, but stimulating every time we meet, as you have helped generate my increased involvement in the Reform movement.

UJA - Federation has asked me to serve on a committee which oversees expenses of the Jewish Agencies. The committee was generated by a complaint from the Reform movement in Israel that it was not getting its fair share. Clearly, this is something I want to focus upon. Given your wealth of knowledge in this area, I would appreciate having another luncheon with you so that I may be briefed from the prospective of the Reform movement in America.

I would also like to confirm the Ritter Foundation grant of which \$20,000 is still owing. Last year's payment of \$5000 was sent to you in the beginning of June, therefore the next installment will also be sent out in the beginning of June, 1987.

Hoping to see you soon, I am

Sincerely,

Herbert T. Weinstein

2001 L STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE: (202) 466-7300

JON A. BAUMGARTEN
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4 ST. JAMES'S PLACE
LONDON SW1A 1NP
TELEPHONE: (01) 493-6913

JERROLD S. KATZMAN

Soviet
CC: RCA
AL v.
[in Japan?]
all places]

MAINICHI DAILY NEWS

American Rabbi Warns Against US-USSR Rift

MOSCOW (AP) — An American rabbi on Sunday cautioned those concerned about Jewish rights in the Soviet Union against "shrill" criticism that he says drives the superpowers farther apart.

But Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, added there still is much to protest about Soviet treatment of Jews.

Schindler told the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War that a recent increase in emigration visas granted to Soviet Jews is an encouraging change.

But emigration is still tightly restricted, and many Jews are denied exit visas on grounds of state security, he said.

Schindler said criticism of how the Soviets treat Jews should not be silenced, but neither should it negate efforts to work with the Soviet Union on arms control.

"We will continue to raise our voice in protest for these injustices and many others. But we won't join the shrill voices who wish to sink Russia and America ever more deeply into military confrontation. Protest and peace are not mutually exclusive," he said.

Schindler spoke during a panel discussion on religion and ethics in the nuclear age.

Other panel members were former University of Notre Dame President Rev. Theodore Hesburgh; Rev. Gunnar Stalsett, president of the World Lutheran Federation and a member of the Norwegian Nobel Prize committee; and Gwendoline Konie, former Zambian ambassador to Sweden and the United Nations.

June 9, 1987
12 Sivan 5747

Mr. Jeffrey Glassman
Second Secretary of the Embassy of the United States
American Embassy Moscow
APO, N.Y. 09862

Dear Jeffrey:

Just a note to thank you for all your many courtesies while we were in Moscow. You went far beyond the line of what was expected and we are grateful to you for giving up your day and for helping us in so many ways.

My wife spoke to your father yesterday and brought him your greetings and, of course, our appreciation of your worth.

The remainder of our stay was interesting. I did have a brief meeting with Dobrynin and a longer ~~ten~~ hour session with Arbatov but nothing of extraordinary consequence developed, so I didn't bother debriefing at the Embassy or, for that matter, even here at the State Department.

Again my thanks for all your helpfulness.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CC Matlock

Sweet
John

June 9, 1987
12 Sivan 5747

Ambassador Jack F. Matlock
American Embassy *MOSCOW*
APO, N.Y. 09862

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I was a member of the delegation attending the recent Congress of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. While I was there, of course, I took the occasion to visit with the Refuseniks and to speak to some of the leaders of the Russian government concerning this and kindred issues. Nothing of great consequence occurred in these sessions and so I chose not to try to see you and tell you what I learned. Much if not all of this is well known to you.

I do want to take this occasion to commend one of your associates, Jeffrey Glassman, the Second Secretary of your Embassy, who spent a full day shepherding us about Moscow. His was a true service of the heart. It went far beyond what was necessary or expected and I just want you to know how appreciative I am of his good work.

While I am on the subject I must tell you how very much impressed I was with the devotion with which the members of the Moscow Embassy approached the task of helping the Refuseniks. It was good to have my great respect for the Foreign Service of the United States re-confirmed.

With warmest regards and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

bcc: Mr. Jeffrey Glassman
Mr. Charles J. Rothschild

MAY 24-JUNE 7 LONDON AND USSR

SUNDAY
MAY 24

New York to London --- TW #704 - JFK 7:55 p.m. arr. L 7:50 a.m.

Atheneum Hotel

THURSDAY
MAY 28

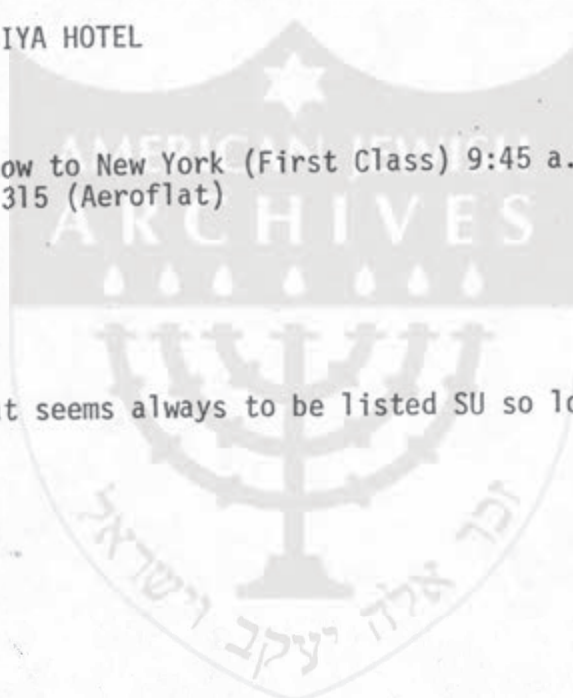
London to Moscow - 11:30 a.m. Aeroflat (Economy) #SU 242
arr. Moscow 6:20 p.m. (4 hour flying time)

ROSSIYA HOTEL

SUNDAY
JUNE 7

Moscow to New York (First Class) 9:45 a.m. arrive 1:30 p.m. (6/7)
#SU 315 (Aeroflat)

Note: Aeroflat seems always to be listed SU so look for that....



Valerie Soyfer
Olga Goldfarb
135-1508

Bring Normand.
up date
in re Moscow
trip.

WORLD CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND PEACE/INTERNATIONAL

Draft Memorandum of the Governing Board Meeting

Moscow, 31 May - 3 June 1987

Theme : CONFIDENCE-BUILDING BETWEEN PEOPLES THROUGH GREATER OPENNESS BETWEEN RELIGIONS

*Wharabon
Patriarchate Moscow
Russian Orthodox
Chm.*

1. Provisional schedule
2. Provisional Agenda for Committee meetings
3. Provisional Agenda for Governing Board meeting
4. Suggested allocation of Committee members
5. Suggested allocation of Leadership

1. Provisional schedule

<u>Fri. 29 - Sat. 30 May</u>	Arrival, optional tour and registration.
<u>Sat. 30 May</u>	Briefing at dinner time for all who have arrived.
<u>Sun. 31 May</u>	
Morning	Visit to religious organizations, including services, as arranged by Host Committee.
16:00 - 19:00	Committee meetings in three groups. 1) Finance Committee 2) Nomination Committee 3) Review Committee
<u>Mon. 1 June</u>	
09:30 - 12:30	Committee meetings in three groups.
15:30 - 18:30	Combined meeting of Committees for WCRP V preparation.
<u>Tue. 2 June</u>	
09:30 - 12:30	Governing Board meeting. I) Opening II) Reporting
15:30 - 18:30	III) Action Programmes for 1987/88 IV) Development of WCRP network and relationship V) Financial Policy and budget for 1987/88
<u>Wed. 3 June</u>	Governing Board meeting.
09:30 - 12:30	VI) WCRP V - Procedure for planning process
15:30 - 17:30	VII) International Council meetings/1988 and 1989 VIII) Others
19:00 - 21:00	Closing dinner.
<u>Thu. 4, Fri. 5, Sat. 6 June</u>	Optional tour and/or departure.

NHL-co. case

*lv. Thurs June 4 -
8:30 a.m.*

- 1) A time of meditation will be observed at the beginning of and at the end of daily meetings.
- 2) Optional tours will be arranged by Host Committee according to the advance request of the participants.

2. Provisional Agenda for Committee meetings

Finance Committee

1. Review of financial report for 1986
2. Financial policy and budget for 1987/88
3. Financial policy and budget for WCRP V.

Nomination Committee

1. Criteria for nomination of WCRP/International leadership
2. Procedure for nomination of WCRP/International leadership
3. Special needs for WCRP V leadership (hopefully involving the entire Presidium and also some Australians).

Review Committee

1. Review of WCRP I, II, III, IV and subsequent activities
2. Expectations for and style of WCRP V
3. Lessons for follow-up of WCRP V.

3. Provisional Agenda for Governing Board meeting

I) Opening

1. Opening prayer
2. Opening address
3. Welcome address
4. Introductory address
5. Adoption of Agenda

II) Reporting

1. Secretary-General's report
2. Financial report 1986
3. Youth report
4. Regional reports

III) Action Programmes for 1987/88

1. Prayer for peace
 - a) Prayer day for world peace
 - b) Prayer week for world peace
2. UN presence and cooperation
 - a) International Conference on Relationship between Disarmament and Development
 - b) UN Day Symposium
 - c) NGO Committees
 - d) Other matters

3. Conflict Resolution

- a) Sri Lanka
- b) South Africa
- c) Middle East
- d) Other concerns

4. Peace Education

5. Humanitarian Aid

6. Youth Programmes

7. Other matters.

IV) Development of WCRP network and relationship

1. Development of WCRP regional and national chapters
2. Liaison with international organizations of world religions
3. Relation with international interfaith organizations
4. Cooperation with the United Nations and its agencies
5. NGOs, peace institutions and others
6. Other links

V) Financial Policy and Budget for 1987/88

1. Financial Policy
2. Budget for 1987/88

VI) Decision making for procedures to plan WCRP V

1. Date / Period
2. Venue
3. Aims / Objectives
4. Main theme / Commission themes
5. Participants (numbers and criteria by category)
6. Daily programmes
7. Main speakers
8. Pre-study papers
9. Working language(s)
10. Budget (itemized)
11. Preparatory committee
12. Host committee
13. Steps for preparation
14. Others

VII) International Council meetings (February 1988 and January 1989)

VIII) Others.



International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Inc.

"We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive" ALBERT EINSTEIN

Central Office
225 Longwood Avenue
Boston, MA 02115
U.S.A.
(617) 738-9404
Telex: 4430017 IPPNW

MEMORANDUM

TO: Invited Speakers
7th World Congress - IPPNW
Moscow 29 May - 1 June, 1987

FROM: IPPNW Central Office

DATE: 5 March 1987

RE: Travel Arrangements

We are pleased that you have accepted to participate in the forthcoming congress to be held in Moscow. Beginning on 15 March 1987, representatives from Stewart International Travel will be contacting you to arrange for your travel and accommodations for this meeting. Our hosts in Moscow have made available limited complimentary passage on Aeroflot as the Official Carrier. It is in the financial interest of IPPNW and the Congress to maximize our utilization of this contribution. We hope you will cooperate wherever possible.

If there are any questions concerning your participation in the program please do not hesitate to contact our office directly.

For matters related to travel and accommodations, however, Stewart International, phone (617) 738-1575, telex #: 281493 SINTUR, will expedite the answers to your questions.

We urge all participants to begin now with the process of obtaining visas and travel permits.

We look forward to seeing you in Moscow.

Executive Committee:

Co-Presidents:

Bernard Lown MD
Professor of Cardiology
Harvard School of
Public Health, USA

Evgeni I. Chazov MD
Director General
National Cardiological
Research Center, USSR

Vice-Presidents:

Karl Bonhoeffer MD
Director
Institute for
Anesthesiology
Köln University, FRG

Rene Brasquet MD
Co-President
Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War,
Argentina

Lars Engstedt MD
Professor and
Chief of Medicine
Karolinska Institute, Sweden

Susan Hollán MD
Director
National Institute of
Hematology, Hungary

Ian Maddocks MD
Associate Professor
Faculty of Medicine
Flinders Medical School,
Australia

Secretary:

John O. Pastore MD
Associate Professor
of Medicine
Tufts Medical School, USA

Treasurer:

Michael McCally MD
Professor of
Clinical Medicine
University of Chicago, USA

Executive Director:

Conn Nugent

①
Thank for note
re travel arrangements
will make...

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



The American Jewish
Committee

Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York 10022-2746
212 751-4000

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President

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Bertram H. Gold

*See him
H arrived
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I forgot
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came
was 15 min*

*Error. was to
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delivered by hand*

May 19, 1987

*Rec'd by
mail
5/26/87
thanks.*

Ms. Edie Miller
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Ms. Miller:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation, I enclose relevant biographical material on the Yuzefovich family in Moscow. It was provided to me by Nehemiah Levanon who has taken a personal interest in this case and has asked that Rabbi Schindler meet with the family during his forthcoming visit to the USSR.

With all best wishes.

Cordially,

David A. Harris

David A. Harris
Deputy Director
International Relations

*called
5/24/87
to advise*

DAH:tm

NAME: YUZEFOVICH

ADDRESS: USSR

Moscow 111387

Bratskaya 25, Korpus 2. Apt. 133

Yuzefovich Leonid

Tel. 301-8742

FAMILY DETAILS:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>First name</u>	<u>Date of birth</u>
Husband	Leonid	3 Aug 1949
Wife	Ekaterina Glozman	29 Nov 1953
Son	Mark	7 Nov 1973
Daughter	Miriam	7 Jun 1976
Daughter	Ilana	29 Apr 1978
Son	Ariel	4 Jan 1983

RELATIVES IN ISRAEL:

Ekaterina's parents in Israel since 1976:

Iosef and Evgenia Glozman, Neve Yakov 403/9, Jerusalem 97 350
Phone (02)854633

Ekaterina's brother:

Vladimir and Irina Glozman, Givon Hahadasha, D.N. Harei Yerushalaim

Leonid's Uncle:

Grigory and Chana Yuzefovich, Neve Yakov 709/59, Jerusalem

Leonid Yuzefovich is now in the third week of his hunger strike. The letter below was sent by a group of Jewish activists in Moscow appealing to Gorbachev to let Yuzefovich and his family go.

0352

"3 April 1987

M.S. Gorbachev,
Secretary General of the
Central Committee of the CPSU

Dear Mikhail Sergeevich :

We would like to call your attention to the dramatic situation of the Yuzefovich-Glozman family. This family has been trying for seven years to get a permission to join their parents in Israel. They were denied an exit permit because of Leonid Yuzefovich's alleged access to classified information even though it has been 13 yrs. since his discharge from active service. Presently Leonid's wife, Ekaterina Glozman, is expecting her fifth baby and is in very poor physical condition. She and her four children need care and support of Ekaterina's parents who are in Israel. The denial of permission to leave is an instance of patent bureaucratic arbitrariness and is not due to actual considerations of state security. After many years of struggle for permission to leave Leonid Yuzefovich had no other resort but to start on March 19, 1987 a hunger strike. The situation of this family is aggravating daily and we call upon you to uphold the spirit of all the positive changes you have initiated and to help this family to join their parents in Israel.

Boris Chernobylsky
Vladimir Dashevsky
Viktor Fulmakht
Alexander Ioffe

Mikhail Kara-Ivanov
Boris Klotz
Yuli Kosharovsky
Andrey Lifshitz

0352

Leonid Yuzefovich is now in the third week of his hunger strike. The letter below is Leonid's appeal to the Commission established supposedly for dealing with just such cases.

"3 April 1987

To the Commission for Review
of Complaints on OVIR at the
Presidium of Supreme Soviet

Dear Members of the Commission :

Once again I am compelled to appeal to you with the request to review urgently our case and to speed the issuance of visas. The situation of my family is far from being well. My wife is in the sixth month of her pregnancy and according to the doctors she may be faced with a renal failure in more advanced stages of pregnancy. Bureaucratism and ruthless attitude of the OVIR officials prompted me to start sixteen days ago (on March 19) a hunger strike. I urge you to inform me whether our case is being reviewed, since when, and by whom.

Leonid Yuzefovich.



Current medical diagnosis of Ekaterina Glozman:

Chronic pielo-nephritis (now in remission)

Non-malignant trumor in the uterus

Liver malfunction

Vegeto-vascular distonya of the hypotonic type

Main danger to her health - with the development of this pregnancy, she could suffer renal failure.



Leonid Yuzefovich was born in Kiev in 1949. He enrolled at Moscow State University where he studied and graduated in Physics. Immediately upon graduation he was drafted into the army (1972) and served as a junior officer with an anti-aircraft artillery unit. During his army service he married Ekaterina Glozman, who is a graduate of the Pedagogical Institute where she specialized in the French language. After his release from the army in 1974 Leonid was accepted to work at the Moscow Institute of Vitamins. In 1980 he submitted and successfully "defended" his dissertation in chemistry to the Institute of Physics and Chemistry of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. In the same year Leonid and Ekaterina submitted their first application for an exit visa to Israel to join Ekaterina's parents in Jerusalem. In the spring of 1981 they were refused because of Leonid's army service.

Leonid and Ekaterina never ceased to struggle for the right to emigrate to Israel. As the years went by they repeatedly reapplied (last time as recently as December 1986). By now it is almost 13 years since Leonid was released from the army, at the lowest officer rank - lieutenant. The claim that Leonid's army service, 13 years ago, still presents a security risk for the Soviet Union is absurd and absolutely untenable.

During all those long years of hoping and waiting, both Leonid and Ekaterina did whatever they could to prepare themselves for their future life in Israel. They both studied Hebrew and eventually became teachers themselves. Beyond learning the language they managed over the years, literally from bits and pieces, to learn a great deal about Jewish History and Israel. Perhaps their most astounding achievement was to bring up their four children as proud and dignified Hebrew-speaking Jewish boys and girls, determined to stand their ground in an atmosphere of hostility and harassment. (The Yuzefovich's are expecting their fifth child in July 1987, this regardless of the fact that Ekaterina suffers from a heart ailment).

In 1984 the Yuzefovich family asked for and was granted Israeli citizenship. During the seemingly endless years of waiting they have been amongst the most active refuseniks. They have participated in petitions and appeals to the Soviet authorities and foreign leaders. They have taken part in demonstrations and hunger strikes. Their house is an example for other refuseniks, a warm Jewish home where Hebrew is spoken and Jewish Holidays are celebrated.

How long can even this heroic Jewish family keep up their spirits and survive morally in the face of repeated refusals for exit visas and official "warnings and threats"?