

EXODUS

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Renowned Scholar Gets Warning Labor Camp Term For Poltinnikov?



photo/Jon Haber, SJAG

PEACEFUL RESPONSE — Members of the Soviet Jewry Action Group (San Francisco) picket USSR-USA wrestling match at University of California campus in Berkeley. "We are here," a spokesman said, "in response to the senseless arrests, beatings, and humiliation of Soviet Jewish spectators that occurred at Moscow's University Games." The Soviets concede that the Games were a dressed rehearsal for the 1980 Olympics, which they hope to host.

Several Hundred Celebrate Panov's Birthday with Plea

NEW YORK (JTA) — The plight of the famed Soviet ballet star, Valery Panov, and his wife, Galina, a ballerina, was dramatized March 12 on the occasion of his 35th birthday, at a birthday party at Plaza Square at Fifth Avenue and 59th Street. Several

hundred people, including celebrities from the world of arts, gathered in the square to proclaim their solidarity with the two beleaguered artists.

Clive Barnes, theater and dance critic of the New York Times and a member of the Committee for Valery and Galina Panov, said that for two years Panov has been "persecuted, harassed and jailed." Panov, he continued, is forced to practice his dancing in his small two-room apartment. "This is inhumanity," Barnes said, adding that Panov is like "a man in a zoo." Barnes said he had appealed to the Nixon Administration on behalf of Panov but that there was "no response because of the policy of detente."

Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D. Wash.), the sponsor of the Jackson amendment, sent a

statement applauding the gathering and called for continued efforts to help "this brave couple." Noting that the Soviet Union continues to deny the Panovs their fundamental right "to emigrate to a nation which would welcome them," Jackson added: "The actions of the Soviet leaders in this matter speak louder to the American people and the Congress than the words of Soviet officials seeking U.S. trade help and concessions."

Soviet Author on Jewish Issues

Washington, (JTA) — Soviet prizewinning novelist Victor Nekrasov who last month in Moscow denounced official Soviet controls on writers and literature has also been outspoken on Jewish issues, an informed source said here.

After the author had been publicly reprimanded by Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev for being too complimentary to America in his book "On Both Sides of the Ocean," following his 11-day tour of the United States in 1960, Khrushchev's successors lifted the ban on him.

The KGB has warned Dr. Isaac Poltinnikov to find work within 15 days or face charges of parasitism and anti-Soviet propaganda. Such proceedings would place Poltinnikov in a labor camp for years.

Several weeks ago, the KGB summoned Poltinnikov to their offices. They told him that if he did not come voluntarily, he would be brought in by force. He refused to go, since he was not given a reason for the summons.

Meanwhile, Poltinnikov has informed friends in the West that he has met with no success in his efforts to find employment in Novosibirsk.

While this was transpiring, Poltinnikov was hit by a bus on March 16, while walking on a Novosibirsk street. As a result he either suffered a concussion or a heart seizure, although it was not clear which. The Poltinnikovs did state categorically, however, that the accident was not intentional. Poltinnikov is recuperating in his home in Novosibirsk.

Cat and Mouse

For more than a week, Poltinnikov and the KGB played a cat and mouse game. Poltinnikov would leave his flat during the daytime hours while the KGB left him alone during the evening.

Authorities finally apprehended him at the Novosibirsk OVIR office and informed him that there was ample evidence to bring charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and parasitism against him.

Poltinnikov was told that his telephone conversations with friends in the West as well as a hunger strike in which he participated in Novosibirsk would be used against him the the propaganda proceedings. Poltinnikov was accused of disseminating anti-Soviet propaganda to two American visitors last summer. The two Americans have reportedly denied that anything was transmitted by Poltinnikov through them.

Poltinnikov is a renowned ophthalmologist who has written internationally recog-

nized papers in his field. He has become one of the spiritual leaders of Novosibirsk Jews wishing to emigrate to Israel. He has been repeatedly refused permission to leave the Soviet Union although his daughter and son-in-law, Mark and Eleanora Yampolsky, currently live in Israel.

Soviet Issues Experts Back Jackson Bill

Three top experts on Soviet affairs have strongly endorsed the Jackson Amendment, which would deny the Soviet Union most-favored-nation tariff treatment and credits unless it permitted free emigration.

They spoke at a conference of the Academic Committee on Soviet Jewry, which was attended by 175 professors from Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Yale, and Yeshiva universities as well as many colleges of the City and State universities of New York.

Two of the authorities also underscored the political "naivete" of American industrialists who rushed to make deals with the Soviets and who now oppose passage of Senator Jackson's amendment to the U.S. Trade Bill. The theme of the Academic Committee Conference was "Detente and the Plight of the Soviet Jewish Intellectual."

Hans J. Morgenthau, Leonard Davis Distinguished professor of Political Science, who is one of the country's leading authorities on international relations, declared that the Jackson Amendment was necessary in order to help establish the

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Frumkin Now UCSJ Chairman

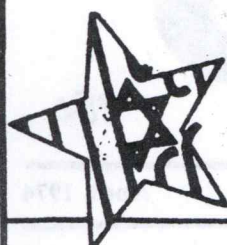
Si Frumkin is the new National Chairman of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews. Frumkin was first vice chairman of UCSJ and will continue as chairman of Southern California Council for Soviet Jews. Harold B. Light resigned chairmanship of UCSJ because of health reasons.

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Solzhenitsyn Case — Effect on Emigres

By Murray Zuckoff, JTA News Editor

NEW YORK (JTA) — The deportation of Alexander Solzhenitsyn bodes ill for the future of Soviet Jews campaigning for the right to emigrate. The arrest and expulsion of the Nobel Laureate was the climax of a fierce campaign against him sparked by his latest book, "The Gulag Archipelago," which deals with the Soviet prison camps and Stalin's plot to exterminate Soviet Jewry. According to an announcement by Tass, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet stripped Solzhenitsyn of his citizenship "for performing systematically actions that are incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR and detrimental to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Two days after the expulsion, there was an announcement in Washington that a group of Soviet officials will be visiting various cities in the United States as guests of leading business executives. This visit, arranged after Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev was here last June, is an effort to win community support for expanding commercial deals between the two nations as a means of pump-priming their economies. (The 20-member delegation headed by Soviet Foreign Trade Minister Nikolai Patolichev will arrive in New York and go directly to Washington for a meeting of the Soviet-American Trade Council on Feb. 26. Afterwards each member will be accompanied to a specific community by his American business host.)

The expulsion and visit, seemingly disparate events, may be viewed as intertwined — if not in point of time then certainly in terms of intent. Neither of the two events take place in a vacuum. There is a basic motivation which links the two together: detente. Both the USSR and the U.S. are impelled toward this end by their respective domestic crises and the international political scene. In the U.S. there is mounting unemployment, an energy crisis, an Administration trying to extricate itself from the Watergate imbroglio and a large section of population suffering from inflation. In the Soviet Union the agricultural sector is in trouble, there is an undercurrent of discontent in some sections of the working class over the inordinate expenditures for military hardware for Russia's Arab clients, there are signs of growing friction between the Communist Party leadership and the military establishment, and difficulties with China. Both the U.S. and USSR are involved in a mutual undertaking to help resolve the Middle East crisis, expand their international markets, find ways to cooperate in scientific ventures and try to limit their military hardware.

Detente requires first and foremost peace within each camp: stable governments capable of dealing with these problems. The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn may be an effort on the part of the Soviet regime to show that it is in complete control of its social structure. In order to achieve detente with the U.S., the Soviet leadership has to prove that there is a stable and solid leadership, not one embarrassed and humiliated by critics. There is some feeling that the deportation of Solzhenitsyn, rather than confining him to prison, is a sop to detente. If so, then the distribution of sops has a double standard if one considers the fate of the Panovs and the more than 40 Prisoners of Conscience. There is some similarity between the ouster of the dissident author with the situation in the 1930s regarding both detente and the suppression of dissent in the USSR. During the 1930s "detente" between the Soviet Union and the U.S. was also impelled by domestic problems in each country and by the world situation.

In the U.S. there was unprecedented unemployment, massive strikes, left and right-wing movements threatening to topple the government, rampant hunger and starvation. In the USSR the five-year plans were failing to reach their projected goals, forced collectivization of agriculture was creating pockets of resistance against the government, there was widespread famine, and there was mounting organized opposition led by Leon Trotsky to the leadership of Stalin-Kamenev-Zinoviev. Internationally, Nazism was taking hold in Germany, there was a war in the Far East, a civil war in Spain, Italy was attacking

Ethiopia, and the League of Nations was impotent in dealing with these events.

Efforts To Seal Crack In Detente

The deportation of Solzhenitsyn has no exact parallel in Soviet history but there are examples that may be useful to recall. In 1929 Trotsky was exiled, the last exile until now. Five years later, following the assassination in 1934 of Leningrad's Communist Party chief, Sergei Kirov, a series of purges, arrests, trials and executions began, and lasted for four years. The trials, paranthetically, began one year after the U.S. extended diplomatic recognition to the USSR. The four years of terror can be viewed not only as an attempt to liquidate the Left Opposition led by Trotsky in order to make the USSR more politically acceptable to the West, but also to strengthen the Stalinist regime internally by eliminating critics, thus making it appear a stronger ally for the West. (While the trials against Zionists was also occurring. In 1936 several Jewish officials of Biro-Bidjan were executed.)

The exiling of Solzhenitsyn is ominous beyond the immediate act of silencing a critic by expelling him from his native soil. It is ominous because it tends to reveal the extent to which the Soviet leadership is willing — and capable, even in face of international protests — to go to terminate its own "Watergate" scandal: the revelations about the prison camps. It is ominous especially in terms of Jewish activism because the basis of Solzhenitsyn's expulsion — "performing systematically actions that are incompatible with being a citizen of the USSR" — can be used as a precedent against the activists.

Solzhenitsyn's deportation appears to indicate that the threshold of tolerance for dissidence has been crossed. For the past several years the most organized expression of dissent has been that of Soviet Jews. By their very actions and demands the right of the Soviet government to determine the fate of its citizens has been challenged. The demand for emigration rights created a crack in the Soviet armor and led to world-wide public outcries. The demand for the right to emigrate is also less abstract than the ponderous writings of Soviet intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn, Roy Medvedev and Andrei Sakharov and has had more impact on other Soviet minorities.

Nixon... Human Rights

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger informed the Senate Finance Committee that if asked, he would recommend that the President veto the international trade bill if it includes the Jackson Amendment.

The Nixon Administration policy regarding issues of human rights has once again been publicly underscored.

We reject the Secretary of State's arguments and implications. It is our firm belief that forceful protest, particularly the Jackson-Mills-Vanik legislation, has done more to open the gates, albeit a narrow opening, than anything the Nixon Administration has done or claims to have done.

We urge the Senate to adopt the Jackson Amendment and not be pressured or persuaded on a Nixon-Kissinger compromise which would take the meat out of the amendment and abandon those Soviet Jews who wish to emigrate.

The Nixon Administration has shown its callousness to issues of human rights in the arena of Soviet-American "detente." The Congress has replaced the Executive Branch as the soul of our nation. We urge the Senate to uphold the mandate of the House of Representatives by recognizing that the issue of human rights will do more to set the tone for future generations of this planet than the corporate pockets which Mr. Nixon hopes to line with "detente."

Soviets' New Line

The Soviet decision to disconnect telephone lines of activist Soviet Jews is a provocation against human rights and particularly those Jews who have asserted their activism in their fight to emigrate.

Led by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and many other organizations and individuals, we retaliated with "Project Interference." The intention of "Interference" was to tie up phone lines between the United States and the U.S.S.R. so as to make it exceedingly difficult for people to communicate on any matter between here and the Soviet Union.

We feel that "Interference" was successful. Delays of up to 12 hours were reported on phone calls to the Soviet Union. What "Interference" showed was that we can and will react to violations of free telecommunications.

This was the first step. If such violations are continued, we will be in a position to tie up phone lines during business days and business hours. And, we will increase the phone calls to Soviet institutions in the United States making it impossible for them to conduct business as usual. There are other retaliatory steps which might be taken against Soviet institutions in the United States through Congressional action.

We consider open phone lines between us and our brothers in the U.S.S.R. an essential right. We will do everything in our power to re-establish phone contact with them.

MMSJ Starts Large Drive

The Medical Mobilization for Soviet Jewry, an organization of physicians, dentists, nurses, students and other health professionals dedicated to relieving the burden of Jews in the Soviet Union, is launching a campaign with three-fold goals:

- To end the use of psychiatric hospitals as prisons and detention centers for dissident Jews
- To stop the denial of exit visas to physicians, dentists and other health professionals because of their advanced training
- To improve health conditions in the Soviet labor camps where Jews seeking to emigrate have been incarcerated.

Within the next month, a massive letter-writing campaign will be initiated to those health professionals in the Soviet Union who are being imprisoned and/or harassed because they have requested permission to emigrate to their homeland — Israel. While lifting the spirits of these oppressed individuals, the campaign will also demonstrate to the Soviet leaders the extent of support their struggle has among one of the most influential American professions.

Members will also be attempting to place their professional organizations on record in favor of the goals outlined above. Professional journals will be asked to open their pages to a discussion of medical and human issues that the fight for freedom by Soviet Jews raises — as they once did for discussion of medical implications of the Vietnam war.

The Medical Mobilization is in the process of rapidly expanding its mailing list and membership rolls. It is seeking to organize the large number of health professionals who have been willing in the past to speak out against oppression, both as professionals and as human beings. It believes that past experience has shown that publicity and expressions of concern by groups of professionals in the West have often been followed by positive responses from the Soviet Government. It will attempt to use the professions' collective strength to form the spearhead of a worldwide outcry for justice.

For further information on the Spring Campaign, write to the Medical Mobilization for Soviet Jewry, 233 Bay State Rd., Boston, Mass., 02215, or phone (617) 566-8745, (617) 232-3046.

Extension Sought In Feldman Term

Informed reports indicate that the camp commandant where Alexander Feldman is being held, is pressing for an extension of six months of Alexander Feldman's 3-1/2 year prison sentence for malicious hooliganism.

Feldman was tried and convicted in a secret trial in Kiev late last year on charges which are generally agreed to have been trumped up by the Soviet authorities.

No reason has been given for the camp commandant's request. Feldman has been in solitary confinement in his prison camp for some time. However, the commandant, Major Kutsak, is pressing hard for a six-month extension of the sentence.

Feldman was accused of assaulting a woman near his Kiev apartment, and although he was not allowed to present a defense for his case, he was sentenced to 3-1/2 years in a labor camp. An appeal to the Kiev District Court was rejected, and this

Emigre Decline Not Alarming

Jewish Agency officials said they were not alarmed by the abrupt decline in the number of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union last month.

Only 1600 arrived during February compared to 2500 in January. The officials said the drop could be the result of seasonal factors and that it was too early to attach any serious significance to it.

provoked a strong protest by Feldman's attorney who has since been fired by the State and removed from the Kiev attorney's list.

Feldman's appeal is now before the Ukrainian Supreme Court and is expected to be heard as soon as he finds a new attorney.

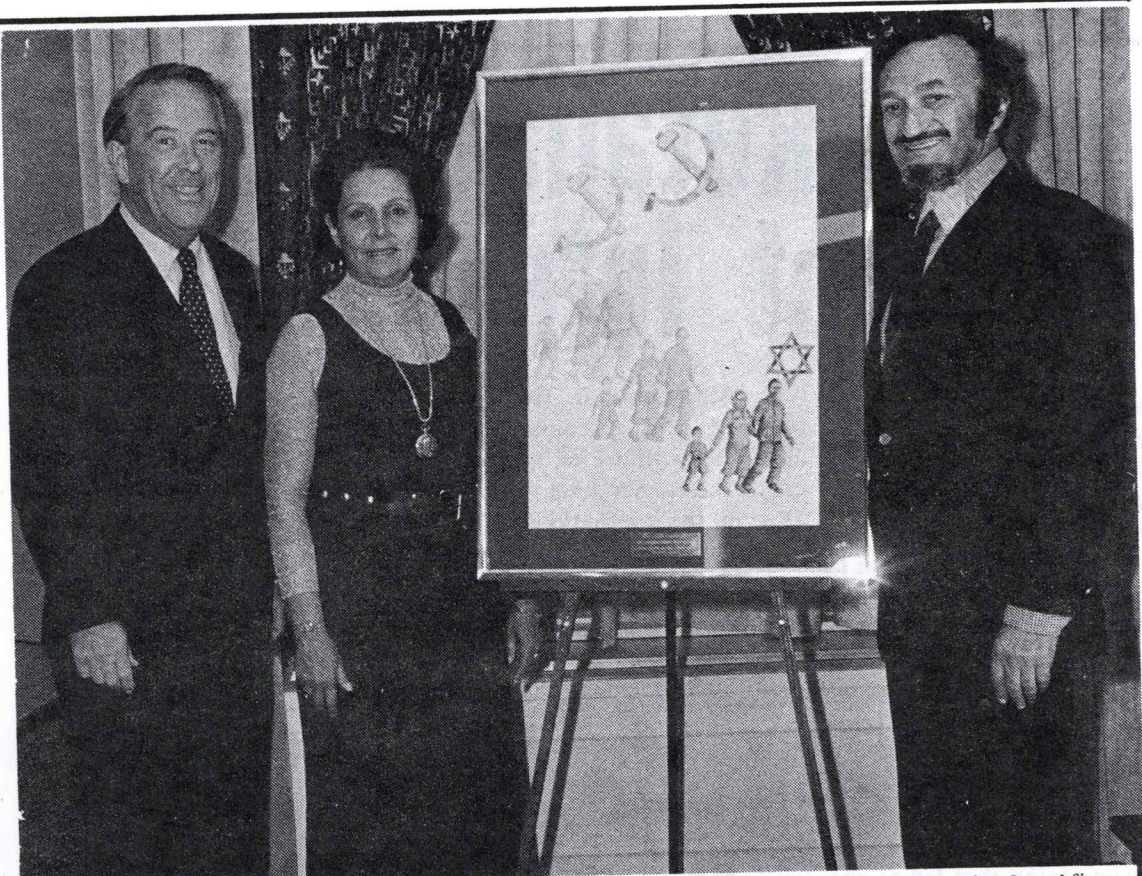
The Feldman affair is becoming known as one of the classic frame-ups of the 20th-century.

Ashansky Renounces Citizenship

LONDON (JTA) — A retired Soviet army colonel dramatically renounced his citizenship and handed back his medals March 21. In the reception room of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in Moscow, it was reported here. Col. Naum Alshansky, who is Jewish, said he was protesting the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and the refusal of the authorities to grant him a visa to emigrate to Israel.

"I consider it a disgrace to wear the orders and medals of your country which does not have any respect for me, my people or their State," Col. Alshansky declared as he returned his 13 decorations including the Order of the Red Banner, one of Russia's highest awards.

Alshansky first applied for an exit visa in 1971 and soon afterwards was stripped of his rank and deprived of his officer's pension.



FIRST AWARD — Sen. Henry Jackson (left) receives Union of Councils for Soviet Jews' first national honor award, an etching specially created by Sara Wallace entitled: "Exodus... Why Not?" The award was presented by Harold Light, chairman of Bay Area on Soviet Jewry, and Mrs. Selma Light.

Desecration Protest

NEW YORK (JTA) — More than 2,000 Jewish cemeteries in Eastern Europe, most of them in the Soviet Union, are slated deliberately for confiscation and destruction, Rabbi Moses Rubin, president of the World Conference of European Rabbis, warned here last month. He also told a press conference that in the Soviet Union, the planned attacks on Jewish cemeteries were part of an overall Soviet plan to shatter the Jewish spirit and ultimately to destroy every vestige of Jewish identity in the USSR.

Rabbi Rubin told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency that the situation was most alarming in Russia, Hungary and

Poland. He said a bill has been introduced to the Polish Parliament to nationalize the land in which the cemeteries are located. He called the activities "barbarism committed against the dead" and said it was a "world obligation" to prevent such acts.

Mayor Abraham Beame proclaimed a day last month as "The Day for Jewish Cemeteries in Eastern Europe in New York City." He called on New Yorkers to reflect on the significance of the day by endorsing a petition of the World Conference to the United Nations, asking for action to prevent the desecrations. He said the petition requires one million signatures.

CONCERTED CAMPAIGN

Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Soviet Jewry organization, said that in recent weeks, "we have become aware, through conversations with Jewish activists in the Soviet Union, of a concerted campaign by the Soviet government to desecrate and to seize Jewish burial grounds. Rabbi Rubin displayed photos of desecrated Jewish cemeteries in the USSR and others left untended to a point where 'they will soon fade into oblivion.'"

Hoenlein reported that in Lvov, a Jewish cemetery was confiscated and turned into a market place. In Odessa, the government is trying to take over land where a cemetery is located which is the resting place of many Jewish leaders. He said the Conference was asking Soviet officials to halt the campaign and to allow the families of those buried in the threatened cemeteries enough time for disinterment and removal of the remains to Israel.

UCSJ Offers First Award

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews presented its first national honor award to Senator Henry M. Jackson at a recent reception in San Francisco.

The award, an etching specially created by Sara Wallace, nationally acclaimed artist, is entitled "EXODUS... WHY NOT?"

"And," said Harold B. Light, National chairman of the UCSJ, "no man in America has played a more important role in creating that Exodus than Senator Jackson. His courageous stand in fighting for human rights in the Soviet Union, and freedom for Jews to emigrate is an inspiration to us all."

In accepting the award, Sen. Jackson complimented the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, and its 18 chapters, for its tireless nationwide campaign to alert the American public and its legislators to the oppressive conditions existing in the U.S.S.R.

Happy Ending For SJ Activist

NEW YORK (JTA) — Mrs. Basia Soroko, a 32-year-old Jewish activist from Kiev, has received an exit visa to emigrate to Israel.

This was a "happy ending" to a long suffering.

Four months ago Mrs. Soroko was forcibly separated from her 40-year-old husband, Uri, and her 10-year-old son Zhenia. In November, 1973, they were permitted to leave for Israel without her.

The couple have been described as "top activists," who, as a result of their activity and a protest against the Munich massacre of 11 Israeli Olympians, were imprisoned and harassed by the Soviet authorities.



SHEDDING LIGHT—Sister Dorothy Brown receives Prisoner of Conscience medallion from members of South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry during "The Eternal Light" television program. Presenting award are, from left, Felice Tracktman, president, Women's American ORT; Marjorie Sanford, SFCJSJ; and Myrian Wolf, president, Women's Division of American Jewish Congress.

USCJ Retaliates with 'Project Interference'

In response to the Soviet attempts to cancel telephone service to several Jewish activists, the USCJ last month retaliated with "Project Interference."

The plan, mounted from 15 U.S. cities, was to tie up telephone links between this country and the Soviet Union.

Frederick Langbein, spokesman for the Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co., confirmed that the Bell system had experienced sudden upsurge in calls to the Soviet Union that led at one point to a backlog of 55 calls, according to a story in the Washington Post.

He said that calls between this country and the Soviet Union normally range between 75 and 100 a day.

"We had no advance warning," he said, noting that when the telephone company is alerted beforehand it can increase its capacity for calls.

Participants in what they called "Project Interference," who were from the member organizations of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews and from the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, placed most of their calls to four numbers in Moscow and one in Novosibirsk.

Ford's Grant For Emigres

The Ford Foundation has decided to make a grant of \$250,000 to assist in the resettlement of hundreds of Soviet refugee scholars and writers arriving in the U.S.

The rapidly surging influx of intellectuals, most of them Jews, is part of a growing tendency in the last two years for emigres from the Soviet Union to move here instead of to Israel. About 450 Soviet refugees entered the U.S. in 1972, 1450 in 1973, and the forecast for this year runs as high as 4,000.

Interviews with social agency officials suggest that many newcomers, despite professional skills and experience face unusually severe problems in the U.S., stemming partly from language obstacles and a nearly total ignorance of life under a free-enterprise system.

The Ford Foundation grant, which is to be announced in a few weeks and will run for 18 months, is being awarded to the American Council for Emigres in the Professions, a placement agency with offices at 345 East 46th Street in New York.

Although the council also helps physicians, engineers, teachers and artists, the grant is being limited to academic scholars.

Although all fivephones have been disconnected by Soviet authorities, according to the Soviet Jews organization, the international operator in Moscow consistently reported them "d. a." — "doesn't answer."

Zev Yaroslavsky, executive director of the Southern

California Council for Soviet Jews in Los Angeles, said the purpose of tying up the Soviet Unions telephone links to the United States was to let Soviet authorities know there would be a U.S. reaction to the telephone service cutoffs.

"They know what's going on," he said.

Ma Bell's Song: Nyet, 1,000 Times

(The following story was written by Wes French and appeared during February in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colo.)

If you think you sometimes have trouble getting a telephone call through Ma Bell try making a call to hunger strikers in Moscow.

A group of Denverites concerned about Soviet Jews and those trying to get visas to leave their country have been dialing Moscow for several days now and are getting nowhere.

Immediate concern of the Denver group, along with people throughout the U.S. and in Europe, is a trio who began a hunger strike Feb. 15 to protest the failure of Soviet authorities to grant them exit visas to Israel.

News of the hunger strike prompted Mrs. Lillian Hoffman of Denver and her committee of a dozen or so to begin calls to the Moscow apartment of David Azbel, 62, a noted scientist. It is in his apartment that the hunger strike is being waged by Azbel and two fellow Jews, Vitaly Rubin, a noted expert on China, and Vladimir Galatsky, a Russian artist.

All three have at least one thing in common — after they applied for visas to go to Israel they lost their jobs and their professional standing as far as the Soviet authorities are concerned.

The hunger strikers are also protesting oppressive conditions for Russian Jews in general.

Why are a group of Denverites so intent on getting a phone call through to the hunger strikers, as well as other Russian Jews from time to time?

Mrs. Hoffman explained that they simply want to let these oppressed people know that people as far away as Denver, Colo., know of them, of their plight and protests and efforts to leave Russia, and know that there are people thousands of miles away supporting them and trying to help through official channels.

What concerns the group in Denver and elsewhere at the moment is the fact that not only have the three hunger strikers been cut off from communication with the rest of the world, but apparently the Russians have extended this familiar policy to many, if not all, of the 200 some Russian Jews who are known here as "refuseniks" — a people who have been refused visas to emigrate to Israel.

Since the hunger strike, Mrs. Hoffman said, one call has gotten through, that from London. But in Denver there has been no luck.

Mrs. Hoffman did manage to get a call through last July to another group of hunger strikers in Russia and said it is a tremendous experience to know you are speaking directly to people caught up in the dread security system of Soviet Russia.

"We make it a point to tell them we are calling from Denver and ask if they know where it is," Mrs. Hoffman said. "Usually they don't. We explain to them because we want them and the Soviet authorities to know that the word of the plight and the activities of these people has spread as far as mid-United States."

Two days after the call last July the phones of these hunger strikers were cut off.

When the Russians decide there will be no more communication, the caller, through the Moscow operators, gets either a "don't answer" message or "that phone is out of order." No amount of pressing will get the Russian operators, who speak English, to say when the phones will be in order.

A tape recording Mrs. Hoffman made of her recent efforts to get through to the Russian hunger strikers reveals the growing annoyance of the Moscow operator with repeated inquiries about when the phone would be back in order.

Callers trying to reach the Moscow "refuseniks" never know whether it is a one-day, one-week or much longer situation.



FREED — Pavel Litvinov and his family board train in Vienna for Rome after grandson of former Soviet Foreign Minister — and one of the most prominent of dissident Soviet Jews — arrives from Moscow. Litvinov had spent four years in Siberia for protesting in Czechoslovakia in 1968 after the Russians seized Prague after mass demonstrations.

Assessment of Vital Mission to Moscow

(The following article was written by New York Times columnist James Reston just before Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's recent visit to Moscow.)

Secretary of State Kissinger is going back to Moscow again fairly soon to ask and answer some awkward questions about the state of U.S.-Soviet relations.

The reason for his visit is fairly obvious. He has to find out if his affair with Moscow is real or fake. Both sides have been supporting the notion of "detente" or "peaceful coexistence," but increasing their military budgets while talking about reducing them. They glorify trade while differing about the terms of trade, proclaim their desire for peace in the Middle East, while shipping arms to their belligerent clients.

There is something false at the bottom of this Washington-Moscow "detente" and both sides know it. On the surface, things are much better. Kissinger and Ambassador Dobrynin talk much more and much more frankly than in the old Cold War days. The two sides meet in Geneva to discuss the control of Strategic arms, and Mr. Nixon and Soviet Communist party Chief Brezhnev will meet again soon to discuss the peace and world order their people want.

But meanwhile, President Nixon is asking for the largest peacetime military budget in the history of the Republic, the Soviet Union is building up its forces in Europe and urging the Arabs to maintain their oil embargo against the United States, and President Pompidou of France is in the Soviet Union demonstrating his "independence" of the United States, and weakening the Western alliance.

There is obviously a difference between the words and the actions, the propaganda and the policies on both sides. It is good politics at home for both Mr. Nixon and Brezhnev to talk about "detente" and "peaceful coexistence," but there is something bogus about their protestations of good faith, and neither side is taking any chances.

The result is that the Congress of the United States is not going along with Mr. Nixon and Kissinger in their appeals to grant Moscow "most favored nation" trading rights, or forget about the Soviet Union's emigration policy governing Soviet Jews. The Congress is voting for the big U.S. military budget, and saying "no" to Soviet trade and Soviet emigration policy for the simple reason that it fears the policy of "detente" is not genuine but phony.

Alexander Solzhenitsyn has contributed to this doubt on Capitol Hill, and it is odd that the Soviet leaders should not have anticipated the consequences of banishing him from his homeland. Why, he asked, in his letter to the Soviet leaders, should the Western nations have made such concessions to Moscow "simply to win the favor of the rulers of Russia?"

How could it be, he inquired, that the Western democracies would almost vie with one another to gain Moscow's favor "just so long as the Russian press would stop abusing them . . ." Truly, he remarked, the foreign policy of Czarist Russia never had any successes to compare with the expansion of Moscow's power into Europe, the Mediterranean and the oceans of the world.

Kissinger is clearly going to have to grapple with these problems when he gets to Moscow, and before he recommends that Mr. Nixon follow him there later in the year.

For the main argument for voting against the impeachment of Mr. Nixon on Capitol Hill, regardless of the evidence against him, is that he has been a successful, even a brilliant leader in the field of foreign affairs, especially in reaching accommodations with the Soviet Union and China.

Sister Gillen Takes Human Rights Stand

(The following story was written by Dorothy Townsend and appeared originally in the Los Angeles Times.)

A few years ago, when she still wore the conventional habit of a nun, Sister Ann Gillen was ejected from a world trade luncheon in Chicago for handing out petitions urging freedom for Soviet Jews.

She got as far as the head table, where a Russian trade official was seated, before a cordon of waiters was dispatched to take her and several other nuns out.

Two years ago in Northern Ireland on a "reconciliation

Javits Appeals In phone 'Lag'

WASHINGTON (JTA) — Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R. NY) has asked the State Department to make "proper representations" to the Soviet government regarding non-delivery of cables and interruptions of telephone communications by Americans to Soviet residents. In a letter to Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, Javits attached "a list" of 31 of more than 1000 "undelivered wires" and also a list of phone calls that "have recently not been consummated or have been consistently interrupted in mid-passage."

Javits called Kissinger's attention to the international telecommunications convention to which the United States and the USSR are both signatories that "specifically" obliges signatories to "undertake to inform one another of infringements" of the convention and its regulation.

venture," she asked the militant Protestant leader, the Rev. Ian Paisley, if he would pray with her, for peace in violence-torn Ulster. He did.

Recently, wearing a street-length dress and a Star of David medallion around her neck, Sister Ann brought her fight against religious repression to Los Angeles.

Her battle fervor this time is in behalf of Jews she considers political prisoners of the Russians, the ones she calls "prisoners of conscience."

"The right to emigrate, theoretically, is a human right now guaranteed by the Russians," she said. "This year it is estimated some 80,000 Jews may be able to leave (the Soviet Union).

"But we say, why should the original heroes who languish in prison have to wait 10 to 15 years for freedom? Many of these people may not survive."

Sister Ann said the medallion she wore bears the name of a Soviet "prisoner of conscience" serving a 10 year sentence for alleged involvement in a 1970 airplane hijacking attempt in Leningrad.

POW BRACELETS

She said the National Inter-religious Task Force on Soviet Jewry, which she heads, distributes the medallions for sympathizers to wear, much as people wore POW bracelets bearing the names of American prisoners of the North Vietnamese.

"Sister Ann, who described herself as an activist "but not a radical," said she firmly believes "you can free people by building public opinion."

She is out to do that, starting with "grass-roots sisterhoods" — not just the Jewish

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RECEPTION — Elected officials pay tribute to Kirill Chenkin, recent Soviet Jewish emigre now on a speaking tour in U.S. and Canada. With Chenkin (third from left) are, from left: Zev Yaroslavsky, executive director, Southern California Council for Soviet Jews; Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, Rep. Alphonzo Bell, who hosted the reception; Los Angeles County Dist. Atty. Joseph Busch, and Si Frumkin, chairman, SCCSJ.

Vitali Rubin -- Tragic But Unnoticed Case

[The following article was written by Benjamin Schwartz, professor of History and Government at Harvard University, and appeared recently in the Boston Globe.]

While the plight of Solzhenitsyn, Panov and other leading writers and artists has been given wide publicity in the West, there are similar but no less tragic cases which have remained unnoticed.

For some time now, scholars in the field of Asian studies in the United States and elsewhere have been deeply disturbed by the case of the Soviet sinologist Vitali Rubin. Dr. Rubin, formerly a senior researcher at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow, is an important scholar in the field of ancient Chinese philosophy with some 60 articles and two books to his credit. Having recently read

and reviewed one of his books, I can testify to the independent and lively quality of his mind.

Some two years ago, Dr. Rubin was invited to join the faculty of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Like many other Soviet Jews, he had opted for Israel. Unlike many others, he was denied an exit visa and dismissed from his post. The ostensible reason for this action was the state's need for Chinese experts at this time.

Since Dr. Rubin's field is not contemporary affairs, he is in no sense a "China watcher." Furthermore, since his dismissal, the publication of his works in press has been stopped and all reviews of his published writings have been canceled. It is thus quite clear that the Soviet government seems quite willing to dispense with his expertise. He

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Bolshoi Ballet 'Sacked' in Mass.

Boston theater owner Ben Sack recently barred Moscow's renowned Bolshoi Ballet from appearing at his Music Hall next August, because of the Soviet government's refusal to allow Russian dancers Valery and Galina Panov to emigrate to Israel.

"No detente with detention," Sack stated, informing Walter Pierce of the B.U. Celebrity Series that the Russian company could not dance at the Boston theater.

The Bolshoi, which performed at the Music Hall for two sell-out performances last August, has been booked by Pierce to appear Aug. 13, 14, 15 as part of its American tour.

In a wire to Pierce, Sack said: "Supervening humanitarian and ethical principles impel Sack Theaters refuse make Boston Music Hall available Bolshoi Tour Aug. 1974. 'Administrative measures' our response intolerable Russian restrictions Panovs. No detente with detention."

Pierce said that while he sympathized with Sack's view, he felt the action might be settled in Moscow in a month or so. The Russians may let the Panovs go, or else perhaps cancel the whole tour if they are still detained."

Asked what he planned if the tour was on and the Panovs still in Russia, Pierce said he would consider another theater, such as the Hynes Auditorium, "since there is so much interest in the Bolshoi in this city."

Sack said his theater would be unavailable "as long as Soviet authorities persist in their inhuman and continual harassment and repression of Valery and Galina Panov and untold numbers of other gifted artists who only wish to spread their talents to the world in the name of their own country."



ACTIVIST — Sister Ann Gillen, who calls herself an "activist, not a radical," has done much work for the cause of Soviet Jewry.

Nudel Petition Group Rebuffed

NEW YORK (JTA) — Scores of Soviet Jews, who were attempting to present a petition signed by 200 Jews to Soviet authorities appealing for emigration rights, and to demonstrate their sympathy with Jewish activists David Azbel and Ida Nudel presently on a hunger strike in Moscow, were prevented from doing so March 1 in various cities of the Soviet Union. In Moscow, at least 17 Soviet Jews were arrested, while in other cities more than 50 Jews were picked up on their way to demonstrate. Their whereabouts are still unknown.

Rabbi Israel Miller, chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and

president of the American Zionist Federation, expressed alarm over the arrests, continuing harassments of Jews seeking exit visas, the diminution of emigration, the mass disconnection of telephones of Soviet Jews to the world outside the USSR, and recent trials on what both leaders termed trumped up charges.

Rabbi Miller declared that the recent Soviet actions against Jews indicate "a pattern of continued repression." He noted that these tactics, coming at a time when the Soviet Union is seeking to expand trade with the U.S. and trying to secure concessions for credits, "will be counter productive."

V. Rubin Unnoticed

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has in effect become a non-person leading a harrowed and tortured existence.

HUNGER STRIKE

On Feb. 15, Dr. Rubin together with three other well known Soviet Scholars in a similar plight — David Azbel, Vladimir Galetsky and Veniamin Corokhov — decided to begin a hunger strike to dramatize and publicize their situation.

In a recent telephone conversation with Dr. Azbel, he emphasized again and again that he and his colleagues could rely only on unremitting pressure by individuals and groups abroad. There was indeed something almost unreal about sitting in Cambridge where the current pre-occupation seems to be one's next tankful of gas and listening to a man calmly and resolutely planning a hunger strike in Moscow.

American scholars have been active in the case of Dr. Rubin for some time but they are, of course, a relatively small group. In January, 1973, Prof. DeBary, executive vice-president for academic affairs and provost of Columbia University, himself a scholar in the field of Chinese philosophy, invited Rubin to teach at Columbia. He was again denied a visa. The 24th Congress of Orientalists held in July in Paris protested his case.

Not-So-Subtle Shift In VOA Programming

(The following article was written by Kirill Chenkin, a Soviet Jew who was recently permitted to emigrate to Israel. Chenkin, a former journalist in Moscow, is currently on a speaking tour in the United States and Canada.)

The Voice of America is being heard loud and clear in Russia. And that is bad news.

A not-so-subtle shift has taken place in the once-crucial war of words over the airwaves: The United States has made the programming on the VOA's Russian broadcasts much more mellow — in exchange for a halt in jamming. In effect, U.S. broadcasts are getting through because they no longer say anything of value — nothing that might be considered inimical to the Communist cause. It is another price that America pays for rapprochement.

The change in policy has never been expressed — but it has been documented. A computer study released by the VOA, for instance, has shown that the programs have indeed been considerably watered down. According to the study, VOA's coverage of Soviet affairs has been decreased by 67%, while music was increased by 18%, American science programs by 41% and sports by 96%. A full 61% of commentary on Russian domestic and foreign affairs has been eliminated.

The American people may not think this mellowing terribly important — they may even think it worthwhile, as a way of protecting President Nixon's precious "detente." But to the thinking people of Russia — and not just to those whom the media likes to call "dissidents" — the Russian-language broadcasts emanating from the transmitters of Voice of America, the BBC and Radio Liberty have long been a major part of their daily lives.

I know. I was there. I lived in Moscow for many years and I, along with many others, depended heavily on these stations for information about contemporary affairs.

Soviet propagandists have long asserted that the purpose of these foreign broadcasts was to incite anti-Soviet feelings in listeners.

But I beg to differ. I know the motivation of the Soviet listener. It is not anti-Soviet, but rather critical and rational. It is motivated by a personal assessment of Soviet reality and does not have to be provoked or stimulated in any way.

The Soviet listener is eager to gain information, for, after more than 50 years of constant brain-conditioning, he is still aware that he is a human being with the ability to think. He looks for facts otherwise unavailable, and is eager for an opportunity to judge for himself.

Of course, his main concern is news about the U.S.S.R. — news about those aspects of Soviet foreign policy that the Russian government does not discuss openly at home. In short, the listener wants what he cannot get from the Soviet media. He wants a look at the other side of the coin.

Anyone living in Russia is forced to exist in a world of abstractions, where facts and events are arbitrarily suppressed and history is rewritten daily. Foreign newspapers are not available and, therefore, the only contact with the outside world is through foreign broadcasts.

The intensity of the jamming has always been a signal to listeners that a given broadcast is, in some fashion, worthwhile. Having been a steady listener to foreign broadcasts in the U.S.S.R., I know this from experience. I also know the frustration of hearing a constant and ferocious roar over my radio. It is an almost physical assault — an insult to human dignity.

Nevertheless, my friends and I used to search for places in the apartment which, for obscure technical reasons, were screened from the jamming stations that cover the entire country. (Interestingly, there were certain areas of the big city, the countryside and the seashores which were relatively free from jamming.)

Some foreign stations have never been jammed. The content of their programs has always been so mild, so purely "entertaining," so cautious not to offend, that no one bothered to jam them. And virtually no one took the trouble to listen.

To get a feel for the new Voice of America, imagine what the reaction would be if Radio Moscow beamed programs to the United States that were complimentary to American foreign policy. If Radio Moscow promoted the Nixon Administration, an American listener (who is almost nonexistent, anyway) would conclude that the Russians had gone daffy and would turn off his radio.

(Incidentally, during my years of work on the French desk of Radio Moscow, the size of our foreign audience was always a standing joke among the staff. The management often issued declarations praising themselves for the impact that Soviet propaganda had on "freedom-loving and progressive" people the world over. But after years of reading letters addressed to Radio Moscow from both France and America, I know the audience is extremely limited — mostly ham radio operators and self-convinced Communists and Soviet sympathizers who admire every word that is broadcast.)

But for many Russians, the Voice of America is no joke, and the change in policy on the part of both governments — the United States' softening of VOA and the Russians' halt of the jamming — has one end result. It leads inevitably to a drastic drop in the audience for VOA. Something that's inoffensive to the government isn't likely to be worth tuning in.

The VOA's loss of a strong voice has left the Soviet listener without food for thought and without knowledge of life going on outside — as well as inside — the well-guarded boundaries of the U.S.S.R.

Thus, the Soviet listener with intellectual curiosity must feel somewhat more desperate these days, now that he knows he is being abandoned by those he once considered, perhaps naively, his friends. He must also sense a heightened loneliness in his moral and intellectual resistance to the daily brainwashing and grinding unreality around him.

This is detente?

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Presentation to Senator Jackson

A picture titled "From Darkness to Light" was presented to Sen. Henry Jackson (D-Wash) by Moshe Brodetsky, president of the Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry, during a lecture question/answer session at Beth Sholom Congregation, Washington, D.C., last month.

The picture is a hand-colored silk-screen reproduction by Phillip Ratner, an outstanding Washington artist. The picture depicts Moses parting the Red Sea with the Israelites following in the distance. The Hebrew calligraphy "U' Mayafayla L' Ora" (from darkness to light) dominates the top of the picture.

The print was executed especially for the WCSJ; the entire edition of 50 black and whites has been sold, but a few of the hand-colored ones are available from the WCSJ.

In presenting the picture to Sen. Jackson, Brodetsky noted that Moses had parted the Red Sea and he hoped that the Iron Curtain would be parted soon. The event, attended by more than 1,000, ended with a responsive reading from the prayer from the morning service, from which the quotation "darkness to light" was taken. It is recited at the daily vigil in front of the Soviet Embassy in Washington.



OUT OF DARKNESS — A silk screen reproduction depicting Moses parting the Red Sea entitled "Darkness to Light" is presented to Sen. Henry Jackson by Moshe Brodetsky, president of the Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry. The presentation took place recently at Beth Sholom Congregation in Washington, D.C., where Sen. Jackson was the guest at a lecture question/answer session. *photo courtesy/ Bernard Kahn*

Chenkin Guest at Freedom Awards

Kirill Chenkin, recent Soviet Jewish emigre, addressed the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry last month.

The occasion was the group's Freedom Awards which they presented to elected officials who have taken a stand on the question of human rights and oppression of Jews in the Soviet Union.

Chenkin told the group of his good fortune in being allowed to leave. "Many have not been as lucky," he said. Chenkin has been travelling in the United States for the purpose of "showing people the living image of a man who has gotten out, the result of actions taken for Soviet Jews"; and also to bring precise de-

tails and realistic images of the life of Soviet Jews "To stir up help for those of my friends who have been less lucky than I."

Discussing the country he has left, Chenkin said, "the methods of repression have been adapted to the times, that's all. The end result, of smothering the thoughts and actions of free-thinking men is simply achieved by more modest means." Chenkin discussed the latest book of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, "The Gulag Archipelago." He attested to its complete accuracy since "he has had enough friends in camps and mental institutions to bear out its veracity."

Aspects of Feldman Case Discussed By Attorneys at USC Colloquium

The use of criminal prosecutions to discourage the free exercise of religion in the Soviet Union was the subject of a colloquium held at the University of Southern California Law Center on Wednesday night March 6.

Los Angeles City Attorney Burt Pines moderated the discussion in which 14 distinguished law professors and lawyers from the Los Angeles area participated.

The participants focused their attention upon one particular case, the trial and conviction of Alexandr Feldman.

Feldman is a Russian Jew who recently has been sentenced to a term of three and one-half years' of hard labor

in a Soviet prison camp on a charge of "hooliganism."

USC law professor Edward Dauer of Reseda, who coordinated the colloquium, said that the trial has concerned many American lawyers and jurists because it appears to represent a deliberate Soviet policy of punishing Jews who seek to exercise religious freedom or who seek to emigrate to Israel.

"The manner of the trial violated internationally shared standards of fundamental legal guarantees," Dauer said. He and the other participants also expressed

the view that this was a "show trial to discourage other dissenters."

Feldman's lawyers in the Soviet Union argued in an appeal that the trial also violated provisions of Soviet law itself.

"Feldman had several times previously been 'preventively arrested' for participating in Jewish religious activities, and had requested an exit visa to go to Israel. That request caused him to be fired from his job as an engineer, and to be subjected to personal harassment," Dauer reported.

A Curious Alteration Found in Soviet Union

(The following article was written by novelist Herbert Gold.)

Recently I returned to the Soviet Union to visit the dissenters Solzhenitsyn left behind. On my last trip, nine years ago, almost everyone paid the police the extreme deference of fear. Now a curious alteration has taken place. Whole groups — intellectuals, nationalists, religious people of various convictions, Jews, even mere admirers of jazz or contemporary films or the clothes that go with more hair — seemed almost blithe about the cops tailing them and me. A blitheness of desperation; nothing more to lose.

With a scholar of Eastern religions, I waved for a cab during the rush hour in Moscow, and of course one pulled up right away, ignoring everyone else. "We can get cabs," he said. "It's a convenience." In Leningrad, Valery Panov, the dancer, put on a record of the music from "Coppelia" to confuse the bug as we talked. "And also," he said, grinning, "because it's so boring for the KGB to hear again my same old story." In Moscow, a banned painter, expelled from his union for "violation of the principles of socialist realism," echoed the words of a physicist in Kiev: "At last, there are some free people in the Soviet Union. We don't care any more."

Hundreds of these free people came to an all-day party for the writer Maksimov, sent abroad a few days after Solzhenitsyn. It was an honor roll of the blacklisted of Moscow. A well-known critic took me for a walk in the frosty weather. He spoke of an American friend who had once offered a gift of money. "I refused," he said. He was very embarrassed. "I was working. My wife had a good job. Now my books can't be published. My wife has no more job. Now please tell my friend we will accept the gift." We walked on, and this stalwart man of middle years, a

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FREEDOM AWARDS — Members of the Long Island Committee for Soviet Jewry present freedom awards to elected officials who have taken stand in the name of human rights and against oppression of Soviet Jews. From left, Michael Tully Jr., supervisor, town of Hempstead; Lynn Singer, vice president, LICSJ; Kiril Chenkin, Soviet Jewish emigre on national speaking tour; Rep. John Wydler, 4th congressional district; Inez Weissman, president, LICSJ; and Rep. Lester Wolff, 6th congressional district.

Divorce In USSR

By Jon Haber

Last year at this time Eda and Aron Fleisher were happily married and living in Kiev. With their daughter Alla, 11, they planned to come to the U.S.

Today that family is separated because of Soviet harassment.

Eda Fleisher, now lives in San Francisco with her 12 year old daughter, Alla and 72-year-old mother. They received the required invitation to leave Russia on April 14, 1973. Eda's brother, Eugene Gorodetskaya, had sent the family the invitation.

Feeling confident that a visa would be granted Aron Fleisher jubilantly told co-workers: "We are going to America, and hope to bring all the Jews with us." These remarks triggered a series of humiliations and Aron's eventual imprisonment in a Soviet Labor Camp.

Eda has told Soviet Jewry Action Group that her husband was repeatedly slurred in public: "They called him 'dirty Jew' just to provoke him into a public fight. Also, secret police had a woman 'plant' her pocket book on the sidewalk; when Aron picked it up, he was accused of theft."

In July, 1973, authorities came for Aron, while at his job, and committed him to the Pavlova Psychiatric Clinic for enforced "psychological treatment." Subsequently, he was charged with "Hooliganism" and was transferred — after a secret trial "with three witnesses" to a labor camp in Oblast, 350 Kilometers from Kiev. Aron has been there ever since.

In October the entire Fleisher family was granted an exit visa from OVIR (Soviet Immigration Office) in Kiev. Mrs. Fleisher believes that the Russians permitted her to go because it would relieve them of the expensive medical care needed by her diabetic mother.

An OVIR official, Mr. Siforov, refused to aid Mr. Fleisher who was still in prison at the time. He indicated that Mrs. Fleisher was free to leave with her mother and daughter only after signing a paper that turned out to be her divorce decree. Eda said no lawyer would help her in the matter because the family had received permission to leave the country.

Eda Fleisher reluctantly signed the Divorce.

(Readers who want to write Mr. Fleisher may do so at: Chernigovskaya Oblast Gorod Novgorod Derverskiy Aron Fleisher Chu -327 p- 20)



VICTIM — Eda Fleisher (left) ponders fate of forced divorce from husband Aron, who remains in Soviet prison. Mrs. Eda Fleisher and daughter Alla, 12, are living in San Francisco. photo/Jon Haber, SJAG

Gold Encounters Curious Alteration

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grandfather, a member of the party since the war, was weeping with shame and rage. "Sometimes we have no money for eating!"

General Grigorenko and others are in insane asylums for speaking out about Soviet power lumbering against Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Israel, artists, thinkers. For meeting. For passing out statements. For signing petitions. To disagree with the regime is madness — the average Soviet psychiatrist will certify a man for defending human rights. Party and People are one, as the billboards say. A poet, recently returned deaf from Siberia, said to me: "Make no mistake about it. Soviet prisons are not nice soft ones like yours."

For the Jews, it is not the Germany of the death camps. It is more like the Germany of 1932 — limitations on jobs, exclusions from schools, isolation from culture and tradition. The regime seems uncertain about whether to milk the Jews like cows or use them as scapegoats. Scapegoats are needed. The morose drunkenness visible every night speaks for a general repressed rage amid the triumphs of still another five-year plan. For those Jews who announce their desire to emigrate to Israel — and without the right of emigration, men are serfs — it is Germany, circa 1936. Joblessness, ostracism, police harassment, random frameups and abuse. Engineers and mathematicians work as "lift boys," to use the quaint English of one of them, because otherwise they can be charged with the crime of parasitism. I met a lift boy who has invitations to teach in Cambridge, Harvard and Berkeley. Another distinguished scientist was called in for questioning four months ago. After his visit to the police, he is still unable to sit down because of acid burns on his thighs and genitals.

All right, what does it have to do with us? We Americans have our own problems, don't we? Isn't it foolish for a people with stains on its own flag to meddle in the internal affairs of a great power that seeks to unfurl the banner of detente? The wise old cold warriors now want to do business together — our money and their natural gas, our industrial technique and their unexplored resources, our markets and their markets — and isn't commerce between peoples the way to peaceful coexistence?

The courageous physicist Andrei Sakharov warns that the matter isn't so simple. His argument is that selling the Soviet Union our computers and industrial skills in exchange for raw materials will doom any hope of easing the iron Soviet regime. The faceless bureaucrats will no longer need their own "effete snobs." They can buy the technical ingenuity abroad; they can crack down harder at home. The businessman's and banker's detente, he says, will snuff out the light still stubbornly glimmering among the immensely gifted, stifled people of the Soviet Union.

And with this abandonment of hope for those who treasure freedom will come a practical danger for America, too. Who will caution Soviet power against the old power games? When our bankers put our money into loans for natural-gas installations in Siberia, who will protect the supply when Pravda discovers American iniquity some place in the world? If our little friend Saudi Arabia can cut off oil to punish us, why shouldn't our brand new big buddy, the U.S.S.R., act enthusiastically upon some other occasion to discipline us?

I walked on Gorky Street in Moscow with a mathematician who presented me with some simple arithmetic. "You give two good and get one weak."

"I don't understand."

"You give money for investment. Then you give tools, machinery, skills. In return, you get a *promise* of goods. Two strong, one weak."

He was suggesting that the bargain is not a smart one. Sakharov says something that touches more deeply: The bargain is a cruel one.

"You have heard of brain drain?" a fired professor asked me in Kiev. We were standing in a desecrated, bull-dozed Jewish cemetery not far from the pits of Babi Yar. There were smashed columns, gaping holes filled with brackish ice where coffins had been. My friend's daughter was weeping. Her great-grandparents had been buried here. We tramped about in the slush and mud. There was no reason to destroy this relic of the ancient Jewish presence in Kiev, but nevertheless one night it had been done. "The problem here is not brain drain," my friend said. "That's not why there are so many troubles. The problem is soul drain."

Experts Back Jackson

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moral framework which the Soviet Union must share with the United States if detente is to work. "Just as in the eighteenth century, a community of manners, laws, and customs provided the framework for the successful functioning of the balance of power, so too a minimal common morality must be achieved today if detente is not to explode into a suicidal and genocidal nuclear war," he argued.

The Soviets also need detente with the United States because of their fear of war with China and their need of American technological assistance in order to catch up with the United States, Professor Morgenthau said. They do not seek consumer goods, but the equipment which will allow them to outproduce us, and which we alone are capable of putting at their disposal. With visions of vast profits, our politically unsophisticated American businessmen rush to Moscow, only to find the Soviets have little to offer in exchange.

11-MAN MISSION

Professor Marshall Goldman of the Department of Economics at Wellesley College, who is an Associate at the Harvard University Russian Research Center, noted that while the Soviets are complaining about American interference in their internal affairs, they have sent to Washington an 11-man mission headed by the Soviet Minister of Trade, Nikolai S. Patolichev and his Deputy

Minister, Vladimir S. Alkhimov to lobby on Capitol Hill against the Jackson Amendment.

Professor Goldman expressed amazement about the "naivete" of American businessmen who over-reacted to overtures of friendship from the Soviets. He felt the Jackson Amendment was an important lever to be used to pry out concessions from the Soviets.

Professor George Ginsburgs of the Department of Political Science at the New School for Social Research, who is an authority on Soviet law, predicted that the Soviet authorities, who in the past had ruled arbitrarily by administrative decree, would in the future, because of their need to project a better image in the United States, be forced to pay more heed to the facade of Soviet law, which is expected to be refurbished with a new constitution and a new citizenship law later this year. He too supported the Jackson Amendment as a method of forcing the Soviets to live up to the legal system they created to guarantee on paper the rights of Soviet citizens.

ALERT AND MOBILIZE

The Academic Committee on Soviet Jewry is composed of 10,000 professors on campuses across North America. Its purpose is to alert and mobilize the academic community, and through it public opinion at large, on the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Nun Takes Stand

and Catholic sisterhoods but the all-encompassing sisterhood of the women's liberation movement which she belongs to as a member of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

And through children. "We are trying to interest children in this country in writing to children of the Otkazniki, the 'refuseniks' who have applied over and over again for the right to leave Russia, some as many as 32 times, and have been turned down."

"We believe the children of these people must be worrying what will happen to their parents, to themselves. One of

the reasons for fear is feeling you are alone.

Sister Ann, a former principal of Pasadena's Mayfield School operated by the Society of the Holy Child, said people ask why she, as a Catholic, is so concerned about Jews in Russia when there are thousands of Christians denied religious freedom in many parts of the world.

"I say, yes, we are concerned about Christians suffering in far places, but in most cases it is a somewhat different issue, it is not a freedom of emigration issue."