

ALERT

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The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

DETENTE ENDS: WHAT NEXT FOR SOVIET JEWS?

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan marking the end of detente many are fearful for the future of Soviet Jews. It now appears that the Soviet government has given up on the policy of improving relations with the West and a new period of undisguised confrontation lies ahead. And, as the Soviet economy gears up for this confrontation, this is likely to mean that internal shortages will increase, leading to new tensions in Soviet society.

Where does this leave Soviet Jews? The outlook is not bright. With no reason to please the West, the Soviets could easily cut back on Jewish emigration. Monthly figures of thousands leaving the Soviet Union could well become a pleasant memory. The anti-Semitic campaign prominently featured in the Soviet press could lead to violence against the Jews in a society which needs a scapegoat for its ills.

As relations between the superpowers shift and deteriorate, it is not clear what the Soviet Jewry movement can do to improve this gloomy picture. It is clear, however, that Soviet Jews will need all the encouragement and morale-boosting that we can give them in the hard times that lie ahead. Letter writers, use your pen power!

PREGNANT WOMAN NOT ELIGIBLE FOR MEDICAL CARE

The wife of former POC Mark Nashpitz, now pregnant with their first child, is being refused medical care in Moscow because the couple does not have official permission to reside there. Authorities have refused to grant Nashpitz a propiska (residence permit) in Moscow, without which one is not eligible for medical treatment or hospitalization. As the pregnancy advances this becomes a very serious issue. (In addition, OVIR is still refusing to accept the couple's application for a visa.) Protests should be addressed to The Minister of Health, Dr. Boris Petrovsky, Rakhmanovsky Pereulok 3, Moscow K-51, RSFSR, USSR.

CHANUKAH IN THE SOVIET UNION - SOME SPOTS OF LIGHT

On the last night of Chanukah a traveller from Chicago visited the home of Isaac and Sophie Kogan in Leningrad. There were ten people there to light the candles and see a slide show about Chanukah in Israel. One of the subjects discussed was Sophie Kogan's desire to start a "medical ulpan" to teach doctors and dentists the technical vocabulary of their fields in Hebrew. One surprising note: the Kogans are able to keep a Kosher home, getting Kosher meat and chickens every other week!

The same traveller from Chicago found himself invited to another Chanukah party in Riga, where about 40 people, mostly in their twenties, spoke Hebrew on various levels. It was a wonderful evening of songs and dancing and, for a special kind of Chanukah gelt, large buttons saying "I'm learning Hebrew"

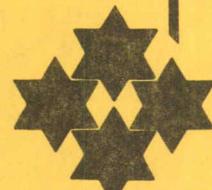
Other news brought out by this tourist was not so bright.

- Leonid (Aryeh) Volvovsky expressed his fears about the Olympics: "Prominent dissidents and refuseniks will be pushed out and the Olympics will be a disaster for us."

- Applying to emigrate from Leningrad has "never been more difficult". It now takes 3 to 6 months to get an answer on an application. Also the new local regulations do not allow a couple to apply unless both sets of parents also apply.

- It takes eight months now to get an answer on an application in Moscow.

(Information supplied by Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry).



IGOR GUBERMAN MOVED OUT OF MOSCOW - VORONEL APPEALS FOR HIS RELEASE

Igor Guberman has been abruptly transferred from the Zagorsk jail to a prison in Volokolamsk. The town, closed to foreigners, is 150 miles from Moscow. Only after attempting to deliver a food package to him was Guberman's wife informed of the move. His trial, originally scheduled for mid-December, has not yet been rescheduled.

An appeal for Guberman was issued by Prof. Alexander Voronel, founder of the samizdat journal Jews in the USSR, who today teaches at Tel Aviv University. Voronel declared: "Since our founding in 1972 editors and writers of Jews in the USSR have been persecuted and blackmailed by the secret police. The magazine is devoted to the problem of the reawakening of Jewish national consciousness, of Jewish spiritual life and the history of Soviet Jews. Igor sacrificed his literary and financial position because he was concerned about the fate of the Jewish people. In spite of the fact that he is accused of a criminal deed, his case is kept secret, not even his lawyer, is permitted to take part in the investigation.

I call on everyone concerned with human rights to stop the onslaught of the Soviets and save this talented writer from many years of suffering in the Gulag Archipalego."

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS - AN INFORMATION CLEARINGHOUSE

The Union of Council's office sometimes gets questions about refuseniks that we cannot answer. This column will be the location for such queries so that adopters and correspondents can provide us and local councils with information that is needed. Please write "Information Clearinghouse" on any questions or answers that you send to the UCSJ office.

• The Cincinnati Council on Soviet Jewry is looking for information on the current situation of Yakov Kogan (Leningrad). Numerous letters to him have not been answered since July. Contact Mrs. Sandy Spinner at (513) 931-9316.

• The family of Grigory S. Leiderman of Kishinev is having a difficult time. Any-one involved with their case who would like details should contact Spinner of the Cincinnati Council.

• In a recent Alert we asked for the address of Yakov Makarovsky. A friend reports that he lives at Mosvokstroy 7a, apt. 75 in Moscow and that he was orally promised permission to emigrate in January. To those who gave us his address on Tokmakov Street, that is his mother's apartment.

• An article on Igor Kushnirenko which appeared in the Alert os December 5, inadvertently omitted his address. It is as follows: Nikolsko-Botanycheskaya 17/19, Kiev, Ukr. SSR.

RECOMMENDED READING

The Year of the Child - Soviet Style - This book, produced by the London 35's (Women's Campaign for Soviet Jewry), is a photograph album of refusenik children. The sad sweet faces, photographed by refusenik Mikhail Kremen, tell their story more poignantly than words can. The book is available for \$4.00 from the UCSJ office.

LAW STUDENTS PREPARE BRIEF ON JOSEPH ZISELS

A 53 page brief on behalf of Joseph Zisels is now available in the UCSJ office. Prepared by the Harvard Jewish Law Student Association, the brief indicates that Zisels is innocent of the crime for which he was convicted, and, according to Soviet law, his conviction should be overturned. Zisels had been actively involved in helping dissidents who were placed in psychiatric hospitals for political reasons. For this he was sentenced, in April 1978, to a 3-year term of imprisonment in a labor camp. Letters of support can be sent to him at:

Joseph Samuelevich Zisels
Uch. R/ch 328-211
g. Sokiryany
Chernovitskaya Oblast
Ukr. SSR, USSR 274000

USSR: A NEW FIRST IN ANTI-SEMITISM?

A book review, entitled "Retribution is Inevitable", in a recent issue of the Soviet journal Molodaya Gvardiya (No. 8) provides the latest--and most ominous yet--example of officially sponsored anti-semitism in Soviet media.

The sketches and articles in the book Pered Litsom Zakoma ("Faced with the Law"), edited by S. Semyonov, ostensibly focus on the roots of criminal behavior. But many of the examples it cites appear to deal with traits anti-semites often ascribe to Jews (acquisitiveness, black marketeering, bribery, treasonable behavior). Many of the cited names are pointedly Jewish.

A sketch, authored by David Golinkov, deals, in the words of the reviewer, with a "counterrevolutionary wrecking organization uncovered by organs of the OGPU, an early incarnation of the KGB under Stalin.... Its members "represented themselves as patriots devoted to the Soviet regime, but sabotaged machinery, flooded mines, set fires, and squandered state funds..." The reviewer considers the inclusion of this article in the book to be especially appropriate "because contemporary ideological diversionaries also engage in various kinds of subversive activity, from agitation and propaganda to espionage and terrorism." Given the anti-Zionist theme of the book, there can be little doubt about the identity of "contemporary diversionists."

In Soviet propaganda, "anti-Zionism" has long served as a convenient code word for anti-semitism; its use allows the Soviets to stand on a technicality in denying charges of anti-semitism. The substance of anti-Zionist propaganda, however, has been crossing the line into overt anti-Semitism with increasing frequency. This latest example is the first, to our knowledge, to draw an ominous historical parallel in suggesting that today's Soviet Zionists should be regarded as saboteurs--and presumably subjected to the same kind of punishment that saboteurs, and Jewish "cosmopolites", received in Stalin's time.

The book merited a foreword by A.M. Rekunov, the first deputy prokurator (attorney-general) of the USSR. The journal Molodaya Gvardiya and its publishing house, which issued the book, have long been associated with Russian nationalist trends within the Soviet establishment.

THE MADRID MEETING: A PRELIMINARY FACTSHEET

(The following information was provided by the Helsinki Commission)

Background

The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), known as the Helsinki agreement, contains a provision which calls for follow-up meetings of the 35 signatory countries, designed to continue the process initiated by the first CSCE gathering in Helsinki in 1973. The purpose of these meetings is to conduct, in the words of the Final Act, "a thorough exchange of views both on the implementation of the provisions of the Final Act... as well as... on the deepening of...mutual relations, the improvement of security and the development of cooperation in Europe..."

The first CSCE review meeting was held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, from October 4, 1977 to March 8, 1978. While a genuine dialogue was never achieved at Belgrade, nor were any new proposals adopted, the meeting was successful in establishing the principle that human rights has a legitimate place on the East-West diplomatic agenda. The setting,

at Belgrade, of the time and place of the next similar meeting, ensured that the pressure to implement the Helsinki agreement would be maintained.

Time and Place

The preparatory meeting, which decides the agenda, duration and structure of the main review meeting, begins on Tuesday, September 9, 1980 in the Palace of Congresses in Madrid. The main meeting is scheduled to open on Tuesday, November 11, 1980.

Agenda, Duration and Structure

Judging from the experience at Belgrade, it is likely that the meeting will be divided into two phases: the first for a line-by-line review of implementation, and the second for the consideration of new proposals. Regarding the duration of the meeting, the United States believes that the procedures at the Belgrade meeting (the so-called Yellow Book), which provided that the meeting not adjourn until a concluding document and the time and place of the next review meeting had been agreed upon, should be adopted for use at Madrid.

The United States supports the use of committees as well as a plenary body at the Madrid meeting to ensure that all areas of the Final Act are discussed fully. As at all CSCE functions, the rule of consensus (all 35 countries must be in agreement) will apply to all aspects of both the preparatory and main Madrid meetings.

United States Delegation

The composition of the United States delegation has not yet been determined. It is likely that representatives from the Departments of State, Commerce and Defense, as well as from the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and other federal agencies will be appointed members of the United States delegation. The head of the U.S. delegation will be named by the President.

Basic United States Policy

While the United States approach to the Madrid meeting is still being formulated, the Commission believes it should reflect the following principles:

--human rights remains a central theme of our CSCE policy;

--the United States continues to regard the review of implementation as the most important aspect of CSCE follow up;

--during the review of implementation, the United States will not hesitate to criticize lack of implementation and/or violations of the human rights provisions on the Final Act in a firm, forthright and specific manner; and

--any further measures, including post-Madrid working groups or experts meetings, designed to enhance or improve implementation and achieve the goals set forth in the Final Act, must be balanced among the various aspects of the Final Act.

Press and Public Access

It is almost certain that, with the exception of the first week of opening speeches at the main meeting, the conference proceedings will be closed to the press and public. In addition, there are no verbatim transcripts of the sessions available. It is likely, however, that the US delegation will hold regular press briefings as it did at Belgrade. The Spanish government, as the host country, is preparing for the expected influx of interested non-governmental organizations and visitors by taking steps to ensure access to the delegates and the conference center.

SOVIET JEWS EXCLUDED FROM HIGHER EDUCATION: THE EVIDENCE MOUNTS

Soviet authorities are creating additional difficulties for Jewish students hoping to gain entrance into institutions of higher learning. The following figures confirm this grim picture:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of registered Jewish Students in the USSR</u>
1968-69	111,900
1970-71	105,800
1972-73	88,500
1976-77	66,900
1978-79	44,000

It is understood that in the year 1977-78 not one single Jew was admitted to the Moscow State University (MGU). For 1979-80 (the current year) it has been learned that FOUR Jewish students were admitted.

Further testimony was given to The Washington Committee for Soviet Jewry by Dr. B. Skurkovich, formerly of Moscow University, who emigrated from the USSR in July of this year. Skurkovich is a physician and a close friend of Professor Alexander Lerner.

"In 1978-79 there could be seen a further deterioration in the situation in regard to the admission of Jews to Institutes of Higher Education in the USSR. Entry to MGU is, to all intents and purposes, entirely closed to Jews, especially the technical faculties (i.e. physics, mechanics, mathematics, engineering etc.). The number of Jews accepted for medical institutes has been sharply reduced - of the three medical institutes in Moscow, a Jew has only a slight chance to get into one (the Third Medical Stomatology [Dental] Institute). The admission of Jews into the departments of Applied Mathematics of Technical Higher Schools in Moscow has been cut by about half. The Moscow (Bauman) Higher Technical School which turns out the most highly qualified engineers (particularly for the Ministry of War Production) has closed its doors almost entirely to Jews. In 1977 no more than five Jews were accepted for this institute. The Moscow Institute of International Relations which trains diplomats, jurists, economists, for work abroad, was and still remains completely closed to Jews.

For Jews it is practically impossible to enter the Moscow Physical-Technical Institute or the Physical-Engineering Institute. For Jews the door is closed to the Department of Translators and Interpreters of the Moscow Institute of Foreign Languages. In order to apply for admission to an Institute of Higher Learning, a school-leaver is obliged to complete a searching inquiry form, detailing the surname, first name, and patronymic (father's name) of both parents which creates greater difficulty in regard to acceptance into the Institute for so-called "half-breeds", i.e. half-Jews, even for those who have been registered in their (internal) passports as non-Jews.

Roughly the same picture can be seen in Leningrad. The situation is far worse in the Ukraine. The admission of Jews into higher education institutes in the Eastern Republics, such as Georgia, Kazakhstan etc., has not yet significantly deteriorated, but in the Western Republics, Jewish candidates for admission to universities (and especially to the technical and science faculties of MGU) are given additional, considerably more difficult questions to answer, often involving problems which have not been solved by the world's leading scientists.

Jews are finding practically all entry into the Faculties of Journalism, History, Jurisprudence (Law) and Biology of the Moscow State University closed to them".

Signed: B. Skurkovich. October 30, 1979 - Translated by Michael Sherbourne.

SOLZHENITSYN AND RUSSIAN NATIONALISM

An Interview with Andrei Sinyavsky

Andrei Sinyavsky is a member of the UCSJ Advisory Board.

Andrei Sinyavsky served six years in Soviet prison camps following his trial in 1966 for publishing his work in the West under the pseudonym Abram Tertz. Since emigrating in 1973, he has lived in France, and recently started, with his wife, the magazine *Syntaxis*. Sinyavsky agreed to this interview on Solzhenitsyn and the new Russian nationalism after Solzhenitsyn himself had given an interview to the BBC. The text Sinyavsky refers to was published in *The Listener* of February 15 and 22, 1979.

OLGA CARLISLE: Nationalism can be regarded as a natural reaction to the uniformity of modern life. But right now it appears that Russian nationalism is taking on a new, ominous political significance. I would like to have your thoughts on this subject.

ANDREI SINYAVSKY: The issue of Russian nationalism is all important for me today, and rather painful. My entire life, all my literary activities, are tied to Russia. I feel very close to some of our turn-of-the-century philosophers, like Berdyaev, with their Slavophile tendencies. I am not at all a Westernizer, to use the accepted term. I love the West and I am interested in it, but it is the study of Russian culture which is my profession. Before my arrest, I often traveled with my wife into the depths of Russia, examining icons and ancient manuscripts. Our Russian traditions are very dear to me. However what I observe today of Russian nationalism forces me to reevaluate it, and to look at its wider implications. As everywhere else at this time, in the USSR there is a search for national identity both on the part of Russians and of the minorities the Soviet Union encompasses. Looking at the emerging African countries backed by the Soviet Union, certain republics such as the Ukraine or the Baltic nations ask themselves why they too could not have political autonomy. And indeed, why shouldn't they?

As far as the Russians are concerned, there is a renewed interest in ancestral traditions, and this is an excellent thing, coming as it does after years of enforced cultural uniformity. A quest for a nation's roots is going on—historical, religious, literary. However, the Russian nationality is the dominant one within the Soviet Union, and as it did at times before the revolution, the Russian sense of self is becoming very assertive, very insistent. It takes on a chauvinistic cast. There is a lot of hostility toward the rest of the world—toward other Soviet nationalities, toward the West. Toward China also, but that is understandable to some degree. For us China is a caricature of our own past: Mao reminded us of Stalin.

An example of this hostility is the rebirth of anti-Semitism at all levels of government, where it is no longer repressed. It flourishes among the working class, in camps. During my six years as a *zek* [camp inmate], I got along with everyone except the camp authorities. Yet one day certain *zeeks* who were nationalists presented me with an ultimatum: I had to end my friendship with the Jews in the camp, or else.... These

people, Russians and Ukrainians, had collaborated with the Germans. Now they were collaborating with the camp authorities.

Anti-Semitism in daily life has always existed in Russia, but it is new and shocking to find it among educated people also. Within the dissident ranks new passions are being born—intolerance, a renewed yearning for isolationism—that go with a vision of Russia as a theocratic state. I find such sentiments disquieting, even when they are expressed in very high-minded terms, as when Alexander Solzhenitsyn speaks. Yet within the emigration no one

ideals. They said: "We are not in agreement with certain things that are happening in our country, notably with Stalin's policies, but compared with the greater cause of building communism, this is unimportant. Let us not exacerbate our differences, in fact let us not mention them." In the name of a distant goal, life itself—people, the concrete well-being of society, the whole complex world of ideas—was destroyed. It is as if at the time of Russia's great creative flowering in the nineteenth century, people who were united, let's say, against serfdom, would have also had to agree on every other political, social,

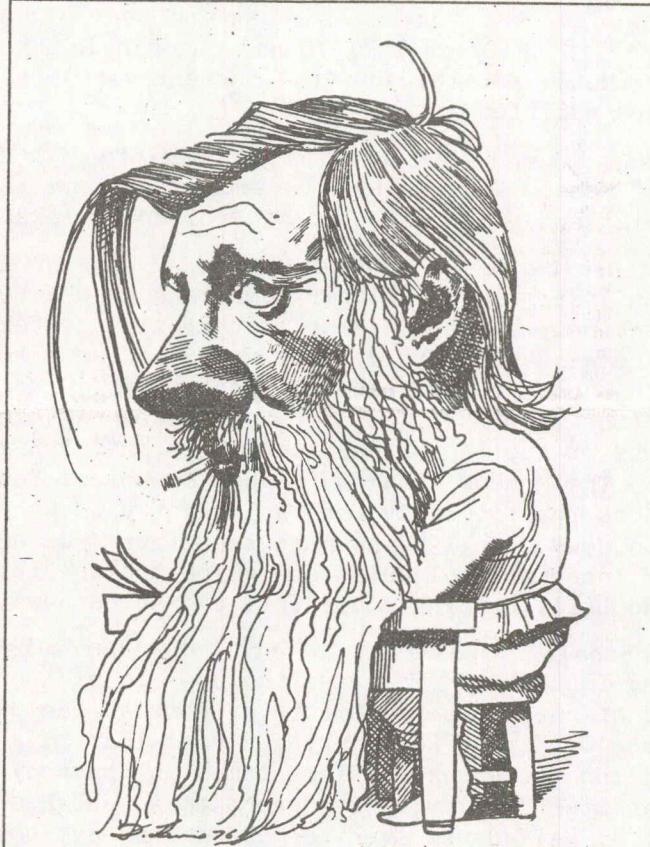
tremist ideas have dominated us too long, they have made too many victims already—our literature, our culture, not to mention the millions killed. That extremist ideas might gain popularity in dissident circles would have been hard to imagine only a few years ago. But here they are, growing rapidly among émigrés, and in the Soviet Union too.

But let us turn to Solzhenitsyn, to his declarations—his articles in *From Under the Rubble*, *The Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, the Harvard speech, the interview he gave not long ago to the BBC. His political statements form a progression, they are becoming more and more narrow-minded as years go by. Needless to say, certain facts are evident to everyone, whether on the left or right, such as the enormous significance of the *Gulag* in revealing the truth about the camps. Yet I am deeply uncomfortable with some of his more recent statements—his judgments about the Third Emigration and the moral right for Russians to emigrate; his vision of Russian destinies, past and present, and his evaluation of the perils ahead; his bestowing of blame on those who allegedly have brought about Russia's disasters.

And then certain details are revealing, as where he describes in passing in his latest interview his trip to Leningrad. He finds that he is at a loss how to refer to this city. The name Leningrad is unacceptable to him. He dislikes Saint Petersburg as well, although he recognizes that it honors the apostle Peter, and not Peter the Great, of whom he disapproves. Moreover, he is disturbed by its Dutch connotation. This question of names may seem trivial, but I see here what we might call "revolutionary utopianism," practiced by those who have not yet conquered, but who nevertheless proceed to map out the future for others in minute detail. A Russian tendency: Chernyshevsky, while he wrote his *What Is To Be Done?* under arrest in the Petropavlovskaya fortress, planned the future of mankind down to what furniture would be used—he wanted it made of shiny aluminum; down to what garters women would wear, which would not interfere with their blood circulation. As one reads on, one is touched and also irritated. Right now our new neo-nationalists plan the future of Russia in the same rigid and meticulous way, devising for example the censorship they will enforce once they are in power. It is of course funny: in camp I heard *zeeks* settling exactly on the manner in which they would control their countrymen's reading.

But to go back to the names of Russian cities, everybody is tired of the impersonal Soviet names, but what about Petersburg? Never mind its Dutch sound—the name is forever part of Russian literature, from Pushkin's *Bronze Horseman* to Biely's *Petersburg*. Nevgorod, the name Solzhenitsyn proposes for Leningrad, is arrived at by analogy with Volgograd, a recent Soviet invention. We have here a modern pseudo-Slavonic term, a bit of fake "Style Russe."

OC: How do you explain Solzhenitsyn's intolerance of liberals?



responds. Many people are in disagreement with the ideas expressed in *The Oak and the Calf* [an autobiographical work by Solzhenitsyn, soon to be published by Harper and Row], in *From Under the Rubble*, in the Harvard speech, yet they do not feel free to say it, because it would weaken the public position of a man who is presumed to embody all that is good about Russia today. They will not even discuss their feelings among themselves, and they are especially unwilling to acknowledge them to Westerners—to strangers.

OC: They must feel that to show their dismay would weaken a unanimous stand against Soviet power. When I was a child in Europe before the war, people closed their eyes to the rise of fascism because of their fear of communism.

AS: This sort of attitude prevailed in my childhood also. I grew up in a Soviet family who believed in revolutionary

and artistic issue. We would simply not have had a great Russian literature. This is a Soviet attitude: "Those who are not with us are against us." The richness, the multiplicity, the contradictions of the world are denied. No deviations are tolerated because they would serve the enemies. Today no revisionists are allowed in the Soviet Union, not even Leninists: their criticism would strengthen the United States. Lenin's ideas do not matter, Eurocommunism is a threat....

Now this view of the world excludes any degree of freedom. Personally I find it unacceptable regardless of who will win in the end. The Soviet camp may eventually win, or the West, or no one, but what does it matter? Only people matter, their feelings, the manifestation of human thought, the entire spectrum of human affairs. These are an end in themselves and should not be sacrificed to some abstract cause. Ex-

AS: It is at the heart of his conception of society. In an autocratic state there is no room for liberals, especially not for liberal intellectuals. It is as basic as Solzhenitsyn's rejection of Western political pluralism, or of the freedom of the press. The latter may seem incongruous, coming from a man who was saved by the Western press. When he was in the Soviet Union Solzhenitsyn relentlessly demanded that it publicize his fate, but no sooner was he in the West than he began objecting to it. But then there is no question that, like a free press, an intelligentsia is a threat to an autocratic government. When the Soviet state was being built in the Twenties and Thirties, intellectuals were hounded by Bolsheviks, many of whom were intellectuals themselves. They objected to the very vocation of an intelligentsia: to observe, to doubt, to ask questions. We all know that as a rule intellectuals are more interested in freedom than in power. They like to discuss, not to obey. In a healthy society there is a balance between opposition and authority. But in the Soviet Union intellectuals are feared. Solzhenitsyn admires good administrators, good officers—it is a Soviet trait. His officer's mentality is sharply highlighted in certain sections of *The Gulag Archipelago*. He has no use for men of words—certainly not while there is already such a man—Solzhenitsyn himself.

In Soviet speech, derogatory words about intellectuals abound: intellectuals are "mangy," they are "flabby." Now in *From Under the Rubble* Solzhenitsyn has coined "smatterers." Not that his criticism of Soviet intellectuals isn't justified in part. Some lack breadth of culture—how could it be otherwise for those brought up under the Soviet system? Nothing is more typically Soviet than the branding of a given class of people.

OC: What about his attacks against the people who have left Russia since 1968—what is called the Third Emigration?

AS: Speaking crudely, I would say that what Solzhenitsyn wants is the Third Emigration to shut up. In his mind it has no right to exist. It is made up of people who have left the USSR voluntarily—while he was banished against his will and this confers upon him some sort of privilege. As far as he is concerned, to leave Russia by choice is an act of betrayal which negates one's right to speak out. As if there was a fundamental difference between being thrown out of Russia bodily, or being blackmailed into leaving, as was the case with so many recent émigrés! In the First Emigration, who cared if Bunin left voluntarily while Berdyayev was thrown out? To insinuate that recent émigrés are traitors is a very Soviet way to discredit them: from the point of view of the Soviet authorities, to emigrate from the USSR is treasonable. The idea that people may want to leave their country, not for personal gain but because they are seeking the freedom to pursue a spiritual life of their own choosing—to be at last able to write and to speak freely—makes no sense to Solzhenitsyn. These are the very freedoms which will not exist in the Russia he plans for. Speaking of departures, I take a positive view even of exchanges of Soviet spies against Soviet dissenters. It is a dreadful kind of slave trade, but the more people go free, the better it is.... To the famous question of a few

years ago: "Will the Soviet Union survive till 1984?" I'll answer—yes, as long as there are enough Jews for the Soviet Union to trade off.

As for Solzhenitsyn's attitude about the Third Emigration, it is also linked to his notion of a forthcoming moral revolution. In his view it is imminent in the USSR, a conviction he expressed in one of his essays in *From Under the Rubble*. Although recently he has somehow lengthened his projections regarding it. Under the influence of his *Gulag* and of some of his other writings, such as *The Letter to the Soviet Leaders*, within a few short years the moral order in Russia will be revolutionized: a new ethic will prevail. But even the New Testament did not transform the world that rapidly—the greatest book will not change the world overnight.

OC: Yet *The Gulag Archipelago* made a sensation when it appeared. It has been tremendously influential in our appreciation of the USSR.

AS: Yes, it has, but then the *Gulag* did not arrive alone in the West. People came also, thousands of them, who are living witnesses of the *Gulag*. Before that, there were other influential books which prepared the new climate in the West—*Doctor Zhivago* was one which started opening people's eyes to what was going on in the Soviet Union. Needless to say, *Gulag* is unique, if only because of its prodigious scope. Solzhenitsyn succeeded magnificently in synthesizing a collective experience and giving it a voice. But let us not forget that most of the pressures aimed at trying to improve things behind the Iron Curtain come from the very same liberal Western intelligentsia that Solzhenitsyn so misjudges when he says: "...there is the American intelligentsia's great sympathy for socialism and communism. They almost all live and breathe it."

OC: Do you think that Solzhenitsyn is anti-Semitic?

AS: Not particularly, psychologically speaking. Solzhenitsyn's feelings in the matter are colored by his conception of history. Since he sees prerevolutionary Russia as an almost ideal state—certainly far superior to any Western democracy today—he can explain its collapse only by evil outside forces. Marxism came to Russia from the West; Lenin returned to Russia from Switzerland; a part of the Bolshevik leadership was Jewish; Lettish regiments helped Lenin with his coup d'état.... The revolution was a plot engineered by powers alien to Russia. In my opinion, in addition to being humiliating for the Russian people, this conception is in contradiction with historic evidence. How could a handful of strangers subjugate a country as huge as Russia? It was all far more complicated than Solzhenitsyn would have it. As for the notion that the Jews fomented revolutionary trouble, it was first spread at the turn of the century by the tsarist secret police—by the Black Hundred. As a matter of fact, the Jews who became revolutionaries gave up their Jewish identity completely to serve the revolution. The idea of a Jewish plot against the integrity of Russia is absurd, an old myth of the far right.

OC: What do you think of Solzhenitsyn's ideas about the Russian Revolution? How will they affect our view of Russian history?

AS: As a novelist writing about that period, Solzhenitsyn is entitled to any point of view he chooses to adopt. Let him be successful artistically—this alone matters. Take Tolstoy—he wrote his

triumphant *War and Peace* and we see the beginning of nineteenth-century Russia through the prism of his vision. This does not cause us to share his historical conceptions. I want to stress that I value very highly *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and the *Gulag*. I think that these works have done a lot of good. I see Solzhenitsyn as a very complex personality. From the beginning he exhibited certain traits which I found offensive, and these have come forth in his recent declarations. Yet this has no bearing on his future novels. Writers with the strangest ideas have written magnificently, particularly Russian writers. Rather I question his wisdom as a critic and his notion of one's social origins as being somehow decisive for one's accomplishment as a writer. In his recent interview Solzhenitsyn speaks of our current Soviet peasant writers who have reached "such a level of poetic, rich, popular language, the level to which our Russian classic writers aspired, but which they never achieved, not Turgenev, nor Nekrasov, nor even Tolstoy. And the reason why they could not achieve it was that they themselves were not peasants."

Now this is vulgar Marxism. This viewpoint is completely unacceptable to me. There is no doubt that over the years there were several important writers in Russia who were peasants, such as the great Sergei Yesenin. This is not to say however that our classic writers wrote inadequately about peasants! In all of Russian literature, no one has brought to life Russian peasant more brilliantly than the aristocratic Pushkin. I am distressed by this kind of reasoning which leads to extreme oversimplification. According to it, Shakespeare cannot have written successfully about kings, because he himself was not a king. This view would nullify Solzhenitsyn's own efforts to describe World War One, an event in which he did not participate. Yet it is an old idea of his, he mentions it in his *Gulag* apropos Yuri Tynyanov, the "formalist" writer of the Twenties, whose re-creation of the early nineteenth century he finds unconvincing.

Personally, I am not alarmed by Solzhenitsyn's idiosyncratic view of the past as expressed in his novels. What of it if he detests liberalism and presents the socialist leader Milyukov as the villain behind the Russian Revolution? Surely this will not cause Western readers to reject their own liberal leaders. The impact of novels is different from that of speech making and pamphleteering, and the issuing of directives and programs. But to placate your fears about Russian history—at this moment two very serious émigré historians, Nekrich and Ginger, are collaborating on a new history of precisely this period in Russia.

OC: Please tell me about the Russian magazine commemorating Alexander Ginzburg's *Syntaxis*, which you and your wife have started publishing in Paris.

AS: *Syntaxis* is our new child, and as always happens with the last born, it is especially beloved by us. We give it much time and thought. The idea of creating a magazine came to us because we sensed that there are invisible but strict limitations imposed on what can be published in the Russian émigré press. We are told that we mustn't wash our dirty linen in public. One of the

subjects restricted—by public opinion, not by any government decree—is the new right-wing nationalism among dissenters. Another is the anti-Semitism of intellectuals. Any kind of critical appraisal of Solzhenitsyn is taboo. We are against any form of censorship and we decided, my wife and I, to create a journal which would explore the most unpopular subjects, as the Western press does every day as a matter of fact. We want to create a Russian journal which would be up to Western standards of outspokenness.

And then émigré journals sometimes tend to be simplistic in their points of view. We are publishing articles with a philosophical bent, which seek to probe the ambiguities of our time. We have no use for slogans. For example, we are not interested in denouncing the KGB one more time. Instead we would like to publish an article exploring the genesis of this strange and horrifying institution. We would welcome articles on a given subject that might contradict one another. There are no final solutions. The first priority for the Russian intelligentsia is not to be reborn spiritually, as Solzhenitsyn suggests in *From Under the Rubble*. To be reborn spiritually is a rare and private event. Nor is it the intellectuals' task to join ranks and march off somewhere, to be arrested or killed off. There is very little that they can do in practice, except to reflect and to formulate their ideas as eloquently as possible. Soviet power has always emphasized action—the building, the killing. The whole meaning of dissidence lies in the fact that people suddenly started to think things over without preconceived notions. This is how literature and public opinion are born.

We started *Syntaxis* out of an extreme sense of loneliness, when we discovered that the atmosphere in emigration was quite repressive for the nonconforming—but then, how could it be otherwise? The new emigration is in many ways a mirror image of Soviet society. But soon we discovered that we were not alone after all. There were others who started sending us their articles. Some are well known, like Amalrik and Zinoviev, others are newcomers. People manage somehow to send us materials out of the Soviet Union. There is a new *samizdat* journal there called *Searchings*, with which we have a great deal of affinity—we like its title. Its first issue, dedicated to the arrested dissenter Yuri Orlov, was most impressive. Five issues have come out to date, some were almost 500 pages long, and though its contributors are now the victims of growing persecutions it is still appearing. All sorts of people contribute to it—Marxists and Christians, young and old. But alarming right-wing materials from the Soviet Union reach us also. The emergence of a new Russian nationalistic movement with its neo-fascistic overtones is taking form. One of *Syntaxis*'s goals is to take issue with this tendency.

OC: Do you share Solzhenitsyn's pessimism about the future of the West?

AS: At first I too thought that in a few months the Russian tanks would be rolling into Paris, under the indifferent eyes of onlookers sitting at café terraces. But this was six years ago. Now I realize that the political structures in the West, though they seem fragile, are in fact quite strong. Of course, everyone complains, yet as a rule people respect their own work. Compared to the USSR, here the social foundations appear solid. In the West, society resembles bee hives—they are light but well-constructed and resistant. □

Tale of a Soviet Prisoner

Next Year in Jerusalem

By Avital Shcharansky
with Ilana Ben-Josef
William Morrow.
189 pp. \$9.95.

Reviewed by
Donna Arzt
Director, Soviet Jewry
Legal Advocacy Center

THE PHRASE "Next Year in Jerusalem" has long resounded from Passover *seder* tables, expressing the theme of Jewish redemption and exodus from slavery to freedom. In recent years it has become the adopted motto of Soviet Jews, who often transform it into the more sanguine "*This Year in Jerusalem*." Now it is also widely identified as the inspired final words of Anatoly Shcharansky before being sentenced to 13 years of prison and a hard labor camp by a Soviet court in July 1978:

"For more than 2,000 years the Jewish people, my people, have been dispersed. But wherever they are, wherever Jews are found, each year they have repeated, 'Next Year in Jerusalem.' Now, when I am further than ever from my people, from Avital, facing many arduous years of imprisonment, I say, turning to my people, my Avital, Next Year in Jerusalem! And I turn to you, the Court, who were required to confirm a pre-determined sentence: to you I have nothing to say."

Dismissing his KGB-appointed lawyer and defending himself after 16 months incommunicado, Shcharansky did not know that President Carter had twice proclaimed him innocent of espionage charges. He was unaware of the massive, world-wide outcry at his arrest, or even of the crowds of Jewish, dissident and Western supporters who had congregated outside the Moscow courtroom. But he must have known, intuitively, that his wife had not given up her determined struggle for his freedom.

Next Year in Jerusalem is Avital Shcharansky's memoir of her own and her husband's joint struggle, and of the obstacles placed in the path of other Soviet Jewish "refuseniks" who have been denied repatriation in Israel. It belongs in the tradition of memoirs by the wives of Russian dissident poets murdered by Stalin, Peretz Markish and Osip Mandelstam. But this book is different in at least one regard: It is a call to action, because her husband can still be saved.

Before his arrest in March 1977, Shcharansky, 31, had been one of the leading activists in the Jewish emigration movement, although he was less known in the West than some of his associates. After graduating with highest honors from a technological physics institute, he deliberately took a computer programming job at an open institution so as not to impede his emigration plans. Nevertheless, when he first applied to emigrate to Israel in 1973, he was refused permission on the usual grounds of "access to classified material." Later he was dismissed from this job and avoided prosecution for parasitism" only by private, unregistered tutoring in English, mathematics and physics.

It was Shcharansky's excellent command of English that put him in the forefront of the movement. He served as informal representative to the Western media, calling impromptu press conferences when he learned of arrests and the harassment of refuseniks. As translator for visiting Westerners, he met numerous American Congressmen, many of whom subsequently came to his aid, although these meetings were used against him in the accusation of treason ("bringing forces to bear on the U.S. Congress to support the Jackson-Vanik Amendment").

Shcharansky's knowledge of Soviet law was made accessible not only to Jews but to members of other minorities, such as the Volga Germans, who needed his assistance in filing visa applications, writing protests and appeals. In May 1976 he became a founding member of the Moscow Committee for the Implementation of the Helsinki Agreement (headed by Dr. Yuri Orlov). For this activity he earned a reputation as a dissident, but he sat on the committee as a representative of Soviet

Jews and sought simply to document violations of Soviet law, without the intent to change that law or Soviet society. His goal for himself and for his fellow Jews was only emigration.

Like other leaders of both the Jewish and the democratic dissident movements, Shcharansky was guided in his actions by two principles—publicity and legality. All communications and educational activities were to be carried out above ground, and protests were to be peaceful. But as Shcharansky said in his own defense at his trial, "My open efforts to produce information of a nonsecret character, available to all, were transformed into espionage." The evidence presented in support of the charges of treason (one element of which is espionage) and anti-Soviet agitation reflects the regime's paranoid, inverted logic.

Shcharansky's acts of treason ostensibly included assembling documentation on Soviet deprivation of human rights, on prisoners of conscience, on the lack of Jewish culture, and on Soviet anti-Semitism; organizing and sending collective letters supporting the Jackson-Vanik Amendment; compiling and disseminating the names and places of employment—already public knowledge—of Jews refused permission to emigrate; and sending a telegram of congratulations on the American Bicentennial to President Gerald Ford. (One of Shcharansky's Western lawyers discovered that Leonid Brezhnev had sent a similar telegram!) His purported anti-Soviet activities consisted of appearing in a film shown on British television; meeting with American Sovietologist Richard Pipes; and bringing a libel suit against an anti-Semitic Soviet television show, even though he was entitled to do so under Soviet law.

Avital Shcharansky, née Natalya Stieglitz, entered this story in the fall of 1973. She and her brother Michael, the children of dedicated Communists, found life at home oppressive and left in order to dream of and plan for a future in Israel. When she first met Anatoly he had just completed one of his numerous 15-day jail terms, and on their final parting only eight months later he had just returned from another brief incarceration. *Next Year in Jerusalem* describes their short, frenzied life together, moving from one Moscow apartment to another, spending

nights in the police "detoxifier," evading KGB surveillance, yet still finding time to attend informal Hebrew lessons and public demonstrations.

Discovering that several civil bureaus had refused to register their marriage, Mrs. Sheharansky arranged a religious ceremony, but was forced to emigrate the next day. She was assured her husband would join her in a few months, but that was five and a half years ago. Since that time, Avital Sheharansky has logged many thousands of miles on her husband's behalf—to attend demonstrations, tribunals, press conferences, and meetings with Western officials, lawyers, scientists, and students. Her book catalogues this global reaction to Anatoly's plight, and credits it with saving him from the death penalty.

Mrs. Sheharansky also describes the spontaneous formation of an ad hoc support group among her friends (including co-author Ilana Ben-Josef, also from Moscow) in Jerusalem. From a small apartment they furiously wrote press releases, prepared for her trips, contacted religious leaders. Western Soviet Jewry organizations invited her

abroad, where she met with groups ranging from the French Communist Party to the Coalition for a Democratic Majority.

Missing from Mrs. Sheharansky's account is the government of Israel, except for its expediting an occasional travel visa. The absence makes her book an intriguing critique of official Israeli policy on Soviet Jewry, which has influenced established Jewish organizations in the U.S., Canada and England. Both before and after his trial, Israeli officials urged Western Jewish groups not to emphasize the Sheharansky case. He was perceived as too closely tied with the dissident movement; publicizing his trial along with those of "straight" refuseniks, it was felt, would serve to detract from the narrowly-circumscribed, unprovocative Jewish goal of emigration.

Next Year in Jerusalem does not address the theoretical issue of linkage between emigration and internal reform of the USSR; nor, for that matter, does it take up the linkage of emigration and trade. But the author ably succeeds in her desire to portray, in addition to the Sheharansky case, Anatoly's activities and concerns before he

made headline news. In this vein, she prints his ardent love letters from Moscow and later from prison. Though often rendered redundant by the narrative, they reveal a warm, bright, witty, uncompromising young man who, however, would have preferred a normal life as husband, father, scientist, and Israeli.

Mrs. Sheharansky, too, comes across as unassuming and apolitical, an artist by profession who has had little chance to work quietly on a canvas. Predictably, her book suffers from a lack of analytical insight into the nature of the system that has brought her so much personal grief. But Vladimir Bukovsky, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Roy and Zhores Medvedev and others have already given us that.

Next Year in Jerusalem was published for the obvious purpose of provoking further interest in the author's relentless, exhausting campaign to secure her husband's release. Nevertheless, except for an odd failure to fully caption and credit the valuable photographs, the book does not appear to have been hastily written. It is infused with Zionist passion and a well-articulated sense of the Soviet threat to destroy her people's liberation movement. With her husband's health now reportedly deteriorating rapidly in prison, where he has over 10 years to go on his sentence, Avital Sheharansky continues to hope for an early release.

C 6 The Seattle Times

Tuesday, December 11, 1979

Campaign to help Russian prisoner begins

view

A state-wide campaign to join an international effort to pressure the Soviet Union to allow Ida Nudel to emigrate to Israel was begun here yesterday by the Women's Plea for Soviet Jewry.

Mrs. Nudel was sentenced in 1978 to four years' internal exile in Siberia for hanging a banner out her apartment window saying "K.G.B. give me a visa." The K.G.B. is the Soviet internal-security force.

Church Women United and the Greater Seattle Church Council joined 17 Jewish organizations in the Seattle area in a drive to seek signatures on petitions to leaders

of the U.S.S.R. and to place advertisements in the state's major newspapers about the plight of Mrs. Nudel.

The Women's League for Conservative Judaism convened Women's Plea meetings here and in 79 other cities around the country to open similar public-awareness campaigns.

Mrs. Nudel is caught in a game to which only the government

knows the rules, Michael Stanislawski, University of Washington assistant professor of history and comparative religion, told the leadership briefing. "There is no game more frightening."

Mrs. Nudel has been applying for a visa to leave the country since 1971 and had become the "guardian angel" of the Jewish emigration movement, Stanislawski said. She has recently had surgery for a heart condition and supporters fear she will not live through another winter in Siberia, according to Judy Balint, president of Seattle Action for Soviet Jewry.

Persons interested in signing a petition or helping sponsor an ad on Mrs. Nudel's behalf can reach the committee through the Jewish Federation of Greater Seattle, 525 Securities Building, Seattle 98101.

Moscow U. Accepts Few Jews

According to a study conducted by the Moscow Helsinki Human Rights Group, Soviet Jews are being systematically discriminated against in their attempts to enrol at Moscow State University.

The Human Rights Group is engaged in monitoring the Soviet Union's implementation of the Helsinki Agreement of 1975. The study, which was carried out by two Soviet Jewish mathematicians, Boris Kanevsky and Valery Senderov, depicts a situation that is reflected at other Soviet institutions of higher education.

Details of the study have been made available in Moscow by Professor Naum Meiman, 68, who was dismissed from his post at the Moscow Institute of Theoretical Physics after applying for permission to emigrate to Israel in 1974. It examined the fate of 87 Moscow school graduates, 40 of them of Jewish origin, from six leading Moscow high schools. The schools in question, all with a large number of Jewish pupils, contribute significantly to the Soviet scientific elite.

Out of the 47 non-Jewish school graduates, 40 have been accepted at the Mathematics faculty of Moscow State University. Of the 40 Jewish students, all but six were rejected and three of those only gained their place after a second consideration by the admission authority.

Professor Meiman told Western correspondents that, as a result of such discrimination — usually achieved by giving Jewish students artificially low examination marks — the proportion of young Jewish scientists in the Soviet Union was steadily decreasing.

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Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

24 Crescent St., Suite 3A, Waltham, Ma 02154

January 3, 1980

INSIDE THIS WEEK'S ALERT

* A traveller reports on Chanukah in the Soviet Union. See page 1.

This issue contains several articles related to Soviet anti-Semitism.

* A report on anti-Semitism in Soviet Media appears on page 3.

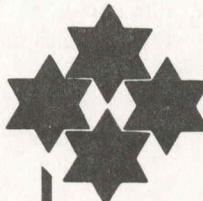
* On page 5 - Evidence that anti-Semitic policy is keeping Jews out of Soviet Universities.

*On page 6 we are reprinting an interview with Andrei Sinyavsky in which he discusses anti-Semitism in various strata of Russian society.

2817 IMMIGRANTS ARRIVED LAST MONTH

JERUSALEM, Dec. 20 (JTA) -- Some 2817 immigrants arrived in Israel last month, Yehuda Dominitz, director general of the Jewish Agency immigration and absorption department, told the Agency Executive. Most of the immigrants are Russian, but the dropout rate last month was still 65.3 percent, he said.

Some 34,500 immigrants arrived so far this year. By the end of the year, Dominitz predicted, the number may reach 38,000, an increase of 50 percent compared to last year. There was a slight rise last month in the number of immigrants from France and Great Britain, compared to a drop in the number of immigrants from South Africa and Argentina, Dominitz reported. Some 17,000 immigrants are now in the absorption centers of the Jewish Agency, an increase of 1000 compared to October, he said.



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