

# ALERT

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## The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

### ANOTHER SAMIZDAT PARTICIPANT ARRESTED

Dr. Tzilya Raitburd Mendzheritzky, a Moscow Jewish activist involved in the publication of the samizdat journal, "Jews in the USSR", was detained and then released by the KGB and told that a case was being prepared against her on a charge of "anti-Soviet activity and agitation," according to information received by her son-in-law, Alexander Samurov, in Boston.

Mendzheritzky, who is 54 years old, was taken to Dmitrov, a city about forty miles north of Moscow, and released after three days of interrogations and ordered to return for further questioning. Conviction on a charge of "anti-Soviet activity and agitation" can bring a maximum sentence of seven years in prison and five years in exile.

This is the second recent action against a participant in the publication of the Jewish samizdat journal. Igor Guberman, 43, an editor of "Jews in the USSR," was arrested recently on what are believed to be trumped up charges of dealing in stolen religious icons. The arrest on September 14 of Mendzheritzky followed a search of her apartment at the end of August in which a number of books and articles on Jewish culture and religion were confiscated.

### VACATION TURNS INTO NIGHTMARE FOR THE OLEYNIKS

During Elena and Ivan Oleynik's vacation in Yalta, an "incident" was arranged which led to Elena's arrest. The Kiev couple were tailed by plainclothes men for several days. Then, on September 19, as they were returning from the beach, a woman threw a bottle of tomato sauce on Elena. The woman then started to cry for help. A nearby car with militia-men came to her assistance. The militiamen dictated the woman's testimony against Elena, including obscene phrases allegedly spoken by her. The woman insisted that Elena had attacked her and knocked the bottle from her hand. Elena was put in a detention cell for one night after she was charged. Ivan, forced to leave, spent the night on the street outside the police station. Next day, Ivan was allowed into the courtroom where Elena was accused. She was given fifteen days in a special militia jail for drunks, criminals and prostitutes. (This prison is known as a place where people contract infectious diseases.)

Elena is going on a hunger strike from September 27 to 29, joined by women refuseniks in Moscow and other cities in the USSR. The London 35's plan to join her in solidarity.

### CORRECTION: SOVIET JEWISH TEACHERS NOT FORMING ORGANIZATION

Sheldon Benjamin, Chairman of the CAJE Task Force on Soviet Jewish Education, stated that there is no organization of Jewish teachers in the Soviet Union, as was announced in the Alert of September 10. About forty Jewish refusenik teachers were invited by the CAJE (Coalition for Alternatives in Jewish Education) to attend their meeting at Rutgers University August 23rd - 28th, 1979. The refusenik teachers could not attend due to their inability to obtain permission to emigrate. No Jewish teachers organization or chapter of CAJE has been formed in the USSR. Individual messages of greeting and support were delivered to the CAJE body from the principal of Moscow's unofficial Jewish kindergarten and from Lev Ulanovsky, one of Moscow's leading unofficial Jewish teachers. The CAJE Task Force on Soviet Jewish Education exists to promote the sharing of resources between Jewish teachers in the West and unofficial Jewish classes in the USSR, to promote the development of Jewish educational materials for Soviet Jewish emigres, and to provide a clearinghouse for lesson plans and classroom projects on Soviet Jewry for use in American Jewish schools.

### STOP PRESS!!

House Resolution 167 on Russian non-delivery of mail passed 401 to 0. Word of the unanimous approval of the measure was wired to the meeting of the Universal Postal Union in Brazil. The resolution is now being introduced in the Senate by Senators Church and Javits.





## UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS ANNUAL MEETING - 1979

The annual meeting of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, which took place in Washington, September 15th to 17th, was highlighted by meetings with activists from abroad and families of refuseniks, a dramatic performance by former refuseniks and a reception at the Capitol. The meeting was attended by over one hundred delegates from all parts of the United States, Canada, England and France, as well as former Prisoner of Conscience Israel Zalmanson.

Discussions centered around the issues of human rights, trade, congressional perspectives and the future of the movement. Speakers came from within the Soviet Jewry movement as well as the academic community and different branches of government - each providing his own view of the issues.

UCSJ elections were held. The following officers were re-elected: President - Robert Gordon; Vice-Presidents: - Lynn Singer, Joel Sandberg and Morey Schapira; Treasurer - Alan Delman. The Board of Directors consists of: Sheldon Benjamin, Shirley Goldstein, Lillian Hoffman, Ruth Newman, and Babette Wampold. Lil Hoffman was also honored at a luncheon for her outstanding work on behalf of Soviet Jews.

Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY) spoke at the conference about the need to monitor the 1980 Olympics in Moscow for harassment of foreign athletes and Soviet citizens and manipulation of the media. He provided a historical perspective in his description of the disintegration of monitoring efforts before the 1936 Olympics. He reminded the UCSJ that, "We cannot afford to repeat that mistake."

An upbeat moment at the conference was a performance by the Kozhevnikovs, a refusenik couple who were professional actors and circus clowns in Moscow. Their "Life of a Refusenik" was greeted by a long standing ovation, an enthusiastic review in the Washington Post (see page 5), and eager requests for them to perform in various cities throughout North America. (A national tour is now being organized. For details, contact the Bay Area Council for Soviet Jewry at 415/ 585-1400.)

UCSJ members attended the Daily Vigil opposite the Soviet Embassy along with Congressman Robert Drinan (D-MA), who attempted to deliver petitions on behalf of Anatoly Shcharansky to embassy officials. The Soviets closed the door of the embassy to Representative Drinan, providing the participants in the Vigil with a vivid illustration of Russian attitudes.

The final event of the conference was a reception at the Capitol in honor of Representative Patricia Schroeder (D-Col.), honorary chairwoman of Women for Ida Nudel. The reception was attended by many members of Congress and aides who had been invited by Union activists from their districts.

In summary, the conference was hectic, exhausting and exhilarating - an important opportunity for Union members to share concerns, problems, successes and plans, a time to get recharged for the new year.

## NEWS FROM ODESSA - HARASSMENT AND REFUSALS

Lev Roitburd and Yakov Mesh and two other refuseniks were picked up in Yakov's car in Odessa. The KGB warned Lev that his file now contains evidence about anti-Soviet literature which was confiscated from the car on September 11. However, Lev reports that there was nothing incriminating, merely a Hebrew textbook and a book of poems. Yakov Mesh was also summoned back by the KGB for interrogation and warned not to have contact with the Khassin family or Lev Roitburd. They told him that Lev Roitburd is a Zionist and a criminal and that the Khassin's are "leading Zionists in Moscow."

On September 23, as Gennady and Natasha Khassin were taking their three year old daughter to an out-patient clinic in Odessa, Gennady was picked up by militiamen for a five-hour "talk"--an illegal form of detention. During the discussion he was told, "Next time you will be killed by a brick falling from a roof in Odessa or sunk in the Black Sea." Another official told him that the reason for his punishment was Natasha's involvement in Zionism and they demanded that she and the daughter leave Odessa immediately. They refused. Gennady then was held in a detention cell until he was escorted onto a train to Moscow. He was harassed by KGB men on the train during the night.



Odessa refuseniks report that there are no more lines at the OVIR office in Odessa. Forty to sixty applicants are invited into the office. An official comes in and shouts: "You are refused - no reason given!" At present they say that there is one hundred percent refusal in Odessa.

#### BOSTON-AREA GROUP BLOWS SHOFAR FOR PARITSKY ON ROSH HASHANAH

On Rosh Hashanah, Alexander Paritsky heard the Shofar blown not in the synagogue, but in the Kharkov post office. A phone call to Kharkov came through during services at Havurat Shalom in Somerville, Massachusetts. The prayers were interrupted to share wishes of "Shana Tova" (a good year), and a member of the group blew the shofar for Paritsky to hear.

This is the first time that the Boston-area Paritsky Committee has succeeded in contacting Paritsky since he was pulled out of a phone booth during their call in June. (See Paritsky letter below.)

#### PROVOCATION IN KHARKOV - A LETTER FROM ALEXANDER PARITSKY

August 30, 1979

...I must tell you that May and June at our place this year were very very hot months. And my trips by train every week to my working place and back (four hours each way) were very difficult. So you may understand how eagerly I was waiting for my vacation. But, as it is clear to me now, our officials were waiting for it too. They decided to make their regular provocation against me just before the vacation. They decided to send me to prison for fifteen days and after that to change the term of my vacation (because of prison.) Well, 10 June Sunday, I came to the post office to speak through the phone with my friends in Boston USA. As I came to the post office at 5:00 p.m. and was waiting for the call till 6:00 p.m., I'd seen four men who were waiting too, but had not used any post office services. One of them was a militia man. About 6:00 p.m. I was asked to come to the telephone booth for my conversation with Boston. I began my talk, but after some minutes I heard a cry at the hall of the post office. Turning back, I saw that the door of my telephone booth was opened and the two men near it were crying very loudly that one of them understands English and that I was a spy and I was telling the USA spy information...The militia man took the receiver from my hand and stopped the conversation. After that three of them began crying that I was a hooligan, a spy and a slanderer, that I sold myself for thirty silver coins. The militia man began to make a record. When he had written down the names of those three men I heard that one of them was Steinberg, the name of a local newspaper correspondent who liked to write articles about Jews who wanted to leave the USSR. I knew that correspondent had been in Vienna as a Jew who wanted to leave, but then he came back to the USSR. So you may understand what kind of correspondent he was. I asked that man whether he was that correspondent or not. He confirmed that he was and he had been in Vienna. He continued to cry that I sold myself for thirty silver coins. Well, I asked him how much money did he receive for his trip to Vienna and back, but he didn't answer me. After the militia man wrote their names down all three of them disappeared from the post office.

It was very clear to me that our officials make their regular provocations against me. But I wasn't sure if they would be so impudent to use this gangsterism against me to charge me with hooliganism. But they did. In a week they began to look for me in Kharkov and in the plant where I was working at that time and in other places. Well, it was clear to me that they plan to send me to prison for fifteen days and then to change the term of my vacation (it is the law in that case.) So, I decided to frustrate their plans and went to the country before the term of my vacation. It was June 19. My vacation must begin July 1. As my neighbors told me later, militia men asked them if they knew the place where my family lived in the country. I must tell you that in spite of all their efforts we had a nice vacation.

In the end of July we came back and they began their attack against me. Because it was more than a month after the event and they couldn't make an official court, they organized a so-called "comrade court." Just when we came back our Ann felt very seriously ill with her stomach and we sent her to the hospital. Of course, my "comrades" condemned me because of my "hooligan" behavior on the post office and my "truancy" during a month and a half. They "decided" to publish their decision in the newspaper.



August 21st they at last published the article about the event in the post office. Its name was "Sclerosis of the conscience." It was the fifth article against me during seven months in the Kharkov newspaper.

During July we forgot about KGB, provocations, newspapers, and meetings completely. We had sun (seldom), rain (a lot), a river, a forest, bonfires, mushrooms, berries, animals, and a lot of fresh air. During a month and a half, we forgot about last and future provocations. But we did not forget our aim, we did not forget our friends, and we did not forget you.

[Signed]

Alexander Paritsky

#### OF SPECIAL INTEREST

In the October issue of the Saturday Evening Post: "The Plight of Anatoly Shcharansky," by Donna Nason.

In the September/October issue of Jewish Living: "Prison Without Walls: Faces of Soviet Jewry," photographs by Richard Sobol.

#### RECENT INFORMATION ON REFUSENIKS

- Tzalo Naumovich Lipchin - 21 Vasja Alekseeva St., Apt. 39, Leningrad 198188, USSR

Tzalo who is 62 years old, and his wife, Khaya Michailovana Genkina, who is 60 years old, are both pensioners. They are trying to emigrate to the United States to be reunited with Tzalo's sister and with their only son. The Lipchin's applied for an exit visa in September, 1978, and were refused on December 11, 1978 on the false basis of Mr. Lipchin's involvement in "secret" work.

- Dr. Aron Zalmanovich Raskin, born 1910, a retired university lecturer, and his wife Fanya Israilevna Pertsovskaya born 1917, live in Elektrostal, Moscow region, Yuzhniy Prospekt 17/2, Apt. 58.

In July 1977 they applied for an exit permit to emigrate to Israel, in order to be reunited with their daughter, Frieda. In August 1977 the family of the Raskins' elder daughter Ruth applied for emigration, and in November 1977 left Russia. At present both daughters of the Raskins live in Jerusalem.

The Raskins have been refused since October 1978. The reasons given vary, including Dr. Raskins' work as a military translator twenty-nine years ago.

- Evgenia Mikhailovna Dragunsky - born 1940 - Stchastlivaya Str., House 9, Apt. 61 Leningrad, U.S.S.R. - occupation Doctor.

She applied October 1978 and was refused December 1978. She was fired from previous job; now has a low-paying general job at the emergency medical service; husband (who has Ph.D. and was a professor) works as a guard. He recently became seriously ill with diabetes.

- New refusenik: Anatoli Treskunov, Imurinsky Prospect 19, Apt. 42, Leningrad.

#### THE FOLLOWING HAVE RECEIVED PERMISSIONS

Vladimir Plotkin	Leningrad
Vadim Ilvitsky	Leningrad

#### IN MEMORIUM

Eleanora Shiffrin, whose mother, Irma Bernstein, and sister, Victoria Poltinnikov, both committed suicide after years of refusal in Novosibirsk, called us with the following request: Tourists who travel to Novosibirsk should visit the graves of her mother and sister to say Kaddish. Refusenik Felix Kochbiyevsky will help locate the graves.





Tuesday, September 18, 1979

THE WASHINGTON POST

Olga and Evgeny Kozhevnikov, by John McDonnell—The Washington Post

# Visions of Visas: Send Out the Clowns

## Playing the Circus of the Soviet Refuseniks

By Philip Hils

Special to The Washington Post

At one moment in their performance the Kozhevnikovs, comic actors recently released from the Soviet Union, of the little play "Refuseniks," after three years of waiting, mimic the conversation of those who are still in the Soviet Union, waiting to get out.

"You want to go? You'll have to bribe someone . . . So you don't think they take bribes? Correct. They don't. But only so long as nobody offers. It's dangerous—when nobody gives bribes, it's difficult for them to prove

they don't take bribes. So the procedure is as follows:

"You give, they don't take. You leave, because if you don't leave then one might think they have taken; but you didn't give. Is it clear?"

"I didn't give! I didn't give!" said Evgeny Kozhevnikov, throwing up his hands and walking away.

Evgeny and his wife Olga are clowns, comic actors of unusual talent, and the play they performed Sunday night at the International Inn on

Thomas Circle about refusenik life is a poignant, black comedy. But in their hotel room before the performance for the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews they spoke seriously, most of the time.

"The first thing that happens to you when you apply for a visa to leave is that you lose your job," says Evgeny, who is leaning against the back of a chair. He is wearing a green leather jacket and a checked shirt. He is smiling through his full beard. "But of course you cannot be without a job in the Soviet Union. It is a crime to be a parasite." So you must try to get a job . . .

And there are the shadows. "When you walk along the street," Olga says, "a black car is slowly following you down the street. They will park in front of your apartment. They watch you leave in the morning. At night, you hear footfalls on the roof overhead."

Olga is a bright, energetic woman whose gestures are broad and heavy and emphatically Russian. But her thin frame and quick smile make her resemble the actress Sandy Duncan.

Of course, without work, the refuseniks have little or no money. They live in squalid flats without furniture,

without curtains, without telephones, and with no shades for the bare light bulbs.

The Kozhevnikovs, with a humor typical of shtetl life, say that of course the lack of furniture was quite convenient—they could fit more people in their 10-by-16 apartment for their little performances.

It was this performance which became quite famous on the underground network, and made them so popular that the Soviets felt perhaps they should be given visas after all, to get them out of the hair of the bureaucrats in charge of refuseniks.

"Some had it worse than us," Olga said. She mentioned Benjamin Bogolmolny, who is the longest of the long-suffering refuseniks. He applied for his visa more than 13 years ago. As soon as he applied for a visa, he was drafted into the army while his family was allowed to emigrate. Then, after his years of army service, his visa was refused because he may have learned state secrets while in the army. He dug ditches in a construction battalion.

Bogolmolny was constantly followed, and when he once went to a demonstration, says Olga, "he returned to his apartment and found the door broken down, and everything inside completely smashed. He had nothing left. They do these little things as warnings."

The psychological effect of these hauntings is double. They create fear and frustration; but also they breed humor and comradeship among the waiting refuseniks.

One of the most important factors in the Kozhevnikovs' seeking to leave Russia was the time when, after working for two years and touring the country with a satirical play, the play was suddenly determined to be "anti-Sovietik."

Asked why it was banned, Olga replied, "Why? Who can tell? They give no sensible reasons . . ." And the Kozhevnikovs were reminded of the Soviet joke in which the rabbit is running wildly through the woods. A bird asked what he was running away from. "The KGB is arresting all the camels," the rabbit replied.

"But if they are arresting camels, why are you running away?" the bird asked. "Don't ask me," said the rabbit in flight, "ask the KGB!"

"It is like this," Olga said, with eyes wide, "you may do something or say something, and you never know what they will reply . . ."

When the Kozhevnikovs over the years have had lines deleted in their little vaudeville routines, or whole plays pulled out from under them, they were irritated, but quickly turned to the universal act of defense in such circumstances—the shrug.

But eventually, the difficulties of getting even the most innocuous material past censors, and because they wanted to give their son Anton a Jewish life and education, which are illegal in the Soviet Union, the Kozhevnikovs determined to emigrate.

As soon as they applied for the visa



three years ago, they had to ask their boss for their employment papers and were required to give the reason they needed them. Their boss was kind enough to let them resign before he fired them.

They had fallen into the ranks of the 2,000 refuseniks and began to go to the Moscow synagogue on Saturdays—the gathering place for refuseniks to trade stories and fears and jokes. They began to attend some demonstrations.

But of course it is a crime to demonstrate outside, so refuseniks hang from windows chanting and waving signs. The KGB is not allowed to break into private apartments.

Eventually, the Kozhevnikovs decided that their best protest would be on stage, even if the stage was 3-by-3, and even if the theater was one room of their one-and-a-half-room apartment. It had to be inside because a play outside would be a political crime, and it had to be free because if

they charged, it would be an economic crime.

So they began to perform "The Life of a Refusenik," an underground diary written by the well-known Soviet Jewish poet Felix Kandel. To his diary they added folk songs—Russian and Jewish—and comedy sketches done in clown faces.

And Sunday night, from out of non-existence in the Soviet Union the Kozhevnikovs played "Refuseniks" once again, 'for the 36th time, before 200 people attending the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

At the end of the one-hour performance, all were standing, many crying, and all applauding as loud as they could. For five minutes. Now, though the Kozhevnikovs have no jobs and no money for traveling, they hope to take their performance around the country, to Jewish groups and others who will have them, to anyone who wants to know about the ghosts of the Soviet Union.

## Psychiatric Gulag *Jack Anderson*

It began as a quiet cocktail party at the home of U.S. chargé d'affaires Mark Garrison in Moscow.

The guests were visiting congressmen and the Kremlin officials who were acting as their tour guides. The clinking of champagne glasses and exchange of diplomatic pleasantries was proceeding amiably—until the conversation turned to the subject of Soviet dissidents.

Suddenly, the tone grew strident and angry. One visiting congressman became embroiled in a heated argument with a top-ranking Soviet official, Vitaliy Ruben. Their discussion centered on Anatoly Scharansky, the mathematician who is languishing in prison for allegedly passing anti-Soviet information to the United States.

The American lawmakers threw down the gauntlet to Ruben, saying: Give us solid evidence against Scharansky and we'll present it on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The challenge could not be ignored; the Americans had called the Russians' bluff. And next day, at a crowded session, a Soviet official named Lev Smirnov played the Kremlin's hand.

It turned out to be a diplomatic four-flush. All Smirnov had to show was a tired old claim that Scharansky hadn't talked to the right people before he issued a denunciation of the Russians' use of psychiatric wards as detention centers for dissidents. Scharansky, Smirnov sniffed, had interviewed only drug addicts.

This was the accusation the congressional delegation had been waiting for, because it showed the emptiness of the official Soviet charges against Scharansky. The congressmen, led by Rep. Lester Wolff (D-N.Y.), had been doing a little investigating on their own that belied the official Kremlin line.

A confidential congressional briefing paper obtained by our associate Jack Mitchell lists the results of their findings and shows the cynical deceit of the Soviet attempt to put down Scharansky's charges.

The picture of Soviet mental hospitals in the congressmen's study makes it chillingly clear that they are every bit as nightmarish as the prison camps described by Alexander Solzhenitsyn in "The Gulag Archipelago." In fact, by officially stripping its victims of sanity, the psychiatric confinement is in many ways crueler than a labor camp sentence.

One of the crucial ingredients of the Soviet recipe for dissident suppression is "the broad Russian interpretation of schizophrenia," the congressional report notes. "Under Dr. Andrei Snezhnevsky, the director of the Institution of Psychiatry in Moscow, schizophrenia is attributed to genetic . . . deficits and can be present in persons displaying few or none of the classical symptoms."

Snezhnevsky's distortion of tentative research findings would be bad enough. But there is a Catch 22: even a conscientious psychiatrist, knowing the harrowing consequences of disagreement with the party line, would have little trouble diagnosing a Soviet dissident as a schizophrenic. No Soviet citizen in his right mind would speak out against the communist regime—therefore, anyone who does so must be certifiably insane.

In any event, once committed to a psychiatric hospital, the Soviet dissident is quite likely to develop, as a result of physical and mental torture, the very symptoms of fear, depression and paranoid suspicion that justify the doctors' originally spurious diagnosis.

"Powerful drugs are used in the

## Ida Nudel's kin arrives to spur liberation fight

By MICHAEL SOLOMON

MONTREAL (JTA) — Elena Friedman, the sister of prisoner of conscience Ida Nudel, arrived here from Israel to meet with government officials and public opinion molders in the hope of convincing them to publicize the plight of her 49-year-old sister who is in exile in the Siberian village of Krivosheian.

In an interview, Mrs. Friedman said that all her letters, parcels and telegrams addressed to Nudel were returned to her stamped by the Siberian post office "Addressee refuses to accept the mail." She said that a Soviet Jewish refusenik, Arik Rachlenko, who visited Nudel several months ago, wrote to her in Israel that Nudel was hospitalized in Tomsk, the nearest town to Krivosheian, for a kidney infection but after one month she was discharged and sent back to her place of exile.

But, Mrs. Friedman said, Nudel has difficulty walking and her left arm is paralyzed and she is actually a 100 per cent invalid. She termed her sister's trip from her place of exile to the hospital "a real punishment." She said that Nudel relies exclusively on parcels she receives from time to time from her friends in Moscow for the medicine she desperately needs and for supplemental food. She does not get enough of either in her place of exile where she works as an assistant bookkeeper, Mrs. Friedman said.

treatment of such dissidents," the congressional briefing notes. "Three of these—aminazin, triftazin and haloperidol—are known as major tranquilizers and are used in the United States solely for the treatment of extreme cases of schizophrenia."

Other patients are given insulin, which can induce shock in non-diabetic cases, or a drug called sulfozin, which can cause raging fevers, painful joint inflammation and high blood pressure. Physical and psychological brutality are also common practice.

Despite condemnation by the World Psychiatric Association in 1977, and the heroic work of a Russian group called the Working Commission to Investigate the Use of Psychiatry for Political Purposes, the Kremlin shows no signs of stopping its distortion of the healing arts.

In the Orwellian world of Soviet tyranny, official designation as a mental case can become a self-fulfilling prophecy when applied to the sanest of political dissidents.



THE AMERICAN MOVEMENT TO AID SOVIET JEWS. By WILLIAM W. ORBACH. *University of Massachusetts Press*. 224 pp. \$15.00.

Reviewed by STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD

BEREFT of their cultural and religious institutions, suspected of "cosmopolitanism" within a workers' state, denied even the charade of an "autonomous republic" while rendered vulnerable by the ethnic designation in their internal passports, and threatened with quotas that erode their educational and vocational opportunities, the Jews of the Soviet Union have begun to transform themselves from objects of fate into historical subjects and moral agents. By now it has become a commonplace that many of these heirs of the revolutionary promise of equality and assimilation are no longer the "Jews of silence."

What was scarcely imaginable to Elie Wiesel, whose 1965 visit to Russia gave the phrase currency, can be observed with all its piercing emotion in the depots of Vienna, at Lod airport, and at the JFK terminal. At the present rate of over 4,000 a month, the second largest concentration of Jews in the Diaspora is seeping out. Ostensibly they are rejoining relatives, but they are also seeking to escape discrimination and to live in open societies that might accommodate their particular talents and their fundamental hopes. In daring to extend the contours of their own freedom, the émigrés have thus become what their former masters had warned all Soviet citizens against.

The right of other Soviet Jews to emigrate nevertheless remains precarious, despite the 1975 Helsinki accords, in which the Soviet regime agreed to expedite family reunification. The fragility of that promise has kept the plight of Russian Jewry on the international agenda; for even as the exodus has swollen to more than 160,000, the Soviet record of repression in thousands of cases has remained an irritant to détente. Congressional delegations visiting the USSR often meet with "refuseniks" (those denied exit visas), and both political parties in their quadrennial platforms denounce the bureaucratic obstacles and the climate of fear imposed on potential emigrants. Anatoly Shcharansky is probably the world's

best-known political prisoner. After two Soviet spies were convicted in an American court, they were repatriated in April in exchange for five Soviet prisoners, including two Jews who had tried to fly to Israel nine years earlier. In making the swap, American diplomacy broke precedent by demonstrating that the lives of Soviet citizens seeking to emigrate are precious.

That exchange is one measure of the pressure exerted by American Jewish activists, whose campaign to alter the policies of the world's two most powerful governments is the subject of William Orbach's study. Although dozens of publications have appeared in recent years on the plight of Soviet Jews, this is the first to chronicle the political struggle their champions have waged. The author, who teaches religion at the University of Louisville, has based his account on the public record, on interviews with chief figures in the movement, and on material made available to him by organizations like Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, and the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. The book is disappointing. But not even its conceptual fuzziness and inert prose can suppress its dramatic force, for the American movement tapped certain themes—of *pidyon shevuyim* (the release of captives), of deliverance from the threat of extinction, of return to Zion—that punctuate the Jews' sense of their own history, of the mystique of their destiny.

THE tactics American Jews have employed are drawn from the arsenal available to voluntary associations within a democracy. Letter-writing campaigns have been conducted in the direction of both Soviet and American officials as well as toward the refuseniks and prisoners themselves, who have also been "adopted" by Senators and Congressmen. Such tactics have been supplemented by boycotts, picket lines, and rallies, such as the annual Solidarity Day. These gestures had been conceived by the early 1970's and were capped in 1973 with the passage of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which linked the bestowal of "most-favored-nation" status and Eximbank credits to the liberalization of Soviet emigration policy.

But the thrust of the movement, as Orbach demonstrates, has been neither legislative nor even diplomatic. It has been animated instead by what Ralph Waldo Emerson called "pitiless publicity." For in Soviet society, which is without "public opinion," without forums of information that are both independent and legal, the valor of the refuseniks would otherwise be without resonance. Without Western interest, their own powers of resilience might have atrophied, and the energies of the emigration movement within Russia might have been paralyzed. The involvement of outside sympathizers in the fate of Soviet Jewry therefore has implications for students of American Jewish life and of the public culture in which it is embedded.

AS AN account of the tactics that the movement has devised, Orbach's book is useful. But he is rather diffident about drawing conclusions from his narrative, leaving to his readers a serious assessment of the "limited but real success" of the activists. His book fails to provide a context of meaning, for Orbach is the sort of scholar who can't see the *tallis* for the fringes, and who spoils this first opportunity to arrange his particular data into a coherent pattern. The text is simply too episodic to be violated by an idea that is developed, qualified, and sustained, and which might invest his subject with other than momentary piquancy.

Not that his book is entirely devoid of a theme. What especially attracts Orbach's curiosity is the tension within the movement over the most effective forms of protest, the dispute between those who advocate conspicuous public actions and those who favor private representations to American and Soviet officials. Orbach marshals evidence of disagreement and uncooperativeness among the various groups (his own sympathies are with those he considers militant). But the author is unable to demonstrate that the instances of dissension he cites have hampered the exodus itself. His final chapter, which describes earlier movements that supported the Irish, Armenian, and Jewish struggles for national independence, reveals the very opposite of what Orbach criticizes in the American champions of Soviet Jewry. For the establishment of



Israel and the independence of Eire were accomplished in spite of conflicts among American Zionists and within the Clan-na-Gael. And in any event, the differences of opinion that are characteristic of American organizational life distinguish democracy from the very society that the emigrants have fled.

ALTHOUGH Orbach seems unaware of it, his book adds to the evidence of what a peculiar people the Jews are. They have, more than other American minorities, believed that political action is vindicated in terms of receptivity to ethical demands. An interpretation of their communal role in politics which stresses self-interest or economic motivation does not do them justice, and the movement in support of Soviet Jewry is an example. The arrival of new refugees will not enhance the social status of Jews who have lived here for generations. Immigration is unrelated to the economic welfare of American Jews, except insofar as they must tax themselves somewhat more heavily to provide social services for immigrants. In contrast to the importance of Israel, the cause of Soviet Jewry is only marginally connected to the strengthening of religious and cultural institutions and the perpetuation of Jewish identity in America. Support for brethren in Russia creates friction with the only nation posing a military threat to American security. Nor is the drive for freer emigration merely a coefficient of historical resentment. Orbach reports that a significant minority of younger activists participated in the civil-rights and anti-war struggles of the 1960's, which suggests that the present movement is not decisively indebted to intense traditions of anti-Communism. One explanation remains, however eccentric it may seem: idealism.

Against the humanitarian impulses of the advocates of Soviet Jewry have been pitted indifferent officials and formidable obstacles. To the Nixon and Ford administrations in particular, to strategists of peaceful coexistence, and to businessmen anxious for trade and investments in the USSR, the presentation of moral claims for a beleaguered minority has been inconvenient. The Soviet regime itself can, while bristling at "interference" in its internal affairs, also play American domestic politics—whether by

denying Senator Jackson a visa or by rewarding Senator Kennedy or President Carter with the release of particular families on appropriate occasions. Most importantly, of course, the regime can intensify the anguish inflicted upon its Jewish population and can alter the rhythms of assimilation, of anti-Zionism, of campaigns against foreign contacts—or of emigration. The autocratic power to do so is only distantly susceptible to the influence of organized American citizens. That the regime has not succeeded in blocking the emergence of Soviet Jews from silence, or effectively sidetracked their sympathizers in the United States, is perhaps the most stirring lesson that can be drawn from the interstices of William Orbach's book.

THE JEWISH WEEK-AMERICAN EXAMINER  
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 16, 1979

The new Citizenship Law in the Soviet Union, which came into effect in July, is no improvement on the previous law and, so far as the Jewish minority is concerned, is worse.

This is apparent in an analysis of the law made by Dr. S. J. Roth, director of the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress.

The new law has run into severe criticism in the West for several reasons but mostly because of the clause on deprivation of citizenship which now sanctions by law the practice of the past which was applied to such prominent persons as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Valery Chalidze, Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich and others who were deprived of citizenship when they left the USSR.

As for Jews, the Soviet authorities demand from those who apply to be reunited with their families in Israel — and this is practically the only country to which they are allowed to emigrate — that they renounce their Soviet citizenship before receiving their exit permits.

#### Germans retain citizenship

This is not asked of others. Members of the German minority in Russia who are repatriated to Germany — and they form the second largest group of emigrants next to Jews — are not required to give up their citizenship. This is demanded exclusively of the Jews, and is therefore discriminatory.

In addition, a serious financial burden is also borne by Jews who are charged 500

## Dissident Says 5 Million Are in Soviet Prison Camps

BRUSSELS, Sept. 14 (AP) — Yuri F. Orlov, a Soviet dissident, says in a report smuggled out of a Soviet prison that at least five million of his fellow citizens are serving time in forced-labor camps, the newspaper *La Libre Belgique* reported today.

The paper quoted Mr. Orlov as having said that Soviet camps had about 20 times as many inhabitants as American prisons, and that Soviet prisoners made up 2 percent of their country's population.

*La Libre Belgique* said that Mr. Orlov's 20-page typewritten report would soon be published by *Cahiers du Samizdat*, a Brussels-based monthly that issues reports by Soviet dissidents.

Mr. Orlov was sentenced in 1978 to seven years' forced labor and five years' internal exile after being found guilty of agitation against the Soviet Union. He is in a camp near Perm in the Ural Mountains, 900 miles east of Moscow.

NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

## New Soviet citizenship law may worsen lot of Jews seeking to leave

rubles for the emigration process, which amounts to more than \$500.

Deprivation of citizenship because of emigration is against Article V of the new law which states that the "fact of a USSR citizen living abroad does not entail the loss of USSR citizenship."

The only rationale for the practice might be found in Article XXXIII of the Soviet Constitution which assures Soviet citizens of "protection and assistance of the Soviet State" while abroad. It could be argued by Moscow that, because it has no diplomatic relations with Israel, such protection cannot be given, and therefore these emigrants cannot be Soviet citizens.

This is considered specious reasoning in that states which do not have relations with other states do maintain "interest sections" in other embassies, as the U.S. does in Cuba, and Cuba in the U.S. These protect the interests of America and Americans in Havana, and Cuba and Cubans in the U.S.

#### Emigrants may not return

Another explanation could be that the Soviet authorities do not want emigrants to return to the USSR, on a visit or permanently, as witnessed by the fate of the few Soviet Jews stranded in Vienna who decided to leave Israel but are unable to get permission to return to Russia. If they had been allowed to retain their Soviet citizenship, they could obviously have returned to the USSR as of right.

Dr. Roth, however, adds a caveat to this: He writes that this rationalization of the mandatory surrender of citizenship by



# Outside Moscow's Synagogue

By ANTHONY AUSTIN  
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Sept. 17 — They met, about 300 of them, outside the synagogue on Arkhipov Street. There was a chill rain, the beginning of autumn, but this was where they met every Saturday at 4 o'clock, and mere rain could not keep them away.

"This is our Jewish club," said Yakov Alpert, a middle-aged man in a leather jacket, its collar turned up against the wet. "We come here to exchange news. Or maybe just to see each other, to hear each other. It makes it easier to wait."

Like the others there, Mr. Alpert has been waiting for years. After all the applications, all the appeals and denials, nothing is left to them, they say, except hope against hope that something may happen to reverse the authorities' refusal to permit them to emigrate.

The men and women who came this Saturday stood under their umbrellas spread out across the quiet, narrow street.

"You should come here on the High Holy Days," said Viktor Brallovsky, one of the leaders of the Jewish emigration movement. "Thousands of Jews come, not only those who have been refused visas. They overflow the street. Someone climbs on the wall and plays a guitar. They dance."

In recent years, the Saturday assembly has become a Moscow institution.

"The authorities don't like it, of course," said Mr. Brallovsky. "Sometimes the police cars drive by. Their loudspeakers call out, 'Citizens, stop loitering, stop blocking traffic, move on.' But they don't do that very often. They put up with us."

Seeing him there, people clustered around him, waiting to hear what news he might have brought. He did have something to report. There was, he said, a new development in the Guberman case.

## Accused of Icon Thefts

Igor Guberman is a 43-year-old writer who had made a reputation for himself as a popularizer of scientific subjects like bionics and psychology. His entree to Soviet magazines was cut off when, in December, he applied for exit visas for Israel for himself, his wife and their two children. Then, several weeks ago, he was arrested on suspicion of involvement with what the police described as the theft of icons from a church at Dmitrov, north of Moscow. His own collection of several dozen icons was seized.

Mr. Brallovsky was sure the reason for Mr. Guberman's arrest lay elsewhere.

neurological examination. And that he has not had."

## Doctors Take Grave View

Mr. Shcharansky said he and his mother communicated from time to time with his brother's wife, Avital, who had been permitted to go to Israel. Avital told them the doctors in Jerusalem took a grave view of her husband's condition, on the basis of the symptoms described.

Another group formed around Viktor Yelistratov, a dissident whose activities span the causes of Jewish emigration, human rights and those non-Jews who, too, are fighting for the right to emigrate. Mr. Yelistratov had recently made a trip to Nakhodka, a Pacific port city, to look into the complaint of a small community of Pentecostals that they were not being allowed either to emigrate or to practice their religion.

On the way back, he now reported, he had been detained on a charge of assaulting a policeman, and since his return his apartment had been searched. Yes, he said, they were probably looking for his Nakhodka report. No, he said, they had not found it.

Two old men in black skullcaps climbed the steps of the synagogue and unlocked one of its doors. They seemed to fear the crush around them, and the crowd let them by with blank stares.

## An Unspoken Understanding

Between the dissidents and the synagogue, the only one in Moscow, there is an unspoken understanding. The clergy, who are under the aegis of the Council on Religious Affairs, a government agency, want nothing to do with dissidence. And the dissidents are content to stand outside the synagogue. Most of them are not religious, and the synagogue to them is more of a symbol than a place of worship. Jews who are religious come in the morning, when regular services are held.

Seeing the half-dozen Westerners — a couple of reporters, some representatives of the American exhibit at the international book fair then going on — the two old men smiled and welcomed the foreigners inside. The main part of the synagogue was dim and empty, but there were preparations for prayers in a smaller room off to one side. On a sign by the altar were the words: "Our Heavenly Father, bless the Government of the U.S.S.R., the bulwark of peace throughout the world."

One of the men placed a prayer shawl over his shoulders and began to intone. Another said they were having trouble finding 10 men to hold a service. "Don't worry," he said, "we'll round them up. God bless you. God bless America."

Out in the street, the rain had stopped and the umbrellas had been folded. The light was fading, and the dissidents were calling it a day.

## State requires services

There is also the matter of what the new law calls protecting "the rights and freedom of others," which in practice means commitments to other individuals — alimony, debts, etc. This is now extended to "material commitments toward the State, cooperative and other public organizations" which must be fulfilled before one

can be released from the bonds of citizenship.

The most serious of these is the restriction on "unfulfilled commitments to the State." This may cover military service, or people who have received higher education who are expected to give three years service to the State.

This provision, Dr. Roth points out, "offers unlimited opportunities for restrictive policies and bureaucratic chicanery. It is already reported from Gorki, Minsk and Bobruisk that since July 1, no applications for emigration have been accepted from families who have sons 16 years of age and over, i.e., nearing military age. In places where families are able to apply, a delay in dealing with the applications until the son reaches military age may effectively bar emigration."

## Children face obstacle

Another clause in the new Citizenship Law that could become a serious obstacle to emigration is Article XXII regarding citizenship of children. This states that "if one of the parents renounces citizenship of the USSR while the other retains it, the child retains citizenship of the USSR."

"This means that in the case of divorced or separated parents, if one of them wishes to emigrate and for that reason renounces citizenship, but the other parent does not, the children cannot leave with the emigrating parent even if they live with that parent or if he or she is their legal guardian, unless the children, too, go through a separate process of relinquishing their citizenship," Dr. Roth explains.

The law does not state at what age a child is entitled to renounce citizenship, and who makes it prior to that age.



# Jew in Siberia is not forgotten

By Sara Rimer  
Knight Ridder Service

MIAMI—In the cold wasteland of Siberia, a frail, dark-haired woman shares a barracks with murderers and thieves. Her pillow hides a knife. Her toilet is a cesspool in a shed without light or heat.

She is Ida Nudel, 48, a Soviet Jew. Her crime: she wanted a visa so she could join her husband and sister in Israel. On June 2, 1978, she unfurled a banner from her window:

"KGB, GIVE ME A VISA TO ISRAEL."

For that, the woman trained as an economist was sentenced to four years in the isolated Siberian village of Krivosheino.

"I am alone. I am cold—cold in my body and soul," she has written in her journal.

But in the world outside, Nudel has many friends. They work for her freedom, turning her into a celebrity and symbol of the human-rights movement. Thursday was Ida Nudel Day in Florida, proclaimed by Gov. Bob Graham. His wife, Adele, is honorary chairwoman of Florida Women for Ida Nudel.

Speakers at a Miami press conference included Barry College President Sister Trinita Flood, Latin community leader Yvonne Santa Maria and former State Rep.

Elaine Bloom, who met Ida Nudel four years ago in Moscow.

Santa Maria, once imprisoned in Cuba, spoke of suffering: "Maybe you don't know exactly how she feels. Maybe you don't know what suffering is," she said. "I know exactly how she feels. We must help Ida Nudel. We cannot stop."

Nudel has been described as devoted to the cause of "prisoners of conscience," those Jews imprisoned — as she is now — for requesting permission to emigrate to Israel. She joined in demonstrations at the Kremlin and KGB secret police headquarters. "Guardian Angel of the Prisoners-of-Conscience," she was called. Her story has been featured in the London Times and Paris-Match.

Shepard King, chairman of the South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry, visited her in Moscow, nine months before she was sent to Siberia. He remembers her warning: "Go home and shout about us because if the West forgets us we are lost."

A film shown Thursday makes it difficult to forget Ida Nudel.

"Ida Nudel In Exile" was shot secretly at Nudel's prison barracks and smuggled out of Russia. It is a compelling film, filled with stark images.

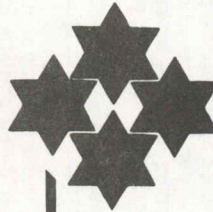
## Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

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

September 26, 1979

### INSIDE TODAY'S ALERT

- The Soviet crackdown on the samizdat journal Jews in the USSR is continuing with another arrest. See the lead story on page 1.
- The Union of Councils annual meeting in Washington was a lively occasion for the one-hundred delegates who attended it. A report is on page 2. A Washington Post article is on page 5.
- The situation in Odessa is particularly bad. A report of several incidents appears at the bottom of page 2.
- Alexander Paritsky heard the shofar blown this Rosh Hashanah in the Kharkov post office. See page 3.



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