

EXODUS

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AN ORGAN OF THE UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS

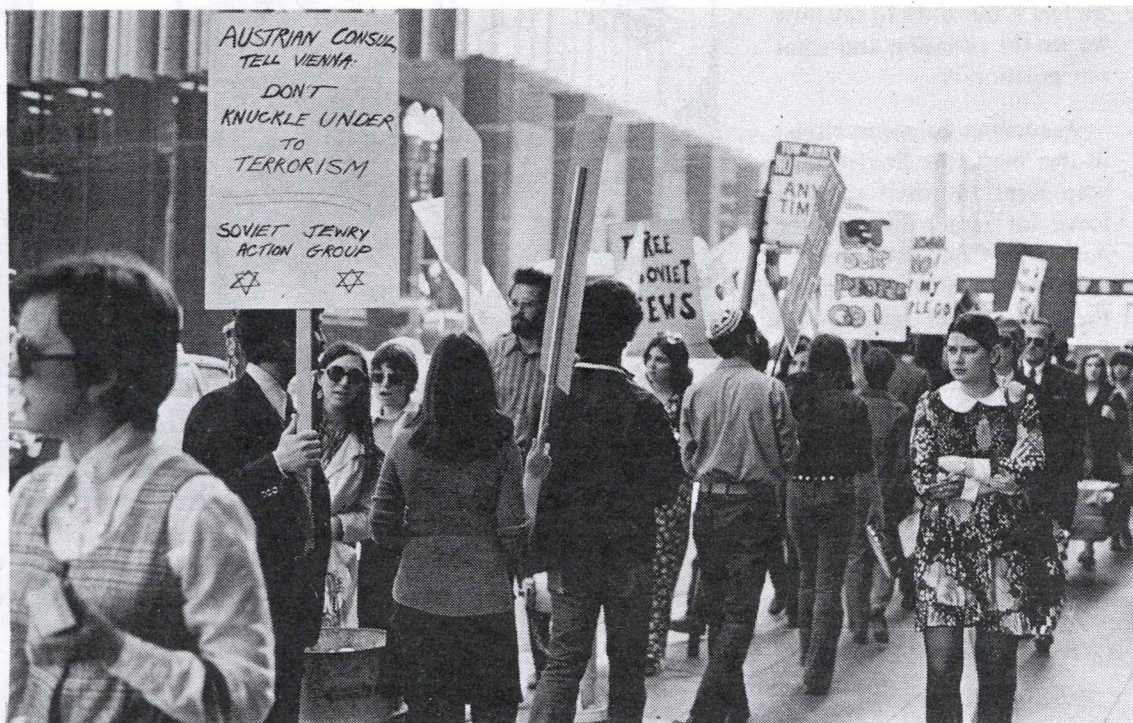
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Vote on Vanik Bill Postponed

Nixon Working For Its Defeat



PROTEST — Members of Soviet Jewry Action Group in San Francisco protest threatened closing of Schonau Castle in Vienna, transit station for Soviet Jewish emigrants. The Austrian government initially gave in to Arab terrorists demands, arousing major worldwide opposition.

Schonau Castle Controversy Becomes International Issue

The question of whether Schonau Castle, a gloomy estate 20 miles south of Vienna, is to remain open as a transit camp for Soviet Jews traveling to Israel mushroomed into an international issue during October.

But what was at stake basically was not the emigration of Soviet Jews. The Schonau affair involved other questions inherent in a conflict of views of what closure of Schonau symbolized for the two parties most directly concerned. To the Israelis, it symbolized giving in to Arab guerillas and inviting drastic political consequences. To Austria, it symbolizes the desire of a small country to preserve its neutrality amid international pressures.

The controversy was triggered when Arab guerrillas seized four hostages and secured a promise from the

Austrian Government to shut down Schonau in exchange for release of the hostages.

At a news conference in Washington, President Nixon urged the Austrians to reconsider. Schonau should remain open, he said, "because we simply could not have governments, small or large, giving in to international blackmail by terrorist groups."

At gunpoint

Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban, speaking in the United Nations General Assembly, denounced the Austrian position, and in Strasbourg, Prime Minister Golds Meir threw away a prepared text and exhorted the Austrians to rescind "this greatest encouragement to terror throughout the world." The guerrillas had scored a great victory from their point of view, she said by forcing a sovereign state to change its

politics at gunpoint.

Despite the criticism, the Austrians stood firm. As a result, Chancellor Bruno Kreisky became an overnight hero in the Arab world. His decision was praised by the Arab Governments and Egypt sent its Minister of Tourism to Vienna to express its gratitude.

The most dramatic confrontation took place in Vienna when Mrs. Meir suddenly flew in from Strasbourg to put her case directly to Dr. Kreisky. The very act of her going to Vienna was a heavy-handed exercise in

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510 Emigrate Despite War In Mid East

During the third day of the war in the Middle East, Israel welcomed what it said was the largest group of Soviet Jews ever to arrive there together.

A jumbo jet and a smaller jetliner landed at Lod airport before dawn with 510 Soviet emigrants picked up in Vienna.

The newcomers told newsmen that they learned of the war as they crossed Czechoslovakia on the train to Vienna from Moscow.

Russ Ratify Human Right Agreement

The Soviet Union has ratified two international covenants on human rights but claims that they give specific authority to limit the right of emigration, the free flow of ideas, and other individual liberties.

One document, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, affirms that "everyone shall be free to leave any country, including his own." The other is the International Covenant on Social and Cultural Rights. They affirm a wide list of rights other than free movement and emigration including: freedom of religion, assembly, and association; immunity from arbitrary arrest; secret correspondence.

There was some hope that the ratification of these covenants would signal preparation for becoming a more open society. However, articles in Pravda, the party daily, and Novoye Vremya, the party's weekly on international affairs, cited provisions in the covenants for the restriction of individual rights for considerations of "national security" and protection of public order, health, and morals.

The first test on the trade issue occurred on Sept. 19 in the House Ways and Means Committee, when the committee voted on the Mills-Vanik amendment to the Trade Reform Act. The amendment stated that the President shall not conclude any agreement with any country that "denies its citizens the right or opportunity to emigrate... imposes more than a nominal tax on emigration... imposes more than a nominal tax, levy, fee or other charge... as a consequence of the desire of such citizen to emigrate."

Approved

The Ways and Means Committee approved that portion of the amendment which makes the granting of Most Favored Nation status conditional on Mr. Nixon's being able to declare that that country followed an unrestricted emigration policy. However, all provisions of the bill relating to trade credits were removed. The ranking minority member, Herman T. Schneebeli (R-Pa.), moved that the section which would withhold trade credits, investment guarantees, and loans was not proper business for the Ways and Means Committee. Acting Chairman, Al Ullman (D-Ore.), ruled in favor of removing the

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Rep. Charles Vanik

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EDITORIALS

Castle as Pawn

A new factor was introduced into the issue of Soviet Jewry last month — Arab terrorism. And what is more disquieting is that a sovereign government acceded to the pressures of a couple of international outlaws.

The Austrian decision to close down Schonau Castle, the transit station for migrating Jews, is difficult to understand.

We know that the terrorists did not demand that the Austrians close down Schonau Castle. The Austrian government offered that as their part of the bargain out of the clear blue sky. We know that governments don't make impulsive decisions. Thus, we wonder what was behind the undoubtedly long-range thinking of the Austrian government in allowing itself to submit to threats of Arab terrorism. Perhaps it reflects the general discomfort which the Austrians have always felt about having Soviet Jews in transit outside Vienna. And perhaps the discomfort was induced by the growing public character of the facility.

If the Austrian decision was a temporary expedient to save the lives of the Soviet Jewish hostages, then we applaud the action. However, if Chancellor Bruno Kreisky's statements, indicating that the decision was irrevocable, are true, then we not only wonder about the immediate plight of migrating Soviet Jews, but we wonder about the larger question of sovereign governments submitting to the will of individual terrorists whose demands are bound to become more and more absurd as governments accede to them.

Time will tell what the Austrians are really preparing to do. We sincerely hope that the decision is being reconsidered — privately or publicly — and that Schonau be restored to the quiet and discreet temporary hostel that it was originally intended to be: without the tours and without the fanfare. Let it simply serve its purpose.

Lou Rosenblum: A Genuine Leader

It was with a great deal of reluctance and sadness that the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews accepted the resignation of Dr. Louis Rosenblum as its Chairman.

One could list Rosenblum's accomplishments and credits: Founder of the UCSJ and its first Chairman; founder and Chairman of the Cleveland Council on Soviet anti-Semitism; a pioneer in the field of Soviet Jewry, innovating ideas ten years ago which today still prove to be mainstays of the movement. No one can argue that the Soviet Jewry movement would not be what it is if it were not for his involvement.

Yet, Rosenblum has been more than a Chairman.

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Soviet Jews Relate Plight

A hundred and five Soviet Jews fighting for their right to emigrate to Israel have sent the following message to the Congress of the United States:

You are about to make decisions that might be affecting our fate too. That is why we feel it our duty to say how we see the situation and what our position is.

According to some circles in the West, the Soviet Jews who fight for their right to leave for Israel dread if the American Congress votes the amendment to the trade bill they, the Soviet Jews, would fall victims of repression and future emigration would stop. Some also say that the amendment means interference in domestic affairs of the USSR and could only be an obstacle to trade, cooperation, and world detente.

We most categorically disagree with such assertions.

What does the amendment require?

Only that the Soviet Union respect her own Constitution and those international agreements on human rights that you consider as basic and essential for yourself be an obstacle to the progress of friendship between nations.

To those who attribute to us the fear that if the amendment to the trade bill is voted by Congress, revenge is going to be taken upon us and a wave of repression will follow, we say: We are the only ones to possess the moral right to decide of our fate. And we are for an open struggle in favor of our rights, a struggle based on principles.

Many high officials have made statements favoring "quiet diplomacy" in solving our issue. This policy has proved worthless. In the framework of "quiet diplomacy" top-ranking members of the American administration are carrying back and forth lists of names totally ignored by Moscow, while the number of Jews forbidden to leave for Israel grows steadily. It should also be remembered that if the education tax has been suspended, it has only been obtained thanks to a large campaign of public protest in the U.S.A. and in the whole world.

Apprehension for our future fate must not become a means for unscrupulous exploitation of the humane feelings of the American people or a pretext to abandon the fight for our human rights.

(This letter has been signed by Benjamin Levich, Alexander Lerner, Vladimir Slepak, Victor Polsky, Alexander Voronel, Mark Azbel and others — 105 in all.)



"We open a door—we close a door!"

Chairman's Message: Tale of Two Struggles

Two historic struggles are in process today. The Arab-Israeli War is in its second week, and it's hard to even talk about the Soviet Jewish problem, but we must. Both battles are approaching the critical moments of victory or defeat, and the survival of our Jewish homeland, and our Jewish conscience cannot be disconnected.

Daily headlines outline the tremendous shipments of Soviet arms to Egypt and Syria. The United States is already responding by speeding up deliveries to Israel. The implications are clear.

Most significant is the front page story of Golda Meir's statement that the Arab-Israeli War is a Russian plot, that the Soviet Union planned and financed the entire operation. Of course, Golda is right again.

First, the Russians withdrew thousands of their "advisors," then they started urging all the other Arab nations to join in, and immediately began to strengthen the Arabs with armament replacements. It would be ridiculous to believe that Egypt and Syria would go ahead without assured approval from the Kremlin. Hence, this is Russia's war... but why now?

On the home front, President Nixon and Henry Kissinger have striven valiantly to make the case for "detente" and "quiet diplomacy." They have granted the Soviet Union strategic trade agreements, and huge credits. Americans have paid with tax dollars for the wheat deal, a giant truck plant, oil pipelines and computer technology. They have sold the Soviet Jews "down the river." There's no reason to belabor that argument. The facts are too overwhelming. In this process, they have put most Americans in serious jeopardy.

The important point is that all these concessions to the Soviets have now backfired on Kissinger and Nixon's detente. How many more truck plants and pipelines should we build now for Russia? How many billions should we lend them, so they can supply the Arabs and draw the United States into a new war? This would be no war over Soviet Jews, not even over Israeli Jews, but a war over Russia's interests versus United States' interests.

This writer has queried economists and political

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Sakharov Warns Of False Detente

The following is an open letter to the United States Congress by Andrei Skharov, the Soviet physicist.

At a time when the Congress is debating fundamental issues of foreign policy, I consider it my duty to express my view on one such issue — protection of the right of freedom of residence within the country of one's choice. That right was proclaimed by the United Nations in 1948 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

If every nation is entitled to choose the political system under which it wishes to live, this is true all the more of every individual person. A country whose citizens are deprived of this minimal right is not free even if there were not a single citizen who would want to exercise that right.

But, as you know, there are tens of thousands of citizens in the Soviet Union — Jews, Germans, Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Estonians, Latvians, Turks and members of other ethnic groups — who want to leave the country and who have been seeking to exercise that right for years and for decades at the cost of endless difficulty and humiliation.

You know that prisons, labor camps and mental hospitals are full of people who have sought to exercise this legitimate right.

You surely know the name of the Lithuanian Simas A. Kudirka, who was handed over to the Soviet authorities by an American vessel, as well as the names of the defendants in the tragic 1970 hijacking trial in Leningrad. You know about the victims of the Berlin Wall.

There are many more lesser known victims — remember them, too!

For decades the Soviet Union has been developing under conditions of an intolerable isolation, bringing with it the ugliest consequences. Even a partial preservation of these conditions would be highly perilous for all mankind, for international confidence and detente.

In view of the foregoing, I am appealing to the Congress of the United States to give its support to the Jackson Amendment, which represents in my view and in the view of its sponsors an attempt to protect the right to emigration of citizens in countries that are entering into new and friendlier relations with the United States.

The Jackson Amendment is made even more significant by the fact that the world is only just entering on a new course of detente and it is therefore essential that the proper direction be followed from the outset. This is a fundamental issue, extending far beyond the question of emigration.

Those who believe that the Jackson Amendment is likely to undermine anyone's personal or governmental prestige are wrong. Its provisions are minimal and not demeaning.

It should be no surprise that the democratic process can add its corrective to the actions of public figures who negotiate without admitting the possibility of such an amendment. The amendment does not represent interference in the internal affairs of socialist countries, but simply a defense of international law, without which there can be no mutual trust.

Adoption of the amendment, therefore, cannot be a threat to Soviet-American relations. All the more, it would not imperil international detente.

There is a particular silliness in objections to the amendment that are founded on the alleged fear that its adoption would lead to outburst of anti-semitism in the USSR and hinder the emigration of Jews.

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LA DEMONSTRATION — Austrian Consulate in Los Angeles is scene of demonstration by Southern California Council for Soviet Jews, who were incensed over proposed closure of Shonau Castle.

Union of Councils Holds Conference in Washington

At the fourth annual conference of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews in Washington, D.C., Harold B. Light of San Francisco was elected the new chairman, replacing Dr. Louis Rosenblum of Cleveland who announced that he could not accept the post for another term. Light is the chairman of the Bay Area Council on Soviet Jewry and a long-time nationally recognized activist.

Blacks Back Jews' Fight

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has voted to call upon Congress to deny favored nation status to the Soviet Union in world trade relations until the USSR ceases and desists from its ransom demand practice.

The position was formulated in a resolution passed by delegates to the NAACP's 64th annual convention in Indianapolis in July and was ratified by the Board of Directors at its quarterly meeting recently.

The resolution stated in part: "In keeping with our historic concern for the plight of disadvantaged minorities everywhere, we call attention to that of those Jews in Russia who are made to pay large sums to the government — ostensibly for their government-subsidized education — before being permitted to emigrate to Israel or other countries of their choice.

"We call upon our Federal Administration to use the good influences of the American government to gain relief from this tyranny, to the end that these Russian Jews may enjoy the freedoms and privileges to which all human beings are entitled."

At its mid-September conference, the UCSJ also decided to continue its Washington office for the coming year with a substantially increased budget. Harold Light said, "We are confident that we will be in business for the full year. This will be a year of decision, and many of those decisions will have to be made in Washington. It is inconceivable that a national organization for Soviet Jewry could exist without a major component being in Washington."

Speaking to the convention, Mark Talisman, administrative assistant to Congressman Charles Vanik, indicated that there was no certainty in the upcoming votes on the Mills-Vanik legislation. Talisman indicated that portions of the bill which were not accepted by the Ways and Means Committee would be brought up as amendments to the entire trade bill under the new modified rule in the House of Representatives. Talisman commended the UCSJ on the work it had done in support of the Mills-Vanik bill.

Richard Perle, assistant to Senator Henry Jackson, reviewed the importance of current Congressional legisla-

tion for Soviet Jews. Perle indicated that the Jackson-Mills-Vanik bills were serving the purpose of pressuring the Soviets to permit free emigration, and added that the bills still had a larger purpose to serve.

The UCSJ elected three new vice-chairmen as well as a new national executive board for the coming year. Si Frumkin (Los Angeles), Inez Weiss (see page 4)

Gentile Wife Of Panov Must Stay

Valery Panov received permission last month from Soviet authorities to go to Israel on condition that he leaves his wife, Galina, in the Soviet Union.

According to JTA, Soviet officials told Panov that his wife was being denied a visa because her father has refused to let her emigrate.

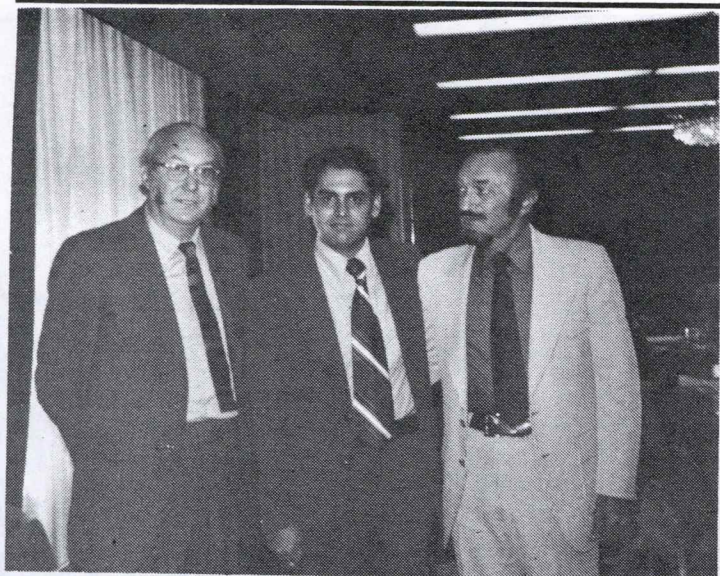
Panov reportedly was told by Soviet Interior Ministry officials that his wife would be reinstated with the Kirov Ballet Company from which she and her husband had been expelled if she would divorce Valery. Panov's answer was, "I prefer to die rather than to leave her."

A Soviet Jewry official in the U.S. termed this latest Soviet action "outrageous" and a form of heartless harassment. "Valery Panov and his wife are being brutally and heartlessly crushed by the Soviet government's persistent refusal to allow them to leave. To even suggest that a man must leave his wife or a woman divorce her husband in order to qualify for the basic human right to live freely in a country of one's choice, is a perversion of the true meaning of that right," he states.

SYNOGOGUE

A group of Soviet Jews demonstrated outside the central synagogue in Moscow during September, with yellow Stars of David pinned to their lapels to protest the Government's refusal to let them go to Israel, UPI reported.

The group of about 12 demonstrators remained in front of the synagogue for about an hour without interference from the police. The demonstration followed the regular Saturday worship service.



WASHINGTON CONFERENCE — Incoming chairman of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews Harold B. Light (right) appears with retiring chairman Dr. Louis Rosenblum (left) and Richard Perle, legislative aide to Sen. Henry Jackson.

Olympian Excuses Anti-Semitism

A Russian Olympic spokesman has denied that Soviet officials were responsible for incidents concerning Israeli athletes and Jewish spectators at the World University Games in Moscow last August.

The Russians called a news conference to boost their plans for hosting the 1980 Olympics. They were immediately bombarded with questions from journalists who said they were at the University Games and saw Moscow Jews excluded from a basketball game involving the Israeli team.

One reporter asked Sergei Pavlov, a top Russian sports administrator, if he could guarantee that such a thing would not happen at the Olympics.

Pavlov shook his head and smiled.

"I cannot understand how it can be accomplished," he said. "Will you advise me on the technique of how to do it?" When the question was pressed, Pavlov said: "We had nothing to do with any incidents. All spectators were admitted according to the tic-

kets they had purchased."

Coincidence

A journalist said he had seen about 150 spectators excluded from the basketball game. "By an amazing coincidence, they were all Jews," the writer said.

"How lucky for you as a journalist," Pavlov replied, smiling. He also gave an explanation of why seven Israeli journalists were refused visas for the University Games. He said they had not applied for press accreditation in the proper way.

Pavlov said the journalists concerned were television men. All foreign television companies wishing to film the University Games had paid \$39,000, but the Israelis made no such agreement, he said.

Sir Stanley Reus, 79-year-old president of the World Soccer Federation, told the Olympic Congress he favored establishment of a coordinating committee to plan the Olympic program and decide where the Games should be held.

This was another direct challenge to the all-powerful International Olympic Committee.

UCSJ Meeting

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man (Long Island), and Bob Wolfe (Miami) were elected vice-chairpersons of the Union while Zev Yaroslavsky (Los Angeles), Mort Yadin (Washington), and Howard Wexler (San Francisco) were elected to the national steering committee. Lou Rosenblum was appointed honorary chairman with a non-voting position on the steering committee.

Political Psychiatry In USSR

Twenty-one Soviet psychiatrists recently defended the practice of psychiatry in Moscow against Western criticism, and said "violations of public order" and "spreading of slander" could be symptoms of mental illness requiring forced treatment.

The story appeared in the Washington Post and alluded to the "report" that appeared in the weekly Soviet newspaper Literary Gazette.

Andrei Sakharov and another member of his unofficial Committee on Human Rights issued a reply, saying "increased numbers of non-conformists are being diagnosed as mentally sick and sent for forced treatment."

"We are firmly convinced that in the overwhelming majority of cases, there are no medical grounds for such measures," wrote Sakharov and Grigory Podyapolski, a geophysicist.

Political

They called on foreign experts to investigate six notorious mental hospitals run by the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs, and named 17 persons who have been "declared mentally sick for political reasons."

The official psychiatrists' letter, signed by members of the presidium of the All-Union Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists, said no one was forcibly detained in a Soviet mental hospital because of his opinions.

Sakharov, 52, the primary developer of the Soviet hydrogen bomb, has been sharply attacked by Soviet authorities for his criticism of the regime and his outspoken advocacy of more civil liberties in the Soviet Union.

ACTIONLINE

This month ACTIONLINE turns to personal despair besetting many Jewish adults who have recently left the Soviet Union. Their deep concern is for their children, many of whom have been harassed and punished for voicing desires to join their parents in Israel. In a recent communication, the parents charged that their children "are engaged in an active struggle and are subjected to interrogations, threats and arrests. Many have been dismissed from their jobs and deprived of their means of subsistence. We are close to despair and appeal to you for help." EXODUS herewith repeats their plea.

Rachel PRENSKY

I have a son in Russia: **FEURST Mark Isakovich**, born 1936, residing in Tallin, ul Gogel 27/2 (Tel: 24516). He has been refused an exit visa 7 times. Mark was working as assistant to the chief technician in the galvanization department of a radio factory until discharged in March 1973. He is working now as an unskilled laborer. His wife is a hairdresser.

Rachel TSINGISER

I have a daughter in Russia, **MELNIKOVA Sofia Leibovna**, born 1936. My daughter with her husband and three children resides in Saratov, Bolshaya Gornaya 212/2. For two years they have been trying in vain to obtain exit permits. Everytime, the same refusal. All application to the local authorities and those in Moscow are of no avail.

Gita KORBAS

I have a daughter in Russia; **SIMOVICH Sara Abramovna**, born 1947, resides with her husband and two small children in Vilnius, ul Verkyu 20-27. All their applications for exit permits to Israel are refused and no explanation is given. My daughter is a nurse and her husband is a locksmith.

Faina ZAMUELZON

I have a son in Russia, **Zamuelzon Genadi Iozefovich**, born 1926, residing with his wife and two little children in the Latvian SSR, town of Liepaya, Sienasti 6/3. They received the most recent refusals in July of this year. They have been asking for exit visas since 1965, and have often requested reconsideration of the refusals, all without avail. The reason for refusal, according to OVIR's explanation is that Liepaya is a "restricted town", but since January 1st, 1970, it has been removed from the restricted list, and is now an ordinary, open town. Such a refusal is, for me, like a death sentence. I am 80 years old and am losing the hope of ever seeing my son.

Manya VETSTEIN

I have a daughter in Russia, **ZAGORNOVA Ludmila Davidovna**, born in 1944, residing in Kiev, Mutashko 5/112. She is alone, She is my only daughter. I suffer from severe asthma and being separated from my daughter causes me great suffering. My daughter has been dismissed from work and has no means of subsistence. All her applications and complaints to Moscow, in person and in writing are without results.

Ethel PITARU

I have a son in Russia, **PITARU Nikolai Israilovich**, born 1947. He resides in Kishinev. He is alone. He was not allowed to leave with his parents in April 1971, because he had served in the army. Now five years have passed since his demobilisation, and he is still not allowed to join us.

Ida VEINER

I have a daughter in Russia, **LENTSCHIK Sofia Borisovna**, born 1949, residing with her husband and little child in Odessa, ul Diegot 23/22. Three times they were refused exit permits, the last time in July of this year. They were told that the refusal is connected with the fact that her husband, Lentschik Evgenie, studied atomic physics in 1968. He never worked in any secret production. By profession, my daughter and son-in-law are ordinary engineers.

Mia SKULSKAYA

I have a son in Russia, **SKULSKY David Semionovich**, born 1950, residing in Odessa, Tshitsherina 80/14. He is my only son. He is alone as he has no family. We applied for exit permits together, my mother, my son and I. We two women were allowed to emigrate. The son was refused. I did not want to leave him alone, but he insisted that we should go, thinking that he would then be able to join us soon. But he is still being refused.

Lea ENGELBERG

Chaitse DONDE

I, Lea Engelberg have a son in Russia, **ENGELBERG Venyamin Isakor**.

I, Chaitse Donde have a daughter, **ENGELBERG Sonya Pinchusovna**.

They are man and wife, and with their small child reside in Riga, ul Suvorov 113/71 (Tel: 72002). Since 1971 they have been trying to obtain an exit permit, but to no avail. My son, an engraver, always receives the same answer — that he has served in the army. But he was demobilized 5 years ago. They both have parents here in Israel. We are afraid that the real reason for the refusals is quite different — that the authorities are taking revenge on Venyamin's father, now in Israel. He spent

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SYLVA'S TRIBUTE — The grim plight of Soviet Jewish Prisoner of Conscience is brought to attention of noon-time crowd near Fifth Avenue office of Soviet Aeroflot airlines.

Pepsi Chairman's Award Cancelled

The civic leadership award that was originally to go to Donald M. Kendall, head of Pepsi Co. Inc., has been cancelled by the American Jewish Committee.

The August announcement that the award was

Official On Games

The executive director of the United States Olympic Committee said last month in New York that the Committee was "definitely in opposition to the selection of the Soviet Union or any other country practicing methods contrary to the Olympic ideal, as a site for the 1980 games."

That statement was made by Col. F. Donald Miller to a delegation of B'nai B'rith District One, headed by District President Lester A. Macketz, of Woonsocket, R.I. Miller said that the U.S. Olympic Committee "is diametrically opposed to the oppressive measures and actions in the conduct of the World University Games by the Russians." At the games, held in Moscow, the Israeli team was constantly jeered and Soviet Jews rooting for them were harassed and physically abused.

Miller said: "The U.S. Olympic Committee has been and will remain dedicated to the principles that establish the Olympic Games as an instrument to create international amity and good will and will vigorously resist any attempts to impair these ideals and which would make the Olympic movement a vehicle for the extension of political ideologies."

planned stirred a furor in the Jewish community in view of Pepsi's trade ties to the Soviet Union, noted reports in the Washington Post.

Mobilized by the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, militant American supporters of the efforts of Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel or other countries launched a boycott of Pepsi-Co products last December after Pepsi-Co announced a major trade agreement with the Soviet Union involving sale of Pepsi-Cola there and Soviet vodka and wine here.

Kendall has been identified as the author of a telegram sent to 64 major U.S. corporation presidents urging them to rally opposition to the Jackson-Mills-Vanik amendment to the pending trade bill.

Telegrams

The committee did not really respond affirmatively until Mr. Kendall sent out the telegrams throughout the United States to defeat Mills-Vanik," said Harol B. Light, newly elected chairman of the Union of Councils.

2 Activists Get Visas

Two Moscow Jewish activists, Prof. Moisei Gitterman and Victor Mandelsweig, both physicists, have been notified that they can leave the Soviet Union, the Student Struggle for Soviet Jewry reports.

Both have been the subject of a series of refusals and promises to get exit visas. Gitterman has been conducting a weekly physics seminar by phone with Bar Ilan University in Israel.



OBSERVER — As group of Soviet Jews stand before Ministry of Internal Affairs in Moscow and hold banners protesting government's refusal to offer them permission to emigrate, Soviet policeman rushes past to get additional help to halt demonstration. An attempt was made by official to wrest film from American photographer, but pictures were carried out of U.S.S.R. by a civilian on his way to U.S.

Scholar Assails Russ Role as 'Partner'

A leading political scientist and historian says that the Soviet Union "is bound to be an unreliable partner" in East-West accommodation and co-operation, according to an article in the New York Times.

Prof. Hans J. Morgenthau, Leonard Davis Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the City University of New York, writes in the October issue of the magazine *The New Leader*:

"A government that cuts itself and its people off from objective contact with the outside world, that becomes the prisoner of its own propaganda, cannot pursue a foreign policy one can rely on to recognize, let alone respect, those self-imposed moral limitations that are the basis of a viable balance of power policy."

The Soviet Government, he says, "is bound to prove an unreliable partner in detente."

Soviet Book Assailed

Professor Morgenthau, who has served as a consultant to the State and Defense Departments to a recent book by

Anatoly A. Gromyko, the son of Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and the head of the foreign-policy section of the Soviet Academy of Science's Institute of the U.S.A. The book, the professor says, is a "frightening experience, it is a compendium of every nonsense ever uttered by Soviet propaganda about the United States."

"If the leaders of the Soviet Union believe the fictions Gromyko presents as facts — and there is no reason to assume that they do not, since the America Institute is their main source of information about the U.S. — detente can be no more than a breathing spell in an ongoing struggle for total stakes."

"And it must be observed," Professor Morgenthau continues, "that primarily this breathing spell serves the interests of the Soviet Union, whom we are providing with economic and technical potential without any assurance of its ultimate uses. It is at this point that the character of the Soviet Government and its domestic policies become matters of vital relevance for the United States."

Shpilberg Taken During Protest

Soviet police arrested a Jew during a protest demonstration in Moscow last month and confiscated film from an American correspondent covering the event.

The newsman, Roger Leddington of the Associated Press, was detained by police immediately after the Jew, Arkady Shpilberg, was hustled away by police for displaying a poster reading "Let me go to my family in Israel."

The incident occurred in front of the headquarters of the Communist party's central Committee in downtown Moscow.

Leddington was released after a group of police seized a roll of film of Shpilberg's demonstration, which he had refused to hand over.

It is not known what happened to Shpilberg, who was released recently from a Soviet labor camp after serving a three-year term in connection with an alleged hijack plot by a group of Leningrad Jews in 1970.

MOSCOW DEMO

Soviet police charged into a Jewish demonstration in Moscow Oct. 2, ripped apart the protesters' placards and placed ten Moscow Jews under arrest, according to Associated Press reports.

The demonstration — the third such protest against the Kremlin's emigration policies in a ten-day period — took place outside the headquarters of TASS news agency in downtown Moscow.

Just after the demonstration arrived at the TASS building and took out their signs, a group of uniformed militia ran out of the building yelling and tearing down the posters.

The demonstrators were herded into an adjacent courtyard and locked behind a large gate.



GOODBYE JUSTICE — Congressman Mario Biaggi speaks as youth and members of New York Jewish organizations demonstrate outside the second-floor Fifth Avenue offices of the Austrian government to protest the Kreisky government's voluntary offer to Arab terrorists to shut down the Schonau transit camp for Soviet Jewish refugees.

Soviets Hint Awareness Of U.S. Trade Opposition

The Soviet Union this month gave the first public indication of becoming reconciled to the fact that Moscow will probably not win tariff concessions from the U.S. this year because of Congressional opposition, the New York Times reported.

A major weekly international review in *Pravda*, the Communist party newspaper, sought to belittle the economic importance of gaining better tariff terms

from Washington and asserted that blockage of such terms by Congress "is far from undermining Soviet-American trade."

This marked a distinct shift in the Soviet position. Heretofore, Moscow has laid great stress on removing "discriminatory" barriers to trade, and high Soviet officials have talked of this virtually as a precondition to a major expansion of trade.

Seven Kiev Jews were arrested last month when they sought to carry out a pledge to demonstrate over refusal of Kiev officials to see them over delays in their getting exit visas, JTA reported.

Six Moscow Activists Hit 'Quiet Diplomacy'

(In September a widely publicized news conference between Soviet Jewish activists and Western newsmen took place. EXODUS has recently learned that much of what the activists had to say was not printed in U.S. newspapers. Key aspects omitted were: the question of quiet diplomacy vs legislative action; mention of a confidential letter sent to Dr. Henry Kissinger by Soviet Jews; and the administration's response. The English text that follows was received in early October at the UCSJ office in Cleveland, Ohio.)

"We have learned that a number of Jews, none of whom we have ever heard of, are maintaining that we, who are struggling for the right to emigrate to Israel, are allegedly endangered if Congress adopts the (Jackson) Amendment to the Trade Bill, and that such an action by the American Legislature will bring down on Soviet Jews the vengeance of the authorities and block forever their departure for Israel.

"We are inclined to see in this one of the results of 'quiet diplomacy,' which certain members of the American administration are trying to introduce into this question.

"Only last February, the Secretary for Economic Affairs, Mr. Lazarus, arriving in Moscow at the head of an economic delegation, tried to put pressure on us in this direction.

"Taking care not to compromise himself by meeting with us directly, he conveyed to us, through an intermediary, his opinion of how we ought to act. His proposal amounted to the following: If the Amendment is passed, economic ties between the USSR and the USA will be doomed. For such a setback, the Soviet government will wreak its vengeance on us, and no one will be able to come to our aid.

"This was, as it were, the negative side of the approach. The positive side consisted of proposals that we should send a letter to Jewish organisations in the USA, urging them not to support the Amendment, but to ensure its failure. If this happened, we were told, we could rely on the help of the American administration, using 'quiet diplomacy.' We refused this proposition, because it amounted in practice to asking us to betray those friends in America who were fighting for our rights, and also our friends in the USSR.

"In May this year, we were once more convinced of the ambiguity of the 'quiet diplomacy' policy.

"During Mr. Kissinger's visit to Moscow, we were able to inform him, through a confidential letter, of our views concerning the resolution of the Jewish emigration problem. Having described our difficult situation, on the eve of Brezhnev's visit to the USA, we wrote to Mr. Kissinger, saying that at that moment, he alone had the possibility of explaining to his top-level partners in negotiation the necessity of making a goodwill gesture, which so many people talk about, and so few perform. We wrote that nothing could serve better to create trust in good intentions, than to release spontaneously, and without strings, the group of Jews who for so long, and in vain, had been trying to exercise their legal right to emigrate to Israel. At that time we were concerned with 305 names.

"In conclusion, we put the proposition that if we were rapidly allowed to leave the USSR, the protest demonstrations which American Jewish organisations were planning to hold would be called off and the Brezhnev visit would proceed without hindrance.

"It is obvious that Mr. Kissinger received this letter, because after his return to the USA certain unnamed representatives of the White House informed leaders of Jewish organisations there, that in the opinion of the special ad-

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ACTIONLINE

from page 4

many years in Soviet jails for Zionism. There was even a television broadcast in Riga about him as a dangerous Zionist. Now they are holding the son as a hostage and this intensifies our worry.

Bliuma BASH

I have a son in Russia; **BASH Antshul Mailechovich**, born 1945, a mechanic, resides with his wire in Zaccarpattia, Tsatchovski district, Taresovo Village, ul Gorkii 19. When he was still a boy, in 1958, we asked for an exit permit together with parents. In 1966 we all received permission, but with the interruption of diplomatic relations between USSR and Israel, our permits were annulled. Only in 1972, we, the parents, received our exit permit, but without our son. His application was rejected and so our family has been separated.

Rivka Naiman

I have a son in Russia, **NAIMAN Aron Iliich**, born 1947, a worker, residing in Zaccarpattia, town of Vinogradove, ul Gorkii 89. He is refused an exit visa and all his complaints and appeals are ignored.

Lubov DINENSON

I have a son in Russia, **ARONOVICH Felix Eximovich**, born 1930, an engineer, residing in Leningrad, ul Pestela 13'-15-16, (Tel: 730562). He is alone. We asked for exit visas together. Permission was granted me and my younger son, but the older one, Felix was refused. I refused to leave my older son, but I was told by the authorities that if I do not leave there will be repressions against my younger son. So I was compelled to part from the older one.

Zhennia MAGER

I have a son in Russia, **MAGER Mikhail Eduardovich**, born 1945, an engineer, residing in Vinaitsa, Ukrainian SSR, Karmeliuk 37/6, (Tel: 43761). He is alone. We asked for an exit visa together. The whole family, parents and brother, received permission and arrived in Israel in February 1973. Only Mikhail was, and still is refused an exit permit. He has twice sent an announcement of renunciation of Soviet Citizenship to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. He conducts a constant fight for an exit visa. He is being investigated and threatened with punishment. No motives for the refusal are given, but my son knows the reason: He was a witness in the Shkolnik trial and in the Raizan trial, in which his friends were accused of "Zionist activity". From the point of view of the authorities, he behaved badly, that is he did not bear witness against his comrades in spite of the threats of the authorities. Now they are taking revenge.

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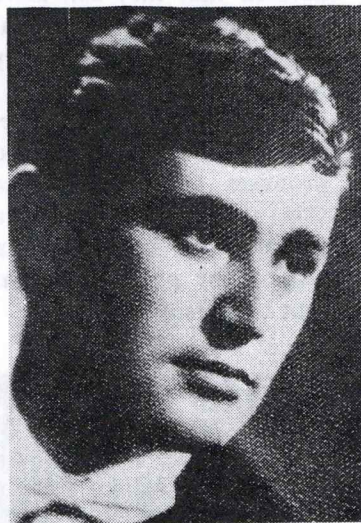
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UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS Membership Form

Send to the Union of Councils office of your choice.

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Joan Baez Joins Jewish Activists

In an unprecedented move, Amnesty International of the U.S.A. joined forces with the Bay Area Council on Soviet Jewry to begin a national campaign urging widespread support from scientists, physicians, writers, musicians and other organizations concerned with civil liberties for three Soviet citizens, all non-Jews.

According to a story in the San Francisco Jewish Bulletin, folksinger Joan Baez of Amnesty International, Professor Owen Chamberlain of the University of California at Berkeley, Nobel Laureate in 1959 in Physics, Professor Paul Zinner of the Political Science Department at UC Davis, and Dr. Leonard A.

Sagan, chairman of Medical and Scientific Community of Amnesty International have joined forces with Harold B. Light, chairman of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews to help in the plight of three Soviet intellectuals, Andrei Sakharov, Alexander Solzhenitsyn and Andrei Amalrik, who have recently come under severe attack from the Soviet government.

Miss Baez and Professors Chamberlain and Zinner suggested that the three Soviets be awarded the Nobel Peace prize for their "courageous resistance against government repression of freedom of expression and censorship in the Soviet Union."



JOAN BAEZ — The noted folksinger voices her support of Soviet dissidents. Dr. Paul Zinner (left) and Dr. Owen Chamberlain of Amnesty International made the joint announcement with the Bay Area Council on Soviet Jewry

Prisoner Intellectuals Decry Western Silence

(The following editorial was written by Michael M. Solomon and appeared earlier this month in the New York Times.)

MONTREAL — During my seventeen years' detention in Siberian slave labor camps and Rumanian jails, I met with a great number of Soviet and Rumanian intellectuals. In one Siberian camp alone, I remember a Czech professor of law, formerly a judge at the International Court at The Hague, the former dean of Moscow's school of architecture, a Rumanian professor of psychology and former Rockefeller scholar, the ex-metropole of the Ukrainians of Catholic Rite, and a smattering of former Russian marshals and admirals.

Despite their various ethnic origin and different social upbringing they were all attracted to each other by what they called the "inner perception." Some, like the marshals, were frustrated by their falls from power and exclusion from the Soviet elite, but the rank and file of Soviet artists, doctors, writers, poets and musicians went along admirably with their European colleagues and tried to forge an internationale of fighters for freedom.

All of them were baffled by what they called the "striking contrast" between the belief in democracy displayed at every occasion by the Western leaders and their eagerness to strike a deal with their Communist opposite members, no matter the consequences.

Russian intellectuals reminisced about the historical gesture of Peter the Great who smashed a window in his newly built palace to "let in a breeze from Europe," to demonstrate how genuine the spirit of freedom was among enlightened Russians.

The camp intellectuals were annoyed by the silence of the Western intellectuals and the passivity shown by them toward the struggle for freedom in the East. When after many years I reached London, I brought their message to a number of Western intellectuals. A few were moved by what I had to tell them. The majority argued that after the exposure of Stalin's crimes by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Party Congress, things had naturally improved and that the idea of revival of the Stalinist terror was out of the question.

Reputable journalists shared that view: while deploring the fate of imprisoned intellectuals their disappearance was considered a necessary sacrifice on the altar of detente between West and East, and a positive contribution to world peace.

After the latest statements made by Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, which have enjoyed full publicity in the West, the opinion that we are witnessing a mellowing of the Soviet ruthlessness has been shattered. It is enough to read Pravda and the Izvestia these days to see once more that characteristic accumulation of clouds preceding the big purges of the past. For the Soviet brought-up individual, any criticism of the system is tantamount to "treason against the fatherland," while the slightest remark about the fatherland is tantamount to Communist heresy.

Not a single word from Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn appeared in print in the U.S.S.R. But a chorus of "protests" signed by numerous academicians and professors expressed "indig-

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Senator Hartke Intervenes For Retired Soviet General

A retired Soviet general, Yofim Davidovich, who was promised a permit to emigrate to Israel last May, is still being held in Minsk and regularly harassed by the police, according to a United States Congressional aide.

The story, written by Flora Lewis in the New York Times, detailed how Leon Charney, an assistant to Sen. Vance Hartke (D-Ind) met General Davidovich during a recent trip to the Soviet Union.

The main purpose of the

Beverly Sills Supports Panovs

A group of theatrical personalities appealed to the delegates attending the recent European Security Conference on behalf of Valery and Galina Panov. The letter was signed by Laurence Olivier (Lord Olivier), Franco Zeffirelli, Sir Alec Guinness, Peter Hall, Lindsay Anderson, Paul Scofield, Janet Suzman, Miriam Karlin, Beverly Sills and Clive Barnes.

HIAS In Reversal

An understanding was reached in Jerusalem recently that the United Hias Service will not aid Soviet Jews who wish to leave Israel, particularly after they have been provided with jobs and housing there.

The understanding was reached between the Jewish Agency and several Jewish organizations, including Hias. According to the understanding, the reason for this is that those Jews cannot be considered to be people in distress and Israel cannot be regarded as a country of distress.

trip was to discuss trade problems coming before the Senate. But because Senator Hartke had intervened personally in the Davidovich case earlier this year, Mr. Charney made a special trip to Minsk to check on the situation.

General Davidovich, Col. Levy Ostreicher, Col. Noam Olshansky and a number of other Minsk Jews had written letters to the Soviet authorities asking for permission to emigrate to Israel. As a result, they were accused of creating "anti-state literature" and put on trial.

The trial was dropped after Senator Hartke's intervention and the petitioners were told they would be allowed to leave. One of the group, Jasha Kipnes, a poet, did receive his papers and is now in Israel,

Mr. Charney said.

Officers Refused

But the three retired officers, all bemedalled World War II heroes, have been refused.

Mr. Charney said General Davidovich told him that he was taken by the police almost every day for long interrogation, and then released at night. He had reportedly developed heart disease as a result.

Evidently, the effort is to wear down his determination to leave, since the Russians as a general policy consider the departure of people who formerly held high rank as both risky and bad for the national image.

But General Davidovich told Mr. Charney with passion, "If not Israel, then I should die."

Erratic Soviet Policy Grants 5 Visas While Denying 80

Five leading Jewish activists in the Soviet Union were given permission to leave last month, according to JTA reports.

Visas were granted to Boris Einbinder and Vladimir Roginsky of Moscow; and Igor Goldfarb of Kiev. The report also noted that visas were also promised to Vladimir Mash, a well-known economist and Boris Orlov, a historian, both of Moscow.

Meanwhile, more than 80 other Soviet Jews have protested to the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee over the denial of visas to them and others, it was reported from Moscow.

The Central Committee was challenged to state why it has not to date informed more than 80 visa applicants of the fate of their applications. The petition, made available to Western newsmen, said the applicants did not belong to "any of the categories" named by Communist Party Sec-

retary Leonid I. Brezhnev during his visit to the U.S. last June.

Without Rights

They said that previous appeals to the Central Committee were never acknowledged and that they had never received any written acknowledgement of their visa applications.

"We are without rights before the Soviet authorities. We cannot even file a complaint when permission to leave is refused to us, as refusals are only given verbally," the appeal said. "We know that the instructions on which our fate depends come from the Central Committee — that is from whom the KGB (secret police) and MVD (Interior Ministry) take their orders."

Signatories of the petition included the eminent scientist Prof. Benjamin Levich, computer specialist Aleksander Lerner, and Vladimir Slepak.

Tale of Two Struggles

from page 2

scientists who specialize in Soviet Affairs with one question: Why would the Kremlin hazard a war at this time? Here are some of the possibilities:

1) Knowing that American opposition to Soviet trade deals is growing, Brezhnev may be trying to put himself into the role of peacemaker, along with Nixon and Kissinger, to prove that their "detente" is real.

2) Brezhnev's opponents in the Kremlin have never trusted his dealings with our Administration, and may be trying to damage his power right now.

3) As the Soviets put the pressure on us right now, they may hope that many Congressmen will believe Kissinger's argument that this is no time to deny the Soviets the U.S. credits, or MFN, or anything else they want.

4) Another interesting speculation is that Brezhnev is once again demonstrating a poor sense of timing, just as he did when he announced the education tax and created the Mills-Vanik-Jackson legislation, exactly when their trade deals were going well for them. We have never considered Brezhnev and his colleagues to be poor negotiators, certainly not stupid. On the other hand, our brilliant Dr. Kissinger does not look so brilliant right now, either.

What to do? Assuming that by the time EXODUS reaches you the issues are still not resolved, our work is clearly cut out for us.

We must exert every effort on behalf of Israel and on behalf of our Soviet Jewish brethren at the same time. Impossible? Not at all. In both battles the enemy is the same, the Soviet Union.

Neutralize the U.S.S.R. and the Arab military falls apart. Deny the Soviets American credits and equipment and their capabilities to destroy our people are seriously damaged.

We must make sure our Congress knows what we want. We must get our friends to help . . . not just Jews. This is everybody's fight.

Israel depends on us. Soviet Jews depend on us. America's best interests depend on us. Can we do less?

Harold B. Light
President, UCSJ

Genuine Leader

from page 2

He has been a leader, a spokesman, and a person who always saw issues in appropriate perspective, holding Soviet Jews at the top of his priorities. The strong relationship which he has built up and maintained among Soviet Jewry activists throughout the world, and the unparalleled rapport which he has established with Soviet Jews themselves, speaks well for his person. He has succeeded in striking the difficult balance between activism and intellect.

Rosenblum guided the Union through its difficult infancy. While the UCSJ caught the wrath of more conservative and timid Jewish organizations, the test of his success can be measured in their adoption of many of his programs.

Lou Rosenblum has been in this movement longer than any of us, and his expertise in this field is matched by none. Yet, for the moment, the Jewish community loses a perceptive Chairman, an important leader, and an intellectual force.

Schonau

from page 1

political gamesmanship, and the hasty summit quickly evolved into a test of wills between two veteran politicians, both strong-willed, both socialists and both Jewish.

Mrs. Meir's position was categorical: She wanted Austria to rescind its decision to close Schonau and to permit the transit process to continue as before. Dr. Kreisky was equally categorical: Schonau had to be closed. His only conciliatory offer was a proposal to ask the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to operate the camp under United Nations protection. Mrs. Meir, he said dryly at a press conference later, "was not very much impressed" with his offer. In any case, the proposal was formally turned down two days later by Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, a fellow Austrian, on the grounds that such an operation was beyond United Nations jurisdiction.

Exaggerating

Both sides, of course, had been deliberately exaggerating the importance of Schonau. It is neither the indispensable transit facility the Israelis make it out to be, nor the grave security risk the Austrians portray it to be.

But symbolically for the Israelis, the camp's closure as a result of Arab terrorism would establish a precedent that theoretically would lead to repeat performances elsewhere in Europe or even in the United States — wherever Jews or Israelis travel in large groups.

Activists

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viser to the President, they should cancel their demonstrations during Brezhnev's visit to the USA. Because to judge by assurances they have received, the Soviet side might in that case be prepared in the future to adopt a more liberal attitude towards the question of Jewish emigration.

"We are convinced that only by means of open social struggle can a solution be found to the problem, which, above all, is concerned with the high principles of human rights."

"It is evident that the declaration of these unknown Jews, asserting that adoption of the Jackson amendment places us in danger, is so far the sole victory gained by the methods of 'quiet diplomacy.'"

Vladimir Slepak
Victor Polsky
Alexander Lerner
Kirill Khenkin
Boris Orlov
Boris Alnbinder

False Detente

from page 3

Here you have total confusion, either deliberate or based on ignorance about the USSR. It is as if the emigration issue affected only Jews. As if the situation of those Jews who have vainly sought to emigrate to Israel was not already tragic enough and would become even more hopeless if it were to depend on the democratic attitudes and on the humanity of O.V.I.R. (the Soviet visa agency). As if the techniques of "quiet diplomacy" could help anyone, beyond a few individuals in Moscow and some other cities.

The abandonment of a policy of principle would be a betrayal of the thousands of Jews and non-Jews who want to emigrate, of the hundreds in camps and mental hospitals, of the victims of the Berlin Wall.

Such a denial would lead to stronger repressions on ideological grounds. It would be tantamount to total capitulation of democratic principles in face of blackmail deceit and violence. The consequences of such a capitulation for international confidence, detente and the entire future of mankind are difficult to predict.

I express the hope that the Congress of the United States, reflecting the will and the traditional love of freedom of the American people, will realize its historical responsibility before mankind and will find the strength to rise above temporary partisan considerations of commercialism and prestige.

I hope that the Congress will support the Jackson Amendment.

Andrei Sakharov

Prisoner Intellectuals

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nation and disgust with the imperialistic lackeys Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn.

The two are already condemned before trial. For them the situation is that of Bernard Shaw's St. Joan, of whom the Bishop Cochon said: "She will burn on the stake after tomorrow; what remains to do is to bring her to trial before tomorrow." Soviet investigators boast that "those under arrest are already condemned, and those who are still at liberty are under investigation."

The facts of August, 1973, have yet to be guessed by the Soviet readers while they have little trouble to understand the meaning of the expression "ex-physicist" applied to the father of the Soviet H-bomb and the association of the epithets to his name. It crudely smells of art. Article 70 of the Soviet Penal Code which provides a penalty of seven years detention in prison or at hard labor camps, except for those mentally deranged to whom a generous justice offers the comforts of the lunatic asylum.

The Soviet readers are not allowed to know the accusations showered by the political apparatus against distinguished opponents of the regime; they are on the safer side, ignoring them while learning about their forthcoming penalties.

Vanik Bill Postponed

from page 1

section in question. The result was a 12-12 tie and the Committee Counsel ruled that Congressman Mills' proxy could not be used for a point of order.

Although the denial of Most Favored Nation status is of concern to the Soviets and the administration, the real issue is that of trade credits, investment guarantees, and loans. Most Favored Nation status applies to finished and semi-processed goods imported from the Soviet Union. Other than vodka and caviar, there are few items in this category that the United States wishes to import. Congressman Vanik has

told the co-sponsors of the original amendment that he will offer an amendment to the Trade Act on the floor in order to restore the language denying trade credits, guarantees, and loans.

House action on the Trade Reform bill has been postponed at the request of Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. Kissinger reportedly told the leadership that the controversial Most Favored Nation status for the Soviet Union might cause even more controversy at this time because of Soviet support for the Arab nations. The House had been scheduled to vote on the bill in late October.