

ALERT

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The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

PILNIKOV SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS

Valery Pilnikov, a Kiev activist, has been sentenced to a surprisingly stiff five year sentence on charges of "malicious hooliganism." The trial was held without legal representation for Pilnikov and despite written evidence clearing him of all charges. Not one lawyer in Kiev had been willing to undertake Pilnikov's defense.

Olga Pilnikov plans to fly to Moscow to appeal the verdict.

STUDENT ARRESTED; CHARGED WITH DRAFT EVASION

Grigory Geyshas, a talented Leningrad student has been arrested by the Leningrad authorities and charged with draft evasion. His trial had been set for July 10.

Grigory first applied for an exit visa in October 1978. Permission was denied and he was immediately expelled from the Communications Institute where he had been a straight-A student. He has repeatedly applied, along with his family. His grandparents applied in February 1980 and included Grigory on their application which is still pending.

Harassed time and again on the streets in Leningrad, both Geyshas and his parents have been "picked" up by the KGB. Geyshas is now under arrest and awaiting trial. Please write to his family at: Prospect Stacheck 132, korp 2, kv. 60, Leningrad 198216, RSFSR, USSR.

ALEXANDER LANDSMAN SERIOUSLY ILL

Alexander Landsman is again seriously ill. His parents are refuseniks who have been attempting to leave Russia and be united with their family for some time. In the interim, Alexander has been diagnosed as having leukemia. They desperately need the support of their family at this time. Please send pleas that the family be permitted to leave on humanitarian grounds. The right of family reunification is guaranteed by the Helsinki Accords and is especially crucial in such tragic circumstances. Emma and Boris Landsman are at: Pulkovskaya St 19, korp 2, kv 291, Moscow 125493, RSFSR, USSR. Write to Minister of Health B.V. Petrovsky, 3 Rakhmanovsky Pereulok, Moscow, RSFSR, USSR.

PENTECOSTALS BEGIN THIRD YEAR IN EMBASSY REFUGE

Seven members of the Vaschenko and Chmykhalov families have been living in the basement of the Moscow American Embassy for two years. Having tried to legally immigrate for 18 years, they finally rushed past Soviet guards in June 1978 and have been refugees ever since.

Deeply religious Christians, the families only seek freedom of worship—a right guaranteed by the Soviet constitution. Constantly harassed by the KGB, the two families symbolize the fate of fifty thousand fervent Christians who have applied to emigrate so as to be able to practice their religion freely. Even their children are tormented by teachers and playmates.

Two Vaschenko sons have been arrested, while a daughter has been removed from the custody of her family because Soviet officials announced the parents to be unfit. One son Sasha has been singled out for severe treatment at the prison where he is now incarcerated, including a six month sentence in isolation. (The usual sentence is two weeks.) His reprieve came from a 1200 letter campaign organized by the Alabama Council to Save Soviet Jews, and is an indication of the importance of public protest. Please write to him at the following address: Alexander Vaschenko, Lager Khairuizovka 238/28, Ilansky Raion, Krasnoyarsky kray, USSR.

Plans are now underway to help the two families emigrate to the United States. Thirteen senators, headed by Carl Levin of Michigan and David Bonen of Oklahoma, have introduced S. 280 on their behalf. Please appeal to your senators to help sponsor this bill. Your support is vital, and so is theirs. The families can be written to at the American Embassy, Moscow, USSR.



TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF LENINGRAD TRIALS: Reprinted from Jews in the USSR (London)

In the early hours of June 15, 1970, an armed group of KGB and Militiamen swooped on the Priozersk forest outside Leningrad and arrested four young people, two men and two women, (one of them pregnant). Four hours later, nine more young men were picked up on their way to Smoinoye Airport. Over the next few days and weeks, scores of Jews from towns all over the Soviet Union were picked up for questioning. Preparations for the Leningrad trials were under way.

Six months later, eleven of those arrested were brought to court, accused of attempting to hijack an airplane to fly to Israel. Although none of the accused ever actually reached the airplane, and whatever plan they had was never put into operation, all the accused were given savagely vindictive sentences which shocked the world.

Two of them, Edward Kuznetsov and Mark Dymshitz were actually sentenced to death and were saved only by massive world-wide protests. In April, 1979, both men were "exchanged" for two Soviet spies who were being held in the West. A few days before, five of the group who had earned the title of "Prisoners of Conscience" had been released after having served nine of their ten year sentences. All are now in Israel.

What was the motivation for the so-called hijack? Frustration at the blatant anti-Israel stance taken by the Soviet Union? To draw the attention of the world to the unwillingness of the authorities to allow Soviet Jews to go to what so many regarded as their natural homeland? Whatever it was, most people realize the arrest of the Leningrad group was the turning point in the entire movement for Soviet Jewish emigration.

Three men, ten years later, are still in Soviet Labor camps. They are: Yosif Mendelevich, Yuri Federov and Alexei Murzhenko. From what we occasionally hear, all three are undergoing considerable hardship. This, and the gross inequity of holding them when all those charged with them have been released, has prompted their former fellow Prisoners of Conscience to issue a special appeal to the world to have the three men set free.

Mendelevich is the only Jew still being held. He was twenty three years old at the time of his arrest. In court, he told his prosecutors that he belonged to a family that held Jewish traditions in high regard. In Riga he had edited a magazine devoted to Jewish cultural matters and wrote articles on the importance of Jewish self-awareness. His family had three times applied to leave for Israel and had each time been refused. Hearing about the possibility of the flight, he told his family: "If we get one more refusal, I'm going to join the others." Some days later, the family was refused for the fourth time. Yosif was sentenced to fifteen years, later commuted to twelve.

IDA SPEAKS OUT FROM KRIVOSHEINO

Lev Blitshtein and Isai Goldshtein recently returned from a visit to Ida Nudel. They found that the atmosphere there has improved, with some people even greeting her in public. Her health is better, as well, and she is quite appreciative of the frequent phone contact she has been getting from her friends in Moscow.

Ida's case is being promoted by the London 35's as an agenda item at the International Women's Conference in July.

Ida made the following observation to Goldshtein during his recent visit, in a discussion of the decade that has followed the Leningrad trials:

Ten years have passed since 15 June, 1970. Yes, ten painful and beautiful years have passed. Scores of prisoners, but thousands of free people. Only the prisoners know what sort of a price they paid. The thousands who gained their freedom hardly realise how lucky they have been, what the emotional upsurge and the consequent arrest of the 34 people in June 1970 really was, what an epoch it was in the history of Soviet Jewry.

Historians will write about it and different people are already writing about it. The value of these writings differs. Some will write about it objectively, without passion, without unnecessary sufferings - and this will remain. New developments never come without sacrifices, without blood and suffering of man. This is an axiom of life. Any progressive phenomena in social life or science probably appear in a similar way. A small group of people decided to take an airplane and then their emotional state was transferred to and taken over by first

thousands then by hundreds of thousands and now, we could safely say, by millions of Jews.

You have asked my opinion about the present situation. I am not living among Jews or Russians now. I live by myself, all alone. I do not have personal contact with people. Therefore, I am not as well informed as I had been in the past; I do not have such a vivid daily perception as I had in the past when I was in Moscow and was communicating with masses of applicants, people departing for Israel, people preparing themselves for applying for emigration, people from different cities and different walks of life. I collected all this information in my heart and in my head. I drew conclusions for myself. Now I cannot do this.

I have friends in various Soviet cities and I only have information about them. Correspondence is not, of course, as good as personal contact, but nevertheless I do get a general idea of the situation through the perception of it by my friends. It is a very interesting situation, a very curious one. There was never a situation like this; with tens of thousands of people waiting for exit visas, most of them deprived of material assistance and eating up their savings preparing for emigration. They are without jobs and their situation is unclear. Those who were most emotional, most reckless, most passionate in their desire to leave have already left. They went in the vanguard of the movement . . .

KIEV REFUSENIKS NEED SUPPORT

The following Kiev refuseniks signed a collective letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Valery Pilnikov, who led the group presenting the petition, was arrested and sentenced as indicated on the front page of this week's ALERT. These are new refuseniks who would greatly appreciate your letters and support.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Yr. of Birth</u>	<u>Address</u>
Valery Pilnikov	1938	Vasilkovskaya 55, apt. 14, Kiev 127
Olga Dudnik		Vasilkovskaya 55, apt. 14, Kiev 127
Yefim Shoiket	1948	ul. Oboroni 9/10, apt. 12, Kiev 127
Boris Faktorovitch	1959	Per. Maryanenko. 9, apt. 37, Kiev 21
Pyotr Katz	1941	Malinovskogo 13B, apt. 215, Kiev 212
Garry Pekler	1932	Pr. 40-Let Oktyabr 104, apt. 36, Kiev 127
Milan Partigul	1938	ul. P. Tychiny 9B, apt. 29, Kiev 152
Liuba Kogan		Poltavskaya 3, apt. 52, Kiev 51
Shoikhet Bratslavskaya	1936	Berezhnyakovskaya 20, apt. 11, Kiev 173
Ida Reznikova	1933	Pr. 40-Let Oktyabr 102/1, apt. 40, Kiev 127
Larissa Rovinskaya	1936	Bratislavskaya 40, apt. 25, Kiev 166
Larissa Ratmanskaya	1954	Shampilo 3, apt. 65, Kiev 112
Hanna Rogidovskaya	1936	Chorevaya 36, apt. 3, Kiev 71
Pavel Nizin	1943	ul. Liebknehta 11/1, apt. 23, Kiev 21
Pyotr Vulokh	1951	Krasnoarmoiskaya 6a, apt. 25, Kiev 5
Gennady Olshansky		Komsomolskaya 31, apt. 35, Kiev 140
Manya Torchinskaya		Bratislavskaya 32a, apt. 37, Kiev 156
Solomon Yurist		Komsomolskaya 17, apt. 70, Kiev 140
Margarita Lipetskaya		Minskoye Chaussee 10, apt. 104, Kiev 200
David Tchorniy		Bratislavskaya 14, apt. 120, Kiev 140
Grigory Ostrovsky	1950	pr. Krasnosvyozdny 33, apt. 4, Kiev 37
Nyasnya Dubina		Volgogradskaya 4, apt. 19, Kiev 141
Pyotr Kanevsky	1948	Dneprovskaya Naberezhnaya 5a, apt. 227, Kiev 98
Svetlana Fuhrman		Krasnoarmeiskaya 132, apt. 138, Kiev 6
Emile Kotlov		Voroshilova 13, apt. 161, Kiev 166
Arkadiy Schvartz		Volgogradskaya 5, apt. 54, Kiev 141
Natalya Shpak		Parova 15a, apt. 30, Kiev 125
Sergei Gorodeeskiy		Sholom Aleikham 15, apt. 51, Kiev 156
Avraam Vurgaftman		Geroyev Sevastopolya 17b, apt. 7, Kiev 124

Izyaslev Gabel
 Alexander Kotovsky
 Abram Spektor
 Emma Sigalovskaya
 Alexander Serebryakov 1918
 Stanislav Zubko 1937
 Ilya Pibov 1949
 Svetlana Boretskaya
 Ilya Ozadovsky
 Irina Katz
 Ilya Katz
 Yefim Bolyachevsky
 Ilya Blankman
 Victoria Bashmakova
 Vera Ginzburg
 Oleg Shafran
 Yakov Fuchsman 1937
 Anna Fuhrlander

Volkova 8, apt. 24, Kiev 185
 Shota Rustavelli 33, apt. 10, Kiev 23
 Andreyeva Malyshko 29a, apt. 73, Kiev 206
 Zetonskogo 25/89, apt. 65, Kiev 126
 Fyodorova 6, apt. 7, Kiev 5
 Dnieprovskaya Nab. 11, apt. 15, Kiev 98
 Borisoglebskaya 3, apt. 11, Kiev 70
 Roman Rolana 33, apt. 314, Kiev 170
 Uritskogo 27/5, apt. 92, Kiev 35
 Parizhskoi Kommuni 6, apt. 10, Kiev 1
 Vozdukhoflotsky per. 3, apt. 43, Kiev 49
 Tverskoi Tupik 6/8, apt. 226, Kiev 42
 Krasnozvyozdny Pr. 29, apt. 8, Kiev 37
 Kurnatovskogo 17, apt. 17, Kiev 139
 Boychanko 14, apt. 145, Kiev 206
 Sholom Aleikhem 14, apt. 70, Kiev 156
 Entusiastov 29/2, apt. 158, Kiev 147
 Zodchikh 26a, apt. 36, Kiev 158

NEW REFUSENIKS:

Nathan & Elizaveta Guravitz
 Bayron St., 114-v, apt. 1
 Kharkov 310162, Ukr. SSR, USSR

Gita Yakovlevna Tarno
 ul. Frunze 5, apt. 4
 Kharkov, Ukr. SSR, USSR

Mina Gelfat
 ul. Uritskogo 5, apt. 2
 Kharkov 125, Ukr. SSR, USSR

Rachel Shapiro
 Budapeshtskaja str. 35,
 bldg 2, apt. 78
 Leningrad 192212, RSFSR, USSR

Evgeny Klusner
 Severny ave. 91, bldg 3, apt. 22
 Leningrad 195252, RSFSR, USSR

Boris LeBovikov
 Victor Birk
 Lev Shutov (1946)

2 sons, Edward born 1966, Vadim, born 1970. He is a mathematician, born 1935, his wife is a teacher. All of his relatives have applied for a visa

Born 1917, applied with son-in-law Vladimir Ziserson

Born 1949. Son Leonid, born 1972. Husband Arkady lives in Israel

Born 1911, on a small pension.

He and his wife are both engineers. They have two children.

Komin Terna 2-56, Petrodvorstz, Leningrad
 Rubinstein St. 11, apt. 72, Leningrad
 Rimsky Korsakov 44, apt. 4, Leningrad

NEWS BRIEFS

* The Moscow Gan has been officially closed. The parents were informed that the ten children were "disturbing the neighbors." Boris and Irina Ghinis have therefore left the city and gone to Riga. It is unclear whether the gan will be permitted to reopen after the Olympics.

* Ruth Okuneva, a former research worker at the Methodological Institute of the Academy of Sciences, has compiled an 87-page document on Russian anti-Semitism. Cited at the European Parliamentary Meeting for Soviet Jewry, the report compares the literature of Czarist Russia with that of contemporary Soviet writers.

* The appeal of Mosei Zats has been rejected; he has already begun serving his three year prison sentence.

* Alexander Maryasin of Riga recently reported on a recent KGB interrogation, done without any warrant. Excerpts follow:

In reply to my remark about the lawlessness of his actions he said: "If there is no such law today, we will publish one tomorrow and we will do as we please. You probably know very well how we recently treated a relatively much more honored person and you might soon find yourself a long way away." During a similar interrogation of my daughter, he told her: "The cold war is back now. In the past we allowed you to leave under the guise of 're-unification of families' to please the Americans, but now this has ended. I have been working in the security organs for many years and I remember the time when people were killed without a charge and without a trial.

* An open letter to the West from Andrei Sakharov appeared in the New York Times magazine on June 8. He has been in illegal exile in Gorky for almost six months, having never gone to trial or been allowed to defend himself. His letter ends with requests for public support.

* Some new information about emigration application procedures has come from an article in the January 1980 issue of Israel Horizons. An essay by Seth Siegel on his recent trip to the USSR contained some interesting new facts:

a. No matter what the age of the applicant, written permission must be obtained from parents who must sign the document in front of a formal committee at their place of work or residence.

b. Applicants must submit official death certificates for deceased parents. But official death certificates are often missing for those killed in the Holocaust or those who died in Siberian labor camps. Lacking this document, the applicant simply may not leave the USSR.

NEWS FROM THE COUNCILS

* The Long Island Committee is sponsoring an Olympic Village in Exile on July 19th. This is the opening date for the start of the Olympic Games in Moscow, and also the third anniversary of the Shcharansky trial. There will be an all-night vigil from 10:00 p.m. until 10:00 a.m. Sunday morning.

* A recent letter by Congressman James Scheur of the eleventh district, New York, has been "returned" by the Soviet Embassy. No response and no explanation accompanied the appeal that had been sent on behalf of Igor Guberman.

* Several Jewish women's groups in Sweden have been very active on Ida Nudel's behalf. They delivered a petition to the Swedish Foreign Minister who promised to take it to Moscow and deliver it personally.

* The Comite des Quinze recently organized a Freedom Jog in Paris, highlighted by the appearance of Edward Kuznetsov.

EMIGRATION NOTES - 1767 emigres, 32% going to Israel

An article in the London Observer (Sunday, June 8) notes that while Jewish emigration from the USSR has been halved in 1980, Soviet German emigration has doubled. Both groups have had new visa applications refused for the last 60 days.

The preparations for the Olympic Games have caused delays in delivery of invitations from Israel; people who have received invitations seem reluctant to initiate the application procedure for an exit visa. New requests for Israeli invitations are very limited. Until January 1980, six hundred thousand vizovs had been requested, sent and received. Since then only seventeen thousand have been requested.

PERMISSION:

Peter Balshem
Valentina Dubrovskaya
Lev Talianker & family

Tashkent
Moscow
Moscow

EMIGRES

Alexander Bukhman
Yakov Lvovsky
Abram Magin
Lazar Miloslavsky
Yakov Neplokh
Boris Yusupov
Isaak Tsiriulnik

Gomel
Kishinev
Alma-Ata
Vilnius
Leningrad
Bukhara
Chernovtsy

HOPE FORESEEN FOR SOVIET PRISONER

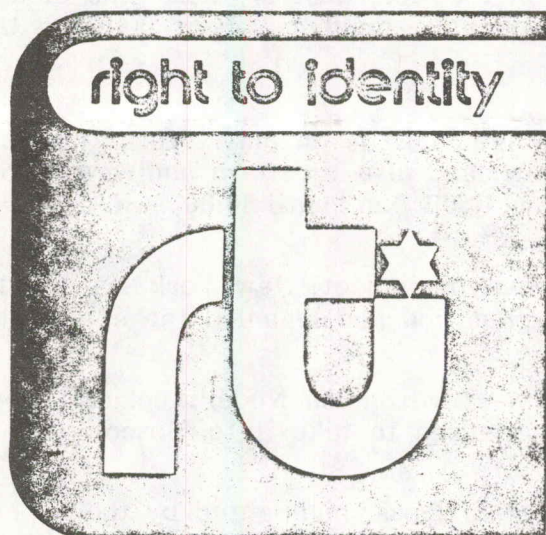
By David Landau

JERUSALEM, June 15 (JTA) -- "He will come, please God, he will come." With these words Premier Menachem Begin sought tonight to offer encouragement to the aged mother of Yosef Mendel-evitch, one of the remaining Prisoners of Zion still held in a Soviet jail. The mother, together with other ex-prisoners, called on Begin at his home to mark the tenth anniversary of the "Leningrad Affair," the effort of a group of Soviet Jews to seize a plane and flee the country. Most of the group have been released from jail and are now in Israel. But Mendelevitch, who has become Orthodox while in prison, is still there.

Begin revealed that he had pressed Mendelevitch's case and that of Ida Nudel with President Carter. "But the U.S. does not have any influence over the Soviets today," he noted sadly.

He said Israel was trying other ways -- including contact with a man "who can see (Soviet President Leonid) Brezhnev personally and intercede on behalf of these prisoners."

* * *



A book/record has been sent to the Soviet Union in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation which provides for exchanging and distributing cultural values.

R T I CAMPAIGN IN PROGRESS

The right to national identity is guaranteed by both the Helsinki Accords and the Soviet Constitution. Both documents guarantee the rights of cultural education and religious freedom. In addition, the 1975 Helsinki Accords grant the right of receipt of non-political cultural materials.

At this time, no Jewish books of any kind are published in the USSR. RTI is one way to exercise these rights. Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry is organizing an effort to send books of Jewish cultural value into the Soviet Union. Meticulous records will be kept regarding delivery and non-delivery of materials. This project has been successfully done by other councils in the past.

Please get in touch with Chicago Action for Soviet Jewry, (312) 433-0144, if you are interested in this project. Please also advise the UCSJ office in Boston.

In honor of _____

In memory of _____

Sent by: NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

Date: _____

Conversation With Leonard Schroeter

Interpreting the Soviets' Signals

Leonard Schroeter never stays still. The energies that drive him — intellectual, emotional, physical — are like cats in the sack of his small, trim body. His brown hair heightens the electric impression Schroeter makes, rising, as it does, in slightly frizzled curls from his high forehead. Only through his eyes do Schroeter's energies — passions, really — escape, through his eyes and through his larynx, because words flow freely from Schroeter. He has a fine voice that commands attention, a useful voice for a courtroom, where Schroeter, an attorney, often is.

But it is not as a Seattle courtroom lawyer that Schroeter is known in the Kremlin, in Jerusalem and Western capitals from Paris to Washington, D.C. His reputation in these high places is as a dogged champion of Soviet Jews' right to emigrate and as a persistent friend and supporter of Soviet dissidents.

Seattle seems an odd place for a man of Schroeter's interests and reputation to be, far as it is from the cities where Schroeter helps his Soviet friends publish their writings. But it was from Israel that Schroeter first became involved in the Soviet Union. That was in 1970, when Schroeter was serving as an assistant to the attorney general of Israel. A group of Jews, despairing of their efforts to leave the Soviet Union through normal channels, planned to hijack an airplane. The KGB foiled the plan, but the Israeli government's interest in Soviet Jewry was kindled and Schroeter, known for involvement in human rights issues in America, was asked to investigate.

His involvement in the issue of Soviet Jews led Schroeter into the broader issue of Soviet dissidents, and, on his way home to Seattle in 1972, he stopped in Moscow for his first and only visit to the Soviet Union. There he met Andrei Sakharov, the famed Russian physicist who was then virtually unknown in the West outside of scientific circles. He persuaded Sakharov that he must drop his fear of the "cult of personality" and become known outside the Soviet Union as a critic of the regime and champion of justice and freedom, and Sakharov finally agreed to an interview with *The New York Times*.

Schroeter has maintained, and broadened, his contacts with Soviet dissidents since then, helping to devise the strategy that they have followed of seeking widespread attention as a protection against Soviet retribution. He has helped get manuscripts out of the Soviet Union and economic assistance to the dissidents. His knowledge of affairs inside the Soviet Union gives him perspective on recent developments denied to most of us.

The *Post-Intelligencer* interviewed Schroeter in his downtown office. He was photographed by Tom Brownell.



“ We are at the end of detente and back to direct confrontation ”

Q. Your friend Andrei Sakharov was recently arrested and exiled inside the Soviet Union to Gorky, a city off limits to Westerners. What are we to make of this?

SCHROETER. Sakharov is not only a symbol of the democratic movement and the whole human rights campaign in the Soviet Union; he is a symbol for human rights throughout the world. It cannot help but impair the efficiency of the human rights movement because Sakharov and his wife and their apartment were the message center (of the movement). His telephone hadn't been cut off and it was possible for him to have telephonic communication within the Soviet Union and throughout the world. People could visit him, and did, and therefore his apartment was a center of communication. So in terms of its effect on the movement, it's logistically impairing to the movement, without a doubt.

Equally important, it says a great deal about the state of mind of people

calling shots in the Soviet Union. There was never any question that at any time the Soviet regime could have arrested Sakharov. They could always have come up with an excuse, or they could have attempted to silence him or they could have done whatever they wanted. And although there had been some crude and clumsy efforts to apply pressure to him, they had not done a lot of basic things they could have done, like removing the various rights and privileges, economic and otherwise, that were a consequence of his being an Academy of Science leader. They now have taken the most crucial of all steps, which is to put him in a condition of isolation and exile.

I think this is an absolute confirmation of what I have felt for many years to be the proper analysis of what is going on in the Soviet Union.

It goes back, in my judgment, to two terribly important events. The first of those events was Khrushchev's statement revealing formally and offi-

cially the vices of the Stalin period. When the regime chose to do that, it began the period that we know as "the thaw." And the period of the thaw was a period during which the Soviet Union said, we're through with a total legally unrestrained tyranny and an essentially lawless society; we will observe certain norms because we're as afraid as anyone else of such a tyranny. And one consequence was that if they did arrest people, they at least gave them a trial, even if it was a phony trial. The human rights movement has always insisted on legality, what we would call "due process."

So the period of the thaw meant a return to some modicum of law, some nodding concern about some basic fundamentals of decency. It was relatively minimal, but it existed. And it existed not for external reasons but for internal reasons, because of the concern of the regime about this kind of lawlessness's effect on themselves. The main victims of Stalinism were Stalinists. So there's never been a leader who didn't worry about what a tyrant would do to him.

Sakharov is the most prominent symbol of the insistence on due process. The arrest and persecution of Sakharov is saying, in the most dramatic and symbolic way possible, we are turning to the path of a really lawless totalitarian state. We're heading in that direction.

The second important historical event was the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, which occurred in late January and early-February of 1971. At that Congress, the Soviet Union adopted as a formalized matter the policy we know as detente.

The most important thing that policy meant, in my judgment, was that the Soviet Union was incredibly sensitive to and frightened by the menace of China. And it made the decision that the way to counter China was at the minimum to neutralize and at the maximum to secure the active assistance of the United States to counterbalance what they perceived to be the Chinese threat. The reason for detente is almost totally related to the attitude toward China.

Now in order for detente to succeed, the Soviets understood that public opinion in the United States, and governmental opinion, was crucially important. They could not accomplish this policy of detente if people in the United States were furious at them because of their human rights conduct. And thus, for the first time, they began to let people emigrate. The first emigration was in February 1971, other than an earlier teeny trickle that, for all practical purposes, was not relevant.

Also, since then, the regime had refused to do the most shocking kind of things, for example, the arrest and

execution of, let's say, Solzhenitsyn. They took a lesser step. They exiled him. They had left Sakharov alone. Sakharov is their most distinguished citizen. Not only a Nobel Peace Prize winner but the inventor of their hydrogen bomb, their greatest scientist. They knew that if they did anything then all hell would break loose in the West, particularly in America.

Those of us who worked for Soviet dissidents or Soviet Jews always had as our crucial tactic making noise in the West whenever there were any harassments or arrests because we felt that the best way to protect them was to scream. The one thing the Soviet regime, with their concern about detente, didn't want was that kind of pressure and noise. I think 50,000 Jews got out in 1979 because the policy of detente had to be protected, particularly before the Olympics, which is of enormous economic importance to the Soviet Union.

The signs began to appear in December. There were increasing problems (for dissidents). But they've only been clear since the invasion of Afghanistan. The invasion of Afghanistan is a hallmark, much as the Khrushchev speech or the invasion of Czechoslovakia, which put an end to the period of the thaw. The Afghan invasion signals a complete new period — probably. You don't invade Afghanistan unless you think nobody out there is paying attention, which I don't think they could possibly have believed, or unless you say, to hell with the policy of detente.

Now if you say to hell with the policy of detente there are no restraints at all on how you handle internal dissidents. None.

So the arrest of Sakharov seems to me to say: One, we are not too concerned about the internal rule of law; and, two, the hell with the West; we're not going to pay any more attention to Western public opinion, we're going to do what we're going to do to the people who are giving us a hard time. The arrest of Sakharov, then, is an enormously important sign, just as it is an enormously important sign that instead of 4,000-plus Jews getting out a month, as they did through all of 1979 essentially, fewer than 50 a day have got out this January. And I think this month there will be even fewer, unless they change their minds, or maybe none. Because, why let anybody out, if you don't care what Western public opinion is?

Now the other thing about Sakharov's arrest, the symbolism of it — and the Soviet regime always seems to do a lot of things symbolically — was that the president himself had attached himself to Sakharov by having personal correspondence with him. So it was a direct affront to the president of the United States to arrest and exile Sakharov.

In short, we are, in every meaningful way, at the end of a period of detente and back to a period of direct confrontation.

Q. Can you speculate as to why the Soviets have taken this abrupt change in what had appeared to be a stable policy of detente?

SCHROETER. I'm not the shrink of the few people calling the shots in the Kremlin. Now with the caveat that I'm clearly speculating, I've got a theory.

One, I think the Soviets have become convinced that we have made our choice with respect to China and that, therefore, they are not going to neutralize us with respect to China or get us on their side. So what's the point of detente?

Two, I think that the Soviets have been impressed with what appears to be American weakness in the world. The African openings were essentially unresisted. The Ethiopian thing was essentially unresisted. I think that they see an absolutely perfect opportunity to occupy, as a sphere of influence, the entire eastern Middle East, including Iran.

Q. Have you had any recent communications with Soviet dissidents?

SCHROETER. Yes. I keep in fairly constant touch with a number of people, including writers I represent, such as Vladimir Voinovich and Vassily Aksenov. And, although their circumstances have not dramatically changed, in the last weeks there have been increased pressures on them, particularly on Aksenov. I haven't heard yet but I would expect him to be finally kicked out of the Writers Union. He has managed to sort of stay in it, but I think that will happen, particularly in light of the fact that there is one major manuscript that they're aware of that's now in the West that's a searing indictment of certain aspects of Soviet life. I would not, unfortunately, be surprised if tragic things happen to Voinovich.

Q. Why was Sakharov not exiled externally?

SCHROETER. Sakharov himself has persistently refused opportunities to leave the Soviet Union because he has felt that he wants to fight and work in the Soviet Union. Now that isn't a completely satisfactory answer because that was also Solzhenitsyn's position and yet they put him on a plane and shipped him out. They may have felt that the Solzhenitsyn experience and some other experiences where they forced exile have not been as advantageous to them — because the exiles continue to be vocal in the West — as it would be to put them where they can't be vocal at all.

Q. Is the dissident movement in the Soviet Union dead?

SCHROETER. No, I don't think it's dead. The report of its death has been consistent for a decade and a half. Every three months some pundit says it's dead. It's not dead because the extent of alienation toward Soviet society is widespread. It's not limited to a few articulate people. Almost all intellectuals are alienated from the society. Almost all scientists of note. Almost all literary people. Well-educated people generally. There's widespread alienation among young people. There's widespread alienation among religious groups and among national minorities.

Now when you've got that kind of thing, you've got dissidents. How militant and active the dissidents are, is a separate question. Sure when you pick off top leaders, or exile them, you're going to temporarily cripple a dissident movement. But the past experience has been . . . Look, there have been 200,000 Jews who have left the

Soviet Union, but there's still a Jewish movement there. Somebody replaces somebody else. Now it's pretty hard to replace Sakharov. There's not going to be another Sakharov. But there will be other people who will carry on the task until they're wiped out in whatever way. Repression can get so horrible that you can efficiently silence people because the fear is so extreme. But it's not there yet, and it hasn't been there in 20 years.

Q. What should our response be?

SCHROETER. I hope everyone screams bloody murder about Sakharov. I hope everyone screams bloody murder about the extent to which people aren't allowed to emigrate, in violation of human rights accords. I think that the human rights questions are absolutely fundamental.

I heartily agree with the (president's) view on the Olympics. I think that's a tremendously significant weapon. I think the response of the world generally to the Afghanistan invasion has been healthy, and I just wish the European countries would go along with what the position of the United States is on it. I think it is certainly appropriate to cut off any trade with the Soviet Union that is helpful to them.

Q. Will it have any effect? Screams against tanks?

SCHROETER. The Soviet Union does a pretty good cost-benefit accounting. And the question is whether the consequences of this are serious enough that it will inhibit them. I can't answer that. But I think to not respond is even more hazardous. It's a very touchy judgment.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RELEASE OF ANATOLY SHARANSKY

8402 Freyman Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015
(301) 587-4456

July 14, 1980

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Dear Anatoly:

Another year has passed since the Soviet Union decided to silence you.

Another year has passed since you were sentenced to 13 years in a prison and labor camp for trying to protect the right of Jews to emigrate. While you have not been able to continue to monitor Soviet compliance with human rights accords, we have not forgotten the work you began, nor have we abandoned the struggle you led.

Since your trial two years ago, relations between the Soviet Union and the United States have deteriorated. The recent dramatic decrease in emigration indicates the Soviet unwillingness to undertake a policy of guaranteeing Jews the right to leave — a policy for which you sacrificed your freedom. We know we must carry on with the work you began. We must do so for your sake, and for the sake of those you fought to defend.

I remember my visit to Moscow in August 1975 when you served as my guide and translator. I remember well the ways you sought to evade the harassment of the KGB — especially on the morning we visited Dr. Andre Sakharov. Now there is a new sadness. He too has been silenced because of his uncompromised criticism of human rights violations.

At the conclusion of your trial two years ago, you prayed "Next Year In Jerusalem." We continue to pray for you today. We hope that you will soon be reunited with your wife, Avital; her strength inspires us all.

We will not let the world forget your plight!

Robert F. Drinan S.J.

Robert F. Drinan, S.J.
Member of Congress

Soviet dropouts, like all Jews, must not be written off by Jewry

By EMANUEL RACKMAN

Very few of the Jews leaving the Soviet Union emigrate to Israel. Instead, they go to the United States and several other countries that are willing to receive them.



The name they bear — "Noshrim" or "drop-outs" — unavoidably suggests that the government of Israel and the World Zionist Organization disapprove of what they are doing. And for good reasons.

First, they are building up the Diaspora and not the state which is responsible for their liberation. Second, what they are doing may irk the Russians who permit them to leave only because they claim that they seek to be reunited with relatives in Israel. When the Russians discover that all of this is only a pretext they may close the doors altogether and thus Israel will be denied the chance to gain even those few who truly want to make Aliyah.

The Zionist world feels so keenly about this that they are even urging Jewish agencies all over the world to withhold help from the "Noshrim." It is also reported that Prime Minister Begin would like to convince other governments similarly to cooperate. However, this is one instance when my position differs radically with that of the government and the Zionist establishment. Several years ago I debated the issue with the late Rose Halprin at a meeting of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency and nothing has happened since to make me change my mind. We must help Russian Jews to get out and go wherever they wish in the free world.

I feel this way on many counts. First, we must get as many Jews out of the Soviet Union as we possibly can. The likelihood that they will remain Jews is much greater if they live in the free world than if they live where Jews and Judaism are hated. Second, no one should be coerced to go to Israel. Aliyah is a privilege — not a punishment. Third, the Russians do not base their policies on compassionate grounds.

Now they permit Jews to leave and one day they may stop them from leaving. The reason will always be the same — the self-interest of the Soviet Union and no other consideration whatever. The Russians will do what fulfills their needs and nothing else will matter. Therefore, let us salvage what we can, while we can, and without delay. The Jews we are liberating may have no Zionist loyalty. Perhaps the second or third generation coming after them will. Fourth, it would be immoral for Diaspora Jews who decline to make Aliyah themselves to force it on others.

Diaspora growing

Perhaps if more American Jews made Aliyah, Russian Jews would not think that the United States is the land where gold is to be found in the streets and they would give Israel a try. But while American Jews prefer the "fleshpots" it ill behooves them to join hands in any effort that will impose righteousness on others while they themselves are not so righteous.

Indeed, it is a painful fact to ponder but a fact nonetheless: the Diaspora is growing numerically and geographi-

cally. Not only are large sections of cities in the United States becoming populated with Israeli-born Jews and Russian-born Jews but also cities in Europe which not so long ago were deemed to have become "Juden-rein." It is paradoxical that in the present juncture of Jewish history we are strengthening the Diaspora instead of liquidating it.

For those Jews who never were Zionists this is not a problem. Whether ultra-Orthodox or ultra-Reform (and by these terms I refer to those who either reject self-help for the hastening of the messianic age, or have no faith in its ever being Zion-centered) they deem the Diaspora the proper place for Jews until a supernatural happening dictates otherwise. Therefore, to strengthen Jewish communities in the Diaspora is both natural and a Mitzvah.

However, for those of us who are Zionists and deem the Diaspora a second-best mode of living for Jews, what position do we take vis-a-vis the establishment, development, and prospering of Jewish institutions outside of Israel?

Recently the problem was brought to our attention by a feature story in *Newsweek* on the renaissance of Jewish life in Germany and the founding of a seminary there for the training of rabbis to serve in that land which less than half a century ago was the headquarters for a war seeking our annihilation.

As painful as it is for me to think of the holy Torah being taught where the devils once reigned, I must concede that wherever Jews choose to live, they must be helped to live Jewishly — with Jewish values, Jewish traditions, Jewish loyalties and Jewish associations.

In 1955 I myself conducted Sabbath services in that beer parlor in Munich where Hitler once achieved a milestone in his meteoric rise to power. In 1955 it was the meeting place of American soldiers, and the Jewish G.I.s then in the United States military establishment in Germany merited our attention and our concern. It was not easy to be conscious of Sabbath peace where Hitler once held court but it would have been unfair to deny our servicemen their due simply because I felt uncomfortable in my surroundings. It was my duty to give them whatever I could.

Own free will

But one will argue that those servicemen were not in Munich voluntarily while the Jews presently in Germany are there of their own free will. I prefer not to judge the circumstances that prompted many to settle where Jews can never have pleasant memories. They are there now and rather than see them assimilate together, or establish Jewish communities, which are devoid of Jewish character and quality, I prefer to see them served and helped to achieve the maximum standards conceivable. Perhaps one day members of their second, third or fourth generations will seek spots on earth that have sacred rather than hellish associations.

One of my dearest friends — who left Frankfurt, Germany, after Hitler's rise to power and returned with the victorious United States army in 1945 — wrote his parents about the destruction he beheld in his native city and the deep emotions he felt as an evicted native who came back to the scene of his eviction as a member of a conquering power. Thirtysix years later that letter was still receiving attention from the non-Jewish press.

It thus appears that there are also non-Jews who have not forgotten.

Yet, the few tens of thousands of Jews who remained in Germany after World War II, or later emigrated there for sundry reasons, must have made their peace with the horrendous history of that country and are raising families there. The second, and by now, third generation, probably achieves that peace even more readily than their forebears. Shall we, because of our feelings about Germany, regard them all as moral lepers and not help them to deepen their Jewish loyalty, expand their Jewish knowledge, and feel that they are an integral part of the Jewish people?

I repeat — I wish with all my heart that more Jews made Aliyah. I do not relish the thought that more Jews opt for the Diaspora than for the homeland. Yet, wherever they choose to live, they must be helped to be better Jews in every respect. One day — it is to be hoped — many of them will be overcome by the urge that impelled the immortal poet Rabbi Judah Halevi to make his body leave the west to join his heart in the east.

Especially Russian Jews must be helped. Most of them have been detached from the Jewish people for more than sixty years. The few Jewish leaders who during World War II reestablished contact with their fellow-Jews as allies fighting the Nazis were liquidated by Stalin shortly thereafter. The ovation given Golda Meir in Moscow on her arrival there precipitated new repressive action by the Soviet Union. How can one expect from our alienated brethren that they shall now make manifest Zionist loyalty and exercise self-sacrifice for the survival of a heritage they hardly know and a people with whom they must first become acquainted?

Perhaps the time has come for the proponents of Aliyah not to focus on Jews who crave the "fleshpots" because they never had them or crave them because they cannot do without them, but to make the appeal to those who are disillusioned with the "fleshpots" and want to endow their lives with greater meaning.

Of this type, Israel can use myriads.

Tuesday, May 13, 1980, Page 8

Monitor Digest

SOS 'limited success'

A committee favoring a moratorium on research exchanges with the Soviet Union has gathered 93 signatures here on a petition backing that stand.

The committee, Scientists for Orlov and Scharansky (SOS), has called for the moratorium to protest the treatment of Soviet dissidents Yuri Orlov, Anatoly Scharansky and Andrei Sakharov.

The local organizer for SOS, Jeff Colvin, said the group's petition drive — based at Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory — was "a limited success."

He said SOS didn't gather as many signatures as had been hoped, but received support from a broad cross-section of scientists here, including several group leaders at LASL.

All told, 82 of the people signing the SOS petition here were lab employees or visitors, he said. They included chemists, physicists, biologists and computer science experts.

Colvin said SOS members will continue to gather more signatures "on an individual basis" at LASL.

Local Women Are Arrested in Kiev

By DAVID GROSS
JEWISH EXPONENT Staff Writer

We saw the old woman standing there as we entered the Kiev apartment of refusenik Vladimir Kislik. Sister Gloria Coleman, associate director of the Cardinal's Commission on Human Relations, recalled, but we didn't pay much attention. Fifteen minutes later, there was a pounding on the door. Then the door burst open and the police stormed in.

IN ADDITION TO SISTER GLORIA and Kislik, the police found Kislik's elderly father, a second Kiev refusenik, Barbara Wachs, a teacher from Akiba Hebrew Academy who was traveling with Sister Gloria, and another American visitor in the apartment. In very good English, the police demanded to see everyone's papers.

Luckily, Sister Gloria and Mrs. Wachs were to leave Kiev for Odessa the next day and, therefore, had their passports with them. The other American had no papers — it is standard Soviet practice to keep passports at the hotel.

The visitors were taken into custody and told to follow the police. They were taken to the local police station, conveniently located in the same apartment complex as Kislik's home. One officer was very forceful and rather abusive, the women said. He screamed at the other American for wearing a hat inside. The tourist replied that he is Jewish and covers his head for religious reasons. This seemed to infuriate the officer who yanked the hat off the man's head.

SISTER GLORIA AND MRS. WACHS were then separated from their fellow American and taken into another room. Their handbags were searched and the police began to badger them about who they had visited. They were told quite forcefully that in the future it would be best if they stuck to their Intourist itinerary. When Mrs. Wachs protested their treatment — she was pushed a bit — one of the policemen commented that American police did much worse.

After some 40 minutes, the two American women were

again told to follow the police. Unsure of where they were going and fearing the worst, they were taken outside, put in a taxi and sent back to their hotel. They later learned that their fellow American tourist had been held overnight and then released.

Mrs. Wachs and Sister Gloria feel that their "adventure" is part of a new crackdown on the Soviet Jewry movement. The repression is very bad now, they were told by many Soviet Jews during their trip. One Jew said that "it is the worst in 10 years." Both women feel that an attempt is now being made to prevent foreign visitors from contacting refuseniks. In Odessa, Mrs. Wachs noted, they were told that the authorities were encouraging drunks to congregate near refuseniks' apartments and to harass foreigners trying to visit them.

MRS. WACHS ALSO cited a recent Leningrad newspaper article denouncing refuseniks Abba Taratuta and Lev Shapiro which charged that tourists visiting refuseniks were actually CIA agents. A similar article denouncing Kislik, who hasn't seen his wife and son, who are now in Israel, for six years, appeared in the Kiev press.

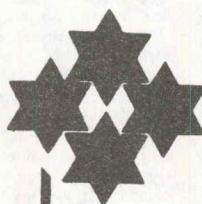
While in Kiev, Sister Gloria and Mrs. Wachs had the opportunity to watch "an extremely well done" program filled with vicious anti-Semitic propaganda aired on Ukrainian National Television. Such programs had previously been shown in Moscow and Leningrad, but this was the first such broadcast in Kiev, they were told.

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July 11, 1980

INSIDE THIS WEEK'S ALERT

- With many activists forced out of key cities for the Olympics, news is sparse. What little there is is not good: On the front page, a five-year sentence, an arrest and a seriously ill refusenik.
- A large number of new Kiev refuseniks have braved official wrath by protesting their situation publicly. The names and addresses of some of them appear on pages 3 and 4. They need letters of support!
- Leonard Schroeter speaks about "Interpreting the Soviets' Signals." See reprint on page 7.



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