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SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
AND THE
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
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SOVIET JEWRY

THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1983

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE,

Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee and Commission met at 10 a.m., in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gus Yatron (chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations) presiding.

Mr. YATRON. The Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe meet jointly today to review again the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union.

It has been 38 years since the United States and the Soviet Union together vanquished Nazi Germany. The whole world hoped and expected that the horrors of the Nazi period would be consigned to the dark pages of history. Sadly, that has not been the case. Virulent anti-Semitism has become a hallmark of Soviet policy. Under the leadership of Yuri Andropov, Goebbels technique of the "big lie" is finding a new life and a new home.

For many Americans 1983 has become a year of renewed commitment to ending the nuclear arms race. But success in that essential quest depends on agreement with the Soviet Government. Moscow's heightened campaign of hatred against its own citizens, in flagrant disregard of international law, underscores in the most serious way the question of whether the United States should enter into any further agreements with the Soviet Union, especially ones which involve our Nation's security.

Congressman Fascell hasn't arrived yet and other members are on their way. We will call at a later point in the hearing for any statements they may have.

Our first witness today is the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, the Honorable Elliott Abrams. Secretary Abrams also serves as a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

We would be pleased to have you join in questioning other witnesses at the conclusion of your testimony, Secretary Abrams.

At this point I would like to go over and respond to a rollcall. I will turn the meeting over to Senator D'Amato from New York, and also my colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator Heinz.

Senator D'AMATO. I am delighted to be here and have this opportunity to highlight some of my concerns over the plight of Soviet Jewry.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate your convening this special joint meeting of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Subcommittee on Human Rights. In my letter to you requesting this hearing, I indicated my concern that we must continue to speak out in opposition to the continued persecution and harassment of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union, the third largest in the world.

The plight of these brave men and women has grown considerably worse. Recently, the Soviet regime has instituted additional repressive policies designed to destroy every last vestige of Jewish culture and to silence any dissent within the Jewish community. The venom of anti-Semitism has spread through Soviet society. Millions of innocent men and women have been ruthlessly slaughtered, exiled, imprisoned in slave labor camps, and committed to psychiatric institutions.

Countless others have been subjected to constant harassment by the dreaded secret police, the KGB. In addition, members of non-Russian ethnic groups have been devastated by a harsh policy of russification, designed to eliminate every vestige of local culture, including language, art, music, religion, and literature.

The situation for Jews living within the Soviet Union today is grim and there is little hope that conditions will improve under General Secretary Andropov's leadership. Despite its professed commitment to the human rights terms agreed upon during the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet Union continues to deny even the most fundamental liberties to these citizens, including freedom of religion and the right to emigrate.

Emigration now has reached the lowest level in more than a decade and it continues to fall. Since 1979, emigration figures for Soviet Jews have plummeted by an unprecedented 95 percent, leaving them at an all time low of 2,688 emigrants in 1982, compared with 51,320 in 1979. This is a clear indication that getting out remains one of the most difficult tasks for Jews in the Soviet Union.

Many Soviet Jews who once clung to the hope of immigrating to Israel or the United States are now resigned to the fact that they may never have an opportunity to join their families and friends in the West.

The anti-Semitic propaganda campaign sanctioned by Soviet hegemony has intensified. The sacred Torah is characterized as "a textbook of hypocrisy, treachery, perfidy, and moral degeneracy." Jews are depicted as criminals and gangsters in cartoons, newspaper articles, and editorials. The Soviet state apparatus has devoted large amounts of resources to proliferate its anti-Semitic policies.

Additionally, Jews are prohibited from publishing bibles and prayer books. And most recently, Soviet hegemony has announced the establishment of an Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet People. This announcement was phrased in harsh terms, speaking of Zionism as a concentration of extreme nationalism, chauvinism and radical intolerance.

However, this committee is but one aspect of the Kremlin's broader campaign of anti-Semitism.

Within the Soviet Union, Jewish dissidents known as refuseniks have been singled out by the secret police as a prime target for harassment. Many have to emigrate; others have lost their jobs, benefits, and educational opportunities.

Among these brave men and women is human rights activist Anatoly Shcharansky, founder of the Moscow-Helsinki Monitoring Group, who has been the subject of particularly harsh reprisals. The Soviet regime has been unyielding in its cruel treatment of Shcharansky, who remains isolated and in failing health in a Soviet prison.

Shcharansky has even been denied visits from his family and there can be little hope for significant improvement of human rights under former KGB Chief Yuri Andropov. However, it is more important than ever that we remain firm in our solidarity with members of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union. It is our duty to increase awareness of the struggle of Soviet Jews.

Earlier this year I cosponsored a congressional briefing on this important matter. This spring I was joined by 73 of my colleagues of the Senate in sending a letter to General Secretary Andropov, expressing our outrage over the continued Soviet denial of basic human and civil rights to Soviet Jews.

We must continue to speak out for those who cannot. We cannot turn our backs on them. We cannot sit back while these gross violations of human rights continue. While we must continue to press for the release of Shcharansky, Paritsky, Sakharov, Begun, and other long-time refuseniks, we must not lose sight of the fact that, for each of these men, there are hundreds of thousands of others yearning to leave the Soviet Union.

As a member of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, I have in the past and will continue in the future to speak out in violent opposition to the blatant disregard for human rights displayed by the Soviet leadership.

It is particularly important that we work to make known the case of Soviet Jews, so that conditions do not further deteriorate. Thus, I will continue in my efforts to draw attention to the plight of Soviet Jewry and others who are subject to Communist repression by speaking out against the Kremlin's cruel and blatant disregard for fundamental human dignity. In the scheme of world affairs, it is vital that the cause of Soviet Jewry not be forgotten, and I will continue to make every effort in the Congress to see that it is not.

Let me conclude that I think it is so very important that we not be silent, that we speak out, that we work, that we be committed, that our policy on behalf of these oppressed people be one that is known clearly to be one not of political expedience, but one that this Government and this country is tremendously committed to. And if we do so, then we can make a difference. If we fail, then we fail ourselves. We fail the founders of this Nation, we fail our heritage. And that will be a stain on our souls.

My good friend, Senator Heinz.

Senator HEINZ. Mr. Chairman, first I want to commend Dante Fascell, the House chairman of the Commission, and Gus Yatron, chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights, for arranging and calling for this hearing.

I secondly want to associate myself with your extraordinary articulate and extremely persuasive and perceptive remarks. I think that is as strong a statement as I have ever heard any Member of Congress make on this subject, and I commend you for it.

I make this observation.

As Senator D'Amato said, I think we are all stunned, finding the establishment and the work of the Moscow-appointed Anti-Zionist Committee just an amazing travesty. It is yet another chapter in the oppression of the Jews in the Soviet Union. And there is only one difference between the oppression of the Jews in the Soviet Union and the Holocaust. The Holocaust was an attempt by the Nazis to physically remove the Jews from the face of the Earth. The Soviet campaign of repression, aimed as it is at attempting to destroy every vestige of Jewish culture and identity, is nothing less than an attempt to spiritually remove the Jews from Russia. It is the most repulsive effort of repression that I think has ever been conducted by any allegedly civilized nation.

It is ironic that the Soviet Union, which says "don't interfere in our internal affairs," that says "don't link relationships in arms control to human rights," appears to be attempting to do exactly that.

I believe that the Soviet Union's progressive ratcheting down on the number of emigrations is in effect an attempt to interfere in our internal affairs to get us to link our foreign policy with their emigration policy.

It also strikes me as the height of hypocrisy when a nation like the Soviet Union, which some say has a constitution that is as good as or superior to ours in its declaration of commitment to human rights, and which signed the Helsinki accords, which clearly not only stipulated responsibilities as to human rights but responsibilities as to family reunification and emigration, simply ignores these commitments. Their tactic, among other things, is to drag the Madrid Conference to the state where Soviet atrocities against the Jews are somehow lost because they believe we in the West don't have the spirit to continue to take them to task.

I suppose, Mr. Chairman, what we are here for and why we are here is that as a free people we share a sense of solidarity and brotherhood and respect for individual human rights, and because we share that sense, we are obligated to show our support and our concern for basic human rights. Because we realize the responsibility we have to challenge Soviet actions that run totally counter to the intent of the Helsinki agreement.

[Senator Heinz' prepared statement follows:]

Senator D'AMATO. Thank you very much.

Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Chairman, we meet today at a very grave and dark hour in the ongoing struggle of the Soviet Jews to secure basic protection and fundamental human rights they so desperately desire and so richly deserve.

Not only have we witnessed an alarming decline in the number of Jews permitted to leave the Soviet Union—some 51,000 were allowed to emigrate in 1979 and that figure dropped to 2,688 in 1982

and today only about 100 Jews per month leave the Soviet Union—but we have seen a not-so-new cancer rapidly festering in the U.S.S.R., the disease of anti-Semitism.

Daily, Mr. Chairman, we receive heartbreaking reports of new victims of KGB harassment and interrogation. Daily we witness new, more extreme expressions of anti-Semitism in Soviet literature and articles in the state-controlled press. There are increasing reports of letters and invitations from first-degree relatives in Israel never being delivered to the addressees, thus denying a potential emigree the opportunity to fulfill the first requirement in the emigration process.

So the Jews in the Soviet Union find themselves in the situation of being homeless, a people without a country, yet a people that the authorities refuse to let go.

Mr. Chairman, within the last couple of months a new propaganda effort has been initiated by the Soviets to make it appear that the season of Jewish family reunification has ended. Leaders of the newly formed Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public now make the totally unsupportable assertion that family reunification has essentially been completed.

This kind of falsehood flies in the face of the truth and the simple truth is that tens of thousands of Jews seek to exercise their right to emigrate, to be reunited with their loved ones. The truth is that documented case histories of thousands of Jews seeking to depart can be produced for an objective accounting.

The truth is that such statements do much to undermine the very word and reliability of the Soviet Union. I believe that this is particularly troubling at a time when the United States and the U.S.S.R. are trying to hammer out an arms control agreement, a very sensitive time when that important process could be greatly enhanced by more, not less, basic honesty and good will.

Mr. Chairman, I've been to the Soviet Union to witness the situation firsthand. I met with many refuseniks and heard their stories. I can only tell my colleagues that you cannot help but be touched to the very core of your soul by such a visit. I came away with a profound appreciation of their anguish and pain, their longings and their courage.

Mr. Chairman, I commend you for holding this important hearing, to see how we can better help the victims of Soviet oppression. I look forward to hearing our distinguished witnesses provide counsel to the Congress as to where we go from here.

Mr. YATRON. I want to thank you, Congressman Smith, for your excellent statement, and also thank the two senators who spoke before.

At this time I would like to call on my distinguished colleague from California, Congressman Lantos, for a statement.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I don't want to delay the proceedings. I will just say a word or two.

The most recent Soviet propaganda spectacle, organizing the Anti-Zionist Committee, follows in the footsteps of Goebbels' "big lie" technique. And just as Goebbels did not get away with his preposterous lies because the free world clearly understood what was happening, so I think the Andropov regime better take notice that

we are far too knowledgeable and far too determined to be scared away by this phony, preposterous and outrageous statement that all Jews who want to leave the Soviet Union have now left.

Secondly, which from a historical point of view is equally outrageous that the Soviets claim that the Zionists during World War II were collaborating with the SS and the Gestapo.

It is an index of the intellectual poverty and the lack of integrity of the Soviet leadership that two such outrageous statements should be officially promulgated, in the spring of 1983.

When I had the opportunity of leading a congressional delegation to the Soviet Union earlier this year, we not only saw and spent time with a good number of refuseniks and dissidents, some extremely well known, like Shcharansky's brother and Sakharov's wife, but we also met with large numbers of unknown heroic men and women who have staked everything on their declaration that they wish to leave the Soviet Union.

In many instances these people have had their mail cut off, and their phones cut off. Their jobs were taken from them, and in some instances they were imprisoned and beaten.

The Soviet regime's credibility is at a low ebb right now, and if it continues this unprincipled propaganda campaign, lacking in all truth, it will sink lower yet.

I think the Congress is determined to continue focusing attention on the question of Soviet Jews and we shall not rest until the gates are reopened again and religious persecution stops.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Congressman Lantos.

At this time we would like to call our first witness, Assistant Secretary Elliott Abrams, for your testimony.

Mr. Secretary.

STATEMENT OF HON. ELLIOTT ABRAMS, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE, BUREAU OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. ABRAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to begin my testimony today by taking a look at the history of Soviet anti-Semitism, as we try to understand what is going on in the Soviet Union—I think it is very important we look back a few years.

The encounter between the Soviet regime and Russian Jewry has developed over several stages. Initially, the Bolshevik Revolution offered Jews, like other minority groups in Russia, an awkward bargain: the exchange of large parts of their traditional heritage for equality with the Russians. For Jews, this tacit offer was particularly awkward.

Religion was the core of the Jewish heritage, but Marxism was atheist and deeply committed to extirpating religion as a living force in the country's life. Nevertheless, this bargain provided a basis for a somewhat free Jewish life in Russia. Marxism, with its basis in the philosophy of the enlightenment, fought anti-Semitism vigorously in the immediate aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Under Stalin, however, the strengthened totalitarian impulse to reforge the masses of human beings inevitably created grave dan-

gers for any community that was distinctive or had an ancient heritage. The storm did not break on Soviet Jews, though, until just after World War II.

In 1946, the campaign against rootless cosmopolitans began. It died down briefly in 1950-51, but was continued and horribly intensified, in the campaign against Zionists by 1952-53, culminating in the so-called Doctors Affair, in which a number of prominent Jewish physicians were accused of murdering several Soviet leaders and plotting to murder others.

Two things were noteworthy about this emergency of anti-Semitism. First, it was not social anti-Semitism, or an atavistic return to tradition, but official policy. On one day the state-run papers would be free of references to Jews, on the next day full of anti-Semitic innuendo.

Second, this official policy was decided on after an analysis of prior experience. Given its timing, it is very probable that the Soviet Government's turn to anti-Semitism was a conscious imitation of Hitler's policy. It seems to have been based on a perception that the Nazi use of anti-Semitism had been enormously successful. Thus, with staggering cynicism, the Soviet regime followed VE Day by imitating the core of the political program of its defeated Fascist enemy.

What this brief summary of Soviet history shows is that the enlightenment heritage in Marxist ideology, which had initially protected Jews, had undergone an astonishing decomposition by 1946, less than 30 years after the revolution. By 1983, the decay of Soviet ideology has proceeded even further. To read books of Soviet ideology is to see the lifeless juggling of sterile jargon according to political expediency. To visit the U.S.S.R. is to feel a stifling cynicism about the political principles of communism.

I believe that this is an essential part of the problem which Soviet Jews face today. Basically, the encounter between Soviet communism and the Jews is a conflict between the most rapidly decaying ideology in human history and one of the most permanent, the heritage of the Jewish people, which has stood for thousands of years.

This fundamental contrast, moreover, cannot but be profoundly disturbing to Soviet leaders. It makes them deeply suspicious of Jews as those who possess an apparently inexplicable inner firmness which ideologists cannot control and which will outlast Soviet ideology.

Thus, Soviet anti-Semitism was not canceled after Stalin's death, like some other innovations of Stalin's. The code word "Zionists" for Jews was introduced in the Soviet press in November 1952 specifically as a part of the preparation for the anti-Semitic terror intended to surround the Doctors Affair. This code word still remains part of Soviet rhetoric.

Most of the public bodies purged of Jews in 1948-53 have remained Judenrein. The terror hanging over Soviet Jews eased after Stalin's death, as it did for other Soviet citizens. For a period during the 1950's and 1960's, many Jews had successful professional careers and obtained higher education in substantial numbers. But anti-Semitism quickly resurfaced during the early 1970's. There have been some ebbs and flows over the past decade, but the over-

all trend has been toward an increasingly vicious, official campaign of anti-Semitism, which purports to be anti-Zionism.

With this background in mind, let me turn now to the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union today, and to the four areas I singled out for special concern: anti-Semitic propaganda, attacks on Jewish culture, attacks on the Jewish religion, and emigration.

For many years now, the Soviet Union has been orchestrating a vicious anti-Semitic propaganda campaign under the guise of anti-Zionism. The contents of this anti-Semitic campaign resemble nothing so much as that notorious anti-Semitic forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Soviet propagandists have equated Zionism with every conceivable evil, including racism, imperialism, capitalist exploitation, colonialism, militarism, crime, murder, espionage, terrorism, and even nazism. To give the distinguished members of this committee some idea of the nature and scope of this campaign, let me read you a brief excerpt from an article which appeared in the October 10, 1980, issue of *Pionerskaya Pravda*, a weekly magazine for children, aged 9 to 14, belonging to the Soviet youth organization, Pioneers:

Most of the largest monopolies in the manufacture of arms are controlled by Jewish bankers. Business made on blood brings them enormous profits. Bombs and missiles explode in Lebanon—the bankers Lazars and the Leibs are making money. Thugs in Afghanistan torment schoolchildren with gases—the bundles of dollars are multiplying in the safes of the Lehmans and Guggenheims. It is clear that Zionism's principal enemy is peace on earth.

I could go on and cite literally hundreds of similar excerpts from the Soviet media, but I want to draw the committee's attention to some of the most recent manifestations of Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda. These include the formation in April of this year of an Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public to parrot the official propaganda line; the broadcast, in recent months, of a blatantly anti-Semitic television program on Zionism, in which certain Jewish leaders were labeled enemies of humanity, and in which the term "final solution" was used; and the publication of a book, "The Class Essence of Zionism," which contends that Jews themselves are partly responsible for Europe's history of violent anti-Semitism. Such broadcasts and books could not see the light of day without official approval.

Soviet anti-Semitism also manifests itself in the attempt to discourage the study of Hebrew and Jewish culture. Jewish cultural activists and Hebrew teachers have been officially warned to cease their activities or face forms of retaliation.

Two cultural activists in Sverdlovsk, Shefer and Yelchin, were, in 1982, each sentenced to 5 years in a strict-regime labor camp for defaming the Soviet state, based on their possession of Hebrew books. In November 1982 prominent activist Iosif Begun was arrested; he is still awaiting trial on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

The practice of Judaism is subject to the same stifling official restrictions that govern other religious groups in the U.S.S.R. For example, organized religious instruction of children is legally proscribed, and state officials closely scrutinize all aspects of congregational activity. Anyone who has visited the synagogue in Moscow

will recall the government agents stationed inside and outside that synagogue.

The numbers of operating synagogues and trained clergy are kept at inadequate levels. There is no functioning rabbinical seminary throughout the length and breadth of the USSR.

Soviet Jews are put by the government in a double bind: They are allowed neither limited cultural and political autonomy, like almost all of the nationalities of the Soviet Union, nor assimilation into the Russian people. Most Soviet nationalities have Union Republics or other national political units, as well as indigenous language cultural expression—newspapers, books publishing, radio theater, et cetera—within definite limits.

On the whole, creativity in the modern language is allowed, as long as official guidelines are followed, and the study of most classics in ancient languages is allowed. But Yiddish cultural expression and specific Jewish cultural expression in Russian are virtually impossible. Most forms of the study of Hebrew are prohibited, and Hebrew books are not available.

Jewish religious practice is severely restricted by the small number of synagogues, the lack of any rabbinical seminary to correspond to the Orthodox and Moslem seminaries, and the virtual incompatibility of religious worship with Communist Party membership, and therefore with many types of middle-class jobs.

On the other hand, Jews are denied the path of assimilation into the Russian or other nationalities of the Soviet Union. It is virtually impossible for an adult to get rid of the designation "Jew" in his or her internal passport. The internal passport which all Soviet citizens are issued indicates their nationality. Being labeled in this way subjects Soviet Jews to pervasive discrimination. It is important to realize that this involves not only quotas as in the universities, but the virtually complete exclusion of Jews from a number of professions and organizations, such as significant positions in the Communist Party apparatus, the secret police, and the officer corps of the army.

For large numbers of Soviet Jews, emigration offers the only way out of this double bind. Unfortunately, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has fallen drastically, from 51,200 in 1979 to 21,500 in 1980, 9,400 in 1981 and under 2,700 in 1982, the lowest since 1970. This year the decline has continued; less than 600 Jews have emigrated during the first 5 months of 1983.

The January 1983 monthly figure of 81 was the lowest since 1970. This compares with monthly totals of over 4,000 for most of 1979. Moreover, Jewish emigration applicants are routinely dismissed from their jobs and forced into temporary and/or menial employment. This practice is especially prevalent against those holding professional or technical positions.

The children of Soviet Jews who apply for emigration are also subjected to persecution. School-age children are commonly made objects of teacher-encouraged ridicule and harassment. Young men have been promptly conscripted upon reaching draft age, despite their families' well-known intention to emigrate. Conscription can delay a family's emigration by as much as 8 years—up to 3 years of military service, followed by a 5-year period in which the

inductee is ineligible for emigration due to his exposure to military secrets.

Discrimination against Soviet Jews in employment and education is not limited to refuseniks. Jewish enrollment in universities and entry into certain professions is limited by more difficult qualifying standards than those imposed on the other ethnic groups.

A number of Jewish scientists—11 are documented but estimates range much higher—were stripped of their academic degrees during 1980–81. Fortunately, the practice seems to have abated since its public disclosure in the West.

The U.S. Government is deeply concerned about the severe downturn in emigration, and the issue is being raised with the Soviets at every appropriate opportunity, both in public forums such as the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] and in bilateral talks. Secretary Shultz has placed particular stress on this and other human rights issues during discussions with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Embassy Moscow and Consulate General Leningrad follow developments on a daily basis and make numerous representations in support of emigration applicants.

There are no easy solutions to any of the problems which I have discussed. In the short run, our goals must be to help as many individuals as we can, limit discriminatory practices, and obtain freer emigration. Over the longer term, we have to try to obtain a Soviet system that is more open to outside influence, since that is our best hope for a peaceful evolution of that society into one that is easier to live with, as well as to live in.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Secretary Abrams, for your statement.

Before we begin questioning, I would like to acknowledge the presence of some of the other members who have just arrived. I believe several would like to make opening statements.

At this time I would like to call on Congressman Levine from California.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I do have some questions for the Secretary but I will wait on those.

I appreciate your giving me an opportunity to make a brief opening statement.

I would simply like to compliment the chairman, Mr. Yatron, as well as Chairman Fascell for calling these hearings. They are extremely important.

As the chairman will recall, in our first organizational meeting, well before the most recent outrages that have come out of the Soviet Union in the past several weeks, I suggested that perhaps the most urgent matter on the human rights agenda in light of the dramatically declining emigration figures was the whole issue of Soviet Jewry, and requested that there be at least one hearing this session on the issue of Soviet Jewry. The chairman immediately agreed that there would be such a hearing, and showed a great deal of sensitivity to this issue.

I am personally pleased that he and Chairman Fascell have responded with such alacrity to the need for calling a hearing in light of the comments that are of such an outrageous and scandal-

ous nature that have come from the Soviet Union in the past several weeks.

As the cochairman of the 98th Congressional Class on Soviet Jewry, I have had the privilege as well as the frustration of dealing on an intimate basis as a new Member of Congress with this issue. I have found that the Soviet Government has been quite unresponsive to the pleas of so many people in this country, so many Members of this Congress, in terms of elemental human rights issues. And the fact that these two subcommittees are holding this hearing and continuing to highlight the problems can only, I think, be beneficial.

I do think that it is especially important to focus on what has come out of the Soviet Union in the recent past. It sounds frighteningly similar to what we heard during the last months of Stalin's life in the Soviet Union. The pure fabrications, the utterly untrue statements, the terribly anti-Semitic rhetoric that has come from Moscow is something that cannot go unchallenged. It is extremely important that people throughout this country and throughout the world who have an elemental understanding of simple facts spell those facts out as prominently and publicly as possible, to help to underscore the vicious nature of the untruths that are coming out of the Soviet Union.

I am certain our subsequent witnesses will spell out some of these in greater detail. But in a brief opening statement, I just want to underscore the importance of this hearing and compliment the two chairmen for calling it with such speed.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Levine.

Now I would like to call on our other colleague, Congressman Gilman, for a statement.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to commend you, Mr. Chairman, and our Chairman of our Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Mr. Fascell, for arranging this meeting at a very appropriate time, a time that is just a few days after the Soviet Union has delivered such a blatant and false statement that the emigration figures are down because everybody is satisfied and nobody wants to leave.

We are very much concerned, all of us in the Congress, about the past few years, the receding figures of emigration of Soviet Jewry and others out of the Iron Curtain countries. I certainly welcome the remarks made by Secretary Abrams today that focused attention on some of the virulent type of propaganda that is coming out of the Soviet Union.

Just yesterday I was proud of our colleagues in adopting a measure recognizing the eighth anniversary of the Helsinki accords.

I joined our good chairman, Mr. Fascell, in both Belgrade and in Madrid, as we worked with our delegation in the review of the Helsinki accords. Each time we raised the problem of refuseniks and specific political activist cases with the Soviet Union, we were confronted with the response that this is an internal affair and don't interfere with our internal matters. Now we learn of the creation of a newly formed Committee on Anti-Zionism in the Soviet Union that says everybody is happy and nobody wants to leave and therefore there are no problems.

Our Post Office Committee on Investigations, of which I am a member, has been conducting a continual review of the interruption of mail by the Soviet Union. It has a particular relevance to the hearing today. We have raised that issue, both in Madrid and in Belgrade. As we will recall, in order for anyone to leave the Soviet Union, under terms of its emigration process, you must have a written invitation from the outside world. We find from our investigation and the evidence we have been accumulating in the last few months that there is once again a concerted attempt to interrupt that flow of mail from the outside world, that these invitations are not being received, and therefore anyone desiring to file a written invitation with the Soviet authorities is unable to. We have now documented over 250 of these cases. We are still in the gathering process. We will be conducting hearings very shortly. We have asked the Postmaster General to raise the issue at the International Postal Union and with the Soviet authorities.

He has raised it with the Vice President of the Politburo and we are waiting for a response from them. But again, this is just a small tip of the iceberg of the overall problem. Telephone communications are interrupted, mail is interrupted, propaganda is accelerating in the Soviet Union. It is a very serious problem.

I commend you for focusing attention on this issue, and we look forward to hearing the remainder of the witnesses today.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Gilman.

Do any of the other members wish to make a statement?

Mr. Weiss.

Mr. WEISS. Thank you very much. Just a very brief word, because I think we are really interested in hearing the testimony.

I, too, want to add my words of commendation to you and to Mr. Fascell for calling these hearings.

I guess the only thing that I want to add to what has been said, with all of which I agree, is that the utilization by the Soviet Union of the kind of obscene statements which equate Israel and zionism with Hitler and his works is an extreme to which one would think no nation, no government, would go. Jews have been killed, as well as countless other people, for no other reason than their ethnicity. For the Soviet Union to be using that kind of tactic, is so obscene.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Congressman Weiss.

Mr. Secretary, Congressman Gilman mentioned the fact that the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee has found that the Soviets are not delivering international mail from the United States. Is this contrary to international agreements?

Mr. ABRAMS. Yes, it is, Mr. Chairman.

I am not expert in the International Postal Union and its workings. But it is clear that all members have an obligation to do their best to assure that mail gets through and to prevent, of course, official interruptions of mail. So it is clearly a violation of agreements that the Soviets have made.

Mr. YATRON. Would you know whether the administration has any plans to take action in this regard?

Mr. ABRAMS. This is something that would be raised in the International Postal Union, and would also be raised directly with the Soviets in bilateral discussions.

Mr. YATRON. Do you feel it would be appropriate for us to retaliate?

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, I am answering that question off the top of my head. I think the answer to that would be no.

For us to interfere with mail from another country would only have us engaging in the same kind of practice. What I am not sure on, and I think others in the Postal Service would be better informed on that, is what provisions there are under the international postal agreements for sanctions against a member violating its agreements.

Mr. GILMAN. If the gentleman would yield—Mr. Chairman, there is a monetary penalty that is imposed. I think it is \$20 for each registered letter we can show has been improperly handled by the Postal Services. However, that is not the end-all or the bottom line of all of this. There is a violation of the Helsinki accords, and there is a group now preparing a brief, and the possibility of raising it in the international courts with regard to freedom of communication. So we will be attacking it on several fronts.

As I mentioned, we are still in the process of accumulating evidentiary material, and would welcome from any groups that may be here today documentation they might have which would help us as we prepare for the hearings.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

At this time I would like to call on my cochairman, Congressman Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Let me ask the Secretary—you have painted a very stark picture here, grim and serious. Two thoughts occur to me.

One is, what is the official consensus with respect to the motivation, the driving force for this change, as best we can estimate it or understand it? And the other is that obviously we need to rethink official actions of one kind or another, either legislative or administrative, since what we are doing at the present moment, if anything, is not producing the desired results.

I would like to just get your thoughts on that, either off the top of your head or, if there is an official consensus, we would like to know what it is.

Mr. ABRAMS. We have asked ourselves, of course, that question—what explains this new campaign? And there are a number of possible answers. Of course we cannot know which answer is right.

Mr. FASCELL. Let's look at it from the international political point of view.

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, I think one has to separate to some degree the question of emigration from the greater crackdown and outgrowth of anti-Semitism recently. The downturn in emigration goes back to 1979. But the anti-Semitic campaign is much more recent.

If we start with emigration, it is our view that the emigration flows tend to respond now to the overall tone of East-West relations. The reason for that is that the Soviets fundamentally oppose emigration. They don't like to let anybody out, and they don't unless there is a special reason for doing it.

Mr. FASCELL. You mean a special political reason?

Mr. ABRAMS. A special international political reason for doing it. In the late 1970's there was one. They wanted to get certain things from the West, for example the SALT Treaty and most favored nation [MFN], and felt this was a helpful tool for them in doing so.

I think one should add that they seem to have believed that it would be a good thing for them internally to get rid of a bunch of troublemakers. Once those troublemakers were gone, their internal situation would be better, they thought, especially regarding Jews. So there was an increase in emigration of Germans, Armenians, and Jews.

Now, that emigration situation began to turn around after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan at the end of 1979, because it became apparent to the Soviets that they would not get the benefits they sought from the West by, in a sense, trading Jews and other emigrants. The tension was such that they were not going to get MFN or the SALT Treaty at that point.

Emigration began to drop. And it dropped further after Poland.

Mr. FASCELL. In other words, the views that were taken internationally with the Polish problem and the invasion of Afghanistan were so bad that it didn't make any difference to add something else to the plate.

Mr. ABRAMS. That is right. I think one has to add, as well, that they learned that the tactic of getting a few troublemakers out was not working, because they were not dealing with just a few troublemakers. In the case of Soviet Jewry they were dealing with a population in which a significant part wants to leave the Soviet Union. If that was their plan, to just get a bunch of ringleaders out and everything would quiet down, it didn't work, and they realized they could not continue in that vein.

Now, of course, with Poland and Afghanistan, there is a good deal of tension internationally, and I think they continue to believe that a large increase in emigration will not serve them from the point of view of winning things from the West.

I might add to that that there are these internal questions. I think we should turn to the question now of anti-Semitism. It is quite clear there has been a tightening up in the Soviet Union on human rights questions in general in the last year. One can pretty well note that it coincides with the rise of Andropov. Even before he became the General Secretary, in the waning days of Brezhnev, one began to see this crackdown. It extends through to the practice of religion. In fact, in Mr. Chernenko's recent speech, he makes a specific note there will be continued pressure on religion.

There might be a number of reasons for this. One of them could well be Poland. That is that the Russians want to make entirely clear to their own population, that nothing like what happened in Poland is going to be permitted in the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet economy is doing quite badly. There is no reason to think it is going to do better in the near future. One can easily, I think, attribute to them scapegoating, scapegoating of the Jews for economic problems, scapegoating of the Jews as well for this tightening up of Soviet society. It is an old trick in the Soviet Union and elsewhere, and it seems to have been brought out of the closet once again.

Finally, I would note that the rise of Mr. Andropov and his colleagues is a very bad sign from that point of view. I point out that the last time a long-time Soviet dictator died and there was a powerful secret police chief around, his colleagues got together and killed him—Beria. This time his colleagues got together and made him the General Secretary of the Communist Party. I think that is indicative of a new attitude.

One can note, also, there is a rise in the influence of the secret police, KGB, and of the military, which is now better represented on the Politburo. So these most repressive elements in the Soviet system seem to be gaining power at the moment.

It is a very grim picture.

Mr. FASCELL. Is there any thinking with respect to a new position or attitude or initiative on the part of the United States or the West?

Mr. ABRAMS. There is a lot of thinking going on about it, at the direction of the Secretary. We have been consulting with a number of domestic groups and foreign governments, as well, in an effort to see what can be done.

I guess the basic attitude we have is that we have to raise the costs, at the very least, to the Soviets in doing this, the costs in terms of willingness of Western countries to do business with them, and especially propaganda costs. They have an enormous propaganda campaign going worldwide, but especially in Western Europe, dedicated to proving that they are the friends of peace, civilization, and that we are its enemies.

And it is obviously completely incompatible with this kind of anti-Semitic behavior. But there is not enough attention given to that behavior.

If the Soviets really came to the conclusion that their anti-Semitic activities were defeating this propaganda campaign, making real political difficulties for them in the West, I think that would be something that would really attract their attention and get them to reassess this campaign.

So a large part of this effort, I think, is to make it clear to them that everywhere in the West more and more people are aware of this, including, for example, the kinds of hearings as this one, resolutions that are done by the U.S. Congress.

Mr. FASCELL. So we need to make an official record as well as a public record in this country and all of the other free countries of the world if we are going to have any impact at all.

Mr. ABRAMS. No doubt about it.

Mr. LANTOS. Would the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. FASCELL. I would be delighted to yield to my colleague.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Secretary, you mentioned a moment ago we have to raise the costs to the Soviet Union of engaging in this outrageous act.

I agree with you, but I am afraid that the administration has lost its credibility along those lines in connection with its contradictory, counterproductive and self-defeating policy of opposing the European effort to sell pipeline-laying equipment to the Soviet Union while being very eager and anxious to sell agricultural products to the Soviet Union. In that policy fiasco, we got the worst of both

possible worlds. Had we been consistent one way or the other, we would have had certain gains. This way we lost on all counts.

The Europeans told us that they will not yield, and they went ahead with the project, although there are second thoughts about it now for economic reasons. And they correctly accused us of hypocrisy because we insisted that they don't sell products to the Soviet Union that mean employment to them, but we insisted on selling agricultural products that meant economic gains for our own agricultural sector.

So I am wondering in view of this agriculture/pipeline fiasco, what concrete steps, other than rhetoric, the administration now has in mind in increasing the costs to the Soviet Union of perpetrating this vicious campaign.

Mr. ABRAMS. Let me begin, if I could, by disagreeing with your analysis.

Mr. LANTOS. I would expect you to.

Mr. ABRAMS. I think the two commodities in question and the two situations are not comparable for a couple of reasons.

First, what the Europeans were doing was not trading with the Soviets, which is what we do with respect to grain. They were giving aid essentially to the Soviets.

For example, they were giving concessional interest rates, which is a form of foreign aid. The first thing we asked the Europeans was if we could at least agree that no one would go beyond normal trade relations and not give foreign aid to the Soviet Union to help its economy. We do not do that in grain sales. They were doing that with the extraordinary interest rates that were being given on the question of the pipeline.

Second, there is the question of dependency. When the Soviets buy grain from us, they become dependent upon us to some degree. We certainly don't become dependent upon them. When the Europeans make an agreement which may have a substantial portion of the gas sector of their energy market dependent on Soviet supplies, they really have given the Soviets a way of pressuring them.

The refusal to buy our grain does not give the Soviets much pressure on us. But the refusal to supply gas to Europe gives them a way of pressuring the Europeans.

Finally, if the Europeans and we had refused to give this material for the pipeline, the Soviets probably could not—throwing the Japanese into the bargain—have been able to get it. This is not true unfortunately with respect to grain. We tried a grain embargo on the Soviet Union. One cannot fault the Carter administration for not trying hard enough. They did.

The problem is Australia, Argentina, and to some extent Canada, came forward. The Soviets can still get all the grain they want, but we, instead of having 70 percent of the market, have only 20 percent.

One final disagreement is, I don't think we have, unfortunately, leverage through grain. We may wish we did. But as long as there is an open market with plenty of other suppliers, that leverage I think is not there.

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Secretary, one can argue that an embargo policy is not effective under any circumstances. But a cohesive approach on grain can be potentially as effective as a cohesive ap-

proach on technology transfer, because the grain exporters are basically Western nations—Australia, Canada, the Common Market, and ourselves, and Argentina. And if they cannot buy it from any of those, they cannot buy it, because nobody else has surplus grain.

So I think the administration's excuse, and with all due respect you are merely repeating that excuse, that grain is different from other products simply doesn't hold up because a combine could be organized just as effectively on grain as it can be on pipeline equipment.

But leaving history behind—and I suspect you do agree with me that our reputation suffered with our Western European allies in this pipeline fiasco—and this was fairly universally recognized throughout Europe—the Russians got their way. How does the administration now propose to increase the cost to the Soviets of engaging in such reprehensible conduct?

Mr. ABRAMS. I suppose the key answer to that is linkage, that is to link Soviet human rights violations to other questions.

Secretary Shultz testified last week to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and he noted that "We have made clear that human rights cannot be relegated to the margins of international politics." Of course the Soviets have a different view. And he said "The need for steady improvement of Soviet performance in the most important human rights categories is as central to the Soviet-American dialog as any other theme."

Now, what that means is that we will negotiate with the Soviets about their human rights behavior when they seek various things from us in economic and political terms. That is, we do not have a separate human rights agenda, so that human rights doesn't come up when you are doing a political negotiation.

All of these items are on the same agenda, and there are trade-offs among them.

I cannot go into specific detail to say, for example, what would it take from the Soviet Union to produce what result with respect to the U.S. attitude in CSCE, which is going on right now, in part because those are hypothetical questions and in part because obviously if there are concrete negotiations underway, such as in Madrid, one would not want to discuss the terms of the negotiations. But the Secretary has made it very clear publicly and privately that, in his view, human rights questions are very much on the political and economic agenda when we negotiate with the Russians.

In addition to that, we are going to be making efforts to raise the profile of this issue. I don't know—the problem is not really here, in part because of the efforts of the U.S. Congress. As you know, the efforts of other parliaments, of European parliaments, don't even come close. And so we will be making efforts to address that issue.

I guess I would take this opportunity to urge you to do the same with direct interparliamentary relations. I know that—I guess the witnesses that follow me will say this. Some of the Soviet Jewry groups in this country have been in direct contact with counterpart groups in Europe and with European governments in an effort to raise the profile of this issue in Europe. So we will be doing both; that is, trying to raise the cost in propaganda terms to the Soviets

in terms of their propaganda campaigns, and second, to negotiate on some of these issues directly with the Russians.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

We have another vote over on the floor of the House. At this time I would like to call on my good friend and colleague from Pennsylvania, Senator Heinz. Perhaps the other members should go over and respond. There is a vote on the rule for debating the budget. There are 11 minutes left. So we will go over and come back.

Senator HEINZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Abrams, in Congressman Fascell's question to you, it seemed to me we walked right up to a question, and almost answered it.

Let me pose it to you.

Do you believe that Yuri Andropov is basically the architect of the anti-Semitic campaign now reaching a crescendo in the Soviet Union?

Mr. ABRAMS. We don't have any direct evidence of that, the kind of direct evidence by way of speeches and memoranda that would allow one to answer that with a firm yes. But I think it is fair to say that Andropov's ascendancy has produced this anti-Semitic campaign. At the very least, he approves of it. It may be that others have suggested it, and clearly others are carrying it out. The very least one can say about it is that it is being carried on with his obvious personal approval. You could not do this kind of thing in the Soviet Union without the approval of the highest level of the government.

Senator HEINZ. I would agree with that.

Why, therefore, should not we give Mr. Andropov the full credit to which he is entitled in this regard? It couldn't be done without his approval. Therefore, it is being done with his explicit approval, and therefore he is more than anybody else in the Soviet Union responsible for it.

Why is that not a fair statement?

Mr. ABRAMS. I think it is a fair statement.

Senator HEINZ. I am glad you said that, because I think it is true.

Now, we have talked a bit about raising the propaganda costs. The administration has done some things to raise the propaganda cost to the Soviet Union. I won't enumerate them. As a matter of fact, Ted Mann enumerates them in his statement, on page 7, and I would refer people to his testimony in that regard.

But it seems to me we could, and I think you would agree with this, be doing a good deal more.

For example, to what extent did this issue arise at the Williamsburg summit? Did we raise this issue at the Williamsburg summit?

Mr. ABRAMS. The issue was raised, but I cannot remember and would have to supply for the record the context—that is who raised it, and with whom.

[The following was subsequently submitted by Mr. Abrams:]

At Williamsburg we discussed the full range of relations with the Soviet Union. We consider human rights one of the most crucial of our concerns in negotiations with the Soviets.

Senator HEINZ. Did President Reagan at any point to your knowledge raise it with other heads of state?

Mr. ABRAMS. That is what I am not sure of. If so, did he raise it with all of them at once or did he raise it with only certain of them; that is what I am not certain of.

Senator HEINZ. It seems to me that we in the West missed a major opportunity at Williamsburg to quite directly confront as part of the communique issued from Williamsburg the Soviet Union on this policy. Would you feel we missed an opportunity?

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, the problem is, to speak candidly, there has been significantly less interest in this issue on the part of most other countries—in fact, virtually every other country—than there exists in the United States. Many governments take the position that if you have an economic summit, one should exclude from it other issues. There has been a tendency to, even at the Williamsburg summit, not to be terribly pleased when we raise an issue such as Soviet human rights violations and the condition of Jews in the Soviet Union.

So how much of an opportunity there was is not clear to me. Sometimes there is a real resistance on the part of other nations to raising these issues, and they actually oppose it.

Senator HEINZ. The Soviet Union is aiming its propaganda campaign principally at the nations of Western Europe. We have a very direct interest, therefore, in succeeding in efforts to combat that propaganda campaign, by letting the truth be known about what great violators of human rights the Soviet Union is. What are we doing with our allies in order to enlist their aid and to get them to express their dismay over the problems of Jewish emigration and anti-Semitism?

Mr. ABRAMS. We have had discussions over a period of time with the European allies—the other members of the CSCE, for example—and we will continue to have those.

One runs into a difficulty, and that is that while we want to press them on this, we don't want them to think they are doing us any favors. We don't want them to think that this is in our view a United States-Soviet issue. And in fact, the more it appears to be a United States-Soviet issue, the less will be done about it.

So what is difficult is to come up with tactics which encourage them, as strongly as we can, to go further without making it appear as if we think this is an issue on which they are doing us a favor, and are helping us out by raising it.

But discussions between us and the governments of Europe on these questions will continue.

Senator HEINZ. You are saying that is both frustrating and perplexing. It is frustrating—your statement to the extent we get too far out in front, it looks like just a direct United States-Soviet Union confrontation all over again. That is frustrating because it suggests a reason that the administration might invoke not to do things publicly. And I think there are all kinds of reasons one can invent to be silent.

Of course, the motto of Soviet Jewry is "Silent No More." And it seems to me we cannot, in the final analysis, let the inaction or inattention or apathy of our allies guide us in the statement of things we believe in. And it would seem to me that the time is be-

coming short for the President to go beyond his previous effort that he has made and make a very strong public statement, condemning the Soviet Union for all the things that we know are going on.

Tactically, it is clearly advantageous to get at least one European head of state to sound a similar alarm, preferably before the President does.

Are you saying that we cannot expect a single European head of state to make such a declaration at any time in the foreseeable future?

Mr. ABRAMS. No; I am not. And the Europeans do have very varying records. Some of them really don't have very good records. Others have spoken out and been very active privately, both in bilateral talks that they have had with the Russians and some are more active than others in Moscow.

What I think one wants to worry about is doing things which could conceivably hurt. For example, if the President were to announce Secretary Shultz was going to be pressing the leader of this country or that, or foreign minister, to make more statements about Soviet Jewry, that would be counterproductive, because that country would then feel as if it were being pressured publicly and would not want to respond to that pressure.

So there are tactical questions as to how one deals with the Europeans, and others, to produce the greatest activism on their part.

But I would certainly agree with you, first, that whatever the outcome of the discussions—it is not just European, discussions with other countries—we have to do what we think necessary and useful on this question.

Senator HEINZ. Chancellor Kohl is meeting with Andropov the week after next, is that correct?

Mr. ABRAMS. I think that is right. It is in the very near future; maybe next week.

Senator HEINZ. Why shouldn't we urge him privately to be, during those meetings, active publicly with Andropov, and speak out against repression—if he doesn't want to speak out against emigration.

Mr. ABRAMS. I would agree with you in principle that whenever there are discussions between a West European, or let's say free world, head of state, and the Soviet leadership, that we should encourage them to raise these issues.

Senator HEINZ. Could I suggest that it might be appropriate for the President to be in contact, by letter or some other means of contact, with Chancellor Kohl, to suggest this as a very important topic for him to bring up?

Mr. ABRAMS. Yes. I don't want my failure to go any further on this to be considered confirmation that we have said nothing to the Germans or the French or anything like that. But as you said, if any such message were to be sent, it would be a private message and not something we would discuss at a public hearing.

Senator HEINZ. I would agree with that. But I would nonetheless urge that the President privately, but very directly make no bones about it with Kohl between now and the time Kohl and Andropov meet.

I just got a phone call that is urgent. I find myself the only Member of Congress left.

Let me suggest that it would be appropriate to recess the hearing until the Members of the House return.

I have a markup in the Energy Committee that I must go to. I don't think I can permit you, Mr. Abrams, to leave at this point, because I think the Members of the House will want to question you when they return.

Without objection, we will recess the hearings for the necessary few minutes.

[Short recess.]

Mr. YATRON. The subcommittee will come to order.

We will reconvene the hearing. At this time, I would like to call on Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Many of the questions I did have, have already been answered. I do have one remaining question. Before I get to that, I was encouraged by the Secretary's remarks regarding linkage. I think linkage is very important in terms of tying the human rights issue with trade matters and other matters with the Soviet Union. I think that whole theme should be developed.

I did have one question. Several months ago, in a meeting with you, Mr. Secretary, you indicated that part of the Soviets' designs are to further their cause, to tell people how well things are going on in the Soviet Union. It seemed to you, and I think it was a very good idea, that if we could get more of the Socialist and Communist leaders who are friendly to the United States—those who have been freely elected in democracies—to speak out on this issue, perhaps that could be an example and could act as a buffer and may even help the Soviets to at least moderate some of their positions.

I was wondering what kind of success you may have had in this area.

Mr. ABRAMS. I would have to say we have not had very much success.

Perhaps—it is an odd thing. I think as tensions between East and West are high, between the United States and the Soviet Union are high, the reaction of a lot of groups, such as, for example, the Socialist International, is to duck getting involved in some of those issues. And I don't think they have been active enough. But it is something I think that is very well worth doing.

The Socialist International, Christian Democratic International, the various international trade union groups. I would have to say, though, that at this point, there has not been too much come of it.

I think it is frustrating, also, for us, because sometimes when we attempt to describe the nature of Soviet behavior in the starkest possible terms, we get criticized for using excessive language.

Well, as Mr. Lantos and others, Mr. Weiss, said, what do you do about a government that says Israel is the successor of the Nazis, except characterize it in the appropriate language. Then when you do that, sometimes people say your language is excessive.

It is hard to think of language that is excessive for that particular piece of behavior.

So, there is frustration on this side, too.

But I think you are quite right in saying this is an effort that needs to be maintained, and it is one which we will rededicate ourselves to.

Mr. SMITH. Without perhaps naming names, are there several potential legislators that you can think of in the various countries that perhaps through our Helsinki Commission [CSCE], or the Subcommittee on Human Rights, we could be in contact with? You mentioned the interparliamentary approach—and I think that is a good one—just to try to make a bridge so that we can perhaps get them moving and speaking out. It seems to me there is very little coming from the other countries. The United States, our Congress, our President, will speak out. But if we do it not in concert with the others, it does not have the same impact.

Mr. ABRAMS. There have been some very interesting moves in this direction. For example, the European Parliament has a very good record on speaking out on this issue. They did a report recently on human rights in the Soviet Union by Lord Nicholas Bethell, which was absolutely first rate. So, there has been some movement.

Mr. FASCELL. The North Atlantic Assembly just finished a meeting.

Mr. ABRAMS. Yes. Perhaps the best way for us to do that is sit down together with the staff of the Commission and talk with ITU meetings and other ways we can identify different groups which are sensible targets.

Mr. SMITH. It seems to me that networking would be very appropriate here.

I thank you for your answers.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Smith.

At this time, I would like to call on Congressman Lantos for a brief statement.

Mr. LANTOS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I just want to say a couple of things. First, I want to commend the Secretary for his work in this arena. You have been a strong ally of those of us in Congress who feel deeply about this issue.

Mr. ABRAMS. Thank you.

Mr. LANTOS. I want publicly to commend you for that.

Second, Mr. Secretary, apropos your observation that we need to build alliances with our Western European friends on this issue, you may be interested in knowing that as chairman of the U.S. congressional group that has liaison responsibility with the European Parliament, we have placed the issue of Soviet official anti-Semitism on the top of the next meeting's agenda with the European Parliament. That meeting will take place in September here in Washington.

We hope that you might be able to briefly attend and maybe talk to the group.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Lantos.

I would like to call on Mr. Markey.

Mr. MARKEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It has been said that one of the things that influenced the Soviet decision to invade Afghanistan was the fact that the SALT II Treaty was already dead in the Senate, and that the Soviets, therefore, did not have much more to lose in their relationship with the United States if they invaded Afghanistan.

Aren't we nearing the same kind of situation with respect to Jewish emigration? The United States-Soviet relations may not

have hit rock bottom, but they are very close to it. And almost everyone agrees it is in a very sorry state. And that the anti-Soviet rhetoric from the White House has not helped. Aren't we in danger of the Soviets perceiving their relationship with the United States is in such bad shape that they have nothing to lose by closing the gates completely on any further Soviet emigration?

Mr. ABRAMS. I don't think so. We are currently engaged in meetings with them in the START talks, MBFR (mutual and balanced force reductions) talks. We have a wide range of contacts with the Soviet Union. And I think certainly the message that Secretary Shultz gave last week in his testimony was that there are a number of things we would like to discuss with them and think can be profitably discussed with them.

So, I don't think—I guess I would not agree with that. Obviously, we all hope it is not true. But I think they know there is a lot of business that needs to be done and can be done between us.

Mr. MARKEY. Let me ask you this: The President called the Soviet Union the "focus of evil" and has called the Soviet leaders liars and cheats. It would seem to me that this kind of rhetoric does not help Soviet Jewish emigration; rather it substantially complicates your job of trying to assist Soviet Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union.

Do you think that the administration's threats, intimidation, harsh rhetoric, will, in fact, pressure the Soviets into loosening their emigration restrictions, or will it have just the opposite effect?

Mr. ABRAMS. I don't think we are threatening or intimidating the Soviets. I think the President's statements are exactly the kind of thing I would like to see coming from West European and other leaders. You have a government here which is engaging in the most unbelievable kinds of viciousness and brutality and anti-Semitism. It is a government which today—I think Congressman Solarz will agree with me—is engaging in chemical warfare, which is calling the Government of Israel the successor to Hitler and the Nazis. And to call that government evil, it seems to me, is an accurate description. I find it amazing that the discourse we engage in in the West now makes it impossible to call the Soviets evil, which is precisely what that regime is.

It is also worth pointing out the language in which they discuss the West is much worse than that and much more frequent.

So, I would hope that they have got to learn the lesson that when they act this way, we describe their activity in the most harsh, appropriate terms. And when they are engaging in this kind of inhumanity, I don't think we should be saying that the Soviet leaders are engaging in an appropriate, inhumane behavior. I think we should be saying these actions are evil and that the Soviet Union is becoming the focus of evil.

Mr. MARKEY. So you don't think it is counterproductive at all.

Mr. ABRAMS. Not at all.

Mr. YATRON. I would like to call on Congressman Solarz.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say first I am pleased that the distinguished Assistant Secretary read my article in the Wall Street Journal. I am not sure that I am equally pleased it has been deployed in the arsenal of his

arguments that justify the use of these potentially counterproductive characterizations.

I am not speaking now to the linguistic merit of the phrase, but rather to its political propriety.

I just want to ask you one question.

What is the position of the administration with respect to Jackson-Vanik, and the extent to which there are any conceivable circumstances under which you would favor or consider some revision of that legislation. Or do you think it is sound public policy and ought to remain as is, regardless of any subsequent developments?

Mr. ABRAMS. There has been a lot of discussion of Jackson-Vanik. As you know, there is a proposal to change it very significantly. As I recall our position, which has been discussed a great deal, we would be opposed—we do oppose—significant changes in the Jackson-Vanik amendment. There is a question of multiyear MFN. And I would say our position is that we could, in the long run, countenance multiyear MFN if it is sufficiently well hedged in. That is, we would not be in favor of just granting somebody, say, 5-year MFN with no ability to do anything in the interim; so, for example, if there were tremendous deterioration in performance, you are stuck for the rest of the 5 years. And we would want procedures that would allow for, or demand the review of, that grant of multiyear MFN and condition it on a significant number of years of good behavior.

These are the kinds of things that we would like to see discussed and would not oppose, because we think that they go along with the basic purposes of the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

Mr. SOLARZ. Do you think any changes ought to be even considered outside of the context of an improvement in U.S. Soviet relations? Do you think this perhaps might be considered as an American initiative designed to maybe break the ice and hopefully induce some movement on the other side?

Mr. ABRAMS. I think first that most of the proposals thus far have not involved the Soviet Union. They have involved Hungary or the People's Republic of China.

I don't think that the history of negotiating with the Soviet Union reveals that they are particularly sensitive to that kind of concession on our part. Rather, I think they pocket them as an admission that we were wrong in the policy in the first place.

I don't think freebies are the way to deal with them. I would, therefore, think when they have been behaving increasingly badly, we should not respond by letting up the pressure, because that indicates to them the worse they behave, the more they will get from us.

So, I would not allow the Soviet Union to get any benefits out of this behavior.

Mr. SOLARZ. One final question on the relationship between MFN and the Soviet Union. Would the administration insist that there be a very substantial increase again in the level of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union as a condition for MFN? Or would the administration be prepared to consider in the context of some broader understandings with the Soviet Union, putting MFN on the table as it were and agreeing to give it to them, thereby necessitating some revision of the legislative language.

In other words, do you see this as a potential bargaining chip that would be used in the context of an effort to reach a broader agreement with the Soviet Union, or do you see it standing by itself in the context in which, in order for us to make any changes or give them MFN, there is going to have to be a very substantial rate of emigration?

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, we have seen it standing by itself, because of the fact that, unlike a number of variables that are under the control of the executive branch, this one is written into law. And, therefore, you would have to be able, for example, to promise the Soviets that the Congress would then significantly revise or eliminate the Jackson-Vanik amendment.

So, we have not contemplated doing that. For one thing, it would require the agreement of those who are most active in supporting Jackson-Vanik, such as Senator Jackson. We have not to this date contemplated doing that.

Mr. SOLARZ. Do you have any reason to believe that the unilateral repeal of Jackson-Vanik or its modification by the Congress to permit MFN to be granted to the Soviet Union, absent a significant increase in emigration, would, in fact, lead to a significant increase in emigration?

Mr. ABRAMS. No. One can hope so. But I think the history of negotiating with the Soviets is that hard bargaining produces a lot more than hoping.

Mr. SOLARZ. So you would disagree with those who would argue, that were we simply to repeal Jackson-Vanik, or give the Soviet MFN, somehow or other this ipso facto would result in a substantial increase in the rate of emigration?

Mr. ABRAMS. No. I can see the scenario in which one would bargain for the elimination of MFN—of Jackson-Vanik—by producing a great increase in—a promise of a great increase in—emigration. But that is not the position of the administration that we should do that. And I think that one should not really rely too much on the Soviet pledges in this area. One should really look to performance.

Mr. SOLARZ. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Levine.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. There are a couple of areas I would like to explore with you as well, Mr. Secretary.

Other analysts of this problem have spelled out a somewhat different scenario for improving the rate of emigration than you have, and, in fact, have argued that the principal reason why emigration is down so much, even though it began to go down dramatically in 1979, has been the hard line Reagan policies toward the Soviet Union, and that, in fact, until relations between our two countries improve, the Soviet Jews will simply be a pawn in the greater game of United States-Soviet relations, and that until a thaw occurs in these relations, we can expect to see a continuing trickle of emigration.

Obviously that is contrary to the general thrust of your testimony and the assumptions that underlie your testimony. But I would appreciate your thoughts on those arguments which I have heard forcefully expressed by people who care very deeply about this subject.

Mr. ABRAMS. I just don't think there is any evidence for that viewpoint. First of all, emigration from the Soviet Union fell by 60 percent in the last year of the Carter administration after Afghanistan. That was the huge drop, from 50,000 to 20,000.

Mr. LEVINE. But let's take it out of a Reagan context and put it in the context of United States-Soviet relations. United States-Soviet relations also noticeably cooled during that period of time.

Mr. ABRAMS. Sure. I think there is a direct and clear relationship between the nature of East-West relations and emigration.

I think if one looks at the numbers and world events, one has to reach that conclusion.

The problem, of course, is that we did not invade Afghanistan; they did. And we did not attack Solidarity; they did.

How can we maintain the kind of relationship with the Soviets we would like when they are behaving that way. That does not count a lot of other things they are doing, such as the use of chemical weapons.

So, I think it is true that the increase in international tension has a direct relationship with this. But the increase in international tension does not stem from Carter administration latter-day policy or from Reagan administration policy. It stems from Soviet behavior and the American response to it.

We tried, the Carter administration tried, other administrations have tried, softtalking the Soviets, and the response gotten from them, I think, is not terribly encouraging. I think it is a major error to blame the U.S. Government, whether it is President Carter or President Reagan, for the drop in emigration levels. And it has happened under two administrations.

The keys to those jail cells are in Moscow, not in Washington.

Mr. LEVINE. I share that general conclusion. But I do think that whether the administration is a Republican administration, on the one hand, or Democratic, on the other hand, some questions must be raised with regard to the extent to which the leadership of this country, in a variety of areas, regardless of Soviet aggressive and outrageous behavior in Afghanistan and Poland, is not just playing into the same type of policy as the Soviets. The Soviets throw down the gauntlet, because of their outrageous behavior in some areas, and then instead of continuing to pursue policies in other vitally important areas, such as arms control, which might improve our relationships; are we not just raising the ante—we say you have been outrageous here, so we are not going to be particularly cooperative in another area?

I wonder whether or not we are not in a vicious circle in which some of the most unfortunate victims and pawns happen to be the Soviet Jews who simply wish to leave, but who are continually treated as victims of this great power conflict over which they have no control, but over which neither side seems to be willing to make adequate gestures which would produce a thaw in the relationship.

Mr. ABRAMS. I think first we should again distinguish the emigration question which seems to respond more to international tension from the question of internal anti-Semitism, which does not seem to.

I think the increase in anti-Semitism is really related more to internal Soviet bloc and internal U.S.S.R. events which would not respond to any particular change in behavior on our part.

But even with respect to emigration, I think that the difficulty with that analysis is, as lawyers say, it proves too much. The worse they get, the better we should be to them. And I think that is wrong. I think that the way to respond to Soviet behavior is to describe it accurately, which I think President Reagan has done, and to try to make them pay the price.

I think it would be very bad if they got the impression that the worse they treat the Jews, the more we are going to be willing to pay them to treat the Jews better.

Mr. LEVINE. I don't think anybody is suggesting that. I think it should be clear that is not the suggestion that is coming from critics of the Reagan policy. That is somewhat of a red herring.

Mr. ABRAMS. Well, in some of the conversations I have had, I think one gets—one can get awfully close to that. This period has seen some very, very bad unacceptable behavior by the Soviets. I think we have to be careful not, in a sense, to reward that behavior by attempting to pay the Soviet's things they want to stop it, because that really gives them an incentive to do more.

One of the problems when one trades citizens of another country for spies that we have captured is, of course, you give them an incentive to take some more of the citizens as prisoners to get their spies back.

One has to be careful of that as well, where we are rewarding their bad behavior.

Mr. LEVINE. It is my sense when you talk about linkage, as you did earlier, which I think was appropriate in terms of linking human rights behavior, and I was very pleased to hear you say this, by the way, with other significant issues in United States-Soviet relations; it is my understanding the critics of Reagan's policy view is all we see is a negative linkage, not positive. We see a linkage; if you don't do something we will do something worse—the idea of stick rather than carrot.

I think the criticism comes from a view that the highest leaders of this Government have been much more concerned with the stick than they have with the carrot in terms of United States-Soviet policy.

Mr. ABRAMS. The negotiations continue. We even had some expressions of optimism from our negotiators in Geneva. That is very serious talking going on. We had very serious discussions with the Russians in Madrid over human rights questions, which have produced a little give on their part, and I hope will produce more. So, I don't think that they feel that these negotiations are not worthwhile, because they continue to engage in them, and they do produce progress.

Mr. LEVINE. A number of nonbinding resolutions originate from this subcommittee on behalf of both individual Soviet Jews and also on behalf of broader Soviet Jewish issues, which call upon the State Department to do certain things.

Can you just outline to the subcommittee how the State Department follows up on the receipt of these resolutions when you get them from the Congress?

Mr. ABRAMS. Yes; whenever these resolutions come to us and are to be passed to the Soviet Government, we pass them to the Soviet Government, usually here in Washington, and send copies by cable to the embassies in Moscow.

I don't think there can be any doubt that they pay attention; that these are not just thrown into the wind. The best way to judge, I think, is to ask the Soviet Jews and other groups in the Soviet Union which are bearing the brunt of repression. They are quite certain that these resolutions on your part improve people's lives and on occasion save lives.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Would the gentleman yield?

Mr. LEVINE. Certainly.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Secretary, if you could share with this committee how the State Department seeks to resolve individual cases, I think that would be helpful. If you can also tell us how many cases there are which we made representations to the Soviets, pending cases, and if there is any real attempt made to prioritize the cases. That is to say, based on how long that person has been refused, whether or not they have been incarcerated or any other extenuating circumstances.

Mr. YATRON. Could you make that available to the committee?

Mr. ABRAMS. OK. It is a complicated subject. It changes over time. Perhaps if we could answer that for the record, that would give you a more full answer.

Mr. YATRON. We may have some other questions, Mr. Secretary, we would like to give you and present to you from other Members. If you could provide that for the subcommittee, we would indeed be grateful.

[The information follows:]

At its discretion, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow makes representation to the Soviet Government on individual cases. We also have three representation lists which we periodically present to the Soviet Government. These lists serve to emphasize the importance we attach to these cases, and indicate to the Soviet Government our continuing concern over the fate of these individuals. We present these names until they can be removed from the lists, when they have been allowed to emigrate from the Soviet Union. The three lists are divided into American citizens, divided families, and Israeli emigration cases. The current lists number respectively, 14 families among the American citizen cases, 54 families totalling 266 individuals among the divided family cases, and approximately 2,200 families seeking to emigrate to Israel. We do not now prioritize these lists, but we are looking into ways of reorganizing the lists to highlight the oldest of the unresolved cases.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Secretary, thank you very much for being here today.

Mr. ABRAMS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me apologize in advance to the other witnesses. I need to get back to the Department now and won't be able to stay. I realize it is a rare opportunity to turn around and join the panel and start questioning people. But it would be such a shocking development, perhaps we should not even engage in it.

Mr. YATRON. We understand.

Our next witnesses are Theodore Mann, Lynn Singer, William Korey, and Igor Tufeld, Soviet refusenik.

Please take your seats at the witness table.

We will include in the record the text of your full statements, which we would appreciate your summarizing for us. Unless there is objection, we will hear each of your statements and then proceed to questions.

Our first witness from the panel is Mr. Theodore Mann, chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

Mr. Mann.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Chairman, before the witnesses begin, may I indicate how delighted I am that they are testifying this morning. Unhappily, I have to run off to another appointment. But I will read your testimony with great care.

**STATEMENT OF THEODORE MANN, IMMEDIATE PAST
PRESIDENT, NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY**

Mr. MANN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It is a pleasure to be here. I have no intention of reading our statement. I intended to be extremely brief, and I shall be.

The Anti-Zionist Committee, its creation and its recent remarks, fills many of us with great foreboding: It is remarkable that the Soviets should be saying that all who wish to leave have left, when there are I don't know how many U.S. Congressmen who have been to the Soviet Union in the past several years and met I don't know how many refuseniks and know that it is a lie; when there have been hundreds and hundreds of private American citizens who have gone to the Soviet Union in the past several years and met thousands of refuseniks who cannot get out and know it is a lie.

When I was in the Soviet Union, 2 years ago, I spent a great deal of time talking to Jews who were not refuseniks, and reported to my peers that the single most frequent complaint then was that their mail was not getting through and they were not receiving the invitations they needed from their relatives in Israel. That has been going on steadily since that time.

That they should state such a lie knowing that all of us know it is a lie, is frightening. The Anti-Zionist Committee's comments have in that regard a certain sense of finality that is chilling.

It is chilling for us, and I know that it is chilling for the Soviet Jews who are there.

And I candidly am concerned with what Soviet Jews will do, should they really come to believe that there has been a decision made that they are not going to get out now or ever.

I am concerned about that, because it would seem to me that those kinds of human beings, if they really conclude that this totalitarian regime is not going to let them leave, will ultimately join with others within that society in order to make changes within that society. And we never regarded that as a good way for the Soviet Jewish movement to go.

The Assistant Secretary talked about the controversy as one between one of history's most rapidly decaying ideologies and one of history's most enduring ideologies. That might be a good way to describe it, but that is never what we wanted. We don't want 20 percent of the remaining small Jewish population in this world, made so small within our time, to take the leading oar in a fight against this decaying ideology.

We simply want them to get out if they want to get out. And so the statement of the Anti-Zionist Committee is very, very distressing for that reason, and for one other reason.

As I read the materials that have come out of the Soviet Union through that committee and others in the last several months, it is clear that there is being created the mechanism by which this Anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism can be seen not only from Moscow but in every village, town, and hamlet in the Soviet Union, and in the factories. They are making an effort to bring it down to "the common man". And that, of course, fills us with even greater foreboding, because our greatest fear is that in the long run, as the Soviet economy worsens and its other troubles worsen, that the Soviet Jews will become, in the tradition of East European authoritarianism, a very unfortunate tradition, the scapegoat of that society.

Within the past week, leaders of the American Jewish community met with Secretary of State Shultz, to discuss the situation that your two committees today are discussing.

We had occasion then to thank him for the fact that within the framework of Soviet-United States relationships, as this administration sees them, this administration is doing everything they can for Soviet Jews. And I want to take the opportunity of thanking the Subcommittee on Human Rights and the Helsinki Commission, too, for holding this hearing, for everything they have done in these past many years, for the staying power you have shown in a controversy that is going to go on for many, many years.

Staying power is necessary on behalf of those of us, private citizens, who are concerned with the issue. But it is even more important that that kind of staying power, day in and day out, year in and year out, Congress in and Congress out, be maintained by the U.S. Congress, and that the Congress continue to be responsive to the cry of the Soviet Jews, and I know that you will continue to be.

Thank you.

[Mr. Mann's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF THEODORE R. MANN, IMMEDIATE PAST CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. Chairmen, Members of the Subcommittee, and Members of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe:

On behalf of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, (NCSJ), I welcome this opportunity to appear today and present some views concerning matters pending before this Committee. With me is Mr. David Harris, Director of our Washington Office. Also with me is Igor Tufeld, a former refusenik and Jewish emigration activist from Moscow, who now resides in Israel, and whose parents are still in the Soviet Union.

For those who are not familiar with the NCSJ, forty-one national membership organizations, and nearly three hundred local community councils, federations and committees comprise our constituency. Through them we are able to reach every corner of organized Jewish life in the United States. I am enclosing a list for the record.

Our concern for human rights reflects the historic Jewish concern for all people whose rights have been trampled. We have learned from history that when the rights of a minority, such as that of the 2,000,000 Jews in the USSR, are threatened, all people are threatened. By securing those rights we are, in fact, helping secure rights for all people.

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry, as the major, single-purpose agency in this country representing the bulk of this community's work for the Jewish minority in the USSR, supports efforts to achieve a meaningful detente. The hopes of all people, including that of minorities like the Jews in the Soviet Union, will have a better opportunity to achieve security and self-expression in an atmosphere of diminished tensions. In our view, however, good bilateral relations also demand reciprocal obligations. It is not a one-way street.

In the matter of discrimination, the suppression of Jewish religion and culture, and emigration patterns from the Soviet Union, issues of critical concern to many peoples, we are actively pursuing the goal of change. We believe this goal is consistent with basic U.S. foreign policy objectives.

For too many people the importance of Soviet Jewry is still not understood nor felt. Soviet Jewry comprises twenty percent of world Jewry. That a people, which lost one-third of itself a generation ago simply cannot allow the disappearance of another twenty percent in our time, is self-evident. And so more Americans must know the pain of the Soviet Jew, and sense the enormity of the loss to our people if we should fail in this task of rescue.

Withal, it is true that what we have accomplished in over a decade is nothing short of miraculous. Since 1969 over 260,000 Jews were rescued. But others still struggle for the rights denied them, and we are racing against time. As Professor Seweryn Bialer, of Columbia University's Research Institute on International Change explained to a recent NCSJ Policy Conference in Washington, Jews are at risk in the Soviet Union in a different way from others. It is that greater risk that concerns us.

The USSR will face hardships much stronger than anything else it has faced in the post-Stalin era, and may seek foreign and domestic scapegoats for the dilemmas it is likely to confront in this decade. The United States could be labeled the foreign scapegoat and Jews, as in the past, could be targeted as domestic scapegoats. This justifies us in making our demands upon our own government to help us in this great endeavor.

The condition of the Soviet Jewish population has steadily deteriorated in recent months. This is most evident in the curtailment of emigration to a fraction of what it has been in past years. It is evident in the heightened intimidation and harassment of Soviet Jews. Sovietologists agree that the Jewish religion is singled out by Soviet authorities for more intensive oppression than other religious groups. The climate in the Soviet Union has evolved into one in which anti-Semitism thrives and progressively greater injustices are permitted.

EMIGRATION DECLINE

The Jewish emigration statistics reveal what can only be termed a crisis situation. 2,670 Jews were granted emigration visas in 1982 compared with 9,447 Jews last year, permitted to leave the Soviet Union. The highest level was 51,320, in 1979. The number of Jews allowed to emigrate in 1982 has plummeted by a staggering 95 percent in the past three years. Emigration levels have not been this dismal since the early 1960's. The sharp downturn of Jewish emigration, from a high point of 51,320 in 1979, is extremely disquieting. At the moment, an average of about 100 Jews per month are being let out to join families. (I am enclosing a statistical chart prepared by the NCSJ's Soviet Jewry Research Bureau.)

An invitation from an Israeli relative is a necessary prerequisite to the procedure of applying for an emigration visa. Many such invitations are illegally intercepted in the mail and confiscated. Bureaucratic restrictions on who may submit visa applications have excluded tens of thousands from beginning this very lengthy process. The number of Jews awaiting exit visas is estimated at more than 300,000.

Various justifications are employed to substantiate the arbitrary rejections of exit visa applications. Throughout much of the seventies, emigration pursued for the purpose of the reunification of families was deemed valid. The new doctrine of "primacy," which was effected in May of 1979, circumscribed the applicability of this justification. From that time forth only emigration to rejoin immediate family members, or "first degree" relatives, was permitted. Even "primacy" is now insufficient, and eligibility for applying has been further narrowed. Soviet authorities have recently begun to insist that there is no reason for immediate family members, such as parents and children, to be reunited if there is no economic dependency between the individuals.

The refusenik community, comprised of those Jews whose applications for emigration have been rejected at least twice, presently numbers approximately ten thousand. Nearly fifty families have been struggling for their right to leave for over ten years, and more than 130 families have been waiting between five and ten years.

In addition to being denied their legal right to emigrate, potential emigres are social outcasts and likely targets of officially-condoned harassment. After an application for emigration is filed, the applicant is frequently dismissed from his or her job and refused the opportunity to work in a field of interest.

ARRESTS/IMPRISONMENTS INTENSIFY

For Prisoners of Conscience, threats of arrest often become reality. There are currently sixteen Jewish activists serving sentences on unjustified charges and two persons awaiting trial — their true crime being the desire to emigrate to Israel. In the 1970's, a series of well-publicized group trials suggested a public campaign to suppress any desire among Jews to emigrate. The trials had the reverse effect in the Soviet Union, and helped galvanize opinion in the West.

The use of this form of judicial repression has, like the curtailment of emigration, intensified. Over half of the Jewish Prisoners of Conscience now serving time have been sentenced since May, 1981.

BAN ON HEBREW

As a signatory to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Soviet Union is bound to the minority rights clause of Article 27:

In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right in community with other members of their group to enjoy their own culture, to profess their own religion or to use their own language.

Despite this commitment, the Soviet government has long pursued a policy aimed at suppressing Jewish culture and at severing Soviet Jewry from its heritage. This policy is made apparent in the government's dealings with the Hebrew language.

Hebrew, the language of the Bible and of the State of Israel, is the only language which historically has been the common property of Jews everywhere. Knowledge of the language is an integral part not only of Jewish liturgy and sacred texts, which are written in Hebrew, but also of secular Jewish culture. Nevertheless, it has been rendered

virtually inaccessible to Soviet Jews through an unpublicized ban.

Soviet authorities have not created barriers for Soviet citizens wishing to study any language, except Hebrew. Citizens are free to study other languages, even when problems exist in the relations between the USSR and the native country where the language is spoken, including China. Hebrew is the only language which is known to be the object of stringent restrictions.

In the USSR, courses in Hebrew exist only for certain narrow state purposes. For example, members of the KGB are taught Hebrew for undercover work. They are given as a part of the curriculum of three universities, in Moscow and Tbilisi, from which Jews as a rule are excluded. Officially approved Hebrew instruction is also available in a few Christian religious seminaries. Soviet Jews, however, are denied the same opportunity.

With the exception of the limited edition of a Russian-Hebrew dictionary which appeared in 1963, no books of any kind in Hebrew have been published in the USSR in over fifty years. There are no Hebrew newspapers or periodicals, nor is there a Hebrew school, or classes.

According to the latest official statistics Jews number about 1.8 million, a figure regarded as a substantial understatement by Western demographers. While they are the sixteenth largest among over one hundred officially recognized Soviet nationalities, they are the only one whose language is subjected to such restrictions. (With respect to Yiddish, another traditional Jewish language familiar to a great part of Soviet Jewry, the situation is not significantly better.)

Deprived of the possibility of studying Hebrew officially, an increasing number of Jews have been doing it privately. The authorities have sought to suppress such private instruction, however, without openly forbidding it. The private teaching of Hebrew, in contrast to the private teaching of other languages in the USSR, is not regarded as legitimate employment. Newspapers refuse to accept advertisements for lessons, and offices of the Ministry of Finance continue to rebuff the efforts of private Hebrew teachers to pay income taxes on their earnings.

Iosif Begun, as an example to others, served two years in internal exile as a "parasite" because his teaching of Hebrew was not considered "socially useful labor." As additional punishment he was rearrested upon release, and sentenced to an additional three years of Siberian exile for "violating internal passport laws." He now awaits a third trial.

I submit, for the record, a case study on Begun, entitled "The Hebrew Language on Trial."

Harassment has intensified. Some people have been subjected to arbitrary arrests, periodic searches and seizures. They have been denounced in the press. Hebrew teachers in several cities have been summoned by the KGB or the police and warned that they must cease teaching, or face prosecution on a variety of criminal or political charges. Homes have been raided and Hebrew language material confiscated, including textbooks, dictionaries and other teaching aids, as well as personal belongings.

The behavior of authorities with regard to Hebrew language instruction limits the individual rights of the teachers concerned. Quite apart from those basic human rights associated with freedom from arbitrary police harassment, rights guaranteed by Soviet law, as well as numerous international human rights conventions to which the Soviet Union is a signatory, Soviet policies toward the study and teaching of Hebrew infringe upon the right to freedom of choice of employment. This is a violation of the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Article 6) and Convention No. 122 (1964) of the International Labor Organization (Article 1 (2)(a), as well as Article 40 of the USSR Constitution.

The suppression of the knowledge of Hebrew among Jews also violates the collective cultural rights of the officially recognized Jewish minority to use and study its own language, as expressed in the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (Article 27) and the 1960 UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (Article 5(1)(c), all signed by the Soviet Union.

Finally, the suppression of Hebrew violates those portions of the Soviet Union's constitution and related laws which prohibit any form of discrimination on the basis of nationality, as well as any preferences or limitations regarding the national languages of the peoples of the USSR.

TIES TO CULTURE AND RELIGION THREATENED

Similar prohibitions cut off access to Jewish history and culture. There also exists no Jewish schools in the Soviet Union, even in the Jewish autonomous region of Birobidzhan. Books which deal with any aspect of the Jewish experience are not published in any language. Private seminars in Jewish culture and Torah readings face intimidation tactics similar to those levied against Hebrew seminars. Not a single Jewish press organ is permitted in the Russian language. And, because of the weakness of Jewish religious life, Jewish parents are ill-equipped to provide their children with guidance and instruction in these areas.

Specifically encouraged in the Helsinki Final Act is the development of contacts and cooperation among persons active in the field of culture. Nevertheless, attempts to send to Soviet Jews books or teaching manuals, on completely non-political subjects, are thwarted by the Soviet authorities. They are either confiscated or simply disappear in the mail, thus indicating interference with postal privacy and communication, which is guaranteed both in the Soviet Constitution and in international agreements.

Over 60 synagogues are known to serve Soviet Jews, and only three are known to have a rabbi. Those Jews seeking to learn more about their religion are targeted for harassment. Ironically, the 1936 Soviet Constitution only "recognized" the right to religious worship, whereas the 1977 Constitution "guarantees" the right to "conduct religious worship." In practice, however, nothing has changed. KGB officers repeatedly forced their way into the homes of Jews holding private gatherings, threatening them with the accusation of holding "illegal" religious meetings. Participants in such gatherings were forced to present their identity papers and make themselves known to the authorities. They confiscated Jewish material, including copies of a Russian prayerbook published before the Revolution.

Authorities raided the homes of refuseniks to issue warnings against organizing religious holiday celebrations. When festivals celebrating the Jewish holidays were attempted, police quickly barricaded the entrances. Now, Soviet Jews fear the demise of their fundamental religious rights — to worship, to practice ceremonies, to educate their children and to publish religious literature — as even the vestiges of these rights are threatened. (Attached is additional documentation on the suppression of Jewish culture and religion by Soviet authorities.)

JEWISH ACADEMICIANS AND SCIENTISTS

Nowhere has the Soviet crackdown on its Jewish inhabitants been more apparent than in the treatment of Jewish scientists and academicians who wish to emigrate. The scientists and their family members have been selected for special harassment and public degradation, as an example to other would-be emigrants.

The refusenik scientists see themselves as a "High Risk Group" not permitted to emigrate, while simultaneously being destroyed within the Soviet society. The Jewish scientist who tries to emigrate risks not only a present job, but academic credentials as well. In 1976 the political attitudes of applicants for advanced degrees became a factor in the decision. Since 1981 unsuitable political beliefs can destroy a degree retroactively; application for emigration to Israel, defined as an "anti-patriotic" act, is grounds for the revocation of higher degrees. In the recent crusade against Jewish academicians, several scientists have actually been stripped of their degrees.

ANTI-SEMITISM

My colleague, Dr. William Korey, Director, International Policy Research, B'nai B'rith International Council, will discuss at greater length the burning issue of anti-Semitism. Let me now quote Ambassador Max Kampelman, Chairman of the U.S. delegation to the current Madrid review conference on the Helsinki Final Act:

It is with regret that our delegation has concluded that the Soviet Union is clearly identified with a pattern of anti-Semitic behavior that could not function without government support and acquiescence. . . Government-condoned and government-propagated anti-Semitism flourishes in the Soviet Union today. . . an officially sanctioned campaign, stimulated by state-controlled publication and exhibition of overtly anti-Semitic books, articles, cartoons and exhibitions.

Recent years have shown no abatement in the trend. The number of anti-Semitic articles increased manifold, while Jews have reported an increase in the publication of anti-Semitic books and booklets in large quantities. Anti-Semitism continues to be thinly masked as anti-Zionism, and remains directed against Judaism, Jewish traditions and Soviet Jews themselves.

The anti-Semitic campaign seems designed to reach everyone in the Soviet Union, since material appears in Russian, Ukrainian, and other national languages. Once again, children are not immune. Emigration activists are often maligned in their local media.

The Soviet army, a training ground for future leadership in the country, has become a virtual breeding ground for anti-Semitism. The compulsory indoctrination program for new recruits now includes extensive anti-Semitic and anti-Israel propaganda.

DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION

Discriminatory entrance examinations are responsible for shutting increasing numbers of qualified Jewish students out of higher education. As an urban population, with high educational standards, Jews feel this discrimination particularly harshly.

Jewish high school graduates from Moscow, Leningrad and Novosibirsk, applying for admission to state universities, were examined by 'special persons' and told they were 'not wanted.' Particularly hard hit were those qualified for advanced studies in mathematics. Students who received top marks and were awarded prizes in their high-school years were subjected to discriminatory examinations. Occasionally, Jewish students already enrolled in the highest educational institutions were expelled and made to enroll in lesser or secondary institutions. Such discriminatory policies are changing the com-

plexion of Russia's student population.

According to a report issued in June, 1982, by the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress, the number of Jewish students in the Soviet Union as a whole parallels the decline in the Jewish student population in Moscow. In 1968-69, an estimated 112,000 Jews were enrolled in institutions of higher education throughout the USSR. In 1980, that figure fell to an estimated 50 to 55,000. Similarly, the report indicated that Moscow's Jewish student population is roughly half of what it was a decade ago. Until 1980-81, Jews in Moscow retained third place in the number of students in any one nationality, following the Russians and Ukrainians, but slipped to fourth place 1980-81, behind the Tartars.

Finally, male Jews, having been denied entry into universities and institutions due to discriminatory admission procedures, face the threat of conscription into military service. They could then be considered as "security risks," for having had access to the military, and be forced to wait up to five years after completing service before re-applying to emigrate. Their hope of reaching Israel in the near future would then be virtually destroyed by the Soviet authorities.

Andropov's Jewish Policy

Many months ago the world wondered about Andropov's Jewish policy. In the last two months its character and direction have been made clear. It is essentially a clarification -- a coming together -- of practices in motion during the last three years.

A special public institutional form for legitimizing the policy has been created, elements of which evoke memories of the Nazi era and of Stalin's last days. The policy itself involves four separate but interrelated features; a) an implied end to emigration and repatriation to Israel entirely; b) the cutting off the Soviet Jewish community from relations with co-religionists abroad; c) an intensification of the program of forced

cultural and linguistic assimilation; and d) a broadening of the anti-Zionist propaganda campaign, drawing into it new anti-Semitic elements that have their origin in Tsarist Black Hundred canards and in recent neo-Nazi themes.

On April 1, Pravda and other central newspapers carried an "Appeal" calling for the creation of an "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public" and signed by eight Jews most of whom had served in the past as apologists for the regime on Jewish issues. The "Appeal" in part constituted a violent diatribe against Zionism echoing conceptions which have been staples of Soviet propaganda since 1967 and which borrow from the epoch of the anti-Jewish "Doctors' Plot" of 1953. At the same time, the "Appeal" called upon all sectors of the public to join in a broad campaign against Zionism and participate in the work of the projected Committee.

For the record, I enclose a New York Times story, dated April 2 with a reply from the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, published on April 15.

The "Appeal" was broadcast on television and radio, giving it the widest public attention. On April 21, three weeks after the "Appeal" was launched, "a meeting of representatives of a number of public organizations was held" to formally announce the creation of the "Anti-Zionist Committee." Since then, branches have reportedly been formed in various places in the USSR, especially in cities with a sizeable Jewish population giving the central mechanism a depth for penetrating into the public arena.

The Chairman of the Committee, Colonel-General David Dragunsky, is a 73-year old former tank corps commander. It should be noted that today there are only a handful of Jewish military officials, who are holdovers from the World War II era. Whether any Jews have been admitted in the last three decades to military academies is doubtful.

Significantly, none of the initial eight members of the Committee are associated with the remnant of Jewish cultural life in the USSR mainly built around the Yiddish journal Sovietish Heimland and the tiny Yiddish establishment in Birobidzhan. Indeed, the "Appeal" does not carry a single reference to Jewish culture or to the specific Jewish

heritage of the USSR, including the famed Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of World War II days. Later, the Chief Rabbi of Moscow, Yakov Fishman, became a member of the new Anti-Zionist Committee, but his role, just prior to his sudden death on June 7, was limited to lauding the formation of the Committee and writing a special letter to U.S. Ambassador Aruthur Hartman which — as will be noted -- appears to have been dictated by Kremlin officials to serve a specific aspect of the Andropov Jewish policy.

The Anti-Zionist Committee has already performed one major function — a large-scale, two-hour press conference on June 6. What emerged at the press conference was a clear indication of the Committee's purpose. It is designed as a vehicle of the authorities to promote and justify the Andropov Jewish policy with respect to emigration and Zionism. If Soviet authorities deemed it essential to provide some apparent legitimacy to current practises, the Committee, because of its essentially Jewish membership, may be the mechanism chosen.

The technique is, of course, not altogether new. The Nazis in Occupied Europe tried to control the local Jewish community and legitimize their anti-Jewish policy, and ultimately facilitate the liquidation of Jews, through Jewish Councils, some of which were forced to collaborate. Later, Stalin, in preparing a mass evacuation of Jews from Western cities of the USSR to Asia, during the anti-Jewish "Doctors' Plot" of January-February, 1953, assigned his Jewish associate, Lazar Kaganovich, that task. He proposed that prominent Jews themselves request the evacuation, and, indeed, such Jews in the arts and in philosophy were found to sign the suggested appeals.

The Committee's press conference defined the Andropov policy on emigration. It had already been signalled by a special column on April 20 written by Victor Louis, who is known for his close connections with the KGB. On emigration matters — as on certain other issues — Louis has been utilized by the Kremlin to indicate major turns in the policy line.

Louis, writing for the Israeli newspaper Yediot Achronot, announced: "Whether one likes it or not, mass Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has come to an end." In a disturbing afterthought, he added that "it is now said openly in the USSR that 'the

last train has left the station.'" These words evoke another era when a similar image was used for Jews who failed to get out of Europe in time to evade the genocide.

Louis chose not to say that the Jews had stopped applying for emigration. On the contrary, he made it clear that the cut-off was a governmental decision imposed and at least, in part, the consequence of the "drop out" phenomenon in Vienna. The fact that many Jewish emigrants chose to go to the United States, Louis observed, corrupted the "holy idea" of a "return to their ancient homeland" and turned it into a "degenerate" process.

But, the Anti-Zionist Committee in Moscow chose to fabricate a total falsehood about emigration. At the June 6 press conference, Samuil Zivs, the deputy chairman of the Committee, declared that the reason for the decline in Jewish emigration is that "family reunification has essentially been completed," and that Jews no longer wish to leave because they have ceased to "succumb to Zionist lures."

Zivs, a Moscow legal official, who frequently has been used as an apologist by the Kremlin on specifically Jewish issues, simply denied what Victor Louis knew was true -- that thousands of Soviet Jews were still anxious to emigrate. Over 300,000 Jews still in the USSR asked for and received an affidavit from relatives in Israel, the first stage in applying for repatriation to that country. An additional 10,000 Soviet Jews who have formally applied to emigrate to Israel have been refused at least once and some many times. Zivs called these statistics as the "juggling of figures by Zionist propaganda." Clearly he saw his task, and that of the Committee, to justify and legitimize a new policy even if it meant a total disregard for reality.

The reason for the fabrication is speculative -- we believe the admission of truth would place the Soviet Union in violation of international law and agreements that it either signed or ratified. The Universal Declaration on Human Rights in Article 13 (b) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Article 12 make the right to leave a country a fundamental one. The Covenant was ratified by the USSR in October, 1973 and this international treaty is binding. More immediate and serious is the

abridgement of the Helsinki Final Act, which the USSR signed on August 1, 1975 and which obligates signatories to "facilitate" and "expedite" the "reunion of families." The USSR deliberately has chosen to do violence to those obligations.

The second aspect of the Andropov Jewish policy — the severance of relationship between Soviet Jews and Jews abroad -- was hinted at in the Anti-Zionist Committee's "Appeal." A crucial paragraph reads: "Soviet Jews reject with contempt attempts by Zionist propagandists to interfere in their life Citizens of the USSR who are Jews are an inseparable part of the Soviet people. The obvious intent was to warn Soviet Jews against having contacts with their so-called "Zionist" brethren in the West. As in the past, Zionism is portrayed as the embodiment of evil and subversion, in a country where it has already been declared as "racism." Presented this way, Jews are cautioned to avoid any semblance of contamination through contacts.

The Kremlin's attempts at cutting links has now been stepped up. Mail from many countries, including the United States, is often confiscated, returned or tampered with. On June 8, two days after the press conference, Congressman Benjamin A. Gilman announced that an investigation by a panel of his House Post Office and Civil Service Committee showed that "Soviet nondelivery of mail" was common. "Thousands of letters" from American Jews to Soviet Jews had not reached their destination, he said. He offered numerous examples of correspondence marked "letter returned, addressee unknown" when, in fact, the names and addresses on the envelope were known to be correct. Gilman concluded that the mail tampering constituted a "deliberate Soviet policy to break the will and spirit of Soviet Jewry."

A letter sent several weeks ago by the late Rabbi Fishman to U.S. Ambassador Hartman highlights a different effort at cutting relations. One form of contact has been meetings in front of the Choral Synagogue in Moscow on Saturdays between visiting Western Jews and Soviet Jewish activists. On any Sabbath morning several hundred Jews will congregate in front of the synagogue to hold private discussions, often about personal issues. The American Embassy has sent an observer on a regular basis to report on these meetings. He is James H. Glenn, the second secretary in the embassy. Rabbi Fishman,

unquestionably prompted by the authorities, complained to Hartman that "one should not use the synagogue to conceal political, subversive or, God forbid, espionage activities." Without an official U.S. presence, it may have been reasoned in the Kremlin, the Sabbath gatherings could be effectively discouraged. Ambassador Hartman rejected Fishman's accusations as "unfounded and factually false."

The sharpest warning by the Kremlin came in the form of a lengthy two-part article in Leningradskaia Pravda on April 19 - 20 of this year. Significantly, taking as its point of departure the creation of the Anti-Zionist Committee, the authoritative article focused on how Western Jewish tourists engage in "Zionist provocations," especially by spreading "the propaganda of racism and nationalism in our country." Various examples are given to underscore the point. The warning is driven home in a concluding paragraph which, for the first time, hints that Zionism is to be treated as a crime which will not "be allowed to go unpunished." Both tourists and Soviet Jews who meet with them today confront a serious challenge and threat.

The Leningradskaia Pravda article was written by a well-known specialist on so-called Zionist issues, B. Kravtsov, who has not been averse to exploiting anti-Semitic canards, sometimes of the most vicious type. In the two-part series, bigotry is utilized to emphasize a third purpose of the Anti-Zionist Committee -- forced assimilation. Kravtsov vigorously condemns the organization by Soviet Jews of private Hebrew teaching circles. The teaching and study of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, whether ancient or modern, or the Bible, or Jewish history, are seen as subversive.

Hebrew is to be rejected not only for its Judaic connections. It is declared not to have a "cultural" significance, but "rather an exclusively political significance." Zionism is what is meant by "political." To that end, "the Soviet public cannot accept the fact that Hebrew circles and all kinds of 'seminars' " are to be tolerated. Harrassment and intimidation of the Hebrew and Jewish history circles among Jews has been sporadically used during the past several years. Now they face the accusation of being declared anti-thetical to Soviet law.

Forced assimilation has been a dominant feature of Soviet policy toward Jews since 1948, but is clearly to be hastened. Virtually all formal Jewish institutional life and, especially Jewish schools, have been obliterated. Unlike any other ethnic group within the USSR, Jews are deprived of almost every public means for perpetuating their cultural heritage. Now they face even a threat to private means for Jewish and Hebrew self-education.

At this point let me include a summary of a larger report by Dr. Lukasz Hirszowicz of the London-based Institute of Jewish Affairs, on Andropov and the nationalities question.

The most disturbing aspect of Andropov's policy concerns the call for a massive propaganda effort involving every section of the Soviet public and directed toward "the political unmasking of Zionism." The propaganda drive is "to be waged even more resolutely" than ever before.

It is well to recall the origins of the so-called anti-Zionist campaign. After Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, the first Soviet anti-Semitic media campaign came to a sudden halt. The propaganda drive against Zionism was then revived in August, 1967, with themes that recalled the czarist fabrication, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Stress was placed on alleged domination by the Zionists of banking and the press, and of their supposed linkage with the Masons in order to attain world mastery.

What is striking about the Kremlin's perception of Zionism, as reflected in the propaganda campaign, is the enormity of the power and evil with which it is endowed, while poised to resist the "Zionist threat" is the great Soviet power! The anti-Zionist propaganda drive thinly masks overt anti-Semitism. Stereotyped images of Jews dominate the hysterical descriptions of Zionism. Judaism is seen as the source of the Zionist evil. The Torah and the Talmud are presented as works preaching racism, hatred and violence.

Now, apparently, the anti-Zionist media offensive is to be stepped up and its shrillness increased.

THE ROLE OF THE U.S.

No one can predict the future, but it appears that the freeze in US-USSR relations may begin to thaw, at least a little. The reasons are many. They include nuclear demonstrations around the world, economic necessities and how they will relate to the magnitude of the defense budget, and taking steps to keep the Western Alliance together. All of these reasons, and others, dictate a somewhat modified public stance toward the USSR.

If so, we have an important agenda for the next few months. At least three critically important negotiations involving the relations between the United States and the USSR will take place -- grain sales, the conclusion of the Madrid Conference and a possible summit meeting in the late fall or early winter.

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry and our affiliates will continue to meet with private and public groups, and key administration figures to discuss further the policy we should follow with respect to the grain negotiations. Tentatively, however, we can insist that our issue be vigorously raised in the grain negotiations, and that while a one-year extension might be appropriate, no long-term agreement be entered into at this time without accrued benefits -- economic and human.

It is critically important that the White House understand the depth of our concern. While Poland, Afghanistan, the Middle East, security matters, arms limitation, and Jewish emigration are among the issues that must be discussed at Madrid and at a summit, emigration is not primary to the Soviet Union. There is every reason to believe that under the right conditions headway might be made.

We would like to see some flesh and bones on the previous commitments made by Administration spokesmen. We need a better definition of those commitments, so that this Administration, with Congressional help, can begin to spell out for itself a set of specific goals it will seek to achieve on human rights issues.

Since coming into office, President Ronald Reagan has made many strong statements of support. Despite Soviet protests, he met with Iosif Mendelevich, a former Jewish Prisoner of Conscience, and Avital Shcharansky, wife of the imprisoned Jewish emigration

activist Anatoly Shcharansky. This meeting was an important signal that this Administration would continue vocal and visible support for Soviet Jewish emigration activists.

In February, the President wrote to the newly organized 98th Congressional Class for Soviet Jewry. He reminded the co-chairmen of the bipartisan group, Representatives Mel Levine (D-CA) and Steve Bartlett, that "the issue of Soviet Jewry is of high priority to the Administration. We have repeatedly stated that our concern for human rights in general, and Soviet Jewry in particular, is integral to our national interest and remains a major focus of our foreign policy." He went on to pledge that "we will continue to seek opportunities to encourage the Soviet Union to liberalize its policies on freedom of movement and fundamental rights."

These are welcome statements.

Vice President Bush wrote to us and noted that "facilitating the emigration of Jews and others who wish to leave the Soviet Union has been and will continue to be a matter of highest policy priority. . ." I attach the letter for the record.

The President also instructed the U.S. delegation to the Helsinki Review Conference in Madrid to continue to condemn "the Soviet's increasingly brutal and numerous violations of the rights of Soviet Jews and other Soviet Citizens." By the way, Ambassador Max Kampelman has been a forceful and articulate spokesman for our country's human rights positions in Madrid.

Michael Gale, President Reagan's liaison with the Jewish community, reiterated the Administration's position that it will raise the issue of Soviet Jewry emigration at all "top level" meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. "The President shares your hope that the leaders in the Soviet Union will reconsider their policies on emigration and human rights and renew their commitment to the Helsinki Final Act, not just with empty words, but with deeds." Gale told some 100 persons attending the daily noon vigil across from the Soviet Embassy here yesterday. It was the first time in the 11-year history of the vigil that a White House official had participated.

However, the issue must be effectively woven into the fabric of a continuing U.S.-Soviet relationship. While we were very pleased with the discussion of Soviet Jewry at the talks between our Secretary of State and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, an effort must be made to ensure that this issue is raised at all contact points between the U.S. and the USSR. The securing of these basic rights in the USSR should become fundamental to the relationship between the two powers.

The executive branch and the Congress should see to it that the issue is organically linked to every agenda item in future dealings with the Soviet Union, rather than attaching it on an ad hoc basis to issues as they arise.

Congressional advocacy on behalf of Soviet Jews, in the form of letters, resolutions and verbal support, can make the difference in one person's life. They also help demonstrate popular support to the Administration and to Soviet officials. If Soviet leaders do not believe that President Reagan is serious, Washington's present leverage with respect to Soviet Jews will be limited, as it will be in other areas.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Chairman:

Every facet of Soviet Jewish life has been touched by a seeming shift in Soviet attitudes. The effects of an increasingly repressive and discriminatory policy are seen in the plunging statistics of emigration, and in the quiet desperation of Soviet Jews themselves.

After more than a decade of sustained activity, the member organizations and affiliated community relations councils and federations in the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, pledge to continue working to realize our essential goals: to permit Jews to leave in accordance with international law and standards, and to secure for those who have not decided upon their future, or who choose to remain, the right to live as Jews within Soviet society with the full rights of every other Soviet nationality -- the rights of their cultural, historical, and religious heritage.

We welcome all initiatives by the Congress and the Administration in support of these goals.

Thank you.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is William Korey, director of research, B'nai B'rith International.

**STATEMENT OF WILLIAM KOREY, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH,
B'NAI B'RITH INTERNATIONAL**

Mr. KOREY. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

You have already the document that I prepared on Andropov's Jewish policy, which is in your hands so I am not going to repeat it.

I shall be brief. Andropov's Jewish policy is comprised of four central items, namely, the cutting off of Jewish emigration entirely, the cutting off of contacts with the Jewish communities abroad, an intensification of forced assimilation, culturally and linguistically, of Soviet Jews, and, finally, a stepped-up, higher decibel campaign of anti-Semitism which incorporates new elements; and it is to these new elements that I want to briefly address myself.

We know the nature of this Anti-Zionist Committee by the observations made by its chairman, Mr. David Dragunsky, whose last comments about the subject of Jews appeared in Pravda, 1979, in the course of which he reviewed a book by another member of this committee, named Yuri Kolesnikov, which was a diatribe incorporating all of the classic anti-Semitic stereotypes. The rabbi is presented as a purveyor of smuggling, of liquor, of prostitution, and of negotiations with Adolf Hitler. This is the central figure in the novel published in 1979, and Mr. Dragunsky, in the course of his review, hailed the work as a major contribution to our understanding of Zionism.

Such is the character and direction of the so-called Anti-Zionist Committee. It constitutes a most ominous trend and warrants our deepest kind of concern.

There are two features about the stepped-up campaign that bear special notice. A new work has been published in the Soviet Union by a rather notorious, very prolific propagandist—Lev Korneyev—who has been writing for major Soviet publications for the last decade, particularly military indoctrination periodicals and journals.

Mr. Korneyev, in this new book, "The Class Essence of Zionism," includes all the classic, traditional, vicious, and vituperative stereotypes of the Jew, this book has been endorsed by Izvestia, the Government organ on January 29, and by other major publications, and Mr. Korneyev has been given a maximum degree of support and space in the major organs of the Soviet Union.

There are two features of this book that are distinctive and new and extremely troublesome. One, for the first time in Russian history—and here I would say that Lenin, himself, would have been shocked—for the first in modern Soviet history, there is a citation from the most vitriolic of Czarist anti-Semitic, a man named Shmakov, who was the prosecutor in the notorious Beiliss libel trial of 1913. No Soviet writer has ever quoted approvingly from a notorious Czarist anti-Semite. Korneyev quotes him approvingly, and uses the occasion to comment that it is the Jews who stimulate and provoke anti-Semitism. The book is bound to stir up old and an-

cient feelings of hostility and of racism, and canards about the Jews.

Even more distressing, and particularly disturbing, is a whole industry of neo-Naziism that has arisen in the course of the past 4 years, designed to revise the history of the Holocaust, stating that it never happened, and that the figure of 6 million Jews is wildly exaggerated.

Soviet propaganda has never before taken on this character. Soviet propaganda was very careful to distinguish itself from any kind of neo-Nazi formulations. Korneyev, in this book, and prior to this book, in an article he wrote for a major Soviet military historical journal, places quotation marks around the Holocaust, and says that it is a myth of Zionist propaganda. He goes on to say that the figures of Jewish deaths are enormously exaggerated. Here is an extraordinary kind of compatibility with neo-Naziism. That being encouraged in Soviet propaganda merits the attention of all men of good will and indeed of the civilized world.

There are similarities here too to the last days of Stalin. A number of questions have been directed to this point. The last days of Stalin, in January, February, and March—March 5 is when he died—were marked by public mouthings of hate of which we get today distinctive echoes.

I take the opportunity here to quote one of the great sources of Soviet ideology, Marx, who once observed that history tends to repeat itself, first as tragedy and then as farce. The 1953 media saturation effort against the Jews produced a near-tragedy of monumental proportions, from which only Stalin's death saved them.

It would be imprudent for the international civilized community to gamble upon the new Soviet saturation propaganda drive turning out to be a mere farce.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

[Mr. Korey's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. WILLIAM KOREY, DIRECTOR, POLICY RESEARCH,
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF B'NAI B'RITH

JEWISH POLICY OF SOVIET PRESIDENT YURI ANDROPOV

Soviet President Yuri Andropov's Jewish policy has begun to take shape during the past two months and its character and direction are ominous. A special public institutional forum for legitimizing the policy has been created, elements of which evoke memories of the Nazi era and of Stalin's last days. The policy itself involves four separate but interrelated features: a) an end to emigration entirely; b) cutting off the Soviet Jewish community from relations with its brethren abroad; c) an intensification of the program of forced cultural and linguistic assimilation; and d) a broadening of the anti-Zionist propaganda campaign, drawing into it new anti-Semitic elements that have their origin in Tsarist Black Hundred canards and in recent neo-Nazi themes.

On April 1, Pravda and other central newspapers carried an "Appeal" calling for the creation of an "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public" and signed by eight Jews most of whom had served in the past as apologists for the regime on Jewish issues. The "Appeal" in part constituted a violent diatribe against Zionism echoing conceptions which have been staples of Soviet propaganda since 1967 and which borrow from the epoch of the "Doctors' Plot" of 1953. At the same time, the "Appeal" called upon all sectors of the public to join in a broad campaign against Zionism and participate in the work of the projected Committee.

Shortly afterwards, the "Appeal" was broadcast on television and radio, giving it the widest public attention. On April 21, three weeks after the "Appeal" was launched, "a meeting of representatives of a number of public organizations was held" to formally announce the creation of the "Anti-Zionist Committee." Since then, branches have reportedly been formed in various places in the USSR giving the central mechanism a depth for penetrating into the public arena.

The chairman of the Committee is Colonel-General David Dragunsky, a 73-year old former tank corps commander. It should be noted that today the military leadership of the USSR is almost completely Judenrein. There are only a handful of Jewish military officials, who are holdovers from the World War II era. Whether any Jews have been admitted in the last three decades to military academies is extremely doubtful.

Dragunsky's most recent significant public appearance in the Soviet press came on September 5, 1979. The occasion throws a glaring light upon his views and his role in Soviet society, and provides a critical insight into the Committee's function. On that date, Dragunsky wrote a review in Pravda about

a newly published work of Yuri Kolesnikov, who, significantly, is today a key member of the Committee. The book, entitled The Raised Curtain, was published by the official Military Publishing House in Moscow.

A summary of the extraordinarily vulgar and bigoted story line of the novel is appropriate. The time is the late 1930s. A rabbi in Cyprus, one Ben-Zion, is the novel's central figure. Besides operating a cheap tavern, the site of extensive smuggling activities, the rabbi acts as an agent for Zionist plotters from a so-called "Action Committee." The "Committee" is attempting to purchase Czech-made weapons for Jews in Palestine from Romanian prostitutes, with money supplied by American Zionists. At the same time German Nazis, through a secret deal with the Zionists, also supply the Jews with weapons from the same Czech factories. Hitler and Mussolini are portrayed as allies of the Zionists, who themselves deliberately provoke pogroms in order to compel Jews to go to Palestine.

All the obscene Streicher-inspired stereotypes and the even earlier Black Hundred imagery are here. Jews are linked to taverns (i.e. plying non-Jews with liquor), smuggling and prostitution. But to this image is now added the macabre Soviet stereotype that ties the Jew to the Nazis and to Hitler himself. And one finds the anti-Semitic fare as well -- the traditional image of the Jew as sinister and conspiratorial, cunning and subversive.

What was Dragunsky's observations about the anti-Jewish virulence of Kolesnikov? His review was one of rapturous acclaim. The book, he wrote, is "one of the first artistic works exposing that dangerous and current phenomenon, Zionism." Kolesnikov's linkage of "Nazi crimes" and the "Zionist top clique," Dragunsky said, is built upon a "documentary foundation." And, indeed, added Dragunsky, the linkage was not "accidental" because both Nazis and Zionists "put the purity of the race higher than anything else." The obscenity to which the Soviet "authority" on Zionism gives expression is deeply revealing.

Significantly, none of the initial eight members of the Committee are associated with the remnant of Jewish cultural life in the USSR mainly built around the Yiddish journal Sovietish Heimland and the tiny Yiddish establishment in Birobidzhan. Indeed, the "Appeal" which they signed carries not a single reference to Jewish culture or to the specific Jewish heritage of the USSR, including the famed Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of World War II days. Later, the Chief Rabbi of Moscow, Yakov Fishman, became a member of the new Anti-Zionist Committee, but his role, just prior to his sudden death on June 7, was limited to lauding the formation of the Committee and writing a special letter to U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman which -- as will be noted later -- appears to have been dictated by Kremlin officials to serve a specific aspect of the Andropov Jewish policy.

The Anti-Zionist Committee has already performed one major function -- a large-scale, two-hour press conference on June 6. What emerged at the press conference was a clear indication of the Committee's purpose. It is designed as a vehicle of the authorities to promote and justify the Andropov Jewish policy with respect to emigration and Zionism. If a gloss and a sanction are essential to provide some apparent legitimacy, the Committee, because of its distinctly Jewish membership, is seen as the appropriate mechanism.

The technique is, of course, not altogether new. The favorite method of the Nazis in Occupied Europe to control the local Jewish community and legitimize their anti-Jewish policy and ultimately to facilitate the liquidation of Jews was to use Jewish Councils, some of which proved to be collaborationist. Later, Stalin, in preparing a mass evacuation of Jews from Moscow, Leningrad and other European cities of the USSR during the "Doctors' Plot" of January-February, 1953, assigned his Jewish associate, Lazar Kaganovich, that specific task. Stalin cleverly proposed that prominent Jews themselves request the evacuation, and, indeed, such Jews in the arts and in philosophy were found to sign the suggested appeals.

Similarity to the "Doctors' Plot" goes beyond the use of collaborationist types. When the "Plot" was first publicly revealed in Pravda, January 13, 1953, Zionism and the United States were then immediately targetted as the enemy. Pravda reported that "Jewish Zionist organizations" working under the "direction of American intelligence" and on behalf of "U.S. monopolists" had been planning to murder Soviet leaders. In the Pravda article of April 1, 1983 -- thirty years later -- "international Zionism" is once again presented as the enemy and it is declared to be an instrument of "American imperialism." The "Doctors' Plot" almost had cataclysmic implications for Soviet Jews. Only the sudden death of Stalin on March 5, 1953 saved them. Similarities to the present situation, even if extremely limited, inevitably carries a foreboding about the future.

The Committee's press conference of June spelled out the new Andropov policy on emigration. It had already been signalled by a special column on April 20 written by Victor Louis, who is known for his close connections with the KGB. On emigration matters -- as on certain other issues -- Louis has been utilized by the Kremlin to indicate major turns in the policy line. An example is the unprecedented decision by the Kremlin in March, 1973 to nullify an exorbitant education tax on Soviet Jews who sought to emigrate. It was publicly disclosed by Louis in a special article for the Israeli newspaper Yediot Achronot on March 21, 1973.

Louis, writing for the same newspaper a decade later, formally announced: "Whether one likes it or not, mass Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union has come to an end." In a disturbing afterthought, he added that "it is now said openly in the USSR that 'the last train has left the station.'" These words evoke another era when a similar image was used for Jews who failed to get out of Europe in time to evade the Nazi genocide program.

Pertinently, Louis chose not to say that the Jews had stopped applying for emigration. On the contrary, he made it clear, if indirectly, that the cut-off was a governmental decision arbitrarily imposed and at least, in part, the consequence of the "drop out" phenomenon in Vienna. The fact that many Jewish emigrants chose to go to the United States, Louis observed, corrupted the "holy idea" of a "return to their ancient homeland" and turned it into a "degenerate" process.

But, the Anti-Zionist Committee in Moscow on June 6 chose to fabricate a total falsehood about emigration. At the press conference, Samuil Zivs, the deputy chairman of the Committee, declared that the reason for the decline in Jewish emigration is that "family reunification has essentially been completed." Jews, he contended, no longer wish to leave because they have

ceased to "succumb to Zionist lures."

Zivs, a Moscow legal official, who frequently has been used as an apologist by the Kremlin on specifically Jewish issues, simply denied what Victor Louis knew was true -- that thousands of Soviet Jews were still anxious to emigrate. Over 300,000 Jews still in the USSR asked for and received from relatives in Israel an affidavit, a process which constitutes the first stage in applying for emigration. An additional 10,000 Soviet Jews who have formally applied to emigrate to Israel have been refused at least once and some many times. Zivs called these statistics the "juggling of figures by Zionist propaganda." Clearly, unlike Louis, he saw his task, and the task of the Committee, to justify and legitimize a new policy even if it meant total fabrication.

The obvious reason for the fabrication is that any sort of truth would place the Soviet Union in violation of international law and solemn agreements that it either signed or ratified. The Universal declaration on Human Rights in Article 12 (b) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Article 12 made the right to leave a country a fundamental human right. The Covenant was ratified by the USSR in October, 1973 and this international treaty is binding. More immediate and serious is the wholesale abridgement of the Helsinki Final Act which the USSR signed on August 1, 1975 and which obligates signatories to "facilitate" and "expedite" the "reunion of families." The USSR deliberately has chosen to do violence to solemn obligations. And, through the Anti-Zionist Committee, to lie about it as well.

The second aspect of the Andropov Jewish policy -- the severance of relationship between Soviet Jews and Jews abroad -- was hinted at in the Anti-Zionist Committee's "Appeal". A crucial paragraph reads: "Soviet Jews reject with contempt attempts by Zionist propagandists to interfere in their life... Citizens of the USSR who are Jews are an inseparable part of the Soviet people." The obvious intent was to warn Soviet Jews against having contacts with their "Zionist" brethren in the West. Zionism is portrayed in the "Appeal" as the very embodiment of evil and subversion. Presented in this fashion, Jews are cautioned to avoid any semblance of contamination through contacts.

The Kremlin's attempts at cutting links, while continuing for some time, has now been stepped up. Mail from United States, especially mail carrying a requested affidavit from a relative designed for emigration purposes, is often confiscated, returned or tampered with. On June 8, two days after the Soviet Jews press conference, Congressman Benjamin A. Gilman announced that an investigation by a panel of his House Post Office and Civil Service Committee showed that "Soviet non-delivery of mail" was common. "Thousands of letters" from American Jews to Soviet Jews had not reached their destination, he said. He offered numerous examples of correspondence marked "letter returned, addressee unknown" when, in fact, the names and addresses on the envelope were known to be correct. Gilman concluded that the mail tampering constituted a "deliberate Soviet policy to break the will and spirit of Soviet Jewry."

A letter sent several weeks ago by Rabbi Fishman to U.S. Ambassador Hartman highlights a different effort at cutting relations. One form of contact has been meetings in front of the Choral Synagogue in Moscow on Saturdays between visiting Western Jews and Soviet Jewish activists. On any

Sabbath morning several hundred Jews will congregate in front of the synagogue to hold private discussions, often about the emigration issue. The American Embassy has sent an observer on a regular basis to report on these meetings. He is James H. Glenn, the second secretary in the embassy. Rabbi Fishman, unquestionably prompted by the authorities, complained to Hartman that "one should not use the synagogue to conceal political, subversive or, God forbid, espionage activities." Without an official U.S. presence, it may have been reasoned in the Kremlin, the Sabbath gatherings could be effectively discouraged. Ambassador Hartman rejected Fishman's accusations as "unfounded and factually false."

The sharpest warning by the Kremlin came in the form of a lengthy two-part article in Leningradskaya Pravda on April 19-20 of this year. Significantly, taking as its point of departure the creation of the Anti-Zionist Committee, the authoritative article focussed on how Western Jewish tourists engage in "Zionist provocations," especially by spreading "the propaganda of racism and nationalism in our country." Various examples are given to underscore the point. The warning is driven home in a concluding paragraph which, for the first time, hints that Zionism is to be treated as a crime which will not "be allowed to go unpunished." Both tourists and Soviet Jews who meet with them today confront a serious challenge and threat.

The Leningradskaya Pravda article was written by a well-known specialist on so-called Zionist issues, B. Kravtsov, who has not been averse to exploiting anti-Semitic canards, sometimes of the most vicious type. In the two-part series, bigotry is utilized to emphasize a third purpose of the Anti-Zionist Committee -- forced assimilation. Kravtsov vigorously condemns the organization by Soviet Jews of private Hebrew teaching circles. The teaching and study of Hebrew and Yiddish literature, whether ancient or modern, or the Bible or simply Jewish history are seen as subversive.

In the conception of Kravtsov, Hebrew is "above all" the language of the Jewish "Holy" Books -- the Torah and the Talmud. And these books, he believes, teach "extreme religious fanaticism, chauvinism" and "racial intolerance for other 'inferior' peoples." This vicious anti-Semitic canard, frequently repeated by other Soviet writers and officials, is based upon the malicious notion that the "Chosen People" concept of the Torah and Talmud preaches "superiority over peoples" as well as "exclusivity." This was, of course, the principal theme of the notorious Tsarist "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."

But Hebrew is to be rejected not only for its Judaic connection. It is declared to have not a "cultural" significance, but "rather an exclusively political significance." Zionism is what is meant by "political." And, to that end, "the Soviet public cannot accept the fact that Hebrew circles and all kinds of 'seminars'" are to be tolerated. Harassment and intimidation of the Hebrew and Jewish history circles among Jews has been sporadically used during the past several years. But this is the first time that these circles are formally declared to be antithetical to Soviet law.

Forced assimilation has been a dominant feature of Soviet policy toward Jews since 1948. Virtually all formal Jewish institutional life and, especially Jewish schools, have been obliterated. Unlike any other ethnic group within the USSR, Jews are deprived of almost every public means for perpetuat-

ing their cultural heritage. Now they face even a threat to private means for Jewish and Hebrew self-education. Forced assimilation is clearly to be hastened.

The most disturbing aspect of Andropov's policy concerns the call in the "Appeal" for a monumental and massive propaganda effort involving every section of the Soviet public and directed toward "the political unmasking of Zionism." The propaganda drive is "to be waged even more resolutely" than ever before.

It is well to recall the origins of the so-called anti-Zionist campaign. After Stalin's death on March 5, 1953, the first Soviet anti-Semitic media campaign came to a sudden halt. The propaganda drive against Zionism was then revived in August, 1967, with themes that recalled the hoary czarist fabrication, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Stress was placed on alleged domination by the Zionists of banking and the press, and of their supposed linkage with the Masons in order to attain world mastery.

In the fall of 1974, the party central committee adopted a seven-point "plan" demanding from every lower party organ an "intensification of the struggle against the anti-Soviet activity of Zionism." The entire media apparatus was harnessed to the effort, with Zionism equated with every conceivable evil -- racism, imperialism, colonialism, militarism, crime, murder, espionage, terrorism, prostitution, even Hitlerism.

What is striking about the Kremlin's perception of Zionism, as reflected in the propaganda campaign, is the enormity of the power and evil with which it is endowed. As in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," the power of the Zionists is cosmic. Diabolic, and displaying transcendent conspiratorial and perfidious talents, Zionism presumably strives for world domination. Poised to resist the Zionist threat is the great Soviet power. The world is perceived in Manichean terms: The forces of darkness, representing Zionism, are locked in final struggle with the forces of light, represented by the Soviet Union.

The anti-Zionist propaganda drive but thinly masks overt anti-Semitism. Stereotyped images of the Jew dominate the paranoid descriptions of Zionism. Judaism, especially the concepts of the "Chosen People" and of the Messiah, is seen as the source of the Zionist evil. The Torah and the Talmud are presented as works preaching racism, hatred and violence.

Now the anti-Zionist media offensive is to be stepped up and its shrillness made several decibels higher. An example was provided in the press conference of the Anti-Zionist Committee on June 6. Dragunsky characterized Zionism in hysterical terms as a "man-hating ideology" which is "modeled on the ideas and methods of Hitler." Kolesnikov contributed to the pornography by alleging that during World War II the Zionists "not only failed to defend their co-religionists, but betrayed them, wholly in league with the Gestapo and the SS." He then provided an additional sickening touch by charging that Israel executed Adolf Eichmann, after the public trial in Jerusalem, in order "to make sure he would not be seized by another nation and make public the sacred secrets of cooperation between Zionism and Nazism."

The paranoiac ravings of Kolesnikov are superseded by those of the most

prolific anti-Semitic author in the USSR -- Lev Korneyev. His newly published work, The Class Essence of Zionism, is indicative of the Kremlin's newly approved line. Not only was it favorably reviewed by the Soviet press, including the government newspaper, Izvestiia, it was specially prepared in an edition of 10,000 copies to instruct "ideological workers" such as journalists, public lecturers, and all who will be engaging in saturating the public with ideological indoctrination.

A prominent American foreign correspondent in Moscow found that the book reads at times "like a Ku Klux Klan pamphlet from the 1920s replete with references to Jewish bankers, Jewish monopolists and the 'Jewish faction of the world oligarchy' which he says is seeking to dominate the capitalist world." But the bizarre KKK type of orientation is typical of the vast amount of Korneyev's writings, many of which appear in the leading Soviet military indoctrination journals. In Krasnaia Zvezda in 1977, he wrote that of 165 leading military-industrial complexes of the Western World, 158 "are controlled or directly owned by the pro-Zionist bourgeoisie of Jewish origin." Later, he claimed, that the principal purpose of Zionism is "the attainment of mastery over the system of capitalism by the Jewish financial oligarchy."

In the widely-read journal Ogonek, Korneyev chose to list the firms which he contended are either owned by Jews or which support "international Zionism" -- Lockheed, McDonnell-Douglas, General Dynamics among others. He went on to list General Motors, Ford, General Electric, IBM, Mobil and Chrysler as being indirectly tied to Zionism through complex relationships which "integrate" Jewish capital with "non-Jewish capitalist enterprises." In a Moscow daily newspaper, Korneyev spoke of "many" of the principal oil companies which supply the Pentagon as being "directly controlled by pro-Zionist capital."

And, like other crack-pots, Korneyev charges that Zionism is both allied to "the world of organized crime" and dedicated to subversion and espionage. In a review article in the Soviet Communist youth newspaper, Komsomolskaia Pravda, three months ago, Korneyev observed that the purpose of Zionism is to "turn every Jew, no matter where he lives, into an agent of the Jewish oligarchy, into a traitor to the country where he was born."

The Kremlin's use of Korneyev's hate propaganda is not restricted merely to Soviet soil. A pamphlet, no doubt written by him for the Soviet news agency, Novosti, entitled The Sword of David (and translated into English), was sent to the Ontario Science Centre in Toronto in the Fall, 1978 where thousands of copies were distributed free at the Soviet space exhibit. The Soviet authorities hoped to deceive the Canadian public by anglicizing the author's name, changing it from Lev Korneyev to Leo Korn, thereby leaving the impression that it was written by a Canadian Jew expressing, as Novostic put it, his own "personal views on the (Jewish) problem."

The macabre deception did not last long. Even if nobody knew who "Korn" was, readers quickly recognized vulgar bigotry. The pamphlet included reference to alleged "dangerous dogmas of Judaism, the most ominous...being the idea of Jewish superiority over all other peoples." Among the canards included was that Judaic teachings justify the deliberate deception of the non-Jew and the deprivation of his property. The Canadian Centre Director demanded and won a halt to the distribution of the "Korn" pamphlet.

Yet, the newly-published Class Essence of Zionism reaches unprecedented depths of gutter hate in two respects. For the first time, Korneyev acknowledges his ideological debt to a certain Shmakov whose book published in 1906 is quoted approvingly. The specific Shmakov reference which Korneyev welcomed was that Zionist agents had supposedly provoked pogroms of Russians and Ukrainians against Jews by opening fire on Tsarist policemen. The aim of inciting pogroms was to "increase emigration from the country." Presumably, Zionist agents of today conduct themselves in a similar way and for the same purpose.

Specialists on Tsarist anti-Semitic history will recognize the Shmakov name. He was an important reactionary lawyer who had covered the walls of his office with drawings of "Jewish" noses. His principal claim to fame, or infamy, was his role as a prosecutor in the notorious Beiliss blood libel case of 1913. As described by one scholar:

Anti-Semitism was a way of life with him and it had unhinged him; he was an avid student of queer anti-Semitic books and pamphlets, and he interlarded his interrogations with long tirades against Jews...

In his speeches in the Beiliss courtroom, Shmakov became "a livid blur of incoherent malice throbbing amid an onset of mental decrepitude."

Korneyev obviously feels a compatibility to the "unhinged" Tsarist source. And for good reason. Jews, Korneyev contends in his new work, were responsible for the anti-Semitic hatred just as some of them helped (in Shmakov's view) bring on the pogroms. Anti-Semitism was provoked by the "disgust on the part of the native population for the peculiar psychological and behavioral traits of the Jewish bourgeoisie."

But in still another respect, Korneyev's recent writings go beyond anything mentioned in Soviet hate spewings. Writing last summer in a leading Soviet military organ, Military-Historical Journal, he deliberately placed quotation marks about the term "holocaust" as he proceeded to criticize what he called the "myths of Zionist propaganda." Among these "myths" was the figure of six million Jewish victims which, he said, is "impossible to consider as scientifically grounded;" indeed, "there is every reason to suppose that the real number of victims is lower." In his newly-published book, he refers to the six million figure as "significantly overstated."

The new Korneyev thesis clearly borrows from neo-Nazi doctrine. Central to that doctrine is the argument that the Holocaust never happened and the six million figure is a gross exaggeration. A whole industry has developed among neo-Nazis centered on the historical revisionism of Hitler's genocidal program. Stunningly, neo-Nazism now has a strategically situated Soviet supporter. Korneyev's writings will soon be echoed by numerous ideologists in the journalistic field and from the lecture platform.

Andropov's Jewish policy, as reflected in this type of propaganda, is beginning to faintly echo the public mouthings of hate during Stalin's last months of rule. Marx once observed that history tends to repeat itself first as tragedy and then as farce. The 1953 media saturation effort produced a near tragedy of massive proportions. It would be imprudent for the international civilized community to gamble upon the new Soviet saturation propaganda drive turning out to be mere farce.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Korey.

Our next witness is Ms. Lynn Singer, president, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews.

STATEMENT OF LYNN SINGER, PRESIDENT, UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET JEWS

Ms. SINGER. I speak on behalf of the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, the oldest national Soviet Jewry organization, with affiliates in 34 States, and national headquarters here in Washington. In addition, the UCSJ has five international affiliates in England, France, Switzerland, Canada, and Israel.

Our 40,000 members are volunteers dedicated to the cause of freedom and dignity for Soviet Jews, through bettering their opportunities for emigration from the U.S.S.R. and providing them with the moral and material support necessary to them in their struggle to live as Jews. In these frightening times of heightened Soviet anti-Semitism, our efforts on behalf of Soviet Jewry are more vital than ever before.

Before beginning my testimony, I would like to take a moment to thank the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations for inviting our participation in today's hearing. I would also like to commend CSCE for their continued fine work and selfless dedication in the area of Soviet Jewry.

Most of you are well aware of the dire situations of prisoners of conscience Anatoly Shcharansky, Victor Brailovsky, and Alexander Paritsky. The names of renowned refuseniks Ida Nudel and Vladimir Slepak are familiar to you. We read about their trials and tribulations; we sympathize with the separated families; we work for their release. The thousands of refuseniks in the Soviet Union cry out for our support—we respond with our fullest efforts, given the constraints of the Soviet's repressive system.

The situation, as you know, has never been more critical. We are faced with the lowest levels of immigration since the beginning of the movement. In 1979, 51,000 Jews left the U.S.S.R., in 1982, by comparison, 2,600. If this year continues at the present rate, less than 1,500 Jews will emigrate.

Numbers alone do not tell the whole story. Since Yuri Andropov was named General Secretary of the Communist Party last October, the clamps have tightened on the refusenik community. Iosef Begun, Simon Shnirman, Yuri Tarnopolsky, Lev Elbert, Boris Kanievsky—all leaders, all activists, all arrested, all silenced. And so many more of our friends are in grave danger of arrest and imprisonment.

Our testimony today goes even beyond these individual cases. It is a deeper, baser phenomenon that has afflicted the Jewish people since biblical times. The roots of anti-Semitism run deep in the human experience. History has taught us that anti-Semitism is a contagious disease, a cancer that endangers not only the Jews but the societies in which they live.

Untamed, state-sanctioned, the specter of anti-Semitism runs rampant throughout Soviet society today. Its virulence, always festering beneath the surface, has taken on alarming proportions in

recent months as it has become state policy. Soviet propaganda aimed at dehumanizing the Jewish populace and tying them in with an international Zionist conspiracy has pervaded virtually every type of media.

Children's magazines and books, used as teaching materials in the classroom, rewrite history as the Mideast situation is reflected and as Jews are portrayed. A favorite game among school children is called the "Concentration Camp Game." The rules are simple enough: Jewish children are given a number by which they are referred to that day instead of by name.

Children of refuseniks such as Dorina Paritsky and Dahlia Brailovsky are physically suffering from nervous tension due to the strain that they live under every day of their lives. Physical and verbal assaults on Jewish children before their peers are not uncommon.

Television broadcasts announcing the "Jewish problem" are illuminated by flashed pictures of prominent Soviet and western Jewish figures. Newspaper articles link leading activists in the refusenik community with anti-Soviet activity perpetrated from the West. Violent accusations against refuseniks appear regularly in the press.

The Leningradskaya Pravda is tantamount to the New York Times of Leningrad. It is the most widely-read newspaper in the city and thus holds influence over the populace.

Please listen closely to an article written on April 20, 1983. Not since Stalin's time have Soviet Jews witnessed such unharnessed, overt anti-Semitism. In fact, refuseniks whisper among themselves that "Uncle Joe has returned."

The leader of all this nationalism is A. He has a very standard biography. Don't be confused by his position today. He is a gas boiler operator. He used to be a scientist. He works not because he needs money for food. It is a cover to avoid being blamed for parasitism. He asked permission to emigrate. But he knew beforehand they wouldn't give him permission because his work was secret. He was waiting for the refusal and was very pleased he was refused. And why? No one knew the name A.T. but after his refusal, he became a martyr in the eyes of foreign Zionists—martyr for the so-called rights of Soviet Jews and of course he is defended by American Congressmen and Senators.

Recently a Mrs. Lynn Singer arrived in Leningrad and directly from a train and without getting lost (meaning that she knew the way) made her way to the door of A.T. This character, well-known in the West, is an emissary of the anti-Soviet Zionist circles. Of course, we have to suggest that they were not talking about the unsettled Leningrad weather because she can't afford to waste time!

The article goes on to talk about the Lebanon war last summer.

The Israelis killed 1000's of people including their own but here we see a cynical attitude just as in Hitler's time. So what that they have killed the cream of their nation. The Israeli leaders claim that's nothing! We will make sure that those numbers of lost Israelis cannot be made up by means of Soviet emigration. We are struggling against any kind of nationalism and chauvinism and we don't allow either of those in our country by any people. Anti-Semitism as a national hatred is forbidden by law in our country but it does not mean that we will let Zionists operate here or conduct a campaign of racist propaganda nor will we permit them to obtain mercenaries for Israel from the Soviet motherland.

Mr. Chairman, this article speaks for itself. It is obvious that Soviet sentiment embraces more than international Zionism and Israel. The term "Zionist" is being employed as a euphemism for Jew in much the same way that "rootless cosmopolitan" was used

during the last years of Stalin. Today, blatant racist attacks on Jews and Judaism are directed without anti-Zionist camouflage.

Anti-Semitism has become institutionalized as a matter of policy. Intensified application of anti-Semitic quotas in educational institutions and in career selection is widespread. Jewish applicants for institutes of higher education are given separate and more difficult entrance examinations.

The percentage of Jewish students at the university level has plummeted in the past year alone. A prominent refusenik from Moscow recently lamented the drop in Jewish university students. "In my time, 50 percent of my class was Jewish. My son's class is only 2 percent Jewish." In a policy implemented only in pre-Nazi Germany, Jewish scientists are being stripped of their degrees, making them nonentities in their fields after years of academic accomplishment. We have over 65 documented cases of this most heinous practice.

Considered by official Soviet ideology to constitute both a religious and a national group, Jews are accorded the rights of neither. Unlike other religious groups in the U.S.S.R., Jews have no national organization, no institution for the training of clergy, no relevant publications, and no contact with co-religionists abroad. Hebrew teaching is forbidden and Hebrew as a language is officially banned in the university curriculum and elsewhere. Unlike other groups regarded as nationalists in the Soviet Union, Jews alone lack an infrastructure that would facilitate and encourage the development of their national heritage.

Mr. Chairman, in respect to the shortage of time, I would ask that the rest of my statement be included in your record.

Mr. YATRON. Without objection.

Ms. SINGER. I would like, if I may, to just summarize by making a number of suggestions and recommendations.

We ask that President Reagan, working in close cooperation with our Western European allies and other interested nations, raise the issue of virulent Soviet anti-Semitism directly with Soviet General Secretary Andropov.

We ask that the American Consulate in Kiev be reopened. We believe the benefits, in terms of protection for both American tourists and Soviet refuseniks, far outweigh the trade-off of a similar Soviet facility in this country.

We ask that the U.S. Embassy in Moscow work with the embassies of our allies in setting up informal meetings with Soviet human rights activists. We feel this will strengthen the symbolic support of human rights by Western countries, as well as provide possible significant sources of information for Western governments.

We support the U.S. position that an experts meeting on human rights and family reunification be held as a followup to the Madrid Review Conference.

We believe that Soviet Jewry and human rights should be at the top of the agenda for United States-Soviet relations. We, therefore, ask the President to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry at the highest level and at every appropriate opportunity in bilateral negotiations concerning trade, arms control, exchanges, technology transfer, and other areas of cooperation.

We ask all Members of Congress, and especially the CSCE Commissioners and members of this subcommittee, to be in regular and direct contact with Soviet officials both in Washington and in Moscow to raise the Soviet Jewry issue and remind the Soviets of their international obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

[Ms. Singer's prepared statement follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LYNN SINGER, PRESIDENT, UNION OF COUNCILS FOR SOVIET
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ANTI-SEMITISM

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families, we work for their release. The thousands of refuseniks in the Soviet Union cry out for our support -- We respond with our fullest efforts, given the constraints of the Soviet's repressive system.

Since 1970 I personally have dedicated my energies, my life, towards the release of all Jews from the Soviet Union. And I am here to tell you now: The situation has never been more critical. We are faced with the lowest levels of emigration since the beginning of the movement. In 1979, 51,000 Jews left the USSR; in 1982, 2600 left. If this year continues at the present rate, less than 1500 Jews will emigrate in 1983.

Numbers alone do not tell the whole story. Since Yuri Andropov was named General Secretary of the Communist Party last October, the clamps have tightened on the refusenik community. Iosef Begun, Simon Shnirman, Yuri Tarnopolsky, Lev Elbert, Boris Kanievsky...all leaders, all activists, all arrested, silenced. And so many more of our friends are in grave danger of arrest and imprisonment.

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Untamed, state-sanctioned, the spectre of anti-Semitism runs rampant throughout Soviet society today. Its virulence, always festering beneath the surface, has taken on alarming proportions in recent months as it has become state policy. Soviet propaganda aimed at dehumanizing the Jewish populace and tying them in with an "international Zionist conspiracy" has pervaded virtually every type of media.

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Television broadcasts announcing the "Jewish Problem" are illuminated by flashed pictures of prominent Soviet and Western Jewish figures. Newspaper articles link leading activists in the refusenik community with anti-Soviet activity perpetrated from the West (see appendices). Violent accusations against refuseniks appear regularly in the press.

The Leningradskaya Pravda is tantamount to the New York Times of Leningrad. It is the most widely-read newspaper in the city and thus holds influence over the populace. Please listen closely to an article written on April 20, 1983. Not since Stalin's time have Soviet Jews witnessed such unharnessed, overt anti-Semitism. In fact, refuseniks whisper among themselves that "Uncle Joe has returned."

"The leader of all this nationalism is A. He has a very standard biography. Don't be confused by his position today. He is a gas boiler operator. He used to be a scientist. He works not because he needs money for food. It is a cover to avoid being blamed for parasitism. He asked permission to emigrate. But he knew beforehand they wouldn't give him permission because his work was secret. He was waiting for the refusal and was very pleased he was refused! And why? No one knew the name A.T. but after his refusal, he became a martyr in the eyes of foreign Zionists -- martyr for the so-called rights of Soviet Jews and of course he is defended by American Congressmen and Senators.

"Recently a Mrs. Lynn Singer arrived in Leningrad and directly from a train and without getting lost (meaning that she knew the way) made her way to the door of A.T. This character, well-known in the West, is an emissary of the Anti-Soviet Zionist circles. Of course, we have to suggest that they were not talking about the unsettled Leningrad weather because she can't afford to waste time!"

The article goes on to talk about the Lebanon War last summer. "The Israelis killed 1000's of people including their own but here we see a cynical attitude just as in Hitler's time. So what that they have killed the cream of their nation. The Israeli leaders claim that's nothing! We will make sure that those numbers of lost Israelis ~~can~~^{will not} be made up by means of Soviet emigration. We are struggling against any kind of nationalism and chauvinism and we don't allow either of those in our country by any people. Anti-Semitism as a national hatred is forbidden by law in our country but it does not mean that we will let Zionists operate here or conduct a campaign of racist propaganda nor will we permit them to obtain mercenaries for Israel from the Soviet motherland."

Mr. Chairman, this article speaks for itself. It is obvious that Soviet sentiment embraces more than "International Zionism" and Israel. The term "Zionist" is being employed as a euphemism for "Jew" in much the same way that "rootless cosmopolitan" was used during the last years of Stalin. Today, blatant racist attacks on Jews and Judaism are directed without anti-Zionist camouflage.

Anti-Semitism has become institutionalized as a matter of policy. Intensified application of anti-Semitic quotas in educational institutions and in career selection is widespread. Jewish applicants for institutes of higher education are given separate and more difficult entrance examinations. The percentage of Jewish students at the university level has

plummeted in the past year alone. A prominent refusenik from Moscow recently lamented the drop in Jewish university students. "In my time, 50% of my class was Jewish. My son's class is only 2% Jewish." In a policy implemented only in pre-Nazi Germany, Jewish scientists are being stripped of their degrees, making them non-entities in their fields after years of academic accomplishment. We have over 65 documented cases of this most heinous practice.

Considered by official Soviet ideology to constitute both a religious and a national group, Jews are accorded the rights of neither. Unlike other religious groups in the USSR, Jews have no national organization, no institution for the training of clergy, no relevant publications, and no contact with co-religionists abroad. Hebrew teaching is forbidden and Hebrew as a language is officially banned in the university curriculum and elsewhere. Unlike other groups regarded as nationalists in the Soviet Union, Jews alone lack an infrastructure that would facilitate and encourage the development of their national heritage.

For those who have attempted to exercise their rights as a "Nationality", they have met with arrest and imprisonment. Even as we are gathered here today, Iosef Begun, the very symbol of Jewish culture, is incarcerated in Vladimir prison awaiting trial. The crime? Iosef Begun is a Hebrew teacher. He faces up to 12 years in prison and labor camp on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. Iosef Begun stands

trial for being a Jew. Like the Dreyfus trial, like the Shcharansky trial, Jews are being punished for simply being Jewish.

Yuri Tarnopolsky of Kharkov is another victim of the Soviet "justice system." A long outspoken critic of the harsh restrictions on emigration, the 47 year-old chemist and Hebrew teacher was arrested on March 17, 1983. His trial is scheduled for June 29, with likely charges of Article 190-1 of the Soviet Criminal Code, "slandering the Soviet State." Once again, an exponent of Jewish culture faces the wrath of Soviet justice for exercising his rights as a Soviet citizen.

In a final example, Lev Elbert was sentenced in May to one year in prison for "evasion of reserve duty." A Hebrew teacher and a leading activist in the Kiev community, Elbert's imprisonment is the culmination of a year-long campaign to suppress Jewish cultural activism in Kiev and the Ukraine, long a hotbed of Soviet anti-Semitism.

The most frightening aspect of the Soviet anti-Semitic campaign is the emerging parallel which equates Zionism with Fascism and as such, threatens to treat all Jews as Fascists, "Enemies of the State." In fact, Jews are even being accused of having been collaborators with the Hitler regime, the most intolerable and obscene charge of all. This propaganda is transmitted in feature newspaper articles, mass-circulation periodicals, in books, and before the U.N. Security Council.

To charge that an identifiable group of Soviet citizens collaborated with the hated invaders in the perpetration of Nazi crimes during the "Great Patriotic War" is to invite and demand hatred and abuse of that group.

Parallels with Nazi Germany have taken on even more grotesque forms in recent months. For the first time ever, reference to the "Final Solution" was broadcast on Soviet television. The text of this broadcast was transmitted to the UCSJ from a very well-known refusenik in Leningrad:

"Some days ago I have seen a TV program.

I have never seen anything like that.

It was told that Zionists seized power everywhere: Banks, Newspapers, Governments.

They are even selling Ikons, Crosses, etc. in emigrants' shops. Just after this the final

solution was mentioned without mentioning whom it was directed against. After this

we were given some explanations on Jewish choseness by Yasir Arafat. After this it

was told that Jews were speaking too much about their victims during the Second World War.

Towards the end, the faces of several Jewish leaders were shown and it was told that all

these people are enemies of all good in the humanity and that any kind of mercy towards them was a crime against humanity."

We listen to these words with disbelief. Only forty years after the greatest atrocity the world has ever witnessed, the suggestion of a Final Solution developed to address the "Jewish Problem" threatens an entire Jewish population. This propaganda campaign warning the Soviet populace that the intervention on behalf of Jews is an "act against humanity" smacks of Nazi Germany and its propaganda leader Goebbels.

The Soviet anti-Semitic campaign has most recently been encapsulated under the guise of the newly-formed "Anti-Zionist Committee." On June 6, 1983, the official group held a press conference in Moscow in which members pronounced the following most remarkable assertions: 1) the reunification of separated families has been "essentially completed," 2) the "vast majority" of Jews who wish to leave the USSR have already received permission to emigrate, and 3) anti-Semitism as an ideology and a policy does not exist in the Soviet Union.

Committee leader Samuil Zivs attributed Western claims of high numbers of refuseniks as the "juggling of figures by Zionist propaganda." Yuri Kolesnikov, another member of the group, attacked Zionists for having collaborated with the Gestapo and the SS during World War II, and further contended that Israel executed Adolph Eichmann "to make sure he would not be seized by another nation and make public the sacred secrets of cooperation between Zionism and Nazism."

This virulent anti-Semitic rhetoric is made even more offensive by the use of so-called "Jewish spokesmen," as all eight members of the "Anti-Zionist Committee" are nominally Jewish.

The Union of Councils for Soviet Jews believes that the warning signals have already been sounded in the Soviet Union. When a government sponsored hate campaign of anti-Semitism is introduced into the elementary schools, the need for action is evident.

At this moment in Jewish history, we are witnessing a cultural genocide, an intellectual genocide, and a human genocide. Soviet Jews are deliberately and systematically being stripped of their culture and of their very identity. They are coldly treated as outcasts in a regime that neither allows them to live as a people nor leave.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Chairman, at a time of increased official harassment of Jewish activists, of record low emigration figures, and the fostering of an environment of fear in the everyday lives of Soviet Jews, the Union of Councils for Soviet Jews believes that the following actions should be taken immediately:

1. We ask that President Reagan, working in close cooperation with our Western European allies and other interested nations, raise the issue of virulent Soviet anti-Semitism directly with Soviet General Secretary Andropov.
2. We ask that the American Consulate in Kiev be reopened. We believe the benefits, in terms of protection for both American tourists and Soviet refuseniks, far outweigh the trade-off of a similar Soviet facility in this country.

3. We ask that the US Embassy in Moscow work with the Embassies of our Allies in setting up informal meetings with Soviet human rights activists. We feel this will strengthen the symbolic support of human rights by Western countries, as well as provide possible significant sources of information for Western governments.
4. We support the US position that an experts meeting on human rights and family reunification be held as a follow-up to the Madrid Review Conference.
5. We believe that Soviet Jewry and human rights should be at the top of the agenda for US-Soviet relations. We, therefore, ask the President to raise the issue of Soviet Jewry at the highest level and at every appropriate opportunity in bilateral negotiations concerning trade, arms control, exchanges, technology transfer and other areas of cooperation.
6. We ask all Members of Congress, and especially the CSCE Commissioners and members of this Subcommittee, to be in regular and direct contact with Soviet officials both in Washington and in Moscow to raise the Soviet Jewry issue and remind the Soviets of their international obligations under the Helsinki Final Act and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

- end -

APPENDIX I

III. 17 May 83

U S S R N A T I O N A L A F F A I R S
P O L I T I C A L & S O C I A L D E V E L O P M E N T S

R 1

ZIONIST INFLUENCE ON SOVIET JEWS CENSURED

WAI61400 Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19-20 Apr 83 pp 2-3

[Article by B. Kravtsov under rubric "Caution: Zionism!": "Kulturtraegers [bearers of civilization] With a Skeleton Key"; first paragraph is introduction published in boldface]

[Text] In the fierce psychological warfare that is being waged by the aggressive forces of imperialism, and primarily the United States, against our country, the socialist community, and the cause of peace, the role of the assault-strike detachment is given to international Zionism. This sinister essence of Zionist theory and practice has been shown anew in the recently published appeal by a group of Soviet citizens who proposed the creation of the "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public." The article that follows discusses one of the provocative acts of the Zionists: their attempts, under the guise of "defending the Soviet Jewry" and "Jewish culture," to engage, in our country, in the propagandizing of racism and nationalism.

They say that there are no random situations in which one cannot discern an underlying natural law.

I assume, and it is a complete assumption, that the tourists from Great Britain, husband and wife William and Claire Frankel, did not particularly like the company of their compatriots with whom they arrived in Leningrad, or, we might assume, they didn't like the program that had been suggested to them by Intourist. In any case, when the entire tour group was visiting the museums, the Frankels were strolling along Nevskiy Prospekt, and when, conversely, the guide was conducting an excursion along Nevskiy Prospekt, the English couple preferred to become acquainted with the subway. . .

I will not guarantee that it was precisely in this sequence that the married couple demonstrated their "independence." In the final analysis they got lost and were so confused that in order to get advice about how to get back to their hotel, they did not ask any of the numerous passersby on the street at that hour, but instead went into a private apartment.

Properly speaking, there was nothing strange in that. No one requires a tourist to adhere strictly to the schedule, and he has a right to become acquainted with the city in whatever way suits him -- in conformity with his own tasks, interests, and mood. Putting it more succinctly, this small adventure of the British couple would have looked like a casual misunderstanding, if only. . .

If only, after returning to London, William Frankel had not given an interview to the Russian editorial office of BBC, and the newspaper LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA had not received a letter from G.I. Vasserman, who, by completely "random" coincidence, lives in the very same apartment where the "lost" Britishers had rung the doorbell.

And so, behind these facts, one can already discern an underlying regularity, which is just as obvious as it is -- if one could express this only a bit more mildly -- unattractive.

In the stream of dirty insinuations aimed at our country, and in the slanderous fabrications of various kinds of "Sovietologists" and "Kremlinologists" who operate in the sphere of anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, the questions that today occupy far from the last place are the questions of culture.

We might note that our enemies are not so naive as to deny, without adducing any proof, the achievements of the Soviet Union in the field of culture. During the 65 years of the Soviet authority, they have, as the expression goes, got themselves into a mess so many times that, although they do so while gritting their teeth, they are forced to admit that, yes, in the field of culture -- in the entire broad spectrum of that concept -- the USSR occupies the leading place in the world. In a country where only a half a century ago three-fourths of the population were illiterate, today three-quarters of the citizens have higher and secondary education. We publish more books than any other country in the world, and we have more libraries, club houses, and theaters. Our nation is rightfully called the one that does the most reading in the world. A true revolution in the field of culture has occurred in the former national outlying areas of the country. Nations which at one time were completely illiterate, which did not even have their own writing system, have now, judged on the basis of the level of education, science, and culture, left far behind the so-called civilized countries. Books and pamphlets are published in the USSR in 89 languages spoken by the nations of our country; newspapers are published in 57 languages, magazines are published in 44; and radio and television broadcasts are conducted in 67 languages. Our literature and art, which are national in form and socialist in content, and which are imbued with a spirit of high humanitarianism, internationalism, and philanthropy, have received truly worldwide recognition. And that cultural growth, that intellectual and spiritual potential of society, are that base, that foundation, on which the economic might of our state, and the achievements of its science, are built.

The facts are so obvious that even our enemies cannot fail to acknowledge them. But, as is well known, you cannot wash a black dog completely white. Our enemies would cease being our enemies if they did not attempt to find here some chink through which they could feed their anti-Soviet fabrications. Today

they are "alarmed" not by the development of Soviet culture in general. They are disturbed by . . . the infringement upon the national cultures in the USSR. The persons who making such a ruckus (no other word would be suitable) in this arena are the Zionists.

From the very beginning of its birth as the reactionary ideology and practice of the large-scale Jewish bourgeoisie and the assault-strike detachment of imperialism, Zionism has opposed itself to socialism, declaring it to be its irreconcilable enemy.

"For Jewry, for the Jewish national idea, socialism is the mortal enemy," was the statement made by the Zionists literally during the very first months after the victory of October. As is reported by the magazine of Israeli Communists, ARAKHIM, the Soviet Union, the society of real socialism, is depicted today in official Israeli propaganda as enemy No. 1 for all Jews and for the state of Israel.

With special ferocity the Zionists came crashing down upon one of the chief components of the socialist view of the world -- proletarian internationalism. I should say so! The international unity and brotherhood of all people of labor in the struggle for their social rights never has been written, and is not written now, in the postulates of Zionism, with its theories that Jews have been "chosen by God," its theories of the special "purity" of the Jewish race, their exceptional status among the other nations of the world, the "commonality" of the interests of all Jews, and the class peace among them, regardless of their social status.

V. I. Lenin decisively unmasked the falsity of those concepts, their anti-scientific nature, the political perniciousness of the Zionist slogans, including the thesis of their so-called "cultural autonomy." It is impossible, Leninism teaches, to view a national culture as something single. There are, V. I. Lenin said, two cultures in every national culture: one reactionary culture -- the culture of the dominating class of exploiters; and another culture -- the democratic culture of the working masses. "Whoever, directly or indirectly," Lenin wrote, "poses the slogan of Jewish 'national culture,' is (whatever his noble intentions may be) the enemy of the proletariat, the proponent of the old and the caste element in Jewry, the accomplice of the rabbis and the bourgeois." "Every advocacy of the separation of the workers of one nation from another, every attack upon Marxism 'assimilation,' every contrasting, in questions pertaining to the proletariat, of one national culture as a whole to another allegedly entire national culture, etc., is bourgeois nationalism, with which one must wage a merciless struggle."

Despite these obvious principles, the Zionists currently are attempting with new force to insinuate miserable ideas about the allegedly existing "single spiritual commonality" of all Jews, concerning the "single Jewish culture," and . . . the fact that, in this regard, Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality have been deprived of all this. But one asks, what spiritual "commonality" can one discuss, how could a "single" Jewish culture arise if two thousand years ago, by virtue of their historical development, the Jews were dispersed to various continents, have lived and are still living in different countries,

among various nations, and have created, and are still creating, spiritual values in different languages?

It goes without saying that in Israel there is being formed -- out of the mechanical conglomeration of people who have arrived, as is attested to by official data, from almost 100 countries in the world, people who differ not only in the color of their skin, but also by the level of their culture, psychological development, education, and even language -- a nation, but this will be the Israeli nation, not the Jewish nation. A culture is being formed in Israeli, but it will be an Israeli culture, rather than a Jewish culture, and, as in every culture of bourgeois society, one already sees the conflict between two cultures: the official culture, that is permeated by the spirit of clericalism and racism, the culture of the ruling Zionist circles; and the democratic culture that opposes it, the culture of the progressive segments of the society and the workers.

And there is one more thing: what relationship to all this do citizens of Jewish nationality have? Who has asked the Zionists to show "concern" about them in general and about their spiritual food in particular?

Soviet Jews are completely equal citizens of our multinational socialist state and, together with all the other workers of the country, they create our material and spiritual values and enjoy all the blessings of the socialist way of life and all the achievements of our socialist culture.

Here are only a few figures. At the beginning of the 1970's the number of students of Jewish nationality in Soviet institutions of higher learning was twice as large as in Israel. During the period from 1955 through 1970 alone, our country published 466 books by Jewish authors, in 15 languages of the nations of the USSR, with a total printing run of more than 46 million copies. In Moscow, the magazine SOVETISH GAYMLAND (Soviet Homeland) is published in Yiddish in a massive printing run. In Birobidzhan -- the center of the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, which became the first state formation for the Jews in the past 2000 years -- a Jewish chamber-music theater and philharmonic orchestra, and a Jewish national theater, are in operation, the newspaper BIRODIDZHANER SHTERN is published in Yiddish, and there are radio and television broadcasts in Yiddish.

One asks: what kind of "cultural" deprivation, what kind of infringement upon rights of Soviet Jews, do the "Kulturtraegers" of Zionism cry out about? Would they be interested to learn that, in recognition of their defense of their Motherland during the years of the Great Patriotic War, 340,000 Jews were awarded orders and medals of the USSR, and 117 persons were awarded the rank of Hero of the Soviet Union? Or do they not know the names of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality who are twice or three times Heroes of Socialist Labor, Lenin and State Prize winners, or the fact, for example, that deputies -- from deputies to the Supreme Soviet to deputies to the local agencies of authority -- include approximately 8000 Jews?

I assure you that they know all this, and they know it well. They have been keeping this account scrupulously, once again demonstrating by doing so both their national arrogance and their national selfishness. They are least

upset about the equality of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality with the citizens of all the remaining nations and nationalities in our country. They need exclusivity, and it is upon that exclusivity that they construct their political provocations and ideological diversions.

National prejudices, unfortunately, are viable and exist much longer than the social system that has given birth to them. And our society includes people who have been infected by them. We have Philistines, money-grubbers, consumers who strive to enrich themselves by any means. By exerting an influence upon them through the use of any means -- from massive broadcasts of Voice of Israel and other subversive radio stations, to the transporting of Zionist literature; from "lectures" by various emissaries at illegal meetings of nationalists, to clubs for the study of the ancient-Jewish Hebrew language and "Jewish" culture -- the Zionists attempt to incite nationalistic moods, to encourage people to immigrate into Israel or, in any case, having created around them a kind of spiritual ghetto, to form from them a Fifth Column of Zionism in our country.

Incidentally, the Zionists apologists of 'Jewish culture' do not make any particular effort to conceal their goals. The "father" of Zionism, T. Herzl, emphasizing that "the complete Exodus of the Jews (into Palestine) is out of the question," called Zionism "the return to Jewry even before the return to the Jewish country." I shall show, by means of several examples taken from the official Israeli press, what this means in practice.

I have before me an article by a certain Shmuel Ettinger, which is pretentiously entitled "The Prospects for Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union" (magazine MOLAD, February 1972). Having turned topsy-turvy the concepts of nation and national culture, and having completely confused everything (down to, and including the marks of punctuation -- the article was published in Russian), the author openly expounds his "credo": "If today Jewish culture is reborn in the Soviet Union, even if it becomes legal and even if it is reborn in Soviet confines, that will be acknowledged as a definite victory of the Jewish national movement over the Soviet authority. . . . Who will revive that culture? The answer is: the Jew who wants to study Hebrew. . . ." And, as a result: ". . . Jewish homesickness will grow into solidarity with the state of Israel." There it is, without any beating around the bush or various kinds of hedging!

A second example: the end of February and beginning of March 1978. The 29th Congress of the World Zionist Organization. As reported by the press, American Zionists come out with the "initiative" for introducing in the USSR "Jewish cultural autonomy, assuming that by developing among Soviet Jews a "national consciousness" and religion it would be possible to intensify the growth of Jewish nationalism within the country. Viewed as one of the important elements of that course was the study of Hebrew.

And a third fact. The magazine IZRAIL' SEGODNYA [Israel Today] (in Russian), No. 8, April 1981. The author of the article "Among the Jews in the Diaspora," Dav Bar-Nir sounds the alarm. "Public opinion in Israel," he writes, "is

following with alarm the process which in our country is called 'yerida.' In literal translation that means 'descent,' or 'lowering,' but in this instance what is meant is departure from the country." (I should say so! During the period from 1979 through 1981 the number of persons immigrating into Israel dropped to one-third of the previous number. In 1980 alone, 30,000 persons abandoned Israel. During the first two months of Israel's aggression against Lebanon, more than 25,000 persons ran, in the literal sense of that word, from the country.)

But it turns out that it is not this -- or, rather, it is not only this -- that is worrying the author. Against this background (the reduction in the number of immigrants, combined with the fleeing from the country), he emphasizes that "other, much more serious phenomena are occurring almost unnoticed: the reduction in the number of the Jews in the Diaspora and the weakening of the internal ties -- national, religious, spiritual -- thanks to which the Jewish nation forms a single whole." Wherein does Bar-Nir see the chief reason for this? In assimilation, in the fact that the Jews are living on a completely equal legal basis among other nations, that is, as he declares, are being subjected to "spiritual annihilation." And that is something that Zionism cannot be reconciled to in any way. As was already mentioned, it does not like equality of rights. Give it exclusivity! Because, as the very first prime minister of Israel, Ben Gurion asserted: "History has bestowed us (Jews) with rare ethical and intellectual qualities, and this gives us the right and the obligation to be the torch-bearer among other nations."

In what, then, does the Zionist "theoretician" see the way out? I quote: "Our task is to help a person to recognize the fact that he is a Jew if only in the historical sense. For that purpose he must turn to Jewish history, to the Bible, to everything that attracts the modern man in Jewish religious literature of various eras. He must study Hebrew and Jewish literature -- ancient and modern, but, most important, he must become acquainted with those problems that are confronting our people today -- both in Israel and in the countries of the Diaspora. . . . At the present stage, the Zionist movement must see its task not only in the repatriation to Israel of those Jews who have 'matured' for that purpose, but also in the development of the Jewish self-awareness of all the others."

That is an extremely frank statement -- those who have not yet "matured" must be helped to gain additional maturation in Zionist ideology, in achieving that extreme chauvinism and nationalism which the UN General Assembly justifiably has defined as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

It is these goals, according to the Zionists' schemes, that were supposed to be served by the creeping "cultural" infiltration into the countries of socialism, primarily the Soviet Union, under the guise of concern for the development of "Jewish culture," the organizing of Hebrew clubs, etc.

In the Soviet Union, as everyone is well aware, no one is prohibited from studying any foreign languages, including Hebrew. Incidentally, the Eastern Department of Leningrad University has highly qualified specialists in Hebrew (who also teach it to the students), and our Public Library has the largest

Yiddish-Hebrew collections in the world, and this is not just a book repository, but an actively operating library!

It is not necessary to be a linguist to understand that language is only a form of thinking; what is important is not what language is being spoken, but what is being said.

I went to school during the prewar years, during the years of the most vicious antisemitic outburst of fascism, and we studied the German language. I remember how the class would loudly declaim in German, after our little old teacher, Goethe's inspired lines: "The only person who is worthy of life and freedom is the one who, every day, goes into battle for them!" We knew that the bible of fascism, Hitler's "Mein Kampf," in which the raving Fuehrer proposed his "ideas" for the complete annihilation of the Jews (and the Russians, and the Poles, and all Slavs in general!) -- as an "inferior race" -- was also written in German, but we never equated the language of the German people with the language of fascism.

Let's be frank. The appeal to Hebrew for today's practical Zionism has an importance that is far from cultural, but is strictly political. This Hebrew is first of all the language of the "sacred" Jewish books -- the Torah and the Talmud. And this is extreme religious fanaticism, chauvinism, the striving to force on Jews the idea of their exclusivity, their having been selected as the "chosen people," their superiority over other nations, and consequently, to force upon them racial intolerance toward other "inferior" nations. It is not accidental that Zionism equates itself to Judaism, politically adapting religion to the practical implementation of its geopolitical tasks. And the leaders of Zionism have never concealed the fact that these tasks are precisely geopolitical. "The Jewish nation," the same Ben Gurion asserted in the book "Before and After the Sinai Campaign," "at the present time is dispersed throughout the world, and the sphere in which Israel now lives includes all five continents and the islands on the oceans of the entire earth." How does one extend tentacles to these "five continents" and the "islands on the oceans of the entire earth"? First of all, with the aid of religion, Hebrew, the propagandizing of the "cultural" and "spiritual commonality" of all Jews. Those are the plans, that is the practice of the Zionists.

[20 Apr 83]

I have in front of me the booklet "Facts and Figures About Israel," which was published in Tel Aviv several years ago in Russian -- it is, so to speak, a promotional propaganda aid for immigrants. I open up the section "Education, Science, and Culture," which, incidentally, is the largest in size. I read on page 200: "The interest in the Bible, which embodies the very essence of the Jewish spirit, is very great in all segments of Israeli society. The study of the Bible in schools is given 20-30 percent of the teaching time."

Let's see what the students study, and how they study, and what the fruits of this "education" are.

"A tu-tu, tu-tu, tu-tu, khaaravim yamvtv," which means, translated from Hebrew, "May the Arabs die." This is from a song for kindergarten.

And now the school. The amount of time devoted to studying the "sacred books" here over an eight-year period is 1500 hours, but compare! -- for the geography of foreign countries. . . it is 20.

The American scientist G. Tamarin, who worked for a long time in Israel, carried out an experiment that yielded eloquent and very significant results. He prepared 1066 questionnaires of identical content, to which written answers were given by 563 boys and 503 girls from various grades in various Israeli schools. The questionnaire dealt with the Biblical "Book of Joshua Navin," which is studied in Israeli schools from the fourth through the eighth grades.

Navin was the leader of the Jews during the invasion into the "promised land," and on their path the Israelites carried out the most cruel genocide with respect to the local population. "And they swore to pledge everything -- . . . and the husbands, and the wives, and the young, and the old, and the oxen, and the sheep, and the asses they destroyed. . . and everything breathing. . . no one was left, no one remained alive."

Tamarin asked the schoolchildren to answer two questions. 1. Do you think that Joshua Navin and the Israelites acted correctly or incorrectly? 2. Let us assume that the Israeli army seized an Arab village during the war. Would it be good or bad to treat the inhabitants of that village in the way that Joshua acted with the people of Jericho?

Here are a few answers.

"The purpose of the war was to win the country for the Israelites. Therefore the Israelites acted well, by winning the cities and killing their population. It is not desirable to have a foreign element in Israel."

"Joshua Navin acted well by killing all the people in Jericho, since he had to conquer the entire country and he did not have time to take prisoners."

Answers such as these were obtained from 66 to 95 percent of the students. In response to the question of whether, in our time, the entire population of a seized Arab village should be destroyed, 30 percent of the students answered categorically, "Yes!"

These are statements by children, and that fact, in and of itself, is disgusting. But, nevertheless, children are children, and they repeat only what has been suggested to them by adults. And herein lie the real and dangerous fruits of the Zionist "education," because those who, in the early 1960's, gave answers to the American scientist's questionnaire are already soldiers in the Israeli army, soldiers who are without a soul and without mercy, since they have had instilled in them, from the cradle, the Biblical behest: ". . . and you shall live by your sword." We might recall the "cultural" maxim of the present prime minister of Israel, M. Begin: "The force of progress and movement in the history of mankind is by no means peace, but the sword!"

Unbridled militant chauvinism is dangerous and infectious, just like any kind of infection, like leprosy, like the plague. And I cannot fail to cite as

confirmation of this one more example that has disturbed me perhaps more than all the others.

In 1978 a so-called "book" was published in Jerusalem under the title "Aliya 70-x. . ." It was published in Russian, and was written by "Russian Jews," as immigrants from the Soviet Union are called in Israel, and it was addressed to them. The purpose of the "book" is just as sly as it is simple. "The promised land," "the homeland of all Jews" has proved to be a wicked step-mother for the new arrivals. The capitalist way of life that is alien to them, the unemployment, inflation, the fear of continuous wars, the religious intolerance, the bitter conflicts with the old-timers -- all this has dispelled the illusions of those who were "reunited" with their relatives and those who were attempting to get "their own business" in order, to become prosperous, to get a little richer. By their own bitter experience during the very first days they were convinced that this is by no means the land of a moneybags paradise, that "milk and honey" do not flow for all Jews here, and if they do flow, it is by no means for all of them, or in any case, for them, they probably do not flow. Physicians have had difficulty getting jobs as trashmen, actresses getting jobs as dish-washers. Most of them are living from hand to mouth, and an even greater number have simply fled the country. But several of them have adapted, and now, from the pages of this "book," they attempt to suggest to others: don't lose heart. We are living in a "free country." Keep on adapting and, so to speak, you too will adapt.

I shall not speak about the fact that this book, from the first page to the last, is filled with vicious slander against our country and their former motherland. Because it is necessary for them to "adapt" not only economically, but also spiritually, and there is no limit here to apostasy. I would like to dwell on only one thing -- on the fruits of Zionist indoctrination.

The book contains an interview-story by Ol'ga Kamenkovskaya, a former Muscovite. With her husband and two children she arrived in Israel in 1976. Soon there was an election to the Knesset (parliament), and she was a "fan" (her word) of the "Likud" (bloc of the extreme rightist parties, the leader of one of which, Menachem Begin, became prime minister). I quote: ". . . from the new government I expect. . . a loud and clear statement that the right of our people for this land is indisputable, that we shall stop discussing the problem of the Palestinians, which least of all has been included in the fates of the Palestinians. . . Maybe this sounds unpleasant or extremist, but I feel that at one time it was a mistake to leave an Arab population here in such a quantity. The Americans at one time behaved more decisively. Only 200 years have passed and no one remembers any more to whom the land of America used to belong. . ."

As for the example of America, what is true is true: Israel does have someone to turn to. Genocide with respect to the Indian population will eternally remain a dirty and shameful blotch on the conscience of the American conquerors. It is difficult to perceive everything else. But just think a bit: these words belong to a person with high humanitarian education, a person who is a philologist and a mother of two children. She has lived in Israel only two years, and this is the result.

Incidentally, it should be no surprise to anyone, when the entire system of education and indoctrination, the entire official propaganda system and the concrete practical life of the ruling circles of Israel are imbued with the spirit of frank chauvinism, racial intolerance, clericalism, and militant nationalism.

"You Israelites," Begin said, "must not be tender-hearted when you kill your enemy. You must not sympathize with him until we destroy the so-called Arab culture on the ruins of which we shall build our own civilization."

In recent time mankind has learned only too well what kind of "civilization" this is. It is thousands and tens of thousands of murdered Lebanese and Palestinians. It is the not yet cooled blood of Beirut, where Israeli soldiers, who have graduated from the school of Zionist "cultural" indoctrination, coldbloodedly hacked with their bayonets at the stomachs of pregnant women, and stabbed knives into children and old men and women. Acting in concert, so to speak, they plundered and destroyed all the cultural values of one of the oldest cities in the East. . .

What a cruel and tragic turn of history: this is just the way the Hitlerites acted when they were attempting to destroy the "inferior" Jewish race. . .

And there is yet another addition to the interview with this lady, and, it seems to me, an extremely eloquent one. As I have already said, the authors and "heroes" of the interviews in "Aliya 70-x. . ." unashamedly sling mud at the Soviet Union, telling who has spit at whom, who has cursed at whom. Everything in the Soviet Union is bad, and everything in Israel is good -- from the natural environment to the kindergartens, from the schools to the scientific institutions. The woman who is being discussed has had a misfortune: her twin daughters are deaf. One can only sympathize with the mother, and that sympathy is sincere. But. . . are we really to believe that in Israel things are better for deaf children than in the USSR? Just think! -- what freedom, what democracy! "Here a deaf person can freely drive a car," she writes. "Currently the parents are trying to get the right for their deaf children to serve in the army. . ." This is not the right to work or to get housing, it is not the right to get an education, but the right "to serve in the army." Incidentally, there is a certain kind of logic here; and it is a murderer's logic. Judging by the bloody handwriting of the Israeli army, it is simpler for deaf people to serve there -- they do not hear the cries of their victims. . .

But probably the story about the "cultural" expansion of the Zionists will be incomplete if I do not cite yet another consideration. It seems to me that the "concern" for the preservation of "Jewish" culture has for Zionists, I would say, also a definite socioeconomic significance.

Without removing from the agenda the question of the intensification of the immigration of citizens of Jewish nationality from the USSR into Israel, the Zionist recruiters are well aware of the fact that the adaptation of the immigrants in Israel is not progressing too rapidly and is not as cheap as one would want. People arrive from another social environment. They do not know and do not accept, for the most part, the capitalist way of life. They do not know

the language. Even according to Israeli information, this process does not bypass acute social conflicts, and the study of language in the "ulpane" (a kind of boarding school) takes an average of half a year and is not cheap. So why not train the future Landsknechts for Israel in the USSR itself, in Hebrew classes which, incidentally, the nationalists here also call "ulpane," in various kinds of seminars, religious clubs, etc. That's all the cheaper for the Israeli treasury. . . And as for the concerns about the "rebirth of Jewish culture," I shall cite an example.

I happened to be chatting with one of these "ulpanists." When he arrived at the editorial office he was indignant and upset: he and a few more "initiators" had been refused official authorization to create in Leningrad a so-called "society for the study of Jewish culture."

"What will you be studying?" I asked.

"What do you think?" he replied in mock indignation. "The language of my nation -- Hebrew."

"With what textbooks?"

He averted his gaze and once again declaimed bombastically, "The culture and history of my nation are set forth in the holy books -- the Torah and the Talmud."

"Well, what about belles lettres?" I asked, racking my brain in shameful and ungrateful work to recall the names of writers not according to the degree of their talent, not according to the spiritual wealth of their works, but according to their nationality: Heinrich Heine, Alberto Moravia, and, well, Samuil Marshak or Aleksandr Pein, didn't he, incidentally, write in Hebrew?

He remained silent, looking somewhere above me. It was obvious that this was the first time he had heard this. Then I throw out the last -- so to speak -- anchor. Maybe he'll catch it.

"Or Sholem Aleichem!"

"Who needs that Rabinovich?" my conversational partner says, throwing up his hands. "He wrote in Yiddish, and who in Israel speaks it?"

So that's a *Kulturtraeger* for you. Obviously some one had sent him, so to speak, on a fool's errand. They knew that it would be refused, and then it would be possible to raise a hue and cry to "all of Europe": they're suppressing our national culture! And they raised that hue and cry, but more about that later. And, it was learned later, that applicant and certain other "initiators," even before they had got the idea of carrying out their "cultural" action, had visited OVIR [Visa and Registration Department] and had made applications to go to Israel. As you can see, they decided to brush up their Hebrew ahead of time, and, before departure, to acquire a kind of political capital: be that as it may, they were "fighters," champions of the "national" culture.

However, let's return to the beginning of the article -- to William Frankel and G. Vasserman.

I think that the readers have already guessed: Frankel had not got "lost" anywhere -- he went to see Vasserman, and Vasserman was waiting for him. I do not know what they talked about to one another, but in the BBC interview that was transmitted in Russian, Frankel, without a second's hesitation, stated that "in the Soviet Union it is impossible (!) to be a Jew. . . they are threatened with persecution if they engage in the study of Hebrew or attempt to preserve or develop their culture or religion."

We have already discussed the kind of culture that Frankel is in favor of developing. It is natural to ask, what is Frankel's connection in this? What does an English tourist have to do with Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality?

The explanation is very simple: William Frankel is the editor of the largest Zionist newspaper in England, the JEWISH CHRONICLE.

The face of that newspaper is well known: it is the open mouthpiece of Israel propaganda, and its anti-Soviet position is not camouflaged by the fig leaf of elementary rhetoric.

Wouldn't it be a good thing for Mister Frankel, instead of fighting about the "cultural hunger" of the Soviet Jews, to take, as the expression goes, a good look at himself? Because it is well known that the largest Jewish newspaper in Great Britain is printed in. . . English. Its editor in chief does not know Yiddish or Hebrew, and as for Jewish culture in Britain, I shall cite the authoritative testimony of the English journalist Solly Sax: "In their anti-Soviet campaign, the Zionists imitate the technique used by Hitler's propaganda, resorting to the big lie, the small lie, the half-truth, and the distortion of reality. For several years they have been raving about the 'suppression' of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. One would think that all the half-million Jews in English speak the Jewish language, and the only books on their shelves at home are works by Jewish writers. Actually, only one percent of those people speak Hebrew. During the 17 years in which I lived in England, I did not see a single newspaper or magazine in the Jewish language and did not hear about the Jewish theater. There are many Jewish writers, poets, and playwrights, but they write in English and, in essence, are not Jewish writers."

That's the fact, and it is irrefutable. And not only for England, but for many other countries where Jews were assimilated long ago and where their life, their culture, are the same as those of the nations surrounding them. That is the logic of history. But if one follows the logic of the Frankels and their ilk, that's all the worse for facts and history. Hiding under the mask of the tourist, Frankel behaved like an agent provocateur: he went to addresses that were previously known to him, where he met nationalists in Odessa, Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad (he states that outright in his interview), conducted anti-Soviet discussions with them, transmitted, as one can see, to Vasserman certain instructions and Zionist literature and received from him

the most slanderous information, which he broadcast all around the world through the official British radio station. Incidentally, given the reputation of BBC, there is nothing particularly surprising about this.

As for G. I. Vasserman, he is a former engineer at one of the Leningrad enterprises. Because of the nature of his work, he was familiar with information that constitutes a state secret, and on that basis he was refused authorization to go to Israel. For a number of years he has not been working anywhere, and has been living, as one can see, on handouts from various Zionist foreign centers. He is considered to be a specialist on Judaism and gives lectures at various underground seminars (in a letter to the editors, he has fought for their legalization). He carries out active nationalistic propaganda, not even disdaining brazen slander against our country and its policy.

In order not to make rash statements, I would like again to quote Frankel. This was after his meeting with Vasserman, when he stated during the BBC interview, "The Soviet 'refuse-niks' (the term was invented to apply to those who have been refused an exit visa to go to Israel) do not criticize President Reagan and they feel that it is only strict measures against the Soviet Union that can help to soften its foreign-policy course and that will finally lead to concessions by the Soviet authority. . ."

Are any comments really needed here?

Another "leader" of the nationalists -- Aba Yakovlevich Taratuta -- has just as ordinary a biography. No one can be misled by his current job -- operator at a gas boiler room. It is not for his daily bread that he works at a bath and laundry trust. It is a front, a cover, in order to avoid reproaches about his parasitical way of life. By education he is an astronomer and a leading engineer. He applied for departure to Israel. He knew that he would be refused (his work was linked with materials that constitute a state secret), and, it seems to me, he expected that refusal and was glad when he got it. The previously completely unknown engineer Taratuta immediately became, in the eyes of the foreign Zionist centers, the "great martyr," the sufferer for the "rights" of Soviet Jews, and everyone is thrown into a frenzy: senators and congressmen speak in his "defense," he is written about in the Zionist newspapers, and foreign emissaries rush to see him.

Recently, Singer Lynn got off the train and immediately went to Taratuta's apartment, without getting lost anywhere. Lynn is a figure who is rather well known in anti-Soviet Zionist circles -- at any rate she is an emissary of such an instigational organization as the "Conference to Defend Soviet Jewry," with its headquarters in New York. One must assume that she and Taratuta carried on discussions not about the vagaries of the Leningrad weather: they didn't have any time for that, and also Taratuta was not too well disposed to lyricism about the weather.

. . . The television screen shows the ruins of Beirut -- the wounds inflicted by Israeli aggression have not yet healed. The murderer generals, relying on the support of the United States and international Zionism, are preparing new provocations against Lebanon, the Palestinians, and Syria. Thousands of people have already died in this bloody war, including Israelis. . . But

that is a cynicism that is worth of Hitler's times. In response to the reproach that they were "destroying the flower of the nation," the Zionist rulers stated outright, "That's no problem. We'll worry about supplementing these losses by means of immigration."

Or could it be by means of Vasserman, Taratuta, or, for example, former night-school teacher Ya. Gorodetskiy, who also has taken the path of nationalistic activities, that the fascistic Zionists plan to supplement their ranks? . .

The Soviet nation is deeply international in its entire nature. To the highest degree it is devoid of any setting off of nations or individual persons to one another on the basis of nationality. But Soviet citizens fundamentally reject also the setting off of national peculiarities to the international system of our society. We have waged and shall continue to wage an implacable struggle against any manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, against national narrowmindedness and national arrogance or conceit, and we shall not permit either the ignoring nor the inflation of the national peculiarities.

The Soviet public cannot be reconciled to having Hebrew clubs and all kinds of "seminars" that are organized on a national basis used for the purpose of propagandizing Zionist ideology, for cultivating a spirit of national exclusivity and frank racism. In our country antisemitism, like every other manifestation of national dissension, is punished by law, but that does not mean that Zionism will be allowed to engage with impunity in the USSR in propagandizing racism, or to recruit "Landsknechts" for Israel.

APPENDIX II

EXCERPTS FROM SOVIETSKAYA LITVIYA (June 1, 1983)

"... We became acquainted with one of the so-called 'activists' Eitan Finkelshtein, who has lived in Vilnius and sought permission to go abroad. He has taken great pains to explain 'the terrible history of the USSR, that is enough for everyone to know and is well paid for in tears.' Taking this slander about his country, Finkelshtein has tried to build the warmth of the 'Free World.' Such people are the main 'lovers' of Zionists. Those supporting such views meet with Western tourists who are emissaries of various Zionist organizations."

"Such meetings take place in the apartments of 'activists' under 'conspirational' conditions. 'Tourists' shamelessly expand on the Western myth of 'the fate of Jews in the USSR, joining in hooligans demonstrations of Zionists outside our embassies, etc.' 'Activists' try to 'influence authorities' through demonstrations, preparing protests, writing appeals, contacting international organizations and agitating with known and unknown people for emigration from the USSR . . . "

"... and they spread falsified information abroad on the telephone, as was done by one V. Raiz, who secretly contacted many cities in the West to inform him of his fate, as was done by A. Shcharansky."

"Soviet justice has noticed this last. And Raiz today lives in Vilnius and continues his close relations with international Zionists. The archreactionary Senator Jackson in the 1970s was the idol of these renegades, and today fits in well with the well-known anti-Soviet US Administration."

Mr. YATRON. Our final witness is Mr. Igor Tufeld, a Soviet refusenik.

STATEMENT OF IGOR TUFELD, SOVIET REFUSENIK

Mr. TUFELD. Mr. Chairman, gentlemen, first of all, I would like to introduce myself. I came to Israel 6 years ago, but my parents are still in the Soviet Union. While I have been in the Soviet Union, I felt, myself, what anti-Semitism is. In 1973, I was beaten near the synagogue, just because I came there. I was hospitalized for 2 weeks and had concussion and some problems with liver and kidney.

In 1976, I applied for an exit visa and got refusal on the reason having no relatives in Israel. One week later, I took part in sit-in demonstration, and I was arrested and sentenced to 15 days in prison. Finally, I received my visa and left the Soviet Union and came to Israel. But my parents now in a very difficult and very hard situation. Their names are Vladimir and Izolda Tufeld. They applied for their exit visa in 1977, and in the end of the year 1977, they got their refusal on the grounds of secrecy.

Since that, my father was fined five times, demoted and finally dismissed from his job. My mother was dismissed from her job because of my activity while I was refusenik. They are unemployed.

In 1977, after their application for exit visas, my father was hospitalized because of his spinal conditions. But somebody called to the doctors and said that my father applied for an exit visa. As a result, he was discharged from the hospital. After that, he wrote a letter where he wrote such words:

* * * forget duty as a physician and despite the fact that you did not know anything about my state of health and did not see me, she ordered the physicians to discharge me from the hospital immediately. I am amazed that the head physician of the large hospital who has the oath of Hippocrates hanging in her office could make such a decision.

After that, his state of health has been deteriorating rapidly. For 2½ years, he was bedridden. Now he is walking with crutches.

My mother's state of health also has been deteriorated. She had a brain tumor. It was benign. But the Soviet doctors, approximately for 1 year, did not operate on her and postponed the operation without any reasons. Finally, when her situation and her state of health was so terrible that the Russian doctors could not even guarantee the success of this operation, they performed the operation. Thank God, the 8-hour operation was successful. And now my mother is recovering.

In 1979, I was married. I met my wife in Israel. And my parents have not seen her before. They were represented in our marriage with a photograph.

In 1982, our son was born in Israel. They did not see him. After that, they wrote a letter. They wrote such words:

Separated from Igor, deprived of any means of livelihood, our health badly affected; we are full of fear and uncertainty about the future. We want to be near our son in Israel; reuniting with our only son, with our only grandson, and with our daughter-in-law, is a dream of our whole life.

You can see just because of their desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union to go to Israel, to reunite with their only son and with my family, they were harassed by the Soviet authorities. And

now they are unemployed; they are disabled, and they are very sick.

Finally, I want to tell you as a representative of the thousands of Jews who are still in the Soviet Union, and I want to ask you please intensify your efforts on behalf of my parents, on behalf of those Jews who remain trapped in the Soviet Union. Do everything you can, because if we would not do anything on their behalf, just 1 day 2½ million of the Soviet Jews will disappear and all of us have to prevent it.

Thank you very much.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you very much, Mr. Tufeld, for a very touching statement.

I would like to call on Chairman Fascell.

Mr. FASCELL. Thank you.

First, let me express my appreciation to old friends and new friends for your testimony here today and tell you that all of us share your concern and your deep interest.

We appreciate your continuing dedication, without which I don't think any progress would be made at all, and we continue to admire the courage of people like the Tufeld family and thousands of others who literally have pledged their lives for freedom and principle.

We want to do whatever we can to be of help. We appreciate the recommendations that have been made. We simply want you to know that we will continue as long as we are able to do whatever we can to assist in this matter.

I agree with all of the assessments that this is ominous. The free world must speak up and take action now. I think it is absolutely critical. Let this be the official start, if nothing else, of that effort, and hope it will spread worldwide.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Now I would like to call on Mr. Levine.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think Chairman Fascell very well summarized my feelings and reactions as well. Just a couple of personal thoughts and comments:

I would like to congratulate Ms. Singer on the fact that our close mutual friend, Sala Burton, will be here in the next several days, joining in this fight, and a number of others of great importance.

I first met Ms. Singer with Sala Burton and know how close the two of you are. At least there is a cause for rejoicing in the context of all of this otherwise ominous series of activities.

As a father of a 2-year-old boy, I share a lot of your feelings, and will just again pledge myself to do everything possible to help.

I am interested particularly in Mr. Tufeld's feelings as somebody who has been in the Soviet Union in terms of the specific manner in which our actions are viewed by the Soviets and what specific things we do are helpful.

Obviously, there is a consensus that visibility is important, and that continued attention is important. But if you could just add to the record from your own experiences as a person who is at least personally fortunate enough to have left, despite the fact that your relatives thus far have not, what it is that we do that is helpful and how it is helpful, and if there is anything that gets suggested

that is not helpful, I would be interested in your thoughts for the record.

Mr. TUFELD. First of all, I would like to thank you, Mr. Levine, for your words. What can I suggest? I think it is very important to raise this question of the problems of the Soviet Jewry in any meetings which you will ever have with Soviet officials anywhere. Also, letters to the Soviet officials, to Mr. Andropov, and to other leaders of the Soviet Union.

If you will ever go to the Soviet Union, it is also very important to raise these questions in the Soviet Union, and to visit refuseniks, and to see how those people are leaving the Soviet Union.

Mr. LEVINE. Thank you.

Thank you all.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you, Mr. Levine.

Congressman Smith.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I want to associate myself particularly with the remarks of our distinguished chairman. I think Mr. Levine also made some very good comments. I think it is very clear what the problem is. We know that the problem exists; that it is getting worse; that anti-Semitism certainly is on the rise. And this record, I think, will help to make many more people aware.

I would appreciate very much if some of the members of the panel perhaps would touch on what we can do. I know Ms. Singer mentioned some very specific steps, raising the issue in concert with our allies.

I think we are aware of that one. Reopening of the Kiev consulate. And I would appreciate it if each member of the panel would touch on such things as the most-favored nations status situation, Jackson-Vanik amendment.

What can we do perhaps to modify that, to provide a carrot that could maybe cause some changes in the Soviet attitude. Also, the whole idea of linkage. I was very gratified to hear our Secretary, Mr. Abrams, talk about his support for linkage. I think that we could use this hearing as a springboard to really push that whole concept of linking the human rights issue with trade and other issues.

Mr. Mann.

Mr. MANN. Congressman Smith, I don't know how to say this without offending the committee, but the U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia is going to disbar me if I am not there at 2:30.

With your permission, David Harris, the director of our Washington office of the National Conference, will answer your question. And please, please forgive me. I really hate to do this. I am sorry.

Thank you.

Mr. LEVINE. Others of us have been in similar situations.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, let me very briefly try and respond to the question. Dr. Korey has indicated he, too, would like to share some of the time; I am sure Ms. Singer would as well.

Congressman Smith, it is our position that to make amendments in the Jackson-Vanik amendment vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, not Hungary and the Peoples Republic of China, as Mr. Abrams referred to earlier, at this point in time would appear to reward the Soviet Union for its punitivism.

Second, with regard to other kinds of specific linkage in the economic sphere, while we continue to investigate all aspects of the rather minimal economic relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union, including the areas of agricultural products and technology transfer, we do not at the moment see any areas for specific linkage that would prove productive.

To the contrary, we suspect that efforts at specific linkage today would in all likelihood prove counterproductive, both for U.S. economic and political purposes, as well as, of course, for the fate of Soviet Jewry.

But there are other specific things that can and should be done.

As the United States and the Soviet Union seem to move to a period of increasing exchanges of parliamentarians, we believe that the issue must be raised by all parliamentarians in meetings with the Soviets. We believe the U.S. parliamentarians must go beyond that, however, to meet with Soviet Jews, just as you met with Soviet Jews during your visit.

We believe when Secretary Shultz meets with Foreign Minister Gromyko in September at the opening of the U.N. General Assembly, he must, as he did in September 1982, address the issue of Soviet Jewry and American concern for human rights as high on the agenda as permitted.

Mr. SMITH. If I could interrupt on the linkage question, and your thought that it would be counterproductive, is that because they could find other sellers, or you just think the whole idea would backfire? For instance, if we were able to get our allies to work in concert with us.

Mr. HARRIS. As some of the supporting cast for the original conception and framing of the Jackson-Vanik amendment, I don't think we in the Jewish community would dismiss linkage per se. However, we do not see today, given the limited economic relationship between the two countries, given the desire of many other countries to fill any void or vacuum created by any unilateral U.S. boycott on behalf of human rights issues and Jewish emigration, in particular, we do not see any of that proving productive right now.

To take only one example, the example of grain, to which Mr. Abrams referred to, there is a glut on the world market; we all know that. Argentina, Brazil, Canada, Western Europe, and other parts of the world are only too anxious to fill any void created by a U.S. unilateral unwillingness to sell grain to the Soviet Union.

Mr. YATRON. Excuse me for interrupting. If you can conclude in about a minute, we would appreciate it. We have a roll call vote that we will have to respond to. I am afraid we are going to have to conclude the hearing. We have about 1 minute, and then we have to finish up.

Mr. KOREY. I think we ought to make it clear on every possible level of discussion that takes place with the Soviet Union, that the plight of Soviet Jews is deeply disturbing. The issue of Soviet Jews must be raised in a very vigorous and determined manner, no matter what the discussion is: whether it is on the level of trade, whether it is on the level of grain, whether it is on the level of even disarmament.

It is important for them to understand that this is a matter of overwhelming concern to the entire American community. I think

if we focus in on that kind of linkage, on this kind of consciousness-raising effort in every panel, every discussion, every meeting, I think that this would be a basic kind of first-step solution to the problem.

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Chairman, a very brief final remark:

The Soviets are proficient chess players; I am not. But I am told that a proficient chess player is constantly thinking 6, 8, 10 steps ahead. The United States is often seen as given to quick fixes. And if the quick fixes are not available, the tendency is to move on to other problems, so the Soviets perceive. We have to convince the Soviet Union that until this problem is resolved, we in the United States, and all people of good will, will persist in our efforts.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to thank David Harris for his very articulate answer.

Mr. YATRON. Mr. Tufeld?

Mr. TUFELD. I would like to present to the chairman and members of the Commission the documented materials which have been prepared by Dr. Otevesky, former refusenik from the Soviet Union, based on the letters which he has received from the refuseniks in the Soviet Union and the letter from the Israelis, former Soviet citizens, about the situation in the Soviet Union right now.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

I would like to say, in conclusion, we certainly have heard of some very deeply disturbing developments. I share the views of my colleagues that the United States needs to redouble its efforts to assist Soviet Jewry, and I want to say next Tuesday the subcommittee will consider a resolution which will address the concerns that have been expressed here today.

And I feel this hearing and that resolution are a beginning for a new effort.

I want to thank each and every one of you for being here.

The subcommittee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the joint subcommittee-Commission meeting adjourned.]

SOVIET JEWRY

TUESDAY, JUNE 28, 1983

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN
AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND INTER-
NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS,

Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met in open markup session at 10:10 a.m., in room 2255, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Gus Yatron (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. YATRON. The subcommittee will come to order. The first order of business this morning is to continue hearings begun earlier this year to review the U.S. international human rights policies and especially the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1982.

[Whereupon, the committee proceeded in consideration of other business.]

Mr. YATRON. I would like to bring up another order of business, now that we have a quorum.

This morning the subcommittee would like to consider House Concurrent Resolution 63, which expresses the sense of Congress concerning compliance by the Soviet Union with certain international agreements on human rights. The resolution is cosponsored by 196 members. A similar resolution has passed the Senate.

Last Thursday the subcommittee heard deeply disturbing testimony about the deteriorating situation in the Soviet Union confronting that country's Jewish population. Statements issuing from government channels remind one of the Nazi period in Germany.

The United States cannot stand idly by. We must put the Soviets on notice that their actions against their own citizens are being watched by the world and that those actions will have profound consequences for relations between our countries.

I have discussed the resolution with the Chairman of the Helsinki Commission, Congressman Fascell, and we both agreed the resolution should be updated and strengthened to reflect the recent further deterioration of the human rights situation in the Soviet Union. To that end, we have asked the subcommittee and the Commission staff to draft an amendment to the resolution, to be considered when the full committee meets on the resolution, hopefully right after the recess.

Since the resolution will be fully discussed in the full committee, I would hope that any amendments could be held for action at that full committee meeting.

Are there any questions or comments on the resolution?

Mr. LANTOS. Mr. Chairman, I move adoption of the resolution.

Mr. YATRON. Thank you.

The clerk will read the resolution.

Mr. FINLEY [reading]:

House Concurrent Resolution 63, expressing the sense——

Mr. LEACH. Mr. Chairman, I move we consider the resolution as read and open for amendment.

Mr. YATRON. The resolution is considered as read and open for amendments. I thank the gentleman. And if there is no discussion, the Chair will move that House Concurrent Resolution 63 reported favorably to the full committee. All in favor say "aye".

[A chorus of "ayes."]

Mr. YATRON. Anyone opposed?

[No response.]

Mr. YATRON. The ayes have it and the resolution is favorably reported.¹ I thank you.

[Whereupon the subcommittee proceeded in consideration of other business.]

¹ H. Con. Res. 63 passed the House on Nov. 17, 1983, with an amendment in the nature of a substitute, by voice vote under unanimous consent agreement.

APPENDIX 1

STATEMENT OF HON. GERALD B. SOLOMON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

I wish to associate myself with the remarks of those Members who have addressed this issue and to offer a few brief comments of my own. Here we have, I believe, a human rights issue of compelling importance. We cannot be silent in the face of a massive propaganda campaign to defame and harass the brave Jewish people in the Soviet Union who seek only to live their lives and practice their faith without being subject to coercion and intimidation. And we must be unequivocal in our support to help Jews, and all people living within the Soviet Union, to realize their basic human rights of freedom and dignity.

The assertions of the newly-formed "Anti-Zionist Committee" that say there are no more Jews seeking to leave the Soviet Union and that suggest the Jewish people themselves bear part of the blame for the holocaust are beneath contempt. These are lies of such a vicious nature that one has to look back to the horrors of Nazi Germany to find their equal. The officially-sanctioned anti-semitism in the Soviet Union defies the solemn covenants to which the Soviet government has added its signature. The maze of institutional barriers and public persecutions that prevent Jews in the Soviet Union from fulfilling their most basic needs and aspirations can only invite the scorn of all people in the civilized world.

Since the earliest days of recorded history, the Jewish people have served as a parable on the human condition. We sense again the makings of a mighty drama now gathering force. It is a confrontation, as Secretary Abrams told this subcommittee, "between the most rapidly decaying ideology in human history and one of the most permanent -- the heritage of the Jewish people, which has stood for thousands of years." It involves people, he said, "who possess an apparently inexplicable inner firmness which ideologists cannot control and which will outlast Soviet ideology."

Finally, during this time when we celebrate our national anniversary, let us remember the best elements in our own tradition. That tradition includes a signal recognition of the Jews and the provision of help and sanctuary for all who are oppressed. It was George Washington, in the earliest days of our national life, who addressed a Jewish congregation to invoke for all Americans "the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah." Let us live up to our own national heritage by sending a clear and unmistakable message to the Soviet Union on behalf of the suffering Jewish people who live there.

APPENDIX 2

STATEMENTS OF HON. LES AU COIN AND HON. BARBARA KENNELLY,
REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATES OF OREGON AND
CONNECTICUT

Mr. Chairman, we want to commend you for scheduling this hearing to examine the plight of Soviet Jews who desire to leave the Soviet Union. We appreciate the opportunity to share our views on this important human rights issue with you and the members of this Subcommittee.

Knowing of your past efforts, concern and leadership in securing basic human rights for Soviet Jews, we are certain you will aggressively pursue this issue with all the diligence and wisdom necessary to accomplish our goal. The cause is just. The need more urgent than ever.

The signals we are receiving from Moscow about human rights are not encouraging. Current relations between the governments of the United States and the Soviet Union are on thin ice. Our hopes that the new Soviet regime might soften the Soviet's treatment of Jews, have not been realized.

So, we are watching with alarm a startling halt in Soviet Jewish emigration. Last month, fewer than 116 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union -- less than left on an average day during the peak year of 1979. Last year only 2700 Jews left compared to the departure of more than 50,000 in 1979.

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry estimates that by the late 1970's, at least 300,000 Jews had asked relatives abroad to send invitations to emigrate. Of those 300,000, only about 33,000 have been permitted to leave the country in the last two years.

Unfortunately, these figures do not even tell the whole story. All too often, Soviet authorities hold up the critical invitation from a relative abroad without which the arduous process of applying for an exist visas cannot begin. And, so Soviet Jews are caught in a

vicious circle. No mail, no letter. No letter, no application. No application, no chance to leave.

Now, the Soviet government appears to be intensifying its efforts to discredit Soviet Jewry and stir up anti-semiticism through its new government-sanctioned "Anti-Zionist Committee." The Committee alleges that virtually all Jews who have wished to emigrate from the Soviet Union have done so.

The formation of the Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public began in April with an "Appeal" in Pravda and other central newspapers for the creation of a group to combat international Zionism and to speak on behalf of all Soviet Jews on matters of Jewish concern.

It is particularly disturbing that the Soviet government enlisted a number of selected Jews to act as the Committee's leaders and spokesmen when many of these very individuals have served in the past as public apologists for the government's position on Jewish issues.

At a time when the number of Soviet Jews being allowed to leave the Soviet Union has dropped to record lows, we must make clear to the world community that the rhetoric emanating from this group does not truly reflect the hearts and minds of Soviet Jews and their struggle to emigrate from the Soviet Union. Consider the facts. Consider the experiences of Soviet Jews themselves.

The Anti-Zionist Committee says they are satisfied that Jewish emigration has effectively stopped because most Soviet Jews who wanted to leave have gone. This is blatantly false. There remains thousands of Jews who still desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union and are being denied their fundamental human rights.

Invitations from relatives abroad are the first step in the emigration process. Yet we know that for the last three and half years, many people have been unable to apply to leave because Soviet authorities have blocked letters of invitation. Then, even with letters in hand, many have been turned down for very questionable reasons or without explanation. We hear of still others who have been refused exit visas for life.

But the Soviet government insists that there is no emigration problem and emphatically denies the existence of discrimination against Jews in the U.S.S.R. This is clearly not what we hear from the individuals and families seeking to freedom and emigration from the Soviet Union.

The struggle of Soviet refusenik, Ida Nudel, is just one example of the gross injustice of Soviet emigration policy. Known as the "Guardian Angel of Soviet Jews," Ida has been denied permission to emigrate since 1971. Because she has fought relentlessly to attain the basic human rights that she and all Soviet citizens deserve, Soviet officials appear determined to keep her from leaving the

country.

In reflecting upon Soviet emigration policy, another leading refusenik, Yuri Tarnopolsky wrote:

If they deprive us of three years, they will deprive us of 4. If 4, than 5 is still easier to take away. If today we have no job, than tomorrow we will have no foreign mail and telephone calls. If tomorrow we have no mail, the day after tomorrow there will be no higher education for our children and no free access to other places in the country. They will start putting us into prison for the slightest protest. The noose around our neck will tighten step by step, and the world will be adapted to that process."

After the announcement of the formation of the Anti-Zionist Committee, a group of Jewish emigres whose parents, children and friends have been blocked from leaving the Soviet Union gathered in Jerusalem to tell their side of the story. Each had two or more family members left in the Soviet Union who could not get out. As they spoke they fought back tears. Their experience with Soviet Jewish emigration policy stands in stark contrast to Soviet rhetoric. One of the emigres is quoted as saying, "My letters don't get there, my phone is cut off. We can't do anything. It's very hard, very hard. We have no hope anymore."

Although nearly 260,000 Jews have left the Soviet Union since 1970,

Soviet authorities insist that there is no such thing as a demand for emigration.

The Soviets say the establishment of this new Anti-Zionist Committee has nothing to do with anti-semitism. On the contrary, it has everything to do with it. Anti-semitism in the Soviet Union is on the rise and efforts to build a barrier between the Soviet Jewish community and its Western brethren are evident. Jewish cultural activity and religious observance are being attacked with frightening vengeance. Soviet KGB officials, armed with threats of arrest, persist in conducting sudden raids, confiscating private property and banning the teaching of Hebrew and Jewish culture.

They continue this oppression of Soviet Jews in flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act in which they pledged to uphold basic human rights, among them, the rights to cultural expression and emigration. Recently, the President, in his semiannual report on the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, confirmed the fact that the Soviet Union continues to be in violation of the human rights sections of this important agreement.

We find it ironic that the Soviet group's statement came shortly after the conclusion of the third World Conference on Soviet Jewry in Jerusalem in March. The 1500 delegates called for increased Western activism and public action on behalf of those who seek to leave the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, we have responded to that call. In February, we introduced H. Con. Res. 63 to send a message to the Soviet Union that the United States Congress stands clearly on the side of human justice. With the support of nearly 1/2 of the House, our resolution seeks to promote the cause of Soviet Jewry by calling upon the Soviet Union to comply with the Helsinki Accords and institute a humane emigration policy.

We hope the Human Rights Subcommittee will act without delay on this resolution against the oppression of Soviet Jewry. Our colleagues in the Senate have unanimously approved the resolution. Now, the House should do the same.

If the Soviet Union believes we can be silenced by their smoke-screen "public committee" against Zionism, we must let them know that we are not fooled. If they think we can be deterred by their propaganda and attempts to cut off communication between Soviet Jews and their Western supporters, we must make them think again.

The United States has consistently taken a strong stand against Soviet violations of human rights. We believe, now is no time to back down.

We thank you for your leadership and commitment to the issue of Soviet Jewry and appreciate your giving us the opportunity to present our views.

APPENDIX 3

98TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION**H. CON. RES. 63**

Expressing the sense of the Congress concerning the compliance by the Soviet Union with certain international agreements on human rights.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 22, 1983

Mr. AU COIN (for himself, Mrs. KENNELLY, Mr. YATRON, Mr. GILMAN, Mr. BONKER, Mr. PORTEE, Mr. LANTOS, Mr. BARNES, Mr. ADDABBO, Mr. CONTE, Mr. MOLINARI, Mr. YATES, Mr. ROE, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. RODINO, Mr. MOAKLEY, Mr. BURTON of California, Mr. FORD of Michigan, Mrs. SCHROEDER, Mr. FORSYTHE, Mr. LOWEY of California, Mr. WON PAT, Mr. GEJDENSON, Mr. WYDEN, Mr. BEILENSEN, Mr. LOWRY of Washington, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. FROST, Mr. SOLARZ, Mr. KILDEE, Mr. DIXON, Mr. MATSUI, Mr. GLICKMAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. MADIGAN, Mr. MINETA, Mr. FAZIO, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. CORCORAN, Mr. WIRTH, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. VENTO, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. WEISS, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. TAUZIN, Mr. GIBBS, Mr. SABO, Mr. ROEMER, Mr. MITCHELL, Mr. GRADISON, Mr. BROWN of Colorado, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. MCKINNEY, Mr. EDGAR, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. RITTER, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. OTTINGER, Mr. COURTER, Mr. JEFFORDS, Mr. OBEY, Mr. SHAW, Mr. SHANNON, and Mr. FORD of Tennessee) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress concerning the compliance by the Soviet Union with certain international agreements on human rights.

Whereas the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of virtually closing its borders to Jewish emigration, as evidenced by declining emigration levels which for 1982 were the lowest since

1970, with only two thousand six hundred and eighty-eight Soviet Jews allowed to emigrate;

Whereas this policy has left tens of thousands of people seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union with little hope of being granted permission to emigrate in the foreseeable future;

Whereas there are several hundred long-term "refuseniks," including many children, who applied to emigrate from the Soviet Union between 1970 and 1976 and have been waiting for permission to emigrate since that time;

Whereas those who have been denied emigration rights, especially the long-term "refuseniks," are often subjected to a life as internal refugees in the Soviet Union, resulting in loss of jobs, loss of membership in important social and professional organizations, revocation of academic degrees, surveillance and arbitrary assault, and other forms of harassment and social isolation;

Whereas these individuals also suffer physical, emotional, and psychological problems which result from social isolation;

Whereas these individuals are also denied the right to cultural expression, evidenced by the breaking up of cultural seminars and Hebrew classes and harassment by Soviet officials of those individuals participating in those forms of cultural expression;

Whereas these individuals are subjected to arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and internal exile, as is the case with the Jewish "Prisoners of Conscience" currently serving sentences in the Soviet Union;

Whereas it is the stated policy of United States law, including section 502B(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, that human

rights considerations are a vital element of United States foreign policy; and

Whereas the Soviet Union, by arbitrarily denying its citizens the right to emigrate and the right to religious and cultural expression, and by harassing members of a specific ethnic group, is violating international agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Employment Policy, and the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—*

3 (1) the Soviet Union should comply with the Hel-
4 sinki Final Act, the Universal Declaration of Human
5 Rights, and other international agreements relating to
6 human rights, by pursuing a more humane emigration
7 policy and ceasing harassment of Jews and others
8 seeking to emigrate;

9 (2) compliance by the Soviet Union with interna-
10 tionally recognized emigration rights would significant-
11 ly promote improved relations between the United
12 States and the Soviet Union;

13 (3) the President or his representatives should
14 convey to Soviet officials the concerns of the Congress

1 expressed in this resolution at every appropriate oppor-
2 tunity, including—

3 (A) at such time as agreements between the
4 United States and the Soviet Union, relating to
5 trade and commerce, including grain sales, and to
6 science and technology exchange, are negotiated;
7 and

8 (B) at such appropriate times as the Presi-
9 dent or his representatives meet with leaders of
10 the Soviet Union concerning other aspects of rela-
11 tions between the two countries; and

12 (4) the President or his representatives should
13 also convey these concerns of the Congress to the gov-
14 ernments of United States allies and urge the coopera-
15 tion of those governments in efforts to promote emigra-
16 tion from the Soviet Union.

17 SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House shall transmit a copy of
18 this concurrent resolution to the President with the request
19 that he transmit such copy to the Government of the Soviet
20 Union.

AMENDMENTS TO H. CON. RES. 63.

AMEND THE PREAMBLE TO READ AS FOLLOWS:

Whereas the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of virtually closing its borders to Jewish emigration, as evidenced by declining emigration rates which are now at the lowest level since 1970, averaging less than 110 a month for 1983;

Whereas this policy has left tens of thousands of people seeking to emigrate from the Soviet Union with little hope of being granted permission to do so in the foreseeable future;

Whereas there are several hundred long-term "'refuseniks'", including many children, who applied to emigrate from the Soviet Union between 1970 and 1976 and have been waiting for permission to emigrate since that time;

Whereas those who have been denied emigration rights, especially the long-term "'refuseniks'", are often subjected to a life as internal refugees in the Soviet Union, resulting in loss of jobs, loss of membership in important social and professional organizations, revocation of academic degrees, surveillance and arbitrary assault, and other forms of harassment and social isolation;

Whereas these individuals also suffer physical, emotional, and psychological problems as a result of this social isolation;

Whereas these individuals are also denied the right to religious and cultural expression, as evidenced by the breaking up of cultural seminars and Hebrew classes and harassment by

Soviet officials of those individuals participating in those forms of cultural expression;

Whereas these individuals are subjected to arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, and internal exile, as is the case with the Jewish "Prisoners of Conscience" currently serving sentences in the Soviet Union for their efforts to emigrate;

Whereas Iosif Begun, a long-term refusenik and Hebrew teacher, was recently convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to seven years in labor camp and another five years in internal exile;

Whereas the Soviet Union is pursuing a state policy of anti-Semitism as evidenced by the recent spate of anti-Semitic publications and the formation of the "Anti-Zionist Committee of the Soviet Public";

Whereas it is the stated policy of United States law, including section 502B(a)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and section 402 of the Trade Act of 1974, that human rights considerations are a vital element of United States foreign policy; and

Whereas the Soviet Union, by arbitrarily denying its citizens the right to emigrate and the right to religious and cultural expression, and by harassing members of a specific ethnic group, is violating international agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act, the Madrid Concluding Document, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Employment Policy, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization Convention Against Discrimination in Education: Now, therefore, be it

STRIKE OUT ALL AFTER THE RESOLVING CLAUSE AND INSERT IN LIEU THEREOF THE FOLLOWING:

1 That it is the sense of the Congress that--

2 (1) the Soviet Union should comply with the Helsinki
3 Final Act, the Madrid Concluding Document, the Universal
4 Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants
5 on Human Rights, and other international agreements
6 relating to human rights, by pursuing a more humane
7 emigration policy, releasing the Jewish "Prisoners of
8 Conscience", ceasing harassment of Jews and others
9 seeking to emigrate, restoring religious and cultural
10 rights, and ceasing officially-sanctioned anti-Semitism;

11 (2) compliance by the Soviet Union with
12 internationally recognized standards of human rights,
13 including the right to emigrate, would significantly
14 promote improved relations between the United States and
15 the Soviet Union;

1 (3) the President or his representatives should
2 convey to Soviet officials the concerns of the Congress
3 expressed in this resolution at every appropriate
4 opportunity, including--

5 (A) at such time as agreements between the
6 United States and the Soviet Union relating to trade
7 and commerce (including grain sales), and to science
8 and technology exchange, are negotiated;

9 (B) at such appropriate times as the President
10 or his representatives meet with leaders of the
11 Soviet Union concerning other aspects of relations
12 between the two countries; and

13 (C) at the General Assembly of the United
14 Nations, the United Nations Human Rights Commission,
15 and meetings of the Conference on Security and
16 Cooperation in Europe; and

17 (4) the President or his representatives should also
18 convey these concerns of the Congress to the governments
19 of United States allies and urge the cooperation of
20 those governments in efforts to promote emigration from
21 the Soviet Union and Soviet respect for human rights.

22 SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House shall transmit a copy of
23 this concurrent resolution to the President with the request
24 that the President transmit such copy to the Government of
25 the Soviet Union.

APPENDIX 4

LETTER FROM HON. POWELL A. MOORE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
LEGISLATIVE AND INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF
STATE, TO CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI REGARDING HOUSE CONCURRENT
RESOLUTION 63

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing in response to your Committee's request for Department of State comments on House Concurrent Resolution 63, which calls upon the Soviet Union to comply with various international agreements concerning human rights and, more specifically, to improve its current highly-restrictive policy on emigration.

The Department of State has no objection to the substance of H. Con. Res. 63. We at the Department share your and your colleagues' concern over this issue, and we have consistently urged the Soviet authorities to adopt a more flexible and responsive policy towards Soviet Jews and others who wish to emigrate. Unfortunately, the Soviet Union continues to insist that emigration is strictly a matter of its own internal affairs, and Soviet authorities reject our right to present views on behalf of potential emigrants to third countries, such as Israel. Nevertheless, although it appears we have little ability to influence Soviet decisions in individual cases, we shall persevere in making known to the Soviet authorities the continuing American commitment to the principles of freedom of movement, family reunification, freedom of worship, and other fundamental human rights.

We must, however, note several technical objections to the formulation of the resolution. Of the documents listed in the final preambular paragraph, the "Helsinki Final Act" (Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are not international agreements, and thus can impose no binding international legal obligations on states subscribing to them; it is therefore incorrect to refer to them as international agreements or to refer to "violations" of them, as the latter term implies infringement of a legal norm. The other documents listed in the final preambular paragraph--the International Covenant on Civil and Political rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, the International Labor Organization Convention Concerning Employment Policy, and the UNESCO Convention

The Honorable
Clement J. Zablocki,
Chairman,
Committee on Foreign Affairs,
House of Representatives.

Against Discrimination in Education--are international agreements, but as the United States is not a party to any of them it would be inappropriate for the United States Government officially to raise alleged violations by other states that are parties.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that from the standpoint of the Administration's program there is no objection to the submission of this report.

Please do not hesitate to contact us if we can be of further assistance in this or any other matter.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Powell A. Moore". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Powell" being more prominent and the last name "Moore" following in a similar style.

Powell A. Moore
Assistant Secretary
for Legislative and
Intergovernmental Affairs

APPENDIX 5

LETTER FROM HINDA CANTOR, CHAIRMAN, SOUTH FLORIDA CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY, TO HON. CLAUDE PEPPER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA, REGARDING SOVIET JEWS

May 5, 1983

The Honorable Claude Pepper
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Senator Pepper:

Shirley Pollak, Doris Hochstadt, Adele and Joel Sandberg, my husband Howard and I represented the South Florida Conference on Soviet Jewry and our membership constituency at the recent World Conference on Soviet Jewry in Jerusalem and participated in intensive Union of Councils for Soviet Jews meetings with leading activists from the U.S., the Soviet Union, Great Britain and Canada. As in previous years, the UCSJ held meetings for separated families in order to expand upon our flow of information and to continue to reach out to those people whom our work benefits. We want to report to you the information that we learned at the Conference and Union sessions.

It is clear that the Soviet Jewish population is imperiled!

1. Although a minimum of 450,000 Jews have attempted to receive the required invitation from Israel, only 101 visas were granted in March, which is 1/40th of visas issued in March of 1979, 1/30th of those in March of 1980, and 1/12th of March 1981. Final refusals issued to Refuseniks in several cities point to an official attempt to end emigration by discouraging future applicants.
2. Documented evidence proves that government-sponsored anti-Semitism is at an unprecedented level, substantiated by Ambassador Hartmann in a recent meeting with American tourists. The current anti-Zionist campaign has had the effect of making all Jews pariahs, identifying them as "enemies of the people."
3. The Soviet government is pursuing a policy which has isolated the Soviet Jewish population by reducing telephone lines to the West and cutting off telephone service to the apartments of many Jewish activists, by interfering with delivery of registered mail, by intimidating Western tourists to discourage visits to Refuseniks; and finally, by threatening Refuseniks with trials for meeting with foreign tourists.

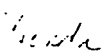
4. Arrests of Activists, whose sole purpose is to leave the Soviet Union, are systematically being carried out in all cities of the USSR where there is a sizeable, identifiable Jewish community to make imprisoned, long term Refuseniks examples for those who continue to apply for visas.
5. Soviet Jews are denied access to higher education in major universities and other institutions of higher learning in many academic areas including physics, mathematics, and music. People who are half Jewish, or even 1/4 Jewish, are excluded from all mathematics facilities. Many Refusenik scientists have been stripped of degrees, demoted, or fired from their former positions. A great number of Refuseniks were fired from their professional fields once they applied for visas. This has prevented the Refusenik population from pursuing vocational and educational goals, making them vulnerable to charges of parasitism and the military draft.
6. As many Refuseniks have been fired from their employment, they have sought self-education in areas of Jewish culture. Intent on destroying the Jewish population by denying access to any Jewish educational materials, the Soviet government has intensified the campaign against Hebrew language and Jewish self-education. As such, the trial of Joseph Begun is, in reality, the trial of the Hebrew language in the Soviet Union.
7. The attack on Hebrew teachers and the teachers of cultural seminars have made the teaching of Hebrew anti-Soviet activity which is paving the way to cultural genocide; the eradication of a people by erasing their language, customs, books, history and ties to their people.

We cannot predict the future for Soviet Jews but it has become clear that this isolated body of people is now in physical danger.

This crisis calls for new and more serious avenues of response and government intervention. We believe the Administration and the State Department must explore and devise new channels to convey intense, high level concern for the condition imperiling the Refusenik community.

We ask that you please alert your counterparts in Western Europe so that there might be some unity in our approach to the Soviet government

Sincerely,


Hinda Cantor
Chairman