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SOVIET JEWRY AND THE TRADE COMPONENT

With the fate of more than 2 million Soviet Jews in the balance, many aspects of a growing US-USSR relationship hold lifeline potential for Jewish emigration. Trade links between the two countries, among other ties, offer special hope to those struggling to be repatriated to Israel, and to rejoin their families. In our view any future efforts to enlarge trading activity between the US and the Soviet Union must reflect an understanding of the reciprocal obligations involved, including the protection of human rights.

The basic objective of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, officially known as the Freedom of Emigration Amendment to the Trade Reform Act (1974), as a tangible expression of support for human rights, has widespread appeal. As long as the USSR desires US credits to purchase American technology, or seeks to expand exports to this country, we strongly support the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, which recognizes human rights violations and imposes restraints on trade, with "non-market economies" whose governments deprive their citizens of the right to leave.

As long as the Soviet Union persecutes Jewish life and clamps down on emigration, we oppose either a repeal of the trade legislation in place or executive waivers as provided in the statute. Under the appropriate circumstances, however, a modification of US trade restrictions in non-strategic items could occur. This could be step by step with Soviet action, to restore a process which existed in 1979, four years after Jackson-Vanik Amendment was signed into law and when more than 51,000 Jews were permitted to leave.

It is commonly thought that the Amendment's scuttling or modification is a legal prerequisite to the substantial expansion of US-USSR trade. Opposition to Jackson-Vanik appears to derive from the erroneous view that it limits the amount of allowable trade.

The Jackson-Vanik Amendment imposes no limit or ceiling on such trade. It restricts only the granting of "most favored nation" status and US Government credits. When any government, for example, wishes to use its own money (as opposed to that of the US taxpayer) to purchase wheat, the Amendment imposes no constraints.

The Amendment was drafted to allow US trade concessions to flow so long as the emigrants flow. The specific trade restrictions established can be suspended through the annual waiver authority granted to the President, and can be extended so long as the President states his assurance that the given country's emigration practices have been liberalized.

The Amendment enshrines as law precisely the flexibility that its opponents have argued can be achieved only through repeal. This flexibility ensures a continuing incentive for the granting of emigration rights. It would be feckless to expect that US trade concessions, even if immediately reciprocated in the form of freer emigration, would remain effective for long if they were readily revocable.

If the present harassment of applicants for emigration is ended, the yearly levels climb to a very significant number, and positive steps are taken to resolve the refusenik and Prisoner of Conscience issues, the President would have a basis to make the required report, enabling him to waive the restrictions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for the prescribed time. There would then be an assessment to determine continued compliance and eligibility for a further extension, as provided by law.

In light of continuing arrests and trials of emigration activists, and manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the danger of further oppressive acts remains an acute concern. Any flexibility on trade matters will not diminish our resolve to resist such actions.

May 1986
JG/D3/005

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY
10 East 40th Street Suite 907
New York, New York 10016

SOVIET JEWRY AND THE TRADE COMPONENT

History of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment

Section 402 to the Trade Act of 1974, known as the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, was first proposed by the late Senator Henry M. Jackson in response to an exorbitant education tax established by the USSR to halt, primarily, the emigration of Jews from that country. It was later co-sponsored by Representative Charles Vanik. After passage by an overwhelming majority of both houses of the Congress, it was signed into law by President Gerald Ford January 3, 1975 as the Freedom of Emigration Amendment to the Trade Reform Act.

The law applies to all communist countries ("non-market" economies), and provides that MFN ("Most-Favored-Nation" tariff status), and U.S. government credits and guarantees, shall be withheld from any "non-market" country, until the President determines that the country neither denies its citizens the right of opportunity to emigrate, nor imposes an excessive exit tax to limit (or exploit) emigration. In East Europe, Hungary, Poland, Romania and Yugoslavia already have MFN.

Following extensive negotiations, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Senator Jackson exchanged letters on October 18, 1974, outlining assurances on specific liberalized emigration practices, which Kissinger stated he had received from the Soviets. Partially due to these assurances, the amendment was altered to allow an eighteen-month waiver, renewable annually, provided that the President

- a) certifies to Congress that granting the waiver will promote the objective of free emigration, and
- b) that he has received assurances from the country receiving the waiver that its emigration practices will be substantially liberalized.

(A separate amendment to the Export-Import Bank bill introduced by Senator Adlai Stevenson III in December, 1974 set a \$300 million ceiling on U.S. backed credits to the USSR over a four-year period. While not part of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, and not necessarily in accord with the sponsors' goals, it was interpreted by the Administration, and later by Soviet officials, as being tied together.)

NCSJ Position

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry believes that with more than 2 million Soviet Jews in the balance, many aspects of a U.S.-USSR relationship hold lifeline potential for Jewish emigration activists. Trade links between the two countries, among other ties, may offer special hope to those struggling to rejoin their families in Israel and elsewhere. In our view future efforts to enlarge trading activity between the U.S. and the Soviet Union must reflect an understanding of the reciprocal obligations involved, including the protection of human rights.

The basic objective of the amendment, as a tangible legislative expression of support for human rights, still has widespread support. It still has value since the potential leverage of U.S. trade benefits remains -- as long as the USSR desires any U.S. credits to purchase American technology, or seeks to expand exports to this country.

According to the original sponsors, and their supporters, the Jackson-Vanik Amendment was not meant to block trade with the USSR or any other country but to give trade a human dimension. Later, Senator Jackson was to explain that the amendment was "not locked in concrete", for it was designed to facilitate emigration.

If the present harassment of applicants for emigration is ended, and if the yearly levels climb to a significant number, and if positive steps are taken to resolve the refusenik and Prisoner of Conscience issues, the Congress would be asked to be flexible on the linkage of trade to emigration.

A significant increase in emigration would help establish the basis on which the President could make the required report on emigration to Congress, enabling him to waive the restrictions of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment for an initial eighteen-month period. At the end of that time there would be an assessment by the Congress and the Administration to determine continued compliance and eligibility for a further extension of one year.

In light of continuing arrests and/or trials of emigration activists, and manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, the danger of further oppressive acts remains an acute concern. Any flexibility on trade matters should not lessen the resolve to resist such actions.

Revised, March, 1985



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

May 30, 1986

TO: Max Green
Room 196 Old E.O.B.
Washington, D.C.

FROM: William Keyserling
Director, NCSJ-Washington

Enclosed are:

1. A copy of the agreed upon Bialkin-Abraham Jackson Vanik Statement. As I understand it, the first two pages are the basis of the message. I am not sure whether they intend to distribute the entire package, but thought that you might want it for your own information.
2. The bio of Ida Nudel, the sister of Elana Fridman who will be visiting you on the morning of June 9th in your office. Mark Levin will be back in touch with you with the date of birth and the names of anyone else who might be with her when they meet with you.

Thanks. Please let me know if you have any questions, or Mark can answer questions you may have about Mrs. Fridman.



Some Jew

REFUSENIK PROFILE

NAME:	ADDRESS:
IDA NUDEL	ul. Sovetskaya 69-2 Bendery 278100 Mold.SSR, USSR

FAMILY BACKGROUND:			
<u>Relationship</u>	<u>First Name</u>	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Occupation/Profession</u>
	Ida	April 27, 1931	Economist

RELATIVES ABROAD:	Elana Fridman (Sister) P. O. Box 119 Rehovot 76110, Israel
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VISA APPLICATION HISTORY:	Date of First Application:	May 1971
Reason for Refusal:	Secrecy	Date of First Refusal: January 1972
Most Recent Refusal:		Permission:

CASE HISTORY/ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

On June 1, 1978, after seven years of harassment and interrogations since she first applied to emigrate from the USSR to Israel, Ida Nudel placed a banner outside her apartment window which stated, "KGB, Give Me a Visa to Israel." For this desperate display, she was tried for "malicious hooliganism" and sentenced to four years of internal exile.

In Ida's last public statement at her trial, she said: "During the past seven years I have learned to walk proudly with my head high as a human being and as a Jewish woman...These seven years have been filled with a daily battle for myself and others...None of you, my judges, is capable of finding a punishment that would take revenge and deprive me of the triumph and victory of these seven years."

Known as the "Guardian Angel" for her activities on behalf of Soviet Jewish Prisoners of Conscience, Ida Nudel had been arrested on numerous occasions. She has written, "What haven't they done to me since I first applied to leave? I was placed in a prison punishment cell...there I was tortured with hunger and with difficult conditions. I was beaten and hounded like a wild beast during a hunt. Many times I have been seized on the street and thrown into dirty smelly cellars they call detention cells..."

Ida was taught Zionism by her grandfather, a member of Hashomer Hatzair. In 1953, after Stalin's death, she began to gather information about Israel and occasionally tuned in to the "Voice of Israel." The Six-Day War, with its dramatic impact on Soviet Jews, prompted Ida to translate her thoughts into deeds. In 1971 she applied to leave, together with her sister, Elana Fridman.

Upon her arrival in exile in June of 1978, Ida was placed in a hostel four miles from Krivosheino, the only female among sixty male criminals. She slept with an axe under her bed to protect herself. In the summer of 1979, with the help of friends from Moscow and as a result of worldwide appeals on her behalf, Ida was moved to a one-room hut in Krivosheino. She acquired a dog as a protector and companion. She had no running water and was forced to carry water, kindling wood and other provisions long distances to her hut. When it got dark, Ida locked herself in, thus spending the long cold nights in complete isolation. Her hardships were exacerbated by the local resident's hostile attitude.

The world did not forget Ida Nudel. Hundreds of letters and appeals were sent to US and Soviet government officials on her behalf. Demonstrations, marches and campaigns were launched. In July 1981, the British Parliament presented Ida Nudel and Viktor Brallovsky in absentia with the "All-Parliamentary Award for Services to Soviet Jewry." One month later, Hadassah awarded Ida its highest honor, the "Henrietta Szold Award."

On Ida's fiftieth birthday, April 27, 1981, she received numerous telegrams and letters from all over the world, as people voiced their love and support. A special order was introduced in the House of Representatives on April 27 to mark her birthday and "to let the Soviet government know that we have not forgotten Ida Nudel..."

Ida was released from her exile location on March 20, 1982 and returned to Moscow several days later to resume pursuing a visa to Israel. Shortly after her return, she was summoned to a police station in Moscow and told by Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) officials that she would not receive a visa, so as not to encourage other Soviet citizens to seek permission to leave. She was then told to secure gainful employment and rejoin the "mainstream" of Soviet life.

After several months of trying to secure a legal residence permit in numerous cities, Nudel was informed in December that she would be permitted to reside in Bendery, in the Moldavian Republic.

Ida is one of three Moscow emigration activists denounced in a 1983 Soviet pamphlet, "An Alien Voice." The booklet deals with acts of "treason" committed by the three.

In January 1984, Ida was warned by the authorities in Bendery not to "socialize with refuseniks," and that "appropriate actions" would be taken if she continued to do so. Nudel responded to the warning by affirming her right, accorded by Soviet law, to choose her friends and entertain them.

In April 1984, Ida was visited by American actress and political activist Jane Fonda, the first foreigner she had seen in six years. On her trip to the Soviet Union Fonda also met with Soviet officials to plead for Nudel's release.

After Fonda's visit, it seemed that Ida's situation might improve, as neighbors and acquaintances became somewhat friendlier due to the immense Western exposure. However, in July 1984, Ida was once again refused an exit visa, and her Moscow residence permit was permanently revoked. In spite of this, Ida continued her refusenik activities. In September, she joined other prominent refuseniks in a letter to the International Committee for Human Rights protesting the renewed persecution of Soviet-Jewish Hebrew teachers. In February of 1985, Ida was awarded Israel's Golda Meir award for her continued heroic struggle. Her sister, Elana, accepted the award on Ida's behalf in Jerusalem.

That same month, Ida's apartment was taken from her by the authorities. Later, in April, she was forced to leave a train bound for Moscow and informed that she is prohibited from entering that city at least through July.

In July 1985, new efforts to win Ida's freedom were launched in Tel Aviv and Los Angeles, as public appeals were heard by Nudel's sister, Elana, actress Jane Fonda and L.A. Mayor Tom Bradley. Press conferences in both cities followed news that Nudel is suffering from a critical illness, and that her efforts to obtain medical care have been impeded by harassment from Soviet authorities.

In Tel Aviv, Fridman revealed details of Nudel's current situation and called for a renewed campaign to win her sister's release. "For more than six months, information has been reaching us concerning the seriously deteriorating state of Ida's health," she said. "Doctors say that her severe physical condition, coupled with the emotional stress to which she is subject by being cut off and alone, are endangering her life."

Fonda, joined by Mayor Bradley at City Hall, reiterated the appeal to Gorbachev on Ida's behalf. "I ask you to understand the legitimate desire of Ida to be with her sister in Israel, particularly at this time when her health is so precarious."

Send Jerry

letters in exchange on that day, that what had begun was a desperate effort to deal with the education tax, had produced a result that promised stability and flow of the emigrants from the Soviet Union. Sometime in January, for reasons that we may never know--I can speculate about it, the Soviets repudiated the agreement to attain [?] the exchange of letters on the 18th of October, 1974. It's worth nothing that in December, before the repudiation and after the letters had been signed, the testimony before the Senate . . . Committee. When asked to explain that had been existing, Secretary of State Kissinger affirmed that an agreement had been made up [?] and when pressed to explain who had given assurances on the Soviet side, he said, "They have come from the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, from the Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, and finally from Brezhnev himself, at the meeting in Vladivostok in November", and so I think that historical record is clear as to what was intended between the two governments and what was really an extraordinary indirect [?] diplomacy which we all need to achieve with the Soviets.

The statute remains on the books and while the Soviets have not honored it and have not lived up to it, the pattern of emigration over the ensuing years has been, as you know, up and down--in some cases as high as 50,000 a year and other cases, like the present appallingly low, and there's neither rhyme nor reason in the flow of up and down from the Soviet Union, but there's a terrible, awful, cruel capriciousness that leads that government in one day to let people go and in other days demands that they stay.

The Amendment, which has remained on the books, now provides the authority to the President of the U.S. to set aside the limitations of trade with the Soviet Union but contained in that if he is able to assure the Congress of the U.S. that that country is taking action to mobilize its emigration practices. So if, at any time in the future, if when the Soviets reorganize their government and find some measure of stability, when someone is in charge--if the Soviets at any time in the future are interested in the trade concessions that are alluded to in the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, without any change in law the President has the authority to permit most favored nation status, commit credits to the Soviet Union provided only that they be certified to the Congress that there will be an improvement in emigration from the Soviet Union.

I have much to be grateful for that that legislation (as it was finally inactive) had built into it that kind of flexibility so that while we are unable now to realize the sort of constructive dialogue with the Soviet Union that could some day lead to increased trade and therefore increased in the sense that the Soviets will avail themselves to the Presidential discretion of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. **It remains there to be used when the time is right.** I don't know. No one knows when that time will be right, but we're in this for the long term. We've always been in it for the long term. It's not for the numbers one year or the next because there's an awful lot of people who want to get out, and under the best of circumstances this was a long term proposition. It's easy to lose heart and it's easy to become discouraged, but we've seen times as difficult as this before and we've overcome it and we'll see times more difficult than this in the future and we'll overcome those too. The point is that as long as we remain as dedicated as this group has, as long as we gain the response that we invariably received from the broad public, from the American people as a whole, as long as we have a friend in the White House, and we do, our efforts will not be wasted, and those who do not come out this year will come out next year. Don't be discouraged. Don't give up. We're bigger and stronger now than we were a dozen years ago and should we stay the course we will ultimately achieve our goal which is a decent opportunity for freedom for Jews in the Soviet Union. Thank you very much.



PLANT TREES
IN ISRAEL



AMERICAN
POST OFFICE
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Zev Lewis
The White House
Room 197
Washington, DC



JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

Luncheon Forum



"The Counsel General's Report"

Guest Speaker

YOSEF YAKOV

THURSDAY, MAY 8, 1986

12:30

Yosef Yakov is Counsel General of the Embassy of Israel in Washington. Mr. Yakov will speak on current issues of international significance. There will also be a question and answer period.

The luncheon forum will be held in

THE JEWISH NATIONAL
FUND OFFICES

1430 K Street, N.W., Suite 701

The forum will begin promptly
at 12:30 and will end by 1:45

Space is limited. For reservations call the JNF office at 783-8700. There will be no charge to hear the speaker. A lunch at \$5.00 will be supplied at your request.



To: Mr. Max Green
From: J. Pratt

I thought you might find this
of interest
with
the Compliments of the
Embassy of Israel
at Washington

J. Pratt
Soviet Agency

A Child in Refusal



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THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE TO FREE VLADIMIR SLEPAK



701 EASTON ROAD
WARRINGTON, PA 18976

ELIE WIESEL, *Honorary Chairman*

MAR 11 1986

NATIONWIDE CABLE CAMPAIGN FOR VLADIMIR SLEPAK

Support is urged for a massive nationwide effort appealing to Soviet authorities for exit visas to Israel for Vladimir and Maria Slepak.

As a result of the release of Anatoly Shcharansky and the recent exit visas issued to long term refuseniks Ilya Essas, Yakov Gorodetsky and Yan Mesh, the political climate has never been better for the granting of exit visas to Vladimir and Maria Slepak. Sixteen years they have been refused emigration, five of them spent in Siberian exile cut off from the emigration movement they began. The human side of the equation finds them separated from their grandchildren who they have seen only in pictures - five year old Denise and one year old Daniel, children of their son Alexander and his wife Elena.

The impact of thousands of cables to the Soviet Foreign Minister on behalf of the Slepaks will certainly proclaim a loud and clear message to Soviet officials. Please follow through in this special effort to try and gain the release of one of the founding families of the Soviet Jewry emigration movement. Send a cable to:

Eduard Shevardnadze
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Smolenskaya - Sennaya Sq. 32/34
Moscow, USSR

(Sample Cable Message)
URGENTLY APPEAL FOR VISAS TO ISRAEL FOR LONG TERM REFUSENIKS
VLADIMIR AND MARIA SLEPAK.

Name
Town

(Western Union: 1-800-325-6000 or 922-0844 Cost: \$14.44)

After sending the cable, please ask every member of your family to send an airmail letter at a cost of just 44 cents each. Our success depends on you. Please write immediately. The Slepaks deserve our help. In the words of Elie Wiesel, "NOW THAT SHCHARANSKY IS OUT, LET IT BE SLEPAK'S TURN." Thank you.

WALTER F. MONDALE
Vice-President
1976-1980

Members of the Senate of the United States

RUDY BOSCHWITZ
Minnesota
BILL BRADLEY
New Jersey
WILLIAM S. COHEN
Maine
ROBERT DOLE
Kansas
DAVID DURENBERGER
Minnesota
GARY HART
Colorado
JOHN HEINZ
Pennsylvania
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C A M P A I G N

NEWSBRIEF

SPRING 1986

5-11
Jcw/7

CONCERN FOR SOVIET JEWRY EX-REFUSENIK ELIAHU ESSAS TOURS U.S.

—“The leaders of the Soviet Union now recognize that there can be no rapprochement with the United States unless they restore the process of emigration for Jews seeking to join their families in Israel,” said Eliahu Essas,



40, a mathematician and physicist, one of the most prominent Jewish activists in Moscow until he was permitted to emigrate to Israel with his family in January 1986 after waiting 13 years. He addressed a press conference in N. Y. where he arrived (3/27) on a three-week American tour for the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.

In evaluating the prospects for a change in Soviet policy to permit resumption of emigration on a scale similar to that of 1979, when 51,000 Jews were granted exit visas, Essas said two conditions had to be met:

“Jews in the free world must demonstrate that they have not forgotten their Jewish brothers and sisters in the USSR, and there must be no Cold War, (over)

ELIE WIESEL: JOIN THE MARCH!

When Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev visits Washington in June or September, he will be preceded there by hundreds of thousands of Americans, Jews and non-Jews, whose commitment to human rights is one of the motivating factors in their lives.

They will remind him of their determination not to forget their brothers and sisters who still endure oppression in the USSR. Religious oppression, cultural persecution, ethnic discrimination: that is the tragic lot of over two million Jews there.

It is for their sake that we shall join the March to Washington. It is our belief that the civil rights march of the sixties ought to be followed by a human rights march of the eighties. Just as we demanded and obtained equal rights then for the Black minority in our country, we must demand and obtain equal rights today for the Jewish minority in Soviet Russia.

In doing so, we shall pledge our solidarity with all victims of the Soviet police. Andrei Sakharov and his friends must be and will be remembered whenever we plead for justice in dictatorial regimes.

But we shall emphasize the Jewish suffering in Soviet Russia because the Jews alone are persecuted collectively. They alone have no schools of their own, no educational facilities of their own, no literary clubs of their own. They alone are treated as second-class citizens. They alone are being denied their right to acquire and deepen national pride. They alone are being humiliated and threatened simply because of their Jewishness.

Many of them wish to emigrate, mostly to Israel. They want to leave Russia because they cannot live there as Jews.

That is why the March to Washington is being organized: to bring their plight to world attention. And to tell Gorbachev that as long as one Refusenik is in jail, as long as one Jewish family is torn apart, as long as one Jewish child in Russia is made to feel ashamed of his Jewishness, we relentlessly and tirelessly warn our leaders not to trust his promises in international affairs.

But even if Gorbachev refuses to listen, we must march to Washington in order to be heard by Vladimir Slepak, Ida Nudel, Iosif Begun, and by all the hundreds and hundreds of Jewish heroes whose dreams are ours: we share the same memories and the same hopes. They, in Moscow and Leningrad, in Kiev and Odessa, must know that we (over)

THE SYMBOLISM OF SCHARANSKY

Why has Anatoly Scharansky been able to capture the imagination of the entire free world? And what is the connection, if any, between his release and the future of the U.S.—Soviet relations?

Scharansky's indomitable courage has moved not only his fellow-Jews but people everywhere.

As a dissident and a refusenik, Scharansky was a member of the two great freedom movements in the Soviet Union. The first symbolized by Andrei Sakharov, assumed the task of measuring and reporting on Soviet performance on its commitments to human rights, including the right of emigration when it signed the 1975 Helsinki Act. (Most of the Soviet monitors of compliance have been jailed or expelled.)

The second stems from the stunning revival of Jewish consciousness which occurred in the Soviet Union after the Six Day War in 1967, when Jews there—like Jews everywhere—suddenly realized the personal calamity they would suffer if Israel were destroyed. In the face of public obloquy, neighbors' scorn, government hounding, arrest and imprisonment, Jews have taught and studied the Hebrew language, published underground journals to describe their awakening sense of Jewish identity and demanded the right of emigration.

As a Jewish rights activist, Scharansky has served as a figure with whom all freedom lovers could identify—not only Jews in the West who sought to help their fellow-Jews emigrate. (over)

TO ALL MY FRIENDS— THOSE IN THE FREE WORLD—AND—THOSE STILL WAITING TO BE FREE

There are no words to adequately express to all of you, my utmost thanks for the support you have given to my wife Avital, during the many years of the struggle for my freedom.

Although the KGB never allowed me the pleasure of receiving your mail, somehow I could sense the constancy and tremendous outpouring on my behalf. If I could, I would write a letter of thanks to each of you personally.

I want to let you know how proud I am to have finally reached my homeland—Israel. You, the people of the free world helped me to reach my goal.

Our fight must go on. Iosif Begun and all the Prisoners of Conscience, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak and all the former Prisoners of Conscience, every Jew in the Soviet Union who wishes to leave *must* be given that right.

TOGETHER WE WILL DO IT.

Shalom,

MONDAY, 17TH FEBRUARY 1986.
JERUSALEM, ISRAEL.

(ELIE WIESEL: JOIN THE MARCH! continued)

have not forgotten them.

We must march to Washington to tell them that they are not forgotten. That we are proud of their bravery and moved by their stubbornness.

We shall march to Washington because that is the least we can do for Soviet Jews. If they have the courage to defy official terror and openly, publicly claim their kinship with our people, the Jewish people, everywhere, we can at least reciprocate. In coming to Washington, we will.

If we mobilize all our energies, all our resources, all our friendships, then the March will become to all of us a source not only of hope, but of pride as well.

Wiesel is Honorary Chairman of Summit II Task Force

LOUP AND CARDIN TO HEAD TASK FORCE II

Robert Loup, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of U.J.A. (National Offices), and Shoshana Cardin, President of the Council of Jewish Federations, are the co-chair of the Campaign To Summit II, Elie Wiesel is the Honorary Chairman.



Robert E. Loup



Shoshana S. Cardin

GET INVOLVED!

For more information concerning the Campaign to Summit II contact the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, 10 East 40th Street, Suite 907, New York, N.Y. 10016. Tel: (212) 679-6122, or the office in Washington, D.C.: 2027 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Tel: (202) 265-8114.

(EX-REFUSENIK ELIAHU ESSAS TOURS U.S. continued)

confrontationist tactics, which poison the air."

"A new framework of East-West relations must be created within which the leaders of the USSR can find a way to resolve the 'Jewish question,' he added. "I believe they are ready to move on this issue, but they will do so only if public opinion in the West continues to demand a solution, and only if tensions between Moscow and Washington are eased.

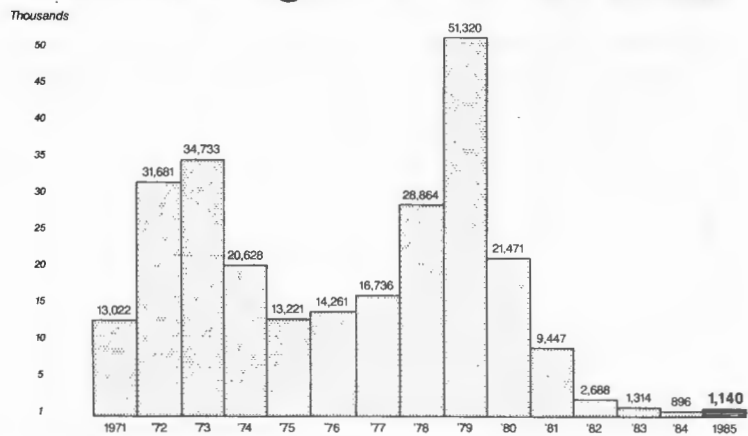
"There can be no progress toward human rights in the Soviet Union—including the right of repatriation to Israel—in an atmosphere of tension and Cold War."

Essas noted that Soviet leaders no longer claimed that all Jews who wished to leave the USSR had already been given permission to emigrate. "In my judgment the Kremlin now understands

that Jews still want to leave and that they are supported in this demand by the free world," he said. "I am also persuaded that they know a genuine rapprochement with Washington cannot take place without renewed repatriation of Soviet Jews to Israel."

Mr. Essas, a self-taught Hebrew scholar who became widely known in the Soviet Union as one of the first activists to publicly advocate the right of Soviet Jews to learn Hebrew and practice their religion openly, first requested permission to emigrate in 1973. His application was denied and his home was raided several times, his books on Jewish religion and culture were confiscated and he was placed briefly under house arrest. He became an observant Jew and leader of the Jewish religious movement in Moscow.

Jewish Emigration from the USSR



(THE SYMBOLISM OF SCHARANSKY continued)

Many did hear his story. There were the reports his mother issued to the Moscow-based foreign press when she was rebuffed in her efforts to see him, when she revealed the news of his hunger strikes and extra punishments. For years his wife, Avital, waged an indefatigable campaign on his behalf.

The freeing of Scharansky does not mean that the Soviet Union is yet prepared to comply with its solemn human rights obligations. There is a massive Soviet campaign afoot to improve the Soviet image pre-Summit II. A few husbands and wives have been reunited, 29 Jews have been promised to Senator Edward M. Kennedy. All of these steps, however, are in keeping with General Secretary Gorbachev's ominous statement in Paris last September, indicating that one by one persons may be released though some family reunions may have to wait "5 or 10 years."

Still Scharansky's release may have a far-reaching effect. After his stride across the bridge from East Berlin to freedom he reminded us of the work he left behind—"I am concerned by the fate of many other people—Jewish prisoners, Jewish activists—about those people who are in camps, in exile". Is it too optimistic to hope that the men in the Kremlin may be reevaluating the utility of their policy toward Soviet Jews. But surely some of them must be calculating the real cost to Soviet prestige and honor

of a policy that has failed to stifle either the Soviet Jewry or the human rights movement and brought only embarrassment to Soviet officials, both in their travels abroad and when foreign heads of state and other world leaders come to visit them—a shame which will intensify.

Also opportunity arises in the arms control talks in which the Soviets are now engaged with our country—negotiations which Moscow properly regards as crucial if the USSR is to free itself from the enormous burden of arms production so that it may devote the necessary resources to building the Soviet economy to compete in the 21st century. To achieve agreement in arms reduction with the United States, the Soviets will have to convince the American people that their word can be trusted. But if they cannot be trusted on human rights—as evidenced by their failure to honor their Helsinki commitments, which hardly affect their security—how can they be trusted to keep their word on arms control, which so profoundly affects American security?

We can only hope that the leaders of the Soviet Union will recognize at last that it is in their own interest to win the trust and confidence of the American people as a necessary precondition to a true detente.

Morris B. Abram is chairman of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry.



National Conference on Soviet Jewry

Chairman
Morris B. Abram

Executive Director
Jerry Goodman

Washington Representative
William D. Keyserling

July 16, 1986

Mr. Max Green
Special Assistant to the President
Old Executive Office Building
Room 197
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Max:

I am enclosing a letter to President Reagan which Yuli Edelshtein's family in Moscow asked that we deliver.

Thanks for whatever you are able to do to process the letter.

Thanks, as usual, for your help.

Sincerely

William Keyserling
Director, NCSJ-Washington

A coalition of forty four major national organizations and nearly three hundred local community councils and federations

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