

"The targeters would run out of targets and victims long before they ran out of bombs." Yet the Pentagon war planners—who, after all, are paid to envision the worst of all possible contingencies—have focused on a possible Russian first strike that might cripple our ability to strike back. The Pentagon therefore proposes a staggering increase in spending on a new generation of some 17,000 nuclear warheads, together with the missiles and bombers to deliver them, which would threaten the Russians with the same first strike we fear.

As George Ball, former under secretary of state and erstwhile cold warrior, said in his March 22 testimony in favor of the freeze, it is time for Americans to reject "the contention that we dare negotiate only from what the nuclear pundits call 'strength'—which serves as an excuse for not negotiating at all."

Some critics of the freeze contend that there is no freeze campaign going on in the USSR, so a halt in the arms race will never mutually be agreed to. But Secretary Brezhnev's doctor has been permitted to report in detail on nationwide Soviet television how catastrophic a nuclear exchange would be, and Brezhnev himself has been asking for a variety of freezes.

If this is just rhetoric and bluff on his part, I think we should call him on it and regain the propaganda advantage, which would be useful to us, especially in regard to some of our NATO partners. If it is not a bluff, we should negotiate with him about it. It seems to me that the Reagan administration's knee-jerk and complete rejection of the freeze proposal is a serious mistake. In no way does the freeze undermine the administration's approach to the START talks—the successor, it is hoped, to the unratified SALT II treaty. The freeze proposal is not in the form of a bill to be enacted into law; it is merely an advisory, sense-of-Congress resolution. And it does not call for an immediate freeze. It calls for negotiations on the best way to arrive at a verifiable freeze.

In April there will be hearings in the Congress on the freeze proposal. Now is the time for the voice of the people to be heard. It is one of the great things about a democracy that its leaders can be persuaded to change their minds when voters care deeply enough about an issue to do just what the people of the United States are doing now: working together to reduce the peril of nuclear war.

Jonathan Bingham of New York is a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives.

EXCURSUS 2

Vladimir Solovyov on THE RISING THREAT TO SOVIET JEWRY

A hundred years ago one of Emperor Alexander III's closest advisors, High Procurator of the Holy Synod Konstantin Pobedonostsev, predicted that "the Jewish question" in Russia would soon be solved: a third of the Jews would leave Russia, a third would die out, and a third would be assimilated. All of these processes have been realized, but not in the proportions predicted by the Russian obscurantist. After the defeat of Hitler and the death of Stalin, Russian Jews ceased to be destroyed physically. Assimilation, which before the October Revolution was a process a Jew himself could initiate (it then sufficed simply to convert to Christianity), in Soviet times is

blocked by the requirement that one's "nationality" be shown on passports and questionnaires. Finally, Jewish emigration, which only recently was a mighty flow by Soviet standards, has been reduced to a rivulet that may dry up completely at any moment. In recent months the number of Jews arriving in Vienna has averaged several hundred per month compared to, say, 1979, when 51,000 emigrated from Russia. Everything indicates that the Soviet authorities are stopping Jewish emigration.

The cut-off is more alarming than might appear at first glance, since the Soviets view "the Jewish question" as one of the country's most acute problems, along with chronically poor harvests, demographic problems, alcoholism, the fear of China, and military rivalry with the United States. If emigration is halted and assimilation is impossible, who knows where the constantly growing anti-Semitism may lead.

A former associate of mine in the Soviet Union has just sent me a book by Ivan Artamonov published in Minsk. Titled *The Weapon of the Doomed*, it contains "discoveries" that never would have seen print a few years ago. Does the reader know, for example, that the Zionists welcomed Hitler's advent to power and used the services of the Gestapo, the S.S., the S.D., and the Abwehr? That Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, chief of the Wehrmacht's counterintelligence service, sent Jewish spies into the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition? That Adolf Eichmann knew Hebrew and Yiddish and was close to the Zionists? That the Dutch millionaire art collector Peter Nikolas Menten, now serving a prison term for his part in a mass shooting of Jews near Lvov, was a Zionist Hitlerite? That the tragedy of Babi Yar near Kiev, where seventy thousand Ukrainian Jews were destroyed, was an embodiment not only of the cannibalism of the Hitlerites but of the indelible disgrace of their accomplices and followers among the Zionists? That one of the latter, Menachem Begin, considers Hitler and Mussolini his idols and resembles them?

Begin is only one example among many. The newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* pedantically counts how many Jews, half-Jews, and converts are in the American government. A special book, *Alien Voices on the Air*, published recently, relates how the Jews have taken over radio, television, and the newspapers in the U.S. Even *Pionerskaya Pravda*, a newspaper for children, warns its young readers that funds from the sale of Levi jeans are used in the subversive activities of the Zionists. The list of such publications goes on.

A certain restraining influence is exercised by the Kremlin gerontocrats, one of whom—Brezhnev—is married to a Jew. (Today a mixed marriage would block even the most modest Party career.) But these men won't live forever, and chauvinism and anti-Semitism are on the rise among the Party elite. In view of the economic failures and the discontent of the population, the need for a scapegoat—historically tested, so a sure thing—may outweigh all other considerations.

The authorities themselves are intensifying and diversifying anti-Semitic measures. They are, for instance, purging several scientific disciplines of Jews. (When Jews take entrance examinations for university positions in mathematics, for example, they now confront "problems for geniuses." One such problem could not be solved even by Nobel prize-winner Academician Sakharov.) In the case of Anatoly Shcharansky, serving a thirteen-year term for the stereotyped Jewish "crime" of treason, the conditions of confinement have so worsened that his health has suffered. And the following have been sentenced to various terms on the basis of plainly fabricated charges: the mathemati-

SOVIET JEWRY: THE U.S. PERSPECTIVE

STATEMENT BY JACOB STEIN
U.S. ADVISOR TO THE
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...Mr. Chairman, sometimes it seems as if the world is still very far removed, in the just and fair treatment of minorities, from the ideals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

One example may serve as an illustration of this general pattern around the world, the plight of the Jews of the Soviet Union.

Three indices of mistreatment stand out: first, the right of emigration and reunification with families; second, cultural and linguistic rights; third, flagrant discrimination and, in this case, anti-Semitic propaganda and practice.

Emigration rights are a cornerstone of human rights. The documents of the great revolutions of modern society vigorously articulate this right. The right to leave a country is precedent for all other rights. For a racial community, facing discrimination and persecution, as is the case of the Jewish community within the Soviet Union, denial of the right to leave may be tantamount to the total deprivation of liberty, if not of life itself.

And yet the Soviet Union does not regard itself bound by the solemn undertaking to which it has committed itself. Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that everyone has the right to leave his country and return to his country. The legally binding international Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination sets forth in Article 5, Paragraph D, Subsection 2, the same formulation, and this convention was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 21, 1965. The international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Article 12, Paragraph 2, reads: "Everyone shall be free to leave any country including his

own." Mr. Chairman, this resolution was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly on December 16, 1966. More recently signed by the Soviet Union was the Helsinki Final Act in August, 1975. This act stresses in the provisions included in Basket 3 that the parties are to "expedite" and "facilitate" the "reunion of families" and that those applying for exit visas should not be deprived of their rights.

...it is a tragic reality that Jews in the Soviet Union, some 2 1/2 to 3 million in number, are today virtually denied the right to leave. The monthly emigration rate for this minority has been cut by 90 per cent since 1979. Thousands of Jews have been refused their exit visas and live in a kind of twilight existence. Many have been deprived of jobs and facing social ostracism.

And yet, Mr. Chairman, instead of fulfilling its obligation under international law, the Soviet Union engages in gross violations of human rights provisions concerning the right to emigrate and the reunion of families. Soviet spokesmen at the Madrid Conference have publicly hinted that the right of the Jews desiring to emigrate is being held hostage to the détente process. This is a cruel and barbarous linkage.

Mr. Chairman, the second measurement of minority human rights is the right of cultural and linguistic freedoms. Here again international law is crystal clear. The international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states in 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." Yet for the Jewish

minority in the Soviet Union, these obligations—cultural, linguistic, educational—are all observed in the breach. Virtually all Jewish institutional life has been eliminated and Yiddish language schools liquidated. The Hebrew language has no official status, and as for the private teaching of Hebrew, teachers are threatened with possible arrest and trial.

Mr. Chairman, the third measure of denial of rights is anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish discrimination. Compounding the Soviet assault on the integrity of its Jewish community, on their culture, is the massive anti-Semitic propaganda campaign of the Soviet Government in the press and in the cinema. Here too, the Soviet Union stands naked before the international community in breach of its solemn international undertakings. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination stipulates in Article 4 that contracting parties are to eradicate incitement to racial discrimination. Further, Mr. Chairman, the international Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Article 20(2) states: "Any advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law." The Soviet Union callously violates these obligations through a massive propaganda campaign masked as anti-Zionism, but which in fact is directed against Judaism, Jewish tradition and Jewry itself. Stereotypes designed to incite to hatred appear in the Soviet press. Jewish religious works are violently criticized as reflecting the basest of human qualities.

Mr. Chairman, with the exit gates virtually closed to Jews, with the propaganda of hatred being increasingly disseminated in the Soviet Union, with their right to enjoy their culture denied, their schools closed, is it any wonder that the Jews of the Soviet Union fear for their future and perhaps face a national catastrophe?...

cian Alexander Lavut, the engineer Kim Friedman, the electronics engineer Vladimir Slepak, the physicist Vladimir Kislik, the computer specialist Victor Brailovsky, the historian Arseny Roginsky, the economist Ida Nudel, the poet Igor Guberman, and others. The KGB has been especially devastating in the Ukraine, stirring up anti-Semitic passions and subjecting the local Jewish "refuseniks" to harsh repressions.

It is interesting that immediately after the inauguration of Ronald Reagan the Soviet authorities sharply increased the emigration quota. But Reagan, unlike his three immediate predecessors, remained indifferent to that proffered olive branch decorated with two thousand Jewish

emigrants. The Soviet Jews ceased to serve as a medium of exchange in Soviet-American relations. And in the Kremlin they apparently have revised their notion about the importance of the Jewish lobby in the U.S., now regarding it as exaggerated. With the cutting off of large-scale emigration and the constant rise of anti-Semitism, the Soviet Jews find themselves in a trap from which only the international community can provide a way out. In any case, under conditions of a stepped-up cold war, Soviet Jewry lies under a serious threat.

Vladimir Solovyov is a Russian-born historian and journalist.