

SOVIETS WOULD LIKE JEWS TO LEAVE

The Soviet authorities undoubtedly have an ambivalent attitude towards the emigration of Soviet Jews. In one way, they would like the Jews to leave.

That would be their "solution to the Jewish problem." Throughout history, expulsion has been the most common way for tyrants to get rid of the Jews. We think of the more dramatic dates, like 1182, 1290 and 1492, when all Jews were expelled from France, England and Spain respectively. But it happened repeatedly, on a smaller scale.

Modern tyrants, with an image to maintain, would prefer that the Jews leave voluntarily. A few years back, Communist Poland decided that it would be best just to open up the exit gates for the Jews. Why have so many tyrants wanted to get rid of the Jews? There's no need to dwell on that again: when a tyrant wants conformity -- religious, ethnic or political -- the Jews are always a prime pain in the neck. So it is with the Soviet authorities, who would really like to let the Jews leave.

So, why don't they? There is a two-fold problem. One is that the Arabs are not enthusiastic about the idea. That is a political consideration, but not the most important one. Even if the Arabs didn't object, the Soviet Union would resist Jewish emigration.

Probably the main reason for Soviet resistance to Jewish emigration is the "Berlin Wall syndrome." If they had not restricted emigration from East Berlin, they would have been highly embarrassed by the huge numbers that would have poured out. That's no way to advertise a paradise.

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That is why the Soviet Union clings to the image that the Jews who leave do so not because they want to leave the Soviet Union, but because they want to be reunited with families in Israel. But the Soviet authorities don't want this to get out of hand. While they would like to slip out a steady stream of Jews, they also must harass a number of visa-applicants in order to make it clear that emigration in general is frowned upon.

There is a side consideration here: the "brain drain." No society struggling for industrial excellence wants its better people leaving. There was a medieval counterpart to this. Many small kingdoms in medieval Europe expelled their Jewish populations, only to invite them back when they needed commercial competence. In 1970, 7 per cent of the scientific workers in the Soviet Union were Jews, although the Jews constituted a little less than one per cent of the population. So, Jewish scientists have received a heavy brunt of the harassment -- and the statistics show that the emigration bars have been opened most widely for those Jews from the less educated sections.

The Soviets are also doing something about this problem, with an eye to the future. They are restricting the entry of Jews into science. By 1975, the percentage of Jews in the scientific work force had dropped from 7 to 6 per cent. In 1970, about 5 per cent of the full time postgraduate students were Jewish; by 1975, the percentage of Jews had dropped to 3 per cent. The absolute numbers had dropped from about 5000 to about 3000. The percentage of Jewish university students had dropped from about 2 per cent to about 1 per cent in that period. For the first time, no Jew has been allowed to enter this year's freshman class at Moscow University.

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In short, the Soviet Union wants to and is preparing to get rid of its conscious Jews by emigration. But it wants to do so without damaging its general principle of "no emigration." The drive to get Soviet Jews to go to Israel for "re-unification" is therefore doubly important. Perhaps the "Soviet Jewry" program of American Jewry should be more deliberately geared towards this end.

And there may be a political motif here. Perhaps we should not just assault the Soviets for an intrinsic resistance to Jewish emigration which they don't have, but should more coolly try to find American political rewards which would nudge them in a direction to which they are not all that opposed.