

Gorbachev's power. Such arguments are being used to push Gorbachev toward the right and to divide him from his true supporters on the left—the liberal intelligentsia. The result could be a repetition of the circumstances that led to the downfall of Nikita Khrushchev in 1964.

In parallel with their attempt to intimidate Gorbachev, the monarcho-Nazis have been openly attacking his foreign as well as domestic policies and the underlying principles of his "new thinking"—the primacy of universal human values, disarmament, ending the Cold War, and building a "common European home." They even have accused Gorbachev of being an agent in the service of the CIA and the Israeli intelligence service, the Mossad. With this two-pronged strategy of intimidation and direct attack, the Russian neo-Nazis hope to attain either a decisive influence over Gorbachev's policies or his removal from power and his replacement by members of their own movement.

What would that mean for Soviet Jews? The answer is all too clear from the similarity of the Russian monarcho-Nazi program to that of Hitler. The Russian extremists already possess their equivalent of the storm troops of the SA and SS, in the form of the *Pamyat*

movement. *Pamyat* does not disguise its intentions to carry out pogroms against the Jews, to whom it usually refers by the denigrating term *zhidy*, or "yids." In fact, members of *Pamyat* have been organizing well-attended meetings all over the country to call for pogroms—one such meeting even took place in Moscow's Red Square last 12 November—and no one has stood in their way.

Hitler treated as Jews those who have at least one Jewish grandparent. *Pamyat* goes further. It has announced its intention to search for Jewish progenitors back to the tenth generation. New recruits to *Pamyat* are required to prove their "racial purity" and to provide to the organization the home addresses of five Jews—no doubt to locate them for the pogroms to come. Opponents of the monarcho-Nazi movement who happen to be "racially pure," or "Aryan," are characterized, along with all the liberal intelligentsia, as "masons" or "*zhidomasons*" (that is, supporters of Jews). These are also the targets of pogrom propaganda.

The brazenness of monarcho-Nazi threats and actions against Soviet Jewry has been increasing. In addition to the anti-Semitic rallies and the desecration of Jewish cemeteries around the country, which have been going on

To the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR— Comrade M. S. Gorbachev

Dear Mikhail Sergeevich,

Basing our remarks on events in our country and on discussions held between June and August of this year with a number of prominent foreign political figures, scholars and writers, we want to express in this letter (and, if possible, in person) our most serious apprehensions about what might happen in the next months and years if urgent measures are not taken to guarantee Jews safe residence in the USSR, unpoisoned by streams of ethnic insults, destruction of graveyards and direct threats of pogroms.

... in earlier times, the main source of emigration was those Jews who ... could be considered part of the Jewish culture because of their use of the ancient Hebrew language or of the Yiddish language that developed much later in Europe. Now, as a consequence of the increasing aggressiveness by several monarcho-Fascist groups, through acts and publications, Jews whose flesh and blood have been infused with Russian culture since childhood, whose spoken and written language is Russian and who make contributions, commensurate with their abilities, to the life of our country and to the development of our culture and science are being literally forced to flee our borders. It should be noted that as many as 75% of the Jewish population of the USSR may consider themselves in peril from actions taken or proposed by the extremist groups. In addition it should be kept in mind that our monarcho-Fascists consider as Jews (or, as they call them, Judo-Masons) those who are half Jewish ... or one-quarter Jewish, those who have even a small amount of Jewish blood and those who are married to or were married to Jews. (In the future, no doubt, these monarcho-Fascists are likely to search for signs of "racial inferiority" in each other.) In a word, the extremists, both in their propaganda and practice, are guided by the Nuremberg laws of Fascist Germany—right down to their demand for the prohibition of mixed marriages.

They compare the Jewish people to a parasitic vine that twists around a healthy tree and eventually drains the vitality of the tree. Their publications contain anti-Jewish character-

izations such as "This is a people without a homeland." ... In their diatribes they assert that Jews exclude from their thoughts, speech and writings such concepts as motherland, patriotism, *et cetera*.

Even Lenin's famous decree "On the Struggle Against Anti-Semitism" provokes a frenzy in members of the extremist groups. "If you open your mouth against the Jews, they will drag you around the corner and shoot you, and this will be covered up by the thunderous music of the 'Internationale,'" said *Molodaya Gvardiya* in a recent issue. An Italian woman, a teacher of history who accidentally found herself at a *Pamyat* meeting in Leningrad, was moved to write, "It seemed to me that I was attending a replay of a Fascist rally during the 1930s." Demonstrations by *Pamyat* in Moscow, on Pushkin Square, are replete with signs, posters and T-shirts that bear such slogans as "Down with the occupation of Russia by Jewish Nazis!" and "Down with the domination of the 0.69%!"

Every day, *Pamyat* agitators gather outside your offices in Moscow. Is it possible to imagine that in the center of Moscow they could go unpunished for insulting the national dignity of, say, Yakuts or Belorussians or demanding the exile of Ukrainians or Georgians?

Appeals such as ours in this letter, written in a multinational state, acquire an explosive force. The work of the monarcho-Fascists is leading to the point where, in the coming years, the country may be deprived of 5–6 million of its best and brightest scholars, engineers, doctors, artists and others. History has already taught the awful lesson of Nazi Germany and her Fascist allies. It is easy to see and be convinced which countries lost and which gained from the banishment of "racially impure elements" (like the Jewish physicist Einstein or the Italian physicist Fermi, who was married to a Jewish woman) and which people benefited or did not after Jews were forced into exile from their native lands. ...

It may seem to you that, against the background of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh, in the Baltic regions and in

for some time, it now seems that meetings of liberal intellectuals are no longer safe from disruption by *Pamyat* thugs.

On the evening of 18 January, for instance, a meeting of the progressive "April" group of writers at the Central House of Writers in Moscow was invaded by several dozen *Pamyat* thugs with megaphones. They roughed up some of the writers, forcibly ejected others from the hall, shouted anti-Jewish slogans and announced that on their next visit they will be armed with automatic weapons. They also designated St. George's Day, 2 May, as the date for a pogrom. St. George, the dragon slayer, is a patron saint of old Russia.

Further increases in anti-Semitic activities (especially, of course, actual violence) surely will lead to a mass exodus of Jews, people of partly Jewish extraction and "racially pure" members of the liberal intelligentsia. This new wave of emigrants—refugees from monarcho-Nazi extremism—could reach several millions and would represent a serious brain drain from the USSR.

As for the possibility of another holocaust, it certainly could not reach the scale of the Nazi crimes. The world has changed too drastically in the last half-century for

that to happen. But a wave of pogroms more or less along the lines of the infamous *Kristallnacht* cannot be ruled out—waker if a government like the present one tries to oppose the neo-Nazi bigots, stronger under a government with monarcho-Nazi sympathies and a lust for pogroms.

What should be done? For starters, the worldwide public should be informed of the intentions and activities of the new followers of Hitler in the Soviet Union and should be told their names. The famous Brown Book published by anti-Fascists in 1933, after all, was the first important step in the exposure of the Nazi crimes of that era. Clearly, the publishers and editors of newspapers, journals and books as well as producers and writers in the electronic media have an important role to play.

The stakes are high. If the monarcho-Nazis prevail and *perestroika* collapses in an orgy of chauvinism and racism, the results are likely to include not only a rapid heating of an atmosphere of anarchy in the Soviet Union but even the possibility of a civil war. In a country bearing a huge stockpile of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well as possessing a far-flung system of nuclear power plants, a not implausible chain of events could quickly lead to not just a national but to an international catastrophe. ■

Moldavia, the problem of anti-Semitism does not look so alarming or so primary in importance. As a matter of fact, events are occurring with such rapidity that, if they are not stopped now, the consequences may be irreversible. The situation has caused deep distress for many people in the Communist Party who remember the unlawful acts that were tolerated during the years of Stalinism and the miserable manifestations of anti-Semitism that were propagated from above, such as the campaign against "stateless cosmopolitans," the devastation and extermination of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and the notorious "doctors' plot."

In our view, your agenda at the forthcoming Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union must include discussions of the most acute national problems. Your views, as the author of *perestroika*, must be expressed explicitly and unambiguously about anti-Semitism in the USSR and its potential to destroy the chances for transforming our society.

Dear Mikhail Sergeevich! *Perestroika* meets everywhere with the most fervent, impassioned sympathy. People want to campaign for *perestroika*; they want to promote it by all available means. Each of us, using the means available to us, has discussed possible ways of bringing this about with political figures, industrialists and scholars here and abroad, and in these conversations many different projects and prospects became clear.

In the declaration adopted by highly authoritative scholars from 42 countries after the 39th Pugwash conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 23 to 29 July 1989, an appeal was made to the world scientific fellowship—not without difficulty, we observe—to support *perestroika*. As a rule, Pugwash declarations do not contain statements dealing with internal matters of individual countries, but in the case of last July's meeting the conviction prevailed that the fate of our *perestroika* is likely to determine the future not only of the USSR but also of the entire world.

In such a situation, any shadow cast over our *perestroika* may lead to horrifying results, not only for the internal life of our country, but for world opinion toward the Soviet Union. The nationalities question is one of the indicators [of world public opinion]—one of the most sensitive sore points. It is ironic that during the observance of the 50th anniversary of the start of the Second World War, the world feels especially

sharply the danger of any kind of recurrence of Hitlerism and Stalinism, and the intelligentsia of the West very guardedly takes note that precisely in the years of *perestroika* the Soviet Union has become the focus for the most aggressive activities of neo-Nazis and monarcho-Fascists in Europe and for the most repulsive and massive propaganda on anti-Semitism.

Such are the external political impressions that we would like you to consider as part of our appeal for the active measures that we called for in the first part of this letter.

In conclusion, we want to repeat our request for a personal meeting.

Yours very respectfully,

Gregoriy Baklanov [editor in chief of *Znayma*, a literary magazine]

Yevgeny Yevtushenko [poet and People's Deputy in the Soviet parliament]

Andrei Voznesenskii [poet]

Roald Z. Sagdeev [former director of the Space Research Institute and now head of the institute's theory division; a People's Deputy]

Vitalii I. Goldanskii [director of the Semenov Institute of Chemical Physics and a People's Deputy]

Vyacheslav Ivanov [director of the State Library of Foreign Literature, a noted linguist and a People's Deputy]

Bulat Okudzhava [poet and popular folksinger]

Anatolii Rybakov [writer and author of *Children of the Arbat*]

Yuri Chernichenko [Soviet TV commentator on agricultural matters, essayist and a People's Deputy]

Oleg Bogomolov [director of the Institute of Economics of Socialist Countries and a People's Deputy]

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