COMMUNISM
VERSUS
THE JEWISH PEOPLE

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PREFACE

The purpose of this monograph is to focus the attention of all investigative personnel on the fundamental differences between communism and the religious, cultural, and political ideals of the Jewish people. It seeks to show that the communist movement is thoroughly incompatible with everything the Jewish people stand for traditionally.

The monograph, therefore, is basically an investigative aid for Agents engaged in security informant development among members of the Communist Party, USA, who are of Jewish origin. Armed with this special knowledge, they are in a much better position to converse with and to motivate a Party member of Jewish origin away from communism and back toward Jewish tradition and culture.

Only public source material has been used in the preparation of this study. The sources are set forth at the end of the monograph.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Examination of the communist attitude toward the Jews from three major viewpoints -- religious, cultural, and political -- reveals that the objectives of communism are utterly opposed to the thinking and interests of the Jewish people.

In theory, communism purports to have a high regard for the rights and welfare of national minority groups. In practice, absolute conformity to communist dictatorship is the only means of survival under a communist regime.

Communist theory denies the existence of God, spirit, soul, and all other nonmaterial concepts which are the very essence of religious belief. From the very outset of Soviet rule in Russia, the communists have conducted a systematic campaign to cripple and, if possible, to destroy organized religion.

Communism is essentially an international, class movement; it, therefore, regards any expression of purely national loyalty as a potential menace, especially if it in any way challenges the world-wide unity of the working class. At the same time, communists pay lip service to national rights as a useful propaganda device, and even support those national
movements which happen to serve the practical interests of the Soviet regime. Communist leaders have, from the very first, denounced Zionism as a "counterrevolutionary" movement to be strenuously resisted by all Communist Party members, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. Communists have taken other positions contrary to the views of religious Jewish people who are not Zionists.

B. Conclusions

1. Notwithstanding the extravagant claims of communist propaganda on the "national question" and the "Jewish question," the Soviet Union, in reality, has never offered the Jewish people anything more than a choice between total assimilation in the monolithic communist state or complete annihilation.

2. The Jewish religion, accepting God as the Creator of all things and recognizing the supremacy of divine law over human law, can never be reconciled with the atheism and the material basis for law found in Marxism-Leninism.

3. Jewish national culture, with its emphasis upon intellectual freedom and the dignity of the individual, is in complete conflict with the stereotyped class hatred and amoralism of communist theory.

4. Jewish political independence can never be secure so long as the totalitarian Soviet state seeks to extend its tyranny over the entire world.

5. The steady repression of Jewish culture in the USSR during the past twenty years is a prime example of the hopeless future facing any minority culture under the communist regime.
I. COMMUNIST INTEREST IN THE JEWS
   AS A MINORITY GROUP

Judged by outward appearances alone, few political movements in history have had a higher regard for the rights and welfare of national minority groups than the communists.

The constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) guarantees equal rights for all citizens, "irrespective of race or nationality," and declares that any limitation of these rights, or even the "propagation of racial or national exclusiveness," shall be punishable by law. Resolutions condemning various types of racial and national prejudice are a virtual fixture in the propaganda line of all communist parties. The Communist Party, USA, has always claimed to have a special interest in the problems of minority groups, and there have been any number of Party front organizations directly concerned with minority issues of one kind or another.

There are sound, practical reasons why the communists pretend such an interest in the problems of national minority groups. In the Soviet Union itself--the proving ground for all Marxist-Leninist doctrine--the communists are confronted with a minority problem of staggering proportions. The USSR has more than 150 national or ethnic minority groups within its vast boundaries, comprising no less than forty per cent of the total population.*

* According to the last official census, taken in 1939, 58.4 per cent of the USSR's total population was Russian, whereas the remaining 41.6 per cent was non-Russian, consisting of 168 different national minorities. (1)
During the prerevolutionary period in Russia, the support of these minorities was a matter of crucial importance for any party which aspired to power. As a result, the Bolsheviks had, prior to 1917, consistently defended minority rights and supported such principles as "self-determination of nations," "national cultural autonomy," et cetera.

When the revolution was an accomplished fact, the communists reneged on these promises in actual practice. It is significant, however, that they have never openly disavowed them but have continued to pay lip service to minority rights, even up to the present time. Today, for example, the Kremlin retains the legal fiction that the USSR is a "voluntary" federation of union republics and "autonomous" regions, each of which is free to secede whenever it chooses.* Such formal acknowledgements of national minority rights are a tacit reminder of the continued respect which the numerically powerful Russian minority groups command even from such an autocratic regime as the Soviet dictatorship.

A second reason for the communists' professed concern in minority rights is their desire to attract support from the national minority

* Article 17 of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 reads as follows: "The right freely to secede from the USSR is reserved to each constituent republic." Article 13 of this constitution describes the Soviet Union as a "federal state, formed on the basis of the voluntary union" of its various member republics. (2)
groups of noncommunist countries. In the United States, for instance, a substantial share of communist propaganda and organizational activity is aimed at such minority groups as Italians, Jews, Greeks, Poles, Negroes, et cetera. The slightest instances of alleged racial or national discrimination are seized by the Communist Party press and offered as proof that minority persecution is an inherent feature of the capitalist system. At the same time, a steady succession of pamphlets, picture magazines, editorials, et cetera, are issued by the Party lauding the "progressive" minority policies of the USSR and hailing socialism (i.e., communism) as the only guarantee against national or racial inequality.

With the foregoing considerations in mind, it is easy to understand why the communists have been at such pains to advertise their interest in the problems and welfare of the Jewish people. The Jews represent an important minority group both in the Soviet Union and in the United States, the polar opposites, so to speak, of the communist political map. At the present time, it is generally agreed there are some two million Jews in the USSR itself and about 450,000 in the satellite nations of eastern Europe.* According to recent estimates, there are over five million Jews in the United States.

*According to the 1956 World Almanac published by the New York World Telegram and Sun, the Jewish population of the satellite nations is broken down as follows: Romania, 225,000; Hungary, 155,000; Poland, 45,000; Czechoslovakia, 17,000; Bulgaria, 6,500; and Albania, 300. No separate figure is listed for East Germany.
The significance which the Communist Party, USA, for one, attaches to this powerful minority can be judged simply from the variety of front groups which it has organized for the specific purpose of attracting Jews. The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" issued by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1951 lists no less than eight such fronts, including the following:

American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists, and Scientists
American Jewish Labor Council
Chelsea (Massachusetts) Jewish Children's School
Icor
Jewish Blackbook Committee of Los Angeles
Jewish People's Committee
Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order (International Workers Order)
School of Jewish Studies

The House Committee report also cites the following procommunist publications in the Jewish field:

- Jewish Life
- Jewish People's Voice
- Jewish Survey
- Jewish Voice
- Morning Freiheit
- Naileben
- Yiddisher Kultur Farband

Over and above such organizational activity, the communists have shown a decided literary interest in the problems of the Jews. One of Karl Marx's earliest treatises -- written even before The Communist Manifesto -- is entitled "On the Jewish Question" and sets forth Marx's detailed views regarding Jewish religion and culture. Lenin recorded his
opposition to anti-Semitism on a number of occasions, and in 1903 he devoted a special essay to Jewish political developments. * The speeches and writings of Stalin contain many references to the Jews of Russia and to their potential role in the socialist order. **

In addition, communist propaganda organs give regular attention to Jewish issues. An imposing array of pamphlets has been published under the auspices of the Communist Party, USA, under such titles as "Jews in the Soviet Union," "Lenin on the Jewish Question," "Anti-Semitism and the Struggle for Democracy," et cetera. Articles dealing with the "Jewish question" in general and with such specific topics as Zionism, anti-Semitism, and Jewish-Arab relations in Palestine are standard features in such communist publications as Political Affairs and the Daily Worker.

There is, then, no lack of material with which to assess the communist position concerning the Jews. Most of this material is, of course, highly slanted to present communist policy in a favorable light. Purely political motives may be hidden beneath an outward appearance of


idealism, and contradictions of previous policy obscured by a maze of "dialectic" reasoning.

Despite such pitfalls, it is still possible to sift facts from propaganda, and to recognize the real character of communist policy in this field. The following sections will summarize communist theory and tactics concerning three separate aspects of the so-called "Jewish question," i. e., from religious, cultural, and political standpoints.
II. COMMUNIST THEORY AND TACTICS CONCERNING THE JEWS AS A RELIGIOUS GROUP

Communist Hostility toward Religion

There are few issues on which communist doctrine is more outspoken than in its hostility toward religion. Two terse statements from the writings of Lenin may be taken as an authoritative expression of the communist position:

"...We must combat religion - this is the A. B. C. of all * materialism, and consequently of Marxism...." (3)

"...The Marxist must be a materialist, i.e., an enemy of religion...." (4)

Communist enmity toward religion stems from three principal reasons. First, communist theory denies the existence of God, spirit, soul, and all other nonmaterial concepts which are the very essence of religious belief. Religion for the communist is nothing more than a mass of superstitions, based in part upon wishful thinking and in part upon blind fear of the unknown:

"...Many centuries ago religion completely lost to science whatever indispensable function it may once have had in the simple societies of primitive man, and it has long since become a drag on human progress. In this era of growing science and industrialization, and of developing dialectical materialism, religious mysteries and metaphysics are quite out of place....It will not be very long before man, completely emancipated mentally from superstition in all its forms, will marvel as to how and why humanity was able to accept and to tolerate intellectually for all these ages, the rational impossibilities of religion." (5)

* Unless otherwise noted, underlined words in quotations are italicized in original material.
Secondly, the communists condemn religion on the grounds that religious practice -- by inculcating such "bourgeois" virtues as patience, humility, charity, and faith -- undermines the worker's "revolutionary will" and detracts his attention from the militant class struggle to a mystical other world:

"The doctrines and ritual of the churches are powerful means of developing attitudes of subservience among the workers....

"The worker is taught to reconcile himself to his poverty, for it is 'God's will'...

"...Workers are given glowing promises of bliss in a future 'kingdom of heaven' which divert their attention from efforts to change conditions here...."

"The churches declare that economic and political changes would be futile because it is not the fault of capitalism that the workers are exploited, but due to erring man who 'does not live according to the laws of Christ.'..." (6)

Thirdly, the communists claim that the churches have invariably resisted social reform in favor of the status quo; that organized religion is allied with, and subsidized by, the most reactionary elements of society. The communists, therefore, look upon the churches as a powerful political enemy:
"Churches can usually be expected to take the side of the employers against the workers during strikes. For money speaks. The employers give the property, build the churches, hire the ministers... They dominate the churches and the clergymen completely and use them... to develop loyalty to the capitalist class...." (7)

"The church reciprocates for the support of the state by valiant service in the interests of imperialism...."

"The churches have always participated in imperialist ventures to extend capitalist markets....

"Missionary societies send their angels of imperialism to open markets for the capitalists in all parts of the world and to prepare the way for the exploitation of the workers...." (8)

Communism, then, is irrevocably opposed to religion both on philosophical and practical grounds. Moreover, the communist indictment of religion constitutes a blanket charge against all religious belief and all forms of worship, whether they be Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or Moslem.

This point deserves emphasis because of the erroneous belief held in some circles that the communists are not opposed to religion as such, but only persecute those religions with which they have tangible political differences. According to this school of thought, the unremitting anti-religious campaign conducted by Soviet leaders since 1917 is merely a logical "reaction" against the protzarist policies of the Russian Greek
Orthodox Church prior to the revolution.* A second instance of this type of rationalizing is the assertion that the communists have concentrated their attack upon certain religions -- for example, the Roman Catholic Church -- while treating other faiths with comparative toleration.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. In both theory and practice, the communists make no distinction whatever between the various religious creeds, a fact to which the following excerpts from communist literature bear witness:

"...the priests of every cult have their own way of deluding the masses: the Jewish rabbi, the Roman Catholic priest, the Russian Orthodox priest, the Mohammedan mullah, the Evangelist, Baptist and other ministers of religion, each has his own way of fooling the people...." (10)

"All religious organizations, including all sectarian organizations, oppose the correct conception of the world, based upon science... and cling to their incorrect ideas, which are based on faith alone... As to differences between one religion and another, they are of little, if any, consequence...." (11)

It is already evident that Judaism has not been excepted from the Marxist assault upon religion. However, if any doubt remains, communist

* Dr. Hewlett Johnson, so-called "Red Dean of Canterbury," supplied a good example of such reasoning in his book The Soviet Power. He writes: "For centuries the Orthodox Church had worked hand in glove with the Tsarist regime.... In such circumstances the effort to suppress the Church is no matter of surprise. Marx, Lenin, and Stalin were anti-religious just because they believed that religion had consistently aligned itself with organized injustice. Outrages were committed on the Church in proportion as the Church had become corrupt and wealthy...." (9)
literature is clear on this score. In his vitriolic study, *Religion in the USSR*, E. Yaroslavsky, former head of the League of Militant Atheists in the Soviet Union, had denounced Judaism in these terms:

"What about the Jewish religion? It is of very great value to the Jewish capitalists, who, with the help of the rabbis, and the ancient 'sacred' Hebrew tongue (which throws glamour over their innumerable mummeries) hold the people in bondage." (12)

"... The Jewish synagogues were not granted any privileges whatsoever by the Russian state, but they were fully supported by the Jewish bourgeoisie. The Jewish rabbinate, like its sister priest-crafts, drew close to the side of the rich because the Jewish church had also incorporated in its credo the justification of the existence of exploiting classes in society. In Jewish synagogues the pews are so distributed that the rich worship at the eastern wall, the most honorable place... while the poor must say their prayers at the door... The revolution opened the eyes of the Jewish masses to this discrimination and mummery..." (13)

A pamphlet entitled *The Church and the Workers*, prepared under the direction of the Labor Research Association, an organization designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450, devotes a special section to Jewish religion in the United States, and is equally critical of both Orthodox and Reform Judaism:

"Just as each of the christian sects hypocritically claims to be friendly to labor so many Jewish leaders maintain that Judaism stands for 'social justice' for the workers.... But watch the synagogues in action. Like the churches they are built and maintained by the propertied classes to preserve established moral standards and loyalties to the existing system. Both the
conservative orthodox and modern reform synagogues offer prayers for those in authority. The orthodox synagogues divert the attention of the Jewish workers from their participation in the struggle to change the institutions which oppress them, by attempting to make them slavish followers of Jewish doctrine, ritual, and tradition....

"Reform Judaism is a small upper middle-class sect. It promotes bourgeois standards and complacent acceptance of the present system...." (14)

Karl Marx himself -- though of Jewish origin -- described Judaism as "anti-social" and as an expression of Jewish "egoism" and avarice. The following passages are taken from Marx's essay "On the Jewish Question":

"We therefore perceive in Judaism a general pervading anti-social element, which has been carried to its highest point by the historical development, in which Jews...have zealously cooperated..." (15)

"What was the foundation of the Jewish religion? Practical needs, egoism....

"Money is the jealous God of Israel, by the side of which no other god may exist....

"...Exchange is the Jew's real God." (16)

This is a good example of the gulf between Jewish tradition and communism. Marx could not be loyal to both so on accepting communism he was forced to reject Jewish tradition. Not being content with doing this, he had to malign it.
Soviet "Militant Atheism"

Communist antipathy toward religion, including Judaism, has not been confined to mere invective. From the very outset of Soviet rule in Russia, the communists have conducted a systematic campaign to cripple and, if possible, to destroy organized religion.

Almost before the dust had cleared from the revolutionary events of 1917, the Soviet Government, on January 23, 1918, issued a sweeping decree "On the Separation of the Church from the State, and of the School from the Church," which deprived the churches of Russia of both their legal basis and their material means of existence. Among other things, all church property was "nationalized" (i.e., forfeited to the Government without compensation); churches were forbidden to acquire any new property and were denied the rights of a "judicial person" (i.e., legal recourse); the teaching of religious doctrines was banned both from public and private schools; all special privileges for church members, such as the right to attend religious services on workdays, were revoked; and all records and ceremonies relating to birth, marriage, death, et cetera, were taken from church control and placed "exclusively" in the hands of civil authorities. (17)

The right to perform religious services was still allowed, but only "in so far as no breach of the peace is committed and the performance
does not infringe upon any of the rights of any citizen of the Soviet Republic," in which case local officials were empowered to "take all measures necessary to safeguard public order and security." (18)

The decree of January 23, 1918, was supplemented by a variety of other ordinances imposing restrictions upon all forms of religious activity, levying prohibitive taxes on individual churches, and reducing the clergy to the status of second-class citizenship. Legal measures have been supported, moreover, by an array of extralegal tactics which have included the following: the arrest, imprisonment, or execution of priests, rabbis, ministers, and other church leaders on vague charges of "counterrevolutionary activity" or "crimes against the people"; the physical destruction of church property, usually disguised as a "spontaneous" act on the part of "aroused" peasants and workers, but actually under the instigation of Soviet authorities; the formation of antireligious societies, such as the League of Militant Atheists, whose activities included the disruption of church services and processions, the desecration of religious shrines, and the propagation of vicious slanders against the clergy; and even conscious attempts on the part of the Government
to foster intrachurch schisms.*

Soviet Repression of Jewish Religion

The examples offered thus far have dealt mainly with the USSR's attack on religion in general. It need hardly be added that the Jewish religion has fared no better under the Soviets than any other faith.

In 1946, the Polish Library of New York published a book entitled Bolshevism and Religion, containing a series of verbatim statements made by Russian and Polish refugees. The following excerpts, dealing with the status of Jewish religious practice in the USSR, speak for themselves:

"...In the Soviet towns there are no longer any synagogues or houses of prayer, and prayerbooks are strictly forbidden. The Jews are morally persecuted, the young Jewish population is being brought up in un-religious ways...." (20)

"...The Jews in Russia are living only on the memories of the happy past....The synagogues, few in number, are entirely insufficient for the religious needs of the community. The Bolsheviks have succeeded in assimilating the young Jewish generation, who are ignorant of their language, religion and traditions...." (21)

* Thus, when a small group of Greek Orthodox priests broke with the established Patriarch in 1922 and formed an independent "Living Church," the Soviet Government seized the opportunity to promote intrachurch discord by officially endorsing the new sect. The Patriarch was arrested and many Orthodox Church buildings were forcibly turned over to the new denomination. Indeed, for a period of about two months during 1923, the "Living Church" was for all practical purposes the official state religion of the atheistic Soviet regime! This maneuver proved a failure, however, when the laity refused to support the new church. (19)
"...The outward practice of religion is severely forbidden. It often happens that people get five to ten years imprisonment for performing the religious ceremony of circumcision....

"In Margelan during the Jewish feast Purim, I was invited to a house where the Jews, Soviet citizens, assembled for evening prayer. One of the neighbors reported them to the NKVD. The premises were raided and the host arrested and sentenced to ten years imprisonment." (22)

"The older Jews in Russia are still religious, but have to conceal their creed... Synagogues and houses of prayer do not exist any longer in the U.S.S.R. and divine services are strictly forbidden...." (23)

"...On my way to Southern Russia... I spoke to some Russian Jews.... It is not possible for them to maintain their traditional religious practices. The rabbis have been deported; 'kosher' meat etc. though promised, does not exist, and all the religious properties have been expropriated. The synagogues and houses of worship have been closed or transformed into clubs for workers etc. In the Jewish religion the prayers ought to be recited in the presence of ten Jews, but this is impossible because such a meeting would be considered a center of revolution...." (24)

The foregoing statements graphically show, as the mere recitation of legal decrees cannot, the ruthless suppression of Jewish religion in the USSR. Other less dramatic sources may be cited, however. Walter Bedell Smith, former ambassador to the Soviet Union, writes as follows in his book, My Three Years in Moscow:

"Moscow... is now estimated to be a city of between 4,000,000 and 7,000,000 persons... For this great number... there were, as of June, 1948, about thirty churches operating, an average
of one church for every 130,000 persons if one accepts the lowest population estimates. These included twenty-five Russian Orthodox churches, one Old Believers' Cathedral, one Jewish synagogue (for an estimated 300,000 Jews in Moscow), one Evangelical Lutheran-Baptist church...and a single Roman Catholic chapel." (25) (underscoring added - ed.)

According to Smith, the Jewish religion was one of two faiths persecuted by the communist dictatorship even during the period of World War II when there was otherwise a marked relaxation of antireligious activity in the USSR:

"But two religions - the Jewish and the Roman Catholic - did not gain even temporary benefits from the wartime policy of greater religious tolerance; in fact, on balance, it is probably safe to say that attacks upon them have been stepped up rather than relaxed in recent years." (26)

In fact, indications of the Soviet oppression of Jewish religion can occasionally be found in the writings of the communists themselves. Yaroslavsky, for instance, selected the Jews to illustrate the operation of a special antireligious tactic practiced by the Soviets -- the so-called "subbotnik," that is, regular work performed "voluntarily" by church members during religious holidays.

"...On such strict Jewish holidays as the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur) and New Year's Day, they arranged special 'subbotniki' (urgent communal work performed voluntarily and gratuitously outside of working hours or on days of rest) among the Jewish workers, artisans, employees and
peasants... These 'subbotniks' were highly successful everywhere. The Jews who year after year had spent these same days in the synagogues, now went to the factories and workshops, collected scrap iron, cleaned up the factory yards or worked in the fields...." (27)

Less direct -- but perhaps even more significant -- evidence is the extraordinary silence of communist writers on the subject of Jewish religion in the USSR. A striking instance of this was furnished in the pamphlet Jews in the Soviet Union, published in 1948 by New Century Publishers of New York City. Though purporting to be a detailed study of Jewish life in the Soviet Union, this 48-page booklet contains only a single reference to Jewish religious activity. Even this lone reference would seem to raise more doubts about Jewish religious freedom than it resolves:

"Then, there are Jewish religious activities. I visited the main synagogue in Moscow during Yom Kippur. It was overcrowded, with people outside listening to the cantor through loudspeakers.... I visited synagogues in Kiev, Vilna, Berditchev, Zhytomir. There are about 300 organized religious communities in the U.S.S.R...." (28)

At first glance, this statement would seem to dispel any misgivings we might have regarding Jewish religious freedom behind the Iron Curtain. Closer examination reveals some glaring defects in the picture, however.

To begin with, a loudspeaker could not be employed in an Orthodox synagogue on Yom Kippur since it is a mechanical device which would require operation by a man on a holy day. Secondly, since Yom Kippur is a day of
complete fast for Jews, including abstinence from water for a period of twenty-four hours, it is difficult to imagine anyone being able to stand outside in the streets all day long without any food, particularly in the bitter Moscow climate.*

Such considerations as the above cause serious doubts as to the honesty of the statement. But even granting its truth, it is not a very convincing defense of Jewish religious freedom in the U.S.S.R. The author is, in effect, vouching for such freedom solely on the basis of visits to five synagogues. All of these are said to be located in cities where there are heavy concentrations of Jews and where, as a result, some Jewish religious activity might be tolerated even though it were thoroughly suppressed elsewhere in the Soviet Union.

The author's reference to the "main" synagogue at Moscow is a subtle play on words. It should be compared with former Ambassador Smith's statement that there was only one synagogue in the Soviet capital as of June, 1948.

The claim to 300 "organized religious communities" is not so impressive, even if we credit its accuracy. Placing the total number of Russian Jews at two million -- a conservative figure -- this would mean that there is only one synagogue or "religious community" for each 6,700 Jews. In New York City, by comparison, there are a total of 1,330 synagogues -- an average of one for each 1,725 Jews!*

* Yom Kippur generally falls during late September or early October.

** According to the 1956 Information Please Almanac, there are 1,330 Jewish churches in New York City. (29) The 1956 World Almanac issued by the New York World-Telegram and Sun estimates the Jewish population of New York City as 2,294,000. (30)
The Soviet Government itself has been ominously mute on the subject of Jewish religious activity. In his exhaustive study, *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, Solomon M. Schwarz is able to cite only one reference from Soviet literature showing the actual number of synagogues in existence -- and that from a 1926 article dealing with only a single republic, the Ukraine. Even this solitary reference is far from encouraging. It reflects that only eight per cent of Ukrainian Jews were members of existing congregations in 1926. (31)

By contrast with the scarcity of communist sources, there is no lack of data from noncommunist sources showing Soviet oppression of religion, Judaism included. Of special interest in this connection is an article which appeared in the February, 1953, issue of *News From Behind the Iron Curtain*, monthly publication of the National Committee for a Free Europe, Inc. This article catalogues the many steps which have been taken by the Soviet satellite governments of eastern Europe since 1947 to inhibit religious practice. With respect to Judaism, the following excerpt is typical:

"...Romanian Jewry is comprised of two groups: Germanic and Sephardic.* They have had separate synagogues and communities in the past but the CDE (state-controlled Jewish agency - ed.) has recently merged them under a single administrative committee, probably to make supervision and control easier for the regime. Jewish community houses have been closed as have schools where Yiddish, the Old Testament and the Talmud were taught. Difficulties have been put in the way of celebrating Jewish Holy

* Or, more accurately, Ashkenazic and Sephardic - ed.
Days and in the way of abiding by the ritual laws of koshering.
All Jewish charitable institutions have been nationalized,
including hospitals, kindergartens, poorhouses, and homes of
the aged." (32)

Of the numerous tactics adopted by the communists in an effort to
eradicate Judaism, one of the most effective -- and perhaps the most damaging
from a long-range viewpoint -- has been the liquidation of the traditional Jewish
school system, including the Hedder (primary school), the Talmud Torah
(secondary school), and the Jeshiva (rabbinical school), throughout the entire
Soviet zone.

Of particular importance is the closing down of all Jewish Jeshivas,
since only in these academies is it possible to train an orthodox rabbinate. In
effect, this means that when the present generation of Soviet Jews dies, there
will be no more rabbis.

The ruinous effect this would have on the practice of Judaism can be
fully appreciated only when the rabbi's role is realized. The orthodox rabbi
is not merely a preacher. His principal function is to teach the Jewish community
the nature of Jewish law, including the ritualistic laws governing the home,
family, and individual. In addition, rabbis preside at marriages, supervise
circumcisions and the slaughter of kosher meat, and sit in ritualistic courts.

Without a trained rabbinate, Jewish ritualistic life disappears and,
in a sense, so does Judaism. Hence, in abolishing the Jeshiva, the Soviets
threaten to destroy Judaism as an organized religion within one or two
generations -- without a pogrom.

For the Jewish people, the meaning of the communist attack on
Judaism is clear. So long as they cling to their faith and the moral teachings
of Judaism, they are marked as enemies of the communist regime -- a people
whose "liquidation" stands high on the calendar of revolution.

The prospects are only slightly better for Jews willing to compromise
their spiritual beliefs. As the whole history of communism proves, the Party
makes little distinction between its declared enemies and its potential opponents,
and there is little reason to believe that the Jewish people will ever be able to
outlive their religious heritage to the communists' satisfaction.
III. COMMUNIST THEORY AND TACTICS CONCERNING
THE JEWS AS A NATIONAL GROUP

The Role of National Culture in a Socialist Society

Whereas communist doctrine is relatively clear-cut concerning religion, it is highly ambiguous on the subject of national culture.

In general, communist theory is hostile toward any idea which fails to stress the worker's primary allegiance to his class. Class consciousness is central to the Marxist-Leninist scheme; hence, anything which transcends class lines, or even tends to blur class differences -- as national culture does -- is regarded as a serious threat to the revolutionary movement. Communist leaders have been most emphatic on this point; from the very beginning they have underscored the international character of their cause and denounced "nationalist deviations." The Communist Manifesto characterizes nationalism as a product of the "bourgeois" era and declares flatly that "workingmen have no country." (33)

On the other hand, communist literature contains any number of statements which seemingly endorse national cultures, or at least acknowledge the rights of individual national groups to retain their own cultures. Stalin, for instance, supported such principles as "self-determination of nations" and "national cultural autonomy" in these seemingly clear terms:
"The right of self-determination means that a nation can arrange its life according to its own will. It has the right to arrange its life on the basis of autonomy. It has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations. It has the right to complete secession. Nations are sovereign and all nations are equal." (34)

Moreover, as we have already noted, the Soviet Constitution proclaims equal rights for all citizens, irrespective of nationality, to be an "irrevocable law." The supposed encouragement offered to national cultural development in the USSR is one of the proudest boasts of communist propaganda.

"...These people have noted the magnificent example of the Soviet Union which has welded together over a hundred and fifty different nationalities...into a united cultural advance based on complete equality. They have noted that in the Soviet Union there is no division of Jew and gentile, black and white, 'superior' and 'inferior' races, rulers and ruled. The toiling masses are the rulers and the distinctive national traditions and characteristics of the various nationalities are given free play...." (35)

"The Soviet nations are like the members of a great family, all loyally united, yet each preserving its own individuality.

"All forms of national culture are encouraged, all the things that the people of a nation love - their own folk songs, dances, legends, arts, and handicrafts...." (36)

The contradictions in communist literature on the subject of nationalism represent basically a clash between principle and expediency, between actual theory and mere propaganda. The situation may be summarized as follows. Communism is essentially an international, class movement;
it therefore regards any expression of purely national loyalty as a potential menace, especially if it in any way challenges the world-wide unity of the working class. At the same time, the communists pay lip service to national rights as a useful propaganda device, and even support those national movements which happen to serve the practical interests of the Soviet regime. In short, the communists have adopted a strictly opportunist approach to the question of national independence. This is plainly seen in such statements as the following made by Stalin in 1924:

"...The question of the rights of nations is not an isolated, self-sufficient question; it is a part of the general problem of the proletarian revolution, subordinate to the whole..." (37)

The Jewish Debt to the Soviet Union: Communist Version

The real test of communist policy toward independent national culture lies, of course, in a review of the USSR's actual record in dealing with specific nationalities. The Jews of Soviet Russia may be taken as a typical example.

Before examining this record critically, however, it may be well to first allow a brief hearing of Communist Party propaganda claims. Communist propaganda concerning the Jews generally pivots around three
central themes, with occasional variations. These three themes may be summarized and illustrated as follows:

1. The Soviet Union offers the Jewish people complete freedom from every form of discrimination, including the opportunity to develop their distinctive national culture to its fullest extent.

"The effect of the Soviet attitude to nationality has been a vast increase in national pride throughout Soviet territory at the same time as national antagonism has been eliminated. Particularly does this show itself among the Jewish population..."

"...the U.S.S.R. is the one country in the world to-day where no Jew will be found who will not proudly state that he is a Jew... and... proud of it..." (38)

"There is one spot on the earth where the Jewish people are not under increasing pressure, one spot where the Jews have full equality... That is the socialist Soviet Union."

"Today (1940 - ed.) there are over five million Jews in the Soviet Union, where they enjoy absolute equality..." (39)

2. As concrete proof of its interest in preserving Jewish national culture, the Soviet Union has created a special "homeland" for Russian Jews, the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan, * to which Jews are encouraged to emigrate and where Jewish culture is flourishing.

* Alternate spellings: Biro-Bidjan, Birobidjan, Birobijan.
"In order to assist them to develop their own language and national culture, the Soviet Government have given to the Jews the District of Birobijan...an area twice the size of Palestine...In Birobijan the Jews begin to build up the first and only Jewish autonomous territory in the world." (40)

"...Here is a self-governing Jewish community that has developed thriving industries and agriculture as well as splendid cultural institutions...The historic accomplishment of the Jewish people in the Jewish Autonomous Region has added to the dignity of the Jews everywhere." (41)

3. During World War II, the USSR was directly responsible for saving hundreds of thousands of Jews from certain death at the hands of the Nazis.

"...If there are...now about three million Jews in the U.S.S.R., including over one million Jews in the Ukraine, hundreds of thousands in Belorussia, Bessarabia, tens of thousands in Lithuania, etc., it is a result of the superhuman effort on the part of the Soviet government in evacuating the Jews from the regions about to be occupied by the Nazis." (42)

"...If it is at all possible today to plan for Jewish relief and rehabilitation, it is because Hitler has not succeeded in destroying the whole of the Jewish people...Two-thirds of the Jewish people have been saved, and this is thanks to the Soviet Union, thanks to Comrade Stalin. If not for the Red Army, there would be no Jews in Europe today, nor in Palestine, nor in Africa; and in the United States, the length of our existence would be counted in days." (43)

Taken together, these claims -- if true -- would constitute a formidable appeal to the Jewish people. They might even justify the extravagant
description of one communist propagandist who described the Soviet Union as the "saviour of the Jewish people." Close examination, however, reveals each of these assertions to be a compound of half-truths, exaggeration, and outright deception.

Cultural Freedom and Communist Strategy

The first claim -- namely that the Jews have been allowed free cultural development in the USSR -- is probably the most plausible of the three. It is supported, first of all, by a seemingly impressive array of "documentary" proof, such as the Soviet Constitution and various other legal decrees which "guarantee" full cultural autonomy for every national minority group in the USSR, Jews included.

Secondly, it must be conceded that during the early years of Soviet rule -- up to about the early 1930's -- Russian minority groups, including the Jews, were treated with relative toleration. Minority languages and dialects were officially recognized and used -- in some cases for the first time -- in local schools, courts, and administrations. Definite efforts were made to foster the development of native literature, drama, and other art forms as well as to train and employ native representatives in the local governmental and administrative apparatus. A number of concessions were allowed for national and regional differences in custom. (45)
But despite this auspicious beginning, Soviet tolerance toward national cultural freedom was never anything more than a temporary political tactic whose days were numbered from the very first.

The elaborate paper pledges of national independence and cultural autonomy which the communists made either before the October Revolution or during the early years of Soviet rule can be dismissed as so many campaign promises.* In actual practice, Soviet leaders have never taken a single step to seriously implement the right of national self-determination, freedom of secession, or any of the other "inalienable" rights which they had loudly advertised in their prerevolutionary propaganda. The fact that the communists made such pledges in the first place is not even significant. Following the democratic revolution of March, 1917, and prior to the Bolshevik coup in November, 1917, every major political party in Russia upheld the principle of national cultural autonomy in one degree or another! To do otherwise would have been to invite the opposition of more than forty per cent of the Russian population.

* The bulk of such pious declarations were made either before or immediately after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 when the communists were themselves an insecure minority group and when the success of the revolution hinged to a large extent upon the support of Russia's numerous minority groups. Thus, Stalin's Marxism and the National Question, the acknowledged communist classic in this field, numbers 222 pages; yet only the last 20 pages contain material written after 1927. The most important single article in this anthology was written, in fact, in 1913 -- more than four years before the October Revolution. (46)
What is significant is the fact that the communists, once in power, promptly began to "reinterpret" their previous commitments on the subject of minority rights. As early as 1923, for instance, Stalin publicly disowned the principle of national self-determination whenever it conflicted with the "higher right" of the Party to "consolidate its power."

"...There are occasions when the right of self-determination conflicts with the other, the higher right - the right of a working class that has assumed power to consolidate its power. In such cases - this must be said bluntly - the right to self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the exercise by the working class of its right to dictatorship...."

"It must therefore not be forgotten when handing out all sorts of promises to the nationals...that the sphere of action of the national question, its competence, so to speak, are...confined within the sphere of action and competence of the 'labor question' as the fundamental question." (48)

The practical encouragement offered to cultural development during the early years of Soviet rule was only slightly less transitory than such paper promises as "self-determination." Concessions to national culture -- such as the use of native dialects in the administration of local government and the inclusion of national history courses in the school curriculum -- were steadily rescinded as the communist regime cemented its grip on Russia. By the late 1930's, such concessions had given way almost entirely to a policy of forcible denationalization rivalling the brutal "Russification" tactics of the tsars.
As a matter of fact, much of the highly touted "cultural renascence" on the part of Russia's minority nations during the early years of communist rule was exaggerated. When compared with the shameless treatment of minority groups under the tsars, even the slightest concessions to native customs or languages appeared to be tremendous advances -- not only to the minority groups themselves but to many uncritical outside observers as well.*

But even if we grant the fact that minority cultural groups in Russia were initially benefited under the Soviet regime, we must add that their prosperity was short-lived. From the very outset, in fact, communist concessions to national culture were dictated by practical self-interest rather than by principle.

It must not be forgotten that the country which the communists set out to administer in 1917 was far from being a stable political unit. On the contrary, the Russia of 1917 was a highly disorganized, industrially backward country which had barely survived a terrible world war, which was to be ravaged by internal revolts and foreign invasions until as late as 1921, and which was composed of a patchwork of more than 150 national, religious, and ethnic groups.

* The same type of illusion grew up with respect to Soviet industrial progress during the 1920's and early 1930's when the communists were able to show enormous gains in all phases of industrial strength. The reason for the USSR's "unparalleled" industrial expansion was, of course, the simple fact that the Soviets had started their industrialization program almost from scratch; hence, they were able to cite staggering comparative increases although their absolute production was still below average in relation to other industrial nations.
of the most diverse interests and backgrounds. In such precarious circumstances, the communists were virtually compelled to make temporary concessions to national cultural differences in order to lessen the imminent threat of a widespread independence movement on the part of the Russian minority groups.

Apart from this purely negative reason, several positive factors were involved in the communists' early paternalism toward cultural minorities. The establishment of native schools in areas where few, if any, had previously existed enabled the Party to carry the message of Marxism-Leninism and "socialist construction" to millions of Russian people who would otherwise have been isolated from Party propaganda. The training of native administrators to operate local industry and government helped to solve one of the Party's most pressing problems: a shortage of qualified personnel to fill the numerous posts required by a socialist form of government.

Needless to say, every such "cultural advance" was made under the closest supervision of the Party, with a view to promoting communist interests first and national interests only incidentally. School classes may have been conducted in the native tongue of a minority group, but the curriculum and textbooks used were strictly Marxist-Leninist in content. The training of native personnel for local administrative positions was at the same time their indoctrination in communist theory, their "bolshevization."
Cultural Regimentation Disguised as "Progress"

Thus, much of the so-called "progress" made by Russian cultural minorities during the 1920's and early 1930's was superficial, representing not so much a genuine development of native culture but merely the liberty to repeat communist propaganda in the native language or through local art forms. National culture was simply a convenient sugar-coating for the Communist Party propaganda line.

A good example of this regimentation of minority culture under the guise of cultural "progress" is seen in the history of the Jewish press during the first four years of communist rule. In 1917, there was a total of forty-nine Yiddish or Hebrew newspapers and periodicals in the Soviet Union. By 1921, this number had increased to sixty-two, outwardly a substantial gain for Jewish culture. The fact is, however, that of the forty-nine newspapers and periodicals published in 1917, none were communist controlled; whereas, of the sixty-two published in 1921, no less than fifty, or more than eighty per cent, were communist controlled. The number of periodicals not under communist control -- by far the best index of Jewish cultural development and freedom -- had actually declined from forty-nine in 1917 to a mere twelve in 1921! (49)

A similar process took place in all other phases of minority cultural development, Jewish national culture included. Under the subterfuge of "en-
encouraging" cultural progress, the communists gradually gained control over
native schools, art societies, science academies, publishing facilities, et cetera,
and thereafter proceeded to rid them of all "national deviations" in favor of
a stereotyped "proletarian" culture which was in strict conformity with the
Communist Party propaganda line.

The communists have coined a terse slogan to describe these tactics.
The aim of the Party, we are told, is to foster the development of minority
cultures which are "nationalist in form but socialist in content." This formula,
a capsule version of the vaunted Marxist-Leninist "solution" of the national
question, recurs again and again in communist theory. For example:

"...What is national culture under the dictatorship
of the proletariat? A culture socialist in content
and national in form, the aim of which is to educate
the masses in the spirit of internationalism and to
consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat...." (50)

"...Proletarian in content and national in form -
such is the universal human culture towards which
socialism is marching...." (51)

"...The blossoming of cultures national in form
and socialist in content under a proletarian dic-
tatorship in one country, with the object of their
fusion into a single, common, socialist (both in
form and content) culture, with a single, common
language...such is the dialectical nature of the
Leninist presentation of the question of national
culture." (52)
Reduced to plain terms, such statements betray the real purpose of communist concessions to national culture. Their aim is only to pacify national minority groups until they have consolidated their power, at which time the Party will undertake to bring about its real goal, i.e., the "fusion" of all independent cultures into "a single, common, socialist (both in form and content) culture."

Soviet Repression of National Culture

For the reasons noted in the foregoing pages, the Soviet Government did allow a token degree of cultural freedom during the early years of its reign. Once communist control was firmly established, however, the Kremlin rapidly withdrew all support of independent national culture. If a single turning point had to be named, the Moscow trials and purges of 1936-1937 would probably fit the description best.

These trials were represented to the outside world--by communist and noncommunist observers alike--as a crackdown upon politically unreliable elements in the Soviet state. It is not generally realized that the purges also provided the Kremlin with an opportunity to destroy those elements which it considered as nationally unreliable. Although this aspect of the 1936-1937 trials received scant attention until recently, the Soviet dictatorship used the
occasion mercilessly to crush the leadership of a number of minority groups whose cultural resurgence, limited as it was, had become a source of alarm, and to substitute new leaders who had been raised from the beginning in Marxist doctrine and who could be counted on to be completely subservient to the Politburo. *

The liquidation of minority leaders -- not merely the political leadership but the cultural leadership as well (i.e., the intelligentsia, artists, scientists, et cetera) -- was accompanied by increasing restrictions upon minority cultural institutions. One by one, the separate hospitals, universities, theaters, newspapers, charities, and art societies of the Russian minorities either disappeared entirely or lost their national character and became simply "Soviet" institutions. Minority representatives gradually became less prominent -- and less numerous -- in the roll call of Soviet officialdom, in the ranks of Red Army commanders and artistic and intellectual leaders, et cetera.

Since the end of World War II, Soviet propaganda has centered increasingly

* One example will suffice to show the effects of the purges on Russian minority leadership. Of the ten representatives of minority groups who served on the draft committee for the Stalin Constitution of 1936, only one was still known to be alive by the end of 1937. All of the other nine minority delegates, constituting the cream of Russian minority leadership, had been branded as "spies" and "enemies of the people" and had either been shot, driven to suicide, or had mysteriously vanished. (53)
around the accomplishments and virtues of the Great Russian people as such, while simultaneously deploring "nationalist deviations" among the Soviet minority groups (i.e., Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Uzbeks, et cetera).

The Rise and Fall of Jewish Culture in the USSR

The Jews have been no exception in the Soviet persecution of cultural independence. The steady repression of Jewish culture in the USSR during the past twenty years is, in fact, a prime example of the hopeless future facing any minority culture under the communist system.

The rise and fall of the Jewish school system in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a case in point. In 1925, according to Government figures, there was a total of 39,474 students attending Ukrainian schools with Yiddish as the language of instruction. Government figures are not available after 1928, but according to all available indications, this number rose rapidly during the next six years to a peak of about 90,000 in 1931. An apparent decline set in, in 1934, and by 1940 the number had fallen off to an estimated 50,000. During World War II, the Ukraine was overrun by the Nazis and, as might be expected, the Jewish school system was completely suppressed during this period. But despite the high hopes of Ukrainian Jews, no Jewish schools were reopened after the war, and efforts on the part of Jewish educators to have the Soviet Government construct new schools were entirely without avail. (54)
We have already noted the illusory "growth" of the Jewish press during the early years of communist rule, when there was an increase in the number of Jewish newspapers and periodicals but a clear decrease in national character. A similar process took place with regard to Jewish literature in the USSR. During the period 1928 to 1933, for example, the number of books published in Yiddish rose from 238 to 668, but at the same time there was a marked decline in the number of books dealing with Jewish history, Jewish folklore, and other specific Jewish topics. During 1932, there was a total of thirty-six books in Yiddish which were classified as history. Of these, sixteen were personal memoirs (chiefly by old Bolsheviks), six were studies on the history of the Communist International, six dealt with the history of the revolutionary movement or the history of the Communist Party, and five were translations of speeches by Stalin and other Soviet leaders. Only three were concerned with Jewish subjects. All of these, moreover, related to the Jewish labor movement and were concerned primarily with rewriting this history to conform with Marxist-Leninist doctrine and to eliminate all traces of the noncommunist past in the Jewish labor movement. (55)

The Jewish theater suffered a similar fate. Practically nonexistent during the tsarist era, it grew rapidly in the early years of the Soviet regime, reaching a peak in the mid-1930's when the USSR boasted some twenty
permanent theatrical establishments for the Jews. This trend was abruptly reversed, however, during the purges of 1936-1937. By the end of 1937, only twelve Jewish theaters remained and a number of these disappeared during the war. According to reports, the Jewish stage was later entirely suppressed in the USSR.

One of the most crippling of the Soviet attacks upon Jewish culture has been the prohibition of the Hebrew language, traditional language of the Jews. In many cases, Soviet leaders have gone so far as to actively encourage the teaching of Yiddish in order to destroy the influence of Hebrew among Russian Jews. During the early 1920's, for example, the communists undertook a strenuous campaign of "compulsory Yiddishizing" of the Jewish school system in an effort to overcome what was called "reactionary Zionist Hebraizing."

The repression of Hebrew in the Soviet zone, and its replacement by Yiddish, seriously jeopardizes both Jewish historical culture and Jewish religion. The Hebrew language is essential to the survival of Judaism. Yiddish cannot serve as a substitute either in the religious or historiccultural life of the Jews. The elimination of Hebrew therefore means the eventual destruction of the Jewish religion as well as a serious weakening of Jewish national culture in general.

Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Government has maintained nearly complete silence with regard to the status of Jewish culture. Statistics
regarding the number of Jewish schools, newspapers, theater groups, etc., in the USSR -- regularly published prior to the war -- were discontinued. References to Jewish cultural activity in the USSR disappeared from postwar Communist Party propaganda.

The feeble condition of Jewish culture in the Soviet Union at the present time is blamed by some communist apologists on the Nazi occupation of 1941-1944. The German invaders, we are told, destroyed every vestige of Jewish culture in the occupied areas. However, Jewish cultural activity is said to be rapidly reviving under the "friendly guidance" of the Soviet Government.

This argument is a half-truth at the very best. Undeniably, the Germans did wreak enormous havoc on Jewish cultural institutions during their wartime occupation of Russia. It seems clear, however, that the Soviet Government has exerted little effort to restore Jewish culture to its prewar status. Moreover, during the postwar period, the communist regime has itself suppressed a number of the Jewish institutions which managed to survive the Nazi holocaust. During the latter part of 1948, for instance, the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the Soviet Union and its publication Einiklet were, without any warning, discontinued. At the same time, the Jewish publishing house Emes, an important outlet for Jewish literature in the USSR since 1928,
was abruptly suppressed. No explanation was offered in either case. (57)

The attack on Jewish culture in the Soviet Union has been closely paralleled in the satellite nations of eastern Europe. The following excerpts, dealing with the repression of Jewish culture in Romania, are from a study, *Jews Behind the Iron Curtain*, issued by the Jewish Labor Committee in 1949. A similar process, it may be added, was taking place in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia at about the same time.

"In the summer of 1948, the forced liquidation of the Jewish school system took place.... Henceforth, all teaching had to be carried on in Rumanian. For the study of Yiddish language and literature, a few additional hours were authorized in those schools where the proportion of Jewish children exceeded 20 percent. All this was laid down in an official declaration of the Communist Party. The exact meaning of this document was that Jewish schools as such had no longer any right to existence. Even in schools where Yiddish could still be taught for a few hours, Jewish history, as a special subject, would not be admitted."

"In November 1948, Jewish communities were deprived of their right to administer social security institutions, homes for the aged as well as orphanages.... On November 5th, 1948, the Union of Rumanian Jews was dissolved after forty years of fruitful activity.

"All Jewish sport clubs bearing Jewish names... were ordered to change their names, within 24 hours, to Rumanian or Russian appellations."

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"No more Jewish schools, no more Jewish culture, no more Jewish organizations, no more Jewish communities. The Jews of Rumania have been subjected to the despotic rule of a small but powerful Communist clique. The Iron Curtain has descended." (58)

Birobidzhan: The USSR's Jewish "Homeland"

The Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidzhan occupies a special place in communist propaganda concerning the Jews. Established by the Soviet Government in 1928 for the ostensible purpose of assisting the Jewish people in "preserving its nationality," Birobidzhan is frequently offered as clinching "evidence" of the USSR's kindly intentions toward Jewish culture and statehood. Communist pamphlets dealing with the "Jewish question" reserve their strongest superlatives for Birobidzhan, hailing it as a "milestone" in Jewish history, a "crowning achievement" of the USSR's national policy, et cetera. A few typical statements follow:

"...the Jews in the Soviet Union have received the historic opportunity in Biro-Bidjan to build up their own homeland, with their own Soviet state system. The Jews in the Soviet Union are creating a great Jewish culture in Yiddish, socialist in content, national in form." (59)

"It is impossible to overestimate the historic significance of the Jewish Autonomous Region to the Jews of the world...."
"Birobidjan is a convincing example to every civilized country that full equality for the Jewish people... is within the reach of the democratic forces... Birobidjan has provided the Jews with all the attributes of a nation. It has opened a new era in the history of the Jewish people."

Propaganda on behalf of Birobidzhan has been carried on in the United States chiefly by two communist front organizations: Icor (Association for Jewish Colonization in the Soviet Union), mentioned previously, and the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.,* popularly referred to as Ambijan. A pamphlet issued by the latter group during 1948, under the title Jews in the Soviet Union, conveniently summarizes communist propaganda claims with respect to Birobidzhan. Among the major claims made are the following:

1. "The designation in 1928 of the territory of Birobidjan for Jewish settlement had a twofold purpose... Birobidjan provided opportunities for... substantial numbers of Jews to settle on land and engage in agriculture, forestry, fishing, etc. But, above all, Birobidjan presented the Jews of the Soviet Union with the opportunity to develop their own statehood."

2. "...The hardy, healthy climate and rich natural resources of Birobidjan have made possible for the new Jewish settlers, with the assistance of the U.S.S.R. as a whole, to develop in a comparatively short time agriculture and industries which have made the region... self-sustaining..." (62)

3. "...tens of thousands of new settlers are applying daily for admission to Birobidjan..." (63)

* Designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.
A totally different picture emerges, however, when one consults noncommunist sources. As to the claim that the creation of Birobidzhan was prompted by altruistic motives (i.e., to allow the Jews a chance "to settle on land" and "to develop their own statehood"), Solomon M. Schwarz, in his documented study, *The Jews in the Soviet Union*, demonstrates that the Soviet regime had another, at least equally important, motive. As Schwarz points out, Birobidzhan is a border province located in the extreme southeast territory of the USSR. During the mid-1920's, at the very time when plans were being made for the development of a Jewish colony in Birobidzhan, Soviet leaders were expressing grave concern regarding the threat of Chinese and Japanese infiltration or invasion of the thinly populated areas on the USSR's Far Eastern frontier. In the words of one Soviet writer, the establishment of a Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan would, therefore, not only help to solve the "Jewish question" in the Soviet Union, but would also provide "the solution of another, no less important problem, that of populating...the vast spaces of the Far East, the continuing emptiness of which whets the appetite of our imperialist neighbors." Thus, the establishment of this special "homeland" for Russia's Jews was inspired, at least in part, by a purely political objective, i.e., forestalling a possible invasion of Soviet territory by her Far Eastern neighbors.
The assertion that Birobidzhan is an area with "rich natural resources" as well as a "self-sustaining" industry and agriculture is more difficult to appraise, since we must depend entirely upon Soviet sources for information as to the output of Birobidzhan's farms and factories. As might be expected, these sources are unfailingly optimistic. We are told that Birobidzhan has "oversubscribed" its quota of grain deliveries under the Five Year Plan, that the Jewish Autonomous Region is making "rapid strides" in the development of its own railroads and highways, et cetera.

It is significant, however, that almost all of the comments concerning Birobidzhan in the Soviet press are in the nature of generalities. Thus, a report published in the December, 1949, issue of the Ambijan Bulletin asserted that the farmers of Birobidzhan were "reaping abundant crops," but neglected to give any specific figures. The same report referred to "sixty-four large industrial enterprises" in Birobidzhan, but failed to give any data as to the number of workers employed, the extent of production, or other vital statistics.

Similarly, an article which appeared in an issue of Pravda* during October, 1949, reported that "unusually large industrial enterprises have been put into operation" in Birobidzhan and that the industrial output of the Jewish Autonomous Region had increased tenfold since 1936. No concrete figures were given and the article did not elaborate any further concerning this astonishing industrial performance. The significance of such omissions is clear. It

* Official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.
can only mean that the development of Birobidzhan's industry and agriculture is below par.

Perhaps the most fraudulent claim of all is the assertion that "tens of thousands of new settlers (i.e., Jews - ed.) are applying daily" for admission to the Jewish Autonomous Region. The actual record shows that, during the twenty-eight years which have elapsed since the founding of Birobidzhan in 1928, only a small percentage of Russian Jews has emigrated there, and an even smaller fraction has remained. The Soviet Government originally envisioned a Jewish population in Birobidzhan of at least 60,000 by 1933. During the first six years of the Region's existence (1928-1933), however, only 19,635 Jews arrived in Birobidzhan; in the same interval, no less than 11,450 Jews left the Region, leaving a net gain of only 8,185 Jews.

The response of Soviet Jewry to their new "homeland" was so dismal, in fact, that by 1934 the word "recruitment" began to creep into official press releases in place of the former "voluntary migration" -- an indication that the Kremlin may have even resorted to compulsion in an effort to fill its quotas for the region. In spite of everything the Soviet regime tried, Jewish migration to Birobidzhan continued to lag throughout the 1930's. By 1939 -- after eleven years of strenuous effort and publicity -- the Jewish "homeland" in the USSR could claim no more than 30,000 Jews, less than one per cent of the Jewish population of the Soviet Union!
Early in 1951, the total Jewish population in Birobidzhan was estimated to be about 40,000.\(^{(70)}\) But even if this estimate is reliable, it still represents only a tiny fraction of Russian Jewry and leaves the Jewish Autonomous Region far short of the extravagant predictions made in its behalf by communist propagandists. Moreover, the comparatively few Jews in Birobidzhan constitute a small community surrounded by various Asiatic peoples and completely separated from the mainstream of Jewish life, thereby increasing the possibility of the absorption or obliteration of their distinctive culture.

It is no exaggeration to say that Birobidzhan has been a complete failure from start to finish. The very title "Jewish Autonomous Region" is a misnomer. Birobidzhan is no more autonomous than are any of the other "sovereign" republics and national regions of the USSR. In fact, Birobidzhan is not even a Jewish region in any accurate sense of the word. At no time during the twenty-eight year history of Birobidzhan have the Jews exceeded thirty per cent of the population. According to the June 3, 1937, issue of Emes, former Soviet Jewish daily, the Jews then comprised only 23.8 per cent of the total population;\(^{(71)}\) as recently as 1951, informed sources estimated that only thirty per cent of the Region's population was actually Jewish.\(^{(72)}\)
The Soviet Union's "Rescue" of the Jews during World War II

When other arguments appear to be failing, communist propaganda aimed at the Jews often resorts to an emotional appeal. Wasn't the Soviet Union responsible for saving hundreds of thousands of Jews in eastern Europe and Russia from almost certain extinction by the Nazis? Except for the heroic stand of the Red Army during 1941-1942 and its subsequent victories over the German war machine, wouldn't Hitler have conquered all of eastern Europe and the Russian border provinces, where almost half of the world's prewar Jewish population was located?

This argument is especially useful in answering any "slanders" alleging anti-Semitism in the USSR. If the Soviet Union is unfavorably inclined toward the Jewish people, we are asked in outraged tones, why did the Soviet Government exert such great efforts to evacuate the Jews from the path of the Nazi onslaught in 1941 and 1942? Here are some typical statements in this connection:

"...by its rapid victory over the Nazis in eastern Europe and in the Balkans, the Soviet Union has saved the remnants of the whole of the Jewish people in Europe...

"...let the American Jewish masses never forget our historic debt to the saviour of the Jewish people - the Soviet Union...." (73)

"...During World War II, the Soviet Union saved the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women and children, decreeing priority of evacuation for these marked victims of Nazi-fascism...." (74)
"It is worth remembering that almost all Jews now living in the U.S.S.R., about three million of them, were evacuated, including the Jews of Moscow and Leningrad, and were moved hundreds and even thousands of miles away from the battlefront. The story of this evacuation has yet to be told. It is a story of pain and sacrifice, of shattered families, of mothers and children 'living' on trains for many weeks, watching other trains speed westward toward the front. It is a story of heroism, of enormous sacrifice on the part of the Soviet government, which needed the trains to move armies, factories." (75)

When less emotion and more hard facts are applied to the subject, however, the legend of the Soviet Union's dramatic "rescue" of the Jews evaporates in thin air.

To begin with, it should be remembered that, for a period of almost two years prior to the German attack on the USSR, the Soviet Government was publicly allied with Nazi Germany in a nonaggression treaty. During this time (August, 1939 to June, 1941), the Soviet regime maintained an aloof "neutrality" with respect to the struggle between Germany and the western democracies, and studiously refrained from any comment regarding the Nazis' inhuman treatment of the Jews.

Not a word of protest issued from the Soviet Government rebuking the Hitler regime for its ghastly atrocities against the Jewish people of Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and other countries under Nazi control. On the contrary, efforts were made to condition the Russian people into
accepting Hitler Germany as a "friendly neighbor."* Stalin himself offered a toast to Hitler’s health, and, following the downfall of France in 1940, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov offered the German ambassador in Russia the "warmest congratulations" of the USSR on the "splendid successes" of the German armed forces. (76)

From the standpoint of the Jews, the cooperation between Germany and the Soviet Union from 1939 to 1941 was doubly injurious. First, the avowed

* Present-day communist propagandists will, of course, vehemently deny this fact. However, evidence to support it is overwhelming. Such evidence is supplied, in fact, by the Nazis themselves. Following the signing of the Soviet-German nonaggression treaty, the German ambassador in the USSR sent a telegram to the German Foreign Office which read in part as follows:

"...The Soviet Government is doing everything to change the attitude of the population here toward Germany. The press is as though it had been transformed. Attacks on the conduct of Germany have not only ceased completely, but the portrayal of events in the field of foreign politics is based to an outstanding degree on German reports and anti-German literature has been removed from the book trade, etc."

"...the Soviet Government has always previously been able in a masterly fashion to influence the attitude of the population in the direction which it has desired, and it is not being sparing this time either of the necessary propaganda." (77)
"friendship" between Germany and the USSR served as an indirect sanction of the vicious anti-Semitic policies of the Nazis -- an unforgivable moral failure on the part of the Soviet Government at a time when the Jewish people were facing the greatest crisis in their entire history. Secondly -- and perhaps of even greater practical importance -- the Kremlin's silence on the subject of Nazi anti-Semitism resulted in a complete misapprehension on the part of thousands of eastern European Jews as to the real character of the German threat. There can be little doubt, in fact, that the failure of more than two million Russian and eastern European Jews to escape from the Nazi juggernaut during the first few months of the Russo-German war was caused in large part by the fact that they had been grossly misinformed as to their likely fate in the event they were captured by the Germans. As a result, they made no preparations for flight until it was too late.

It is generally agreed that approximately four million Jews resided in areas which were overrun by the Nazis during the first two years following the German attack on Russia. This total includes Jews of both the USSR proper (i.e., the Ukraine, White Russia, Crimea, Northern Caucasus, and the western regions), where an estimated 2,100,000 Jews were located, and the territories which had been annexed by the Soviet Union from 1939-1941 (i.e., Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Galicia, Bessarabia, and North Bukovina), where about 1,900,000 Jews resided. (78)
There have been any number of conflicting reports as to the number of Jews killed by the Nazis during the war with Russia. The Soviet Government itself has never issued any comprehensive statistics or even estimates on this subject. But from piecing together information and reports from a variety of sources (concerning individual provinces, cities, et cetera), it seems clear that the Germans slaughtered not less than two million and perhaps as many as three million Jews during their occupation of Russian territory. Thus, out of a total Jewish population of four million which was threatened by the Nazis, at least half and perhaps as much as three fourths perished during the war.

The communist claim that the Soviet Union "saved" the Jews during the war becomes even more ridiculous when it is considered that many of the Jews who managed to survive did so, not because of any specific pro-Jewish effort on the part of the Soviet Government, but merely because they were members of the Red Army, technicians, farmers, Government officials, et cetera — in short, persons who would have been evacuated by the Government in any case, entirely irrespective of their nationality. In this connection, it is worth noting that an official of the Russian War Relief organization in this country was quoted as claiming that the Soviet regime evacuated a total of thirty-seven million persons during the war. (79)

Whatever the total number of evacuees may have been, however, there is practically no concrete evidence to support the belief that the Kremlin
gave any priority to the Jews as such. As a matter of fact, despite the eloquence of communist writers outside the Soviet Union on this topic, the Soviet Government itself has consistently refrained from making any official comments concerning the number of Jews evacuated. Moreover, a review of postwar Soviet literature, including newspapers, magazines, novels, and plays, discloses little evidence of a systematic effort on the part of the Soviet authorities to evacuate Jews during the war. This is a striking omission in view of world-wide interest in the fate of the Russian Jews, and we may take it as a fairly safe indication that no such effort was ever made.

Perhaps most illuminating of all, however, was the Soviet failure to publicize Nazi atrocities against the Jews even during the war. When reporting the massacre of whole Soviet villages and towns by the Germans, the Soviet press carefully avoided any reference to the Jews as the primary target of Nazi attack or merely lumped them together with several other nationality groups, though, in actual fact, Nazi atrocities were often aimed almost exclusively against the Jews.

For example, a statement issued by the Soviet Government during 1942 condemned the "bloodthirsty, criminal plans of the fascists" aimed at exterminating Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and "other peoples" of the Soviet Union. No direct mention was made of the Jews. A report
issued in 1945 by an "Extraordinary State Committee for the Ascertaining and Investigation of Crimes Committed by the German-Fascist Invaders" discussed the German concentration camp at Auschwitz (Oswiecim), where more than four million persons -- an overwhelming majority of them Jews -- were cremated, gassed, or beaten to death, without so much as a single reference to the word "Jew."

In summary, it seems plain that the Soviet Union not only did not exert any special effort to save the Jewish people during the war, but did not even show much concern over their fate.
IV. COMMUNIST THEORY AND TACTICS CONCERNING
THE JEWS AS A POLITICAL GROUP

Communist Attitude toward Zionism

Communist doctrine tends to regard any expression of nationalism with suspicion -- even when it is of such a spontaneous character as national culture. When nationalism becomes highly organized and political in nature -- as Jewish nationalism does in the Zionist movement -- such suspicion is converted into violent hostility.

Communist leaders have, from the very first, denounced Zionism* as a "counterrevolutionary" movement to be strenuously resisted by all Party members, Jewish and non-Jewish alike:

"Ever since its inception Zionism has been an instrument of the Jewish bourgeoisie to hamper the struggle of the Jewish masses... a means of diverting the attention of the Jewish workers from the class struggle and of keeping them separated from the progressive forces of other nationalities...." (83)

"...Zionism is an instrument of imperialist oppression and imperialist war, and as such must be exposed and

* Zionism, as interpreted by most Jews today, is a political movement which was founded by Dr. Theodor Herzl in the late nineteenth century. The first World Zionist Congress was held at Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, and defined the basic aim of the movement as the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This objective was, of course, realized with the creation of the independent state of Israel in 1948.
fought by the forces of peace, socialism, and national liberation." (84)

"...the role of Zionism must be made very clear. Zionism is playing into the hands of the reactionary forces. Not only is it playing into the hands of reaction, but it is itself reactionary to the core."

"Zionism is reactionary in that it is and always has been a tool of imperialism.... It preaches separation of the Jewish workers from the other workers in all the nations in which they find themselves. This diverts their attention from... the struggle for socialism as the only scientific solution of the national question." (85)

Communist differences with Zionism are of two kinds -- theoretical and practical. From the former standpoint, the communists take issue with the Zionist belief that anti-Semitism is essentially a psychological and historical problem which can only be solved through the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine. Marxist-Leninist theory, by contrast, teaches that anti-Semitism, like all kinds of racial and national oppression, is a product of concrete economic and political factors. In the communist view, prejudice against Jews is consciously developed and used by the bourgeoisie as a means of keeping the working class divided against itself. It will disappear completely when the capitalist system is abolished and when working-class power is established. It follows that the only "scientific" (i.e., Marxist-Leninist), answer to the whole "Jewish question" lies in a militant class struggle aimed
at overthrowing capitalism and founding a world-wide socialist order. For the communist, therefore, Zionism -- which fails to stress the need for class struggle and the destruction of capitalism -- is hopelessly "utopian," "unscientific," and "reactionary."

Such formal criticism is only incidental to the chief communist grievance against Zionism, however. The real basis for communist antipathy is a highly practical consideration: the fact that Zionism constitutes a powerful rival for Jewish working-class support. The issue is never stated as bluntly as this in communist literature. Instead, Zionism is merely accused of "keeping them (the Jewish workers) separated from the progressive forces of other nationalities," of "diverting" the Jewish people from the "struggle for socialism," et cetera. Nonetheless, translated from the Marxist dialectic, such phrases add up to a single, clear meaning: Zionism is a serious threat to communist control among the Jewish masses; as such it must be "exposed" and "fought" by the forces of "peace, socialism, and national liberation."

Communist efforts to "expose" and "fight" Zionism vary according to time and place. In the USSR itself and in the satellite nations, the matter is quite simple. Zionist theory is officially condemned and all Zionist activity ruthlessly suppressed. In those countries in which the communists are not in power, such as the United States, communist strategy is a good deal more complex, however.
Generally speaking, direct attacks upon the Zionist creed or upon the Zionist movement as a whole are avoided, no doubt in deference to Zionism's widespread appeal for American Jewry. Instead, the Party concentrates its fire upon individual Zionist leaders who are charged with misleading the Jewish masses, betraying the Jewish people, et cetera. Such "misleadership" and "betrayal" usually take the form of alliances with "known enemies" of the Jewish workers, who, it might be added, always turn out to be identical with the "known enemies" of the Communist Party itself, i.e., "Wall Street," Anglo-American "imperialism," the "reactionary bourgeoisie," Jewish and otherwise, et cetera.

By attacking the Zionist leadership while soft-pedalling the Party's incompatibility with Zionism as such, it appears that the communists are attempting a difficult feat: namely, to discredit the Zionist movement without antagonizing the Zionist rank and file any more than is necessary. There are strong indications, in fact, that the communists count upon gaining future converts from the Zionist membership.

Attacks upon Zionism are tempered with expressions of sympathy for the Jewish community in Palestine. Criticism of the new Israeli Government is coupled with careful explanations seeking to show that the Party is not opposed to Jewish statehood or national independence per se, but only to the Zionist method of achieving this goal. Moreover, references to Zionism are
usually qualified as being aimed only at "reactionary" Zionists, or at "certain Zionist elements." On occasion, the Party has even suggested that it would be willing to form a "united Jewish front" with "democratic" or "forward-looking" Zionists:

"...It is our task to prove...that, while we are combating Zionism, we are fighting for the interests of the Jewish toiling masses everywhere, and that we are even ready to make united fronts with those Zionists that are willing to struggle for the interests of the Jewish masses..." (86)

"...Within the Zionist movement democratic elements realize that the establishment and safeguarding of the Jewish state (Israel - ed.) demand a firm alliance with the anti-imperialist (i.e., Communist - ed.) forces of the world...

"...there is need for a powerful united movement of Zionists and non-Zionists to bring to fruition the establishment and independence of the Jewish state...." (87)

Such conciliatory gestures are, of course, merely "tactical" in nature. They are made chiefly during "united-front" phases of communist strategy when the Party is on the defensive, so to speak, and is attempting to gain temporary allies for a temporary goal.

Communist efforts to establish friendly relations with the Zionists were, for example, especially noticeable during the "Popular Front" era of 1935-1939, as well as during the wartime collaboration between the USSR and the western democracies (1941-1945).
In both cases, however, once the necessity for a "united-front" strategy had passed, the Party promptly retracted its offer of Zionist-communist unity. Thus, only two months after the surrender of Japan in 1945, the Communist Party, USA, which had been loudly demanding Zionist-communist collaboration throughout the war, suddenly reversed its field and issued the following subtle warning against future cooperation:

"Another source of error we find in the fact that we have not always safeguarded the ideological and political independence of the Jewish workers and of their vanguard - the Communists - in the process of working with other groups, the Zionists, for example, in the Jewish anti-fascist unity.

"...it became necessary and possible to work for anti-fascist Jewish unity, including Zionists and Communists...."

"But in fighting for unity...we have not always fully exposed some of the reactionary tendencies in Zionism, insufficiently promoting the ideological and political positions of the working class and of the Communists...." (88)

During the past twenty years, the Communist Party, USA, has "re-oriented" its position toward Zionism on perhaps a half-dozen occasions -- at one moment stressing the need for Jewish "unity" and suggesting cooperation with the Zionists, and at the next emphasizing the dangers of "insufficient resistance" to Zionist influence. To add to the confusion, communist statements
on the subject of Zionism are often couched in highly ambiguous language, the meaning of which depends entirely upon the interpretation given it.

For instance, prior to Israel's admission to the United Nations in 1949, Alexander Bittelman, probably the foremost Communist Party, USA, theoretician on the "Jewish question," wrote the following statement on the subject of Zionism. As can be seen, his remarks can be interpreted either as lukewarm praise for the Zionist movement or as clear disapproval of it:

"...No one would question that the Zionist movement has become over the years an important factor in Jewish life.

"But it is demonstrable that official Zionist policies have always been oriented on imperialism and reaction."

"Zionism...worked for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. It thus contributed to the emergence of the Jewish Yishuv (i.e., the Jewish community in Palestine - ed.)....But Zionism also bears a heavy responsibility for many of the difficulties which now confront (the Yishuv)...." (89)

The seeming contradictions of communist policy toward Zionism, as well as the apparent mildness of most communist criticism, should not obscure the fact that Zionism and communism are thoroughly incompatible. Such contradictions are only an indication of a practical dilemma facing American communist leaders -- namely, the need to destroy Zionist influence
among the Jewish people without alienating those Zionist members who may prove useful allies in future "united fronts."

In countries where the communists have already gained power, and consequently where there is less need to disguise the Party's intentions, they have left no doubt as to their real attitude toward Zionism. In such countries, Zionism has, without exception, been branded a "counterrevolutionary" movement which cannot be tolerated even for a moment by the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Moreover, without exception, all Zionist activities have been officially outlawed almost immediately after the communists gained control.

Communist Attitude toward Palestine and Israel

One of the favorite arguments of communist propaganda aimed at the Jews is the claim that the Soviet Union was the first country to officially recognize the newly established Government of Israel in 1948. Another favorite argument is that the decision of the United Nations to create an independent Jewish state in Palestine was "primarily due" to the "decisive support" of the USSR. Like most other communist propaganda claims, these statements consist of about one part truth and nine parts fabrication.

The Soviet Government was, in fact, the first to grant de jure recognition to Israel following the founding of the new Jewish state on May 14, 1948. Moreover, during the United Nations' debate which preceded the partitioning
of Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states, Soviet Delegate Andrei A. Gromyko did offer USSR support for the partition plan. To claim, however, that the Soviet Union rendered "decisive support" to the realization of an independent Jewish state in Israel is sheer fantasy.

The fact that the USSR was the first Government to officially recognize Israel is of no significance whatever. The United States extended de facto recognition even before the Soviet's de jure recognition, and followed up with de jure recognition immediately following the seating of an elected Israeli Government. Gromyko's offer to support partition in Palestine can also be discounted. The fact is that Gromyko suggested that partition be considered only as an alternative plan, the USSR's first choice being the creation of a single Arab-Jewish state as the "solution most deserving attention." (90)

As a matter of fact, until its eleventh-hour switch in favor of an independent Jewish state on the very eve of Israel's creation, the communist movement had steadfastly opposed all proposals for a separate Jewish nation in Palestine. During 1937, for instance, a statement issued by the Communist Party of Great Britain denounced partition as a "crime against both Arabs and Jews" and called the partition recommendations of the Peel Commission on Palestine "fantastic and mischievous." (91) As late as 1946, in fact, Party propagandists were still referring to partition as a "scheme" which had been
devised to strengthen British and American "imperialist domination" in the Middle East. (92)

During all of this period, communist propaganda used the Palestine issue mainly as a springboard from which to attack British and, later, American "imperialism." Every proposal put forward by Great Britain or other western powers for the solution of the Palestine problem was denounced by the communists as "imperialist intrigue" aimed at increasing England's "shameless exploitation" of Arabs and Jews alike. In the meantime, the communists offered few, if any, concrete suggestions of their own for settling Arab-Jewish strife. Instead, the Party maintained a careful neutrality as between Arabs and Jews, indulging in all kinds of generalities concerning a "democratic" solution of the problem to be brought about by Arab-Jewish "unity" and an end to British "interference." Such platitudes did little, of course, to effect a practical solution of the problem.

During 1947 and 1948, the communists made a strong bid to capture the sympathy of the new Israeli Government. The Soviet Union, as we have seen, supported partition as a secondary solution of the Palestine question and was the first country to grant legal recognition to the State of Israel. Meanwhile, communist propagandists -- conveniently overlooking their own previous hostility to partition "schemes" -- hailed the partition as an "historic step toward the realization of a dream of centuries." (93)
Such friendly gestures were, of course, merely a tactical maneuver on the part of the communists aimed at increasing Soviet prestige and influence with the new Israeli Government. In a report delivered to the National Jewish Commission of the Communist Party, USA, during December, 1947, Alexander Bittelman tipped off the Party's strategy. While pretending to welcome the prospective Jewish state in Palestine, Bittelman warned that the "democratic forces of American Jewry" would have to be alert to prevent Anglo-American"imperialism"from controlling the new Jewish state at the expense of the Soviet Union. Declared Bittelman:

"...There is great danger that Anglo-American imperialism will seek to distort and violate the U.N. decision, will strive to exclude the democratic states headed by the Soviet Union from influencing the implementation of the decision...We must fully support the struggle for the establishment of an independent, democratic Jewish state...and of the cooperation of the Jewish state with the anti-imperialist, democratic (i.e., Soviet - ed.) camp... throughout the world." (94)

In effect, this statement cautioned that communist support of the new Government of Israel was strictly contingent upon the latter's pro-Soviet orientation. When it became clear that the new Jewish state would not align itself with the Soviet bloc, but was tending more and more in the direction of the western democracies, both economically and politically, the temporary communist "friendship" toward Israel suddenly evaporated.
The break came about the latter part of 1948, when Soviet and communist newspapers and spokesmen throughout the world began a concerted attack upon Israeli leaders as "bourgeois nationalists," "tools of British and American imperialism," "social betrayers," et cetera. Emigration to Palestine, which had been permitted to a limited extent by the satellite governments of eastern Europe following the war, was abruptly cut off. About 1949, a sweeping campaign was undertaken by the USSR against "cosmopolitanism" (i.e., the tendency to favor non-Soviet culture or civilization - ed.) -- a sharp notice to Russian and satellite Jews that even the slightest expression of sympathy for Israel might be regarded as treasonable.

The growing rift between Israel and world communism was further intensified by charges growing out of the November, 1952, trial of Rudolph Slansky and thirteen other former communist leaders in Czechoslovakia. During this show-trial, involving eleven Jews out of a total of fourteen defendants, the prosecution attempted to show that a "Zionist conspiracy," financed by British and American "imperialism" and headed by Slansky, had schemed to overthrow the "People's Democracy" in Czechoslovakia by every conceivable means, including espionage, sabotage, and murder. Among other charges made during these fantastic proceedings, it was alleged that several official representatives of the Israeli Government, including Moshe Sharett,
then Israel's foreign minister and later prime minister, had been implicated in the Slansky plot. Indeed, it was made to appear that the Israeli Government had been largely responsible for the entire "counterrevolutionary" conspiracy!

Early in 1953, the Soviet Government broke off diplomatic relations with Israel, thereby climaxing a steady deterioration of relations between the two Governments. The break was accompanied, of course, by a barrage of communist propaganda denouncing Israel in the usual stereotyped terms: the new Jewish state was branded a "vassal of American warmongering and reaction," a "fascist gang" of "Zionist bandits," an "advance base for imperialist war plans in the Middle East," et cetera.

The echoes of these harsh words had hardly died down when, during July, 1953, the USSR found it expedient -- and in accord with its temporary post-Stalin policy of conciliation towards the free world -- to resume diplomatic relations with Israel. This did not prevent Russian hostility to Israel in 1956.

A Middle East crisis which had been developing since the 1953 rise to power in Egypt of Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser was characterized by Arab-Israeli border incidents and diplomatic and economic maneuvering by the Egyptian Premier. This led to open conflict which began with the Israeli invasion of Egypt's Sinai Peninsula on October 29, 1956. Within two days, Great Britain and France also began military action against Egypt in an effort to retake the Suez Canal from Egypt.
For more than a year, Israel's interests in the Middle East had gradually converged with those of Great Britain and France against the Arab countries dominated by Egypt. However, Soviet Russia, who had been furnishing considerable economic and military aid to Egypt, was quick to condemn Great Britain, France, and Israel for the "armed aggression" against Egypt. The Soviet Union was again openly in opposition to Israel.

On November 5, 1956, Soviet Premier Nikolai A. Bulganin, in a note to Premier David Ben-Gurion of Israel, advised that the Soviet Union was recalling its ambassador to Israel and had already expressed its definite condemnation of the armed aggression against Egypt by Israel, Great Britain, and France. He charged that Israel was acting as a tool of foreign imperialist powers in challenging the peoples of the East who were struggling against colonialism for their freedom and independence. The note continued that Israel's actions would place in jeopardy the very existence of Israel as a state. He ended the note with the hope that the Government of Israel would understand and appreciate the Soviet warning.

On November 10, 1956, Soviet Russia warned that, unless all the "aggressors" in Egypt were immediately withdrawn, the Soviet Union would allow Soviet volunteers to aid Egypt in their struggle. Two days later, the Egyptian ambassador to Moscow announced that already more than 50,000
Soviet citizens and many more from Soviet-satellite countries had volunteered to serve with the Egyptian armed forces.

Reports from British and French authorities claimed that in the period of a year the communist bloc countries had furnished the Arab countries nearly 500 million dollars worth of war material. They said this was much more than these countries could use with their relatively small, untrained armies. (95)

On November 23, 1956, a representative of the United States Department of State stated that Soviet Russia's activities in the Middle East contrasted sharply with the United Nations' efforts to diminish tensions and work for the settlement of issues stirring the Arab world. He said the Soviet Union was continuing its arms shipments as well as releasing a flood of anti-Western propaganda. He also pointed out that there were reports of Soviet technicians and "advisors" who were accompanying the arms shipments. (96)

As far as practical results in the Middle East crisis are concerned, the Jewish people are not faring any better with Soviet Russia there than elsewhere. Soviet Russia has a long record of antagonism toward the Jewish people.

One thing seems certain. So long as Israel stands as a symbol of genuine political independence for the world's Jews and as a "non-Marxist
solution of the Jewish question, " the fledgling Jewish state will continue to be regarded with underlying and inveterate hostility by the forces of world communism.
V. REVELATIONS SINCE THE 20TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

Final proof of communist mistreatment of Jews came from a startling source -- the communists themselves. Not that the leaders of the Kremlin planned it that way -- indeed, as we shall see, the revelations apparently caught the Soviet leaders unprepared. The situation developed as a direct result of the denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), held in Moscow in February, 1956, at which the leaders of the Kremlin sought to consolidate their power by blaming past misdeeds on Stalin and the "cult of personality."

It is significant that Nikita S. Khrushchev, first secretary of the CPSU, made no mention of mistreatment of Jews in his "bill of particulars" against Stalin during his secret speech to a closed session of the 20th Congress. The first communist confirmation of Soviet purges of Jewish leaders and Jewish culture under Stalin was provided by the Warsaw Yiddish-language communist newspaper Folkshtimme in its issue of April 4, 1956. (97)

On April 11, 1956, the Daily Worker reported the Folkshtimme revelations, which attributed the terrible injustices to the Jews in the Soviet Union to Beria and the atmosphere created by the "cult of personality."

On April 13, 1956, the Daily Worker printed an editorial entitled "Grievous Deeds." It was a self-righteous plea: "We feel a deep sense of
indignation, anger and grief over the latest disclosures of violation of socialist principles under the Stalin regime in the Soviet Union." It denounced and protested "this crime" as "a gross departure from the socialist principles upon which the Soviet Union, the first socialist state in the history of man, is founded." It purported to "frankly admit we were too prone to accept the explanation of why Jewish culture had disappeared in the Soviet Union in the late 1940s." But in true communist disregard for truth and logic, justification of the Soviet Union was attempted in the following statements, the falsity of which we have noted in previous portions of this study:

"The Soviet Union has to its ever-lasting credit that it developed and put into practice the socialist principle of racial and national equality. Hundreds of millions of people have been inspired by the elimination of the barbarous anti-Semitism of the Czars, the wiping out of the Czarist 'prison-house of nations' and its replacement by a socialist multi-national state, by the encouragement to the development of culture in a hundred different tongues, including the Jewish language. It was the Soviet Union which saved millions of Jews from Hitlerite extinction during the war. As for Hitler's hordes which menaced the existence of every nation in the world, no one can deny that the Soviet Union dealt the major blows, in alliance with our own country, which defeated the Fascist axis. Also in line with the socialist principle of the rights of all peoples, small and big, was the decisive part the Soviet Union played in the establishment of an independent state of Israel."
This same theme was expounded upon at greater length by Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, in an article entitled "Sorrow and Perspective" which appeared in the April 16, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker. Dennis begins his article with the following words:

"As a result of the initiative taken by the Central Committee of the CPSU in the last three years and particularly at the 20th Congress, numerous facts have been brought to light revealing the anti-socialist crimes and the shocking violations of Soviet law and justice that were perpetrated by the Beria gang and their accomplices.

"Among these disclosures the recent news from Warsaw concerning the imprisonment and execution of political and cultural leaders of the Jewish community in the Soviet Union during the past years underscores the terrible extent of these outrages and fill us with heartfelt anguish.

"We feel this way, in the first place, because of what happened to the Jewish organizations which were dissolved, to the newspapers which were closed down, and to the political and cultural leaders of the Jewish community who were either arrested or executed. We feel this way, secondly, because this happened in a socialist country in which anti-Semitism has been outlawed and where the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom and equal rights to all."

Dennis then proceeds to attempt to offset these devastating revelations concerning the treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union by citing alleged Soviet accomplishments as outlined in the Daily Worker editorial mentioned above.
In both the editorial and Dennis' article, no attempt is made to deny that information concerning anti-Semitism over the years in the Soviet Union had been known by communists in this country. It was admitted that it had been known, but not believed. As Dennis blandly puts it:

"Over the years charges were made that such events had taken place in the Soviet Union. For the most part these charges were made by bitter and envenomed enemies of socialism who have not hesitated to invent and spread the most slanderous lies against the working class, especially in those countries where it has come to power. We denied these charges out of hand because, amongst other things, it was utterly inconceivable to us that such things could happen in a socialist country."

Then, with full knowledge of the historical mistreatment of Jews in the Soviet Union and with full knowledge that whatever privileges have been granted to Jews from time to time in the past by their Soviet masters have been to serve the real purpose of complete nationalization of Jews in the USSR, Dennis has the effrontery to state:

"But in a socialist country like the USSR, where there are no exploiting classes, whatever temporary distortions have occurred in attitudes to nations and peoples, whatever violations of the principles of socialist justice have taken place--these are departures from the principles of socialism.

"The progress and advance of socialism makes the correction of these aberrations inevitable. And that is what is now taking place in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Communist Party of that country."
At best, this is naive. It is probably deliberately misleading. There is nothing in the past history of Soviet mistreatment of Jews to afford even a semblance of real justification for such a belief. And there are indications that the present Soviet leadership fails to share Dennis' ostensible concern for the lot of the Jews in the USSR.

In April, 1956, Soviet leaders visited Great Britain. During the conversations there, Khrushchev was asked to ease anti-Semitism in eastern Europe. Khrushchev is reported to have characterized anti-Semitism as "nonsense" to which he would not listen. (98)

The June 6, 1956, issue of The New York Times carried an article with a Paris date line which reported the results of an interview with a member of a delegation of French socialists that had visited the Soviet Union in May, 1956. Khrushchev received the delegation on two occasions. At the first meeting, he treated the Jewish question as a topic of small general interest. At the second meeting, apparently impressed by the visitors' insistence on the importance of the subject, he went to great lengths to assure the delegation that he was not anti-Semitic. He told the delegation that the Jews were considered to be like any other minority nationality and that they had the same rights as other Soviet citizens, but no more. He is reported to have said that the Yiddish language is fading away and that the majority
of the Jews in the Soviet Union are learning Russian as the best way to obtain a livelihood in the modern Russian state.

Those who are familiar with the forcible assimilation policies of the communist state and who can read the real truth between the lines of this seemingly fair and just statement can find in it little reason for hope for the future of Jewish people, Jewish culture, and Jewish religion in the Soviet Union.

Khrushchev's contention that Jews have the same rights as other Soviet citizens is pertinent to an article appearing in the June 10, 1956, issue of The New York Times, which concerned a Paris dispatch appearing in the June 9, 1956, issue of The Jewish Daily Forward.* This dispatch also concerned the French socialist delegation to the USSR, and reported that Khrushchev had told the delegation that the Soviet Union restricted the number of Jews in professional positions to the relative proportion of Jews in the Soviet population. His reasons, as set forth in the Times article, are revealing:

"According to this dispatch, Mr. Khrushchev told the French Socialists that, in the early years after the Bolshevik Revolution, Jews occupied a disproportionately large number of high Soviet positions because the country had few trained people. Now, he was said to have contended, there are many trained Russians for responsible positions so that the former proportion of Jews is no longer necessary.

* New York Yiddish-language newspaper.
"Mr. Khrushchev, according to the report, said the Soviet Government received frequent protests from the various Soviet Republics that too many Jews held desirable positions. He reportedly pressed Lazar M. Kaganovich, only high-ranking Soviet leader of Jewish origin, to confirm his statements, which Mr. Kaganovich finally did, saying one word, 'correct.'"

The Daily Worker, on the other hand, in a report attributed to the Paris Jewish News Agency, on June 15, 1956, reported that Khrushchev had listed for the delegation a number of names of Jews who hold important posts in various branches of the Soviet Government, emphasizing that in the Soviet Union there is no discrimination.

Along this same line, it is interesting to note that The New York Times on July 2, 1956, reported an interview with Khrushchev which had appeared in the Cairo, Egypt, newspaper Al Ahram on July 1, 1956. In discussing Israel and the Zionist movement, Khrushchev was asked what the Soviet Union would do if Zionists settled on Soviet territory and then demanded a state of their own. Khrushchev is alleged to have stated: "We have thrown them out of our country."

Another example of the attitude of Soviet leaders toward the Jewish question in the Soviet Union is provided in the June 25, 1956, issue of the National Guardian, self-styled "progressive newsweekly" published in New York City, which contains an interview by a National Guardian staff.
correspondent with Ekaterina Furtseva, an alternate member of the presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is reported that Furtseva had this to say concerning the Jewish question:

"She emphasized that the cult (of personality) had hindered progress in every sphere of activity, every field including the nationalities question. But she denied emphatically that there had ever been any suppression of Jewish culture or repression of the Jewish people. She acknowledged that she had not read the article in the Polish Jewish-language Folkshtimme, detailing the shutting down of Jewish cultural institutions in the Soviet Union, the arrest and execution of Jewish leaders and therefore could not express a positive opinion concerning these allegations. But she declared flatly that if there had been any drive against the Jewish people or Jewish culture, 'we would have published it ourselves and would not need to have it published in the Polish press.'

"Some mistakes might have occurred, but Jewish culture in the Soviet Union has been developing freely she said, pointing to many Jewish people prominent in science and the arts. She added that some 80% of the musicians who played at the Tito reception at the Kremlin were Jewish.

"She said that some years back talk of anti-Semitism here was stirred as a result of a misinterpretation of certain government actions. The government had found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upwards of 50% of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions and without jeopardizing their rights. All of this was in accordance with Lenin's principles on the national problem, she said. But, she said, these steps were misinterpreted and added: 'It is impossible to speak of anti-Semitism in our country.'"

On June 5, 1956, The New York Times published the text of Khrushchev's secret speech as released by the United States Department of
State. An editorial in the Daily Worker on June 6, 1956, expressed "concern that in the long list of crimes mentioned in the speech, there was silence on those committed against Jewish culture and Jewish cultural leaders."

Eugene Dennis wrote an article entitled "The U.S.A. and Khrushchev's Special Report" which appeared in the Daily Worker on June 18, 1956. Among other things, Dennis stated:

"...Nothing can justify the use of tortures and rigged trials; large-scale deportations; provocative and chauvinist actions as in the case of Yugoslavia; the persecution of the Jewish doctors and snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures."

On June 27, 1956, Pravda, the official organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, reprinted Dennis' article. This was the first mention in the Soviet press of Khrushchev's report to the closed session of the 20th Congress. It is significant that in reprinting this article, the editors of Pravda deleted the phrase "and snuffing out the lives of more than a score of Jewish cultural figures." In its place, a footnote was added after the portion of the sentence reading "the persecution of Jewish doctors" to indicate only that other doctors also "were illegally arrested."(99)

In his column, "Today Abroad," which appeared in the July 3, 1956, issue of the Daily Worker, Joseph Clark, writing with a candor unusual for the pages of this newspaper, had this to say about the deletion from Dennis'
article in Pravda:

"If the charge was untrue, all Pravda had to do was to deny it. Moreover, an explanation is long overdue from the Soviet leaders about the physical annihilation of the top Soviet Jewish writers and poets in the late 40s. The recent statement of the National Committee of the Communist Party here criticized the continued silence of the Soviet leaders on this matter.

"Deleting the phrase from Dennis' article solves no problems for Pravda or for anyone else. It only compounds the wrong that was done in the first place. Candor, not suppression, is called for. And Pravda's action is reminiscent of the suppression for so many years of important writings of Lenin because the founder of the Soviet state did not hesitate to state the truth even when it was embarrassing and unpalatable."

In the same column, Clark has this to say about the Furtseva interview, mentioned previously:

"Pravda's deletion is of a piece with a most unusual interview granted by a top Soviet Communist Party leader, Ekaterina Furtseva, to National Guardian correspondent Tabitha Petran. Mrs. Furtseva is an alternate member of the top Soviet C. P. body, its presidium.

"Mrs. Furtseva denied the closing down of Soviet Jewish cultural institutions and the executions of Jewish leaders. She said she had not read the Polish Folksstimme article which gave details both on the suppression and the executions.

"To put it mildly, Mrs. Furtseva displayed a disquieting insensitivity to world public opinion. If charges of such gravity are made by such responsible sources, a top Soviet leader should at least be aware of them. Secondly if Yiddish culture was not suppressed and Jewish cultural figures were not snuffed out it should be easy for Mrs. Furtseva to refute such charges. That is why the actual 'evidence' she
cited was so fantastic. She mentioned the many Jewish people prominent in science and the arts. And she added that 80 percent of the musicians who played at Tito's reception were Jewish.

"What has that got to do with books, or papers, or theatres in Yiddish? What has that got to do with the snuffing out of the lives of David Bergelson, Itzik Feffer, Peretz Markish and many others?"

"But the fact remains that at the end of the 40s all Soviet Jewish cultural institutions, operating in the Yiddish language were closed down. The Soviet Jewish anti-Fascist committee was dissolved. The finest Soviet Jewish cultural figures disappeared without trace or explanation. It is a tragic fact, as Dennis put it, that 'the lives of more than a score of Jewish figures' were snuffed out.

"They can't be brought back to life by snuffing out a clause in an article...."

The fallacy of considering Jews to be like any other minority nationality in the Soviet Union is immediately apparent. Religious and political factors cannot be ignored because, as we have seen, they are the keys to the Jewish question under communism. In an article entitled "Church and State in the Soviet Union," which appeared in The New York Times on February 1, 1956, C. L. Sulzberger points out that organized religion has been "pretty effectively squashed" in the Soviet Union because "communism, as a totalitarian and materialistic philosophy, cannot tolerate competition for
men's minds by a spiritual force." He further points out that:

"The position of Jews differs from that of other believers because of political implications. Bolshevism is anti-Zionist as well as anti-religious...."

Two groups of Jewish rabbis left the United States in June, 1956, to visit the USSR for the purpose of studying the conditions of Jews in the Soviet Union and various satellite countries. Their departures were duly noted in news articles appearing in the Daily Worker. But the Daily Worker had little to say about what the rabbis found there. In an article entitled "Rabbis Back from Soviet Union Note 'More Freedom' for Jews" which appeared in the July 13, 1956, issue, the Daily Worker quoted statements made by three returning rabbis to the effect that conditions had improved since the death of Stalin. While this is true as far as it goes, it by no means tells the true story.

In The New York Times for July 13, 1956, the return of the same three Jewish rabbis was noted in an article by Harrison E. Salisbury entitled "U. S. Rabbis Fear Soviet Jews Face Extinction of Religious Life." After reporting that the rabbis had determined that the condition of the Jews was somewhat better than two years ago, the article continued:

"The rabbis brought back a report of desolation as far as Jewish religious and cultural life was concerned. They found the major institutions of Jewish religion and culture
'all but vanished, leaving a Judaism that is anemic and moribund.'

"In Moscow they found one synagogue and two auxiliary houses of worship for a Jewish community estimated at 300,000. In Leningrad 200,000 Jews had one synagogue where formerly there were sixteen. The rabbis found no confirmation of reports that a theological seminary would be established...

"There were no religious schools for youth. The rabbis were informed by the State Council on Cults that such institutions were forbidden. They could discover no Yiddish cultural institutions, no recent religious literature, no Yiddish press, no Hebrew press, no national Jewish organizations, no Jewish social service organizations."

"Government officials insist, the rabbis reported, that there is no discrimination against Jews. However, the Americans pointed out a basic anomaly in Soviet practice. While each Jew has the word 'Jew' stamped in his passport, he does not have the privileges of other minority nationalities, such as native-language newspapers, schools, cultural institutions, and so forth.

"To questions about the absence of such institutions, Soviet officials said they were not wanted by the Jewish population...."

Dr. Morris N. Kertzer, secretary of the New York Board of Rabbis, wrote a series of three articles concerning his findings in the Soviet Union which appeared in The New York Times July 30 - August 1, 1956. He stated that a "blanket of fear" still envelopes the Jewish people in the
Soviet Union and that the "anti-religious campaign launched by the Communists almost 40 years ago has been singularly successful." Dr. Kertzer pointed out:

"...the claim of religious liberty in the Soviet Union sounds quite hollow. There is freedom to practice a faith, but that faith must be limited to perfunctory ritualistic acts, without spiritual or intellectual meaning and without dynamism."

"In the Soviet battle for the souls of the country's youth, the Government has won, as might be expected, hands down.

"...I did not see a single Soviet Jew under 35 years old engaged in prayer at the dozen or so services I attended."

"I left the Soviet Union with the unhappy feeling that it was almost impossible, in this cunningly devised battleground, for religious forces to withstand the assaults of godlessness. All the machinery of state, the educational institutions, the mass media, the arts and literature are arrayed against religion.

"So thoroughly have the spiritual forces been disarmed that there is little question as to the ultimate victory."

This sinister threat was confirmed by the Reverend Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, president of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., after his return to this country from a tour of the Soviet Union as a member of a delegation of American Protestant clergymen. The New York Times reported on April 2, 1956:
"In spite of recent lifting of restrictions on Soviet church activities that came with the new anti-Stalinist party line, Dr. Blake said of Soviet government officials: 'Their tactic is to so limit the church that in the long run they will win.'"

The duplicity of the Soviet claims is well summed up by Philip M. Klutznick, president of B'nai B'rith, Jewish service organization, as reported in The New York Times on May 6, 1956. Mr. Klutznick challenged the "penitence by propaganda" of the Soviet rulers who, he said, "are trumpeting some truths about the persecution of Jews behind the Iron Curtain, but seek absolution by casting the blame for it on Stalin." Only in Soviet Russia and its satellites, he added, is "Jewish life languishing and approaching extinction." He said that he would "accept the premise that the new Soviet regime is truly opposed to anti-Semitism the same day that I recognize the existence of conditions which would make possible a B'nai B'rith movement in Moscow or Kishinev free to pursue its purpose as are the Jews of B'nai B'rith in such places as Rome and Dublin."

The possibility of this happening under communism is but a forlorn hope. A struggle for power is again taking place in the Kremlin. As in the past, some relaxation of oppression may appear during the course of this struggle. But the very nature of communist philosophy negates any permanent relaxation of Communist Party domination over all phases of
Soviet life. A Pravda editorial, reported in The New York Times on July 7, 1956, should remove all lingering doubts:

"As for our country the Communist party has been and will be the only master of the minds, and thoughts, the spokesman, leader and organizer of the people in their entire struggle for communism."
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13. Ibid., pp. 44-45.


16. Ibid., pp. 92-93.


18. Ibid., pp. 22-23.


21. Ibid., p. 61.

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24. Ibid., p. 66.


42. Ibid., p. 18.


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52. Ibid., p. 209.
54. Ibid., pp. 133-137.
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56. Ibid., pp. 141-142.
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62. Ibid., p. 35.
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64. Solomon M. Schwarz, op. cit., p. 175.
66. Ibid., p. 11.
68. Ibid., p. 178.
69. Ibid., p. 183.
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