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The Soviet Union and the Jews, 1958.

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THE SOVIET UNION AND THE JEWS

March 30, 1958

THE TEMPLE Rebbi Daniel Jereny Silver #24

The seitlement by Jews of the territory which now comprises the Soviet Union is the most ancient of all Jewish settlements in Europe. The history of the settlement of the Jews in the land which is now part of the Soviet Union is the most tragic of all the histories of Jews in Europe. In the third and fourth centuries before the Common Era, small Jewish communities were established along the shores of the Seas of Asov and the Black Sea. They were part of the important Greek and Turkish commerce and merchant communities which brought out the timber and the furs and the minerals of the Russian interior and made them available to the Mediterranean world. The history of settlement of Jews in this area is constant, but we lacked a great deal of information as to the polithal events and activities of the day. What we do have is an intensive polemic literature directed against the Jaws by the Greek and Bysantine Orthodox Catholic Church centered in Constantinople. Now this literature, unlike much of the polemic literature of the day, is extremely bitter and vitriolic. The Jews are castigated with all types of bad names. It is a wonder that anyone would believe that such appeals would win over the Jewish people to the "true faith". But there is a record of constant militant missionary activity directed by the Church of Byzantine against the Jewish communities in the Black Sea area for the first ten centuries of Christian exist-

ence. There is a record also of constant preaching by the abbotts, by the monks, by the priests of the area to their congregations on Easter Sunday, Christmas day and the like in which the Jews were accused of almost all the crimes possible to men. The record of this anti-Jewish polegic is a constant one in Russian history. It is bitter, and never in all of the history of the Russian Orthodox Church was there developed any of that tolerant "live and let live" philosophy which exists

between so many of the sects in the Western world. Perhaps part of this bitterness can be attributed to a startling and somewhat shocking set-back which the Jews administered to the missionaries of the "true faith". If you remember, and I am sure you do, your world history beginning in the third and fourth centuries of this Era, a series of Barbarian hordes descended from the Steppes and the wastelands of central Asia upon the Roman Empire, and as they approached the boundaries of what was once the great Empire of Rome, missionaries were sent out from Rome, from Antioch, from Constantinople, to convert these tribes-people, and almost to a tribe, these missionaries were extremely successful. Almost to a tribe, either Aryan Christianity or Orthodox Christianity won the allegiance of these barbarians. But in the 5th and 6th centuries an important tribe numbering many hundreds of thousands of Huns descended from the Steppe-lands of Europe and established in themselves in the area in which the Volga River pours itself into the Black Sea. They conquered and controlled much of what is today the Ukraine and the Crimea, and this group, known as the 1.0 Kazzars, strange to believe, converted not/the faith of the Cross, nor to the new and important faith of the Crescent, but to the faith of the Torah. In the year 740 the Kaghan, the king of these tribes, a man named Yulan, converted to Judaism, he and the royal family and the leaders of all the tribes and all the tribes-people, and until the end of Kaszar history, sometime in the 11th century, they remained faithful and loyal to our faith. Now we do not know what made this conversion possible. Tradition tells us that the king convened at his court a symposium of leaders of all of the faiths - an Islamic mulah, a Catholic priest, a Zoroastrian priest and a Rabbi, and the arguments of the Rabbi were so convincing that he and

his people converted. Economic and political historians look for other and deeper motives, and they believe that since this people was established in a buffer zone between the two great military powers of the day, the Christian Roman empire centered in Constantinople and the Islamic empire centered in Bagdad and Damascus, it was necessary to find a neutral religion in order that the king might bargain successfully between these two world powers. But whatever the reason, Christian missionary

activity received a shocking setback in an area in which they had not hitherto been challenged, and they never forgave the Jews for that sethack. They continued in the East to look at the Jews always as people who might convert the believer and the nonbeliever, who were competing with them actively in the missionary field, and they attached the Jews for these activities. The Christian Church looked throughout the period of Kazzar domination for means of overthrowing this hated Jewish rule. Every time a local nobleman sought to revolt against the Kaghan, they would support him, and finally in the 11th century the Church, plus the local lords of Kief, did succeed in overthrowing the Kazzars and destroying their rule. To do so the priests went to superstitious. the poor, /illiterate farm folk in the area and convinced them of a whole litany of lies about the beliefs of the Jews, the histories of the Jews, the characteristics of the Jews, the virtues and vices of the Jews. They poisoned the minds of the people, quite deliberately, quite consciously, and this poisoned mind has remained a constant among the peasantry and the series of Russia to our own day. Kief needed the Jews, this new kingdom which supplanted the Kazzars. They represented the one literate merchant folk on whom they could depend for all the commercial and middleclass activities, but the Church continued its anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic policy, and a new word was added in the year 1116 to the language of the world - a Russian word - the word "pogrom". It means "destruction", for/in that year, Easter Sunday, incited by sermons in their churches by local priests the mob erupted and attacked the Jewish homes and massacred the Jewish folk. And from that year of 1116 down to our own century there is hardly a decade in which the Russian word "pogrom" has not played its deadliest role against our people. Jews remained, some Jews, in this

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kingdom of Kief until that kingdom in turn by a new nomadic barbarian group, the to Mongols, the very people who swept up/the gates of Vienna in 1453 and destroyed the Byzantine Empire and almost brought about the destruction of Christian Europe. Jews remained in Russian under the Mongols, though we know very little about them. And then in the late 15th and early 16th centuries a new power began to develop in Russia, centered now no longer in the south in the Ukraine but centered in the marshlands around what is today Moscow. There the lords of Muscovy began to get first a tentative and finally a complete independence of their Mongol overlords and began to extend bit by bit their rule - the rule of their Czars - over the Russian plains. And Jewish life played an interesting role in the very earliest years of the Muscovy rule, a role which we must understand if we would understand the history of the Jews in Russia under the Czars and under the Soviets. Russia has always had a deep strain of isolationist feeling. It has always wanted to wrap itself in itself and to prevent ideas from the outside world from coursing into the life-blood and into the minds of the Russian people. But in the early days of Muscovy there grew up in the capitol city a group of lay noble people who became convinced that only if Russia learned the science of the Greeks and the mathematics of the Persians and the philosophy of the Arabs and of the western European, only if they came abreast of the level of knowledge which was possible in their day could they establish a successful kingdom. And these liberalists or Western-minded noblemen, had only one contact with the West, and that contact was through the few Jewish merchants, who annually would sail in ships from the Low Countries and Germany across the Baltic Sea to Lithuania, to the city of Novgorod, and there go overland to Moscow itself. They became very much enamoured of the few Jewish merchantmen, they represented a higher degree of culture, they were all literate, their religion seemed reasonable, their knowledge of Western ways and Western philosophies and Western arts was eagerly sought after. And there grew up in Moscow in those days a group of people who were todayophiles, eager to meet, to contact, to live with the Jewish merchants, to learn all that they could of Western

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ways. Some even went so far as to convert to our Jewish faith. But the forces of isolation, the forces of the Church, the forces of the autocracy in Russia would have nothing of these Western thoughts and Western ways. They saw them as a threat to all that they held dear. And they accused and blamed the Jews for having subverted the minds of these noblemen from traditional Russian feudal ways and opened their minds to such new Western ideas as liberty and justice and freedom and human

dignity and the like. And if you will, the Church inaugurated a crusade both against the noble peoples who had been infected by this virus of Western ideas and against the Jewish faith which was the agent of this infection. The word "Judaism" became equated with the word "subversive" and it has remained such in the minds of those who autocratically and isolationistically rule Russia with the hope that they can seal Russia off from all the ideals of liberty and the like which exist in the West. The Jew became the subversive. He must be exterpated. He must not be allowed to live among the Russian folk who might be infected unwittingly by the knowledge that he brings. And so this todayophile movement was crushed and blotted out and the stamp of the anti-Jewish movement which existed throughout Russian Czarist days was set. They were anti-Jawish because Judaism represented a dangerous, not only theologicaling danger, but philosophic and political danger. The Jew represented all the ideals of the Wastern world of which we are so proud, and they would have no truck with these ideals. Now the easiest course would have been for the Russian Czars as they established their power to exile the Jews, to simply free the land of this contamination, but unfortunately the Russian political structure for them made this impossible. There were the few who ruled and the many who were ruled, the few who were literate and the many who were sunk in abyssmal ignorance and illiteracy. There was no middle class, but the middle class white-collar activities of government and/burocracy, of education and of commerce had to be performed and the Jew was the only person, the only group in Russia, who was capable of performing these functions. And so you find in the 18th century when those fanatic Czarinas ruled on the throne that they would one year decide to exile the Jews, and

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had the Jews would no sconer be exiled than they mandbikkame to be called back because would all Russian business inni drawn to a standstill, could not exist, had it not been for the talents of our people. But Russia was dedicated to the proposition that the Jews must be isolated, must be kept in separate areas, must be kept from contact with the Christian peasantry and the Christian nobility, and if possible a new group must be educated to take the place of the Jews in this middle class group, and so make it possible for the Jews to be finally exiled. And then in one of these strange

occurrences of history, the very Russia which was interested in destroying the Jewish group and minimizing the number of Jews who lived within her borders found herself because of her territorial gains in the late 18th century, the master of the largest single Jewish population in the world. You remember that in the 1770s and the 1790s Austria-Hungary, Prussia and Russia three times dismembered the kingdom of Poland. Now the centers of Jewish population in Poland were precisely in those eastern provinces which Russia swallowed up in her eagerness for new lands. A million Jews, probably a third to a fourth of all the Jews who then lived in Europe, became citizens, if you can call it that, of the Russian state. And Russia in the 1790s was faced with a new and unexpected problem. Her answer: to delimit the Jews to a narrow, provincial area, the area of settlement in these eastern provinces, to not allow the Jew to travel from the Pale of the Settlement as it was called, into Russia proper, to take the Jous who existed in Russia proper who were not essential to the government and to force them also to live in this Pale of the Settlement. And so they drew a line on the map, and they said that henceforth all Jews must live in this area, the largest provincial ghetto that the world has ever seen established. And the Jews were crowded into this rather primitive and backward part of the country. There was not enough occupation or wealth there to allow every man to be gainfully employed. It is estimated that from the year 1790 to the year 1900 some thirty to forty percent of the Jewish population in this area could not find mere subsistance living. The 19th century was for the Russian people a troubled time. They knew that the autocracy, the dictatorship, of the Czars based on ruthlessness and despotism could not last. Some of the Czars even attempted reforms of this system,

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but every time that a reform was attempted the depth of the need for reform was revealed and few among the ruling class were willing to go far enough in order to establish some sort of constitutional monarchy. During the early years of the century there seemed to be some hope that the many restrictions against the Jews in occupation, in location and the like would be lifted. Jews thronged wherever they were permitted. Some went to the universities, some were allowed to live finally

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in Petrograd and in Moscow and St. Petersburg. But for the most part the bulk of the Jews continued to live in this border area between Poland and Russia in the Pale of Settlement, and suffer there. But the little bit of toleration which the Jews received in the first half of the 19th century allowed an efflorescence of Jewish culture which is interesting as to the areas into which it developed. In the first place there grew up not a desire for a liberalized faith, but a desire to Hebraize the faith. There grew up the Haskalah movement, the Enlightanment movement, arong the Jews in this Pale of the Settlement. They decided to revert to the language of their fathers, to speak Hebrew rather than Yiddish, to write in Hebrew, to express themselves in the pure language of the Bible. They began to research Jewish history, to put it on a scientific basis. They retained their orthodoxy, but they began to make it a critical study. Now with the genius born of centuries of persecution, these people also realized I think that there was little hope for any permanent solution of the Russian problem. And so they channeled their political activities not so much to a reform of the government which was bearing down on them but rather towards Israel, towards Zion, towards the reestablishment of the Jewish State. And it is important to remember that the first rebuilders, the first pioneers, the first resettlers of Zion were Russian Jews, members of the members of the movement, young university students who despaired of ever achieving in Russia the kind of political state which was being achieved in the West, and who saw in the reestablishment of ther a Jewish State in freedom the only hope of the people. And the sentiments which these young people began in the 1840s and the 1860s have lasted in Israel to this day, and their descendents are

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among the first citizens of Israel in our day. Zionism represented to them the hope of the future, and they were right, because when the Czar Alexander the 2nd was murdered in the year 1880 the forces of reaction sprang out again in Russia. They said, "Look. Look where all your reforms have led you. They have gotten you only the desire on the people for more rights than we can give them". And the Jews of course were made the sufferers beyond all others. In the year 1881 in Kishnev

and elsewhere pogroms broke out. For the next forty years these pogroms continued intermittently. In the year 1881, 118 Jewish communities were sacked. In the year 1882, 412. In the year 1883, 61. So goes the rule. In 1882 the Russian government announced a new series of regulations directed against the Jews - the infamous May laws. These May laws restricted the Pale of the Settlement even more than it had been drawn in the days of the 1790s, and it said that Jews can no longer study in our universities and they can no longer except with special permit live in our capitol cities. They must return to the villages, leave the towns. They must be taken out of all gainful occupation and made to live among themselves as best they can. And the Jews suffered under these May laws terribly, and the great emigration of Jews from Russia and westward to our own country began with the 1880s, as you well know. In the 1890s there grew up a the infamous "Black Hundreds", bands of aristocratic rowdies, who we pillaged and plundered and killed at will. Thousands upon thousands of our people were impaled by their bullets and their lances without one successful appeal for safety and security to the Russian police. It was in these infamous years that the Russian Minister gave his famous formula for the solution to the Jewish problem - "1/3 emigration, 1/3 conversion, 1/3 starvation", and it was in those years that , another of the Russian Ministers, actively conspired to set up these infamous pogroms in city after city, his hope thereby to make them Judenrein, to destroy and kill the Jews. His program was fiendish as that of Hitler himself. And of course the mind of the common people was constantly being poisoned by priests and aristocrats alike, and it is no wonder that there is a tremendous residue of anti-Jewish hate among those who have never had a

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chance to know any better. Then came the War, and for a while it seemed that perhaps the blackness of midnight would be relieved by the dawn of a new day. The Jews suffered terribly in the First World War, for it was precisely that Pale of the Settlement between Prussia and Poland and Russia which was the battlefield of the war. Their communities were caught between the opposing armies, and each, when it was defeated, in its frustration turned and pillaged the Jewish community. But then in 1917 finally the yoke of the Czars was broken. The provisional government of

Mr. Korensky was formed, and the day it was formed it announced the lifting of all previous restrictions which had troubled the Jewish community. Jews were now free to live anywheres in Russia, to engage in any occupation they desired, to attend any school and the like. For four months, five months, the star of the Jewish community seemed on the ascendent, and then as we well know a new revolution shook Russia. Autocracy, despotism was reimposed upon the Russian people in the form of Bolshevism. How fared the Jews under the Bolsheviks? The Bolsheviks announced in a declaration of the rights of the Russian people shortly after they assumed power. that antisemitism was a crime against the State. They too continued to lift all the restrictions which had previously existed under the Czars against the Jews. There was hope. There was hope that with the lifting of these restrictions, with the proscribing of antisemitism as a form of governmental policy the Jew might seriously find a place for himself under the Russian sun. And even the terrible afflictions of the Jewish community during the wars of the 1919s and 1920s, when the White Russians and the Emigres and the Ukrainian nationalists rose up in rebellion against these new Bolshevik lords and to a man accused the Jews of being the instigators of the new revolution and wreaked their wrath upon the Jewish community, even despite these terrible ravages of Jewry, there seemed to be hope. And in the 1920s, it must be said, that the Russian government was consistent in not permitting overt antisemitic activity. If they found such activity in an industrial combine, in an agricultural soviet, wherever it might be, they exterpated it, they proscribed the man or men who were following such a policy. The West was much impressed by this official anti-antisemitism, and as late as 1939 the Arch-

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bishop of Canterbury, Hewitt Johnson, the so-called Red Dean, wrote in a book, "The eternal problem of the world, the Jewish problem, the Soviet Union alone has are solved that problem". But what mit the facts? We who lived in the West, we Jews who lived in the West, knew that when the restrictions against our enjoyment of equal citizenship had been lifted we did enjoy a great new day. We were allowed to enter all professional and political activity and our faith was encouraged, or

at least tolerated, along with all other faiths. But we must remember that Bolshevism is based on a religious faith of its own, and that faith is atheistic. It holds that all the traditional religions of the world are subversive to the laboring man, that all the traditional religions of the world, so it is claimed, subvert his attention from his immediate economic needs, prevent him from being the true soldier of the proletariat that he should be, prevent him from crying out against the many oppressions and the yoke which surrounds him and which beats him down. Russia in 1920 created the League of Militant Atheists and went and began an intensive campaign to reeducate the religious in its people, to convince them that religion was hokum and a fraud, and they should rather put their trust in economic materialism of Communism. And this campaign of the Soviets was very intelligently planned. They saw that the one way in which a religion has of continuing itself is if it is given the opportunity of educating the young, and so the Soviets very wisely separated the school from the synagogue, the school from the church. And they said, "From now on no religious leader will be allowed to teach the young. No synagogue will be allowed to have its own schools. All must be educated secularly in schools which will of course teach the Communist doctrine. But more important than this, only if a father wants directly to teach his son or his daughter matters of faith can these be taught. Any man who as an official of a religion preaches or propragates or teaches that religion is guilty - guilty of a crime against our new State." And the Jews, recognizing that education has the highest priority in the existence and the continuance of our people, created in Russia in the 1920s as a counter to this threat an underground system of education - underground Cheders,

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underground Talmud Torahs and underground Yeshivahs - and most of the religious teachers, the Melamudim, the Rabbis, became night watchmen. They would get a job as the night watchman of some important public building, and at night they would welcome their classes and hold forth. ^But of course many were not being reached and all this was being carried out surreptitiously and **menotiky** in secrecy and at great personal danger. And with the rise of Stallin beginning in 1928 and especially in the early 1930s this underground religious education was no longer tolerated. Its

teachers were sought out, exterpated or exiled. The whole system was shattered. From about 1930-32 to our day the two million or two and a half million Jews of Russia had no way in which to educate in our faith the religion of the youth. What results had this brought about? Oh, the Russians can still point the fact that in Moscow and in Leningrad and elsewhere there are open synagogues. The Rabbis and Jewish leaders who were able to visit Russia in the days immediately after the death of Stalin report that you see there the very marky old and the very, very young. The youth seems there no more. One man even reported that he was called over by an elder of the community who was much impressed by his visit and he was shown a 13, 14 year old boy, and very much as an American parent might show off the lad he asked the boy, "Now show this Rabbi from America what you know." And this 13 and 14 year old, who was conceived to know so much, was barely able to recite the Shema. There has then been in Russia, in forty years of Soviet domination, a constant attack, insidious, covert and overt, against the very life-blood on which Judaism or any faith is based. They let the elders continue in their faith, they realize that they are tainted, but the young they strip of their faith. They educate in their ways. Now in Russia, the Jews presented in the early days of the Soviet, a very difficult economic problem. They had had no gainful employment as such, many of them, in the Pale of the Settlement. The skills of the Jews were traditional middle-class skills, white collar skills, and a Russia which was concerned with the farmer, the agriculturalist and the working class seemed to have little concern, immediate concern, for the middle class talents of the Jews. Now many Jews, or people of Jewish descent, did find their way into the Burocracy. For many there

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were years in the 1920s and 1930s of economic difficulty and straitened circumstances. It is estimated that in 1920 less than thirty percent of the Jews of Russia were gainfully employed and in 1930 less than 50 percent. One Russian attempt as a solution of this problem was to make of the Jew a farmer. To this end, many agricultural soviets and artels were created in pioneer areas of the country and Jews were encouraged to settle there and to till the land. Now the Jew when he wants to

can become a farmer. The experience of Israel has shown that amply. But in Russia, under Russian pressure, they resisted this attempt, and though by 1930 a quarter of a million Jews were settled on these farms, the number has since then atrophied and diminished consistently. The experiment of creating farms for Jews in Russia has been a disastrous one. Perhaps its most famous attempt was the attempt to create in Birobijan a Jewish farm province or settlement, perhaps a semi-autonomous settlement. This was part of the Russian economic solution to the Jewish problem but it became something much more. We remember that in the 1920s Birobijan was seriously set out as answer to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. Rather, it was said, let the Jews go to this independent Soviet Jewish community in Birobijan which exists at the far end of Siberia near Manchuria. There they can have their freedom. There they can settle in peace. And we saw that extreme enameling of the American capitalists, Jewish capitalists, financing the establishment of a agriculatural Jewish Soviet in near Manchuria simply out of their hate of the idea of the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine. Well, this too failed, this attempt at Birobijan, and about all that can be said about the economic solution to the Jewish problem in Russia is that the Jews with their usual high rate of literacy have gone into the professions, have gone into the sciences, have gone into government, have gone into the bureaucracy as much as it has been permitted them and they exist there to this day. For this emphasis of the Jew upon middle class activities has redounded to his hurt. When Stalin came into power he created in Russia more of a nationalistic state than the internationalistic center of world revolution which Lenin had envisaged. Stalin

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was concerned with making the Russian people united, strong against possible external enemies, and to this end he began to play up all the traditional prejudices and hatreds and enmities of the Russian people. And there is a constant purpose which can be discerned in Stalin's activities. From the famous "Purge Trials" of 1936 and 1938 through the "Doctors Trials" and the Slansky trials of 1951 and 52, which aims at purging the Russian bureaucracy of those people of Jewish descent

who still remained there. First the highest echelons of government were made Judenrein, free of men of Jewish descent, even though, being Communist, they had long since denied any faith in the religion of their fathers. This has been constant. We have a classic example in the early '50s of a purge of Soviet Yiddish writers, men impeccably pro-Stalinist, the men who were purged simply because they represented the Jew, and the Jew to the Stalinist, to this new Russian nationalist, represented again what he had represented to the Church and to the Czar two and three hundred years before. The possibility of contamination through cosmopolitanism, through what he calls international Zionism, by which they mean simply that he might be the agent in which the virus of international ideas, of Western ideas of liberalism might come and infect the Soviet Union. Under Stalin the Jews fared ill. He ordered that they must retain in their passport, communist and non-communist, believer and atheist alike, the stamp "Jew". And those who bear this stamp bear many discriminations, though these are not spoken of officially. And finally, tracing the history of the Jews in the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has always been anti-Zionist. As early as 1913 Stalin spoke of Zionism as an "agency of bourgeis imperialism", by which they really mean that Zionism commands loyalties not of an economic nature, and which an economic materialistic state cannot comprehend and with which it cannot deal. They have been theoretically consistent in their anti-Zionism. Indeed, when they want to attack a Jew, they don't attack him for being Jewish - this would make them seem antisemitic - rather they attack him for being an agent of the Zionist or an agent of the what they called the "Joint Distribution Committee", the agency of relief throughout that part of the world.

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Zionism was attacked and is attacked and is being attacked, especially now that Russia sees a chance to gain entry into the rich oil fields of the Arab world. But let this always be remembered - as a classic example of the realism and the Bracticalism of the Russian dictatorship, that in 1948, when Israel was being discussed before the United Nations, before there was a State of Israel, it was only because Russia threw her whole weight behind the establishment of the State, and it was only because Russia allowed her Czech satellite to send arms to this incipient State, that it was possible for Israel to come into being. Then Russia saw a chance to turn the tail of the British lion and make her roar. She made it possible for Israel to come into being, now she argues long and loud against her existence, and perhaps if she had her way she would wipe her off the map for an easy sop to throw to the Arab states. But then she was not so willing. A dictatorship is concerned with immediate advantage, and none of us should judge dictatorship by the theories that they proclaim or the philosophies which they seem to espouse. They are much more hard headed than that.

Now what of Russia today? In 1953, with the death of Stalin, it seemed that we might be entering into a new era. Rabbis were allowed to visit Russia. Jewish diplomate from all over the world were allowed to come there. The Israelis were allowed to reestablish diplomatic relationships which had been broken off. The Israeli youth were allowed to attend the various Youth Congresses which had taken place. They even allowed the Rabbi in Moscow to publish a little "luach", a little Jewish calendar, the first Jewish religious work to be published in Russia in forty years. There seemed to be some hope that Russia might be moving away from the covert antisemitism which was being practiced under Stalin. But it has not materialized. I have before me, and I would like to read to you, part of a report which was sent to me a week or two ago, compiled from first hand accounts of Russia by thorough reading of the Russian press as to the state of the Jews in the Soviet:

"The abandonment and, at least partial, condemnation of Stalinism by the new masters of the Soviet Union was expected to mark also a change in their attitude toward the Jew. These hopes have not materialized. True, the Jewish writers who had been argested and deported were returned, if they were still alive, but with no fanfare.

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Today there exists an unwritten numerus clausus for Jews in the administration and universities. Their applications for appointments are limited. One reportedly hears of anti-Semitic insults and excesses in many marketplaces, in public transportation, in the queues in front of food stores, of preference for non-Jewish workmen and employees in Soviet factories. There is, at any rate, no evidence that the Government acts to combat these anti-Semitic tendencies. It would seem, on the contrary, that the discrimination stems from the heads of the Soviet Union themselves." And parenthetically, it is interesting that in 1953 and 54, while Mr. Khnushev and Company were condemning the many errors of Stalinism, they never once condemned his anti-Jewish attitude. It was one of his evils which they passed over with "The reaction", this report continues. absolute silence. the Festival of Youth which was held last year is that more than half of those who

"Khrushchev expressed his attitude toward the Jews to a visiting French Socialist delegation by saying that Jews had been employed in high offices in the Soviet Union because there had not been enough Russian intellectuals. but at present there were enough of the latter and, therefore, the Jews were not now needed. A similar view was expressed to a Canadian delegation in Moscow by another high ranking Soviet leader: Jews have to make way for the local intelligentsia in the various republics because the majority population demands that the administration be in the hands of persons of its own race and not "in the hands of strangers". " based on letters received from Leras

For even the Jew who denied his faith and sought refuge in the Communist Party, even

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he bears eternally the stigma of his ancestry.

FREE TRALE COUCATION AND DEGISAL

"The attitude of Khrushchev toward the Jew as such is best characterized by some of the statements which he made to J. B. Salsberg, a Canadian Jewish Communist; they were reproduced in one of the Canadian papers. Khruschev said "he had agreed with Stalin that the Crimea, which was without inhabitants at the end of the war, should not be set aside as a center for Jewish colonization because, in the event, of war, it would be turned into a theater of war against the Soviet Union." He also stressed that of the thousands of Soviet tourists abroad, the three who had not returned were Jews. A smear on the Jews in another respect was his statement that after the 'liberation' of Czernowitz, which is in northern Bucovina, the streets were dirty; and when the Jews were asked why the streets were not being cleaned, they answered that the non-Jewish part of the population which took care of this work, had fled the city. testates of the Jewish re

"The tendence to obliterate Jewish identity is reflected in the recently published pamphlet entitled National Traditions of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, in which the heroes of the Soviet were enumerated according to their nationality. There were practically all nationalities, even the most tiny, but no mention of Jews; these were hidden under 'other nationalities'."

even though a similar report made immediately after the war listed 379 Jewish of

herces, the third largest number of herces in any Soviet Republic.

"It took the Soviet Government one and a half years to come out with a denial of Jewish persecution" faith. The Sected Union has set up its work as was the charge that the Soviet had prevented the Jews in the Pale of the Settlement during the years of Hitler's advance from retreating into Russia and finding attempt in mane strongamen at worantp an impose there refuge. " On December 18, 1957, radio Moscow branded such reports as the worst advention in the faith (lies yet invented against the Soviet system. According to this broadcast, moreover Zionism, I think, Bhows, there S.S.Z. 新祝者



synagogues are working in the USSR, books of Jewish writers are being published, but only in Russian; and the writer Ilya Ehrenburg, the famous Soviet violinist David Oistrakh, the pianist Emil GilZels and thousands of other artists are looked up to and respected, and they are Jews."

"The reaction", this report continues, "to the participation by Israeli youth in the Festival of Youth which was held last year is that more than half of those who saw fit to entertain these Israeli youth are now today languishing in Siberian

concentration camps."

"It may have been no accident (it continues) that in October, 1957, three important Soviet papers published articles on Israel, articles obviously not intended for consumption outside the Soviet. These articles were entitled "The Fables of the Israeli Liars and Their Victims", allegedly based on letters received from Israel.

These articles describe the 'situation' in Israel, explaining that jackels besiege the doorsteps of settlers; that there is not sufficient food or work; that education and medical services are a real terror; that irreconcilable enmity reigns between Western and Oriental Jews, and so on. One paper counseled "Get the word Israel out of your head". The letters carried no names and only initials -- the explanation being given that the writers, who still lived in Israel, feared for their safety."

Russia has continued in the last five years its attack on the Jewish religion as

such. It has continued it despite the fact that it has lessened its attack on the

orthodox religion and on Islam. In an official publication in 1957, a writer wrote:

"Judaism cultivates the ideology of the 'exclusiveness' of the Jew. It sanctifies national diversity and hatred of dissenters. All rites and festivals of the Jewish religion are calculated with a view to directing the believers to the 'Land of their Fathers', to the 'Holy Land' -- and, thus, divert them from loyalty to the Mother State. Judaism is being used by the Jewish bourgeois - nationalists - the Zionists - in order to prove the 'unity of the Jewish nation' and to propagate the 'class collaboration' of all Jews."

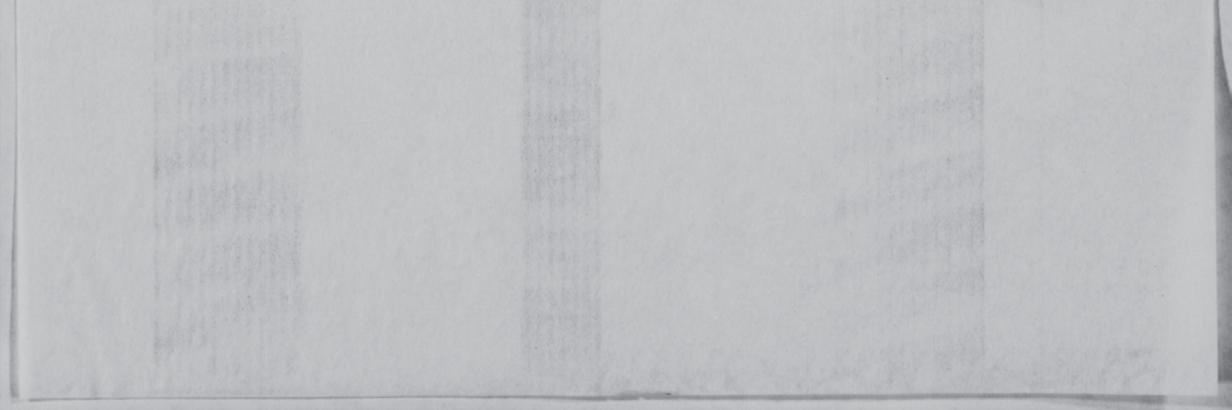
It undermines the loyalty of the Jew to the Soviet State.

What of the future? No one can say that it is bright. Estimates vary that

today there are existing in Russia 1,800,000 Jaws and 3,000,000 Jews. Few of the Jews actively participate in their faith. The Soviet Union has set up its work week so that observance of the Sabbath is an impossibility. It has made every attempt to make attendance at worship an impossibility. Few of the young have any education in the faith of their fathers. But as the virulence of the attack on Zionism, I think, shows, there must still be in the heart of many of these people a realization that Bolshevism does not represent for them, certainly perhaps not for Russia, a final acceptable answer. There must be, untrained, deep down in their hearts, some deep band of loyalty to their faith and their people. You cannot simply eradicate the love of God from a man's heart by denying him a knowledge of the history of his people. A love may be there nevertheless. We do not know what further terrors these people will have to suffer. They are distinguished in their passport as a separate nationality. They are obviously being held up in traditional Russian manner as the alien, the stranger, hence the subversive, a man who is dangerous. We need to pray for the safety of these people. There is very little else that we can do for them. Emigration is not open to them. The Soviet is zealous to win their souls. But as the Psalm which I read to you this morning reminds us: kingdoms and dictatorships are the creation of men. Men come, and men die. Kingdoms arise and even Soviets collapse. And there may yet come a day when the rule of God will be established on earth and we will be reminded once again: Soviets and dictatorships and the like are the works of men and hence temporal, capable of coming to their well-merited end.

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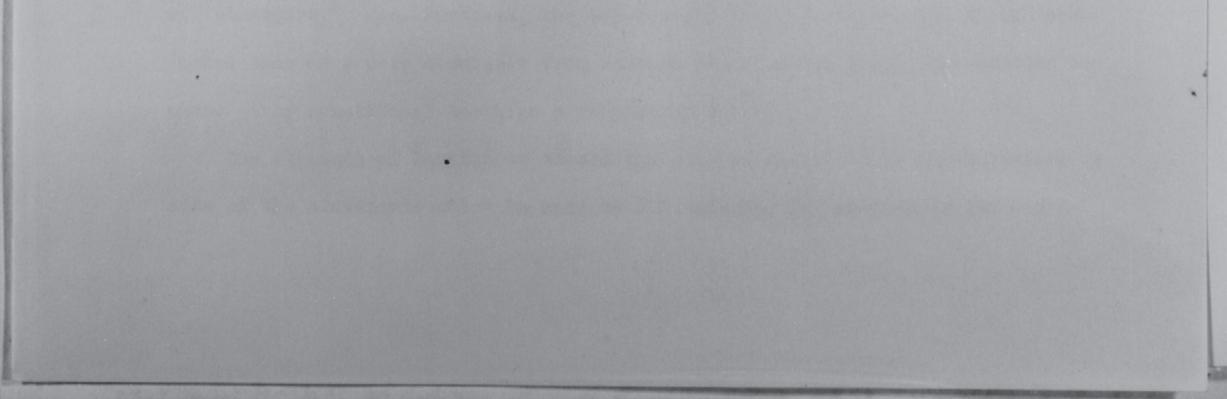
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The attitude of Thrushchev toward the Jo y as such is best characterized by some of the statements which he made to J.B. salsbars is Conclise Jevish Compu-

II. THE JEWISH SCENE

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1. The Jewish Position in General

The abandonment and, at least partial, condemnation of Stalinism by the new masters of the Soviet Union was expected to mark also a change in their attitude toward the Jews. These hopes have not materialized. True, the Jewish writers who had been arrested and deported were returned, if they were still alive, but with no fanfare.

There exists an unwritten <u>numerus clausus</u> for Jews in the administration then effluetions for appointments are functed and universities. One reportedly hears of anti-Semitic insults and excesses in many market places, in public conveyences, in queues in front of food stores, of preference for non-Jewish workmen and employees. There is, at any rate, no evidence that the Government acts to combat the anti-Semitic tendencies. It would seem, on the contrary, that the discrimination stems from the heads of the Soviet Union themselves.

Khrushchev expressed his attitude toward the Jews to a visiting French Socialist delegation in saying that Jews had been employed in high offices in the Soviet Union because there had not been enough Russian intellectuals, but at present there were enough of the latter and, therefore, the Jews were not needed now. A similar view was expressed to a Canadian delegation in Hoscow by another high ranking Soviet leader: Jews have to make way for the local intelpopulation ligentsia in the various republics because the majority/demands that the admiion with the the the bands of persons of its own race and not in thet

of "strangers." Line. Furtseva, the top-ranking woman in the Soviet Union, confirmed that Jeus were dismissed from certain positions in the administration because they constituted too high a proportion there.

The attitude of Khrushchev toward the Jerry as such is best characterized by some of the statements which he made to J.B.Salsberg (a Canadian Jewish Communist); they were reproduced in the (Canadian) <u>Vechenblatt</u> and the (New York) <u>Morning Freiheit</u>, both Communist publications. Khrushchev said, <u>i</u>. <u>a</u>., that he had agreed with Stalin that the Crimea, which was without inhabitants at the end of the war, should not be set aside as a center for Jewish colonization because, in the event of war, it would be turned into a theatre of war <u>against</u> the Soviet Union.¹ He also stressed that of the thousands of Soviet tourists abroad, the three who had not returned were Jews. A smear on the Jews in another respect was his statement that after the "liberation" of Czernowitz (Northern Bucovina) the streets were dirty; when the Jews were asked why the streets were not being cleaned, they answered that the non-Jewish part of the population which took care of this work, had fled the city.

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The tendency to obliterate the Jewish identity is reflected, <u>i.a.</u>, in the recently published pamphlet by Mr. Morossov, "titled <u>Mational Traditions of the</u> <u>Peoples of the Soviet Union</u>, in which the heroes of the Soviet Union were enumerated according to their nationality. There were practically all nationalities, moth Tany even the Kirghiz, but no mention of Jews; they were hidden among "other nationalities." / when the figures were given immediately after the war, Jews, with 379, ranked third (after the Great Russians and Ukrainians, and even before the Byelorussians).

It took the Soviet Government one and a half years (since the XX Congress) to come out with a denial of Jewish persecution. On December 18, 1957, Radio Moscow branded such reports as "the worst lie yet invented against the Socialist system." According to this broadcast, moreover, synagogues are working in the USSR, books

of Jewish writers are being published (as we know, in Russian only); the writer

Ilya Ehrenburg, the famous Soviet violinist David Oistrakh, the pianist Emil Gilels

and thousands of other artists, scientists and intellectuals, who are looked up to and respected, are Jews. -4-

Reaction to the Israel Participation in the Last Youth Festival 2.

The warmth and affection which Soviet Jews displayed toward the Israel delegation to the Moscow Youth Festival did not pass off without consequences.

Reports appeared in the press about searches in Jewish homes and arrests and deportations of many Jews following the departure of the Israel Youth delega-On the authority of a prisoner recently released from the infamous Vorkuta tion. camp, it was reported that up to September 7, 1957, some 120 Jews had been brought there to serve terms of 9 to 17 years. Hore than one-half of the arrivals were reportedly Moscow Jews who had entertained members of the Israel delegation; the rest were Jews from other localities who had traveled to Moscow to meet the Israelis. The same reports alleged that several thousands Jews had been removed, on various pretexts, from their employment and replaced by non-Jews.

The detention of Hazan, a member of the Israel Embassy, was an obvious hint to the Jews not to associate with the Israelis.

The feuilleton by Zaslawski (the well-known Jewish journalist) in Pravda of September 12, 1957 ("Diplomat of the Lilienblum Street" -- the alleged place of the black market in Tel Aviv) was obviously inspired. Zaslawski accused Hazan of trying to gain the confidence of Soviet citizens and distribute anti-Soviet literature, in exchange for the "dollar." The feuilleton further made reference to the alleged black market operations by three other members of the Israel Embassy (Levanon, Kechat, and Sella) who were forced to leave the Soviet Union two years 12 continues

ago.

It may have been no accident that in October, 1957, three important Soviet papers published articles on Israel, articles which were obviously intended for the consumption of the Soviet Jews only. (On October 15, Komsomolskaya Pravda ("The Young Communist Truth") printed an article titled) "The Fables of the Israeli Liars and Their Victims, " allegedly based on letters received from Israel, On October 20, the trade union paper Trud and somewhat later the organ of the Soviet writers, the Literary Gazette followed suit These articles describe the "situation" in Israel, explaining, <u>i.e.</u>, that jackals bosiege the doorsteps of settlers' hemes; that there is not sufficient food or work; that education and medical sorvices are a real terror; that irreconcilable enmity reigns between Western and Oriental Jews, etc. One of the letters quoted in <u>Komsomolskayn Pravda</u> purports to say:) "Get the word Israel out of your head." The letters carry no names, τ only initials -- the explanation given by the writer of the article is fear: the Israeli authorities terrorize anyone who would wish to return to his homeland. The names of the places whence the letters allegedly came must have been given by someone who is apparently not familiar with Israel: one such place is "Eretz Israel," another "Kvibutz" (obviously "Kibbutz.")

3. The attitude toward the Jewish religion

The permission which was granted to establish a yeshiva and print a restricted number of Hebrew prayer books is no indication that the official attitude toward the Jewish religion has changed. On September 21, 1957, <u>Pravda Ukrainy</u> published a review of a brochure by T.K. Kitchko titled "The Jewish Religion, Its Origins and Essence," published by the Society for the Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge in the Ukrainian SSR.

Kitchko says among other things in his brochure (the translation is not ours):

Judaism, which distinguishes itself by a special conservatism, has played an exceedingly reactionary part in distracting working Jews from the revolutionary struggle, hiding itself behind the banner of the religious and national commonalty of the Jewish People. The hostile attitude of the Jewish clergy to the Great October Revolution is well known. Tahveh's servants spread counter-revolutionary calumnies against the young Soviet State, lied about persecution of the Jewish religion and of Jews in general, hit out against Socialist upbuilding. It should be pointed out as not without interest that , when the Roman Pope proclaimed an anti-Soviet "crusade" in 1930, Jewish clericals joined him readily.

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Judaism cultivates the ideology of the "exclusiveness" of the Jews, "sanctifies national diversity and hatred of dissenters. All rites and festivals of the Jewish religion are calculated with a view to directing the believers' thoughts to the "Land of their Fathers," to the "Holy Land" ---

loyelty to the mother State Israc1 -- and, thus, divert them from the affairs of those countries in which they live.) Judaicm is being used by the Jewish bourgeois-nationalists -- the Zionists -in order to prove the "unity of the Jewish nation" and to propagate the "class collaboration" of all Jews.

To put the finishing touches upon the wickedness of Judaism, Mr. Kitchko claims that the

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ruling classes of Israel have, under the cover of Judaism, transformed the country into a puppet of the imperialists; they fan hatred against the neighboring Arab countries and embark on armed provocations. A reactionary regime has been instituted in the country, and the Jewish bourgeoisie cruelly exploits the working class.

...ithin the conditions of Soviet society, the reactionary preachings of Judaism are directed to support chauvinism and national narrowness among the believing Jews and to disturb the work of Communist education of those who toil in the spirit of friendship among all peoples.

4. Soviet Jews in science and the professions.

that the Soviet Jews occupy, in proportion It has been known and reported to their numbers, a great many positions in the scientific field and professions. This has come to the fore once more in connection with the names of the Soviet scientists who were credited with contributions to the "Sputnik." Dr. Eisenstadt, who recently returned (to Israel) from Hoscow, claims that 14 of those named by the Soviets are Jews. In the list of the scientists published in Pravda there are eight with names which sound Jewish: Tamm, Frank, Landau (who is regarded as the top scientist), Veksler, Handelstam (he is reported to have protested to Stalin against the "Doctors' Plot" and to have been deported), Joffe, Frumkin, and Landsberg.

The information concerning the large proportion of Jews among those connected with the "Sputnik" tallies with the available data on the percentage of Jews among the Soviet scientists: in 1955, of the 223,893 scientists in the USSR, 24,620 (11 per cent) were Jews. Jews represent a similar percentage in practically all fields of Soviet cultural life. For instance, early in 1957, an All-Union Conference of Soviet artists took place in Moscow; of the 579 delegates 52 (9 per cent) were Jews. In March, 1957, a conference of Soviet composers was held in Moscow; of the 407 delegates, 77 (17 per cent) were Jews. There are no recent figures on the percentage of Jews among Soviet writers, but at a conference held in December, 1954, of 738 delegates, 72 (7.8 per cent) were Jews.

5. Cultural life

The publication of Yiddish papers and books is still taboo. Instead, Russian more translations of some works of Jewish authors appeared and eight/were announced for publication in the last quarter of 1957.

The only medium where Yiddish is permitted are concerts and records. In the last few months concerts took place, <u>i.a.</u>, in Hoscow (4 soirees) and Leningrad (they were given by the Jewish Husical-Dramatic Ensemble and were repeated 12 times). In Tashkent (Central Asia), a Jewish dramatic collective was formed which has also given performances in some other localities. Yiddish records (20 in number) were put on sale in Soviet stores; they are said to enjoy great popularity.

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Kaddish	Sunday	"	30

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Otimat with happen away then mere

Emma Fox

Yahrzeits FANNIE MAYER DRYFOOS LEWIS SANDS REBECCA WOLF LUNTZ MARY KLAUSNER HERMAN BERNHEIMER BAMUEL D. WISE CHARLES TILLES ANNIE LEVIN MALVINA B. DEVAY IDA R. GRAVER IDA ROBERTS NORBERG JACOB WOLENSKI EMMA BAKER MYERS SUMNER C. WIENER JACOB ROSEN DAVID J.COHEN