

To Our Readers:

As we announced last month the July issue of *Political Affairs* will appear in a new format and makeup. The page size will be slightly larger; it will be set in new, more readable type in single instead of double column; there will be a new cover. In short, we believe we will have a more attractive and more readable magazine. And, of course, we hope to match the improved appearance with further improvements in the contents as well. We expect that our new garb will provide the stimulus to winning new readers. Can we count on your support?

May we call to your attention the editorial article in this issue "*Soviet Anti-Semitism: The Kichko Book*". As you will see, this is a comprehensive analysis of how this anti-Semitic book, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, could have been published in the Soviet Union while rejecting the anti-Soviet use of the book by various circles in the United States and the accompanying charge that anti-Semitism is government policy. You will certainly want to get this issue into the hands of many people.

The August issue will be a special enlarged issue devoted to the subject of automation. It will include articles by Victor Perlo, J. M. Budish, Hyman Lumer, Carl Winter, John Eaton (writing from England), George Wheeler (from Czechoslovakia), and others. We plan a large printing with the aim of reaching active trade unionists, community leaders and academic circles on this most vital subject.

From time to time we also plan to issue *Political Affairs* Pamphlets, based wholly or in part on articles appearing in the magazine. The first of this series, which will be off the press by the time this issue reaches you, is entitled *Catholics and Communists: Elements of a Dialogue*. See the back cover for details. We are sure this pamphlet will arouse a great deal of interest and will have a large sale. Among other things, it should be used for extensive mailings to leading Catholics in your area. Will you place an order for your personal use?

THE EDITORS

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"Soviet Anti-Semitism": The Kichko Book

An Editorial Article

(Note: This is the first of two articles on the subject. The second will appear in the July issue.)

There has been in this country a long-standing campaign, of mounting intensity, against the alleged evil of "Soviet anti-Semitism." Rooted in hatred of the Soviet Union, and part of the unceasing effort of cold war reaction to denigrate every aspect of Soviet life, this campaign has sought to paint a horrendous—and false—picture of the Soviet Jews as living in conditions of severe persecution, subjected at the very least to deprivation of their basic rights and in the more extreme versions to oppression and terror surpassing the lot of the Jews under Hitler.

Within the past few months, this assault has been brought to a head by the appearance of the book *Judaism Without Embellishment* by Trofim K. Kichko, published in the Ukrainian language in Kiev under

the imprint of the Ukrainian Academy of Science. On all sides, the book has provoked a veritable storm of expressions of outrage and condemnation. It was a major stimulus toward the convening of an American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, held in Washington, D. C., on April 5 and 6. Representing twenty-four leading Jewish organizations and described as "the most comprehensive since 1943," the Conference issued a plea to the Soviet government "to restore the rights of Jews and of the Jewish community and to grant the equality with other religious and nationality groups as required by Soviet Constitution and law." The book was an important factor also in the issuance of a similar plea initiated by the Anti-Defamation League and signed by

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2,000 Protestant and Catholic clergymen and church officials.

In the light of these and other recent developments, it is necessary to assess seriously and soberly both the actual situation of the Soviet Jews and the current outcry against "Soviet anti-Semitism."

THE BOOK

First, as to the Kichko book itself. This has been widely condemned, by Communists as well as by others, as a crude and disgraceful piece of anti-Semitic literature. Speaking for the Communist Party of the United States, Gus Hall has stated (*The Worker*, March 24, 1964):

There is no doubt in my mind . . . about the anti-Semitic character of what I have seen. Such stereotyped, slanderous caricatures of the Jewish people must be unequivocally condemned, whatever their source. And certainly they can have no place whatever in Communist or progressive literature.

No matter what the intention of the artist who drew them, such stereotypes have a very specific, unquestionable anti-Semitic meaning, and their use has exactly the same effect as when it is engaged in by those imbued with and motivated by the crassest anti-Semitism.

Similar views have been expressed by the Communist parties of Canada, England, France, Italy and other countries.

Unquestionably such condemnation is merited. For while the book

purports to be a criticism of religious beliefs and practices, even a cursory examination of its illustrations leaves not the slightest doubt as to its anti-Semitic character. Nor does the text dispel this impression. Regardless of the writer's intent, and regardless of the truth or falsity of any particular portion of its contents, the total picture it paints is an anti-Semitic caricature which can only be extremely offensive, not merely to religious Jews but to *all* Jews—indeed to any person, Jewish or non-Jewish, who detests racism and chauvinism.

That such a book could appear at all in a socialist country is cause for serious concern. That it could appear in the garb of a "scientific" document, under the aegis of an academy of science, is all the more disturbing. The central question is: how did it happen?

In our opinion, it cannot be simply dismissed as an isolated incident, as the result of carelessness or failure to treat the question seriously by those involved. On the contrary, the book's appearance reflects the continued existence of anti-Semitic ideas and influences among individuals within the Soviet Union. This conclusion is given added weight by the fact that the present instance is not unique. In recent years there have been other books and articles containing anti-Semitic references or statements, indicative at the very least of a lack of sensitivity toward

the question.

That such remnants of anti-Semitism should continue to manifest themselves, decades after the socialist revolution has removed the source of national oppression, is not altogether surprising. It is well known that in Tsarist Russia anti-Semitism was very deep-seated and Jews were intensely persecuted—that among other things they were confined to ghettos, barred from many occupations, excluded from Russian schools by a rigid quota system, and periodically subjected to bloody pogroms. And worst of all in this respect was the Ukraine. To eradicate such a deeply ingrained evil was a truly monumental task, and it is a tribute to the power of socialism and the Leninist policies of the Soviet leadership that it *was* virtually eliminated and the equality of all peoples established in actual fact.

Nevertheless, remnants of the past persisted. And World War II, with the Nazi occupation of large areas of Soviet territory (and especially of the Ukraine), and the accompanying wholesale injection of racist poison, gave anti-Semitism a new lease on life. Added to this was the incorporation into the Soviet Union of large populations which had previously not lived under socialism. Stalin's assault, only a few years later, on Jews and Jewish institutions in the name of combating "cosmopolitanism" (and on other national groups as well) great-

ly augmented its influence. And although the Soviet government has, since the Twentieth Congress, taken steps to overcome the effects of the Stalin policies, much remains to be done and expressions of anti-Semitism are still all too frequent.

What the Kichko book demonstrates, therefore, is the great tenacity of national and racial prejudice and the need to wage relentless ideological war against it, even long after its basic cause has been eliminated within the country. It is, we believe, an unjustified feeling that the fight is over, and consequently an insensitivity to continued expressions of anti-Semitism and a failure to see the need of an open campaign to eradicate every vestige of it, that account for the appearance of such monstrosities as *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

There are indications of growing concern about the problem in the Soviet Union. The book has been severely criticized in the press, and has been condemned by no less a body than the Ideological Commission of the CPSU, whose statement says in part:

A number of erroneous statements in the brochure and the illustrations are liable to offend the feelings of the believers and can be interpreted in the spirit of anti-Semitism. . . .

The erroneous theses in the brochure are in contradiction to the Leninist policy of the party on religious and national issues and they provide food for

anti-Soviet insinuations of our ideological enemies, who are trying at all costs to create the so-called Jewish question.

Moreover, according to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Alexis Adjubei, editor of *Izvestia*, has announced that all available copies have been confiscated and destroyed (*The Worker*, April 14, 1964). And there is every reason to anticipate further steps. To this point we shall return later.

RELIGION, ZIONISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

In condemning the Kichko book as anti-Semitic, we must at the same time sharply disassociate ourselves from the character of the criticism prevalent in certain circles in this country. First of all, we must flatly reject any idea that criticism of the Jewish religion, or of Zionism, is *in itself* anti-Semitism.

In his speech at the Washington conference referred to above, Senator Abraham Ribicoff argues that in the Soviet Union, Jews are unique in being both a national and a religious group, with the word "Jew" applying interchangeably to both. From this he concludes: "Hostile words about the Jewish religion inevitably carry over negatively about the Jewish nationality—even for a non-religious Jew."

But there is no *inevitable* carry-over. There is nothing *inherently* anti-Semitic about propagating athe-

ist and anti-religious views, whether by Jews or non-Jews. The concept of religious freedom embraces the right to oppose religious beliefs and practices no less than the right to uphold them. To argue otherwise is to support *denial* of freedom of conscience. In addition, it implies that Marxism, since it is materialist in its outlook and rejects all belief in the supernatural as unscientific, is by its very nature anti-Semitic. In other words, communism is synonymous with anti-Semitism; hence to eliminate the latter it is necessary to destroy the former. With this, we arrive at the position of the Right-wing purveyors of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, with their incessant railing against "atheistic Communism"—and against the Jews. Such is the ultimate logic of Senator Ribicoff's proposition.

It is the same with Zionism. Marxists have always opposed it as a reactionary nationalist movement operating in league with British and American imperialism. But Moshe Decter, an inveterate enemy of the Soviet Union who has made a career of being a "specialist" on the status of Jews in the socialist countries, implies that to hold such views is to support the anti-Semitic canard of the "international Jewish conspiracy." He quotes a portion of the Kichko book which purports to describe the intrigues of Jewish and other capitalists concerning Israel under the cloak of Zionism and

which opens with this sentence: "A union between the financial oligarchy of the West and Zionism has been in existence for several decades." Decter concludes: "What is this if not an updated and refurbished version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*?" ("Judaism Without Embellishment": Recent Documentation of Russian Anti-Semitism," *New Politics*, Winter, 1964.)

It is an easily documented fact that certain ruling circles in Israel have made of that country an outpost of imperialism in the Middle East. And to anyone at all familiar with the proclivities of the CIA it should come as no surprise that these same Israeli circles lend themselves through their diplomatic channels to intrigues within the Soviet Union. It is equally a fact that there is widespread opposition to such policies both in Israel and elsewhere. Such opposition clearly has nothing in common with "international conspiracy" slanders. The logic of Decter's implication, again, is to equate Marxism, which bases itself on proletarian internationalism and repudiates the reactionary features of bourgeois nationalism, with anti-Semitism. Again, it leads to equating the fight against anti-Semitism with anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism.

The anti-Semitism of the Kichko book lies not in the *fact* that it attacks the Jewish religion and Zionism but in the *manner* in which it

does so. What Kichko does is to identify religious obscurantism and the reactionary role of Zionism not with particular class forces but *with the Jews as a people*, and thereby he abandons Marxism for national chauvinism.

A review appearing in the Kiev newspaper *Soviet Culture* (reported by *Tass*, March 27, 1964) criticizes it along these lines: Instead of presenting a scientifically-based critique of Judaism as a religion, Kichko resorts to such things as presenting instances of unworthy conduct on the part of individual rabbis or synagogue leaders, implying (together with the insulting cartoons) that this is characteristic of all religious Jews. He incorrectly asserts that Zionism is rooted not in social sources but in the Jewish religion, and further that "after the emergence of Zionism the spirit of nationalism gripped all the sections of the Jewish population." From this he proceeds to identify Judaism with the State of Israel and to attack the latter as totally reactionary.

The reality, the review points out, is quite the opposite:

... the Jewish working class and the more advanced section of the intellectuals contributed actively to the establishment and activities of the social-democratic organizations, took part in the revolutionary movement and bravely exposed the Bundists, the Zionists and other nationalists. Moreover, one of the reasons for the emergence

of Zionism was the struggle the Jewish bourgeoisie waged against socialist ideas, which at the time had penetrated deeply among the working Jews—as they had among the working people of other nationalities, for that matter.

Nor can one agree with the author when, in criticizing Zionism as a bourgeois nationalist movement, he extends this criticism to the internal life of the State of Israel. For it is known that in addition to Zionist organizations, Israel has democratic, progressive organizations of workers which come out for peace and peaceful co-existence, for democratic freedoms, against colonialism and imperialism.

In general, it seems to us inappropriate for a book devoted to the critique of a religious ideology to make appraisals (which moreover are not always correct) of the activities of Israel as a state, of its role in international relations.

This criticism is aptly summed up in a recent article by Victor Michaut ("Against Anti-Semitism," *France Nouvelle*, May 6-12, 1964), which says:

The criticism of the reactionary orientation of a country or of the religious obscurantism which holds sway there is never directed by us against a people but against the political and social forces responsible. There is nothing Marxist in an attitude which confuses the national characteristics of a people with the defects produced by a system of exploitation.

Further, in opposing religious ideas, it is necessary to guard against

the one-sided view that religious institutions invariably play the reactionary role of props for the status quo, and to recognize that as social forces religious institutions (and ideas) may play a progressive as well as a reactionary part in the struggles of their day. Thus, history shows that Judaism, Christianity and later Islam arose initially as religions of revolt against the status quo. At a later time, with the rise of capitalism, the Protestant Reformation served as the ideological vehicle of the emergent bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism. Today we witness the progressive role of the Negro church in the civil rights struggle, accompanied by the growing participation of white clergymen of all faiths. We see, too, the positive role of the church in the fight for peace, highlighted recently by the appearance of the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris*.

Crude anti-religionism, which sees religion only as unmitigated reaction, is a misconception which Marxists must combat. And when it is directed against the Jewish religion in particular, it leads to anti-Semitism. For even while we reject their idea that *any* criticism of Judaism is of necessity anti-Semitic, the fact is that historically the maligning of the Jewish faith has been an intrinsic part of anti-Semitism—for example, the notorious blood libels which falsely ascribe to Jews the practice of using human blood in religious rit-

uals and even of ritual murder. It is necessary to be extremely sensitive to such things; otherwise anti-religious propaganda can all too easily degenerate into anti-Semitism and encourage such expressions of it as the Kichko book.

While Marxists oppose religious or Zionist ideology, they do not judge people politically on the basis of whether or not they profess to be religious or Zionist. On the contrary, they seek to unite all Jews, religious and non-religious, Zionist and non-Zionist, in struggle for their common interests.

An added problem arises from the small size of the Jewish religious community in comparison with, say, the Greek Orthodox. It is not true that the Soviet government singles out the Jewish religion for special repression. The Soviet attitude toward religion generally has been one of toleration but not encouragement, and of strict separation of church and state. Religion is viewed as an institution which is passing from the scene, and churches and synagogues are progressively closed down as the numbers of their adherents dwindle. But this very equality of treatment becomes in practice inequality, for while the Greek Orthodox Church can manage to provide for its needs in the way of religious articles, the synagogues cannot, and are therefore deprived of access to such things as *tallisim*, *tfilin* and prayer books.

The crude anti-religionism which pervades much of the current anti-religious propaganda and the failure to appreciate sufficiently the special situation of the Jewish religion in these respects are, we believe, central factors in explaining such seemingly pointless actions as the creation of difficulties in securing *matzos* for the Passover—actions which give encouragement, even though unintended, to remnants of anti-Semitism at home and grist to the mills of the Decters and other anti-Soviet "experts."

ANTI-SOVIETISM AND "ANTI-SEMITISM"

Whatever criticism may be warranted, we must above all reject as an out-and-out lie the notion that such occurrences as the Kichko book are in any way a product of an official policy of discrimination and repression against Soviet Jews. On the contrary, such a manifestation of anti-Semitism is in direct conflict with the basic policy and the whole history of the Soviet Union on this question. It is, in the words of Gus Hall, "a gross distortion of the actual position of the Soviet Union. It is in serious violation of the policy and the long struggle conducted by the Soviet Union against the ideology of anti-Semitism. It is contrary to the 45 years of the legal outlawing of all practices and expressions of anti-Semitism." Soviet leaders are a thousand times correct when they

indignantly denounce all allegations of anti-Semitic policies on the part of the Soviet government.

The propagation of this Big Lie is not confined to professional anti-Sovieters and rabid cold warriors. Its acceptance extends to large sections of the American people and to leading figures who are motivated by sincere considerations of justice, humanity and peace, among them such outstanding exponents of American-Soviet friendship as Bertrand Russell and Linus Pauling.

The appeal drafted at the Washington conference of Jewish organizations states: "We make this appeal within the framework of our ardent desire to see an end to the cold war and lessen and hopefully eradicate the existing international tensions." And in his speech to the conference, Supreme Court Justice Arthur J. Goldberg said:

In stating my views, I want to make it clear that I do so as a private American citizen here tonight who supports the effort of our government with due regard for our security as a nation to seek ways to better understanding between our country and the Soviet Union; one who shares with the great majority of the American people the desire for an end to the Cold War and for a just and lasting peace.

At the same time, the theme of the conference, which found repeated expression in the speeches presented, was the existence of a vicious policy of persecution of Jews by the Soviet

government. Thus, Senator Jacob K. Javits spoke of "the relentless character of the Soviet Union's campaign of repression against the Jewish minority in the USSR," of "cruel and repressive official harassment of a helpless minority" and of "the mounting fears of Jews the world over for the safety of our coreligionists in the USSR." Senator Ribicoff goes further, asserting that the Jews have been made a scapegoat for Soviet failures. He states: "Jews are frequently used to bear the brunt of public discontent for the low standards of living and shortage of goods in the USSR."

It is small wonder that the convocation of a conference based on such views was met by a number of sharp protests from groups of representative Soviet Jews. For its participants, however sincere their motives, based themselves not on the facts of the life of Jews in the USSR but on anti-Soviet distortions. And in doing so they have placed themselves in strange company.

Among the newly-found "friends" of the Soviet Jews are the Ukrainian nationalists, reactionary Whiteguard elements driven out of the Soviet Union after the October Revolution and given a haven in this country. These were among the most vicious anti-Semites and bloody pogromists in all of Tsarist Russia. Yet today they hypocritically pose as defenders of Soviet Jewry and have even appealed to Jewish organizations to

join them on the common ground of fighting "Soviet anti-Semitism."

Another newly-found "friend" is the Hearst press. Scarcely distinguished for its championing of the Jews in the days when they were being exterminated by the Hitlerites and long a mouthpiece for the pro-fascist rantings of a Westbrook Pegler, it now comes forward in a series of articles by one Leslie L. Whitten as the champion of the Soviet Jews against "unrelenting terror." Referring to bloody religious persecutions of past centuries, Whitten writes: "Imagine that only 20 years ago such a bloodbath had drowned your brethren and imagine that already, now, today, the specter of more such horror was abroad in the land. That is what it is to be a Jew today in Russia." (*New York Journal American*, May 5, 1964.)

This fantasy is outdone by still another "friend," Senator Thomas J. Dodd, who, in an article written a few years ago (*U. S. News and World Report*, March 28, 1960), said: "Between the brutality of Soviet anti-Semitism and the brutality of Nazi anti-Semitism, there is little to choose. About all that is lacking so far is the gas chambers."

We could continue this catalog almost endlessly, but we add only one more group of "friends." Among the most vociferous and unscrupulous calumniators and peddlers of atrocity stories are the Right-wing social-democrats, whose hatred for

the USSR knows no bounds. The *Jewish Daily Forward* was printing stories of non-existent pogroms in Kiev and Kharkov as far back as 1946, and today it continues to paint a picture of Soviet Jewish life which outstrips even the imagination of Senator Dodd. Equally notorious is the *New Leader*, which has long devoted itself to crusading against "Soviet anti-Semitism" and whose former managing editor was Moshe Decter.*

Needless to say, the objective of this whole barrage is not the welfare of the Soviet Jews but the undermining of the Soviet Union and the intensification of the cold war. And equally needless to say, it has little in common with the facts. To adhere to such a line, even with the best of motives, can only serve

* Where this magazine stands in the political spectrum, and the degree of its objectivity, can be judged by some recent disclosures. Less than a year ago, Senator Fulbright revealed that it had been paid, \$3,000 by the Wright Organization, a publicity firm representing Chiang Kai-shek, for an article on People's China by the inveterate red-baiter Richard Walker. More recently it was involved in the behind-the-scenes financing of an anti-Communist book, *The Strategy of Deception: A Study in Worldwide Communist Tactics*, by the U. S. Information Agency. According to the *New York Times* (May 3, 1964), agency officials stated that "the late Sol Levitas, formerly editor of the *New Leader*, . . . had approached the agency with the idea for a book by well-known foreign authors dealing with case studies of Communist operations. The agency then contracted with the *New Leader* magazine to produce the manuscript and arrange for an American publisher to publish it. Myron Kolatch, now executive editor of the *New Leader*, said the magazine had received \$12,000 for pulling the manuscript together and handling translations of the original drafts by the foreign authors." This procedure, which is considered as at best highly questionable and very possibly illegal, was defended by the agency on the grounds that "to label [such books] as Government-financed . . . would undercut their propaganda value overseas."

those who seek such objectives.

THERE AND HERE

We shall deal more fully with the actual status of Soviet Jews further on. At this point, we wish only to touch on some immediately pertinent facts.

First, even the actions taken so far by the Soviet leadership with regard to the Kichko book belie the existence of any official anti-Semitic policy. The fact that in response to protests the book was not only condemned but confiscated and destroyed is highly significant when one considers what happens in this country.

By way of contrast, consider the following incident. A few weeks ago we received in the mail an envelope bearing the return address "The White American, P.O. Box 2013, Atlanta 1, Ga." It contained two pieces of anti-Semitic filth, one of them a facsimile reproduction of *Der Stuermer* of May 1934. It is designated "Ritual Murder Number" and its page one headline is "Jewish Murder Plan Against Non-Jewish Mankind Exposed." There follow twelve tabloid pages whose contents are fully in keeping with the headline. On the back page is a box in English, informing the reader that this sheet is "being distributed world wide" by the National States Rights Party, P.O. Box 783, Birmingham, Alabama.

How many copies of this were

printed and distributed we cannot say, though it is well known that considerable quantities of such anti-Semitic literature are circulated every year. Yet there is no outcry remotely comparable to that which greeted the Kichko book, no comparable demands that the dissemination of such poison be suppressed, no Washington conferences and no mass petitions. True, it can be argued that this material is issued by crackpot groups and not by a scientific body. But then the question is: who pays for it? And the answer is: men of means, men regarded not as crackpots but as quite respectable figures in their communities and in American life. Without their money the ultra-Right crackpots could scarcely operate.

A recent item in the *New York Times* (May 17, 1964) reports the uncovering of "a black market in erotic, anti-Soviet and anti-Semitic literature" in Moscow. (Emphasis added.) In this country there is no such thing as "black market" anti-Semitic literature. It is distributed legally, openly, with return addresses and offers to supply more.

On November 4, 1960 the *New York Herald Tribune* published a sensationalized story by Joseph Newman about an article appearing in the newspaper *Kommunist*, published in Buinaxsk in the Autonomous Soviet Republic of Daghestan. The article, which referred to Jews drinking Mohammedan blood, was

ascribed to a Communist Party "anti-Semitic drive." It created a considerable furor, but the true story, as told by French Zionist leader Andre Blumel, received little publicity.* The facts are that after the article (actually a letter from a reader) was protested by a delegation of Caucasian Jews to Moscow, the editor and two Communist Party secretaries in Buinaxsk were removed and the newspaper shortly afterward carried a long article condemning anti-Semitism and the actions of both the editor and writer. (Reported in the *Morning Freiheit*, November 20, 1960.)

One further incident. In 1959 the Malakhovka Synagogue near Moscow was set afire. Subsequently, the three men who did it were apprehended and sentenced to 10-12 years' imprisonment. There is, be it noted, not one comparable case in this country. The bombers of the Birmingham church in which four Negro children were killed have yet to be arrested (though the FBI has announced it knows their identity), let alone any of the perpetrators of the numerous other bombings and acts of vandalism against Negro churches and synagogues in recent years. And if the Birmingham bombers should be brought to trial, is anyone prepared

* The Newman article refers to "experts" on anti-Semitism and states: "As far as the experts could recall, the most vitriolic anti-Semitic organs of the Nazi party had refrained from resorting to the libel." We refer the "experts" to *Der Stuermer*, and suggest to Mr. Newman that he become similarly aroused about the dissemination of such literature here.

to say that they will receive the punishment merited by the heinousness of their crime?

What these examples show, in the first place, is that instances of anti-Semitic propaganda or actions have been dealt with far more vigorously by the Soviet authorities than they ever have in this country. Such reactions on their part are clearly incompatible with the slanderous allegations of an official policy of repression of Soviet Jews. They indicate rather that what is involved is in fact individual manifestations of remnants of anti-Semitism, and that if criticism is due it is, as we have indicated, for absence of a concerted campaign to wipe out these remnants rather than mere reaction to individual instances. And where the question of government policy is involved, the problem is primarily one of failure to recognize sufficiently the dogged persistence of such remnants.

They show, secondly, that there does exist in this country a widespread dissemination of anti-Semitic propaganda of the most vicious kind, financed by American capitalists who are by no means raving maniacs but calculating supporters of the lunatic Right. This, be it noted, is in sharp contrast to the Soviet Union where there are no reactionary monopolists to finance and foster anti-Semitism. This propaganda is spread, moreover, by ultra-Right fascist outfits which are simultaneously identified with the most extreme racist bigotry.

To be sure, there is no *official* policy of promoting anti-Semitic or racist propaganda here, but there is also no policy aimed at preventing it, even while the Soviet Union is piously castigated for not doing so. More, the United States has become a notorious haven for all sorts of fascist anti-Semites and murderers fleeing justice in their own countries, where they have been convicted of Nazi war crimes. To cite but one example, there lives in Philadelphia today one Anastas L. Pulevicius, who is one of ten war criminals convicted of the slaughter of 50,000 people in Byelorussia in 1941. Not only has our government refused the request of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs for his extradition, but it has just granted him United States citizenship.

There is also in this country a branch of an international organization calling itself the Daugavas Hawks, consisting of former members of the Latvian S.S. who fought under the Nazis and carried out mass slaughters of Jews. This outfit, posing as a welfare organization, is in reality a fascist political group, viciously anti-Soviet and pro-cold war, and no less anti-Semitic than before.

These are not isolated instances; they are only characteristic of the large number of such fascist fugitives finding refuge and citizenship in our country. It is significant that the professional anti-Sovieters, including

the *Forward* and *New Leader* gangs, who are so concerned about the access of religious Jews in the Soviet Union to *tallisim* or *matzos*, are totally silent about these depraved anti-Semites in our own midst.

The appeal of the 2,000 clergymen to the Soviet government calls upon it, among other things, "to eradicate every vestige of anti-Semitism and to institute a vigorous campaign against all anti-Semitic manifestations." In doing so they pay the Soviet Union an unwitting compliment, for they make no such demand of our own government. Yet if there is any place in which anti-Semitism and racism need eradication, it is here. Should they not, as men of sincerity and good will, address themselves to this task with the same vigor and energy as they call upon the Soviet leaders to exercise? We believe that if they did, the true picture of the status of Soviet Jews would also become clearer to them.

Anti-Semitism cannot be condoned, no matter where it appears. But neither can such anti-Soviet fabrications as the Nazi-like use of the Jews as a scapegoat for economic failures, fabrications peddled by cold-war anti-Sovieters who simultaneously promote or condone anti-Semitism and racism in this country. Those who sincerely seek peace and an end to the cold war must also combat this anti-Sovietism and this anti-Semitism.

The Anti-Segregation Battle in Ohio

By A. Krchmarek

The death of a young white minister, crushed by a bulldozer while participating in a picket line protesting *de facto* school segregation in Cleveland, touched off a new turn in the struggle for Negro rights in this area. It set in motion a powerful upsurge for freedom and equality such as has never before been witnessed in this city.

The power and unity of the movement found the white power structure of the city unprepared to cope with it. It stood aghast and impotent before the storm. Then it demonstrated its political bankruptcy and stupidity by resorting to hysterical red-baiting, utterly blind to the nature of the civil rights revolution it faced. A new word, "McAllisterism," after Ralph A. McAllister, president of the Cleveland School Board, entered the popular vocabulary to designate the abdication of reason.

Within a matter of days, even hours, a series of mass meetings, picket lines and sit-ins at the City Hall and the Board of Education were organized, which demonstrated the power and the forcefulness of the freedom movement. These actions culminated one week later in a one-day school boycott that was 92% effective in the Negro community, which numbers some 260,000 people.

These latest events were but the culmination of a struggle, non-violent in nature, that had been going on for many months to achieve school desegregation. This struggle, in a city which had prided itself on its liberalism and democratic traditions, exposed the sham underlying many such pretensions. It laid bare the demagoguery and political bankruptcy of the city officialdom when challenged by a dynamic, united mass movement enjoying strong support from sections of the white community.

FREEDOM MOVEMENT UNITED

A mass movement of people in active struggle has a dynamic of its own, its own laws of motion and development. It brings forth its own leaders suited to the nature of the struggle; it finds its own forms of struggle; it generates a mass enthusiasm, a zeal and a willingness by its participants to make any needed sacrifice.

It becomes a magnet attracting all that is good and progressive, and exerts an ever widening influence. It puts to a living test the principles and the teachings of all parties, religious groups, institutions and organizations. It becomes a catalyst which brings about a qualitative change in social relations, at a pace ordinarily undreamed of.