

RUSSIA - AS / KICHKO
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1964

The Soviet Book That Shook the Communist World

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The Zionist Lies

(Caricature of the Jewish capitalist-imperialist and the religious Jew. Judaism is thus presented as subversive — a charge never made against other religions in the USSR.)



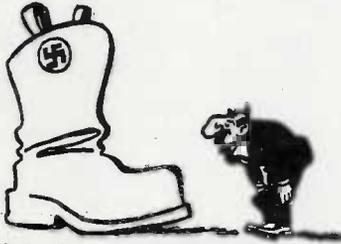
All sorts of swindlers and cheats find refuge in the synagogue

(A Stuermer-type Jew wearing phylactery—a religious article used by Jews at morning prayer—grabbing synagogue funds.)



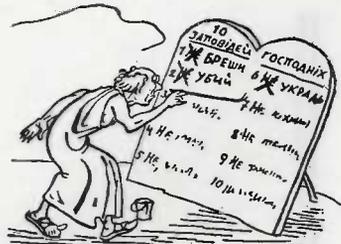
Bonn-Gurion

(The document reads: "An agreement to supply arms to the Bundeswehr." "Bonn-Gurion" is an accepted Ukrainian way of referring snidely to the alleged military alliance between Israel's former Premier Ben Gurion and West Germany. The ghost of Auschwitz is trying to stay Ben Gurion's hand.)



During the years of the Hitlerite occupation, the Zionist leaders served the Fascists

(One of the most blatantly anti-Semitic cartoons ever to have appeared in the USSR.)



Ben Gurion At Work

(Ben Gurion shown erasing the word "not" from the Commandments, "Thou shalt not lie," "Thou shalt not commit murder," "Thou shalt not steal.")



Opium for Some—Pocket Money for Others

(Another Stuermer-type caricature of the religious Jew wearing a religious cap and a prayer shawl.)



The swindlers in religious articles brawl among themselves over the division of the spoils in the synagogue

(Speculation in matzoh, pigs, thievery, deception and debauchery are portrayed as the real characteristics of many synagogue leaders.)



The Jewish Child-Buyers—Enemies of Youth

(Caricature heading a chapter claiming that religious Jews ensnare youth into religion by offering bribes.)

The Soviet Book That Shook the Communist World

THE REVELATION, in February 1964, that the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev had published an anti-Semitic tract in late 1963 stunned and outraged Western public opinion. But this reaction was as nothing compared to the tremor of shock that smashed into the world Communist movement. There was literally not one major Communist party or leader or organ in the Western world that did not protest, either timidly or vehemently.

This remarkable furore inside the Communist movement was in itself an extraordinary development. But far more remarkable and significant was the virtually unprecedented phenomenon to which it led: World opinion—above all, opinion within the Communist movement and its extensive and powerful periphery, especially in Europe—forced the Soviet authorities into a series of backtracking explanations, clarifications and, finally, partial condemnation and repudiation of the book.

Now that the furore has somewhat abated, a retrospective glance makes it appear as though there had been something almost inevitable and classically preordained in the way things evolved. The texts that follow trace the course and document the virtually ineluctable progress of events.

But first a word about the book,

Judaism Without Embellishment, by T. K. Kichko.

What makes this 192-page volume startlingly unique is its extensive series of anti-Semitic caricatures that look as if they might have been plagiarized from Julius Streicher's *Der Stuermer*. The text itself, however, does not differ materially from the kind of thing Soviet pamphlets, newspapers and books have been saying for years. It is the caricatures, and their conjunction with this kind of text, that makes this volume so alarming and so devastatingly repulsive.

The book ostensibly focuses on the nature, spirit and objectives of Judaism and religious Jews. Were it "merely" atheist propaganda of the sort directed against all religions in the USSR, there would be nothing unusual about it. But it is far more than that. For it teaches that Judaism encourages its adherents to steal from non-Jews, to give false testimony and to lie to non-Jews, to exploit the labor of non-Jews.

In much the same way as did the medieval Christian anti-Semites, from whom Kichko may indeed have borrowed, the book seeks to demonstrate that Judaism teaches contempt for work and for workers and peasants (the mainstay of Soviet ideology and society), that Judaism glorifies extortion and usury, and that it knowingly leads its believers into hypocrisy, bribery and financial speculation. In short, Judaism "is impregnated with narrow practicality, with greed, the love of money, and the spirit of egoism."

Most ominous and sinister of all is the close connection drawn between

The drawings from *Judaism Without Embellishment* were first reproduced in this country in *The New Leader*. The translation from *Prauda* is reprinted through the courtesy of *The Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, published weekly at Columbia University.

Judaism and Zionism, which ever since shortly after the Revolution has been a proscribed ideology and movement in the USSR. Indeed, the book speaks at length about a virtual worldwide conspiracy of Judaism, Zionism, Israel, Jewish bankers and Western capitalists. It is not too difficult to imagine how such a vicious amalgam of hoary anti-Semitic stereotypes, reinforced by the *Stuermer*-style caricatures, would stimulate and foster the widespread, endemic tradition of anti-Semitism in the Ukraine. Nor is it difficult to imagine the shame and the pain with which Ukrainian Jews must have reacted, perforce in silence, to this volume.

The book is given all the more weight within the Ukrainian context by several additional factors. First of all, this was not the ordinary, run-of-the-mill piece of atheist propaganda. It was published by the Academy of Sciences, the first time such a tract was issued by this Academy. Thus it had the status and prestige of a "scientific" document, a piece of "scholarship." This impression is bolstered by the list of distinguished Academy scholars who give it their imprimatur: "There is no doubt that the profound and substantial work by T. K. Kichko, which contains a tremendous amount of factual material conscientiously and scientifically analyzed, will be a valuable manual for propagandists of atheism in their daily work, and will assist wide circles of readers to appraise questions regarding the Jewish religion."

Secondly, it is in the Ukrainian language, and that made it more directly accessible to its intended audience. That audience consists of party cadres, educators and atheist propagandists—which is why the book was published in an edition of 12,000—a comparatively large number for a "scientific" work.

Thirdly, the author is no novice at the business of producing this type of

"scholarly" material on Judaism. Though he is a "genuine" Ukrainian, Kichko has evidently become the leading academic specialist in the Ukraine on Jews and Judaism. As far back as 1957, he published a pamphlet entitled *The Jewish Religion, Its Origins and Essence*, which already contained the seeds of his later work. Subsequently, he went into the subject more thoroughly for several years and finally, in 1962, he received the Soviet equivalent of a master's degree for a "dissertation" on contemporary Judaism. These two, together with a lengthy article he published in late 1962 ("What Does Jewish Ethics Teach?"), have now culminated in this expanded, updated version of traditional Ukrainian anti-Semitism under the guise of Soviet science.

Finally, it is hardly likely that such a volume would have been issued without the approval, not only of the Academy administration but of the Communist Party leadership in Kiev, which doubtless gave it special standing for both anti-Semites and Jews in the Ukraine . . .

A WORD of identification is in order about the various sources used below.

Kol HaAm is the Hebrew daily newspaper of the Communist Party of Israel.

Neiye Presse is the Yiddish daily paper published by the Jewish Communists of France.

L'Humanité is the central organ of the French Communist Party.

Vochenblatt is the Yiddish-language weekly of the Jewish Communists of Canada.

The Morning Freiheit is the Yiddish language Communist daily in New York.

The Worker, formerly the *Daily Worker*, the official organ of the Communist Party of the United States, appears twice weekly.

The Jewish Progressive Centre of Melbourne (whose protest was published by the *Australian Jewish Herald*, a strictly non-Communist Anglo-Jewish weekly) is the leading Jewish fellow-traveling organization in Australia and carries weight in the country's left wing.

The *YIKUF*—the Yiddisher Kultur Farband (Jewish Culture Association)—has for two and a half decades been the leading pro-Soviet Jewish cultural and literary organization, linking like-minded groups in Europe, Latin America, Israel and the United States.

L'Unita is the central organ of the Italian Communist Party.

La Voix du Peuple is the weekly news-and-comment magazine of the pro-Chinese Communists of Belgium. This in itself lends the article a certain piquant attraction. Over and beyond the exoticism, one of the main points, stripped of its jargon about "revisionism," provides one of the clues to Soviet policy on Jews—the operation of what the Communists call Great Power chauvinism, another way of saying enforced Russification.

THERE IS A FASCINATING point-counterpoint in the evolution of the comments in the Western Communist press. The first hesitant reaction appeared in *Kol HaAm* on March 6, and was subsequently picked up by the *Freiheit* on March 11 and by the *Neiye Presse* on March 13. By then, the latter had already produced its own version of the *Kol HaAm* gambit—a letter to the editor from an old comrade, and a brief, tentative reply from the editors.

More fascinating and far more significant is the interplay between *Neiye Presse* and *L'Humanité*. At no point did the latter ever publish its own protest; what it consistently did was to pick up what the former said and reprint it. But this was weighty enough,

as the *Neiye Presse* proved by its subsequent trumpeting of the fact. So we witness the tragi-comic byplay in which the *Neiye Presse* publishes an editorial protest, the faint-hearted *L'Humanité* picks it up, and the *Neiye Presse* reprints *L'Humanité's* reprint of its original editorial. But everyone got the point nevertheless—and in Moscow, too. *L'Humanité*, in fact, did the same with a large number of protests issued by a sizeable number of French fellow traveling organizations such as the Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism and For Peace.

Guiseppe Boffa, the foreign news editor of *L'Unita*, was clearly more courageous and outspoken than his French counterpart. His forthright, even brilliant, analysis warrants particular attention—not least his open call for an official Soviet campaign against anti-Semitism.

What did the Communists want? At the very least, they condemned the book. But the more concerned and thorough-going of them—especially the *Freiheit* and *Yiddishe Kultur*—went far beyond this. They demanded explanations and clarifications from the Ukrainian Academy and from the Soviet authorities. They demanded that the writer, and the Academy leaders who authorized the publication, should be publicly punished. And they seized the occasion to reopen other old sore questions—the ban on matzah, the closure of synagogues, the attrition of secular Jewish culture.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of it all is that when answers finally began to come in from various Soviet sources, these most forthright of Communists, including in this instance also the *Vochenblatt* and the *Neiye Presse*, remained explicitly dissatisfied with the replies.

THE SOVIET REPLIES came in stages. First came the Novosti press agency statement, written by one of its stable of Jewish hack writers and issued from Moscow on March 25; the following day it was distributed by the Soviet Embassy in Washington (and probably also elsewhere—it was surely the same statement the *Neiye Presse* rejected). There is clearly no need to analyze that text—the Communists outside the USSR did it well enough.

Next appeared the review in *Radianska Ukraina* (the twice-weekly organ of the Ukrainian Ministry of Culture, and not of the Ukrainian Communist Party, as some sources have suggested). This review, distributed abroad by the TASS News Agency, was widely reported in the general press, as well as appearing textually in London in the Soviet Embassy's *Soviet Weekly* of April 7. Its import is clear: Kichko made a few factual mistakes and a few minor historical and ideological errors, but it is a good and useful book nonetheless. The anti-Semitic caricatures are handled thus:

"The art work in the book gives grounds for serious objections. Many drawings in the book, as well as its cover, are pretentiously executed, slovenly, on a low artistic level and can only offend believers."

Nevertheless, *Radianska Kultura* makes a number of significant admissions—which, however, are not reiterated by the far more authoritative *Pravda* and *Izvestia* statements of ten days later. Most important perhaps is the statement that "the author erroneously maintains that Zionism has its roots in Judaism" and that "it seems to us an incongruity that a book devoted to problems of criticism of reli-

gious ideology should contain appraisals (and not always correct ones, at that) of the activity of Israel as a state and its role in international relations."

This was perhaps the first time in many years that a Soviet source, however obscure, dissociated Judaism and Jewish religious practice from the ominous subversiveness consistently attached to Zionism and Israel. Unhappily, this crucial theme was totally ignored by both *Izvestia*, the government's central organ, and the Party's Ideological Commission, whose statement on the book was published in *Pravda* (and subsequently reprinted in all the major provincial Party organs, as well as reported and commented on by all the Western Communist organs). (It was sad to note that the *Folks-Shtimme*, the Yiddish Communist daily in Warsaw—which in 1956 and 1957 showed exalted courage in crying out against Soviet suppression of Jewish culture—in this instance finally broke its craven silence only to reprint the Ideological Commission statement from *Pravda*.)

What must be clearly noted is that the condemnation and repudiation in the two great Soviet newspapers are only partial and tepid. But they nevertheless constitute an unprecedented acknowledgement of the power of external criticism in the USSR's present internal and international political constellation. It provides some ground for the hope that further criticism and protest—by both responsible Western opinion and concerned and courageous Communists—might contribute to a significant revision of the long-standing Soviet policy of atomizing and obliterating Jewish identity in the USSR.

MOSHE DECTER

Kol HaAm, Tel Aviv, Israel

March 6, 1964

Translated from Hebrew

Letters-to-the-Editor Department

Dear Editor:

In the March 2 issue of the newspaper *Maariv* I read a report about a brochure, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, which appeared in the Ukraine as part of the anti-religious propaganda conducted in the Soviet Union. Alongside this report were tasteless caricatures which, according to the newspaper, were reproduced from that brochure.

I would like to ask the editors to ascertain whether those caricatures were in fact published in the Ukrainian brochure, and if so, what is the attitude of *Kol HaAm* toward this form of propaganda, which is far from being scientific enlightenment against religion.

P. M. (The editors have the writer's full name.)

Editorial reply:

The above-mentioned brochure has not yet arrived in our editorial offices. We have seen the caricatures, reproduced from the Ukrainian-language brochure, in several Israeli papers. It is our opinion and judgment that such caricatures belong to the kind of bad anti-religious propaganda which *Pravda* condemns from time to time as something that misses the mark and makes a bad name for atheist propaganda and enlightenment.

* * *

Neiye Presse, Paris, France

March 12, 1964

Translated from Yiddish

We Condemn the Booklet *Judaism Without Embellishment*

One of our old subscribers, I. K., who has asked that his name not be

revealed, sent us the following letter:

"I am writing to you following a sharp exchange I have just had with two fellow-Jews. To hear them tell it, Jews are being slaughtered in the streets of the Soviet Union. I am convinced that they actually believe this. Propaganda can surely blind people.

"I know what the USSR is, what it has done for Jews, how Jews live there, and I don't believe a word of it. But the Kiev booklet is a scandalous affair. Anti-Semites and bloody fools also exist there. But how come that one such could draw and publish such wild caricatures? You must do something to see to it that the Soviet government takes drastic action about such matters."

We are very glad to publish this letter from our friend, and frankly answer as follows:

A progressive person, Jew or not, must sharply condemn any caricature, regardless of its source, that is capable of inciting to hatred or of arousing anti-Semitic sentiments. We saw the caricatures of the above-mentioned booklet reprinted in the press, and naturally they distressed us. It is possible to propagate free-thinking ideas through methods of enlightenment, to speak out about religious prejudices, but not to permit oneself in the process to indulge in excesses. We believe that the Soviet government must be more alert to such phenomena and must react sharply if such a booklet was actually published in Kiev. And we are, by the way, persuaded, that it will do just that. The entire history of the Soviet Union, its ideology, its own interest, are a guarantee of that.

As Jews, as friends of the Soviet Union, and as free-thinkers, we condemn this kind of booklet: it is bad and dangerous.

* * *

Neiye Presse, Paris
 March 16, 1964
 Translated from Yiddish

***Neiye Presse Demands Clarification
 About the Brochure***

Judaism Without Embellishment

Neiye Presse has sent the following letter to its correspondent in the Soviet press agency Novosti:

Dear Friend:

The news about the brochure *Judaism Without Embellishment*, presumably published in Kiev, with a hateful caricature on its cover which recalls caricatures of an anti-Semitic nature, has, on the one hand, evoked an understandable uproar among all progressive people, democrats and especially among the Jewish folk-masses—and, on the other hand, has strengthened anti-Soviet alarums.

We therefore request you, as quickly as possible, to contact the proper authorities and inform us of the entire truth about this brochure—whether it really appeared in Kiev and, if so, what the Soviet authorities think of it, and what measures are being taken to guarantee that propaganda for free-thinking should not degenerate to the level of strengthening anti-Semitic sentiments and anti-Soviet propaganda at the same time.

Respectfully,
 The Editorial Board, *Neiye Presse*

* * *

L'Humanité, Paris
 March 24, 1964
 Translated from French

**Concerning the Ukrainian Brochure
*Judaism Without Embellishment***

The dissemination of a recent Ukrainian-language brochure entitled

Judaism Without Embellishment has evoked a great deal of discussion in the French press. By far the most serious of the comments was that of the progressive Yiddish-language daily, *La Presse Nouvelle* (*Neiye Presse*).

Below we reprint the essential part of the editorial by Comrade Vilner [editor of *Neiye Presse*—M.D.] which appeared on the weekly French-language page of that newspaper on Saturday, March 21.

“A sizeable anti-Soviet campaign has been waged in the past two weeks by the press and certain Jewish organizations in connection with a brochure, *Judaism Without Embellishment*. . . . Unless it is a forgery, it is an anti-religious propaganda brochure presumably published in Kiev by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences as part of a series of publications on the origins, history and practices of various religions.

“But the appearance, if not the content, of this brochure is capable of bolstering anti-Semitic hatred where it can find receptive soil. The fact is that it is illustrated with a great many vicious caricatures of doubtful taste which can feed and support sentiments of contempt toward the Jews. . . .

“Therefore, while we fight against that anti-Soviet campaign, while we exalt the historic role of the Soviet Union in eradicating anti-Semitism and in rescuing millions of Jews from annihilation—we openly declare: This brochure provokes our wrath; we believe that its caricatures are harmful. This kind of illustration is an instrument of incitement, and cannot serve to persuade, to reason, to defend a just cause.

“Though far from being influenced by the hostile exploitation of this work by sworn enemies of the Soviet Union, we believe—as progressive Jews, as friends of the Soviet Union and as free-

thinkers—that this publication must be clearly condemned.”

[The following day, March 25, *Neiye Presse* hailed this expression of *L'Humanité's* solidarity:]

Yesterday's *L'Humanité*, under the heading “Concerning the Ukrainian Brochure, *Judaism Without Embellishment*,” expressed the position of the French Communist Party about the Kichko brochure that appeared in Kiev. In this manner *L'Humanité* expressed its agreement with *Neiye Presse's* denunciation of the brochure. . . .

* * *

Neiye Presse, Paris

March 25, 1964

Translated from Yiddish

Soviet Agency Novosti Answers Inquiry of *Neiye Presse*

As we noted in the *Neiye Presse* of March 16, the Editorial Board of our paper approached the Soviet Press Agency Novosti in Moscow for clarification about the brochure by Kichko, which appeared in Kiev under the title *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

Last Monday we received a cabled reply from Novosti. Novosti begins by pointing out that “Kichko, in writing his brochure, used the Constitutionally guaranteed right of conducting atheistic propaganda, just as the Constitution equally guarantees the right of religious practice.” Novosti concedes, however, that “KICHKO DID NOT EXECUTE HIS TASK IN THE BEST WAY”. . . . (Our emphasis—*Neiye Presse*).

Novosti also notes that many anti-religious publications likewise appear in the USSR against the Russian Orthodox religion, Roman Catholicism and Islam.

Stressing the rights—including religious—which the Jewish people in the

Soviet Union enjoys along with all other Soviet peoples, Novosti attacks the reactionary elements in the world who seek to exploit this brochure “in the interests of anti-Soviet propaganda.”

We must state that, despite the statement that “Kichko did not execute his task in the best way,” which constitutes a measure of rejection of the brochure, Novosti's answer far from satisfies us. For, aside from the fact that a brochure like Kichko's can only anger a religious Jew rather than enlighten him, it is capable of evoking—especially through the caricatures—anti-Semitic sentiments and at the same time play into the hands of the anti-Soviet elements in the world in their efforts to place the national policies of the USSR in a false light, and divert honest common people from the fight against fascism and war, from the fight against the real racists and anti-Semites.

Therefore we believe that the brochure *Judaism Without Embellishment* must at once be withdrawn from circulation as detrimental not least to the Soviet Union itself; that there must be an investigation of how it was possible for such a book and such caricatures to appear; and that the appropriate measures must be taken to guarantee that such brochures should never again see the light of day in the USSR.

* * *

L'Humanité, Paris

March 26, 1964

Translated from French

A New Declaration by *Neiye Presse* Regarding the Brochure *Judaism Without Embellishment*

The progressive Yiddish daily *Neiye Presse* has published the reply sent it by the Soviet news agency Novosti regarding publication of the Ukrainian-

language brochure, *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

According to *Neiye Presse*, the agency asserts that this brochure engages in anti-religious propaganda guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution, which also guarantees the right of religious practice. The agency admits, however, that the author of the brochure "did not execute his task in the right way."

Though it fully accepts this reservation, *Neiye Presse* believes that "a brochure like Kichko's is capable of arousing anti-Semitic sentiments and at the same time playing into the hands of the anti-Soviet elements in the world."

* * *

Vochebnblatt, Toronto, Canada

March 19, 1964

Translated from Yiddish

We Are Shocked

We have not yet seen the Ukrainian-language brochure, *Judaism Without Embellishment*. It has been reported that the brochure was written by a professor of philosophy, T. Kichko, and was published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Thus, the content of the book is not known to us, and we do not propose to judge it. But we are deeply shocked by the newspaper reproductions we have seen of the caricatures that "embellish" this "work"! These caricatures are ugly, revolting and dangerous!

We are deeply shocked that such caricatures should appear in a Soviet publication because we know, and are profoundly convinced, that this contradicts the entire basic approach of the Soviet government and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union toward anti-Semitism or any form of racism. We maintain that such caricatures are not consonant with a scientific basis for

atheism; this is not scientific enlightenment in the spirit of the accepted policy toward all religions on the part of the Soviet government and the Soviet Communist Party.

We expect clarification, especially from the authorities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as to how such a disgusting thing could have happened, and what will be done about it. We know that in the past a number of authoritative Soviet publications, such as *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and other papers, have condemned certain distorted and damaging methods of the anti-religious struggle. "It is not permissible to offend the feelings of believers," the organ of the Young Communists once wrote. Characterization of religious organizations, churches or synagogues as "nests of darkness," and of religious ceremonies as "senseless folly," has more than once been condemned by *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and other Soviet newspapers.

Enemies wish to create the impression that anti-Semitism is especially strong in the Ukraine and is inspired by the authorities. This is contradicted by many facts, including the news from our Moscow correspondent S. Rabinowitch of the Soviet Ukrainian preparations to observe the 75th anniversary of the Jewish poet Asher Shvartsman who was killed in the Civil War. Many great literary personalities of the Ukraine, including the famous poet Pavlo Tichina, are members of the Shvartsman jubilee committee. How does this jibe with anti-Semitism?! The caricatures in the Kichko brochure are a distortion of the spirit of Soviet literary artists, including Asher Shvartsman.

Caricatures such as those reproduced from the Kichko book are, in our view, anti-Soviet, for they are false, ugly and anti-human. They are the very opposite of scientific anti-religious propaganda.

We are deeply shocked, and await a clarification.

* * *

Morning Freiheit (An Editorial)

New York, March 22, 1964

Translated from Yiddish

**About the Book,
Judaism Without Embellishment
The Anti-Semitic Cartoons Must Be
Condemned, the Culprits Punished**

In its week-end edition dated March 1, 1964, the *Morning Freiheit* announced that it had cabled its Moscow correspondent, Solomon Rabinovich, to investigate reports regarding a book or pamphlet published in Kiev, entitled *Judaism Without Embellishment*. In a second cable we asked for a copy of the book. . . .

Thus, we tried to check the reports about the aforementioned book, and awaited a reply from our correspondent. Such a reply has not come yet. We regret this. Our correspondent or the Novosti Press Agency owes us an explanation. We have the right to expect that an inquiry of ours would be taken into consideration.

A reply, however, did come a few days ago, in a speech by the Ukrainian delegate to the U.N., Piotr Nedbailo. In his speech at the Commission for Human Rights, he declared: "The people and government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic condemn anti-Semitism as an obnoxious expression of hate for the Jewish people." Pointing out that anti-Semitism was an instrument of the Czarist regime to suppress the masses, Mr. Nedbailo declared that in the Ukraine everybody lives in conditions of "*de jure* and *de facto* equality," and that "all forms of national hatred, including anti-Semitism, have been eliminated." Anti-Semitism,

however, has to be abolished in all lands, he emphasized.

This is a good declaration, naturally. But what about the book? The official text of the U.N., which we have, contains only short "summaries" of the speeches at the Human Rights Commission. In the summary of Mr. Nedbailo's speech, the book is not mentioned directly. It is evident, however, that he spoke of the Judenratlers, the Kastners who had collaborated with the Nazis. Our U.N. correspondent, who heard the speech, relates that Mr. Nedbailo referred to one cartoon in that book, declaring that it related to those collaborators, the Kastners.

The Ukrainian representative did not deny the existence of such a book. He did not repudiate the photostats of the caricatures as fabrications. He sought to interpret them. Unfortunately, his interpretations cannot be accepted.

One can accept his declaration about the attitude of the Ukrainian Soviet government on anti-Semitism and of "*de jure* and *de facto* equality" which Jews enjoy. Those who want to know the facts are familiar with the role Jews play in the Ukraine, as in the Soviet Union generally, in socialist construction, in literature, in the arts and the sciences.

But as to the caricatures in that book, it must be stated openly that they are reminiscent of the well-known caricatures of Jews in anti-Semitic publications. These are caricatures of an anti-Semitic "style."

This has to be stated openly and clearly. This is the way it must be said if one wants genuinely friendly relations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.—the Soviet Ukraine included, naturally.

Sincere friendship demands candid relations. There must be no covering up, supposedly in the name of friendship. Such a friendship is not a healthy

one. By clarifying matters, the friendship that is so necessary in the struggle for peace, against Nazism and all forms of racism, against anti-Semitism, can only be strengthened.

How was it possible to include in a book combatting religion, in this case Jewish religion, cartoons of this kind?

Those who oppose anti-religious propaganda in general make a serious mistake. Non-believers have at least as much right to their views as the devout people have to theirs. But it all depends on the way the propaganda is conducted.

The Moscow *Pravda* indicated recently that anti-religious propaganda must be carried out scientifically and must not offend the sensibilities of devout people. But in this book we have caricatures that insult the feelings of non-religious people as well as the devout. These are abhorrent cartoons that must be sharply condemned! They play into the hands of anti-Semites generally, including those in the U.S., and into the hands of the remnants of the anti-Semites of the Czarist era and those of the period of the Nazi occupation—remnants against which an educational campaign is to be conducted, coupled with a drive to exterminate them, to mete out punishment for anti-Semitic expressions or actions.

And it is important, in our opinion, to investigate whether some of these remnants had a hand in the design of these caricatures and in the publication of the book *Judaism Without Embellishment*. Here was committed both an anti-Semitic and anti-Soviet act! It is quite possible that under the cloak of a drive against the Jewish religion there hide anti-Soviet elements.

It is no excuse, as claimed in some local circles, that propaganda against other religions is also conducted badly and is accompanied by bad caricatures.

Such cartoons and propaganda are bad in any case. And one must especially not forget the horrors the Jews experienced in the Second World War. Apart from their losses on the battlefields, they lost a third of their people in the ghettos and gas chambers as Jews, as a consequence of anti-Semitic propaganda which prepared the ground for Nazi barbarism.

The *Morning Freiheit* has repeatedly rejected and continues to reject the insinuations and slanderous accusations of "anti-Semitism" directed at the Soviet Union. It was gratifying to read the other day that Dr. Nahum Goldmann, as well as the entire conference of Jewish leaders in Brussels, also rejected the slanderous accusation. We reiterate, it is sufficient to recognize the role played by Jews in socialist construction, in literature, arts and sciences, as well as in the Soviet government and the army. It is important to keep in mind the statements which Premier Khrushchev has made on various occasions against anti-Semitism, in which he stressed the struggle carried on by Lenin against anti-Semitism. About these important declarations the cold warriors maintain silence. They are silent as well in regard to the trials of the Nazi hangmen that the Soviet Union is prosecuting and the fact that only there do the murderers get their deserved punishment.

Soviet leaders have frequently stated that the struggle against the remnants of the past, criminals and speculators, must go on. Among the remnants of anti-Soviet elements there are criminals of the anti-Semitic type. Regrettably, they make themselves felt from time to time.

Such was the case with the publication in 1962 of the anti-religious book, *A Gallery of Saints*, by the French 18th Century Encyclopedist, Paul Henry Holbach. The *Morning Freiheit* criti-

cized that book. There were other such regrettable occurrences.

According to reports, some steps were taken against the perpetrators. However, it is not known clearly what these steps were; apparently they were not sufficiently demonstrative so that the whole country and the entire world could know about them. Had they been taken demonstratively they might have served as a warning to others.

The question now is: What measures will be taken against these cartoonists, the author and publisher of the book *Judaism Without Embellishment*?

People in the U.S.A., especially Jewish people, are deeply disturbed about the cartoons. The matzoh case, too, causes dissatisfaction. It will surely be a serious mistake to dismiss all these with the argument that it is mere cold war propaganda. The blunders in the anti-religion drive as well as (or even more so) the serious errors in the restoration of the Jewish cultural institutions, destroyed during the Stalin cult (more correctly, the non-restoration of these institutions) are matters that seriously disturb many honest people, friends of the Soviet Union. There can, however, be no doubt that these mistakes and these aberrations are a godsend for the cold war proponents, for all those who have continuously been preoccupied with anti-Soviet propaganda; for all those who are friends of Adenauer-Globke; for all those who tolerate the Heusingers and other Jew-murderers residing in our country; for those who worry very little about the Rockwells and look for anti-Semitism only in the lands of socialism.

The blunders must be rectified, not only with the view of disarming the war propagandists. Justice demands it and a proper approach to the national question requires that the blunders and aberrations be corrected. For us, the

restoration of Soviet Jewish culture is of prime importance. The great beginning that came with the very important journal *Sovietish Heimland* and with Jewish concerts and theatre performances must be continued with greater momentum. Simultaneously, however, the fight against the cold war supporters must be strengthened and the struggle for peace heightened. The blunders must be rectified in the interests of peace.

Every honest person will admit—as do Lord Russell and Dr. Linus Pauling, and many others who point out these blunders—that the Soviet Union carries on a persistent fight for peace; that world peace depends on American-Soviet friendship.

Considering all aspects of the question before us, and without hush-hushing any, one must, above all, see to it that the struggle for peace shall in no way and in no quarter be hindered and that American-Soviet friendship shall be strengthened and not weakened.

The elimination of the aberrations from long-standing Soviet policy against anti-Semitism will help strengthen American-Soviet friendship that is the guarantee of world peace and human survival.

* * *

The Worker, New York
March 24, 1964

Gus Hall Condemns Book's Cartoons As Anti-Semitic

Because of a number of inquiries, a reporter for *The Worker* asked Gus Hall if he had any comments on the stories about a pamphlet published in Kiev called *Judaism Without Embellishment*. Mr. Hall stated the following:

"I have not read or seen the pamphlet. I have seen only reproductions

of portions of it in papers and magazines. Nor do I have any way of knowing whether the copies circulating in this country are forgeries or not.

"There is no doubt in my mind, however, 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, unquestionably 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.

"Such a pamphlet, moreover, is 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.

"Finally, whatever may prove to be the origin of the pamphlet, I would warn against anyone falling into the trap of those who are trying to utilize all mistakes and errors, as well as forged documents, for purposes of reactionary anti-Sovietism and anti-Socialism. These professional anti-Sovieters, many of whom themselves are anti-Semitic, are working overtime to stir up anti-Soviet feelings.

"Nor can we permit a discussion of such errors to become a smoke-screen for the real perpetrators of racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Puerto Rican practices and policies. There are many who would like to make headlines of such errors, whether real or alleged, in order to cover up the policies of discrimination, segregation and racism

which are in full flower in the United States."

* * *

Daily Worker, London, England
March 25, 1964

Mr. John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party, commented yesterday on references in British newspapers to a booklet on Judaism said to have been published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

According to these reports, said Mr. Gollan, this booklet contains material and illustrations capable of being interpreted as anti-Semitic.

"The illustration reproduced," he said, "has shocked all those in Britain who have consistently campaigned against anti-Semitism.

"The booklet is said to have been published to explain the Marxist attitude to Judaism and Zionism.

"While such an aim is perfectly legitimate, it must of course be done in a principled way. It is contrary to the views of Communists and the well known policy of the Soviet Union and the CPSU to give any encouragement, direct or indirect, to anti-Semitism and to those interested in stirring up racial feeling.

"British Communists would certainly disassociate themselves from the illustration said to have appeared in this Ukrainian publication.

"I have written to the Soviet Communists on this matter."

* * *

Australian Jewish Herald, Melbourne
April 17, 1964

Letter to the Ambassador

The following is the text of the letter sent to the Soviet Ambassador by the

Jewish Progressive Centre.

Dear Sir: The Jewish Progressive Centre, having acquainted itself with the book *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, came to the conclusion that much of the content of the book is incorrect and anti-Jewish.

For instance, the following statements: "The Talmud is permeated with hatred towards work and scorn of the worker." "Money is the jealous God of Israel, before whom there is no other God." "The ethics of Judaism do not condemn such disgraceful actions as hypocrisy and bribery." "Speculation in matzos, thievery, deception, debauchery—these are the real characteristics of many synagogue leaders."

Just as shocking and despicable are the cartoons which show the religious Jews with hooked noses as being engaged in greedily grasping money, in plunder and division of spoils in synagogues and in debasement of women, and the cartoon which shows Ben Gurion, the ex-Prime Minister of Israel, crossing out the don't's in the Ten Commandments, and by doing so preaching: kill, steal and lie.

In our opinion such a publication must encourage anti-Semitism and racial hatred, specially so in the Ukraine, where the poison of anti-Semitism, bred for centuries by Czardom, Ukrainian chauvinism and lately by the Nazis during the Hitlerite occupation, is not yet fully uprooted.

It seems to us that the content of this book contradicts the resolution adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the SU on November 10, 1954, which says that "it is inadmissible to offend the feelings of the believers" and that it violates the Soviet law, which declares that "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred or contempt is punishable by law."

As Jews and Socialists we express our sharpest condemnation of the book *Judaism Without Embellishment*.

Publication of such a book by such a body as the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as well as the appearance of anti-Jewish articles in the Soviet press on some other occasions shows the Soviet Government doesn't take adequate and prompt measures to prevent anti-Jewish publications and articles from appearing from time to time in the SU.

As a Jewish Organization we remember with gratitude that the Soviet Union has rendered great assistance to the Jews in the Second World War and to the State of Israel at the time of its establishment. As an organization working for peace we also have been always fostering friendly relations between East and West.

The fact, however, that the book *Judaism Without Embellishment* was in circulation for four months without bringing any action or criticism from the Soviet Government and that the Soviet authorities have failed even to date to make an unqualified condemnation of the book is of grave concern to us and to every person in whose interest it is to combat anti-Semitism.

The Jewish Progressive Centre has resolved therefore to convey through Your Excellency to the Soviet authorities our sharpest condemnation of the book and a request that the Soviet Government take all the necessary steps to ensure that further publications and articles in the press of anti-Jewish character are not permitted, and that strong action in accordance with the Soviet penal code is taken against those responsible for the publication of the book.

M. Frydman, Secretary of Jewish
Progressive Centre

* * *

YIKUF Presidium, New York
March 25, 1964

Statement of the Presidium of YIKUF

The appearance of the book *Judaism Without Embellishment* has justly evoked distress and protest among the Jewish masses, including friends of the Soviet Union who greatly value the Soviet initiatives for disarmament and peace. The caricatures in the book are of the same character as the tragically well-known caricatures which anti-Semites disseminate about Jews. They are profoundly offensive to Jews and can serve as an instrument in the hands of anti-Semites. This is in complete contradiction to the struggle *against* anti-Semitism and to the provisions of the Soviet Constitution, which guarantee full rights for every citizen and every people. They can only bring harm to the Soviet efforts for friendship among peoples.

The book *Judaism Without Embellishment* must be withdrawn from circulation as quickly as possible and the author and cartoonist must be tried. This is necessary in and of itself, and as a warning to others. We expect a clarification from the Kiev Academy of Sciences as to how such a book was possible—a book that does harm inside the country itself, and also harms the objective of friendship with peoples outside the Soviet Union and the fight for peace.

* * *

La Voix du Peuple, Brussels, Belgium
March 27, 1964
Translated from French

A Publication Incompatible With Socialism

By Joseph Josse

With immense distress, shame and indignation we learned of the publica-

tion of the monstrous brochure *Judaism Without Embellishment* in the context of the anti-religious campaign in the Soviet Union. Our first reaction was one of utter disbelief; we regarded the news as a slanderous concoction, part of the kind of forgery that is regularly fabricated in counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet offices.

Alas! Confronted with proof and in the absence of an official denial, we had to accept the evidence. . . . How completely incredible, but true! This publication, issued by the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, from the pen of a "specialist" in anti-religious propaganda, T. K. Kichko, is vile for three reasons:

1. In its illustrations, representing persons of odious appearance, crooked noses, and fingers greedy and itching for money, it is among the worst anti-Semitic pamphlets, reminiscent of the *Steurmer* or *Gringoire*.

2. In its content—in which, under the guise of an anti-religious campaign, it adopts the classic thesis of anti-Semitism as it was absurdly and perniciously exploited at all times by the promoters of hatred of the Jews, from Drumond to Streicher—the brochure sows distrust and divisiveness among the peoples of the Soviet Union. This one can realize as soon as one examines some of its passages: "All of Judaic ideology is impregnated with narrow practicality, with greed, the love of money, and the spirit of egoism. . . . The entire Judaic cult is the translation of trade and commerce into religious language. In all its practices, money is of prime importance, as is contempt for productive work."

3. By its deceitful and slanderous assertions about the ideological and philosophical content of the Mosaic religion, Kichko's pamphlet not merely defeats its own objective—to persuade believers of the mystifying role of religion. Above all, it discredits the Ukrain-

ian Academy of Sciences and creates distrust for the entire Soviet socialist system. Our enemies will surely not fail to link this monstrous brochure to the socialist system itself, and will disseminate the false notion that socialism is incapable of solving the Jewish problem as a whole and anti-Semitism in particular.

But it is obvious to any reasonable person that this vicious publication has nothing to do with socialism, that it is of an anti-socialist and counter-revolutionary nature. Well then? In that case, one may rightly wonder what is going on in the USSR. How is it possible that forty-five years after the Revolution something like this could be produced in a country that claims to have completed socialist construction and is on the road to Communism? And where, at what level, can responsibility for this affair be placed?

Should we—genuine Marxist-Leninists for whom the October Revolution and socialism are inviolable, we who love the Soviet Union—should we be silent in the face of this degenerate phenomenon? We have no right to explain away the problem, to belittle its seriousness, or to look for all sorts of mitigating circumstances. There are none.

Don't tell us that this is an unfortunate exaggeration in "bad taste" in the anti-religious campaign—one of those we have encountered for some time, and a little too often, in the Soviet press, even according to *Pravda* itself. *Judaism Without Embellishment* is not an "anti-religious brochure," nor is it any "exaggeration in bad taste." It is an anti-Jewish pamphlet and has to be condemned as such.

Also don't tell us this is the work of a single, isolated anti-Semite who escaped the attention of the authorities, who in turn can't be held entirely responsible. This thesis, which might

have been quite appropriate for a capitalist country, is not valid for a socialist country—where the printing presses are State-owned and where publications of this importance, of this political character, released by the Academy of Sciences, could not appear without the previous approval of the authorities of both State and Party.

It is clear to us that this phenomenon of the anti-Jewish publication is just one particularly serious symptom among so many others of a more general evil, located at the highest level of authority in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This evil is a revisionist deviation and affects the general line of the Party. In fact, Kichko's vile pamphlet is the monstrous offspring generated by this revisionism—great-power chauvinism toward the problems of ethnic minorities, and idealistic pragmatism about the anti-religious campaign.

We are convinced that the evil will not last long and that the Soviet peoples, together with the Communists of the USSR, will be able in time to stop the divisive process of revisionism. Thus they will succeed in salvaging the situation and returning the CPSU to the straight path of Marxist-Leninism, at the same time eradicating the weeds of chauvinism and anti-Semitism that infest their social fatherland.

Meanwhile, we must alert the world of workers and Communists everywhere to the danger that lies in wait in the Soviet Union. Even now, the *Kol HaAm* (organ of the Israeli CP) and the *Neiye Presse* (progressive Yiddish daily in Paris) have condemned the brochure in question—the former quite timidly, and the latter with rather more audacity. In addition, the *Neiye Presse* has written to its Moscow correspondent at the Soviet news agency Novosti, reporting the "understandable furore that has gripped progressive and democratic circles," and demanding a clarification.

This kind of declaration and action, however, is absolutely insufficient. It is necessary that all organizations of workers, radicals, Marxists and Communists of the world reject this infamous brochure, declare it anti-socialist, and ask their Soviet brothers to undertake the necessary action to end the present state of affairs:

1. To withdraw the vicious pamphlet from circulation and to destroy it.

2. To conduct a search for the real culprits—not merely for the performers like Kichko, but especially those who ordered and set the operation in motion, and to punish them in an exemplary fashion.

This is the least that can be achieved in order to stop the evil process of anti-Semitism. Success in correcting the overall situation will come through the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism.

* * *

L'Unita, Rome, Italy

March 29, 1964

Translated from Italian

The Libelous Publication in Kiev Is There Anti-Semitism in the USSR?

According to the latest Soviet census, that of 1959, there are in the Soviet Union around 2,300,000 Jews—or somewhat more than one per cent of the total population.

Soviet Jews enjoy the same special national rights as the more than 100 nationalities in the USSR. Not long ago an article in *L'Unita* summed up the great contributions of the Jewish people to the Russian Revolution and to the mighty economic reconstruction that followed the Revolution. The Jewish population, freed of Czarist oppression and of the endless Czarist brutalities to the Jews, received the broadest

opportunities in all walks of life, especially in intellectual fields. For example, the percentage of Jews among scientific workers is extraordinarily high.

It is clear that anti-Semitism is in total contradiction to the Soviet regime, and when we encounter an anti-Semitic book—or, more precisely, the kind of anti-Semitic libel that was recently published in the Ukraine, and was attacked by *Radianska Kultura*—we ask ourselves, how was it possible for such a libel to appear in the Soviet Union? It could be said that it was a sheer accident; but we feel that it should not be ignored or underestimated, even though we do not wish to help the anti-Soviet forces by taking up this question.

Anti-Semitism in old Russia, and especially in the Ukraine, has a terrible history. In the last decade of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, anti-Semitism was the official policy of the Czarist regime. The Czar incited bloody pogroms and exploited anti-Semitism and race hatred to keep the disgruntled masses of the country divided. At the time of the Civil War, the White Guardists made violent assaults on the Jews. Decades of anti-Semitism left their imprint, which could not be erased overnight.

One of the greatest achievements of the socialist October Revolution was its victorious struggle against this tragic phase of history; and I am persuaded that no other country ever accomplished as much as did the USSR to eliminate anti-Semitism permanently from the country's life.

Lenin's policy proclaimed the absolute equality of all nationalities. National and racial discrimination were declared to be contrary to the proletarian basis of the Soviet regime, which, for its part, recognized only one dividing line—that between the united forces of the workers of all lands against the exploiters of the world. All forms and

expressions of racial prejudice were forbidden by law, and to this date the Soviet penal code calls for stiff penalties against such violations of Soviet morality.

All of the Communist Party's ideological and propaganda activities were mobilized against the residues of racism and anti-Semitism, and for this very reason reactionaries and anti-Semites everywhere accused the Bolsheviks of having "sold themselves" to the Jews.

I recently discovered a speech of Mikhail Kalinin in 1926; at one time Kalinin was the head of the Soviet government and certainly one of its most popular leaders. Like a true Marxist, Kalinin earnestly and passionately condemned every outbreak of anti-Semitism, including the anti-Semitism of certain intellectuals who resented the unusual prestige of the Jewish intelligentsia, or the fact that certain NEP-men were Jews.

Kalinin declared that the October Revolution granted equal rights to all peoples of the Soviet Union and equal access to all government positions in all areas. He further stated that "the Soviet regime guarantees this equality not only officially but in reality, so that for the first time in centuries the Jews may be free to occupy not merely professional positions but leading positions on all levels of the Soviet regime and the army. . . ."

In this Kalinin was no exception, for all of Soviet policy was developed in the same spirit.

In this way the Soviet Union achieved its first great victories. Before the second World War began, anti-Semitism had almost entirely been eliminated not only from official government policy but from the minds of men, and there are enough facts to prove this.

And then—World War II. A large part of Soviet territory was occupied by the Nazis, including almost the entire

Ukraine—in effect, virtually all the areas that had a large Jewish population. Hitler's gangs carried out, as they did everywhere else, massive deportations and slaughters not only against Jews but against the entire population. But in the three years of their occupation they did everything they could to disseminate their anti-Semitic poison and to revive old prejudices. And this became one of the tragic problems created by the war.

The situation was made much worse by Stalin's postwar nationalities policy, not just with regard to the Jews. In opposition to Leninist doctrine, Stalin began to think and to act as if it were possible to hold entire nationalities responsible for the fact that some of their number had collaborated with the Nazis during the occupation.

As is now known, the forced deportation of entire populations then began. A long time afterward, Khrushchev revealed that the entire Ukrainian population might have been deported as "untrustworthy"; fortunately, there were too many Ukrainians, and this prevented the eradication of the Ukrainian people.

It was in this atmosphere and in this context that Stalin began his anti-Semitic campaign, and it should be noted that this was the real import of Stalin's fight against "cosmopolitanism"—a pretty word that fooled no one. The fact is that the press consistently published the original Jewish names of people in the news. Stalin was convinced that all Jews had ties with the West, and this he considered a crime. During that period he assaulted the finest cultural activities of the Jews, among others, the famous Mikhoels theatre was closed down, never to be reopened to this day. This campaign, accompanied by police persecution, reached its climax in the notorious "Doctors' Plot."

Stalin's errors on the nationalities problem were strongly condemned at the Twentieth Party Congress and thereafter, and much has been done to make up for those errors, to liquidate the "personality cult" and its evil consequences. But we can still not say that all these evil consequences have been liquidated.

Some of the most serious of these consequences are in the very delicate area of relations among the various nationalities that constitute the Soviet Union.

We must remember that in his last years Stalin helped develop the spirit of nationalism, and thus anti-Semitism, in the population at large and also—more seriously—among groups of intellectuals, party functionaries and leaders. The consequences of this false policy are still being felt today.

This is the only way to explain the vicious anti-Semitic remarks that can be heard here and there, the only way to explain the book mentioned above, or even the response of a couple of mediocre writers some time ago to Yev-tushenko's "Babi Yar."

No one has the right to say that the Soviet government does not respect the full equality of peoples, including the equality of the Jews. Lenin's concept of the state, on which Soviet policy is based, stands in complete contradiction to every form of nationalism and racism, and Soviet laws are the expression of that policy. Socialism develops only those institutions that are built on the concept that everyone works for the common good.

Such harmful phenomena as the booklet that was published in Kiev a while ago must therefore be understood as individual and isolated events, having nothing in common with the socialist conscience of the majority of Soviet citizens. But they must be combatted energetically. To fail to combat them,

or to do so only half-heartedly, can only damage the Soviet Union, and can only raise questions about the USSR in the conscience of the international proletariat and the democratic masses of the entire world. The best means to combat such vicious ideas are Lenin's teachings.

* * *

An Exchange Between the European Writers Community and the Soviet Writers Union

On March 25, 1964, Giancarlo Vigorelli, secretary general of the European Writers Community, which is constituted by literary delegations from twenty-five countries including the USSR, addressed the following cable to the Soviet Writers Union:

"Many Italian and foreign writers deeply shocked and grieved by the anti-Semitic libel published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Protest strongly. I also express my personal sorrow and shock. The European Writers Community expects an explanation. Above all, we ask you to intervene in order to repair the moral, cultural and political damage wrought by this publication."

On April 5, 1964, the Ukrainian poet, Nikolai Bayan, replied in the name of all Soviet writers:

"The book *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published in Kiev, is condemned by Soviet public opinion, and I personally also consider it dangerously negative. Many passages in the book distort historical and scientific truth and treat the origins and development of this religion in an erroneous manner. The book is illustrated by drawings of an offensive character. Newspapers in Moscow and Kiev have strongly criticized this book; such ar-

ticles have appeared in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and in the Kiev paper *Radianska Kultura*. It could not be otherwise, since there is no Jewish problem in the Soviet Union. I find it unpleasant, however, that this publication should have served as a pretext for forces hostile to my country to revive calumnies against my homeland, to exploit a publication that is really alien to the spirit of our society, and so disturb the atmosphere of international cooperation and understanding among peoples."

* * *

Morning Freiheit (An Editorial)

New York, April 7, 1964

Translated from Yiddish

The Sharp Condemnation in *Pravda*

We publish in our news columns today the full text of the statement that appeared last week in *Pravda*.

The statement was issued by the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, which apparently assembled especially to deal with the by now notorious booklet, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. The statement *decisively condemns the booklet as a most harmful publication*. The booklet's erroneous expressions, the statement declares, as well as its caricatures, "may offend the feelings of believers and might be interpreted in a spirit of anti-Semitism."

The fact that this statement issues from the *highest leadership* of the Communist Party underscores both its sharp character and the *effect* it will have on those guilty of writing and publishing the booklet. In effect, they are put in the position of those who have *violated* Leninist positions on anti-religious propaganda, as the declaration makes clear at another point; and also of

those who have *violated the country's Constitution*, which prohibits propaganda that "smells" of anti-Semitism.

The broad Jewish folk-masses, irrespective of their position, will welcome *Pravda's* statement. The great significance of this declaration was even recognized at the recently convened [American Jewish] Conference in Washington. We must emphasize that what the highest leadership of the Soviet Communist Party has now said—the *judgment* which it has in effect handed down—will have a powerful impact not only on anti-religious propaganda but on propaganda and popular education in general. This is a *warning against every tendency that might play into the hands of anti-Semites*. We might well add at this point: If only we could hear such statements from the highest authorities in this country, where we are inundated with bloody anti-Semitic propaganda and with calls to gas the Jews of America. . . .

While welcoming the declaration of the Soviet Communist Party, we should emphasize the great significance of the statements issued by *friends of the Soviet Union* against the Kiev booklet, especially the *declarations of the Communist Parties of the United States, France, England, Italy and other countries*. We must particularly stress the statement of the spokesman for the Communists of America, *Gus Hall*, who was the *first* Communist leader to sharply condemn the booklet and *every* form of anti-Semitic propaganda, or propaganda of an anti-Semitic "style," or that which plays into the hands of the anti-Semites.

So far—so good. The Kiev booklet has been condemned by the highest court, so to speak, of the Soviet Communist Party, and a warning has been issued about the whole line of propaganda and enlightenment. At the same time, it is clear that the declaration has

not yet solved other questions that arose in connection with the booklet.

The declaration quotes the authoritative statement by Premier Khrushchev that "from the days of the October Revolution, the Jews in our country have had equality with all other peoples of the USSR in all respects." There is no question that the October Revolution secured this full-fledged equality. But a number of fundamental Leninist positions of the October Revolution, concerning many peoples and especially the Jews, were *crudely and criminally violated by the Stalin-cult*. This applies to Jewish culture, whose equality, granted by the October Revolution, has still not been entirely reconstructed. This applies to other problems, which came about as the result of an incorrectly conceived and incorrectly executed attitude toward religious matters. This includes, for example, the matzah question. Certainly there is no "Jewish problem" as it used to exist in old Russia, or as it exists now in certain capitalist countries. But a number of *problems* exist and must be solved.

The Communist Party declaration on the Kiev booklet coincides with the strengthened struggle which the Party is now conducting against the Stalin-cult and its crimes. Friends of the USSR, the Jewish masses in general—and not just the Jews—expect that, as part of this struggle, all sorts of questions that have now emerged and been made acute will be solved.

* * *

Vochebnblatt (An Editorial)
Toronto, Canada, April 9, 1964
Translated from Yiddish

The Condemnations in *Pravda* and *Izvestia*

We welcome the sharply critical articles in the Soviet press about the now-notorious book *Judaism Without Embellishment* by Trofim Kichko, pub-

lished in 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Particularly significant is the report that the Ideological Commission of the Soviet Communist Party condemned the book in a statement that was published in *Pravda*, central organ of the Soviet Communist Party. We also welcome the sharp critique of this revolting "work" in *Izvestia*, official organ of the Soviet government.

And as we already reported last week, the Ukrainian Party paper, *Radianska Kultura*, strongly condemned Kichko's booklet.

We do not agree with the statements in the critical articles published in the Soviet press that the illustrations (the anti-Semitic caricatures) "may offend the feelings of believers..." *We believe that they are an offense to mankind, to everyone with human dignity*. But it is very important that the Ideological Commission's statement should declare that the book "*contradicts the Party's Leninist policy in questions of religion and nationality*."

* * *

Novosti Press Agency Dispatch
Moscow
March 25, 1964

On the Pamphlet Judaism Without Embellishment And Its Commentators

By Shimon Katz

Publication in Kiev of a booklet by Trofim Kichko, *Judaism Without Embellishment*, has given rise in Western countries, particularly in the USA, to a spate of fresh fabrications about "anti-Semitism" in the Soviet Union. Attempts are being made not only to ascribe to the Soviet State persecution of Jews, but even to declare it a policy pursued by the USSR.

The fact, however, is that by writing his pamphlet Kichko merely exercised his right to conduct atheistic propaganda, a right guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution. This right does not contradict, in the USSR, the freedom to perform religious rites, also guaranteed by the Constitution and the whole system of law and order established in the Soviet country. Kichko, no doubt, was guided by good intentions in his desire to introduce to his readers scientific views on religion, in this case the Judaic religion. He did not do it in the best way. But can the policy of the Soviet Union in the national question be appraised on the basis of only one work by an atheist?

This cannot be done at all on the basis of an atheistic book, no matter how good it may be. Why, then, following this strange kind of "logic," not declare every book criticizing Greek Orthodox religion an anti-Russian action, and a book analyzing the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, for example, anti-Lithuanian action, and so on? Clearly, criticisms of religion and State policy in the national question are different things.

Also, the Kichko pamphlet cannot be taken as a basis for evaluating the policy of the Soviet Union because its author is neither a spokesman of the Soviet Government nor an exponent of its views. The fact that Western critics evade this, for them, all too obvious yet unpleasant consideration suggests the idea that their aim is to cast slurs on the USSR rather than ascertain the real condition of the Jews in the Soviet Union.

Soviet power has granted equal rights to all nationalities of the USSR, both small and large, including, of course, the Jewish people. This act has long removed the "Jewish question" from the agenda. Similarly, all religions in

the Soviet Union have been placed in equal conditions: People wishing to profess any religion may do so freely, while those wishing to criticize it have every right to come out against any of the religious creeds. *But not against believers.* This is the root of the matter. Attempts to use the Kichko pamphlet in presenting things in a different light are only evidence of a desire to distort the real state of affairs for the sake of whipping up anti-Soviet propaganda.

* * *

Pravda, Moscow

April 4, 1964

Translated from Russian

C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Ideological Commission

The C.P.S.U. Central Committee's Ideological Commission has examined the question of scientific-atheistic literature.

. . . the participants in the session criticized the serious mistakes made in T. Kichko's *Judaism Without Embellishment*, published late in 1963 by the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences Publishing House. The book's author, as well as the author of its foreword, in striving to expose the reactionary essence of Judaism, incorrectly explain certain questions linked with the rise and development of this religion. A number of the book's erroneous statements and its illustrations may offend the feelings of believers and might be interpreted in a spirit of anti-Semitism.

But, as is known, such a question does not and cannot arise in our country. "From the days of the October Revolution," N. S. Khrushchev has said, "the Jews in our country have had equality with all other peoples of the U.S.S.R. in all respects. We do not have a Jewish question, and those who

dream it up are singing a foreign tune."

The mistaken tenets contained in the book contradict the Party's Leninist policy in questions of religion and nationality and only give our ideological opponents, who are trying to create a so-called "Jewish question" at any cost, food for anti-Soviet insinuations. It is precisely for this reason that the mistaken parts of T. Kichko's book cannot but evoke opposition on the part of the Soviet public.

The Ideological Commission recommended that officials of the press and publishing houses be more careful in their approach to the publication of literature on scientific atheism.

* * *

Izvestia, Moscow

April 5, 1964

Translated from Russian

Concerning an Incomprehensible Sensation

In the past few days there has been an unusual crop of anti-Soviet articles in the press of Western countries. In the name of what issue are pens being broken and ink is flowing this time?

The Soviet reader may well express his bewilderment. For it is well known that religious liberty in the USSR is guaranteed by the Constitution. So what is it all about? It turns out that the bourgeois press is excited by a little book which was recently brought out by a Ukrainian publishing house. The brochure written by T. Kichko is entitled, *Judaism Without Embellishment*. Let us say right away that the book contains errors.

In itself the intention of this brochure cannot evoke any doubts. Judaism, like any other religion, can and should be subjected to scientific criticism. And this is what is done in our scientific and popular literature, which exposes the reactionary essence of all religions, whether Christian, Jewish or any other. In particular in the Ukraine, as well as in other Union Republics, a number of books on anti-religious themes have recently been printed.

T. Kichko analyzes the reactionary essence of Judaism as one of the forms of religious ideology, and uses some new materials for this. However, along with the correct propositions in his brochure there are historical and factual errors, inaccuracies and confused passages which can be interpreted in a spirit contradictory to the policy of our government in the field of religion and the church. Many drawings which appear in the brochure can only evoke a feeling of outrage among believers. Several of the faults contained in the brochure have already been criticized. The newspaper *Radianska Kultura* expressed critical comments about the erroneous propositions of this brochure.

But the initiators of the anti-Soviet propaganda campaign are exploiting the appearance of the brochure in order to try, as they say, to "cast a shadow on a clear sky," and to smear the policy of the Soviet state in the nationality question.

Pitiful calculations! The Leninist nationality policy of the Communist Party and the Soviet government is entirely clear. In the Soviet Union real equality of rights for all peoples, large and small, is guaranteed, and all the conditions for the flowering of their capabilities and talents are established.