

While his friendliness and reasonableness must never be mistaken for weakness, one cannot help but think that the Eshkol touch could turn such potentially heated talks into constructive channels which would advance the cause of peace in the Middle East.

It must be emphasized, however, that the Prime Minister clearly recognizes that Israel can embark on a policy of patient discussion of long-term security and political problems only as long as her independent military might is maintained. He knows that Israel's peace policy must still be based on the solid foundation of her deterrent strength.

It is expected that Israel's security, the political situation in the Middle East, and seawater desalination will be high on Eshkol's agenda in his forthcoming talks in Washington.

It is understood he will urge that any agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union for a relaxation of world tensions include the Arab-Israel dispute. This subject has been the subject of fruitless discussion at the highest levels between American and Israel leaders for some time.

Ben-Gurion sought in vain a Washington initiative for a joint appeal with the Kremlin for peace in the Near East, combined with a guarantee of existing borders. In the alternative, the former Premier suggested a public U.S. guarantee of Israel's security.

Although rebuffed on previous attempts, Israeli officials feel changing world conditions have brightened chances for East-West agreements, and accordingly Eshkol will urge that any such understandings cover the Israel-Arab conflict.

Of more immediate urgency, however, will be the Prime Minister's effort to obtain help in reducing Egypt's superiority over Israel in some categories of modern weapons.

It is anticipated Eshkol will point out that Egypt is engaged in a feverish arms race with the support of the Communist bloc and will emphasize Israel's conviction that an arms balance in the Middle East—based on a strong and well-equipped Israel military establishment—is the best deterrent to an Arab attempt to liquidate his country.

Finally, the Prime Minister is expected to place great emphasis on the need for assistance in establishing a nuclear reactor in Israel to combine generation of electricity with the desalting of sea water. Even a completed Jordan River project will contribute only a small fraction of the water needed for the thirsty nation whose population Eshkol estimates will eventually total 5 million.

Completely new sources are required and the use of nuclear power to produce sweet water appears to be the answer, although Israel will necessarily be a junior partner in such a venture. Eshkol will undoubtedly point out that the resultant reactor can serve as a model for other nations with similar problems and as a center for applied research in this vital field.

It is to be hoped that Israel's case will receive the sympathetic hearing it deserves in Washington.

Mr. Khrushchev's recent tour as guest of Colonel Nasser has emphasized that Israel remains our only true friend in the Middle East, and that America's best interests will be served by steadfast support of Israel's security and independence.

If it is significant that Levi Eshkol has chosen has to visit the United States on his first trip outside Israel since becoming Prime Minister.

It symbolizes the continuing bonds of friendship between the two nations, each dedicated to peace, justice, and human dignity—and underscores the need for enduring American concern for the fate of this bastion of freedom in the Middle East.

BELLIGERENT ARAB ACTIVITIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, which represents more than 800 organizations in the largest Jewish community in the United States, is seriously alarmed over the continuing buildup among the Arab nations in the Middle East.

Mr. President, while the United States continues to offer economic assistance, monetary stabilization funds, and surplus food to President Nasser, Egypt's own resources, assisted by Nazi scientists and Soviet weapons, are consistently diverted into belligerent or wartime activities.

Mr. President, in the Middle East there is, as a result, an increasing arms imbalance which undoubtedly will tempt Nasser into more and more aggressive military adventures.

The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council calls upon our Government to reverse its longtime policy of appeasing Nasser. It urges an end to U.S. aid for Nasser until he ceases his aggressive actions and calls for a treaty of mutual defense and support with Israel, such as those the United States already has with other nations in NATO, CENTO, and SEATO.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the resolution unanimously adopted on May 5, 1964, by the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council duly assembled at its silver jubilee anniversary meeting held at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on May 5, 1964, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whereas for more than a decade the very existence of the State of Israel has been threatened with extinction by the repeated public declarations and preparations of the ruler of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser;

"Whereas since he came to power President Nasser has constantly declared over his radio and in public his determination and that of his associated Arab states to drive the Israelis into the sea;

"Whereas he has in recent years, in pursuance and preparations of such threats and declarations of policy built up a formidable armament of jet planes, submarines, tanks and more recently offensive missiles, in the building of which he has been aided by former Nazis who have found refuge in Egypt from prosecution in Germany;

"Whereas for a year and a half he has kept an army of Egyptian troops in Yemen which were transported there by Russian planes and supplied by Russian arms;

"Whereas contrary to his repeated promises, he has not only not withdrawn his troops but has increased their number so that they now reportedly number 40,000 and, through rotation, has used the war in Yemen to battle train his entire army;

"Whereas the United States has consistently supported Nasser with generous gifts of foreign aid in an amount now approaching nearly a billion dollars;

"Whereas this policy encourages the aggressive tactics and purposes of Egypt's dictator;

"Whereas the United States has repeatedly declared its interest in the preservation of

peace in the Middle East and elsewhere and the development of the economy and well-being of nations recipient of U.S. aid:

"Whereas the actions of the United States in supporting Nasser are wholly inconsistent with U.S. declarations of policy;

"Whereas there is imminent danger that Egypt shortly will be in a position to destroy Israel overnight by the rocketry and sophisticated weapons which Nasser is accumulating, supported by his now battle trained army;

"Whereas, although the Congress of the United States provided by law that U.S. economic aid should not be given to any nation preparing for aggression against any other country aided by the United States, the administration has not acted to stop aid to Egypt; and

"Whereas President Nasser has admitted openly that Egypt is preparing for an aggressive war against Israel and is actively carrying on aggression elsewhere;

"Whereas Nasser has allied himself with the Communist bloc in their efforts to control the African nations: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the administration should immediately reverse its longtime policy of appeasing Nasser;

"That the United States take a firm stand before all the world on behalf of the peacefully intentioned, liberty loving, democratic, and free people of Israel to ward off its destruction; and

"That to prevent this catastrophe the United States should (a) withdraw aid from Nasser as long as that aid is used for aggressive purposes and (b) announce its readiness to enter into a treaty of mutual defense and support with Israel as it has with other nations."

THE KREMLIN'S PERSECUTION OF RELIGION AND THE STATUS OF SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, it is a matter of record that religion in the Soviet Union is under new assaults by the Communist government. Never before has the power of a state been so consistently employed to eliminate religion from the public mind. At every opportunity, administrative controls and other restraints are systematically imposed by the Soviet Government. Continual erosion of their positions is the lot of Russia's religious communities. The same situation generally holds true throughout the Communist orbit.

It is a sad state of affairs when a powerful country, which glories in its society, a self-proclaimed paradise, at the same time and without apology denies its people a most elemental right—the freedom of religion.

Apparently nothing more can be expected from the Soviet regime. For nearly 47 years it has been battling religion. It is dedicated to the destruction of spiritual freedom and its byproducts. Numerous articles in the Soviet press and official documents of the Government and party record the attitude of the Communist leadership. Good examples appear in translation in the March 25, 1964, issue of the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, published weekly at Ann Arbor, Mich., by the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies. To emphasize the new assaults against the religious freedom of the Soviet people,

I ask unanimous consent that excerpts from this material be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, as well as passages from a publication—issued several months ago by the Radio Liberty Committee in New York—entitled "The Beleaguered Fortress: A Survey of the Present Status of Religion in the U.S.S.R."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
(See exhibits 1-A and 1-B.)

SOVIET JEWRY

Mr. HART. Mr. President, as all of know well, Soviet Jewry is being singled out in the general Soviet assault on religion. The situation is: spiritual and cultural genocide of the first order—blatant anti-Semitism, a shameful and scandalous affair.

As Columnist Rowland Evans, Jr., put it some time ago:

The technique being used is strikingly different from the historical methods of bloodbath, extermination and violence, methods that have been used in one country after another back almost to the genesis of time. The new method is infinitely subtle and varied, but its object is clear: To put an end to all the special qualities that, like a kind of cement, have bound the Jews together through the most rapacious persecutions in all history.

Mr. President, in the current Yearbook of the Central Conference of American Rabbis—CCAR—there appears a report on "Jews and Judaism in the Soviet Orbit," by the very respected rabbi of Temple Beth El, in Detroit, Dr. Richard C. Hertz. Excerpts from the report by Dr. Hertz, who has served for 2 years as chairman of the committee on Jews in the Soviet orbit for the CCAR, are printed in a recent bulletin of Temple Beth El. I commend this excellent report to my colleagues.

Another fine article on the status of Soviet Jews appeared in the January 1963 issue of Foreign Affairs. The points made by its author, Moshe Decter, are even more relevant today.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the report by Dr. Hertz and the article by Mr. Decter be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.
(See exhibits 2-A and 2-B.)

Mr. HART. Mr. President, freedom's encounter with communism and totalitarianism is in part: on the intellectual and spiritual level, on the level of human relationships, of human rights. One of the greatest challenges for America is the kind of example in human rights we set within our own society. But our leadership for human rights throughout the world, our response to persecution, is also important. The least the Senate can do for the cause of religious freedom in the Soviet Union is to adopt Senate Resolution 204, which expresses the deep belief of Americans in freedom of religion and our opposition to its infringement anywhere in the world.

EXHIBIT 1-A

[From the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Mar. 25, 1964]

NEW MEASURES TO COMBAT RELIGIOUS SURVIVAL OUTLINED

From the Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee: "On Measures for

Intensifying the Atheistic Indoctrination of the Population." (Partinaya zhizn, No. 2, January, pp. 22-26. Complete text): The Ideological Commission of the CPSU Central Committee has worked out "Measures for Intensifying the Atheistic Indoctrination of the Population." The CPSU Central Committee, having approved these measures, has instructed the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Union republics and the territory and province party committees, taking local conditions into account, to work out and implement concrete steps aimed at a radical improvement in atheistic work.

The measures for intensifying the atheistic indoctrination of the population may be summarized as follows:

The scientific elaboration of the problems of atheism and the training of antireligious specialists: It has been decided to set up an Institute of Scientific Atheism in the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences. The institute is charged with guiding and coordinating all scientific work in the sphere of atheism carried on by the Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, higher educational institutions and institutions of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture; the preparation of highly skilled cadres; the organization of the integrated elaboration of pressing problems of scientific atheism; and the holding of all union scientific conferences and creative seminars. The Learned Council of the Institute of Scientific Atheism is to be composed of representatives of the CPSU Central Committee's Ideological Department and of central scientific and ideological institutions, and also of public organizations. . . .

The atheistic training of cadres: Beginning with the 1964-65 academic year, a required course (with examinations) in the principles of scientific atheism will be introduced in the universities and higher medical, agricultural and pedagogical schools, and an elective course will be offered at other institutions of higher education. The principles of scientific atheism will also be taught in medical, pedagogical, and cultural-enlightenment academies. Programs and textbooks for the course are being prepared that take into account the different forms of instruction. Study plans and programs envisage a required course of seminar studies, the preparation of course work, and credit for practical atheistic work. The atheistic orientation of courses in the natural sciences and the humanities will be intensified. . . .

Party and YCL committees are instructed to make active use of the political-enlightenment system for the atheistic training of cadres. For this purpose it has been decided to set up in all areas—especially in regions where there is a relatively high incidence of religious belief among the population—seminars, schools, and circles for the study of atheism, combining the instruction of students with atheistic work. In conformity with contemporary requirements, programs on atheism will be improved and appropriate materials on atheism for the political-enlightenment network will be prepared for publication by the beginning of the 1964-65 academic year.

It is recommended that seminars on questions of atheistic indoctrination be put into effect for party, Soviet, YCL and trade union workers and activists, teachers, physicians, Young Pioneer group leaders and workers in children's preschool institutions, instructors in vocational and technical academies and schools, cultural-enlightenment workers, journalists, administrative workers, chairmen, and members of women's councils, apartment house committees and pensioners' councils.

The utilization in atheistic indoctrination of all means of ideological influence: The All-Union Knowledge Society, together with the YCL Central Committee, the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture, will hold a con-

ference on questions of improving the organization and content of scientific-atheism propaganda lectures.

Party committees are instructed to examine the question of the more active enlistment in atheistic lecture propaganda of scientists, instructors, teachers, physicians, writers, journalists, and students at higher educational institutions in the humanities, agriculture, and medicine. The people's universities will be utilized actively for atheistic indoctrination.

The U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee for Cinematography envisages the release each year of feature films, popular science films, newsreel-documentaries, and animated cartoons on atheistic themes.

The collegiums of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee for Cinematography and the secretariats of the boards of the artistic unions will discuss at a joint meeting the question of enhancing the role of literature and art in atheistic indoctrination. The holding of competitions (with incentive prizes) for the best artistic works on atheistic themes (in the fields of literature, drama, films, and painting) is envisaged. The question of improving the atheistic repertoire for amateur performing groups will be examined.

Measures are planned for stepping up the publication of atheistic literature, broadening its subject matter, utilizing varied genres, and raising its ideological-political and publicistic level.

In the interests of strengthening the presentation of atheistic themes by newspapers, magazines, and publishing houses, and on radio and television, it is recommended that the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers' State Committee for the Press and for Radio and Television and the Union of Soviet Journalists, and their organs in the republics and provinces, conduct regular creative seminars for journalists specializing in questions of atheistic indoctrination, work out in practice methodological recommendations on these questions, strive for greater attention on the part of the press to the unmasking of religious ideology and the generalization of practical work in atheistic indoctrination, and draw specialists more actively into the work of the press.

The All-Union radio and central television, and also republic and province radio and television studios, are called upon to broadcast regular atheistic programs on radio and television for various categories of listeners and viewers (especially lecture cycles and public events series, roundtable discussions, and question-and-answer sessions), to enlist the best propagandists of atheism and scientists in this work, and to produce television films on atheistic themes.

It is recommended that the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Culture and the knowledge society strengthen the material and technical base for lecture and cultural-enlightenment atheistic work, enliven the atheistic activity of museums, especially historical and regional-lore museums, planetariums, traveling exhibits, and mobile clubs [avtokluby], increase the production of slide-projector films, etc.

It is planned to heighten the role of medical workers in atheistic indoctrination, to set up permanent courses on atheism for medical workers at medical institutes, and also to organize atheistic work in houses of health education, hospitals, maternity homes, and women's and children's consultation clinics.

In order to introduce nonreligious holidays and rituals more actively in the everyday life of Soviet people, a conference of party, Soviet YCL, and trade union workers, ethnographers, propagandists, and registry office workers will be held on this question; local Soviets will provide for the construction of palaces of happiness in plans for urban and settlement construction and for

the active utilization of houses of culture for these purposes and will establish ceremonial forms (taking specific local features into account) for official participation in the registration of births and marriages, the issuing of passports, and other important events in the lives of Soviet people.

Seminar conferences will be held for the purpose of generalizing experience and working out recommendations for work with believers. The staff of propagandists and discussion leaders on atheistic themes will be strengthened, and atheist groups will be assigned to organize individual work with believers in each community. Believers will be drawn into general-education circles and schools.

The atheistic upbringing of children and adolescents: The antireligious trend in school programs, especially in the social sciences, is gaining strength. Methodological textbooks for antireligious education in schools will be issued to teachers. The widespread utilization in the atheistic indoctrination of school-children of various forms of extracurricular and after-school work (young atheists' clubs and corners, lectures, discussions, evening meetings, excursions, cultural trips to the movies and the theater, etc.) is directed. * * * People's universities of pedagogy and schools for mothers will be actively utilized for the atheistic instruction of parents.

Control over the observance of Soviet legislation on cults: In order to put a stop to illegal activities on the part of clergymen, groups of believers and individual believers, control is being strengthened over the protection of children and adolescents from the influence of churchgoers and from parental coercion of children to perform religious rites. * * *

The organization of atheistic work: Local party organizations are obliged to select Communists who will be responsible for the organization of atheistic work and who will unite around themselves groups of public-spirited people engaged in the propaganda and organization of atheistic work at enterprises and construction projects, on collective and state farms, in institutions, schools, young pioneer organization, etc., and to strengthen control over the fulfillment by Communists of the statutes' requirements for participation in the struggle against religious survivals. * * *

Certain workers in the ideological departments of the party committees should specialize in questions of atheism, especially in those territories, provinces, cities, and districts where the incidence of religious belief among the population is relatively high. * * *

"Actively Conduct Atheistic Indoctrination" (Pravda, Mar. 2, p. 2; 2,100 words). [This article summarizes briefly the provisions of the central committee resolution described in the article from Partinaya zhizn translated above; it concludes:] No matter in what detail the measures for atheistic indoctrination are elaborated, their success depends above all on the practical work of party organizations. The June plenary session of the CPSU central committee called on the party to mount an offensive on all sectors of the ideological front. This demand by the plenary session directly concerns the struggle against religious survivals. All party organizations are called upon to take up an active offensive against religious ideology, to forge a scientific world view, a scientific ideology in all Soviet people.

The discussion in the ideological commission of the question of atheistic work brought out that as yet, unfortunately, not all party organizations are waging a struggle against religious prejudices. In a number of cases there is complacency and unconcern; no account is taken of the fact that in our country religion is an ideological opponent that openly preaches an ideology alien to science and to the Communist world view and that is detrimental to our

society. Sometimes party organizations even tolerate the observance of religious rites by Communists. They look with indifference on violations of Soviet laws by some clergymen, although life demands the organization of effective control over the observance of the legislation on religious cults. Weakness and passivity in atheistic work in fact promote the dissemination of religious ideology and clear the way for the activity of clergymen and sect members.

To conduct scientific-atheistic work extensively and systematically, to struggle persistently for the emancipation of the consciousness of every believer from the narcotic of religion, and to use all ideological means of these ends—this is the urgent task of party organizations.

"Atheistic Indoctrination Is the Concern of the Entire Party." (By I. Brazhnik. Partinaya zhizn, No. 24, December 1963, pp. 21-26. 2,800 words. Condensed text.) The party program has set the task of forming a scientific world view in all members of Soviet society, of fully emancipating their consciousness from survivals of the past, including religious prejudices. This is a prerequisite for the building of communism. * * *

As was noted at the June plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee, the imperialist bourgeoisie in its struggle against us is now placing its hopes chiefly in ideological subversion. It is counting on religion to further the penetration of bourgeois ideology into our midst. * * *

In recent times, the scientific and ideological-political level of atheistic work has risen significantly; it is becoming more and more diverse in form. Many people have broken with religion and become atheists, hundreds and thousands of religious communities have disintegrated. But many of our people are still held captive by religious ideology. In this connection, the decisions of the June (1963) plenary session of the CPSU Central Committee pointed out anew the necessity of furthering by all possible means the intensification of work on forming a scientific world view and on the atheistic indoctrination of working people. * * *

If the struggle against religion is to be waged successfully, it is necessary to have a clear view of the extent and character of the religious beliefs of the population in every specific area of the country, every community, collective, house and apartment, to know each believer, his views and attitudes and the reasons for his beliefs. Furthermore, it is important to arm our cadres (by teaching the principles of atheism in higher educational institutions and technicals, through the political-enlightenment network and schools for agitators, etc.) with the ability to expose contemporary religion, to work concretely and effectively with believers, encompassing all strata and groups of the population. * * *

The inability to do battle against religion is manifested on the one hand by a complacent attitude toward it and on the other by the impatient desire of some zealous administrators to be done with religion as quickly as possible, to be rid of the believers. * * *

It is hard to say which of these extremes is worse. One thing is certain: Both of them are inadmissible. But they also are indicative of something else. Not everyone sees that no alterations of church policies in specific conditions, no trimming of religious ideas, has ever changed or can change their antiscientific character, which is alien to communism. The letter of church sermons and even canons can and does change, but their spirit, basic content and objective meaning remain in opposition to a scientific world view, and religion as a whole is a component part of the hostile bourgeois ideology.

Truly militant atheism presupposes ir-

reconcilability toward religious ideology and a considerable attitude toward its victims, the believers.

Work with people is a complex matter. And it is more so with believers, whose consciousnesses are entangled and clouded by the narcotic of religion and who are already biased against the atheist, mistrusting his words and deeds. Therefore it is not only and not so much a knowledge of biblical dogma that is required of everyone who works with believers but a profound understanding of life and strong spiritual qualities. We have a whole army of such Communists, to whom different people come with open hearts to talk about their thoughts and deeds. Chiefly because of their prejudices, believers do not always or easily find their way to such Communists. Our duty is to find the way to the believers ourselves, striving so that each of them will go with an open heart to the representatives of the party, which has not only interpreted but is transforming the world, society and mankind. It is important to be able to understand the believer, not to refuse him friendly support but to win his confidence and then his spiritual world.

This is the only true path for our atheism. Therefore individual work with believers is the basic and most effective form of atheistic indoctrination. It allows taking into consideration the believer's age and level of general education, his occupational interests, the reasons for his belief in God and many other factors. * * *

It is necessary that local party organizations first of all determine what workers in the collective or local residents are under the influence of religion and to what degree, how this influence is manifested and what means are best for winning over the believers. Taking these requirements into account, agitators must be assigned to personal work with individual believers and to plan the organization of their instruction. All Communists are called upon to be militant atheists. Strict exactingness must be shown toward those party members and candidate members who exhibit passivity in this matter and who at times even participate themselves in religious rites. If a party member has his child baptized, he is no longer a Communist but a phillistine. Every collective must be concerned with the creation of a public atmosphere in which every confirmed atheist considers it his duty to expose religious prejudices and in which all possible support is given to antireligious activity as a noble action aimed at the spiritual emancipation of believers.

The party statutes oblige the Communist to be a staunch fighter against survivals of the past, including religious prejudices. This, of course, does not mean that everyone is obliged to be an antireligious lecturer or counselor. But in practice many Communists can and should display their attitude toward religion in the specific conditions of their work, thereby mounting an offensive on a broad front against religious ideology. If, for example, a Communist who is an instructor in science has an attitude of indifference toward the question of religion and fails to draw philosophical, atheistic conclusions from his research, by his neutrality he plays into the hands of religion and fails to fulfill the requirements of the statutes.

EXHIBIT 1-B

THE BELEAGUERED FORTRESS: A SURVEY OF THE PRESENT STATUS OF RELIGION IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Radio Liberty Committee, 30 East 42d Street, New York, N.Y.)

What the Soviet Government intends to be a battle to the death against religion has recently begun. For 45 years, using every means at its disposal, the Kremlin

has been striving to eliminate belief in God from the lives of its 200 million Christians, Jews, Moslems, and believers of other faiths. The pressure on faith in God has fluctuated with changes in the political situation, or the prevailing policy line of the Communist Party. But like the constant drive to achieve Communist domination of the globe, the intent to wipe out all religions has never faltered.

Before World War II Stalin had practically broken up all religious organizations in the U.S.S.R.; then, to assure the wartime loyalty of the people, antireligious pressure was relaxed. Most religious groups were enabled to reorganize with certain recognized rights such as limited autonomy and still more limited publishing privileges. Since the war, however, pressure has steadily risen, and now Khrushchev has evidently decided that the task of exterminating religious faith is to be pushed to completion, with a resort of violence comparable only to that of the years just following the revolution.

NEW PRESSURES ON RELIGION

The reason for this suddenly increased atheistic activity is evident from the Soviet press. In recent months, not only the official antireligious magazines, but what pass for ordinary newspapers, have been sounding the alarm because all too many or not a few young adults and teenagers are discovered attending church services. In estimating total church attendance, Science and Religion, official atheist monthly, says, "Among the city's population there are hundreds of thousands, and in the country many more." This was confirmed at the 14th Congress of the Komsomol (Communist Youth Organization) in April 1962, when this powerful organization was spurred to renewed battle against religion. "Without realizing it, young people fall into the web spun by the clergy." And the clergy report growing attendance. Priests from two suburban churches—one near Moscow and one near Odessa—report a weekly average of four to five young adults who come into the Orthodox Church, and the Baptist state that the number of their members (only baptized adults are counted) is steadily growing.

This is a direct contradiction of the Communists' claim that only old people have any interest in that "holdover from the past," religion. Science and Religion states that, unfortunately, even some of the Soviet intelligentsia "have become infected with religious views," and notes the case of a young woman, "a product of the history department of the university," who recently resigned from membership in the Komsomol, giving as her reason, "I am a Christian." The article continues, "Such 'idiots for Christ' are the result of insufficient atheistic education in the middle school." What the story does not dwell on is the almost incredible bravery required to make such a declaration. To be expelled from the Komsomol is to become a social outcast, probably to lose one's job. When a university graduate takes this step, it is not idiocy, but courage of the highest order.

What is happening now is a reversion to earlier methods of suppression. In the first years after the revolution the rudest tactics prevailed. Churches and mosques were defiled, or closed, or turned into cinemas or storehouses; the clergy were declared outside the law, with no civic rights, not even foodration cards. Hundreds of bishops and priests, as well as clergy of other faiths, were murdered or died in Siberian camps. The government-organized Union of Militant Godless claimed 3 million members, and its widespread publications carried abusive and blasphemous propaganda against the church, its clergy and its faithful people. All these vicious methods are now being revived.

In addition, quasi-legal methods, new interpretations of earlier laws or new ones especially decreed, have been employed to close churches and monasteries or to hinder clergy of all faiths from normal activity. In literally thousands of books, periodicals, films and TV programs, as well as thousands of public lectures, the battle has been advanced. The atheist press (there is at least one militant godless periodical in every Soviet republic) is constantly urging all these mass media to heightened zeal and activity on "the godless front." * * *

DIFFERENT FAITHS UNDER ATHEIST PRESSURE

An information bulletin of the National Council of Churches (January 1963) gives the following data:

"The major Christian groupings in the U.S.S.R., in order of the number of their adherents, are the Orthodox, the Armenians, the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, the Union of Evangelical-Christian Baptists, and the Reformed. These are registered, legalized bodies. In addition, there are groups of people who gather for prayer or worship secretly, generally refusing to register because some aspects of their religious practices conflict with Soviet law, or because they are of the type of sect which rejects any form of civil government. Among the latter are adherents of such sects as Jehovah's Witnesses and extreme forms of Pentecostals. The total number of Christians may be 30 million. There are about 20 million Moslems and over 2 million Jews, some of whom, however, may have rejected religious belief. This would bring up a total of about 50 million believers in God, which is a quarter of the population of the country."

(Because no census statistics on religion are available in the U.S.S.R., estimates by different authorities given in this booklet differ considerably.)

Further comparative figures appear in the January 1963, issue of Foreign Affairs: For the 40 million Russian Orthodox there are some 20,000 churches and 35,000 priests—one place of worship for every 2,000 believers. For the 3 million Baptists—there are roughly 6,000 parishes and pastors—1 minister for every 500 believers. The Lutherans of Latvia and Estonia have 100 churches and 150 pastors for about 350,000 communicants—approximately 1 church for every 3,500 believers and one minister for every 2,300. * * * There are 60 or 70 synagogues and rabbis for the nearly 1 million Jewish faithful—one synagogue and one rabbi for every 15,000 to 18,000 Jewish believers. No data are available for the Moslems, but their situation in this respect is known to be no better than that of the Jews. No figures are given for the Roman Catholics, third largest Christian communion. Other sources report 1,470 priests in Lithuania where most Soviet Catholics are living.

Pressure on these different groups is applied unevenly. As the largest Christian body, the Orthodox Church has received the quantitatively heaviest attack, while on the other hand, evidently with the intent of using the church to make a good impression abroad, it has enjoyed certain privileges, such as extensive foreign travel and a monopoly of the manufacture of candles. * * *

The Armenian-Gregorian Church is in a special position. Instead of being under the control of Moscow, it is responsible to the government of the Armenian Republic. Government relations are maintained through a Council for the Affairs of the Armenian Church related to the Council of Ministers of the Armenian Republic, paralleling similar councils in Moscow. And since Armenians in general appear to be less infected with atheism than some other Soviet people, the church under the Armenian Republic apparently has less difficulty than the churches and other religious bodies in other parts of

the U.S.S.R. Again in contrast to the other churches, the Armenian Church maintains fairly normal relations with Armenian churches abroad.

Of the Roman Catholics in Lithuania, little is known outside the U.S.S.R., but the following official statistics from March 1, 1963, are revealing:

| | 1914 | 1962 |
|-----------------|-------|------|
| Bishops..... | 13 | 13 |
| Priests..... | 1,293 | 680 |
| Seminaries..... | 4 | 1 |
| Convents..... | 129 | 0 |

¹ 2 of them in jail.

Churches closed since 1940: 319.

Government authorities threatened to close the one remaining seminary because the bishop refused to ordain two candidates for the priesthood, presented by the government.

Another body of Catholics of the Byzantine rite (Uniates) in the Ukraine has recently occupied headlines. After 18 years of imprisonment, Archbishop Josyf Slipyi, of Lvov, was released and permitted to go to Rome. In 1945, at the time of the politically engineered mass transition of Ukrainian Uniates to the Russian Orthodox Church, Archbishop Slipyi and other prelates opposed the move. He and six other bishops were arrested and accused of political crimes under German occupation. All received sentences of 5 to 10 years' imprisonment. Archbishop Slipyi was later retried and resented, and is the only one of the seven surviving. His release was reported due to papal intervention with the Russian Orthodox observers at the Vatican Council.

Lutheran churches in the Soviet Union are almost all in the Estonian and Latvian Republics. Here, again, little information is available, but in these generally more cultured areas antireligious activity appears to have avoided violence, up to this time. Zealous efforts in these two Republics to discover and apply Communist substitutes for church rites and holidays are enthusiastically recounted in the Soviet press—wedding and christening ceremonies are claimed to be almost as attractive as those of the church, and Easter is supplanted by a festival of spring, while Christmas was merged with the New Year holiday. As is the case with the Orthodox Church, Lutheran clergy, almost always the same persons, travel abroad with churchmen of other confessions.

Since groups of the "Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists" are almost all within the central and Asiatic parts of the U.S.S.R., and since they are very active, more news of them appears in the Soviet press. Moscow Radio recently announced that the Baptists were gaining adherents, and charged them with deliberately hindering the "building of communism." The work of Baptist preachers results in "capturing those who are weak in spirit" and turning them into "creatures of despair and indifference to all worldly things."

Science and Religion (December 1962) reports on the Baptist group in Tashkent where the congregation raised 85,000 rubles for building a new house of prayer. "Before it was built, the pastor took 18,000 and disappeared. Other leaders of the group appropriated about 6,000 for their own use, and with the remainder the chapel was built." In slanderous attacks on religion, the Soviet authorities make no distinction among religious faiths.

Reformed churches exist only in those portions of Czechoslovakia and Hungary occupied by the Soviets after World War II. In respect to information, these areas are as uncommunicative as Catholic Lithuania. They appear to have little contact with their fellow Reformed brethren on the other side of the present boundaries. There is no

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evidence that these areas are much different from the Reformed churches in the satellite countries to the west of them, which have generally conformed to collaboration with their Communist governments. In Czechoslovakia and Hungary the churches are supported by the state.

Smaller sects the most defenseless

Russia has always proliferated small, often very persistent sects. Many such exist today. Whereas most other religious bodies—Christian, Moslem, or Jewish—are recognized by the Soviet Government, and thus have a certain standing, emphasized by the fact that they have coreligionists abroad, these often "fanatic" religious groups have no one to defend them and there are more reports of repression against them in the Soviet press. Incidentally, sectarians suffered special persecution under the czars as well, and for some of the same reasons: nonconformity or refusal to collaborate with the government (refusal to carry arms, for instance). Many of the sects, such as Jehovah's Witnesses, a recent importation into the U.S.S.R., have been declared illegal. Consequently, groups such as the "Witnesses," the Seventh-day Adventists, and the Pentecostals, are viciously attacked.

Some of these assaults are on purely legal grounds. These sects encourage their young men to refuse military service or they refuse to send their children to a "godless" school. The shocking story of the 32 Siberian members of one of these sects who traveled 4 days and 2,000 miles to Moscow and sought asylum from religious persecution in the American Embassy, is only one better publicized of many similar instances. The sectarians demanded permission to leave the U.S.S.R., protesting that if they were turned back to the Soviet Government they would be shot. Some of them had already had their children taken away from them for education in state schools, on the charge that the parents "discouraged their children from participation in the life of society." No word of this revolting incident was mentioned in the Soviet press, but because it was reported in many foreign papers, the Government evidently felt compelled to issue an official explanation. This statement to foreign journalists alleged that the sectarians had "crippled their children, mentally. Their parents kept them away from all children's games and from school, forbade them to read books, and dragged them into meetings * * * beat them to make them keep the faith." The official statement admitted that many children of such families had been taken from their parents and sent to state homes and schools, and the parents given prison sentences. * * *

Distrust of "Nationalism" in religion

The two leading non-Christian faiths in the U.S.S.R. are distrusted by the government for the same two reasons. In both cases the problem is the double one of religion and nationality, or national culture. Ethnic Jews, whether or not they are religious, are accused of being Zionists. Moslem religious observances and traditions are so much a part of their folk culture as to be often indistinguishable. This causes them to be accused of Pan-Arabism and sympathy with a foreign government. This aspect of both Judaism and Islam stands in the way of the strong denationalization pressures the government has been exerting for decades. The Soviet Academy of Sciences points this out: "This combination of the national with the religious is no accident. It should be recognized as one of the important vestiges of nationalism concealed under a religious camouflage."

In line with this, it is notable that throughout Soviet history every time a new campaign against the Jews has been launched, it has been paralleled by similar action against Moslem institutions. During

the Stalin purges on charges of "bourgeois nationalism" both groups were equally affected. Another item these two groups have in common, and one which increasingly conditions their treatment by the government, is that the majority of these national-social bodies live outside the borders of the Soviet Union. "Because the Soviet Jewish majority has traditional ties * * * with Jewish communities in the world outside the Communist orbit, it is subject to even greater suspicion." This remark from Foreign Affairs (January 1963) applies equally well to Moslems.

Anti-Semitism is nothing new in Russia. As in Imperial Rome, Tsarist Russia often made the Jew the scapegoat in times of internal difficulty. The Bolshevik revolution grandly abolished all racial discrimination; and Soviet law guarantees all nationality groups full rights of religious and cultural freedom. As with most other sections of the constitution, this guarantee is merely a scrap of paper, particularly in the case of the Jews. Jews in the Soviet Union are recognized as a "nationality," but in certain aspects they are denied ethnic-cultural rights still enjoyed by other Soviet nationalities. Competent authorities estimate the number of Jews at 2,500,000 to 3 million, scattered throughout the Soviet Union. Unlike the Moslems, Jews have no national organization, which fact increases their vulnerability to attack. This has been the situation for years, with government pressure varying from easy tolerance in the early years to the open and violent attacks under Stalin. Now a new, savage assault has begun. * * *

Heavy handicaps for Judaism

From the religious aspect, Jews are under even more cruel discrimination. Whereas all the major Christian groups have their central organizations, nothing of the sort is permitted the Jews. This is the case, also, in the matter of publications. In 1957 the Orthodox Church put out a 50,000-copy edition of its 100-year-old Bible. A year later the Baptists issued 10,000 copies of the same scriptures, but in modern orthography. The same year three very small editions of the Koran appeared in the U.S.S.R. No Hebrew Bible has been published in Russia since 1917.

Similar discrimination applies to the number of houses of worship open for various religious groupings. The distinction appears again in regard to theological education. The Russian Orthodox Church, at last reports, operated five seminaries and two academies. The Moslems have two "madrasahs"—the equivalent of the theological seminary. Until 1957 the Jews had no theological school, but in that year a rabbinical academy was permitted to function as an adjunct of the great synagogue of Moscow. This school never had more than 14 students. In 1962 this number was reduced to four, by refusing residence permits in Moscow to students from Georgia and Daghestan.

The stepped-up antireligious furor in 1962 did not spare the Jews. For the first time in Russian history the public baking of matzos, unleavened bread indispensable for the Passover observance, was forbidden. It was again forbidden for Passover in 1963. Even under the highest anti-Semitic pressures of the Czarist regime, this never occurred. Using "legal" pretexts similar to those applied for closing Christian churches, the few synagogues remaining in the Soviet Union are already shut or threatened with closure. Following the arrest of some young Jews during the celebration of the "Rejoicing Over the Law" (October 20, 1962), in the only remaining synagogue in Leningrad, articles in the press denounced the synagogue as "a smugglers' center." A year earlier, a prominent leader in the Leningrad Jewish community was imprisoned for "consorting with foreign agents." This Leningrad story is part of an all-Union conspiracy of slander

and police action against Jews. Foreign Affairs (January 1963) summarizes the widespread charges, some of them inherited from days of the Empire, some of recent appearance. "Jews are money-worshippers. Worst among these are the rabbis," portrayed as extorting money from the faithful. "The synagogue is the place where blackmarket deals are made, where illegal sums of money are hidden." Traditional Jewish religious practices are derided. Drunkenness and brawling in the synagogue, usually in connection with sharing the profits of "speculation," are often reported.

For lack of synagogues, like Christians deprived of churches, Jews have taken to for-gathering for prayers in private homes. Such gatherings are illegal and have often been dispersed by the police. The names of persons found attending such home prayer meetings are published, together with comments such as: "The traditions bolstered by the synagogue are doubly harmful. First, they contribute to perpetrating a false religious world outlook. Secondly, they serve as an instrument for the propagation of bourgeois political views which are alien to us."

As part of this general but unadmitted anti-Jewish campaign now proceeding in the Soviet Union, the impression is spread abroad that Jews are disproportionately responsible for the formidable economic crimes that characterize Soviet life today. These are so prevalent and so costly that speculation in foreign currency, embezzlement, and similar economic offenses are now punishable by death. Of 70 persons so sentenced in recent trials, at least 42 were Jews. This fact is consciously emphasized in the press accounts. Recent news reports, from various parts of the Soviet Union, often use identical wording. In February 1962, where in one city eight Jews were tried for economic crimes, the city's entire population was urged to attend "the Jew show trial," spreading a wave of terror among all the Jews of the region.

"Soviet policy as a whole then amounts to spiritual strangulation—the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to reverse the Jewish past, and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present the future is precarious indeed" (Foreign Affairs, January 1963).

On December 7, 1962, the New York Herald Tribune and other papers across the United States published the text of a protest cable sent Premier Khrushchev by a score of prominent American religious leaders urging the lifting of the "official policy of oppression against its Jewish citizens." The message protested that the almost 3 million Jews in the Soviet Union were "denied minimal rights conceded to adherents of other creeds."

"Hard pressed as they are by blanket restraints," the message added, "none of the other major religions of the Soviet people, neither the Orthodox, Armenian, Catholic, nor Protestant churches, neither Buddhism nor Islam, have been subjected to the extraordinary disabilities inflicted on Judaism and its followers."

The protest listed the following repressive measures against Soviet Jews: "Legally constituted Jewish congregations are isolated from one another. They are forbidden to organize a central body. They are allowed no contact with Jewish religious groups in other countries. Their leaders are singled out for abuse."

Since June 1961, the message continued, the presidents of synagogues in six Soviet cities "have been arbitrarily removed from office; Jewish communal leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been sentenced to prison for the alleged crime of meeting with foreign visitors to the synagogues." No better summary of the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union today could be devised.

Camouflaged persecution of Islam

The situation of Moslems is in many ways similar to that of the Jews. One difference is that while there has been little attempt to disguise the Soviet Government's anti-Semitism, elaborate efforts are made to persuade the Moslem peoples outside the U.S.S.R. that their coreligionists enjoy complete religious freedom in the Soviet Union. For years, no Soviet Moslem was permitted a pilgrimage to Mecca, while under the Tsar, 40,000 Islamic faithful made the journey every year from Turkestan alone. Since 1954 a handful of pilgrims per year, these being carefully screened individuals, are given exit visas. These men are required to spread propaganda among their fellow Moslems abroad, in line with the Soviet Government's foreign policies. One such official pilgrim is now living in New York because he decided not to lie about life in the U.S.S.R. and hence could not return home from Mecca. When Nasser made his state visit to the Soviet Union a few years ago, it was learned that he was bringing some fine rugs as gifts to Soviet mosques. Two of the Soviet Union's best known mosques were hastily readied for the Egyptian visit, and Nasser probably never knew that until that time they had been antireligious museums.

NEW TACTICS IN PERSECUTION

Besides intensified application of all the old methods in fighting religion, the Soviet Government has begun using several quite new approaches. To arrive at the goal set in the new party program, "the complete liquidation of religion in every believer," all methods are permissible. A recent atheist booklet for use in universities explains that "while methods of persuasion are of course basic in the struggle against religious prejudices, compulsion is not excluded . . . particularly against the sects whose activity is fanatic, antisocial, or anti-Soviet in nature."

Not all the new tactics involve compulsion. For instance, the new use of apostates, those who have publicly renounced their religious faith. The most prominent figure in this picture is the renegade priest Ossipoff who left his post as professor in the Leningrad theological academy, announcing that he knew all along that Christianity was false. Books, articles, and "letters to the editor" explain why these individuals gave up their faith. Science and Religion, for instance, prints a long exchange of letters between Ossipoff and a young man who was planning to become a priest. Ossipoff convinced him that he could "build his life without God."

Similar statements in articles signed by Jews contain renunciations of their faith. A formerly prominent Moslem leader, in renouncing Islam, brands a number of his fellow mullahs as "parasites, adventurers, idlers, and profligates—men without honor or conscience."

Another tactic, now constantly recommended by atheist leaders, is just the opposite of violence. It is kindness. The Komsomols have discovered that men and women are often won to church membership through the attention and sympathy shown them by religious people. The atheists argue that the same approach should be effective in the reverse direction. "Religious people often utilize some special situation in a man's personal or family life, a temporary moral or material difficulty," to win new converts: "we must do the same." A Komsomol writer cites frequent cases of this approach: "That's their game . . . with thousands of feelers the Baptists attract young people; at the home of a friend, at the workbench, at their meetings." And he continues: "There should be more of this in Communist life, instead of the dry, boring Komsomol programs," where there are "no openhearted conversations about life" (Science and Religion, November 1962).

"The Communist Party holds that (creating conditions that assure the easy transition of believers over to the atheist position) is a decisive means to success in its propaganda." Practice in this new tactic may show some difference between kindness inspired by Christian love, and kindness directed by the atheist party.

A further new strategy now being urged upon all atheists is akin to neighborly attention. It is work with individuals. This is not only recommended, but ordered by Communist journals. "In many cases only the individual approach to believers is effective. . . . There are believers who, because of their type of work, cannot attend mass atheistic undertakings, or are under the spell of religious folk-tendencies" (Contemporary Sectarianism, Moscow, 1962). The writer then proceeds with detailed instruction on how "individual work" must be carried out. "First the agitator (an 'agitator' is a recognized profession in the U.S.S.R.) must establish contact with the believer, with his family and surroundings. . . . Once contact is established, the agitator should take the second step—in the course of conversation drop a word to start doubt in the believer's mind about the truth of religious dogmas, open his eyes to the contradictions and falsehoods in the Bible. . . . But this is still not enough. Every atheist agitator has a maximum program. This is to steer the believer away from his religious organization, isolate him from religious propaganda. After this, the believer often . . . breaks with religion. It is very advantageous if then the former believer becomes a militant atheist." . . .

This use of force has now become widespread in the U.S.S.R., particularly in the new and perhaps the most vicious campaign yet, the drive against children.

The newest departure has been in preparation for 2 years or more. The Young Communist (No. 10, 1959) published an article, "Look at the Religious Families," which contains this significant quote: "It is no secret that the number of believers is growing. This is doubtless because of believing families. This means that neither the school nor the Pioneers nor the Komsomol has been able to tear young people away from the influence of religious-minded families."

Official action to follow this line was announced by S. P. Pavlov, First Secretary of the Komsomol, at its XIV congress (April 1962). One section of his 2½-hour speech was entitled "Protect Children of Religious Parents." Pavlov declared that "freedom of conscience applies to adults. We cannot permit anyone to cripple a child, spiritually." One Western commentator thinks this heralds a formal revision of the paragraph in the Soviet constitution guaranteeing freedom of conscience.

Regardless of the text of the constitution, Soviet newspapers during the past year have increasingly reported reprisals against parents who taught religion to their children:

"Parents are responsible for their children before the people. They are bound to educate them in conjunction with the school, and they are in conscience bound to help the school to form children in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and of the moral principles of communism" (Selskaya Zhizn ("Rural Life"), Dec. 19, 1962).

The Siberian peasants who sought asylum in the American Embassy in Moscow brought their particular case of religious persecution into the foreign press, but from all parts of the Soviet Union similar instances are reported: children are taken from believing parents to be educated in state institutions. In many cases the offending parents have been sentenced to imprisonment, usually convicted of "antistate activity." In one case

a father was jailed for refusing to permit his child to join the Pioneers, thus "refusing to join in our splendid way of life."

A new wave of repression seems to be directed particularly at religious groups not officially recognized by the government. In mid-January 1962, a court in Shelyabinsk tried four "leaders and active participants in an illegal Baptist sect" for "enticing minors into their sect, and discriminatory instruction" among the citizenry. Two of the four were sentenced to 5 years exile in far-distant parts of the Soviet Union, and the confiscation of their property.

No mention of the Siberian peasant case involving the American Embassy has appeared in Soviet papers, but in the belated explanation to foreign journalists the Foreign Office called the peasants "clandestine fanatics," and accused them of "harming their children, in savage violation of human rights." The fate of these God-fearing parents, after the American Embassy—helpless to do anything else—turned them over to Soviet authorities, is unknown.

We live in a period like that of Nero, when religious martyrdom has become an everyday commonplace. The outcasts from forcibly closed monasteries, beaten to death; the mullahs deported to the frozen north and then lost from sight; the Protestant parents, risking death to save their children from godlessness, imprisoned on trumped-up charges of some crime other than belief in God, or those pitiful old believers, hunted down in the Siberian forests like wild beasts—these are as truly martyrs as any who died in the Roman arena.

In launching this new battle to the death against religion, Soviet authorities seem to forget the results of similar procedures in earlier times—"The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." After nearly half a century of persecution, different religious bodies in the Soviet Union report that their ranks are increasing. Trud cries out against "the evil influence of Buddhist lamas and their increasing and spreading mysteries." The agitator reports a resurgence of religion in the Republic of Kazakhstan, admitting that "the Baptist society has doubled its membership in the past 5 years, under the very nose of party and komsomol organizations." Official reports to Baptist friends in the outside world indicate that not in one republic alone, but across the whole Soviet Union, their numbers are steadily increasing. For several years Soviet authorities have complained of the steady influx of young people into the Orthodox Church. All forms of pressure, forced education or violence have not yet smothered religion.

EXHIBIT 2-A

[From the Bulletin of Temple Beth El, Apr. 24, 1964]

JEWS AND JUDAISM IN THE SOVIET ORBIT

(By Rabbi Richard C. Hertz)

THE GENERAL SITUATION THIS YEAR

Ten years have passed since Stalin's death. For the Jews of the U.S.S.R. who constitute nearly one-fourth of the total surviving Jewish population of the world, Stalin's death removed the fear of widespread deportations and violent reprisals. Actually, however, Soviet policy toward Jews and Judaism has remained essentially the same since 1948, except that the terror is gone.

Jews occupy a dual status. As Jews they are members of a minority nationality group. Every Jew must carry the mark of his Jewishness stamped on his identification passport—"Jew." Yet Jews are also a religious group, something that makes their status difficult in the antireligious structure of Soviet society.

While the terror of Stalin's black years has been removed along with the general relaxation of Krushchev's de-Stalinization pro-

gram, Jews, and Judaism suffer from restrictions and discriminations which have wreaked havoc with their security and their future. Their situation has steadily deteriorated. During the past year, we note five particular areas:

1. Khrushchev's reply to Lord Bertrand Russell on March 1, 1963, describing allegations of anti-Semitism in Russia as a "crude falsehood" and denying the existence of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R., conceded the Western World's interest in the situation of Soviet Jewry. It has long been recognized that the highest Soviet authorities are sensitive to Western criticism of the U.S.S.R.'s policy of anti-Semitism. Constant repetition of concern for the Jews of the U.S.S.R. at last brought this subject to the open level of public discussion by the chief of state. However, Khrushchev's reply to Lord Russell was the first time that Khrushchev agreed even to discuss the Jewish question. Previously he has insisted on remaining officially silent, though he has not bothered to conceal his own private expressions of anti-Semitism in the past, nor to talk of other sins of Stalin.

2. The execution of Jews for "economic crimes" has been stepped up in the past year. Over 60 percent of those executed have been Jews, though Jews constitute but 1.09 percent of the total population, according to the last census done in 1959. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Jews are being used once again as political scapegoats for ingrained, deep-rooted prejudice against Jews. The Russian press deliberately highlighted the stereotype Jewishness of these "economic criminals." The enormously disproportionate number of Jews sentenced to death for currency offenses, speculation, or embezzlement suggest that a camouflage smoke-screen has been put up to use the Jews for political purposes. Russian leaders since the days of the czars have found the Jews a convenient scapegoat for diverting the people's attention from their grim standard of living and their rightful grievances.

3. As in 1962, Passover 1963 found no matzoth baked in Government bakeries for Soviet Jews, except in far-off Georgia. Rabbi Leib Levin at Central Synagogue, Moscow, told his people that they must bake their matzoth at home. Efforts of American Jews to secure permission to fly matzoth as a "Bundles for Russia" program met with no success. The ban on matzoth was one more Government effort to whittle away at the ties that bind the Jews of the U.S.S.R. to their ancient religious faith. Since Passover traditionally emphasizes the national group's redemption from slavery and the story of the freedom march to the Promised Land, Passover is becoming the particular butt of Soviet attack linking Jews and Judaism with subversion and disloyalty. The Kremlin's propaganda stresses an umbilical cord of Jewish chauvinism that ties the religious leaders of Judaism in the U.S.S.R. to the Jewish homeland of Israel, and therefore makes Jews and Judaism suspect, Israel being considered by the Kremlin as a tool of Western capitalist imperialism.

Official antireligious propaganda affects all religious groups. Only against the Jews is the lack of patriotism injected into the propaganda. Prohibiting matzoth at Passover was the culmination to date of the discriminatory pressures against Judaism.

4. Synagogues are the one remaining institution permitted to Jews in the U.S.S.R. Yet even these are being closed up one by one as a means of fragmentizing and atomizing Soviet Jewry, isolating Jews both from their past and from each other as well as from their brethren in other parts of the world. Since June 1961, synagogue presidents in six cities have been arbitrarily removed from office. Jewish communal leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been sentenced to prison for such alleged crimes as

meeting with foreign visitors at the synagogue.

Synagogues are never opened or rebuilt, only closed. This steady policy of closing up synagogues one by one is part of the general antireligious policy in the U.S.S.R. Yet against the Jews such a policy has been particularly discriminatory. While communism regards Christianity and Islam as "opiates of the masses," the Kremlin treats Judaism as if it were poison gas. Christian and Russian Orthodox groups are permitted national federations and central organizations; no such communication is permitted between the synagogues of the U.S.S.R. No publishing facilities or theological seminars, such as Protestant and Russian Orthodox have, are permitted to Jews. The major religions are authorized to produce whatever ceremonial objects are needed—candles, crucifixes, icons, beads. For Jews, neither talismans nor tefillin can be produced. Not even prayerbooks nor Bibles can be published for Jews. Hebrew is forbidden. The yeshiva in Moscow in which Rabbi Leib Levin took such pride, located in his Central Synagogue, went down to four students and now has been officially closed, according to Archbishop Nikkodin, who visited the United States in March 1963, on an official delegation. No such Jewish religious delegation has ever been permitted to visit outside the U.S.S.R., nor to have any contacts whatsoever with any other Jewish religious or national bodies inside or outside the U.S.S.R.

The Government's policy, then, is clear: cultural genocide for the Jews, spiritual strangulation for the Jews, group isolation from all other Jews, total assimilation enforced upon the Jews.

5. Cancellation of a lecture tour to the United States of the prominent non-Jewish poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko, one of the most popular young Soviet poets, focused renewed attention upon his controversial poem "Babi Yar," written in September 1961, in the literary organ of the Society Writers' Union. The poem was a protest against the slaughter by the Nazis of the thousands of Jewish martyrs who lie in nameless graves in a gully outside Kiev. Yevtushenko has been disciplined for writing nonconformist ideas; yet the more the Soviet authorities seek to censure him for deviating from the party line the more attention is focused upon the Jewish martyrs to terror and tyranny for whom no monument rises in Babi Yar.

It seems clear Soviet policy to play down the martyrdom of Soviet Jews during the Nazi invasion. Even the Eichmann trial found scant notice in the Soviet press.

THE FUTURE

The plight of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. is no longer the world's best kept secret. Little by little their story is being told in the mass media, such as the New York Times and Saturday Evening Post, both of which should be commended for their articles this past year. Moshe Decter's article on "The Status of the Jews in the Soviet Union" in Foreign Affairs, January 1963, summed up the best capsule review to appear in print so far. While far from being a "White Paper" documenting the exact status of Jews and Judaism in the U.S.S.R., the Decter piece should be read by every one seeking reliable background for his grim subject. In a full-page advertisement in the New York Times and other newspapers, the American Jewish Committee published a long cable to Nikita S. Khrushchev demanding to know "When will synagogues and Jewish seminaries be reestablished, imprisoned synagogue leaders set free, the ban on unleavened bread rescinded, ritual articles and Jewish prayerbooks made available. * * * The world awaits your response. By deeds alone can your Government confirm that the Soviet Union in truth upholds the

rights of minorities and the equal dignity of man" (Dec. 7, 1962).

What should be done to help our brethren in the U.S.S.R.? Obviously Soviet Jews cannot defend themselves. It is for those in the free world to raise their voices in protest.

The CCAR, as a member of the Synagogue Council of America, has joined in making certain representations of common concern to the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

As individual rabbis, we can help mobilize public opinion and present before our congregations and communities the truth behind the news.

As private citizens, we can reassure the U.S. State Department of the need for a high priority of U.S. attention to be given this concern of American Jews, and for the need within the context of American foreign policy to press for the exposure of the situation of Jews and Judaism behind the Iron Curtain before the international arena of the United Nations. The CCAR should know that at present the U.S. State Department believes that any direct U.S. intervention or representations on behalf of Soviet Jews would only backfire and do more harm than good to Soviet Jews because of the tension already between the United States of America and the U.S.S.R., and therefore become a further pretext for the Kremlin to link Soviet Jews with disloyalty and subversion.

On the other hand, the rabbi's greatest tool—molders of public conscience—can surely be used to cry out against the net of spiritual strangulation being drawn against the Jews of the U.S.S.R. By public resolution and by individual protest, this committee urges the executive board to bring the full influence of the Central Conference of American Rabbis to this exposure of the truth. After losing 6 million Jews to the Nazi juggernaut, no more pressing tragedy than the plight of another 3 million Jews held prisoners in Red Russia challenges the survival of the Jewish people today.

EXHIBIT 2-B

[From Foreign Affairs, January 1963]

THE STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(By Moshe Decter)

During the past quarter century, enlightened public opinion throughout the world has become keenly sensitive to the treatment of minorities as a barometer of moral decency and social sanity. The awesome experiences of this period have drawn particular attention to the symbolic and actual position of the Jewish minority. In this light, the status of the Jews in the Soviet Union warrants special concern.

The situation of Soviet Jews can be comprehended primarily within the framework of Soviet nationalities policy. That policy, as reflected in Communist Party directives, the Soviet Constitution and public law, is based on the ideological acceptance of the concept of national self-determination and on the legal recognition of the right of all nationalities within Soviet borders to cultural freedom. Actual Soviet policy toward the Jews clearly violates these principles. It is tantamount to a policy of discrimination for it denies to the Jews such ethnic-cultural rights as are generally accorded all other Soviet nationalities.

The Soviet Union officially recognizes Jews as a nationality. In the personal identification papers which all Soviet citizens carry (the internal "passport"), Jews must list their nationality as "Jewish" (Yevrei) just as other nationalities—such as Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians and others—must list theirs. Thus, in the official Soviet census returns of 1959, published in Pravda on February 4, 1960, Jews are listed among the official nationalities. In all previous censuses,

citizens were required to provide proof, in the form of their continued passports, of their claim to belong to one or another nationality. In 1959, for the first time, they were allowed to volunteer, without proof, the nationality with which they chose to be identified. Despite the possibility thus provided for Jews to "pass," 2,268,000 people specified their nationality as Jewish (there are reasons to believe that the total number more closely approximates 3 million).

Soviet Jews constitute 1.09 percent of the population, but they occupy a far more significant place than this figure suggests. Of the considerably more than 100 diverse Soviet nationalities, the Jews are 11th numerically. The great majority of them live in the three most populous Union Republics: 33 percent in the Russian Republic, 37 percent in the Ukraine, 7 percent in White Russia; but there is no republic of the U.S.S.R., where Jewish communities may not be found. And an important reflection of their sense of identification after several decades of direct and indirect forcible assimilation is that 472,000 (20.8 percent) gave Yiddish, which is the traditional language of speech and literature of East European Jews, as their mother tongue.

The Jews are also regarded, secondarily, as a religious group. This complicates their status and makes it even more precarious. For though their unique dual character is a natural outgrowth of Jewish history and tradition, it creates unusual difficulties for them under Soviet conditions. An assault upon the Jewish religion, for example, will inevitably be taken, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an attack upon the Jewish nationality as a whole—upon Jews as such. And they have come increasingly to be considered an alien group in a land where they have resided for more than a thousand years.

Their vulnerability is increased by the fact that, unlike most other Soviet nationalities, which have their own geographic territories, the Jews are widely dispersed throughout the country. They are also the only Soviet nationality a majority of whose total world population lives outside the U.S.S.R. Because the Soviet Jewish minority has historic and traditional ties of culture, religion, and family with Jewish communities throughout the world outside the Communist bloc, it is subject to even greater suspicion.

Soviet Jews are especially sensitive to their vulnerable condition because their memory of what they themselves call the black years—the last 5 years of Stalin's rule, when his terror assuaged a vicious and openly anti-Semitic form—has not been erased. One reason they have not forgotten is that Soviet policy toward Jews and Judaism has remained essentially the same since 1948—with the vitally important exception, of course, that the terror is gone. And they are not less keenly cognizant of the fact that, of all the crimes of Stalin cataloged by Premier Khrushchev and his colleagues at the 20th and 22d Congresses of the CPSU, his crimes against the Jews were passed over in utter silence.

The significance of Soviet policy toward the Jews was dramatically highlighted in September 1961 by the publication of a poem, "Babi Yar," in the Literary Gazette, organ of the Soviet Writers Union. This poem by a loyal Communist, Yevgeny Yevtushenko—one of the most popular young Soviet poets—caused a sensation. It is a searing indictment of anti-Semitism both historically and as a facet of contemporary Soviet society. In his opening line, the poet protests that there is still no monument to the scores of thousands of Jewish martyrs slaughtered by the Nazis in 1941 at Babi Yar, a vale on the outskirts of Kiev. This is a pointed reflection of the fact that Soviet authorities have been consistently silent about the nature,

dimensions and even the very existence of the unique Jewish tragedy during the Second World War. Though not himself a Jew, Yevtushenko identifies himself in his poem with persecuted Jewry throughout history. He thus points up the existence of a historic Jewish people, which Soviet doctrine denies—and of Jewish history, which Soviet policy prevents Jews from learning.

Yevtushenko is not alone in mirroring the mood and sensibility of the literate younger Soviet generation. There is a whole "underground" literature that passes from hand to hand among the university and literary youth, and one of its frequent leitmotifs is isolated, disadvantaged Soviet Jewry. In this, as in their general quest for a purified idealism, Yevtushenko and his confreres are in the mainstream of the honorable tradition of the liberal Russian intelligentsia from Pushkin to Tolstoy and Gorky.

II

The Jews are the only nationality which is deprived of the basic cultural rights accorded to all others in the U.S.S.R. These rights have recently been reaffirmed by no less an authoritative source than the new party program adopted by the 22d Congress in October 1961: "The Communist Party guarantees the complete freedom of each citizen of the U.S.S.R. to speak and to rear and educate his children in any language—ruling out all privileges, restrictions, or compulsion in the use of this or that language."

Until 1948 the Jews were permitted a cultural life in their own language, Yiddish (though Hebrew was forbidden), on a large scale: newspapers, publishing houses, thousands of books, a variety of literary journals, professional repertory theaters and dramatic schools, literary and cultural research institutes, a network of schools, and other means of perpetuating Jewish cultural values, albeit in a Communist form. In 1948 (and in some cases during the purges of 1937-39), the whole vast array of institutions was forcibly closed.

No basic change in this policy of cultural deprivation occurred, despite Stalin's death and the gradual easing of the tyranny, until 1959. Since then, a grand total of six Yiddish books has been published—by writers long dead. (None has been published in 1962 as of November.) They were put out in editions of 30,000 each, mostly for foreign consumption, but those copies that were available to Jews inside the U.S.S.R. were eagerly and quickly snapped up.

This total of six books is to be compared with the facilities made available to many other ethnic groups far smaller than that of the Soviet Jews, and which do not possess as ancient, continuous and rich a culture. Two striking examples are in order. The Maris and Yakuts are two tiny primitive Asian groups which number 504,000 and 238,000, respectively. In 1961 alone, Soviet printing presses produced 62 books for the Maris and 144 for the Yakuts, in their own languages.

The Soviet Yiddish theater was once considered one of the prides of Soviet artistic achievement. Today there is only a handful of amateur theatrical groups, made up of Jewish workers banded together after working hours, existing on a marginal basis; there is not even such a group in Moscow or Leningrad, the two major centers of Soviet Jewry, together totaling nearly 1 million.

In the autumn of 1961, for the first time since 1948, a Yiddish literary journal, Sovietish Helmland, began publication as a bi-monthly. Welcome though this is, it is no more than the exception proving the rule. But it does represent, along with the meager half-dozen Yiddish books (and the "concerts" of Yiddish dramatic readings and folk-songs which have been permitted and which have been attended by millions of Jews in recent years) a tacit repudiation of the oft-repeated Soviet assertion that Soviet Jews have lost interest in their culture. This

state of affairs is again to be contrasted with the press available to the Maris and Yakuts. The former have 17 newspapers, the latter 28.

A frequent Soviet rationalization for the absence of cultural institutions for the Jews is that the Jews are so widely dispersed. This is invalidated, however, by the fact that tiny minorities like the Chechens (418,000), Ossetians (410,000) and Komis (431,000), which do not have their own territories, yet have their own newspapers and literatures in their own languages, and schools where their languages are taught. The Tadjik minority in Uzbekistan (312,000 out of a total Republic population of 8,106,000) has similar rights and institutions, as have the Poles in White Russia (539,000 out of 8,055,000).

It is not just schools that are forbidden to the Jews.¹ They are not even allowed classes in Yiddish or Hebrew in the general schools; nor, for that matter, classes in the Russian language (comparable to Sunday school education in the United States) on Jewish history and culture. Nor are Soviet Jews permitted to have contact on purely Jewish cultural matters with Jewish institutions abroad.

III

All religions in the U.S.S.R. exist very precariously within a context of official anti-religious ideology and propaganda. In a variety of fundamental respects, however, Judaism is subjected to unique discrimination. Jewish congregations are permitted no variant of the right enjoyed by the others to maintain nationwide federations or other central organizations through which religious functions are governed, religious needs serviced, religious belief bolstered and communication between congregations strengthened. Rabbis and synagogue leaders have nothing at all comparable to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia or the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

These churches are permitted a wide range of religious publishing facilities, publishing houses, and paper supplies. Thus, the Russian Orthodox version of the Bible was reprinted in 1957 in an edition of 50,000. In 1958, 10,000 copies of a Russian-language Protestant Bible were published by the Baptists. The same year the Moslem Directorates in Ufa and Tashkent produced editions of 4,000 and 5,000 copies, respectively, of the Koran. And in May 1962 the Moslem Board for Central Asia issued still another new edition. It should be noted that these editions of the Koran are in Arabic, a language not spoken by Soviet Moslems, but used for religious study and other religious functions. This is comparable to what the status of Hebrew might be there.

Judaism is permitted no publication facilities and no publications. No Hebrew Bible has been published for Jews since 1917. (Nor has a Russian translation of the Jewish version of the Old Testament been allowed.) The study of Hebrew has been outlawed, even for religious purposes. Not a single Jewish religious book of any other kind has appeared in print since the early 1920's. In contrast, prayerbooks are available to other denominations in relatively ample supply; the Baptists were authorized in 1956 to publish 25,000 hymnals; the Lutheran Church of Latvia has produced 1,500 copies of a psalter and is now preparing a new edition of its 1954 hymnal. Religious calendars, indispensable guides for religious holidays and observances, are freely available. Other

¹ Though Soviet law permits any 10 parents who request it to organize instruction for their children in their own language, Jewish parents have been understandably loath to take advantage of this provision.

types of religious publications are also permitted. The Russian Orthodox Church publishes the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, its official monthly organ. It has also published collections of sermons and several annuals. The All-Union Council of Baptists pass out a bimonthly, the Fraternal Review.

No such prerogatives have been vouchsafed to the Jews. Until 1958, no siddur (Sabbath prayerbook in Hebrew) was printed. In that year, an edition of 3,000 copies of prerevolutionary siddur was provided by photo-offset—a ridiculously small figure for the hundreds of thousands of religious Jews whose prayerbooks are tattered and worn. No edition at all has been allowed of special prayerbooks which Jews use on their high holidays and major festivals. As for calendars, the Jews have had to depend on photographed copies of handwritten ones, surreptitiously circulated from hand to hand.

A subtler but harsher form of discrimination has resulted from the ban on Hebrew. The Russian Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran, Georgian, or Armenian believer is not handicapped in his participation in religious services, for they are conducted in his native spoken tongue. But the half-century-old ban on Hebrew has made it impossible for Jews educated under the Soviet regime to make sense of their synagogue services. Thousands come—and must stand mute and dumb.

The other major ecclesiastical bodies are authorized to produce a variety of religious articles—ritual objects such as church vessels, vestments, candles, beads, crucifixes, and ikons. The mass sale of such articles, especially candles, is an important source of church income. But the production of such indispensable religious objects as the tallis (prayer shawl) and tefillin (phylacteries) is prohibited to Jews.

A brief statistical examination illuminates the extent to which the faithful are served by churches and priests, synagogues and rabbis. For the 40 million Russian Orthodox there are some 20,000 churches and 35,000 priests (quite apart from those in the 69 monasteries and convents). This comes to 1 place of worship for each 2,000 believers and 1 priest for each 1,100 believers. For the 3 million Baptists (including women and children who are affiliated through family membership) there are roughly 6,000 parishes and pastors, which amounts to 1 place of worship and 1 minister for each 500 believers. The Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia have 100 churches and 150 pastors for about 350,000 communicants—approximately 1 church for each 3,500 believers and 1 minister for each 2,300. By contrast, there are some 60 or 70 synagogues and rabbis for the nearly 1 million Jewish believers—which amounts to 1 synagogue and 1 rabbi for each 15,000 to 16,000 Jewish believers.

Most religious groups also maintain educational institutions to prepare men for the priesthood. The Russian Orthodox have two academies and five seminaries; the Moslems have a madrassa where their mullahs are trained. In addition, quite a few Moslem clerical students have been permitted to advance their studies at the theological seminary in Cairo. Young Baptist seminarians have attended theological schools in Great Britain and Canada. Such programs serve the twofold function of maintaining spiritual contacts with coreligionists abroad and of enhancing the quality of religious education at home.

Until 1957, religious Jews had no institution to train rabbis. In that year, a yeshiva (rabbinical academy) was established as an adjunct of the great Synagogue in Moscow. Since then, precisely two men have been ordained as rabbis, neither of whom

has functioned as a synagogue leader. Of the 13 students at the yeshiva until April 1962, 11 were over 40—which means that very little provision was made for replacing the rabbis now serving in the U.S.S.R., all of whom are in their seventies and eighties. This is to be contrasted with the "accent on youth" for Russian Orthodox seminarians. The Jewish community is thus being deprived of needed religious leadership.

A most serious restriction was imposed on the yeshiva in April 1962, when a majority of the students, who came from the oriental Jewish communities of Georgia and Daghestan, were forbidden to resume their studies in Moscow, on the ground that they lacked the necessary residence permits for the capital city which is suffering from a housing shortage. This left just four students in an institution that has been transformed into a virtually empty shell. Nor has any Jewish seminarian in the last 5 years been allowed to advance his studies at institutions of Jewish learning abroad.

In addition to their prerogatives at home, other Soviet ecclesiastical bodies have enjoyed the privilege of regular and permanent ties with coreligionists abroad, an incalculably important boost to their moral. Since 1956 there have been innumerable exchange visits of religious delegations—Russian Orthodox, Baptists, and Moslems—between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, the United States and the Middle East. The Soviet Moslems have for years been associated with a World Congress of Moslems. At the end of October 1962 a national conference of Moslem leaders, meeting in Tashkent, was authorized to establish a permanent department for international relations, with headquarters in Moscow, which would speak for all Moslem Boards in the country. And within the past year, the World Council of Churches (Protestant) accepted the full-fledged membership of the Russian Orthodox Church and of five other major Soviet ecclesiastical bodies: the Georgian and Armenian Churches, the Baptists, and the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia.

No Jewish religious delegation from the U.S.S.R. has ever been permitted to visit religious institutions abroad. Nor are synagogues in the Soviet Union allowed to have any kind of official contact, permanent ties, or institutional relations with Jewish religious, congregational, or rabbinic bodies outside their country.

The process of attrition and pressure against Judaism and Jewish religious institutions and practitioners has been systematically stepped up since the middle of 1961. In June and July of that year, the synagogue presidents in six major provincial cities were deposed. In the same period, six lay religious leaders in Moscow and Leningrad were secretly arrested. In September 1961, on the occasion of the Jewish High Holy Days, the authorities ordered the construction of a special loge in the Moscow Great Synagogue to seat the Israel Embassy officials who came to attend services—the better to cut off the thousands of Jews who came to the synagogue from their fellow Jews from abroad. In October 1961, the Moscow and Leningrad leaders were secretly tried and convicted of alleged espionage, and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. In January 1962, Trud, the central trade union paper, published a notorious article that portrayed these devout religious Jews as agents of Israeli spies who, in turn, were described as tools of American intelligence.

On March 17, 1962, Rabbi Judah Leib Levin of the Moscow synagogue announced that the public baking and sale of matzah (the unleavened bread indispensable to the observance of the Passover) would be forbidden. This was the first time in Soviet history that a total ban on matzah was en-

forced throughout the country. The ban was actually part of the larger official attempt to destroy the bonds between Soviet Jewry and the traditional roots of Judaism that have a national historical significance. Since Passover is the ancient feast that commemorates the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery and their establishment as a religious people, this holiday is subjected to especially virulent assault in the Soviet press. It is linked with "Zionist ideology," the State of Israel, chauvinism and so forth. The propaganda goes so far as to brand Jewish religious holidays, and Passover in particular, as subversive. "Judaism kills love for the Soviet motherland"—this is a slogan from a typical press article.

All this adds up to a systematic policy of attrition against religious Jews and their religious practices. The synagogues are the only remaining institutions in the U.S.S.R. which still embody the residues of traditional Jewish values and where Jews may still foregather formally as Jews. The objective of this policy is clearly to intimidate and atomize Soviet Jewry, to isolate it both from its past and from its brethren in other parts of the world, to destroy its specifically Jewish spirit.

iv

This policy of cultural religious repression is conducted within the charged atmosphere of a virulent press campaign against Judaism. From it the image of the Jew emerges in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. The majority of the articles appear in the provincial press—in the larger cities, frequently the capitals, of the various republics, primarily the Russian Republic, the Ukraine and White Russia. These are the regions where the bulk of Soviet Jewry lives and where popular anti-Semitism is still widespread and endemic.

A study of a dozen such publications reveals that the following themes recur repeatedly:

1. The stereotype that emerges most blatantly is that of Jews as money worshipers. Rabbis and lay leaders of the synagogues are consistently portrayed as extorting money from the faithful for ostensibly religious purposes, their object in fact being to feather their own nests. Thus, whether it is the religious service itself or some ancient rite, it is all presided over by religious figures who are in reality moneygrubbing thieves.

2. Judaism is constantly denigrated. All its rites are mocked in a manner which contrasts harshly with the Soviet Union's boasts of religious toleration. Circumcision, for example, is denounced in the crudest terms as a barbarous and unhealthy ritual: "The priests of the synagogue offer the regular sacrifice to their God Jehovah."

3. Drunkenness in the synagogue is another favorite theme. The scandalous rogues who pocket the money innocently contributed by the believers are shown as devoted to drink—guzzlers who confuse their prayers under the influence of alcohol. The leader of a synagogue burial society is quoted as saying: "In booze—I believe; in God—I don't."

4. Brawling is alleged to occur frequently in the synagogue, invariably over the division of the ill-gotten profits from religious speculation. The newspapers name the names of the religious misleaders allegedly involved and frequently give their addresses and public positions, if any.

5. In these articles Jews often are used to inform on fellow Jews and to denounce Judaism. Many articles are signed by Jews; some contain recantations, usually by elderly men, of their religious faith.

6. A favorite device is for the writer to single out for special attention the adult children of elderly religious Jews. They are

usually named and their public positions (teacher, engineer, nurse, etc.) noted, as well as their places of work and, where relevant, their party membership. Thus not only the parents but the presumably loyal, nonreligious Communist children are held up to public obloquy, in a not very subtle effort to exert social blackmail on them.

7. Propaganda assaults on private prayer meetings are also frequent. Since many synagogues throughout the country are closed, Jews have taken to foregathering in each other's homes for prayers. Such gatherings are frowned upon, indeed unauthorized, and have regularly been dispersed, and their members warned and even punished. Articles list those who organize and attend such prayer meetings.

8. Perhaps the most ominous of all the themes is the consistent portrayal of the tenets and practitioners of traditional Judaism as potentially or actually subversive. The following references are typical: "The Jewish clerical and bourgeois nationalists provide grist for the mills of our class enemies, distract workers from their class and Communist interests, and weaken their consciousness with chauvinist poison." "The traditions bolstered by the synagogue are doubly harmful. First of all, they contribute to the perpetuation of the false religious world outlook. Secondly, they serve as an instrument for the propagation of bourgeois political views which are alien to us."

This must be contrasted with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, signed by Premier Khrushchev on November 10, 1954, and reechoed in Pravda on August 21, 1959: "It must not be forgotten that there are citizens who, though actively participating in the country's life and faithfully fulfilling their civic duty, still remain under the influence of various religious beliefs. Toward these the party has already demanded, and will always demand, a tactful, considerate attitude. It is especially stupid to put these under political suspicion because of their religious convictions."

These standards have been clearly violated where Jews and Judaism are concerned. In the Soviet Union official atheism affects all religious groups; but it is only with regard to Jews and Judaism that the theme of lack of patriotism, disloyalty and subversion is injected into the propaganda. When the religion of the Russian Orthodox, the Armenian Orthodox, the Georgian Orthodox, the Baptist, or the Moslem is attacked in the press he does not thereby come under political suspicion, nor does he feel his loyalty impugned either as a member of a given nationality or as a Soviet citizen. By the same token, the mass of nonbelieving Russians, Armenians, Georgians, or Uzbeks do not feel that they are involved when the religious members of their nationality see their religion attacked in the official propaganda.

But with the Jews it is different. Because of the persistence of "popular" anti-Semitism, subtly encouraged from above, an attack upon the religious Jew and the portrayal of the Jewish image in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes is felt even by the nonreligious Jew as somehow involving him too. And he is not far wrong in feeling that many of his non-Jewish neighbors understand it in the same way. Small wonder then, that—in the absence of a consistent educational campaign against anti-Semitism, such as was conducted in Lenin's time—an assault upon the Jewish religion will be sensed, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an assault upon the entire Jewish group.

In such an atmosphere, it is hardly surprising that Jews should be subject to a subtle policy of discrimination in employment, education, and other sectors of public life.

That policy may be summarized in the phrase attributed, perhaps apocryphally but nonetheless aptly, to a top-level Soviet leader: "Don't hire, don't fire, don't promote."

A few especially gifted or brilliant Jewish individuals can still be found within the Soviet leadership. Many occupy positions in the middle ranks of professional, cultural and economic life. But virtually all face potent discriminatory measures in key "security sensitive" areas of public life. The instrumentality for this exclusion, carried out quietly and informally, is the nationality listing on the internal passport. Thus, Jews have virtually disappeared from positions of major responsibility in the diplomatic service and, with rare exceptions, in the armed forces. This contrasts sharply with the situation that prevailed from 1917 to the late 1930's. The proportion in higher education, science, the professions and political life has also been declining for many years. The key to the decrease is the system of nationality quotas in university admissions. A considerable body of evidence points to the existence of a "numerus clausus" for Jews in the universities and, in some cases, or a "numerus nullus." This explains the decline of Jewish representation in important activities.

The extent of the decline in higher education is reflected in the fact that Jews today represent 3.1 percent of all students in higher education, as contrasted with 13.5 percent in 1935. During this 27-year period, the Jewish proportion of the population decreased merely from 1.6 to 1.1 percent. There is no way of accounting for this drastic decline in a country with an expanding economy and growing opportunities—except by discrimination.

Even the present 3.1 percent is a skewed figure, for it fails to take account of two decisive factors. In the first place, the category "higher education," as given in Soviet statistics, lumps together both universities and many other types of specialized academies such as teacher training schools, music conservatories and journalism institutes. Jews have a strong position in the latter types, and this fact artificially raises the total by balancing out the much lower proportion of Jews in the universities as such. Secondly, it is estimated that 90 percent of Soviet Jews are urbanized. Most universities are located in the larger cities and recruit their student bodies from the children of the urban intelligentsia, in which the Jews have traditionally occupied a leading position. To get a more accurate measure of Jewish representation in higher education in proportion to the population, the Jewish proportion would have to be compared not with the percentage of Jews in the total population of a given republic, but with the percentage of Jews in an urban university area.

As for the professions, the declining proportion of Jews has been as much as admitted by Premier Khrushchev and Culture Minister Furtseva themselves as a matter of policy. (In making such admissions, they have referred to the necessity of making room for "our own intelligentsia"—clearly giving away their feeling that the Jews are not truly indigenous.) In general, the proportion of non-Jewish nationalities among professionals has been rising at a very rapid rate, but that of the Jews at a much slower rate. For example, since 1955 the number of Russians and Ukrainians in science has increased by 40 percent, that of the Jews by 25 percent. In 1955, Jews constituted 11 percent of Soviet scientists; the figure was 10.2 percent by 1958 and 9.8 percent by 1960. Even this figure is deceptively high, for it includes a substantial number of an older generation who had far freer access to the universities and the professions in the twenties and thirties. It is obviously the Jewish youths who are hardest hit by the declining rate; they

have to be very good indeed even to get into the universities, and they find it increasingly difficult to enter the professions.

The disappearance of Jews from leadership positions in political life has been striking and dramatic. Soviet spokesmen have tried to counter this fact by noting recently that 7,623 Jews were elected to local soviets all over the country. This seems impressive until it is realized that, as of 1960, more than 1,800,000 such local deputies were elected. The "large" number of Jews thus comes to less than one-half of 1 percent. Moreover, in all but one of the Supreme Soviets of the 15 republics, the number of Jews is far below their proportion of the population.

When this pattern of discrimination is linked to other facets of Soviet policy toward the Jews, it becomes clear that they are considered a security risk group—suspected of actual or potential disloyalty, of essential alienness.

VI

Many nuances of the same pattern of hostility have been revealed in the massive campaign waged with increasing severity in the past few years against the widespread economic abuses that characterize so much of Soviet life. A series of decrees, beginning in May 1961, called for capital punishment for such offenses as embezzlement of state property, currency speculation, and bribery. The authorities have made no attempt to conceal their concern over these activities or the fact that vast numbers of the population engage in them. Major pronouncements by leading officials have, indeed, given a picture of a country shot through with corruption—ironically, of a "capitalist" sort. All organs of the party, the Komsomol, the state, the press, and other major institutions have been pressed into service in the campaign against it. The secret police, one of the last strongholds of Stalinism, plays a key role. And the public at large has been strenuously urged on to be vigilant, with all the overtones of vigilanteism.

Though the campaign's objective may not be anti-Jewish, there is little doubt that it has had anti-Jewish implications and consequences, of which the authorities—and the secret police—cannot but be aware.

Thus the Soviet press has especially featured those trials that have resulted in death sentences (frequency accompanied by the denial of the right of appeal). To date, 36 such trials have been reported in 26 different cities. In these trials, death sentences have been meted out to 70 individuals—of whom 42 (and possibly 45) are Jews. In a number of cases, the Jewish religious affiliation of some of the culprits was made explicit: the synagogue was portrayed as the locus of illegal transactions, religious Jews were mockingly described as money worshippers, the rabbi was shown as their accomplice, their family connections in Israel and the United States were pointed out. In general, the Jews are presented as people "whose only God is gold," who flit through the interstices of the economy, cunningly manipulate naive non-Jewish officials, prey upon honest Soviet workers, and cheat them of their patrimony. They are portrayed as the initiators and masterminds of the criminal plots; the non-Jews are depicted primarily as the recipients of bribes and as accomplices.

The ominous significance of this publicity is clear. It informs the conditioned Soviet reader that the Government thinks the tiny community of Jews, which constitute little more than 1 percent of the population, is responsible for nearly two-thirds—and in some areas 100 percent—of the economic crimes which warrant capital punishment. Anti-Semitic feelings are exacerbated. From many cities come reports of grumbling on the food queues: "The Jews are responsible

for the shortages." Western travelers who were in Vilna during and immediately after a major economic trial in February 1962—where all eight accused were Jews, four of them receiving capital punishment and four lengthy prison terms—reported that the authorities mobilized the entire population to attend what was universally called the Jewish show trial. The atmosphere of fright in the Jewish communities may be imagined.

vii

In sum, Soviet policy places the Jews in an inextricable vise. They are allowed neither to assimilate, nor live a full Jewish life, nor to emigrate (as many would wish) to Israel or any other place where they might live freely as Jews. The policy stems, in turn, from doctrinal contradictions abetted by traditional anti-Jewish sentiments. On the one hand, the authorities want the Jews to assimilate; on the other hand, they irrationally fear the full penetration of Soviet life which assimilation implies. So the Jews are formally recognized as a nationality, as a religious group, as equal citizens—but are at the same time deprived of their national and religious rights as a group, and of full equality as individuals.

Though the Jews are considered a Soviet nationality, official doctrine has consistently denied the existence of a historic Jewish people as an entity, and official practice has always sought to discourage Soviet Jews from feeling themselves members of that entity throughout the world.

Soviet policy as a whole, then, amounts to spiritual strangulation—the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to know the Jewish past and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present, the future is precarious indeed.

EFFORTS TO AMEND SECTION 22 OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE ACT TO REMOVE INEQUITIES INVOLVED IN GOVERNMENT TRANSPORTATION RATES

Mr. HART. Mr. President, for some time I have been concerned with the problem of insuring that transportation rates established for the Federal agencies under section 22 of the Interstate Commerce Act do not work to the disadvantage of any region of the country.

Recent hearings held by a special subcommittee of the Senate Commerce Committee on Great-Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway shipping have made even clearer the need for a revised policy to remove inequities which now operate against certain of our Midwestern States and Great Lakes ports.

It is now time to ask who is trying to cover up preferential, prejudicial, and discriminatory Government section 22 rate deals.

On August 23, 1963, I introduced S. 2075, which does not repeal section 22, but only subjects these rate deals to limited Interstate Commerce Commission review to determine if Government traffic is moving under discriminatory, preferential or prejudicial rates.

The Interstate Commerce Commission may now grant relief to citizens and areas that are being unreasonably prejudiced or unduly disadvantaged by unfair rates except rates under which the Nation's largest shipper, the U.S. Government, moves its traffic.

The Government witnesses who appeared and testified at recent hearings before the Surface Transportation Sub-

committee admitted that Government shipping agencies are neither competent nor appropriately staffed to weed out unfair section 22 rates, and stated that they had no objection in principle to S. 2075.

Despite this, other representatives of the same Government agencies informed me 10 days later that these agencies were now opposed to Interstate Commerce Commission review to determine if section 22 rate deals are preferential or prejudicial.

Because of complaints received from many areas and groups, the Subcommittee on Surface Transportation of the Senate Committee on Commerce on May 8 and 11, 1964, held hearings on S. 2075, which would allow localities, ports, port districts, gateways, regions, districts, and territories to apply to the Interstate Commerce Commission for relief from discriminatory, preferential, or prejudicial rates accepted or negotiated by Government shipping agencies.

Mr. Charles R. Seal, general counsel, Virginia State Ports Authority, appeared at these hearings on behalf of the American Association of Port Authorities, and on behalf of the North Atlantic Ports Association which represents the ports from Portland, Maine, to Hampton Roads, inclusive. He testified:

Legislation such as proposed by bill S. 2075 is urgently needed to overcome the present unfair competitive rate practices inherent in section 22 rates.

Mr. Sam Rice, Jr., president, Grain and Feed Dealers National Association, appeared on behalf of that organization which has 2,150 direct memberships, held by individual grain and feed firms in 46 States, plus 53 affiliated State and regional grain and feed associations that represent approximately another 16,000 grain and feed firms. He testified:

This national association believes that S. 2075 is a step in the right direction in that it would prohibit carriers from making tenders under section 22 which would subject any particular area of unjust discrimination or to undue prejudice or disadvantage, and would empower the Interstate Commerce Commission to hold hearings on complaints of such discrimination.

The committee also received testimony supporting the need for passage of S. 2075 from Abe McGregor Goff, Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, and James F. Fort, counsel, public affairs, American Trucking Association.

The committee received statements in support of the bill from Louis C. Purdy, general manager, Toledo-Lucas County Port Authority; A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., chairman of the executive committee, the Common Carrier Conference of Domestic Water Carriers; Terrance J. Hall, president, Colorado Grain and Feed Dealers; Harold W. Barton, chairman of the board, Central Soya; and Fred H. Tolan, freight traffic consultant, Seattle, Wash., on behalf of several hundred shippers in the Pacific Northwest.

In addition, the committee received statements favoring outright repeal of peacetime section 22 rates from S. G. Tipton, president, Air Transport Association; Austin L. Roberts, Jr., general solicitor, National Association of Rail-

road and Utilities Commissioners; L. James Harmanson, general counsel, National Council of Farm Cooperatives; and the Transportation Association of America.

Even the Government witnesses who appeared at the hearings did not oppose S. 2075, which would not repeal section 22, but rather subject these Government deals to ICC review to assure that they are free from undue preference and prejudice.

Maj. Gen. Rush B. Lincoln, Jr., commander, Defense Traffic Management Service, Department of Defense, testified:

Therefore, as a practical matter, the Department of Defense has no objection to appropriate provisions with proper procedural remedy to provide that Government rates shall not produce undue geographical discrimination.

He conceded that the Department of Defense is not "functionally competent nor appropriately staffed to make determinations with respect to geographical freight-rate discrimination" in deciding whether to accept or reject a section 22 rate.

Mr. Robert B. Conrad, Commissioner, Transportation and Communications Service, General Services Administration, testified:

As far as this particular portion of the legislation is concerned (ICC review of rates for discrimination) we would have no strong objection to this particular portion of the act.

He also conceded that the only review that GSA makes as a user of transportation is as to the level of the rate, and no review is made for undue preference or prejudice as far as marketing or shipping areas.

Mr. Edwin W. Cimokowski, Assistant General Counsel, General Accounting Office, testified:

We have no basic objection to this type of legislation in principle.

Since the Government witnesses who testified had no opposition in principle to S. 2075, I urged them to meet with the ICC to iron out technical objections to certain 15-day notice provisions in the bill. A meeting was held, and a few days later the Commerce Committee staff was notified that the agencies were ready to make a report.

Mr. President, I do not know who determined that there should be a shift in government policy, but between the close of the hearings on May 11 and the meeting on May 20, there appears to me to have been a definite shift. The Government agencies who could not defend preferential, prejudicial and discriminatory rates at a public hearing were very much in favor of such section 22 deals—at least, they opposed the limited ICC review—at the meeting in which the press was not present.

Mr. V. F. Caputo, Director for Transportation and Warehousing Policy, Department of Defense, advised at the meeting that Defense was now opposed to the bill in principle. Mr. Caputo did not disavow General Lincoln's public testimony or explain why there had been a shift in policy. He stated that if cer-

tain citizens believed that Government section 22 rail deals were discriminatory, preferential or prejudicial, they should raise the problem with the railroads.

Mr. President, who is afraid of having the complaints of the American Association of Port Authorities, and the National Feed and Grain Dealers submitted to impartial scrutiny by the ICC?

Mr. Frank Barton, Deputy Under Secretary for Transportation—Operations—Department of Commerce, who submitted a statement but did not testify at the hearings, advised at the meeting that the Department of Commerce was now opposed to S. 2075. Mr. Barton did not disavow the written statement of Mr. Lawrence Jones, Acting General Counsel, submitted to the Commerce Commission on December 23, 1963, supporting S. 2075:

The principal purpose of the bill appears to be to bring clearly within the purview of the Interstate Commerce Commission any unjust discriminations or undue or unreasonable prejudices or disadvantages to any locality or region which might arise from the quotation of special rates to the Government under section 22 of the Interstate Commerce Act. The Department of Commerce supports this objective and agrees that the Interstate Commerce Commission should have clear authority to correct such discriminations by investigations and orders provided in section 13 of the act.

Mr. Barton started at the meeting on May 20 that any bill to remove section 22 rate discrimination should await disposition of H.R. 9903. It was his view that all deregulated rail rates under H.R. 9903—not only Government rates—will soon be freed from ICC regulation as to discrimination, preference, and prejudice.

In his transportation message to the Congress, President Kennedy called for a transportation system that means "equality of opportunity for all forms of transportation and their users and undue preference to none."

When Mr. Barton spoke before the Great Lakes Shipowners Association in Elkhart Lake, Wis., on July 8, 1961, he stated that:

Elimination of a favored position in transportation should provide both the carriers and Government transportation officers with the opportunity further to improve traffic management. With such a change in section 22, the Government would expect all transportation services to be performed more efficiently with benefits spreading throughout the common carrier sector of our transportation system and in turn to the entire economy.

Mr. President, I submit that Mr. Barton's 1961 statement is correct and sound, and that the time has come to submit these privileged Government rates to scrutiny.

Another participant at the meeting on May 20 who did not testify at the hearings was Mr. Gordon Murray, Bureau of the Budget. Mr. Murray summed up the position of the executive agencies as follows: S. 2075 would be an unnecessary harassment of the Government because freight rate discrimination is not a problem anymore. Mr. Murray said the Government agencies would not even set up a committee to hear complaints.

The time has come to end this section 22 skulduggery. S. 2075 is a limited bill designed to end such indefensible conduct. S. 2075 would not repeal section 22. It only allows areas of this country to get the ICC for review of unfair section 22 rate deals—a review job which the Government shipping agencies concede they are not equipped to perform.

There is an obligation on the part of the Government shipping agencies to move Government traffic on rates that are not discriminatory, preferential, or prejudicial. In public, the Government agencies admit that they are not competent or staffed to protect the public from unfair section 22 deals and agree to ICC review. In private, these same Government agencies are adamant in seeking to retain a privileged status for their section 22 rate deals.

Who ordered this switch in policy on the part of the executive agencies? Who is trying to cover up preferential, prejudicial, and discriminatory Government freight rate deals? I call upon the officials of the executive agencies to reconsider their private statements and to adhere to their public testimony.

Mr. President, there will be further hearings on these section 22 rates. If these Government agencies remain adamant on such limited ICC review, this Congress may have to give consideration to subjecting all Government traffic, except emergency or secret shipments, to full and complete Interstate Commerce Commission review.

THE RISING GROUND SWELL AGAINST U.S. FINANCING OF EGYPT'S AGGRESSIONS

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, today there is growing throughout the United States a strong resistance on the part of the taxpayers to the continued pouring of our dollars into Egypt, for use in planning an aggressive war against Israel.

We have sustained President Nasser in power in Egypt with our dollars, and at the added cost of straining our friendship with our traditional ally Great Britain.

Peace-loving people in the United States are becoming increasingly fearful of the image which the United States presents to the world by its irrational actions in the Middle East because of our constant appeasement of President Nasser.

Mr. Emil N. Baar, acting president, Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, has written me saying:

In view of the fact that the U.S. Government has and is still giving economic aid to Nasser's Arab countries, the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, with its 800 affiliated organizations, representing almost 1 million Jews residing in Brooklyn, has taken a strong stand in this situation, unless the Arab policy is changed into one of peace.

I predict, Mr. President, that, unless the U.S. policy toward Egypt is drastically changed shortly, we shall see the petition of protest against our current policies adopted by the Brooklyn Jewish Community Council adopted by Chris-

tians and Jews alike in every section of the country.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter of Acting President Emil N. Baar, as well as the petition, unanimously adopted by this council, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter and the petition were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BROOKLYN JEWISH
COMMUNITY COUNCIL,
Brooklyn N.Y., May 22, 1964.

HON. ERNEST GRUENING,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR GRUENING: The Brooklyn Jewish Community Council, representing more than 800 organizations in the largest Jewish community in America, is deeply concerned and troubled over the repeated threats by President Nasser to annihilate Israel.

In view of the fact that the U.S. Government has and is still giving economic aid to Nasser's Arab countries, the council, with its 800 affiliated organizations, representing almost 1 million Jews residing in Brooklyn, has taken a strong stand in this situation, unless the Arab policy is changed into one of peace.

At a mass meeting sponsored by the council, held at the Brooklyn Jewish Center on May 5, the attached resolution was unanimously adopted with the request that the matter be called to the attention of the President, to the Secretary of State, and to all Members of Congress.

Respectfully yours,

EMIL N. BAAR,
Acting President.

Whereas for more than a decade the very existence of the State of Israel has been threatened with extinction by the repeated public declarations and preparations of the ruler of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser; and

Whereas since he came to power President Nasser has constantly declared over his radio and in public his determination and that of his associated Arab States to drive the Israelis into the sea; and

Whereas he has in recent years, in pursuance and preparations of such threats and declarations of policy built up a formidable armament of jet planes, submarines, tanks, and more recently offensive missiles, in the building of which he has been aided by former Nazis who have found refuge in Egypt from prosecution in Germany; and

Whereas for a year and a half he has kept an army of Egyptian troops in Yemen which were transported there by Russian planes and supplied by Russian arms; and

Whereas contrary to his repeated promises, he has not only not withdrawn his troops but has increased their number so that they now reportedly number 40,000 and, through rotation, has used the war in Yemen to battle train his entire army; and

Whereas the United States has consistently supported Nasser with generous gifts of foreign aid in an amount now approaching nearly a billion dollars; and

Whereas this policy encourages the aggressive tactics and purposes of Egypt's dictator; and

Whereas the United States has repeatedly declared its interest in the preservation of peace in the Middle East and elsewhere and the development of the economy and well-being of nations recipient of U.S. aid; and

Whereas the actions of the United States in supporting Nasser are wholly inconsistent with U.S. declarations of policy; and

Whereas there is imminent danger that Egypt shortly will be in a position to destroy Israel overnight by the rocketry and sophisti-