

*An Indictment Against
The Russian Government—
Not Her People*

*Soviet Russia Persecutes and
Prosecutes All Religion*

Speech of
Hon. Samuel Dickstein
of New York
in the
House of Representatives

February 11, 1930



(Not printed at Government expense)



United States
Government Printing Office
Washington : 1930

1930

SPEECH
OF
HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is rather unusual to present to the Congress of the United States the question of dealing with Soviet Russia. I am mindful of the fact that we have no relations with Soviet Russia, and I hope the time is far away before we shall attempt to recognize that country.

It is needless for me to tell you about the horrible conditions which exist in Russia and which have been going on there in connection with religious persecution. I am not only speaking of my people, but of all religious denominations. I hope when Russia attempts to seek recognition—and I am very mindful of the fact that there are a number of people in this country interested in seeing that we recognize Russia—this Congress will refer to some of the statements and reports I have, which I will make a part of my remarks. This information is very interesting indeed, and it is information I received from London a few weeks ago.

The Soviet Russian Government has been crucifying every religious denomination—priests, rabbis, and ministers of all denominations. It is simply attempting to eradicate religion from the so-called Soviet Government.

Mr. QUIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. QUIN. Is it not a fact that they have recently torn down some of the oldest cathedrals and churches in the city of Moscow?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. This is what they have done recently—and it is very interesting to know about it—they have torn down, destroyed, and dynamited a monastery that was in existence for more than 600 years. They have taken the stones, thrown them into the river, and they are using what is left of the cathedral for amusement purposes. They have taken churches and synagogues and destroyed them, without even giving the worshippers any notice.

Mr. QUIN. I read that in the press, but I did not know whether it was true or not.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is true.

Mr. GREEN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. And are they not imprisoning people?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. They are; and unjustly. If one attempts to teach his child or children in any language or in any religion he is immediately arrested and, naturally, sent to exile. I am not finding fault with the Russian people. My complaint is against the Russian Government, the Soviet Government, and

I say to you, my colleagues, that I do not care what religion they want to pursue, but give me a country that has some religion, because I do not recognize a country as a safe country without religion of some form.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. McSWAIN. Will the gentleman distinguish between the Government and the people, if there is a distinction, and suggest to the people who do the work, raise the crops, pay the taxes, and do the fighting how they may throw off this yoke or some sort of tyranny that is a curse to them rather than a blessing?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. From information I have gathered—and you may find it in my talk to-day—every attempt so far made by the citizens and by the religious people to make a protest has resulted in their being immediately sent to jail by the local authorities, and even without a trial they are sent away to foreign parts of Russia. The point I make is that Russia seeks recognition from the United States Government; and it is about time this Congress knew something about what is doing in the Soviet Government. I recognize the gentleman's point, and it is very clear; but it seems to me from reports received from all parts of the civilized world that every attempt that has been made by the peasants to worship in their own way has resulted in their immediate arrest, no matter what their claim or defense was.

Mr. McSWAIN. The point I make is that these proletariats, or peasants, found some means of overthrowing the old Romanoffs and dethroning and killing the Czar. Now, can they not devise some way to overthrow the power of this minority that is astride their backs murdering them and depriving them of the right to worship God as they see fit? I think Americans would not stand that 24 hours.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I agree with the gentleman; and that is why I am now speaking to the American people and to the greatest tribunal in the world—this Congress of the United States—in order to inform them of this prosecution and persecution of those who desire religious liberty.

I am not here to present some solution for the problems of the peasants of Russia; I am trying to warn the American people that we have American firms dealing with that savage government of Soviet Russia, and, as a matter of fact, its credit to-day is almost nothing. No country will do business with them. Everything they do is on a cash basis, and I am now warning the American business man and American industries that the quicker they terminate their business relations with Russia the safer it will be for them and the safer it will be for civilization.

Mr. Chairman, several days ago I had occasion to address this House on the subject of religious persecution, to which the people of Russia have been subjected by the Soviet authorities. I then had the occasion to tell this House as to how places of public worship, cemeteries, and religious services have been interfered with by the action of the Russian authorities and how precarious the position of all ministers, priests, and rabbis has become in that country.

Since the making of that address before this body, additional facts have come to my knowledge, which I believe should be communicated to the Members of this House so as to acquaint them with what conditions in that country have come to.

Several weeks ago in Great Britain members of Parliament made an outcry and a protest to the civilized world, stating that something will have to be done to destroy this form of government that believes in completely eradicating every form of religion in that country.

Conditions have become unbearable, and it is needless to say that unless something decisive is done it will only grow from bad to worse, and if we have any feeling in our hearts for the maintenance of religion as the driving force of human life and the great aim and ideal of human ambition, then, of course, this is the last word on the subject of intolerance and persecution.

Many persons of prominence have given their thought to this subject and many others have stated their objections to a continuance of this condition. The people of Russia, of course, can not speak. The Soviet authorities have muzzled everybody and not a voice can be heard in the land which is not approved by the powers to be. The Russian people have been suffering in silence because no spokesman has arisen to plead their cause. If anyone dares to criticize the action of the Russian Government, he will only be threatened and abused, and if he persists in speaking, then the jails of that country will promptly receive him and he will never see the light of the world again.

For this reason I make this appeal to the Congress of the United States, to the people of America, who are always willing to lend their help in such trying conditions, no matter whether they are in Russia or in any other part of the world.

Mr. YON. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Certainly.

Mr. YON. In what manner does the gentleman think we could exercise any influence over Russia in connection with these religious persecutions?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Public opinion in the United States will at least warn them that they must change their policy in connection with religion. Besides, there are a number of American concerns that are doing business with Russia. It is just a matter of a short time when their bills will not be paid and they will come to this country and ask for protection. We will not be in a position to help them. We have no dealings officially with Russia, but, nevertheless, they will demand from this Government some sort of intercession so that these debts may be paid. But we will be powerless, because we can not use any diplomatic or any other kind of pressure. If our citizens cut off Russia and leave her to herself, other countries will practically be on the same line of defense.

We do not want any dealings with Russia; no civilized country in this wide world should have any dealings with any country that practices this kind of religious persecution.

Mr. YON. This Government has never recognized Russia.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And I hope she may not; but there is an attempt being made, and there has been one for a number of years, to recognize Russia on some sort of basis. We are all aware of the efforts and recommendations of a prominent

Senator, who has very much to do with foreign relations, in connection with proposed recognition of the soviets.

Mr. YON. That makes it a very difficult problem for us to consider.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. But at least we know in advance what Russia stands for, so that when the time comes, and I understand it is coming very soon, and overtures are made to our Government to recognize Russia, we will at least have some concrete facts. I have an indictment against Russia, not her people, and I challenge any Russian representative to contradict the facts I have before me. [Applause.]

PROSECUTION AND PERSECUTION

These are the two great weapons which the Soviet authorities use and have used to achieve their aims. Prosecution and persecution are the continuous weapons by which the public is muzzled and public opinion is stifled. Prosecution and persecution are again the weapons by which no rabbi, minister, or priest dare to invoke the Help of the World to put an end to these intolerable conditions.

Some months ago a great demonstration was held in that cradle of liberty, that hall which has ever been the seat of protests against every kind of injustice and intolerance. I refer to Albert Hall in London, which has ever been the place where the oppressed would voice their objections and the persecuted would find their refuge. In that historic edifice the voice of the chief rabbi of Great Britain and the British dominions was heard in protest against what has transpired in Russia. All church organizations of England and all the representatives of English political life were present, and the Jewish chief rabbi, who was the only Jewish speaker at that meeting, expressed his indignation in words of such eloquence and in thoughts so lofty that all those who preceded or succeeded him as speakers at that meeting could only echo his sentiments and express their great thoughts on the subject with more emphasis perhaps on some features of religious persecution, but without detracting from the rabbi's remarks and without in any way modifying the tenor of his great utterances.

This meeting was held on December 19, last, and was presided over by Lord Glasgow, liberal statesman, who is the representative in England of all that is noble, all that is truthful, and all that is great; but Lord Glasgow was not the only member of that noted assemblage, there were besides him the Viscount Brentford; Father Aubert, the famous Genevan preacher; Lord Charnwood, the great philanthropist; Doctor Rushbrocke, the European representative of the American Baptist Church; and a good many others too numerous to be mentioned at this time. And in this assemblage, so noble and so notable for the quality of its members and the prominence of its speakers, the voice of the Jewish chief rabbi was heard, proclaiming as follows:

I have no doubt that the spokesmen of the churches will before long be joined by the great leaders of opinion outside the churches in this protest against religious persecution, because the spiritual tragedy that has brought us together to-night constitutes not merely a Christian question or a Jewish question—it is a human question. What is

trampled underfoot in Russia to-day is conscious religious liberty and everything that is most divine in the human spirit.

The confiscation of synagogues on the part of the local soviets continues throughout Russia. By unblushing defiance of immemorial right houses of worship are taken from the congregations and turned into communist clubs and workmen's dwellings. As late as September 26 last, only a few days before the Jewish high festivals, five synagogues were confiscated in the city of Homel alone. The worshipers were happy if they could find barns and stables in which to arrange services on those, the most solemn days of the Jewish year.

This confiscation of synagogues is accompanied by every conceivable molestation of religious life. The burial grounds have been taken away from the communities and placed under Soviet control. The rabbis, as are the priests of other denominations, are subjected to all sorts of indignities on the plea of their being counter-revolutionaries at heart; and Zionists are hounded with inhuman ferocity, on the plea that every Zionist is an agent of British imperialism. They are imprisoned or exiled to distant parts of Siberia, and many a one has been driven to suicide or insanity by sufferings that pass the point of human endurance.

Immeasurably more deadly to the cause of religion, however, than the closing of houses of worship or the degradation of priests or rabbis, is the proscription of religious teaching to the young. The Soviet commissars forbid all class instruction in religion, even after school hours, even outside the school premises, nay, even in the homes of the children. In many parts of Russia the commissars have declared that even two children constituted a class, subjecting their teacher to the dire penalties for imparting instruction in religion or Bible to children at school.

Even the teaching of the Hebrew language to Jewish children is strictly forbidden. Not so very long ago, two aged men, 71 and 73 years old, were sentenced to six months' hard labor for the heinous crime of teaching Jewish children their prayers; and 200 children were kept in prison for over a fortnight in Vinnitza, Podolia, because they refused to betray the names and whereabouts of their Hebrew masters.

Religious instruction has therefore to be given clandestinely underground, or in lofts, and at midnight, with both the teachers and the taught being haunted by spies and informers—all as in the days of the Inquisition.

What is to be done? I place little trust in denunciations and threats hurled against the Soviet rulers. Such threats and denunciations can only embarrass the few statesmen of Russia who have on occasion shown themselves uneasy over this bad business of religious persecution.

Not so in regard to the representations that we all hope will now be made by the British Government. Volcing, as these will do, the pained amazement and moral indignation of all friends of humanity, who have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, they may strengthen the hands of those Russian statesmen who see the folly of aggressive atheism. Meanwhile, it is our duty never to despair of the sanity of an entire people or to doubt the ultimate of triumph of right and humanity in God's universe.

And thus the meeting of the English notables expressed its opinion as to what the world thinks of Russian persecution of the churches.

Viscount Brentford, another speaker at the meeting, gave a series of other details as shocking as those presented by the chief rabbi. Said Viscount Brentford:

Have you heard of the archbishop who was buried alive after his eyes had been put out, of another bishop who was plunged into quicklime, of another archbishop who was hanged in front of his own altar, of three priests who were thought worthy to suffer the death that Christ suffered and were crucified, of another who was stripped naked and sprayed in a Russian winter with cold water until he was a frozen statue of ice?

Have you heard of the devilish ingenuity of which these men have been the victims? Have you heard of the Archimandrite, who, with his two sons, was taken out to be shot? While the execution of the sons was taking place this good man recited prayers for the dying. When his turn came, such was his reputation that the platoon of soldiers declined to fire. Another platoon was sent for, and they declined to fire. Then the commissar, the civil officer in charge, stepped up and murdered the victim himself.

But it is not merely about that I want to speak to you to-night. I wish to speak of the deliberate effort to destroy religion. They have tried persecution and terrorism, and now they are trying political action and education. Churches and synagogues have been confiscated and destroyed, some of them turned into clubs, theaters, and cinemas. Christian baptism is forbidden. Religious weddings are forbidden. Sunday no longer exists throughout that great country, and the cabinet has now entered upon a deliberate scheme to blot out the name of God.

Thereafter, after all the speakers had been heard and enthusiasm had been created against the constant encroachments of the Russian powers in the field of religion and liberty, a resolution was adopted by the meeting in the following words:

That this meeting of worshippers of Almighty God vehemently protests against the persistent and cruel persecution of our fellow worshippers in Russia, and especially against the suppression of religious instruction of the young, and calls upon all believers in God and lovers of liberty throughout the world to pray and work without ceasing for the complete religious freedom of the people of Russia.

That the British Government be urged to make the strongest possible representations to the Soviet Government to bring this persecution to an end.

That copies of this protest be forwarded to the heads of all civilized governments.

So much for the English meeting, to which I have devoted a considerable time of my remarks to-day; but England is not the only country of the world which has made its protest against this dastardly act of the soviets. America has spoken and spoken by the voice of the representatives of Jewish organizations who have convened in the Pennsylvania Hotel in the city of New York on December 8 last. I have once before referred to this conference of December 8, and since I was a member of this conference I am perhaps in a position to give this body a first-hand statement as to what this conference did with reference to Soviet Russia.

In my address to the House some weeks ago I have referred to the fact that Russia has not been recognized by the United States and that the country is on its probation and must demonstrate its good faith and intelligent government before it can expect to receive any recognition or sympathy or cooperation or help from this Government. I also pointed out that it was our money and our industrial genius which has helped

Russia, in spite of the fact that we have not seen fit to recognize the Soviet Government. We have helped Russia continually in money, by industrial organization, and by sending some of our best men to its relief. All of this was done because of the humanitarian impulse which permeates our people and which makes us at all times the exponent of all that is noble, generous, and helpful. We have forever and at all times helped the poor and downtrod. We have aided and assisted the fallen. We have given our time, our money, our genius, and our work unstintingly and without restraint to all worthy and noble causes. We have helped and aided. We have cooperated everywhere in the world in order to achieve greatness and stability of other peoples and other nationalities which without our help could never be. Russia is not an exception. We have not recognized the present rulers of Russia because they do not deserve recognition, but we have never in any way hurt the people of Russia; but, on the contrary, have given lavishly of our money and our industry to this unhappy country. We are always willing to aid, but we are not going to give our help where it is not going to result in real, honest, and intelligent cooperation with our aims and ideals.

In our Declaration of Independence we place our trust in the Almighty God, and though we have separated church and State and though we have provided in our Constitution that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification for public office and though we have elected to the Presidency of this country men of all religions we have not permitted divine worship in the United States to be ever obstructed or hindered. All of our Presidents call upon the people of this country annually, around Thanksgiving, to offer their thanks to the Almighty God. And though, as I said, we do not recognize any particular creed or religion we are all united in the belief that only through the help of the Almighty God can our Nation succeed and prosper.

The philosophy of the Soviet Government is diametrically opposed to ours. The soviets have set themselves the task of eradicating all vestige of religion from their precincts, and not only will the government itself propose no religion, but what is worse it will deliberately curtail the religious impulse of other people and will do all in its power to stifle religious feeling and pervert religious observance.

As I am delivering these remarks, my attention is called to a dispatch from Moscow by the Associated Press, describing how an old Russian monastery is blasted to make way for a soviet club and how 5,000 workers carry stones of one of the richest Moscow religious temples and throw them into the river.

The dispatch is as follows:

Moscow.—Simanov Monastery, which in former days was the most important and richest in Russia, was blown up with dynamite to-night to make room for a gigantic new Soviet Workers' Club and "cultural center." The monastery was founded nearly 600 years ago by St. Sergius.

Five thousand workers carried away the debris, each pledging himself to remove one stone and throw it into the Moscow River. This action followed the recent conversion by communists of the famous St. Isaac's Cathedral, Leningrad, into a huge antireligious museum.

The hundred-ton bells of the cathedral were so unwieldy that the authorities had to destroy them piecemeal in the belfries.

OTHER CHURCHES ABOLISHED

More than a score of other churches in Leningrad and Moscow now are in process of demolition and are being replaced by commercial buildings, schools, and workers' clubs. The bells are being turned back into copper, silver, and bronze for commercial use.

In one case a provincial church was turned into a circus and in Tiflis the proceeds from melted church bells were used to establish a menagerie.

THOUSANDS WITNESS DESTRUCTION

The scene around Simanov Monastery to-night, with its castellated walls and high-spired belfries, was a vivid one.

While workers placed sticks of dynamite under the monastery, thousands of persons gathered to witness the successive explosions and the toppling of the massive walls and 400-foot high belfry.

Here is another dispatch:

[New York World, January 31, 1930]

REDS SILENCE MOSCOW CHURCH BELLS THAT TOLLED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

Moscow.—Church bells will ring no more in or near Moscow, capital of Red Russia. The voice of the city's "forty times forty" churches, which for a thousand years have pealed out their call to worship and the tidings of birth, death, and marriage, have been forever silenced by a soviet order issued to-day.

The ban extends to all churches throughout the Moscow region, which includes several dozen smaller cities near by, in which there are hundreds of churches. Similar ordinances are already in effect in other soviet cities and may be adopted throughout Russia.

The Moscow Soviet explained that its order was adopted upon the "energetic urge of numerous social and labor organizations," whose members complained that the church bells disturbed their sleep and otherwise irked them.

In many cities the church bells will be removed from their belfries and remelted to supply commercial metal.

They will tell you if you are ever prejudiced and do not mind to listen to "bunk" that nowhere in the world is there so much personal liberty as in the land of the soviets and that in no other country is freedom of conscience so thoroughly predicated as in Soviet Russia. Now, as I said, it is not true, and is merely pure, unadulterated "bunk."

The only freedom that Russia recognizes is the freedom to agree with those in power and not the freedom to disagree with those in power.

I believe it was in our Supreme Court where Mr. Justice Holmes, our venerable senior judge of that court, said:

If we are to consider ourselves a liberal Nation, we must not only permit expressions which agree with the majority, but we must permit a minority to express opinions with which the majority does not agree.

This is exactly what we understand by freedom. It is easy enough to be with the majority and express views which the majority approves. Nobody will ever be in trouble for agreeing with the powers and their policy, but in our opinion freedom

consists in the permission given by the Government to disagree with those in power, and unless we recognize this kind of freedom, we are not cultured or progressive or liberty-loving.

Now, how does the Soviet Government regulate freedom of its people? By the act of January 23, 1918, all creeds and beliefs are given the same guaranties of freedom of conscience and are put under the same restrictions.

Article 2 of the soviet religious code states:

Within the confines of the Soviet Republics it is prohibited to issue any local laws or regulations restricting or limiting freedom of conscience, or establishing privileges for preferential rights of any kind based upon the religious confessions of the citizens.

Article 3 states:

Any citizen may profess any religion or none. All restriction of rights connected with the profession of any belief whatsoever, or with the nonprofession of any belief, are annulled.

Article 5 states:

A free performance of religious rights is guaranteed as long as it does not interfere with public order and is not accompanied by interference with the rights of citizens of the Soviet Republics. The local authorities possess the right in such cases to adopt all necessary measures to preserve public order and safety.

Article 9 states:

Instruction in religious doctrines is not permitted in any governmental or common schools, nor in private teaching institutions where general subjects are taught. Citizens may give or receive religious instruction in a private manner.

Article 10 states:

All ecclesiastical or religious associations are subject to the general regulation regarding private associations and unions and shall enjoy no privileges or subsidies, whether from the government or from local autonomous or self-governing institutions.

Article 11 states:

Compulsory demand of collections or dues for the support of ecclesiastical or religious associations, as well as measures of compulsion or punishment adopted by such associations in respect to their members, are not permitted.

Article 12 states:

No ecclesiastical or religious association has the right to possess property.

Article 13 states:

All properties of the existing ecclesiastical and religious associations in Russia are declared to form national wealth. Buildings and objects specifically appointed for purposes of worship shall be delivered, in accordance with the regulations of the local or central governmental authorities, to responsible religious associations for their use free of charge. (Only revenue-producing property was taken from the church.)

It is therefore obvious that while religion in an impersonal sense is not interfered with by legislation of the soviets, no religious organization can continue to function in the country.

But in addition to the general restrictions placed on religion in Russia, Jewish religion is even worse off than the religions of other creeds operating under the soviets. Peculiarly, because some of the early statesmen of the soviets were of Jewish extraction, they seemed to take a special pleasure in tormenting Jewish education and Jewish worship. The repression of all Jewish schools of learning and schools of religious instruction has been severe and may perhaps result in a fatal destruction of Judaism throughout Soviet Russia.

At the Pennsylvania Hotel a paper was read by Leo M. Glassman, who had spent 10 months in Soviet Russia and knows of his own personal observation the real conditions in that country. I shall now quote from his paper, as follows:

I have dwelt on these facts in order to show not only that the Jewish religion is situated worse than the other religions in Soviet Russia but also to show that the Soviet Government acts on motives of political expediency. If the Jewish leaders in America and elsewhere pursue the proper line of action, it is not impossible to suppose that the Soviet Government may decide to alter its policy toward its Jews on similar grounds of expediency.

Regarding the teaching of Hebrew, practically the same thing can be said as on the subject of religion. While the soviet laws permit the teaching of Hebrew in Chadorim, where there are no more than three pupils, provided that no general subjects are taught in the same school, and in Yeshivas, provided the students are over 18 years of age, the effect of these laws is largely nullified through the devious repressive activities of the Jewish communists.

That brings me to the Yevsektzia. If the Jewish religion and the instruction of Hebrew is now in a worse position than other religious groups in Soviet Russia, because of the chain of circumstances which I have briefly described, the Yevsektzia has aggravated the situation still further by its deliberately hostile, uncompromising attitude. This organization of Jewish renegades is headed by leaders most of whom were formerly Zionists and Nationalists. Merezhin, who is in charge of the Comzet, which conducts the colonization work, was formerly a Zionist; so was Rashkes, who heads the colonization work in Bira-Bidjan; Litwakov, editor of the Yevsek organ, Emses, was a radical Zionist; Tchemeriskl, one of the chief Yevsek spokesmen through press and platform, was one of the originators of the Zubatov movement. Like all renegades, they seek to be holier than the Pope, partly out of fear for their own position and partly to expiate their past "sins." They hate everything Jewish with a venomous hatred worthy of the Jacobins. They are, in fact, the Jewish Jacobins of the Bolshevist revolution. Nothing escapes their watchful eye—from colonization to religion, from Zionism to the Hebrew language. They deal with everything and they persecute everything in Jewish life; that is their specialty. Through their untiring efforts synagogues, chadorim, and yeshivas are being constantly closed, the teaching of Hebrew is forbidden, Zionists and chalutzin are rigorously persecuted, and, in general, the life of the Jews in Russia is made unbearable beyond human endurance.

During my stay in Russia I had ample opportunity to observe their work. I interviewed the leading Yevseks in Moscow, in Minsk, in the Ukraine, and Crimea; and then I compared their statements with the facts as I saw them with my own eyes. There is a method in the madness of the Yevseka; they work with the calculation and the

cunning of a Machiavelli. The whole thing is thoroughly systematized on the basis of stereotyped communist ideology.

With the utmost confidence they will tell you that there is no persecution or religion or of Zionism, that only counter-revolutionaries are persecuted, that the teaching of Hebrew is unhindered, that the Jewish youth is inculcated with the Communist idea solely through the peaceful methods of education, and not through intimidation or compulsion. That was what the Yevsek leader told me, from Pashkes and Tchemeriski and the editors of the Yevsek organs in Moscow and Minsk to the meanest little Yevseks in the Jewish colonies in the Ukraine and Crimea. That was the fiction for the consumption of naive and credulous foreigners. What are the actual facts? Here they are:

Being the Jewish counterpart of the Communist Party, the Yevsektzla has adopted for its work in the Jewish field methods similar to those employed by its parent organization in the wider field. The basic principle is spying and keeping the Jewish population in a state of constant intimidation. This is achieved through the system of arbkers and dorfkors, meaning arbeiterkorrespondenten and dorfkorrespondenten. Officially, these are factory and village correspondents who report to their local communist papers about the golugs-on in their place of work and in the community in general. Unofficially, these correspondents are virtually spies; that is, their rôle, whether they do it wittingly or unwittingly, as the case may be. Their business is to snoop around and ferret out every possible detail about the private life of everybody else. They are, to put it in one word, informers. If a Jewish worker goes to the Synagogue on Yom Kippur or Rosh Hashana he is sure to see himself denounced in the local paper as a counter-revolutionary and an enemy of the working class. If a Jewish communist has the Abrahamic rite performed on his offspring, the dorfkor and arbkor will not rest until that communist is expelled from the party, and, if possible, discharged from his work. The minute an arbkor or dorfkor discovers that a Jewish worker has been eating Matzoth on Passover the culprit is so blackened in the local paper that he thinks twice before he makes bold to eat the forbidden article the following Passover.

And frequently it is not only because he is concerned about himself and his position but also because of the inevitable consequences to his children that the Jewish worker surrenders to the whip of the Yevseks and abandons his traditional Jewish practices. The sins of the fathers are visited on the children and vice versa. You will get a clear picture of the Yevsek methods if I relate just two or three of the numerous cases which I investigated personally and substantiated.

In Moscow last April the Jewish Communists were engaged in feverish activities to break the spirit of the forthcoming Passover, by preaching against it in press and in school, by ridiculing the rabbis, denouncing the observance of the ancient Jewish practices as counter-revolutionary, and holding up to scorn those who surrender to "Jewish clericalism," as they put it. But the most effective methods were these: The Jewish children were given strict orders to appear in school as usual on the Passover days, and the Jewish employees in all government offices, bureaus, and factories were told to come to work under penalty of losing their positions. I had these reports from many sources, but the most conclusive proof was furnished me by a Jewish employee in the Soviet State Bank in Moscow. The same instructions held good for all clerks and employees who were discovered eating matzoth. And these threats were not merely scraps of paper. If the

Jewish worker or clerk who dares to stay out on a Jewish holiday is not discharged immediately he is cleared out when the periodical "chistka" comes around. The "chistka" is the housecleaning which takes place every few months in all soviet institutions. Its ostensible purpose is to rid the soviet bureaus of undesirable elements, such as the inefficient, obstructionists, etc. In reality, these undesirable elements in their vast majority remain, while the more decent elements who can not bribe, scheme, and conspire against their fellowmen are expelled, usually on the flimsiest and most ridiculous charges, among which are: Observing the Jewish rituals, eating matzoth, etc.

On April 18, which was just about a week prior to Passover, I left Moscow on my way south to visit the Jewish colonies in the Ukraine and Crimea. En route I stopped in a number of cities, and everywhere they are employing the same methods to keep the Jewish population from observing Passover. But in some instances the Jewish Communists surpassed themselves in sheer brutality. Thus, in Kiev the Jewish children were told that failure to appear in school on Passover would mean immediate expulsion; moreover, they were instructed not to appear in school in their new clothes. But the outstanding example that impressed itself on my mind more than any other was in Kherson, which, as you know probably, is a few hours' distance by boat from Odessa. Here Bolshevnik cruelty was brought down to its finest point; the Jewish children were told that if they stayed out on Passover their ration cards for bread would be taken away from them! I leave it to your own imagination to visualize this. Had I not been in Soviet Russia and investigated this personally, I would have refused to believe that such inhumanity was possible. Nor are those isolated cases. Similar reports came to me from many other cities, but I am only citing what I saw and substantiated.

But what is perhaps still worse than these ruthless methods of compulsion, which often have the opposite effect, is the moral wall which the Yevseks, following the general pattern in the soviet schools, are building up between the children and parents. In the Yiddish schools in White Russia and in the Ukraine, the teachers strive to inculcate the children with a spirit of contempt for everything that is held sacred by their parents. They are not content with teaching the children the materialistic doctrine; they engage in active propaganda against religion; they are not content with explaining to the children the Darwinian theory of evolution, to which there could hardly be any objection; they go further; they tell the children that anyone who believes in religion is a benighted fool, an enemy of the working class, and a counter-revolutionary. Before the arrival of a holiday, cartoons are brought to the schools depicting rabbis and Jews of the bourgeois type, generally in the most ludicrous poses, as exploiters of the worker, over whom they are shown standing with gloating, sadistic eyes and fingers dripping with the blood of their proletarian victim.

Simultaneously speeches saturated with venomous sarcasm are delivered. I saw such cartoons when I was in Kherson. The effect of this procedure on the impressionable minds of the children can easily be imagined; that many of them are influenced is not to be wondered at. Jewish parents complained to me, with tears in their eyes, that this was the most tragic thing in their lives. Some of the children, falling under the spell of this so-called educational method, become enemies of their own fathers and mothers. There are instances where youngsters come home and ask their parents whether they are counter-revolutionaries and exploiters of the poor workers.

This form of antireligious propaganda in the Soviet schools, formerly of a sporadic nature, has become an active drive as a result of a new decree issued last March, instructing all Soviet teachers that the policy of neutrality practiced hitherto in the schools in the matter of religion was to be replaced by energetic antireligious activity.

Now, I am going to say a few words on the subject of Zionism. While there is nothing in the Soviet laws regarding Zionism, there seems to be an unwritten law on the matter which is just as effective as any written law could be. Zionism is regarded by the Bolshevik leaders, and, of course, by the Yevseks, as a distinctly counterrevolutionary movement, and hence it is rigorously suppressed. So far as I could see, it has been completely uprooted and exterminated. The leading Russian Zionists have been either hounded out of the country or exiled; their followers have been so effectively cowed that they dare not lift their voice, let alone engage in any Zionist activities. Even the extreme left wing of the Poale Zion Organization, which was definitely pro-Soviet and had made heroic sacrifices in the cause of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and 1918, has been liquidated. The suppression of this organization occurred three days before my arrival in Moscow in August, 1928. I succeeded in arranging a secret meeting with one of the leaders of the Left Poale Zion and he showed me a copy of the protest which had been drawn up by himself and several others against the arbitrary, unjustifiable action of the Gepeu. This protest was forwarded to the heads of the Soviet Government. Soon after that my informant was exiled to Siberia, and, so far as I know, he is still there.

So much for Mr. Glassman's report. Again we have a detailed statement from an eyewitness showing how far the Soviets have gone in their attempt to exterminate Jewish religion and instruction.

There can be no stronger expression of condemnation uttered by civilized man than that contained in the resolution adopted at Albert Hall, which I have discussed before.

I shall therefore wind up my remarks with the words of protest expressed by Lord Charnwood, who was the chairman of that meeting and who has truly epitomized all that we feel on the subject. Lord Charnwood said:

This is a cause in which true English men and women are at one. It is not a political question. Whether our contact with Russia should be through an ambassador or not is to us a minor point on which we might differ.

It is nothing to us here whether or not the Russian Government tries to run trade on communistic principles. To-night we are not even concerned about our own country and its institutions or about the British Empire, that great agent of civilization for which I for one deeply care.

Poverty, hunger, prison, torture, death—these things have been faced by those in Russia. First and foremost to-night we pay homage to the men, women, and children who face these things. The first point I wish to make is that some people in England have found comfort in the idea that there is now a cessation of persecution. What is happening really is that a more perfect engine of repression has been set up this year. It is true that under strict conditions and at heavy cost some Christians or Jews in Russia may meet in church or synagogue to pray, but worship does not end in prayer. Let any of them, in the name of God, feed the hungry, comfort the sick, teach the ignorant,

or help neighboring congregations; then it is that the hand of the law grips them, and it is not a gentle thing.

Here are two sentences from the Russian minister of education: "Christians teach love and compassion, which is contrary to our convictions," and "Down with 'love our neighbors'." That is the spirit in which this mighty engine of the law is being and will be administered.

I happen to be a convinced churchman. But there are Christian people who have no creed and church but who, in doubt, would still seek the truth. Let them understand this fact: That seeking the truth is just what men may not do in Russia.

Let some teacher in Russia, however irreligious he may have been, bring to question in the strictest spirit of science whether the tenets of materialism have indeed been proved. He, too, by whatever name he calls it, will have to bear Christ's cross. That is the scope of the Russian law.

Lastly, what can we do? For one thing, we can learn how things go in Russia and make the exact proved facts widely known in England, the Dominions, India, America, Europe.

And yet if our prayers and our sympathy were all, do you imagine that these mean anything to the multitudes of Russians who will get to know of them and who are suffering to-day for God or truth?

Do you imagine that it would have done no hurt to their hearts if the movement to hold this meeting of protest had been damped out by the prudent calculations of some? If you do, you are much mistaken.

To them we offer the poor tribute of our love and our reverent admiration.

[Applause.]

98031—6072

March 13, 1960.

Hon. Samuel Dickstein,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

I have just received a copy of the address delivered by you in the House of Representatives on February 11, 1960, entitled "An Indictment Against the Russian Government - Not Her People". I shall indeed read this speech with keen interest for it is a subject in which I have long been interested.

Allow me to express to you my appreciation of your kindness in sending it to me.

With expressions of my best regards,
I remain

Sincerely yours,

see 61-23-244

2

62-26015-X
~~62-23131~~

RECORDED - INDEXED

JER:MO'D

October 7, 1931.

Hon. Samuel Dickstein,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

62- u

My dear Congressman:

When I returned to my office my Secretary told me of your call and I was sorry that I was not in to see you. I do not blame you for endeavoring to leave Washington quickly for the weather here is far from enjoyable. I hope the next time that you are in the building and call at my office that I will be more fortunate and will be in.

With expressions of my best regards and highest personal esteem, I remain

Cordially yours,

Director.

NH
IV

RECORDED
&
INDEXED

62-26015-1
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 8 1931

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
MAILED
OCT 8 1931
A.M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE



CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

SAMUEL DICKSTEIN
12TH DIST. NEW YORK

October 12th 1931.

62-26015

RECORDED

62-26015-2	
OCT 15 1931	
Div. One	FILE

John Edgar Hoover Esq.,
U.S. Department of Justice,
Bureau of Investigation,
Washington, D.C.

OCT 15 1931

My dear Mr. Hoover:

Your kind letter of October 7th received.

I just happened to be in attendance at a conference when I found I had a little time to drop in and say hello. It was purely a social call.

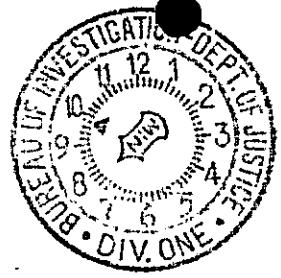
I am glad to hear that you are alright, and no doubt I will see you very soon.

With kindest personal regards, I beg to remain,

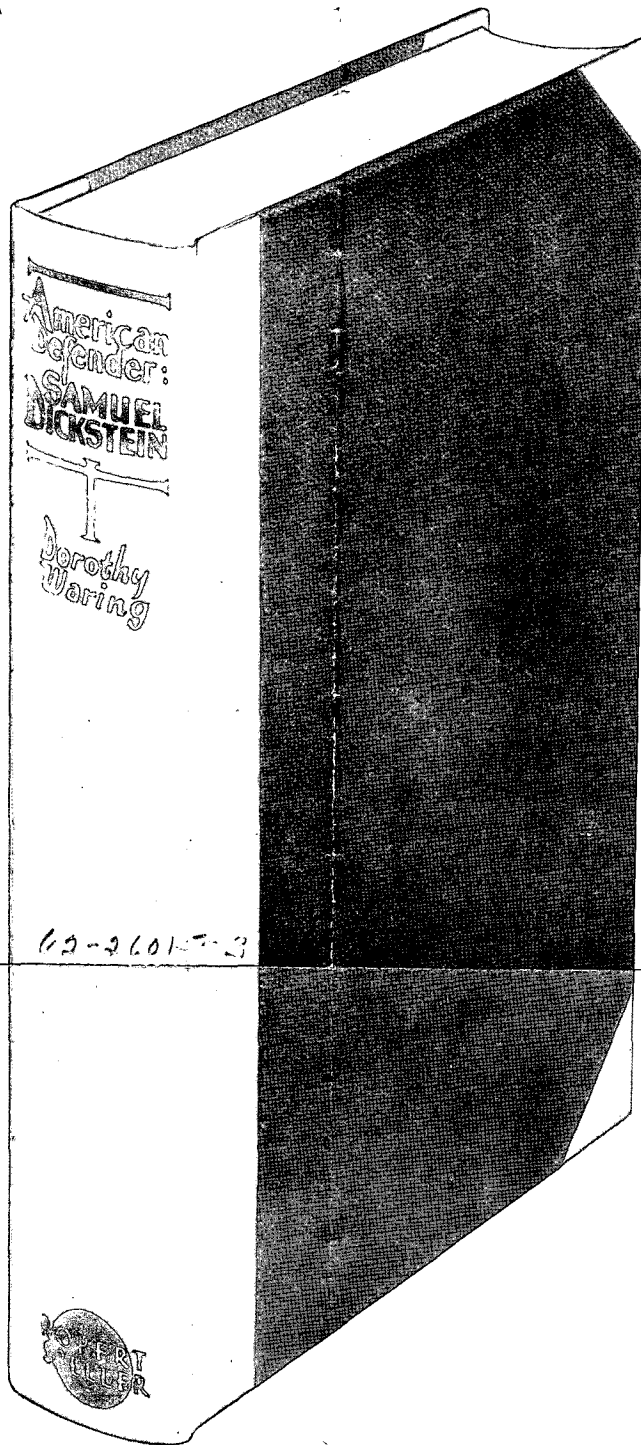
Very sincerely yours,
Samuel Dickstein

File
[Signature]

RECEIVED



OCT 13 1931 AM



AMERICAN DEFENDER is bound in three-quarter parchment vellum, stamped in genuine gold, and has cover sides of blue Corcoran linen. It is printed in Baskerville on Melrose Book paper. It contains 320 pages, with title page in two colors, and 32 photographs; top stained blue, with blue end-papers, wrapped in cellophane and boxed in blue-gray slip-cases.

Designed by Edward M. Henderson and manufactured at Cornwall Press.

Each copy is numbered and signed by the Author and autographed by Congressman Samuel Dickstein. The price is Ten Dollars.

AMERICAN DEFENDER: SAMUEL DICKSTEIN

The Fates patterned the life of Samuel Dickstein after a Horatio Alger hero. AMERICAN DEFENDER, the biography of New York's energetic Congressman, vividly relates the success story of the former newsboy, and his climb up Capitol Hill to the House of Representatives. Protege of astute politicians, keen himself by heritage, Dickstein has there become a spokesman in the public weal.

Interwoven with the threads of Dickstein's history are other stories—the growth of twentieth century Americanism, the battle to keep America safe for Americans, the intricacies of modern politics—throughout Samuel Dickstein is the bobbin weaving and these threads form the story of AMERICAN DEFENDER.

Dorothy Waring, newspaper correspondent and contributor to magazines, editor and secret agent, has written a book which might well be placed beside Jacob Riis' *Making of an American*.

AMERICAN DEFENDER is bound in three-quarter parchment vellum, stamped in genuine gold, and has cover sides of blue Corcoran linen. It is printed in Baskerville on Mellow Book paper. It contains 320 pages, with title page in two colors, and 32 photographs; top stained blue, with blue end-papers, wrapped in cellophane and boxed in blue-gray slip-cases.

Published by R

