

**Soviet Writings on Jewish Press Freedom:
A Descriptive Bibliography**

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SST page numbering is included here.

[SST, p. 201]

There is a sizable Soviet literature, much of it translated into English, concerning the Soviet Jewish population. It flows largely from several institutes (state and law, oriental, philosophy, history, Asia and Africa) within the Soviet Academy of Sciences. As reflected in this literature, the Soviets believe their treatment of Soviet Jews, and more particularly, of Jewish press freedom, is reasoned, principled and in good faith. The basis of this belief is their approach to several issues: rights theory, nationality rights, censorship and Zionism. This essay summarizes Soviet thought on these issues, as revealed in their writings.

RIGHTS THEORY

A foundation on which the Soviets base their approach to Jewish press freedom is their philosophy of rights. The definition, nature and history of 'right' as a philosophic and juridical-legislative concept and reality is treated by Alexandrov [5], Bessonov [33], Chkhikvadze [47] [48], Kulcsar [116], Mamut [142], Piotkovski [171], Rakhunov [177], Spasov [206], Szabo [210] and Tumanov [219] [220].

In their analysis, each historical stage (slave, feudal, capitalist, socialist, Communist) brings progressively increased rights for the majority. The development of rights, the changes in their class essence, reflect humanity's evolution from complete lack of rights, to rights for the few and eventually to full rights for all in the future Communist society. There are slaveholding, feudal, capitalist and socialist types of rights. In the capitalist era, the Jewish emancipation movement (equal rights for Jews) wins significant victories and is supported by the democratic ideals of the Enlightenment.

Those who concentrate on socialist era rights are: Barmenkov [25], Bezuglov [34], Fedoseev [64] [65], Gureev [79], Krutogolov [112], Kudryavtsev [115], Petzold [169], Sobolev [202], Tikhomirov [214], Vyshinsky [226]; and non-Soviets: Aptheker [17], Gollan [76], Morris [160] and Szymanski [211]. Socialism ends the capitalist relations of production and establishes social ownership of the means of production. The broad self-activity of working people in the socialist stage requires and is reinforced juridically in a corresponding set of rights which are the basis for socialist democracy and legality.

[SST, p. 202]

The Soviets see their socialist era rights theory as being in close affinity with the US enlightenment and revolutionary natural law teaching on the inalienable right of Jews to press freedom, but differs in deriving the right not from a person's 'natural nature', but from a person's social nature (place in the process of production). In this, the Soviets reject the legal positivist notion that press freedom does not exist apart from legislation. The natural law tradition goes beyond the positivist's pale theoretical abstraction in the formulating of right. For them, the positivist's formulation is not justified on either the political or the practical plane. It does not explain why a bloody class struggle has been waged throughout human history for rights and their reinforcement in legislation. Jawitsch [92] summarizes:

Marx showed that citizenship and the rights of citizens were only an allegory of real humans and of their real rights of a social quality, a result of the development in recent centuries of the political state, and of its legal relations with its subjects. The rights of humans are linked with the social and economic conditions of human lives, while the rights of citizens reflect their status in a politically organized society, have a formal juridical character, and cover actual inequality by equality of rights. Engels wrote that thousands of years had to pass before that original conception of relative equality could lead to the conclusion that humans should have equal rights in the state and in society, and the freedom and equality dictated by the character of social relations could be proclaimed human rights (p. 173).

The Soviets also see as valuable John Stuart Mill's utilitarian emphasis on the right of press freedom for the Jews. The utilitarian reformist demands, being anti-feudal, were generally progressive in the era of competitive capitalism. The notion of utility and usefulness, especially social usefulness, is an important norm in the process of establishing rights. Nevertheless, utilitarianism in the Soviet view, had class limitations and was a retreat from the Enlightenment. It substituted an individualistic view of rights (the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers) for the Enlightenment goal (the rational, harmonious union between personal: and social rights and interests). To the socialists who sought to make the state work for their benefit, Mill counterposed 'liberty' and individual rights -- meaning limitations of state power in dealing with the conditions of labor, with ownership of the means of production and with the press.

[SST, p. 203]

There have been elements, especially in the early years, who downplayed rights theory. Goikhbarg [74], Pashukanis [166], Rubinshtein [184] and Uspenski [224] wrote that the right of press freedom and individual rights ideology in general, had blinded workers from identifying with their class and from seeking to triumph via class struggle. In their thinking individual rights ideology had been used to cover over exploitation of workers. Big capital talked hypocritically of the sacredness and inviolability of press freedom. Deliberate silence was maintained on the fact that the goal of capitalist

production was not satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of humans, but extraction of profit.

Both Marx and Lenin also commented on the shortcomings of 'equal' right notions. Marx [149] wrote:

But these defects (bourgeois rights) are inevitable in the first phase of communist society as it is when it has just emerged after prolonged birth pangs from capitalist society. Right can never be higher than the economic structures of society and the cultural development thereby determined.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under division of labor has vanished; after labor, from a mere means of life, has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly - only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his need! (p. 10).

Similarly, Lenin [126] commented:

Equal right is still a "bourgeois right", which, like every right, presupposes inequality. Every right is an application of an equal measure to different people who in fact are not alike (in the first phase of socialism) right continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labor among the members of society. The socialist principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat", is already realized. The other socialist principle: "An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labor", is also already realized. But this is not yet communism, and it does not yet abolish "bourgeois right". This is a "defect", says Marx, but it is unavoidable in the first phase of communism, for if we are not to indulge in utopianism, we must not think that having overthrown capitalism, people will at once learn to work for society without any standard of right; and indeed the abolition of capitalism does not immediately create the economic premises for such a change. And there is no other standard than that of "bourgeois right" (p. 147).

[SST, p. 204]

NATIONALITY RIGHTS

Throughout Soviet history, the discussion of Jewish press freedom has gone on within the context of nationality rights. While Soviet Jewish citizens have the constitutional rights guaranteed all citizens, the nationalities policy mandates cultural and national rights specifically impacting Jews as Jews.

Those who write on nationality rights and their history include: Anashkin [9] [10], Bagramov [26], Bergelson [30], Butenko [42], Cherenko [46], Fedoseev [63], Gafurov [69], Georgadze [70], Grigulevich [80], Isaev [90], Junusov [95], Kapelush [97], Kartashkin [101], Kim [105], Kozlov [111], Lenin [125], Pavlov [168], Rabinovitch [176], Saifulin [188], Semyonov [191], Shevtsov [196] [197], Sobolev [203], Stalin [207], Terebilov [213], Topornin [216], Tuzmukhamedov [221], Ulyanovsky [223], Yegorov [234], Zenushkina [236], Zivs [238] ; and the non-Soviets: Abramsky [2], Gilboa [71], Kochan [107], Koppel [108], Lumer [134], Mandel [144 148], Mendelsohn [152], Milman [155], Nedava [161], Olgin [164], Pinkus [170], Rothenberg [181] [182], Schulman [190] and Wildman [231].

Soviet nationality policy views cultural and national rights from a class, historical and international perspective. The internationalization of life is seen as an objective process that began under capitalism. The functioning of commodity production demanded the amalgamation of the smaller feudal communities and led to the emergence of nations and nation states. Economic interdependence did not stop at national boundaries. The development of capitalism led to the rise of a world economy, marked by growing intercourse and interdependence between nations. This brought with it the progressive breaking down of national barriers and national exclusiveness.

Lenin called the tendency of nation building and that of internationalization of economic, political and scientific life a dialectical unity of opposites, with the tendency toward assimilation and internationalism representing progress and the future. The Soviets hold that they do not seek to speed up or slow down national culture. The anachronistic and obsolete is discarded while the valuable is preserved and enriched by the best from other cultures.

From a class perspective the basic concern of workers is not preservation of national distinctions but the drawing together of workers of all nationalities and the creating of an international culture of the working-class movement which brings together what is progressive and democratic in each national culture. This does not mean obliterating national consciousness and national pride, but developing mutual respect and friendship and a growing intermingling of cultures. Lenin [122] summarized:

[SST, p. 205]

As long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries - and these will continue to exist for a long time to come, even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a world-wide scale - the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands, not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions (which is a pipe dream at present), but the application of the fundamental principles of communism (soviet power and the dictatorship of the proletariat), which

correctly modify these principles in certain particulars, correctly adapt and apply them to national and nation-state distinctions (Vol. 31, p. 32).

This is a dialectical approach and occurs with the full development of national culture under socialism.

In the Tsarist era, there was repression of Ukrainians, White Russians, Tartars, Turkmenians, Georgians, Armenians, etc. The Jews received especially harsh treatment. All but 6% lived in provinces along the Western and Southern borders, in what was called the pale of settlement, a restricted, ghetto-like area. They were not allowed to acquire land and work it. Their urban occupations were restricted. The towns and villages of the Ukraine and White Russia were filled with poor Jews - shoemakers, carpenters, tailors. They conducted religious schools for boys and institutions of higher Talmudic learning. There were numeric and economic restrictions on the admission of Jews to state secondary and higher education, to employment at factories, offices and the professions.

The ideology of chauvinism and racism was used to maximize profits by pitting cultures and nationalities against each other. Tsarist media, schools and churches incited hatred and pogroms against Jews to divert the hatred of workers from itself. Lenin [124] summarized:

The landowners and capitalists tried to divert the hatred of the workers and peasants who were tortured by want against the Jews. In other countries, too, we often see the capitalists fomenting hatred against the Jews in order to blind the workers, to divert their attention from the real enemy of the working people, capital. . . This is a survival of ancient feudal times, when the priests burned heretics at the stakes, when the peasants lived in slavery, and when the people were crushed and inarticulate. This ancient, feudal ignorance is passing away. The eyes of the people are being opened (p. 135).

[SST, p. 206]

The Soviet nationalities policy was developed by the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks) in the first part of the 20th century. In 1914 Lenin authored a bill for the Party in the Fourth Duma entitled 'A Bill for the Abolition of All Disabilities of the Jews and of all Restrictions on the Grounds of Origin or Nationality'. The 'April Theses' (April 1917) declared the right of national self-determination. On the heels of the October Revolution came the Declaration of the Rights of the Nationalities of Russia (November 15, 1917) which proclaimed the equality, sovereignty and right of self-determination of all nations of Russia and called for the abolition of all national privilege and discrimination.

In the Soviet view, rights and duties stemming from the nationalities policy and incorporated in Soviet law start with the right to economic equality. This is the basis of all else. At the national level economic equality and freedom from national oppression

meant the right of self-determination, including the right to secede and form a separate state. After a period of independence starting in 1917, most formerly Tsarist-controlled nations, but not all (Finland, Lithuania) formed a union of socialist states in 1922. Their decision, like that of the 13 US states in 1789, was based on the desire of the various nation states to promote economic development. They also wished to protect themselves militarily from being absorbed into the neighboring states (Poland conquered part of the Ukraine in 1920) and because of the internationalist ideology that dominated the Soviet revolution in each state.

For nationality groups such as the Jews living within the territory of other nations, economic equality meant the attainment of consistent democracy and of an end to privileges for the dominant nationality. It meant giving Jews a separate area where they could establish their own nation. The nationalities policy included the right to education. Prior to the revolution 80 percent illiteracy restricted the right to read and write, more than had Tsarist censorship.

The nationalities policy established the right to have schools, government, administration and media in the various national languages. Prior to the revolution forty nationalities did not have a written language and the more than 90 that did were subjected to Russian chauvinism. Under the nationalities policy some 90 percent of the 130 nationalities in the multinational Soviet State use their native language in daily life. Better than half also know Russian, because most works of world culture are translated primarily into Russian.

[SST, p. 207]

In the Soviet view, the October Revolution and the nationalities policy, in ending the class roots of racism and chauvinism, took away the impediments to the full development of national culture. Jewish culture flourished in the years following the revolution. Schools, newspapers, magazines, books and theatres in the Yiddish language multiplied. A farming area in the Khabarovsk Territory (eastern Siberia) was established by law in 1928 as a Jewish home land (Jewish Autonomous Region) with Birobidjan its capital. In size it is 36,000 square kilometers (the size of Belgium and Holland combined). During 1928-1929 some 12,000 Jews and their families that wanted to establish a community of their own moved there. Kostikov [110] notes:

Twenty years before the state of Israel came into existence, Jews in the USSR had 36,000 square kilometers of rich, fertile land in the Soviet Far East to settle as a national home, two times as large as Israel (p. 11).

They established via the ballot a Jewish legislature (soviet), courts, militia and regularly sent their representatives to the Union Soviet. Their electoral process differs from US practice, but in the Soviet view, it is no less representative and democratic. Szymanski [212] writes:

It should be pointed out that Soviet elections and legislative bodies are not the farce that they are portrayed in the West to be. The Soviet practice of one candidate per office, with the electorate voting yes or no, is preceded by a long process of narrowing down a long list of nominees from various organizations and individuals to a single candidate that is likely to get a majority of yes votes. In the event a candidate fails to get a majority approval at the final stage of the election process, a new candidate must be selected after another long nomination process. In 1969, it should be noted that there were rejections of candidates at the final stage of 145 local Soviet elections (p. 78).

Yiddish language culture includes the monthly literary magazine, *Sovetish Heimland*, with a circulation of 25,000 and 150 active contributors (writers, poets, publicists), many of whom are members of the Soviet Writers Union. The best of their creative works are translated and reprinted in the languages of many of the Soviet republics. Their work is treasured as an organic part of the multinational Soviet literature. The Birobidjan regional publishing house annually brings out new Yiddish language titles. There are a number of Yiddish language theatrical groups, Yiddish music concerts and the newspaper *Birobidjaner Shtern*, which appears four times a week. For the ten percent of the Jewish population that is religious, there are some 100 synagogues through-out the country and a seminary for training rabbis.

[SST, p. 208]

From the perspective of 65 years, Soviet writers see the trend toward internationalism as having dominated the national trend. The main result of Jewish liberation has been the rapid development of the process of assimilation. Freed from confinement to the poverty-stricken ghetto villages, they poured into the large cities where they found employment in industry and other occupations. By 1926 half the Jews were working in state enterprises. No longer excluded from Russian schools, they made good use of them as the gateway to the learned professions and abandoned the Yiddish language schools. They became the second most numerous nationality in Moscow and Leningrad, where there were favorable opportunities for getting higher education and for active participation in the administrative and cultural life of the country. The youth turned more to reading Russian newspapers, periodicals and books. The works of the Yiddish classicists Sholem Aleichem, Isaac L. Peretz and Mendele Mocher Sform are now published in voluminous editions in Russian and other languages. The same is true of other leading Jewish novelists and poets.

This process was disturbed for a time by the inclusion of many leading Jewish cultural figures among the victims of the Stalin regime's crimes and by the regime's arbitrary closing down of Jewish cultural institutions, although they had originally been founded and had flourished under the same regime. Nevertheless, the main trend has been toward internationalization, toward the large cities and not toward Birobidjan. Similarly in the West, as is often noted by the Soviets, the great majority of Jews do not choose to immigrate to Israel. Only 10,000 of America's six million have emigrated.

In 1926, 72 percent of Jews considered Yiddish their native language. Now the figure is 14 percent (the same figure as in the 1971 Canadian census) with 25 percent considering it their second language. The Jewish population is falling (2.3 million in 1959, 1.8 million in 1979), mainly due to mixed marriages, which run from 25 to 70 percent, depending on the area. Marriage statistics are similar in the West. Some 300,000 children of mixed marriages have chosen the nationality of their non-Jewish parent. More recently, emigration has contributed to the population decline. The demand for Yiddish language cultural institutions has dwindled.

As Soviet historians record, Jews were leaders in the October revolution and became an integral part of the new historical community. They included Trotsky, Sverdlov (the first president of Soviet Russia, after whom the large industrial city of Sverdlovsk is named), Kamenev and Zinoviev. The proportion of Soviet Jews among the country's scientists, journalists, professional and cultural workers is far greater than any other sector of the Soviet population. They are now half of one percent of the population (16th in size among some 130 nationalities), but make up 7-10 percent of the science and teaching professions, while Russians make up 59 percent and Ukrainians 15 percent. Thousands of Jews are elected to serve on Soviet bodies at various ranks. They are to be found in the top ranks of army personnel and of the Communist Party. In World War II there were 42 Jewish generals and two admirals in the Soviet armed forces. Ainsztein [4], Levy [131] and Porter [173] give the history of those who, from the highest ranking generals to rank and file soldiers and sailors, gave their lives in World War II. Hundreds have been honored with the highest awards of the Soviet Union.

[SST, p. 209]

During the drafting of the 1977 Constitution, which updated and replaced the 1936 Constitution, there was internationalist sentiment for the abolition of the Soviet of Nationalities and the setting up of a unicameral Soviet. The majority, however, rejected this change. Similarly they rejected a move to change the balance between the sovereign rights of the union as a whole and its constituent national republics in favor of greater unity. Many nationalities, more numerous and geographically concentrated than the Jews, are slower in assimilating. While the trend is toward internationalization, it was felt that national rights (Soviet of Nationalities) continue to play a positive role. Abolition would be premature. The goal of the internationalists, however, was recognized. The Constitution makes reference to "developing and drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the USSR" (Article 19).

CENSORSHIP

The right of Jewish press freedom within the context of the nationalities policy, like all rights, is viewed by the Soviets from a class partisan perspective. Those who publish in this area are: Adamishin [3], Ancsel [11], Boretski [35], Bruun [38], Chekharin [45], Collective Authorship [50], Editors of *Kommunist* [60], Haskovec [82], Ioffe [89], Karpushin [99], Kudryavtsev [113], [114], Kurylev [118], Lapin [121], Lenin [123],

Lunacharski [137], Magerovski [138], Medvedev [151], Pankratov [165], Patyulin [167], Rodinov [179], Savitsky [189], Shishkin [199], Sofinsky [204], Sokolov [205], Szabo [209], Tsukasov [218], Yampolskaya [233], Yudin [235], Zhogin [237]; and the non-Soviets, Aptheker [13], Buzek [43], Caudwell [44], Collective Authorship [53], Finklestein [66], Gorokhoff [77], Greenbaum [78], Hollander [86], Hopkins [88], Johnstone [94], Levitsky [129], [130], Loeber [132], Shmeruk [200] and Walker [228].

[SST, p. 210]

For the Soviets the right of press freedom has an important role and a militant character in building Soviet society. The earliest Soviet laws guaranteed the proletarian press as a right of the working-class dictatorship. In the pre-1936 era members of the capitalist and landowner class had only limited press rights. As summarized by Hoffman [84], the over-riding right was that of socialism to survive, the right of the majority to govern themselves, which was threatened by the still existing counter-revolutionary class:

In the socialist era the state with its inequality, political domination and subordination and classes remains and only gradually withers away. There is restriction of freedom in all class societies, which are dictatorships of one sort or another. The question is, given the specific stage of development a socialist society is at, are the restrictions politically justified. This is a concrete question which cannot be solved by vague appeals to democracy in the abstract. A socialist country can be too severe or too lax, but to criticize it for having restrictions at all is Utopian (p. 224).

Just three days (October 28, 1917) after taking power, the Council of People's Commissars issued a decree permitting suppression of monarchist newspapers that advocated illegal acts or foreign military intervention against the Soviet government. The decree reads:

It is common knowledge that the bourgeois press is one of the most powerful weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Especially at this critical moment, when the new government of workers and peasants is consolidating its power, it is impossible to leave this weapon wholly in the hands of the enemy, because at the present time it is no less dangerous than bombs and machine-guns. For this reason, we have taken these temporary and extraordinary measures for the suppression of torrents of filth and slander in which the yellow and green press would gladly drown the young victory of the people.

Limitations were put on the ability of the monarchist press to propagandize for bourgeois trusts, cartels, syndicates and monopolies and to oppose trade unions, limitations on working time and abolition of child labor. Legislation required all

newspapers to publish the decrees and orders of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars. The economic base of the capitalist press was eroded with the 'Decree on the Introduction of the State Monopoly of Advertisements' (November 8, 1917). This prohibited the acceptance of payment for printing advertisements. The decree of the Central Executive Committee on state publishing led to the establishment of major state publishing houses. Because of inability to compete, almost all the 3000 private publishers had by 1930 merged with other private firms into large co-operatives that still exist.

[SST, p. 211]

In the Soviet view, by the time the 1936 Constitution was drafted, a socialist economy had been constructed. There was full development of the peasant in socialism, the threat of counter-revolution by the former capitalist class no longer existed and the only dominant classes (worker and peasant) had an increasingly non-antagonistic relationship. Reflecting this, the proletarian dictatorship ideology was replaced by the notion of a Soviet state of the whole people. Full voting rights were restored to former members of the capitalist class.

While the crimes associated with the Stalin regime and the fight against Nazism delayed it, the severity of punishment for ideological crimes steadily attenuated as the strength of ideological subversion decreased. From the start it was recognized that press restrictions both helped and hurt -- hurt because they hindered self-criticism. The young Marx wrote of Prussian censorship: "There is a basic defect in the nature of censorship which no law can remedy". For Lenin the objective need for free press rights was rooted in the prevailing system of relations of production. He stated that it was more valuable for the Communist Party and the Soviet state to discover and remedy its shortcomings than to worry about maintaining appearances in the face of malicious bourgeois propaganda.

In the Soviet view the constitutional guarantee of free press does not lead to the publication of partisan capitalist material. All socialist constitutions (Art. 50 in the 1977 Soviet Constitution) mandate the duty to use the press in the interest of the people and to strengthen the socialist system. The principles of closeness to the people (*narodnost**) and party spirit (*partijnost'*) are fundamental to every area of life, not just press freedom. Socialist society has the right to intervene in the process of development of science and culture and to draw the attention of scientists and scholars to erroneous tendencies, departures from fundamental class positions and ineffective abstract theorizing. A function of socialist rights is that of teaching morality. Soviet journalists must express the interests of the forces that are the vehicles of social progress. The party is seen as a leader in seeking to have society conform to the objectively progressive nature of history. In this sense, the party is viewed as a representative of historical truth.

[SST, p. 212]

The majority of workers, farmers, scientists and military advocate socialist ideals. As the Soviet émigré Yuri Demin [59] put it:

The Soviet people have faith in the Soviet regime. They believe in the Soviet idea of equality and brotherhood, in all the slogans dating back to the French revolution and displayed all over the country as part of the regime's propaganda (p. 22).

The 233 major Soviet publishing houses, the 4000 smaller publishing concerns, the 6000 periodicals, the 300 newspapers, the radio, television and cinema are socialist. Anti-socialist material, the proponents of which are self-admittedly minuscule in number, is not accepted for publication. However, critical material emanating from all sectors of society which seeks to improve and build socialism flourishes. Szymanski [212] summarizes:

Authentic workers' democracy implies a real opportunity for conflicting ideas to confront one another so that working class interests can be correctly formulated. Public debate on most of the issues confronting society occurs on a far vaster scale than in the US, contrary to Western prejudices. The Soviet press is full of debates on a wide range of issues: literary policy, economic and legal reforms, city planning, crime, pollution, farm problems, the role of the press, women's role in the economy, access to higher education, etc. The only issues that are more or less immune from open debate and concerted criticism are the basic institutions of Soviet society (e.g. the leading role of the Communist Party, the existence of the military, the desirability of socialism) and the persons (but not the policies) of the top leaders of the Party. The consensus of those who follow the Soviet media is that the breadth and depth of public debate has been growing and that in recent years there has been virtually no proposal for gradual change in the policy of the Communist Party which has not been aired in the mass media (p. 78).

The boards of editors and directors of the publishing houses and periodicals are elected by the writers themselves at periodic congresses. Policy is determined by debate and majority vote. The government and Communist Party play no direct role in determining what is published. Writers union and publishing house employees may or may not be Party members. What influence Party members have flows from being well-organized and having an ideology that is popular and backed up by the masses and the government. Belinkov [29], who emigrated and took a position at Yale, summarized:

Many people still harbor certain illusions, assuming that it is the Central Committee or the KGB, the militia and the fire brigade etc. who tell the writers what to write. This is not true. In the 1920's literature was banned by commissars, but all that is past and it is now the writers themselves who give the orders. No one in the Central Committee takes a serious step without having sought the advice of certain writers and without having some sort of a proposal from them (pp. 2, 12).

Belinkov goes on to show the inaccuracies of labeling as censorship the work of publishing house editors and lawyers who must review material for marketability, defamatory statements and obscenity:

My 936 page book *The Surrender and Destruction of a Soviet Intellectual* would have been published in the Soviet Union if I had sacrificed 40 pages. Doubleday Publishers cut the book by about 400 pages (p. 99).

Swayze [208] records how a work rejected by one publisher may be accepted by another. Also, *samizdat* (self-publication) is legal and enjoys copyright protection. Loeber [132] notes:

Soviet citizens enjoy the right to engage in *samizdat* ... The criminal codes provide no sanction for publishing and circulating *samizdat* materials. The non-criminal character of *samizdat* should be noted because *samizdat* is somehow associated with the notion of illegality in the minds of some non-lawyer within and without the Soviet Union (pp. 118,122).

Soviet law dating from 1917 particularizes the duty to use the press for the strengthening of the socialist system. The advocacy of militarism and war (art. 71) is prohibited. Pornography (art. 228) is outlawed. Lies, slander and libel against the honor and dignity of a citizen are prohibited by the Civil Code (Section 7). Copyrighted material is protected. There are provisions dealing with political crimes: the circulation of false information with the intent of subverting the Soviet regime is criminalized (Criminal Code, art. 70 and Communication Code, art. 74). Outlawed is advocacy of terrorism (art. 70), treason (art. 65), espionage (art. 66), the organization of conspiracy against the state and deliberate sabotage of the decisions and instructions of government bodies (art. 72).

The passing of military and state secrets to a foreign power is prohibited (Criminal Code, art. 66). The authority for enforcing this law as it applies to the media was originally the 'Main Board for the Protection of Military and State Secrets in the Press'. Established in 1922 as a division of the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment under Lunacharski, it had authority to prevent publication of aerial pictures of towns, the location of military manufacturers, scientific works and industrial procedures and other material of strategic significance. It reviewed manuscripts to see that secrets were not disclosed. Finkelstein [67] denies speculations that the Board did, or its successor does now, exercise a broader authority. He discusses the testimony of a Soviet émigré who worked in a major publishing house (1954-1962). Not once did the Board seek to alter a manuscript.

State security agencies, as required by law, did in the early years restrict the press. In the struggle against foreign intervention and during the civil war (1918-1920), legislation (Decree of December 7, 1917) establishing the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) allowed extrajudicial (martial law) repressive measures. The Cheka shut down counter-revolutionary publications and jailed their writers. Similar legislation allowed the Cheka's successor, the State Political Directorate (GPU), to suppress the publications of the *kulaks*, *basmachi* (central Asian counter-revolutionaries) and agents of fascist Germany.

Among the laws particularizing the use of the press for strengthening the socialist system, Jews helped fight for and benefited from the prohibition on advocacy of racial and national hostility (Criminal Code, art. 74 and Constitution, art. 36). Anti-Semitism is a criminal offense. The threat of criminal prosecution in the early years of the revolution prevented the monarchist press from issuing anti-Semitic material. It prevented the existence of Nazis parties, of Nazi publications, parades, symbols and speech. Those who voiced anti-Semitic sentiments were prosecuted. Ross [180] summarizes present day practice:

There have been isolated instances of anti-Semitism in a few publications issued in the USSR. But these are ugly, rare exceptions in Soviet literature as in Soviet life in which any advocacy of race or national exclusiveness, hostility or contempt is punishable by law. Writers guilty of anti-Semitic expression have been criticized by Soviet authorities and removed from official positions. The publications have been withdrawn (p. 17).

Weber [227] relates a recent case in which a Soviet anti-Semite got five years in jail for baiting a Jewish family. Kunitz [117] writes of his studies in Soviet literature:

I have yet to see a Jewish person portrayed negatively by a Soviet author. In fact, some of the most positive Jewish characters in world literature appear in Soviet plays and fiction. This is not to say that there may not be occasional anti-semitic acts by individuals in the USSR. But it does speak volumes about the attitude of the Soviet people as a whole and reflects the way Soviet society has consciously worked and succeeded in overcoming the legacy of racism and chauvinism which it inherited from Tsarist Russia (p. 9).

The present day art. 79 prohibition on mass disorders was originally an anti-pogrom measure. It helped in the total disappearance of what had for hundreds of years been a commonplace.

The limitations placed on the press, in the Soviet view, have similarities to those in capitalist society. Those who touch on the similarities are: Arab-Ogly [24], Denisov [57], Karimskii [98], Levinton [128], Shahnazarov [193]; and the non-Soviets Aptheker [14], Ginger [72] [73], Honor [87], Novack [163] and Wells [230].

In both capitalist and socialist societies, it is held, the focus is on the duty to use the press democratically to build and govern society. Both traditionally give no protection to incitement to criminal acts, to obscenity, defamation, injurious falsehoods, matters which must remain state secrets, treason, infringements of copyright, contempt of court, disclosure of income tax and social security returns and similar activity. Both license and regulate radio and television air waves to serve public interest. To defend themselves in wartime and emergencies, the suppression of normal press rights is allowed.

In both traditions constitutionally valid laws forbid the expression of racist and anti-Semitic ideas, as in newspaper ads ("only whites need apply", "churches nearby"). The capitalist and socialist nations enter into international treaties (Potsdam (1945), UN Charter and Covenants) which recognize that suppression of the Nazi press (anti-Semitism, genocide) is a progressive step. Both believe that the Nazi press is not harmless, nor does it "lose out in the market place of ideas", as Oliver Wendell Holmes incorrectly stated. It cost 50 million (mainly working class and peasant) lives, almost conquered the world and is in power in significant nations on two continents. The Helsinki accords (1975) require that:

The exercise of the right of free speech carries with it special duties and responsibilities. It may therefore be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall be only such as are provided by law and are necessary: (a) for respect of the rights or reputation of others; (b) for the protection of national security or of public order, or (c) of public health and morals (art 19).

ZIONISM

Soviet theory, as elaborated in the nationalities policy, looks positively on Jewish culture. Only through the full development of national culture will international culture mature. While Jewish press freedom is encouraged, Zionism and the Zionist press is not.

Those who write on Zionism are: Collective Authorship [51] [52] [54], Dadiani [56], Hofman [85], Ivanov [91], Kartashkin [100], Lenin [129], Nikitina [162], Shirokov [198]; and the non-Soviets: Abramovitch [1], Altshuler [8], Aptheker [12] [21] [22], Beine [28], Bergen [31], Bert [32], Brenner [37], Budish [39], Cohen [49], Ehrlich [61], Goldman [75], Harap [81], Hertz [83], Kautsky [103], Kayyali [104], Kling [106], Langer [119], Leon [127], Lumer [135] [136], Mallison [140] [141], Mason [150], Mendelsohn [153] [154], Mishinsky [156] [157], Pittman [172], Ruchwarger [185] [186], Tobias [215] and Yahya [232].

Soviet thinking on Zionism continues a tradition that goes back to the 1880's, when Zionism started to become a political force. Socialist leaders of the era criticized

Zionism as an anti-socialist ideology, designed to keep the European Jewish working class from identifying with the world working class movement. Zionism held itself out as a defense against the new wave of anti-Semitism associated with the rise of imperialism. Zionism taught there was a bond between Jewish workers and Jewish capitalists, and that anti-Semitism and discrimination would be no less in socialist countries than in capitalist countries. Zionist ideology proclaimed the racist, biological mystical notion that Jews throughout the world constituted a nation, always separate from non-Jews and that Jews were alien in the lands in which they lived. Zionism sought not to fight anti-Semitism, but to accept it as inevitable and inherent in the non-Jew and to flee from it.

During the Tsarist era, socialists in the Bund (The General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia) propagandized against the influence of Zionism. Officially the Bund opposed Zionism and at several points was a constituent section of the RSDLP. However, clericals, Mensheviks, Liquidators and Economists, who borrowed from Zionist precepts, often dominated. To the Bolsheviks' programmatic demand for the right of nations to self-determination, they counterposed the demand for autonomy of national culture. This was a natural outgrowth of the notion that the Jews, though lacking a common territory, constitute a nation. Lenin pointed out, the exponents of this view in Russia were Jewish bourgeois parties seeking to subvert worker solidarity with the concept of non-class 'national culture'.

Zionists within the Bund opposed the unity of the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat as a way of decreasing isolation and Tsarist ghettoization. Lenin [136] at the 1903 Second Congress of the RSDLP stated the Bolshevik position:

In particular, complete unity between the Jewish and non-Jewish proletariat is moreover especially necessary for a successful struggle against anti-semitism, this despicable attempt of the government and the exploiting classes to exacerbate racial particularism and national enmity (p. 2).

Zionists in the Bund wanted a separate political organization for Jewish workers and claimed the sole right to speak for them. All Yiddish language newspapers were shut down by the Tsar in the early years of the century except the Zionist one. Zionists supported the Tsar in World War I, opposed the October Revolution, and made common cause with the forces of counter-revolution.

[SST, p. 217]

With the Soviet victory, many Bundists joined the Bolshevik Party and the Bund dissolved itself in March 1921. Zionists, however, were unhappy about the Jewish Soviets who regarded themselves as equals with other nationalities and who enjoyed the benefits of the socialist society. Soviet unity was called 'forced assimilation'. Tourna [217] of the Israeli Communist Party summarized:

The Zionists cannot forgive the October Revolution for solving the national question in Tsarist Russia, the "prisonhouse of nations", and for implementing the policy of national equality and eliminating anti-semitism legally and in daily life. Furthermore, the Zionists, with their policy of aggression and expansion at the expense of the Arab people, and especially the Palestinian Arab people, cannot forgive the USSR's principled adherence to one of the ideals of the October Revolution - the right of nations to self-determination (p. 5).

Deutscher [58] summarized the attitude of the early Soviets:

Although the Bolsheviks were opposed to Zionism, the complete suppression of Zionist opinion was not in their program The most fanatical advocates of the suppression of Jewish parties were by no means the Russians; they were the Jews themselves, the Jewish communists, the Yevseksia (the Jewish section of the CP). I witnessed repeatedly how Russian Bolsheviks, among others Mikhail Kalinin, the President of the USSR, argued with the Jewish comrades trying to temper their fierce hostility towards the Zionist idea, towards the remnants of Bund and even towards Jewish clericalism (p. 73).

The Cuban revolution took a similar position. Kahn [96] writes:

Jews who remained in Cuba, but who continue to be anti-socialist are mainly Zionist. The government does not consider the Zionists or other religious groups as a threat, and does not interfere with their activities (p. 15).

Since World War II the literature dealing with Zionism has been in the context of the Middle East. This literature includes Alia [6], Bakanursky [27], Dadiani [55], Primakov [174], Sergeyev [192], Shatrov [195]; and the non-Soviets: Althoff [7], Aptheker [15] [16] [18-20] [23], Bunch [40] [41], Frankel [68], Langer [120], Lubitz [133], Magil [139], Montross [158] [159], Ramelson [178], Ryan [187], Sharafuddin [194], Tyner [222] and Weinstock [229].

After World War II the Soviets supported Israel's creation, that is, they were for the self-determination of the Jews in Palestine and the Arabs in Palestine. While they encouraged the independence and security of Israel, they opposed incorporating the land and people of others. The Soviet-allied Israeli Communists unite with Zionists when they can. Vilner [225], General Secretary of the Israeli Communist Party, writes:

[SST, p. 218]

The CP of Israel maintains that there is no progressive Zionism, nor can there be In Israel some Zionists and Zionist groups, while identifying themselves with Zionist ideology, take a correct stand on certain socio-political problems. That is why our Party

has always considered cooperation with them on specific social and political issues to be both possible and necessary (p. 73).

CONCLUSION

In scholarly Western literature on the subject, one sometimes reads that Soviet thought towards Jewish press freedom is both anti-Semitic and without basis in dialectical-materialist thought. For example Korey [109] states that Soviet thought "displays all the stereotypes of traditional Russian anti-Semitism as expressed in Tsarist Black Hundred literature. . . . Notably missing is an intellectual or ideological sanction rooted in the Marxist Leninist tradition" (pp. 142-143).

The literature reviewed in this essay indicates Soviet thought may be more complicated than the Black Hundred literature and deserving of closer analysis.

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