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# **ANTI-SEMITISM**

**WHAT IT MEANS AND  
HOW TO COMBAT IT**

**by William Gallacher, M. P.  
and Earl Browder**

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## NOTE

The first part of this pamphlet, by William Gallacher, Member of Parliament and leader of the Communist Party of Great Britain, was first published in England under the title *Anti-Semitism: What It Means to You*. The second part, by Earl Browder, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., appeared in the July 6, 1943, issue of the weekly *New Masses* as an article entitled "Anti-Semitism: How to Combat It."



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# The Meaning of Anti-Semitism

By William Gallacher, M.P.

**I**N ALL parts of the country the most insidious Nazi propaganda is finding expression in the form of anti-Semitism—Blame it on the Jews! Blame what on the Jews? Anything. Everything.

Absurdities the like of which never were surpassed are served up and passed around, and often accepted as though there were nothing more to be said. "It's a Jews' war." We find this coming out of the Nazi broadcasts, straight on to the walls of London, chalked up by dupes or tools of the fascists. Yet anyone who takes the least account of history must ask, was it the Jews who were responsible for Japan invading Manchuria and China, or for Italy invading Abyssinia, or for the interference in Spain by Mussolini and Hitler, or for the Nazi invasion of Austria, of Czechoslovakia and Poland, all murderous ravages of other people's territory, that were but a prelude to the world war now raging on sea, land and air?

Not only will the intelligent worker take this into account, but he will realize that one thing stands out crystal clear throughout the centuries. Where there has been peace, prosperity, progress, the Jews have been able to live unmolested. Only when there has been a breakdown in society through war or economic collapse, only then have we started to hear of the "Jewish danger." The reactionaries, seeking a way of turning discontent away from themselves, have incited the worst passions of the worst sections of the community against a helpless and defenseless minority—the Jews.

Of course we have seen the same technique applied to others. We have seen the most inexcusable attacks on the Catholic minority of Ulster in the days when Sir Edward Carson and

"Galloper" Smith were stirring up revolt in Northern Ireland and when they were supplying their volunteers with German arms. But while many similar stories might be told about the fate of other minorities (it was one of the biggest problems at the Versailles Peace Conference) no minority has ever suffered so much and for so long as the Jewish minority. For the Catholic and other minorities have always had a chance sooner or later to fight back, but the Jews have had to take it without ever being in a position to defend themselves. Their only hope of a quiet, ordered life has been general peace and progress. If there is one people in all this world who have ever had cause to hate and fear war, economic slumps and reaction, it is the Jewish people. The bestial cruelty imposed upon them since the Nazis took power has intensified a hundredfold since the start of the war. How, in the face of such unspeakable suffering, can anyone for a moment be taken in by the appalling lie—"This is a Jewish War"?

### No Real Difference

But—"the Jews are different from other people." Superficially they are, but only superficially. "They don't work down the pit, they don't work in the engineering shops and steel works." Of course they don't. They were kept for centuries in close-guarded ghettos and not allowed into the general life or industry in their respective countries. They were left therefore to develop as best they could such domestic industries as clothing, furniture and petty trading. When adversity drove them to seek refuge in this or any other country, they naturally tended to consort with one another because of language difficulty and because of the work to which they were accustomed—unemployment and craft barriers helped to slow down the entry of their children into other industries—and all this tended to keep in being superficial differences.

But in the Soviet Union, where all barriers were broken down with the elimination of Tsarism, Jews work in the pits, in the metal trades and steel works, on the land and in every other form of occupation. In a lesser degree (lesser because there is no heavy industry there) the same applies to Palestine.

While in every other capitalist country the Jewish minority is a sort of auxiliary of the main industrial army, in Palestine it is the vanguard of industrial and social progress. These two advances in themselves are proof, if any were needed, that the difference is superficial, and that with a change for the better in our social relations, it would rapidly disappear.

"But the Jews are all Communists!" Hear Goebbels, Goering and Streicher, as they fill the air with insane raving about the "fiendish Communist Jews," and see how it seeps out in a variety of publications in this country. These "Communist" Jews. I only wish it were so. Alas, only a small minority have so far made their way into the ranks of the Communist Party. We would like more of them, all we can get, as of Scots, Welsh, English and all the rest.

No sooner has this wild yelling died down, than it starts up again, this time on an entirely different tune—or maybe discord would be better. "All Jews are Capitalists." So they get it both ways. "Ah," says one lad, "that's right. I know a Jew—and he's a Communist." "I know a Jew," says another, "and he's a Capitalist." Such childish nonsense wouldn't be listened to in relation to any other people. "Hey, I know a Scotsman who is a Communist." "Hey, I know a Scotsman who is a Capitalist." Of course you do; it's a natural outcome of class relationships and it affects Jew and Gentile alike.

### Upside Down

"But look at the money they spend, their blatant extravagance!" and then look again, "See how mean and miserly they are!" Always the anti-Semites have it both ways and upside down. Of course it is possible always to find among any people anywhere extremes of one kind or another. It would be hard to go further about any people than T. W. H. Crosland went about the Scots, when in his book, *The Unspeakable Scot*, he said "in all my life I only met two decent Scotsmen—one was half-Irish and the other was half-drunk." Yet no one would ever dream of judging the people of Scotland by the rancorous opinion of Crosland, or even by the sour and somewhat malicious strictures of the celebrated Dr. Johnson.

No, the great mass of the Jewish people are hardworking, honest, hospitable people. I know that from a lifetime of associations and experience. The general lies and slanders that are peddled around are for a sinister and evil purpose and are without any real foundations in fact.

You know and I know that some Jews are great mathematicians. Would anyone be foolish enough to tell you that therefore all Jews are great mathematicians? Or would you be foolish enough to listen if he did?

You know and I know that some Jews are great scientists and that they have contributed much to the knowledge of medicine and surgery. Jews have been a blessing to mankind in this field, but we don't say that therefore all Jews are great scientists.

## Great Names

So with literature, art and music. Great names stand out, of whom the Jewish people may well be proud, but no one goes around whispering that all Jews are great writers, musicians or artists. It may be worth noting also that the first Christians were all Jews. St. Peter wouldn't associate with any but Jews until Paul came with his gospels for Jew and Gentile. Paul himself made no secret of his parentage when he exclaimed: "Are they Jews, I also am a Jew." But I don't think anyone would suggest therefore that all Christians are Jews or all Jews Christians.

Then there's the story of the Jewish financiers! Ah, yes. "The Jews control the finance and through the control of finance do this, that and the other." Well, it simply isn't true. Take the Bank of England and the Big Five Banks, the most powerful and influential financial institutions in this country. They are controlled not by Jews, but by Gentiles.\* If every

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\* The Bank of England has no Jewish directors. Lloyds, Westminster, Barclays, Midland and National Provincial have a total of 4 Jewish directors out of 150. The number of Jews in banking in the United States is *less* than one percent. The largest American banking firms are completely in the hands of non-Jews.

Jew disappeared from this country tomorrow, it wouldn't make the slightest difference to the social structure of society, or to its relations between financiers, industrialists and the great masses of workers. The Jews are not the big financiers: the Gentiles are the big financiers, just as the Gentiles are the big armament makers.

Then we get another—"The Jews control the press!" How do we answer that? The answer is simple—simple and easy. Tell it to Lord Camrose, tell it to Lord Kemsley and tell it to Lord Beaverbrook. After that, if you're not satisfied, you can tell it to the marines.

All right, you say, you've been sailing along bright and breezy so far, but—"What about the Black Market? You can't deny the Jews are in the Black Market." Of course there have been some Jews in the Black Market, just as there are some Jews in finance and in the press. But they don't run the Black Market any more than they run big finance or run the press.

## The Black Market

If there is a case of Black Marketing reported in the press and the culprit happens to be a Gentile, no one bothers about it.

Take a look at this, from the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*, April 3, 1943, "Everybody's doing it."

"ILLEGAL SUGAR, FLOUR DEALS ARE ALLEGED  
"FOUR MEN CHARGED AT PAISLEY

"A farmer witness at a trial at Paisley Sheriff Court today said one of four men accused of breaches of the Rationing (General Provisions) Order offered him a bag of sugar, saying: 'Why are you afraid? Everybody's doing it!'

"The four accused are concerned in a charge of having, acting in concert with persons unknown, stolen or resettled over 15 cwt. of sugar from premises in Greenock or from motor lorries traveling between Greenock and Glasgow."

And now this one. From the same paper, same date:

"WORK CARD 'MARKET' IN ARGYLE STREET—SAYS FISCAL

"'Considerable traffic,' in employment cards is going on in Glasgow.

"When three Irishmen were charged at the Sheriff Court today with presenting false cards, Deputy-Fiscal W. F. Irvine said a man who found himself out of a job, or got fed up with it and wanted a change, had only to go along Argyle Street and buy a card, properly stamped, for anything from 30s. to £2.

"The fiscal asked Sheriff Kermack to take a serious view of these cases, if for no other than security reasons."

My, oh my, not a Jew among them! Nobody thinks of saying as they read these: "The Black Marketeers are all Scots or Irish." Of course, it wouldn't be true if they did. But if the name happens to be Jewish: "Ah, see that, what did I tell you? Those Jews again."

Again I say, if there wasn't a Jew in the country there would still be a Black-Market. Proof. I'll give you proof. Listen to the German wireless or read the proclamations issued from time to time in Germany with their threats of the most dreadful punishment for Black Market offences, in a country where Jews are not allowed to trade under any conditions, where all the Black Marketeers are "pure-blooded Aryans," and that should be proof enough. They've got rid of the Jews in Germany, but they haven't got rid of the financiers and they haven't got rid of the Black Market. And in Italy it is even worse than in Germany. The Black Market operates all the time while graft and corruption stink to high heaven.

It can be said, indeed, that in all countries where the Jews have been suppressed, the Black Market is in a much more flourishing condition than it is in this country, where the Jews have been left unmolested. Ask any of the so-called "Aryans" if they dare dispute that. The few Jews who have been in the Black Market in this country are enemies of their own people and by their own people have been condemned as such. But after all, the Black Market is only an illegal subsidiary of the general, legal, war market. And who has been

piling up the profits out of that? Who have been the recipients of cost plus 10 per cent? Time and time again shop stewards have been to see me at the House of Commons about the hold-up of production. Time and time again, they have protested in bitter anger about the system of cost "plus." It was their Gentile employers they were accusing and condemning. Never once out of all the deputations that have visited the House of Commons, have I had one protesting about the Jews holding up production, and however long the war could last I'm certain I won't get one.

What cheap, nasty, vicious liars these people who spread anti-Semitism are. Nothing too mean, nothing too absurd, often deliberately criminal. Take this: "the Jews make all the profits but they don't do the fighting." Both assertions are lies. Some Jews make profits; the great mass in industry, however, work hard in furniture and clothing factories (now, with the war, in the metal trades and other industries) in order to make a decent working-class living. These latter have made a splendid contribution to the advance of the trade union and progressive movement in this country. They are our comrades in the struggle against exploitation, in our strivings for a higher and better life. It is our enemies who attack them to divide us. This will be made abundantly clear as we go on.

"They don't do the fighting." I heard an M. P. not long ago peddle a lot of this vile nonsense. He even reverted to the time when Hore-Belisha was Secretary of State for War and said it was common to hear people say "The Jews feed the Army (Lyons), the Jews clothe the Army (Burtons) and the Jews lead the Army (Belisha), but they don't join it." When I accused him of being anti-Semitic, doing Goebbels' propaganda, he said, "no, he wasn't anti-Semitic, but" —always there's a "but." Now you see from this that even a useful service can be used for the undoing of the Jews, for an attack against them. There was no complaint suggested about the army clothing of the food, and, as War Secretaries go, there was no special complaint about Hore-Belisha. But instead of them being commended for their

service to the nation, it was turned against them in this cheap jibe. Well, the Co-operative Wholesale Society supplies clothing and provisions, there are many co-operators who are not in the forces, and now that the leading Co-operator, A. V. Alexander, is the First Lord of the Admiralty, is there anyone going around sneering "The Co-operators feed the Navy, clothe the Navy and lead the Navy, but they don't join the Navy"? If anyone came and recited that to you, you would treat him with sheer contempt. But, unfortunately, there are receptive ears for it when it is about the Jews. They are a comparatively weak minority and it is easier to attack the weak.

Yet the Jewish people have a record as good as any other section of the people in relation to the armed forces. Here is a short excerpt from the London *Daily Worker* giving a few facts, facts that are indicative of the service being given by the Jewish community:

"What reason Lord Kemsley has for printing crude Fascist incitement in one of his most important newspapers is a matter for inquiry which I hope will be made in other quarters.

"Meanwhile, here are a few facts about the Jewish population:

"There are about 350,000 Jews among Britain's 45,000,000 population. Up to last June 40,000 of them had been enrolled in the Services, 7,000 in the R.A.F. alone.

"The serving men are thus in the proportion of 11½ per cent of all Jews—a very high proportion.\*

"Among these serving Jews are three Generals and many other high-ranking officers.

"Up to May 1 last, over 50 Jews had been decorated for bravery, and about as many mentioned in dispatches.\*\*

"Over 30 Jews have been decorated for bravery in the blitz. I do not know how many were killed, but one of our own Jewish comrades, Sidney Fink, died on duty as a warden in London." (*Workers' Notebook, Daily Worker, Feb. 11, 1943.*)

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\* This is a higher proportion than the rest of the population.

\*\* With the end of 1941 eight Jews had been awarded with the D.F.C., nine with the D.F.M., four with the M.C., ten with the M.M., as well as numerous other awards.

Here is another excerpt from the "Worker's Notebook." It represents one of the most foul and disgusting attacks on the Jews. But the writer of the "Notebook" makes a crushing rejoinder:

"Still they come, the examples of anti-Semitism in the Press. I have just received a recent issue of the *Enfield Gazette*, which contains a specimen to be classified in the stupid department.

"This journal's columnist writes:

"'An Enfield business man sends me a clipping from Cosgrave's Magazine (Michigan, U.S.A.) which sets out some of the wartime feats of our American cousins as follows:

"' "The first American to kill a Jap was—Michael Murphy."

"' "The first American bombardier to sink a Jap was—Colin Kelley."

"'And so on, listing various other American war heroes, until the last:

"' "The first American to get four new tires—Abie Cohen."\*

"The *Enfield Gazette's* columnist comments: 'A jolly fine record that, is it not? All the names have a familiar ring about them. But how does Abie Cohen find an honored place in the catalogue of deeds of valor?'

"Abie Cohen finds his place there, dear colleague, because some agent of Hitler thought this a good way to instill some anti-Semitic poison into the American Press, and you are foolish enough to help him here.

"Why not look at a few facts? See that entry, 'The first American bombardier to sink a Jap was Colin Kelley?'

"Well, Captain Colin Kelly (not 'Kelley') commanded the Flying Fortress which blasted the Japanese battleship Haruna off New Guinea on December 10, 1941. His bombardier was the Jew Meyer Levin. See speech by Mr. Harold Ickes, U. S. Secretary of the Interior, reported in this newspaper on March 16 last, and note by me in this column of that date.

"Master-Sergeant Meyer Levin, of the United States Air Force, died in action over the Pacific last January 7, and was praised by his comrades for his self-sacrificing action in aid-

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\* This anti-Semitic story has been distributed widely in the United States. Its simultaneous appearance in the U.S. and Britain is the best indication of its Nazi origin.

ing their escape. Captain Kelly was among those who praised him.

"Mr. Ickes said: 'Every man who carries a rifle, mans a tank, sails a ship or flies a plane for us and the other United Nations—whether his name is Colin Kelly or Meyer Levin—is a living symbol of a unity. . . .'

"So, dear colleague of the *Enfield Gazette*, you are singularly unfortunate in your choice of anti-Semitic propaganda." (London *Daily Worker*, April 9, 1943.)

The young Jewish hero is dead. The purveyor of anti-Semitic filth is still alive. Is it strange that mankind often wonders at the perversity of fate?

### A Jewish General

Some of you may have heard the fascist lie that Jews were not fighting with the Eighth Army.

Apart from the many rank and file Jews who have fought throughout that campaign, there was a Jew, Brigadier Kisch, who occupied, next to Montgomery, one of the most important positions in the Eighth Army.

Until this brave man was killed, few people had heard of him. When he met his death, and the obituary notices appeared in the papers, and the news was announced on the B.B.C., many people must have realized for the first time how much the Eighth Army owed to a Jew.

This is the *News Chronicle* report of his death:

"The Chief Engineer of the Eighth Army, Brigadier F. H. Kisch, was killed by a mine during the advance towards Sousse.

"He was in the most advanced area, among the sappers dealing with an enemy minefield, when two mines exploded.

"Two officers with him also were killed.

"Brigadier Kisch was the third Jew to reach the rank of general in the British Army in this war."—(April 15, 1943.)

This is what *The Times* of London said about him:

"He served in the European war of 1914-18, was mentioned in despatches three times, and was thrice wounded. In the 'Indian Corps in France' Colonel Merewether and the late

Lord Birkenhead state that at the battle of Givenchy he was always to be found where the fighting was thickest and describe him as 'cool as ever,' sketching the plan of a barricade.

"In this war, 'taking part in all the wings of fortune of the Middle East campaign,' he was selected to be the chief Engineer of the 8th Army. He had to shoulder the responsibility under General Montgomery of carrying out the many novel duties falling to the sappers in modern desert warfare, including dealing with minefields, in the course of which he met his death." (April 16, 1943.)

No wonder Hitler tries to make people hate the Jews!

But however foolish the anti-Jewish sneers and slanders may appear, the people who support, financially and otherwise, the anti-Jew parties are not fools. They are under no illusions about the Jews and the service they have rendered to humanity. The facts and figures in this pamphlet are just as easily available to them as to anybody else. Why, therefore, do they start, and support, a fascist political party on the basis of anti-Jewish lies and slanders? There must be another motive and it must be a motive that they are anxious to conceal from the people. If they were not anxious to conceal their real motives they would not need to hide them behind a smoke-screen of Jew-baiting.

What, then, is this real motive that is kept so carefully hidden? Since the leaders of the anti-Jew parties won't tell us we must look at their actions. The fascist anti-Jew parties hold power in Germany, Italy, and other countries on the continent, and so we can observe their actions in those countries. And it is no use for the home-grown fascist to say that he is different from the continental one. There is a very close connection between all the fascist parties. The British Union of Fascists borrowed the uniform, the salute, the ideas, the organizations and the use of strong-arm squads from Germany. The fascist leaders went to the Nazi and fascist conferences in Berlin and Rome and were photographed with Hitler and Mussolini. They came back and told us what fine countries Germany and Italy had become under fascist rule; they told us that we ought to copy their methods of government; they

sold literature clearly marked: "Printed in Hamburg." Never was anything more clearly labelled "Made in Germany." Therefore we can look at Germany and Italy in order to find the real motives of the fascist, anti-Jew party here in Britain; those motives, which are kept so carefully hidden behind the smoke-screen of Jew-baiting.

### The Real Motives Behind Jew Hatred

The people of Britain are indeed fortunate that they do not have to experience themselves the horrors of Nazi Germany in order to discover the real motives behind the anti-Jew campaign.

The fascist leaders are quite cynical about the use they make of Jew-baiting. In a conversation with Hermann Rauschning, once the Nazi boss of Danzig, and now a refugee from Germany, Hitler said: "My Jews are a valuable hostage given to me by the democracies. Anti-Semitic propaganda in all countries is an indispensable medium for the extension of my political campaign. You will see how little time we shall need in order to upset the ideas and criteria of the whole world—simply and purely by attacking Judaism. *It is without doubt the most powerful weapon in my political arsenal.*"

The Nazi leaders were much too well informed to believe the anti-Jew lies themselves, but they were ready and willing to play on existing prejudice and to whip up further prejudice in order to secure the backing of a large number of people. The Nazis in Germany spent millions of money in a terrific anti-Jew campaign. Where that money came from will be understood after reading this pamphlet.

The German people had been through terrific times: they had suffered first the privations of a blockade, next an inflation which wiped out their little savings, and then years of mass unemployment. They were inclined to clutch at any straw. Many of them swallowed the anti-Jew bait. In 1933 Hitler came to power in alliance with the German conservative party. It is interesting to notice his first actions. He did not at first attack the Jews, except in print. Action against

the declared enemy, the Jews, was reserved for a later date. The first attack by the Nazis was against the working-class movement. Within a few weeks of coming to power they arrested the leaders of the Communist Party, the Labour Party (Social-Democratic Party), the Trade Unions and the Co-operative Societies. Then they seized the buildings and the funds of the Trade Unions, Co-ops, and political parties and launched a reign of terror against every active Trade Unionist, Co-operator and Socialist. They introduced into the factories the fuehrer, or leader, principle. The leader in each factory was none other than the boss, and the function of the worker was to obey the fuehrer of the factory. All the rights that had been established in the factories by many years of struggle were swept away—the boss's word was law, and disobedience to the boss became treason. No worker needs to be told of the nature of the struggle, the years of toil and sacrifice that have gone into the building up of trade unions and other working-class bodies. No worker needs to be told of what these institutions mean to the working-class movement. Yet the fruits of all those years of unremitting struggle and effort were swept away in a few short weeks. We can now see the real motive of the fascists which is concealed behind the smoke-screen of Jew-baiting: it is the destruction of the working-class movement and the slavery of the workers. And the workers delivered themselves into this bondage by falling for the anti-Jew campaign. Truly did Harry Pollitt say recently, "There are millions of German workers at this moment who will regret to their dying day that they were ever taken in by the anti-Jewish campaign of Hitler."

We asked before, who benefits from Jew-baiting? The answer now is clear. The people that benefit from Jew-baiting are those same people who benefit by the destruction of the trade unions and the working-class movement, they are the big industrialists, the big bankers, the monopolists, the reactionaries of all kinds, who fear the strength of the working-class movement, and who fear the onward march of the people towards Socialism.

It is these monopolists, the great German industrialists of

coal and steel, who backed the Nazi party with millions of money for their vile campaign of Jew-baiting. If we seek to find the backers of the anti-Jew parties in Britain, we must look for them among the same type of reactionary. Significantly enough, the list of members of the Anglo-German Fellowship contained the names of many of the leading industrialists and financiers of Britain.

### The Lesson of Germany

After a short time Germany could boast the largest number of prisons and concentration camps in the world. Many people believed that the concentration camps held only Jews. But the Jews were, in fact, only a minority in the concentration camps. The majority was made up of members of the working-class organizations and progressive people who were not prepared to surrender easily their liberties and democratic rights. Before long, the Nazis had evolved the practice of arresting tens of thousands of rank and file workers, trade union branch officers and the like, in order to put them through a course of "correction" in concentration camps. Workers who have escaped from Germany have told of the horrible tortures and degradations suffered in some of these hell-camps.

Because people believed that the concentration camps held only Jews; because people believed that Hitler's government was mainly concerned with attacking the Jews; because people did not see Germany feverishly rearming; because people saw only the attacks on the Jews, they fell into Hitler's trap. In front of the curtain in the glare of the footlights was enacted the Jew-baiting scene; behind the curtain took place the complete destruction of the German working-class movement and of all those rights and liberties which we call democracy. The Great Illusion was performed. While the world gazed at the spectacle of the persecution of the Jews another great tragedy was taking place. The German people were paying bitterly for having danced to Hitler's Jew-baiting tune.

The existence of anti-Jewish prejudices (or anti-Semitism,

as it is called) is, then, a powerful weapon in the hands of big business. What worker would willingly surrender his hard-won rights of organization? What Briton would willingly accept slavery and dictatorship from the monopolists? Indeed, there are few who would not fight against such an attack on those liberties for which we have fought for so long. Yet, many who would gladly fight against the attacks of big business do fall for this anti-Semitism and thereby open the gates to their enemies. Anti-Semitism is a trick by which people are persuaded to tie the rope round their own necks; it is the trap whereby people voluntarily surrender themselves into slavery.

What makes these prejudices acceptable to the unthinking? The mere existence of the superficial differences we have already described and explained would not alone account for them so easily being made the capital and the stock-in-trade of the Jew-baiters.

### How Prejudice Is Nourished

In days of prosperity and progress, no one bothered the Jews, and most surely they didn't bother their neighbors. There is, however, a special soil in which are nourished the prejudices set out above. Many people cannot understand the mysterious workings of our economic system. Those people who are not Socialists find their explanation not in the evils of capitalism, but in the imaginary evil of the Jews. Our world is indeed a difficult world to understand.

On the one hand mankind has very largely solved the problem of producing food and commodities in sufficient abundance for everybody; and yet, on the other hand, our world is one in which both the working class and the middle class experience more insecurity, more want, more unemployment and more fear of recurring wars than mankind has experienced for centuries. There seems to be something mysteriously wrong.

Wheat and cotton and coffee were being burnt in some countries, while in Britain skilled textile workers, boot operatives and ship builders stood idle. Why could not those

British workers produce textiles and boots and build ships to carry these goods to other countries in exchange for the wheat, cotton and coffee which were being burnt? There was some mysterious force at work which stood in the way. People asked themselves why unemployed building workers could not build decent houses instead of the jerry-built houses and slums that were an offense to the dignity of life. Why should children leave school at the age of fourteen to enter a labor market which did not want them, while at the same time school-teachers were looking for jobs? Why, they asked, could not those builders and teachers have made new schools in which the children could study for another two or three years? Why could not those children have become educated to their own advantage as well as the national advantage, instead of hanging about at street corners?

Of course, Socialists who had made a study of Marx understood very well the causes of this insane state of affairs.

But there are many people who have never taken the trouble to study this problem. To such people this world is indeed a mysterious one. Without thinking very much they still feel the need to understand this crazy system. They seek for an explanation, one which is simple and for preference one that can be seen with a naked eye.

### Why Unemployment?

Why wasn't the miner digging coal? Why should he be unemployed? Why was the engineering worker walking the streets idle? Why had we the derelict areas and a town like Jarrow, described by Ellen Wilkinson as "the town that was murdered"? Why have we got poverty and hunger, crime and immorality? To all of these questions the fascists have the simple answer—the Jews. It isn't the private ownership of land. Don't think it for a moment. It isn't the big monopoly control of industry which closed down pits and cotton factories, which closed down steel works and smashed the shipyards. No, sir, turn your attention away from these and blame it all on the Jews. Incidentally, I have heard much the same language about the Irish Catholic minority in Scotland. In

Glasgow and Edinburgh, we had years of exactly the same vituperation and slander as the fascists have directed against the Jews in London and Leeds, but in this case against the Irish Catholics. It was lies against the Irish Catholics to split the working class. It is lies against the Jews for the same deadly purpose.

The class-anger of the people should be pointed against the reactionaries, but this is the last thing that the reactionaries want. Therefore the fascist movements are brought into existence and supplied with ample funds for carrying on their filthy campaign. The mission of these anti-Jew parties is to divert the minds of the people away from their real enemy, the capitalists, toward an imaginary enemy—the Jews. The Jews become the scapegoats of the capitalist system.

### Hitler's Followers

Study history, and you will find that anti-Semitism has ever been the weapon of Reaction. In present days, therefore, it is the weapon of the reactionaries of big business, of the monopolists of industry and finance. Because the most reactionary force in all the world today is the Nazi government of Germany, all fascists, all Jew-baiters, and all reactionaries look with sympathy towards the Nazi tyranny. Equally the Nazis have always encouraged and supported the various fascist parties throughout the world. It is significant to observe that, as soon as the Nazis came to power in Germany, the various fascist parties all over the world suddenly blossomed out into activity with large funds for anti-Jewish propaganda. It is significant that before the Nazis came to power in Germany, Mosley\* had declared that he was not against the Jews. As a matter of fact he first chose for his chief bodyguard a well-known Jewish boxer who, knowing little of politics, was easily deceived by Mosley's glib, unscrupulous tongue. It was only *after* Hitler came to power, in October, 1934, at the Albert Hall, that Mosley declared his party to be anti-Semitic. Just as Mosley began to dance to Hitler's tune, so, in various

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\* Leading fascist and anti-Semite in England.

countries in Europe, anti-Jewish parties suddenly sprang into life; where such parties did not already exist, they were created. Look at the list of these parties: in Belgium the Rexists under Degrelle; in Holland the Fascists led by Mussert; in Roumania the Iron Guard organization; in France the Croix de Feu and Cagoulards; finally in Norway—Quisling!

One thing is common to all these parties. They are traitors to their own countries, they are Fifth Columnists. They all opened the gates of their countries to the Nazi armies. Each one of these parties was worth many divisions to the Nazi army. It was these parties that helped to create the myth of the invincibility of the Nazi army. The big German monopolists had a plan for the conquest of Europe and thereby for the creation of a market for their goods and a sphere where they could invest their money under the safety provided by the guns of the German army. The existence of these fascist parties, and, where necessary, the creation of these fascist parties, was necessary to this plan of the German capitalist class.

The most reactionary sections of the British capitalist class look with sympathy on Fascism and anti-Semitism, but at the same time they are opposed to the loss of their dominant position to Germany.

At the beginning of the war, therefore, the British Fascist Party was closed down and its leaders were interned. But the Fascists took this suppression very calmly. Was not Hitler going to win the war? Why worry? Soon the Nazis would be in London, and Mosley would be installed as the Quisling of Britain.

And for some time it appeared that they were right. The German army swept through Europe—apparently invincible. In the summer of 1940 it met its first check in the Battle of Britain, but it still remained terribly menacing. Then, in June, 1941, the Nazis threw themselves upon the Soviet Union, confident that, once again, the German army was to have a walkover. But in the Soviet Union there were no fascists or Quislings. The glorious resistance of the Red Army—in which Soviet Jews have covered themselves with honor—is

now written imperishably in the pages of history. It is sufficient to say that the Red Army has put a spoke in the wheel of Hitler's chariot of world conquest; in fact, in the winter of 1942-3 the position of Hitler's army in Russia was indeed desperate. That does not mean that Hitler is yet defeated—much stern fighting remains to be done before that objective is achieved—but certainly victory over the enemy is now much nearer achievement.

### British Fascists Becoming Desperate

How do the British fascists react to the situation? They become desperate with fear because they realize that the destruction of the Nazi government means that every Fascist and reactionary government in Europe will disappear with the Nazis. And how do the reactionaries in Britain react to the present situation? They are no longer so fearful that the German capitalist class will menace their privileged position. It is true that they want to win the war, but at the same time they are afraid to see the destruction of the fascist governments. The reactionaries of Britain realize that with the defeat of Fascism in Europe will come a great surge forward of the British working-class movement; they realize that the workers of Britain will then press forward towards a Britain freed from poverty and hunger.

It is these reactionaries who now again support the fascist Jew-baiters and who are at the same time opposed to the opening of the Second Front in Europe. It is they who wish to pull our punches.

How can Hitler be saved? Somehow the people of Britain must be persuaded into a negotiated peace with Germany. How is it possible to persuade the British people to do a deal with the Nazis? It will certainly be difficult to persuade the British people to reprieve the Nazi criminals. Besides, we recognize instinctively that the criminal Nazi regime must be swept away, if we are to have any hope of social progress in the future.

Yet, the fascists and reactionaries must try to pull off this deal with Hitler—they know that if they fail to do this, their

own political death warrants will have to be signed. They are still trying to use the weapon of an anti-Soviet campaign, but the eyes of the people have been opened by the events of the last two years. What other weapon have the fascists got left? *Jew-baiting!*

At this moment a new fascist party was brought into being—the British National Party. That party had two aims: they were Jew-baiting and a demand for a negotiated peace with Hitler.

### Under Another Name

Thanks to the vigilance of the *Daily Worker* and the workers, this party was shown to have had connections with traitors—such as Craven, the Mosley fascist, sentenced to penal servitude for life for offering to help the Nazis—and former internees under Regulation 18B. In consequence, its backers have found it necessary to change the name. The British National Party has become the English National Party, but the flag of fascism and anti-Semitism can still be seen nailed to its masthead.

At the very moment when the mighty Soviet advance, together with the splendid advance of the Eighth Army, is threatening the Nazi power, the anti-Jewish campaign swells to big dimensions. The fascists and their friends are using their last card. This is the moment they choose to say: "This is a Jews' war. Is your son in Libya? Stop the Jews' war! Don't make money for the Jewish boss. The Jews are getting rich from the war. The Jews are dodging the army—stop this Jews' war."

The friends of Hitler who are working to delay the Second Front hope to get two things from this anti-Jewish campaign. First, they hope to slow down the war effort. They calculate that if the working class can be persuaded that this is indeed a Jews' war, then the intensity of work in the factories will decrease. If, in a particular factory, one tank or one plane less is produced, that is equal to one plane or tank destroyed by the enemy. The reactionaries calculate that if they can repeat this performance in factories up and down the

country, then they will have won a big battle for Hitler. Thus their anti-Semitic campaign is nothing less than Fifth Column activity, sabotage of the war effort, and treason against the nation.

The second objective of the fascists is ever more sinister. They reckon that if a sufficient number of British people can be persuaded that their main enemy is the Jews and not Hitler, then a bond of mutual understanding will have been created between such people and the Nazi government. Those people who will have swallowed the anti-Jewish propaganda will see no point in a war against the Nazi regime in Germany.

If this plot were to succeed, the forces of big business would be able to negotiate with Hitler to save the Nazi regime in Germany and then be able to turn upon the British working class and push it down into the same conditions of abject slavery as the German working class.

### Fifth-Column Danger

But some people will say: "How ridiculous! Just because I express some anti-Jewish sentiments, you say I am a Fifth Columnist." No, the person who innocently makes an anti-Jewish remark is not a Fifth Columnist, but he is certainly helping the Fifth Column—he is unwittingly playing into the hands of the Fifth Column. He is unwittingly strengthening the enemies of the people, the enemies of the working-class movement. The power of the people, once it is united, is invincible. Unity is achieved when there is a common objective and when all recognize the same enemy. The effect of anti-Semitism is to create among some people a false objective, to split the working-class movement between those who recognize fascism as the enemy and those who are diverted into an attack against an imaginary enemy, the Jews. Therefore, an anti-Jewish expression by a worker cannot be allowed to pass as a means of letting off steam or as an idle luxury. Such anti-Jewish expressions are a serious menace to the whole working-class movement.

## Stamp It Out!

Every worker must make it his serious individual responsibility to see to it that no anti-Jewish statement is allowed to pass without challenge; that when such a statement is made in innocence a careful explanation is given of the danger it carries. And that where such a statement is made by a fascist deliberately for the purpose of creating anti-Jewish feeling, then stern and immediate steps are taken to expose and to stamp upon such activities. It is your organizations, your own liberty that are at stake.

By seeing that this foul disease of anti-Semitism is stamped out, we can clear the way for the wide advance of all progressive forces, for close military and political co-operation with the Soviet Union, for a speedy and victorious finish to the war, and for a new chapter in the forward march of Jews and Gentiles to a higher and better life.

# How to Combat Anti-Semitism

By Earl Browder

**A**NTI-SEMITISM is a political question of the first magnitude for the entire world. It is impossible to speak of anti-Semitism today without speaking of its twin, which is anti-Communism. Under the banner of struggle against the alleged Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world and its companion "Communist conspiracy" to overthrow all existing governments and institute universal Bolshevism, sometimes called Jewish Bolshevism and sometimes Jewish plutocratic Bolshevism, Hitler, with his satellites and agents, has thrown the world into the greatest catastrophe of all history. This struggle is by no means over; nor is it won. Hitler's bid to rule the world has not yet been beaten. In fact, I think we must say that the heaviest struggle is still ahead.

And while there have been established within the last six months the pre-conditions for wiping out Hitlerism, these pre-conditions are still to be realized. It will require the utmost mobilization of all the military strength and moral resources of the United Nations to do this job. And above all, it will require a greater undertaking, a greater mobilization of our intellectual resources than we have ever made before.

To wage the struggle against Hitlerism and master the problem of uniting the democratic world for the supreme military effort, it is essential that we understand the main weapon, the secret weapon of Hitlerism embodied in his twin slogans of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. Hitler didn't invent these slogans; he found them ready-made. But he took them and inflated them into intellectual and moral monstrosities

such as the world has never seen before. And by the manipulation of these slogans, Hitler succeeded in immobilizing and paralyzing the world which he set out to conquer; he hypnotized his intended victims, separating them and making them incapable of struggle; and then finally, after long preparation, apparent to the whole world, he pounced upon his victims one by one, while the rest of the world, knowing that they were also on the list, stood by as if in a hypnotic trance and watched and even assisted in the process leading directly to their own destruction.

It is quite easy to trace the operations of the anti-Communist slogan and to see how it served to paralyze the nations of the West, particularly France, Britain, and the United States, and even involve them actively in Hitler's plans for world conquest. The anti-Communist slogan found fertile soil in the fear of revolution which gripped the possessing classes; they had been deeply frightened by the rise of the Soviet Union and were fearful that its example would serve to stimulate similar ambitions on the part of the working class of their own countries, and they were so obsessed by this fear that they could not see the real danger arising to themselves, as well as to the whole world; they could not see that the danger was not in the rise of a new society which would represent a higher stage of human development, but in a reversion to medievalism, reinforced by all the technique of modern science, consequent upon a Hitler victory, which would wipe out every nation, and along with it even those possessing classes who were so fearful of Communism.

This fear of a revolutionary upheaval by the masses dissatisfied with the working of the modern capitalist system led the ruling classes of France, Britain, and the United States to be complacent at the rise of Hitler in Germany because he presented himself as a bulwark against Bolshevism, against the threat of revolution and the inauguration of socialism. It even led them to give active help in the imposition of the Hitler regime upon the German people. Powerful capitalist circles in France, Britain, and the United States share in the

guilt for the rise of Hitlerism in Germany because they were under the influence of Hitler's anti-Communist slogan, in face of the fact that the Communists, always keenly conscious of the world threat of the rising fascist movement, had long ago declared their readiness for a united front against this menace and the desire to subordinate their special program to the necessities of this united front in order to prevent a great historical leap backward which would wipe out all the fruits of human progress for many generations.

What has not been so apparent to most people is the equally important role played by Hitler's use of anti-Semitism; and because the Jewish people were even fewer in numbers than the Communists on a world scale, the deep importance and significance of this manipulation of anti-Semitism has not received the attention it deserves. When I say it has not received the attention it deserves, I do not mean in the superficial sense, because in many respects, the world, and especially the United States, has given more attention to Hitler's anti-Semitism than to almost any other feature of Hitlerism up to the outbreak of the war. I mean in the sense of studying this question and understanding how it arose and how it operates, and how the use of this campaign to oppress and exterminate a people of distinctly limited numbers operated to paralyze the will and the instinct for self-preservation of great nations and hundreds of millions of people.

The principle of Hitler's use of anti-Communism operates quite independently of the number of Jews or Communists there may be or which people actually are Jews or Communists. It operates through the creation of a general atmosphere of suspense, of danger, of impending catastrophe; it seeks to fasten the attention of the people upon such an imaginary and inflated danger, which sets everyone looking all around him for that danger, searching out hidden expressions of this danger among his own associates, dividing people sharply on imaginary lines, lines which have no social reality, setting group against group, individual against individual, and creating a fear of that very social solidarity

and unity which would be an insuperable barrier to the rise of fascism.

The manipulation of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism was Hitler's first step toward the creation of this atmosphere without which the fascist regime could not arise or impose its power. There were not many Jews in Germany in relation to the total population, and yet the Nazi regime succeeded in imposing upon the German people the idea of the necessity for a careful examination of their family trees as far back as their great-grandfathers and great-grandmothers to find out whether there was a taint of Jewish blood.

What does that kind of thing do to the social structure of a nation? It results in the complete disintegration of the people, their complete moral and intellectual breakdown, and out of that their complete subordination to the Nazi leadership imposed from above. The anti-Communist slogan does the same thing in principle; operating in a different way, it is connected up with anti-Semitism through the charge that the Jews are guilty of the crime of having brought Bolshevism to the world, spreading the idea to the entire population, and poisoning even Aryans with its microbes.

There was a strong Communist movement in Germany, although there was a very small Jewish population. Why, then, did Hitler place such emphasis upon anti-Semitism? Even if there had been a problem of the relationship of the Jewish population to the German state, it could not have been a major problem in view of their small numbers. But Hitler owes his success and his historical role precisely to his understanding of the poisonous social effects of this concept which represents a racial or national group as a hidden enemy within; and he understood that the effectiveness of anti-Semitism in Germany was precisely dependent upon the small number of Jews in that country.

It would have been impossible for the Hitlerite type of anti-Semitism to arise independently in America as it did in Germany, under the cultivation and stimulation of the Nazi organization, for the very reason that in America there is

such a large number of Jews. Where there are so many flesh and blood Jews it is difficult to substitute the specter of the anti-Semitic legend. In Germany anti-Semitism was all the more effective because so few Germans knew what a Jew was and never saw a Jew except in the cartoons of the Nazi papers. Anti-Semitism in Germany had the same advantages in the existence of very few Jews in the country that anti-Communism has in the United States, where there are relatively very few Communists and where the Red scare therefore was able to rise to a height unknown in any other country, not even in Germany.

We have now in the United States, however, a very large growth of anti-Semitism, which always existed in a small way but never assumed the proportions of a major menace. It has come just in the last few years and it is based upon the dominance of Nazism in Germany and its conquests in Europe, which has stimulated every reactionary force in American life and transplanted into America the full virus of anti-Semitism right out of Berlin.

We have the evidence for this from the Nazis themselves. During the past few months the official Nazi press has exultantly recorded the rising anti-Semitism in the United States, as well as in England. *Das Schwarze Korps*, for example, speaks of "our more clear-sighted contemporaries in England and America," while Herr Goebbels in his organ *Das Reich* recently boasted that "Hostility to Jews is everywhere becoming more apparent." The real character of this upsurge of anti-Semitism was indicated most clearly by the official German *News Agency* in May of this year which declared:

*"Only history knows to what extent anti-Semitism among our enemies can change matters in our favor. . . . It may influence the future of the war."*

The catalogue of recent anti-Semitic activities in the United States could fill a volume. Here are just a few.

Commissioner of Investigation Herlands, of New York

City, has ascertained over fifty acts of anti-Jewish vandalism and terrorism in this city alone.

A few weeks ago a synagogue in Cleveland, O., was set afire.

The nation has literally been flooded with vicious anti-Semitic poems and ditties which have cropped up in practically every state of the Union, have been posted on bulletin boards of war plants, and have been mailed to men in the armed forces.

Recently a booklet of biblical quotations entitled "My Daily Reading from the Four Gospels in the New Testament" was distributed to the Catholic soldiers in the United States Army. This booklet, which will be discontinued according to an announcement by General Arnold, Chief of Chaplains of the United States, contains vicious anti-Semitic as well as anti-labor subheads and footnotes.

The House of Representatives has once again become a forum for anti-Semitic speeches, with very little resistance. The chief offender has been Representative Rankin. But he is not alone. Martin Dies had defended the "right" of Americans to be anti-Semitic and Congressman Ham Fish, echoing Senator Nye and Senator Wheeler, has defended the "rights" of anti-Semites in America.

With a few notable exceptions, like *Social Justice*, the fascist and anti-Semitic press continue to circulate in the United States quite freely. Gerald L. K. Smith's *The Cross and The Defender* magazine and scores of anti-Semitic publications continue to circulate through the mails. It would be safe to say that the number of publications which actively peddle anti-Semitism is today somewhere in the vicinity of 100.

The Ku Klux Klan is active in numerous states, South, West and East.

Gerald L. K. Smith's America First Party, pro-fascist and anti-Semitic, has already expanded from Detroit into ten states while the Coughlinites and various other overt anti-Semitic groupings operate actively.

During the recent hearings in Washington on the Chinese

Exclusion Act the representatives of the Mothers of America appeared and engaged in anti-Semitic, anti-Communist and anti-alien speech-making.

I had the opportunity a few weeks ago to read the report of a poll that was conducted on the prevalence of anti-Semitism in the U.S. Some of the main results of that poll were published in a little story in *PM*. You probably saw it. The full report is much more illuminating than the brief results given in *PM*. This was a poll conducted on the principle of the Gallup Public Opinion Survey, that is, a sampling of various communities and social strata, a method which, while by no means infallible, has proven by and large to be a very good indication of the actual state of the public mind at any given moment on any particular problem. This poll was prepared not for publication but for the private information of important people, especially in Great Britain, and we may assume that there is no conscious distortion in it. It was a real, serious attempt to measure the extent to which anti-Semitism has penetrated the United States. Well, the results are astonishing and alarming. That investigation showed that two-thirds of the population of the United States have been seriously affected by anti-Semitic propaganda—two-thirds of the population of the United States! One-third of the population of the United States already shows itself as a bearer of anti-Semitic ideas, and 10 per cent of the population is actively anti-Semitic.

These figures reveal that all of us have seriously underestimated the degree of the invasion of Hitlerism into this country. When we keep in mind that there is such wide prevalence of anti-Semitism in the United States despite the fact that, as a result of the war, anti-Semitism is today a political stigma identifying enemies of our nation's war effort, we have good cause to be alarmed. This has become one of the major problems of winning the war. It is not a question which can be left for elimination to a protracted process of public education over a period of generations. Together with the issue of anti-Communism, it has become a problem which must be met by cur-

rent public and governmental policy which consciously takes control of the situation.

Just as it has become necessary for winning the war and for the unity of the nation to eliminate the anti-Communist ideology, which throws the seeds of disintegration into our whole national effort, so it has become necessary to place anti-Semitism outside the pale, to outlaw it and to have organized public and governmental action to control and eliminate this Hitlerite ideology which is working for Hitler and which is disrupting our war effort. Anti-Communism is not just the non-acceptance of the Communist philosophy or program, it is the theory that it is necessary to exclude Communists from public life and to deny them the ordinary rights of citizens. And just as the elimination of anti-Communism in the United States as a political ideology, a political force, requires the acceptance and inclusion of Communists in the general democratic life of the country, so does the elimination of anti-Semitism require the positive, active and unrestricted acceptance of Jewish-Americans in the national life of our country.

This has become a question which must be placed on the order of the day not as the problem of a particular group, not just as the problem of the Jewish population. It is a national problem. It is not even just a problem of the progressives who must combat reaction. It is a problem of the nation, which must be solved as the price of continued national existence. Our nation cannot continue to live if it tolerates the spread and penetration of these Hitler ideas into the nooks and corners of the 130,000,000 population of the United States.

The adoption of a statute making anti-Semitism a crime in the United States, as it has been for twenty-five years in the Soviet Union, is one of the necessary measures today. Not the only one, by any means. By itself, it will not answer the question; but as a part of, and as one of the first parts of, the great social movement to cleanse the country of this poison, it is absolutely necessary not only for the sake of human progress in general, but because we cannot win this war without war-

ring against Hitlerism here at home. And that means warring against anti-Semitism.

It is no accident that among the chief leaders of the forces who are associated with the present uprising against our war effort, we find people who are tainted with anti-Semitism, who have expressed it or shown in one way or another sympathy with it. It is not an accident that all of them are also pronounced anti-Communists in the most Hitlerian sense. One of the most shameful aspects of the whole thing is that Jewish circles are involved in it also. We should not be surprised at this, of course, because originally Hitler was even able to find Jews to help him in the use of anti-Semitism. Every nation has produced its Judases.

But here in America today we have the spectacle of degenerated, declassed, desperate, and hopeless elements being recruited from the underworld for this kind of work. We also have powerful, supposedly public-spirited and respectable citizens joining in the game. I want to mention one prize example—David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, one of the Democratic Party electors for Roosevelt in the State of New York in 1936, a man whom even Vice-President Wallace at a dinner a few weeks ago spoke to affectionately as “Dave,” a man who is looked upon by many as one of the pillars of the labor movement. After his leadership in the provocative exploitation of the Ehrlich-Alter case, which led to the first break in the unity of the United Nations, between the Soviet Union and the Polish government-in-exile, Mr. Dubinsky emerged as a part of the John L. Lewis cabal, organizing a strike movement in America to break the Roosevelt leadership of the war effort, to prevent the opening of a second front which will defeat Hitler in 1943, and to prepare for an administration in the 1944 elections which will make a negotiated peace with Hitler.

When this understanding and explanation of Dubinsky's role today is outlined, many people draw back and say, no, you are exaggerating; you are resorting to typical Communist name-calling and exaggerations which have no relation to

reality; you may not agree with what Mr. Dubinsky is doing, but no one can justly accuse him of being for Hitler; no one can accuse him of being against the President; no one can accuse him of wanting to defeat the United States in this war; and surely no one can accuse him of anti-Semitism.

And yet as we dig into the record as it exists in documents, we begin to find out that Dubinsky over years has had connections with elements that were working with Hitler, spreading anti-Semitism in the world and in the United States; and that Dubinsky has been a protector and a patron of these people. I ran across it by accident while checking up on Dubinsky's role as a conspirator against the Soviet Union in his work with the Jewish Labor Committee which organized finances from this country to create Hitler's fifth column inside the Soviet Union. In the process of that work Dubinsky had associated himself with a fascist by the name of Gregorieff, a man who in Cuba was branded as a Nazi agent and who, on coming to the United States, joined fascist organizations in this country in publishing appeals to the soldiers of the Red Army to desert and refuse to fight Hitler. And when *The Hour*, a responsible research bulletin, tried to expose Gregorieff, Dubinsky and Minkoff and other associates in the Jewish Labor Committee provided Gregorieff with a lawyer to bring suit for libel against *The Hour* to prevent it from exposing his role in fighting for Hitler against the Soviet Union. They published a defense of Gregorieff in the *New Leader*. I have not yet found it in the *Forward* because I don't read Yiddish; but I am sure if somebody searches the file of the *Forward*, he may also find the defense of Gregorieff there.

And Gregorieff is a man with a long record of anti-Semitic propaganda in the Ukraine, in Austria, in Germany, in Czechoslovakia, in Paris, and in the United States, and a long time associate of the worst anti-Semites of the Ukrainian White Guard in Europe and America. That is where anti-Communism leads Jews—right into the midst of the anti-Semitic camp, just as anti-Semitism inevitably leads right into the center of the conspiracies against the Soviet Union and the

United Nations and finally and inevitably against the United States and specifically against the President.

It is no accident that Dave Dubinsky is today one of the chief movers to bring Lewis back into the A. F. of L., a move which everybody knows is a move designed to throw the A. F. of L. into the opposition to the Roosevelt Administration and the opposition against the war, into the camp of Hoover, Vandenberg, Landon and company, who have their long established program for collaboration between the United States and Nazi Germany.

This is a broad outline of the problem as some of us see it; our task is to identify the sources of the anti-Semitic conspiracy, expose it and, by exposing it, destroy its ability to do harm.

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