

LABOR AND ANTI- SEMITISM

By George Morris

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His pamphlet is based on a series of four articles that appeared in the *Daily Worker*, and which the author further elaborated and brought up to date for publication in pamphlet form.

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 209

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By GEORGE MORRIS

"National and racial chauvinism is a relic of man-hating morals characteristic of the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism, as the extreme form of racial chauvinism, is the most dangerous relic of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism is of advantage to exploiters as a lightning conductor which enables capitalism to evade the blows of the toilers. Anti-Semitism is dangerous to the toilers as a false path which leads them away from the right road and brings them into the jungles. For this reason, Communists, as consistent internationalists, cannot help being uncompromising and sworn enemies of anti-Semitism."

The above was Joseph Stalin's definition of anti-Semitism in an interview with the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in the early thirties. The Constitution of the Soviet Union, drafted by Stalin, which has been the law of the land for nearly two decades, says in Article 123:

"Equality of rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an indefeasible law."

"Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law."

The above should leave no doubt how the Soviet Union stands on anti-Semitism. Until the post-war establishment of People's Democracies in China and East Europe, the U.S.S.R. was the world's only country to ban every form of discrimination or race-hatred by law.

The entire course of the Soviet Republic since its inception in 1917 and of the new democracies, has been guided by the spirit and letter of the above position. Lenin's and Stalin's writings since their earliest days have repeatedly directed fire against all forms of chauvinism and, often, specifically against anti-Semitism.

It was precisely because of this position of the Marxists, that people of Jewish origin received real freedom of opportunity in all fields of life, up to and including the top positions in governments, only when these socialist governments appeared on the scene. To cite a few examples of outstanding persons from the ranks of the Jewish people who rose to great heights:

Lazar Kaganovich, has since the early days of the U.S.S.R. been in its topmost posts and is today one of four deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers and one of the eight members of the Presidium of the Communist Party;

In Hungary, there is Matyas Rakosi, the Premier, and several other top government ministers and outstanding leaders of the Communist Party;

In Rumania, Josef Kishinevski is vice premier and second ranking Secretary of the Communist Party. Also, several others, including Foreign Minister Bugitch, hold top posts.

In Czechoslovakia, the Minister of Justice, Stefan Reitz, Foreign Minister Vaclav David and a large number of members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, are Jews, as is Gertruda Sekaninova-Cartkova who headed the U.N. delegation in the 1952 session.

In Poland, Hilary Minc, Vice-Premier and head of the State Commission of economic planning, Yakub Berman, and Zambrowski are all members of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party.

Why, then, the howl of "anti-Semitism" against the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies? The charge is obviously ridiculous. In the face of the well-known facts, it reduces itself to deliberate **and calculated slander**. How ridiculous it is was demonstrated when the delegations of Poland and Czechoslovakia arrived to attend the 1953 U.N. sessions. A mob of reporters besieged them with slanderous questions about alleged "anti-Semitism" in their countries. Neither the member of the Polish delegation, Julius Katz-Suchy, nor Czechoslovakia's Foreign Minister and delegation head, Vaclav David, had any comment. They didn't need to. Both are Jewish.

What about the celebrated case of the 15 prominent doctors of the Soviet Union who were arrested and charged with the murder

of important Soviet leaders through false medical diagnosis and treatment? The charge was that this group of doctors, of whom six were Jewish, had connection with espionage groups working through the Zionist machinery, and the rest were in the service of other British or American agencies.

When the arrests were made the anti-Sovieteers throughout the world raised a howl, as they do every time the U.S.S.R. or the new Democracies catch a batch of spies and saboteurs. But something unprecedented happened in this case. No further details on the arrests were announced, while the preliminary investigation of the charges followed. On April 5, the Soviet press announced that the investigation found the charges completely unfounded, the result of fabrications, and the doctors were completely cleared and freed. Moreover, Ryumin, a deputy of what was formerly the Ministry of State Security and in charge of its investigatory division, who was directly responsible for the concocted charges and fabrication of evidence, along with some associates, was arrested on charges of being "criminally responsible." On the following day it was announced that Semyon Ignatiev, who was head of the Interior Ministry, but more recently elevated to the high post of a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was removed from the latter position for his share in the responsibility. An editorial in the Communist Party's central organ, *Pravda*, mercilessly denounced people of the type of Ryumin "who would arouse feelings of national antagonism which are profoundly alien to socialist ideology" and said that Ignatiev "displayed political blindness and inattentiveness."

Leaving no comfort for the equally despicable anti-Sovieteers outside the U.S.S.R., the now famed *Pravda* editorial took the occasion to restate with new emphasis the U.S.S.R.'s traditional, uncompromising stand against all forms of racism and the sections of the Constitution that protect U.S.S.R. citizens against anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination.

Thus the howl raised by the anti-Sovieteers, on the claim that anti-Semitism has "become the official policy of the Soviet government," boomeranged with extraordinary force. Instead, a new challenge was thrown to the capitalist world that is today reeking in racist filth, and a new high standard of justice was set.

When, in the long history of the FBI under J. Edgar Hoover, has he or any of his subordinates been held responsible for their "investigations" and the false charges upon which numerous frame-ups and convictions of many were based? When, in all our history,

was a high official arrested or even removed for fabricating false evidence against citizens? Was anyone ever held responsible for the frameup of Tom Mooney and of Sacco and Vanzetti? How often in our history of thousands of lynchings—lawless and judicial—was even a minor official held responsible and punished? How could we have it otherwise if the very objective of our legislative “investigations” has become the framing and slandering of innocent persons?

Ignatiev and Ryumin, it must be borne in mind, held positions in the U.S.S.R. comparable to those held by the Attorney General and the head of the FBI in our country.

By its action, the Soviet government gave the highest possible assurance that its guarantees on civil rights have the greatest force, with no official big enough to evade it—and they have no “states’ rights” in the U.S.S.R. behind which any racist can hide, as do the Southern lynchers here.

Those who originated the “Soviet anti-Semitism” hoax, who thought that they had something in the case of the 15 doctors, found they monkeyed with a buzz-saw. The spotlight is on the anti-Semitism in their own back yards.

It is obvious that we must dig deeply beneath the pack of lies if we are to see why they are being dished up to the people of America in the press and over the airwaves. As the testimony at the Prague trial revealed, in 1947, prior to U.S. recognition of the new state of Israel, a secret conference was held in Washington between President Truman, the then under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson; Henry Morgenthau, Jr., former Secretary of the Treasury and prominent Jewish financier; David Ben Gurion, who later became Israel’s first Prime Minister, and Moshe Sharett, who became Israel’s Foreign Minister. It was brought out that an agreement was reached assuring Truman that the new state would follow U.S. dictation and put at her disposal the services of Israel’s and the Zionist movement’s intelligence network and diplomatic and organizational machinery within the socialist countries. This was the machinery that later provided the espionage channels for Slansky and other forces in the pay of Wall Street or the British.

Some time after U.S. recognition of the state of Israel in 1948, Morgenthau made a trip to Israel and upon his return declared, according to the *New York Times*, that the new state would be the “hard core of resistance” against Communism.

“As we will show farther on in this pamphlet, about that time a group of big business spokesmen among America’s Jews were preparing an all-out “psychological warfare” drive to pin the false

label of "anti-Semitism" on the Soviet Union. They were carrying out the policy of the State Department at the behest of the Wall Street clique of which they are a part. There were several objectives and they flowed directly from the cold war launched at that time through Greek-Turkish "aid" and Marshall Plan operations.

First was the desire to plant a reactionary regime in Israel and to turn it into an imperialist military base in the Near East, in which the oil trust is especially interested. This was aimed both against the Soviet Union and Wall Street's chief rival, Britain.

Secondly, the campaign was used as a smokescreen to cover up the partnership which the U.S. had concluded with the German Nazis and the rearmament of Germany, which has since become an open secret and has called forth wide protests.

Third, and by no means least important, was the aim of confusing the people of America and turning their attention from the real and growing menace of anti-Semitism and anti-Negro discrimination in the United States.

The plan to provide "popular" auspices for this drive led the State Department and the cooperating Big Business Jewish group in Wall Street, to utilize as their ally in the ranks of labor the group of vicious anti-Sovieteers known as the Jewish Labor Committee.

ROLE OF JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

The Jewish Labor Committee is a front for a number of leaders of unions and other organizations with a large percentage of Jewish members.

The J.L.C. is dominated by a small circle of leaders that grew out of Right-wing Social Democracy. Foremost among them is David Dubinsky, president, secretary and treasurer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the J.L.C.'s chief financier and political spirit. The other dominant elements are the publishers of the *Jewish Daily Forward*; Nathan Chanin and associates at the head of the Workmen's Circle and certain new York leaders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and of several other unions.

The opening shot in the campaign of false charges of anti-Semitism against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, was fired on February 28, 1949, from the Convention of the Jewish Labor Committee held in Atlantic City. The report of concocted lies picturing "oppression" of Jews behind the "Iron Curtain" was

no sooner released by that convention than the American press blazed out with the J.C.L.'s stuff. Every professional anti-Sovieteer blossomed forth, as though responding to a signal, with rewrites of the falsehoods.

But while the J.L.C. gave the campaign a sendoff in public, it wasn't the initiator. For that we must go to a meeting of the National Executive of the American Jewish Committee held on May 10-11, 1947. It was then that this group, speaking for the topmost rich of America's Jewry, and the direct representatives of Wall Street in its ranks, adopted a resolution instructing the A.J.C. staff to "direct its efforts to combat the attempts . . . to identify Jews and Communists."

A secret memorandum of the American Jewish Committee giving an outline for the project and distributed to the members of the organization's executive body, was made public in May, 1949 in a series of articles by the late Tom O'Connor in the *Compass*, and never denied.

In this memorandum, the American Jewish Committee expressed concern because many Jews "have been influenced by the propaganda disseminated by American Communists to the effect that the Soviet regime has eradicated anti-Semitism and benefited Jews living under Communism. This has produced an emotional conflict, which makes many Jews, although antagonistic to Communism, diffident about speaking out against Communism."

The memorandum then came to the conclusion that this "emotional conflict" would disappear if "Jewish life in Iron Curtain countries were more widely known to American Jews." But in view of the fact that there was "no authoritative body of material on this subject," a project to presumably create such material was authorized.

The job of "gathering" the material was put in the hands of staffmen notorious for their hatred of the Soviet Union, mainly of Trotskyite and Social Democratic background. They were regarded as most efficient for such dirty work. Use also was made of emigre outcasts from the U.S.S.R. and the New Democracies.

The minutes of that May 10-11 executive meeting of the American Jewish Committee also showed that this group of wealthy Jews discussed ways and means to take this pack of lies to the people through other than its own auspices. One idea was to plant the material with the offices of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in European countries and let the lies come into America in the form of press dispatches. When the American Jewish Committee's strategy

came to fruition, it was a labor front, the Jewish Labor Committee, that provided the platform for bombarding the people of America. It was made to look like a labor operation. But the real force back of it was the most reactionary pro-war clique among America's Jews.

The chairman of the American Jewish Committee, Jacob Blaustein, is director of the American Oil Co. and director of several other big oil firms. The honorary president of the A.J.C. is Joseph Proskauer who was attorney for the Arabian-American Oil Co. and one of the founders, jointly with some of America's notorious anti-Semites, of the infamous Liberty League that fought Roosevelt.

LIES, SLANDERS, DISTORTIONS

The technique for "finding" anti-Semitism developed by the American Jewish Committee's staff of researchers, has been a simple one. First the charge of anti-Semitism is made. Then every bit that can be twisted, invented or exaggerated to give the charge seeming plausibility is headlined as "evidence." If a person in the U.S.S.R. or the New Democracies who is a Jew, is listed among a number removed from posts, demoted, arrested, or otherwise dishonored, then he is proclaimed as a victim of anti-Semitism.

A sample of this lie campaign was the fakery out of Vienna, reported in the *New York Times* in its Feb. 23, 1953, issue, alleging a "wave" of suicides, and the disappearance of many prominent Jews in Hungary, including seven government Ministers or Deputies. On March 25, the *Times* again ran a story, also by its own Vienna correspondent, headed "PURGES IN HUNGARY HELD EXAGGERATED." The story began:

"Word reached here today from a reliable source that Zoltan Vas, former head of the Hungarian State Economic Planning Office, who was reported to have committed suicide appeared last week in Parliament in Budapest. What is more, the report said, he was seen to kiss his old friend, Premier Matyas Rakosi, on both cheeks."

The story adds that with Vas coming to life, "all but one" of the seven who have been "arrested, shot, or committed suicide" have "reappeared" in the posts of their ministries and at public functions. The one whom the *Times* correspondent had not located, Gayula Decsi, has, it is true, been removed or transferred. But the *Times* neglected to point out that *he* doesn't happen to be a Jew

and that Bela Kovacs, who took his place as Minister of Justice, is a Jew. That's a strange sort of "anti-Semitism" they have in Hungary!

In one case, in 1949, the *New York Times* was caught in its own game. It reproduced as "evidence" of anti-Semitism a cartoon from the Soviet satirical magazine *Krokodil*, caricaturing the "cosmopolitan intellectual," then a major target in the Soviet press, carrying a suitcase labeled with the names of *Herald Tribune* writer Walter Lippmann, Andre Gide, the French novelist, and others. In Russian, the French "Gide" is spelled the same as Zhid—a term used by anti-Semites against Jews and prohibited in the U.S.S.R. *Newsweek* simply blacked out the first name "Andre," left "Zhid," and informed the readers that the cartoon referred to Walter Lippmann, as a "Zhid." The *Times* reprinted it, as did the *World-Telegram* and other papers.

When the original publication arrived from the U.S.S.R. and the hoax was exposed, because the name "Andre" was plainly visible, the *Times* had to print a retraction. It did so in a tiny item buried on an inside page.

So likewise on the question of Zionism or the more general term "Jewish nationalism" or "Jewish bourgeois nationalism," expressing the ideology of a capitalist type state in Israel, patterned after other capitalist republics. Suddenly the very use of those terms in Soviet journals or found in Soviet encyclopedias published years ago, became evidence of "anti-Semitism." The well known opposition of Marxists to Zionism, too, became "anti-Semitism." The fact that some of the earliest polemics of Lenin were against pro-Zionist influences among the Jewish workers of old Russia and Poland, was entirely overlooked.

Just as suddenly these schemers against the U.S.S.R. made Jewish people, Jewish faith, Zionism and Israel mean one and the same thing. In fact, the tiny state of Israel was even assumed to have jurisdiction over all persons of Jewish extraction, especially in the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern democracies.

These anti-Sovieteers would not dare suggest that the state of Israel has any authority over Jewish people in the U.S. Those among them who are Jewish proclaim from the rooftops that they are Americans. Their agents or followers, in fact, are conspicuous by their careful avoidance of the soil of Israel, except perhaps as tourists. In fact, we recall the days when the Jewish Labor Committee was in sharp conflict with the Zionists.

The tieup of Dubinsky and his associates to the Zionists and to

affairs in Israel developed out of considerations entirely different from those related to the stated objectives of the Zionists or the welfare of the new state of Israel and its people. The tieup was founded on the basis of the hatred of Dubinsky and his associates of the Socialist countries and had the aim of inciting war upon those lands.

LABOR MISLEADERS TAKE UP HUE AND CRY

Lest this be taken as merely an opinion or an expression of prejudice, let me cite the resolution on Israel adopted by the convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union on May 30, 1950. The resolution, part of a general pro-war document on foreign policy, polemizing against some resolutions submitted by certain locals, says on Page 301, proceedings, that the question must be "evaluated and correlated not merely as a question of Israel but as an organic part of the current world situation. . . . In this respect we underscore the urgent necessity of having a militarily strong and virile democracy in Israel, which is on the flank of Turkey—a land in the front lines of Russian fire in the event of another world conflagration."

In plain words Israel was given a perspective of development only if it offered itself as a war base in the Near East against the U.S.S.R. This advice was given by a group that has poured millions of dollars into Israel, in Marshall Plan missionary fashion to influence its working-class movement and whip it into line behind a policy of imperialism. That advice has been followed by the Histadrut (trade union) leaders and the heads of the Israeli government. And with that outlook went the service of Israel's diplomatic network, the Zionist organizations in all corners of the world, the assorted money-collection movements like the Joint Distribution Committee and repatriation agencies, for whatever the Western Powers want—spying, subversion, disruption.

This policy, so harmful to Israel, is no more an expression of the sentiment of the people of Israel than Dubinsky's line is an expression of the sentiment of his union's members. It serves the Wall Street imperialists and such of its millionaire representatives among the Jews like the Morgenthau, Lehman, Schiff and Sulzbergers. Dubinsky and his associates only helped them build a bridge to Israel's unions, the Histadrut, and provided them with a "popular" base for their policy.

People in the leadership of the A. F. L. and C.I.O. should be the last to raise the slanderous cry of anti-Semitism against the

U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies. Their own skirts are not clean and their object in raising the cry is suspect on several grounds.

We are reminded, for example, how the International Union of Hotel and Restaurant Workers has been at odds with the A. F. L. leadership. The union didn't even send delegates to the A. F. L. convention and has drastically cut its per capita payments, because an understanding that Hugo Ernst would fill a vacancy in the A. F. L. council was violated. Ernst, president of the 400,000-member union is Jewish. Ernst frankly charged that although there have been seven vacancies, his faith was the obstacle to an A. F. L. vice-presidency, held by his late predecessor.

David Dubinsky, the only Jew on the A. F. L. council, has always maintained silence on this charge of Ernst. But it is no secret, and it is often mentioned that for some people in the A. F. L.'s upper circle even one Jew is "too much." And this notwithstanding the fact that the A. F. L. was founded by Samuel Gompers, a Jew.

It would seem that the A. F. L. leaders ought to look a little closer home before they look for anti-Semitism in Czechoslovakia or the Soviet Union.

James B. Carey, who holds the office of secretary-treasurer of the C.I.O., said on Jan. 28, 1950, before the All-American Conference to Combat Communism:

"In the last war we joined with the Communists to fight the fascists; in another we will join with the fascists to defeat the Communists."

When a scandal developed over this statement Carey not only defended, but justified it, and the C.I.O. did nothing about it.

This statement of Carey must be understood within the context of the time it was made. The Truman administration had stepped up its policy of building a West German army with the help of Hitler's generals, notably Guderian. Also, the Truman administration began its overtures to General Franco of fascist Spain.

These steps provoked a cry of protests, especially from the Jewish groups in the labor movement, because they were sensitive to the implications of the move. Carey was obviously trying to whip labor into line for the Truman policy and spoke more frankly than others.

Nor have we forgotten the series of vicious anti-Semitic cartoons, depicting Communists in the manner of a Streich-

er-type caricature of a Jew, that appeared in that period in *C.I.O. News* and Carey's own *I.U.E. News*.

It would appear that the C.I.O., too, ought to look a little closer home before it looks beyond our borders.

As for the outlook of the Jewish Labor Committee which is allied so cozily with the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. top groups, its position was well expressed just a week after Pearl Harbor, when one of its leading lights, Nathan Chanin, wrote, in his magazine, *The Friend*:

The last shot has not yet been fired from free America—and from that shot the Stalin regime, too, will be shot to pieces."

This, remember, was written in the week when the Hitler peril was at its greatest, and when, as Chanin well knew, only the Red Army stood in the way of an invasion of the U.S., and possible conquest by Hitler's and the Mikado's might. Obviously Chanin, and those of the J.L.C. for whom he spoke, were much more fearful of the "red danger" than of the anti-Semitic regime that cremated 6,000,000 Jews.

THE ALLIES THEY WIN

Nor can we overlook the type of alliances these people in the A. F. of L., C.I.O. and the J.L.C. have made in their efforts to build an anti-Soviet front. It is well known—especially to America's Jewish people who came from East Europe's lands—what happened to the anti-Semites when those countries took the socialist path. And what countries were more notorious for their anti-Semitism outside of Germany than Czarist Russia, and old Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and the Baltic countries? The anti-Semitic elements, ousted from power, fled for their very lives as is well known. They were washed up on our shores and emerged as "democratic" committees to "free" their lands—meaning to "free" them for the anti-Semites, of course.

Thanks to skillful American publicity—with the help of many A. F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders and the J.L.C.—these scoundrels were provided with a "democratic" make-up. They parade as lecturers before tea clubs on the "sad" plight of the lands from which they fled. An assortment of these characters even took over the convention

of the A. F. of L. for a whole day last September.

The slogan of certain labor leaders is: "Unite with the devil if it is to fight the U.S.S.R." We now have the strange spectacle of these labor leaders joining with the worst anti-Semites the eastern countries ever knew, and together weeping buckets of tears over non-existent anti-Semitism elsewhere.

In their resolutions (the C.I.O.'s resolution says "anti-Semitism" in the lands of socialism is even "worse" than that of Hitler Germany) these labor leaders furnish not the slightest evidence of anti-Semitism in the countries of Socialism. They merely cite the fact that among those arrested in Prague were men identified with the Zionist movement and Israel. It is inconceivable, so they pretend to believe, that the Zionist movement can shelter spies. Why not? Is the Zionist movement less likely to be used for that sort of work through "Project X" than, let's say the American trade union officialdom? If you think I am exaggerating, let me cite an editorial of the late William Green in the April, 1950, issue of the *American Federationist*—two months before the Korean war.

Green openly called for help to "underground" movements in the East European countries and China and aid from certain groups for espionage work in those lands. And he went on:

"But this is not enough. All organized groups of democratic citizens in this and other countries should band together to aid the underground forces. . . ."

"We have many citizens who are familiar with foreign countries and can serve our nation . . . by helping to organize and maintain resistance in the nations grabbed by Stalin. These resistance groups would provide the best possible intelligence sources to guide all our efforts in the cold war. This is one contribution all groups and all exiles can make. . . ."

Reader's Digest of September, 1952, made A. F. of L. European agent Irving Brown's exploits the subject of an article. The writer, editor of an A. F. of L. paper, described how some man met him in a Vienna coffee shop to show him documents on alleged affairs in Czechoslovakia.

"Our underground now has contacts inside the leadership of the Czech Communist Party. Irving Brown has been working with us," this man is alleged to have told the writer months before the Prague arrests were made!

Brown, according to the *Digest* piece, is a "one-man OSS" and

works under Jay Lovestone who, 23 years ago, was driven out of the American Communist Party as a traitor, but who today is executive secretary of the A. F. of L.'s "Free Trade Union Committee." Lovestone, adds the story, "has overall supervision of Brown's work and of similar work being done by A. F. of L. representatives in Japan, Formosa, Indonesia and South America. To date Brown's operation has cost the A. F. of L. close to \$1,000,000."

AN ANTI-LABOR WEAPON

Who gains from the "Soviet anti-Semitism" hoax concocted by an agency of wealthy Jews and spread by the Jewish Labor Committee? As we have seen from the foregoing sections, we are dealing here with a drive to "shock" people who want peace into a warlike hatred of the Soviet Union and the New Democracies.

It need hardly be added that this campaign also has the purposes of "equating" the "red menace" with the fascist menace, and of diverting attention from the fact that Hitler's generals and other war criminals have been assigned to provide the core of Dulles' European "liberation" army.

But reactionaries also see great benefits to themselves out of the "anti-Semitism" hoax on a domestic level. We can see this by measuring its effects in the very unions upon which the J.L.C.'s leaders are based.

It is a well known fact, for example, that the ladies' garment and men's clothing trades are far behind industry in general on wages. As anyone can see from Bureau of Labor Statistics, the members of these unions in the course of the period since 1946 when the government's cost of living index climbed 50 percent, have failed to raise even the money-wages of their members. In some sections of the industry they have even fallen back in money earnings.

Every effort of honest people in the I.L.G.W.U. or in certain New York locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, to raise the issue of wages and examine why it is that the members of these two unions have fallen farthest behind in real wages, has been met with a barrage of redbaiting.

In the current elections in the I.L.G.W.U. locals, the leaders have had only one answer to those contesting administration candidates for office, who raised issues, particularly wages: they cried "Soviet anti-Semitism" and lied brazenly about the Prague trials. The administration rides the wave of anti-Soviet propaganda,

calculating that there are more votes in that strategy than in trying to meet the issues that really concern the members.

If the I.L.G.W.U.'s leaders would put as much energy and money into a fight for decent living standards as they put into their "Little Marshall Plan" of activities against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, there would be more real wages in the pay envelopes of the garment workers and fewer unorganized.

At the 1950 I.L.G.W.U. convention, for example, the very convention that advised Israel to lend itself as a war base for the imperialists in the Near East, the union listed scores of organizations throughout the world to which it had donated a total of more than \$1,500,000 since the previous convention, the bulk of it for anti-Communist purposes through the Jewish Labor Committee and allied groups.

WHERE ANTI-SEMITISM IS AN ISSUE

The "anti-Semitism" hoax is also very convenient to many employers in the needle industries, whether they be Jewish, as many of them are, or not. They are happy over the opportunity to cultivate a "united front" with their employes and the leaders of the unions, but how they scream when a worker suggests that 10 cents more ought to be paid for making a dress or a suit!

But the evil force that really inspires this relationship is Wall Street's direct influence among the Jewish people. This is exerted mainly through magnates who happen to be Jewish, the Morgenthau, Lehman, Schiff, Sulzberger, Blaustein and others who have a prominent place in Who Is Who in business, finance and publishing. Dubinsky and the numerous smaller employers he deals with literally worship these men of Wall Street as though a capitalist who is Jewish isn't the same vicious exploiter of labor and war profiteer as is a capitalist of Protestant or Catholic faith.

Is anti-Semitism and racism in general an issue? It most certainly is. But it is not an issue at all in the lands where even the use of anti-Semitic or racist epithets is a major crime severely punishable under the law. It isn't an issue in the lands where some of the outstanding leaders of government and other spheres, come from the Jewish people. But it is an issue in the U.S.A. The case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg occurs in the U.S., not in Czechoslovakia. It is evident that one of the main objectives of those who recently revived the anti-Soviet hoax was to turn attention away from the Rosenberg case.

It is a well known fact, for example, that I.L.G.W.U. and A.C.W. efforts to organize unorganized shops in the South and Middle West have often been met with anti-Semitic propaganda inspired by anti-union employers. The late Sidney Hillman, as Dubinsky today, was a target of such scurrilous attacks.

The most widely published column in this country, Westbrook Pegler's, has been continually sniping at Dubinsky and other labor leaders who are Jewish, along unconcealed anti-Semitic lines.

It is a well known fact, underscored in such best-sellers as Laura Hobson's *Gentlemen's Agreement*, that even a well-to-do Jew cannot register at certain resorts or join certain clubs or fraternities in this country.

It is a well known fact that many utility companies, city and state governments, and certain banks and welfare organizations, have a policy not to hire Jews.

How long has it been that a Jew couldn't get near the employment office of John Wanamaker's? Need we go into repeated bombing of synagogues and other Jewish institutions, desecration of graves and beatings of Jewish children, to be reminded where anti-Semitism is really a problem? Need we cite the long list of names of professional anti-Semitic poison spreaders of the Mervyn K. Hart and Gerald L. K. Smith type, and the numerous publications and dirty little leaflets they inspire?

The policy of racism, Anglo-Saxon supremacy, and anti-Semitism, specifically, is written into the law of this country. It is in the Walter-McCarran Law. It is in the legal pattern of all the Southern states and, in varying degrees, of the Northern states. It was not an accident that all those screened out of the post office service under "loyalty" procedure were Negroes and Jews. Nor is it an accident that everyone of the teachers suspended under the New York Feinberg thought control law is Jewish. Or that a large percentage of those screened and hounded out of Hollywood, radio, and other fields of culture, are Jewish.

But no less important is the influence of this hoax of "Soviet anti-Semitism" on struggles against the major discrimination menace of America—the oppression of the 15,000,000 Negro people. Every racist now has the opportunity to seize upon the "Soviet anti-Semitism" cry to pose as a "liberal." How reluctant are leaders like Dubinsky or Carey to do something real in the labor movement for FEPC, to protest the murder of a Willie McGee or of the Martinsville Seven; but how easily and enthusiastically they rush to seize upon the false cry of "Soviet anti-Semitism"!

They easily get excited when several spies and wreckers are caught in East Europe. But why don't they get excited over the fact that on the general executive board of 25 officers of the I.L.G.W.U. there isn't one Negro; nor a single local Negro manager or president in any of its affiliates?

Let us cite a few examples of what the howlers of "Soviet anti-Semitism" really try to cover up. During the very days they screamed the loudest, on March 4, 1953, a committee appointed by the Pennsylvania governor, made public the results of its survey covering 1,229 plants in the state employing about a million workers, which showed that 90 percent of the employers practice some form of discrimination in hiring, mostly against Negroes. The report added "significant evidence" of discrimination against Jews was found.

Even the State of New York which boasts of an anti-discrimination law shows widespread discrimination in employment practices. Complaints to the state's Commission Against Discrimination which reflects only a small part of the menace, run about 17 percent on grounds of religion—almost all Jewish.

The 1949 FEPC hearings of the House sub-committee chaired by Rep. Adam C. Powell disclosed a widespread pattern of religious discrimination, mainly anti-Semitic, running side by side with anti-Negro bias throughout the country. Testimony brought out that a survey of employment agency forms in 33 states in 1948, conducted by the Anti-Defamation League of Bnai Brith, showed 60.6 percent asked applicants questions about religion; 33.9 percent about nationality; 28.4 percent inquired into place of birth; 16.5 percent asked about descent; 11.9 percent asked about race.

Will Maslow, testifying for the American Jewish Congress, told the Powell Committee that "the situation is not improving" with respect to employment practices affecting Jews; "it is deteriorating." The A.J.C.'s 1953 survey found "no appreciable change" over 1949.

Herman Edelsberg who testified for the anti-Defamation League disclosed his organization examined the employment ad sections of 404 Sunday editions of leading newspapers of all cities with 100,000 or more population in 40 states and found that of 97,088 ads, there were 3,494 with discriminatory language. The League found fewer than 300 Jews in Chicago's 72 banks employing about 20,000 workers.

ARTHUR OSMAN'S "LINE"

We have pointed to those in the officialdom of the labor movement who have been most vocal in their attacks upon the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies based on the false charge of anti-Semitism. There is another, more restrained variant of such attacks that comes from people who cannot ignore the strong Left-progressive influences among their own followers.

This form of attack upon the lands of socialism also proceeds from the entirely false and reactionary premise that those who oppose Zionism are against the Jewish people and, therefore, are "anti-Semites."

What some people overlook is that Zionism, from its very inception, offered itself as a force to combat Marxism. And Marxists have always combated Zionism, or bourgeois (capitalist-based) nationalism for any peoples, on the ground that it does not mean true national independence and a truly progressive advance for the mass of people—but a reforging of the chains that enslave them. Thus only the Marxists express the true interests of the Jewish, as of other peoples.

We are here concerned with the statement of Arthur Osman, president of the Distributive, Processing and Allied Workers Union, in the Feb. 22 issue of the *Union Voice*, its official organ.

Osman, too, proceeds from the premise that there is a drive against Jews in the U.S.S.R. and the People's Democracies.

Osman, who was a Left-winger for at least 15 years, and was often boastful that he was to the left of many on the left, no longer even questions the validity of anti-Soviet attacks, as he did in past years. He takes for granted all he reads in the papers. It is no longer a question in his mind that perhaps it is the Soviet Union and the people's democracies that are being slandered.

But Osman also throws some of the blame on the Western powers and on those who are "most vociferous" in shouting "Soviet anti-Semitism." Among the latter, he says are "many of the most rabid anti-Semites in America," and adds:

"Among them too are those who would keep us busy fighting anti-Semitism in Europe while they expedite the rearming of Jew-hating Arabs and provide tanks to Jordan and jet planes to Egypt."

Osman's frequent references to "Jew-hating Arabs" and "Arab wolves" is hardly in accord with his professed opposition to race supremacy. It is the other side of the coin of anti-Semitism useful only to the British-American imperialists in their game of sowing

antagonisms and war between the peoples of the Near East.

Marxists distinguish sharply between the Arab peoples and the feudal or other pro-imperialist tools among them who sow hatred and war against the Jewish people. The Marxists in and out of Israel call for Arab-Jewish unity against the tools of imperialism, as the real course towards peace and progress in the Near East.

Osman's thesis is that both the Western and Socialist blocs attempt to "make Jews the tools" and compel them to "perform the most vile deeds, such a spying and informing." So that "in Moscow and Prague Jews are arrested as spies for America; and in Austria and the United States Jews are likewise arrested as spies."

He calls therefore for the "defense of every Jew everywhere."

This theory leads to some strange results: first, that Jews should stand by Jews, "no matter what the crime of which they may be accused"; second, Jews are pictured as unconscious or helpless victims of those who want them to perform "vile deeds"; third, the Rosenbergs are equated to the Prague and similar criminals.

I don't think that a great majority of the Jewish people, including those in Osman's own union agree on the need to defend a Jew, regardless of crime, just because he is a Jew. Guilt or innocence of crime IS the primary consideration, not religion or national origin. Second, we are not speaking here of uninformed people who were swindled into something. We are speaking of men, like those who comprised the Slansky group, people who take second place to none in the art of swindling and deceit. These aren't people who "helplessly" submitted themselves to as vile and criminal a service as one can sink to. They have confessed in open court.

Finally, Osman, in line with his theory of a "plague on both," equates the Rosenbergs with the Prague and similar criminals. This is the worst slander that can be leveled at the Rosenbergs. They have confessed to nothing but steadfastly and courageously proclaimed their innocence although several times they were only hours away from death. What better test of their innocence than their unshaken refusal even to compromise their position in exchange for life? Osman's "Jews for Jews" theory will not stand up—among Jews or others—because it cannot survive the basic test—truth.

OSMAN FORGETS CLASS DIVISION

A companion to the above is Osman's thesis that Jews are an entity on a world scale and united "as Jews." He says Jews are

"willing to help one another," and "every Jew looks upon himself as his brother's keeper" and Jews have "love and affection for one another." This simply isn't true. Osman's union, like Dubinsky's, for example, has hundreds of contracts with Jewish employers. Does the fact that a union's leader is Jewish or the employees of the company are all, or mostly, Jewish, make the boss more generous to even the slightest degree?

American labor has long ago learned the lesson that an employer is an employer, and lets neither religion, nationality nor ethics affect his relations with his workers.

Will Osman apply his love and unity theory to the American Jewish Committee, the organization controlled by the wealthiest and most reactionary Jews in the country? I don't think his members do. And it is the A.J.C. that concocted and organized this "hoax" of "Soviet anti-Semitism" at its secret executive committee meeting, May 10-11, 1947, and fed it to the press.

Now that Osman discloses himself as a Zionist, he has forgotten entirely the theory of the class struggle he upheld for many years. Now, as he puts it, the problem is to get Jews to emigrate to Israel and he wants new efforts to "induce" the Soviet Union to permit emigration of the Jews. Aside from the fact that this is a slanderous assumption implying that the Jews of the eastern countries are "imprisoned" and want to go to Israel in large numbers, Osman should have learned enough of Marxism to know that the issue is primarily a class problem.

The class struggle is raging in Israel as sharply as in older countries, with all its forms of starvation, speedup and long hours, attacks on labor unions and race discrimination both against Arabs and Jews of darker pigmentation. Only the Marxists, both Jew and Arab, in Israel are leading the struggle there for the kind of social order in which the people there can truly progress.

Osman has one more important admission in his statement which puts him in conflict with the more vocal anti-Sovieteers. He says the troubles affecting the Jewish people are "the direct consequence of the lack of real peace." He says to "the extent to which these powers (West and the U.S.S.R.) compel Israel to abandon its role of neutrality, they cause terrible consequences for Jews throughout the world."

This is to some extent confirmation of the point we made earlier in this pamphlet that when Israel listened to American voices and lent itself to Wall Street as a near-eastern war base against the U.S.S.R., it also lent itself, and all its agencies, for everything

wanted from them, including spying.

But WHO forced Israel to become a pawn of an imperialist power? Osman doesn't, and cannot cite anything to put even an iota of blame upon the Soviet Union. But he gives much evidence to the contrary. He first concedes that when "Jews fought their war of independence they faced the Arab forces armed by Britain and the United States," but their "only source of weapons has been Czechoslovakia." That was during the very period when the American Jewish Committee directed its staff to gather material on "anti-Semitism behind the Iron Curtain."

What is the situation now? First, Osman bemoans the break-off of relations with Israel by the U.S.S.R. Does he expect relations to continue and sweeten when fascist-type elements, instigated by speeches in the Israeli parliament, bomb the Soviet ministry? He should address that complaint to the Ben Gurion government against which he doesn't even have a cross word.

Secondly he refers to the recent "deal" between the British and Egyptian governments.

"Naguib," he says, "is now our trusted ally against Communism because he dissolved all trade unions in Egypt and outlawed political parties, establishing himself as absolute dictator."

Seeing this as a threat to Israel because Naguib announced he is out to "liberate" Palestine, Osman says the aggressive forces bordering on Israel are "still being supplied by Britain and America while the Israeli forces, whose only source of weapons had been Czechoslovakia, are today left completely without reliable aid for self defense."

If this is the case, why does Osman join with the slanderers of the Soviet Union and take their pack of falsehoods for granted? Why does he attack the only true friends the state of Israel had—the lands that gave it FIRST de jure recognition, and were its major source of defense equipment? Why doesn't he direct his fire against those who have trapped the state of Israel into the difficult position it is in today? Why doesn't he take an active part in the peace movement to combat those who would take us into a third world war—a war which, as he admits, may wipe out ALL of the world's Jews? Why doesn't he direct his fire against the Wall Street imperialist camp, including the clique of wealthy men, like those of the American Jewish Committee, who are driving for a third world war? Why does he slander the State that saved at least one and a half million Jews from extermination by the Nazis?

CONCLUSION

The facts are overwhelming to show that those responsible for the state of affairs in the United States today and the vaunted "American way of life" should be the last to throw charges of anti-Semitism or racism at others. The United States, is in fact, today the land of the most blatant government-backed racism, including anti-Semitism, in the world.

This is not a charge from the Left; it is confirmed annually in the reports and surveys of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; the American Jewish Congress, the anti-discrimination commissions of such states that have them and several presidential commissions.

There can be no doubt that the hoax of "Soviet anti-Semitism" has been deliberately concocted mainly at State Department instigation to serve the ends of an imperialist war-incitement policy and as a cover-up of the racism at home.

The rich Jewish business people who conspired and initiated this campaign of falsehoods against the U.S.S.R. are justifying their program on the ground that if the Jewish people are associated with the line of the McCarthys, Jenners and Veldes they can escape the attacks of ultra-reactionaries.

The exact opposite is the result. In the midst of the noise on non-existent anti-Semitism elsewhere, the racists of every stripe are expanding their activities within the U.S.A. "Loyalty" and "security" screening drives provide a means for victimizing especially Jews and Negroes.

A survey of the anti-Semitic sheets and leaflets that have been on the increase recently, will show that Senators Jenner, McCarthy, and McCarran are their featured darlings.

America needs a different kind of campaign than the sort launched by the State Department, American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee. We need a united front for civil rights and an F.E.P.C. that would bring together all those genuinely interested in the struggle from left to right. We need a struggle for repeal of the racist Walter-McCarran Law. We need an active movement for enforcement of many forgotten state and municipal laws against discrimination. But that struggle will not get very far unless side by side with those objectives goes the fight for an end of the thought-control laws and the whole pattern of McCarthyism that brings fear and paralysis among the people. This is a fight for freedom and can have nothing in common with those who beat the drums for fascism.

PAMPHLETS OF INTEREST TO LABOR

THE BIG LIE OF WAR "PROSPERITY"	\$.10
<i>by Bernard Burton</i>	
DEFEAT THE ANTI-LABOR SMITH BILL!	.05
<i>by William Z. Foster</i>	
PUBLIC ENEMIES IN PUBLIC OFFICE	.10
<i>by Carl Hirsch</i>	
REUTHER'S SEIZURE OF THE FORD LOCAL	.10
<i>by John Swift</i>	
THE PARTY OF NEGRO AND WHITE	.05
<i>by Pettis Perry</i>	
THE DEPORTATION DRIVE VERSUS THE BILL OF RIGHTS	.05
<i>by Abner Green</i>	
NEGRO REPRESENTATION	.10
<i>by Pettis Perry</i>	
THE STEEL WORKERS AND THE FIGHT FOR LABOR'S RIGHTS	.10
<i>by William Z. Foster</i>	
WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A COMMUNIST	.03
<i>by Henry Winston</i>	
NAZI ARMY OR PEACEFUL GERMANY?	.05
<i>by Alan Max</i>	
BROADEN THE FIGHT FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY	.15
<i>by Joseph Rockman</i>	
THE TRUCKS ACT: MICHIGAN'S BLUEPRINT FOR A FASCIST STATE	.10
<i>by William Albertson</i>	
AMNESTY	.05
<i>by Marion Bachrach</i>	

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