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What is Behind the Effort to Link Jews with Communism?, 1938.

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WHAT IS BEHIND THE EFFORT TO LINK JEWS WITH COMMUNISM? By Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver At The Temple

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On Sunday morning, December 11, 1938

The myth of Jewish Bolshevism or of Jewish Communism or of Jewish preponderance in the Communist movement has been thoroughly exploded and yet it persists like that forgery of the Elders of Zion. The fradulent character of that document has been exploded over and over again in courts of law, at the hands of authoritative scholars and historians. The origin of it has been traced and yet that forgery persists, just as the more recent anti-Jewish letter of Benjamin Franklin has been exposed as a fraud. Yet that persists.

Facts, figures, names, statistics have been marshalled and widely disseminated disproving the contention of Bolshevism, of the large part which Jews had in establishing Bolshevism, Communism in the Soviet Union and the agents responsible for the spreading of this myth have been put into the possession of the true facts and yet it has made very little difference.

Why? Because there are certain groups and certain classes which have a vital interest in keeping this lie alive because it serves their purpose; because it makes the most effective sales talk for their case, for their cause; because it gets results. The fact that it is not true really does not matter to these gentlemen.

Propaganda is interested in gettings done. Methods are of little consequence. In fact, in propaganda, the lie serves much better than the truth because lies know no limits. You can make them fit into any argument. They can be made so dramatic, so appealing, as to meet completely the requirements. They may be added to, multiplied or <u>in</u> divided/any which way to accomodate the lie. And the bigger the lie, the better. In fact, the supreme exponent of this technique, Mr. Hitler himself, in his book makes this very revealing observation of the use to which a lie can be put in propaganda. I am quoting: " A lie is believed because of the unconditional and insolent inflexibility with which it is proagated and because it takes advantage of the sentimental and extreme sympathies of the masses...Therefore, something always is retained even from the most impudent of lies."

Jews have therefore been linked to Communism because that is the easiest way to fight Communism. I would like to repeat that setence and I would like you to retain it: Jews have been linked to Communism because that is the easiest way to fight Communism. Instead of making a frontal attack on Communism, the anti-Communist propagandist berates Communism by labeling it with an unpopular label instead of going to the trouble, for example, of exposing the disease of Communism, of revealing its economic unsoundness or its groundless metaphysics or by calling attention to the weaknesses of Communism, vis a vis capitalism which by the way is a procedure not very simple, not very easy and which may not be completely grasped by the people whom you are trying to propagandize. You resort to the much simpler, more direct method of attacking Communism. You arouse an immediate, almost automatic resistance to it. You incite an almost blind antipathy to it by branding it as something alien, as a sinister conspiracy of some kind in the hands of a suspect minority group. And the minority group that is always available for that sort of thing, that is always exposed to that sort of thing, is the Jewish group. And of the Jewish group, the alien, most suspect group is the international banker. So, if you can link up Communism on the part of a suspect group of a suspect group, you understand, namely the international Jewish banker, you have done something grand for the world. You have aroused an almost instinctive antipathy to that thing called Communism by leaving the suggestion in the minds of people that that is a devil's device to overthrow Christian civilization

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which is linked up with the capitalist system and you have come far, very far in achieving the results you are after.

But what results are these anti-Communist propagandists after? They are not really fighting Communism. This is the second thought I would like to have you keep in mind. They are not really fighting Communism. They are not really afraid of Communism. They know that Communism has made no headway in the last twenty years, even in the Soviet Union itself. What they are fighting under the camouflage of Communism is economic democracy, economic liberalism, all forms of progressive social legislation. What they are ressisting is every effort to break the power of the few rich and powerful who control the government and the destinies of the people. What they are resisting is every movement which aims to give the working class of the world a real share in government, and a real share of the economic goods they are helping to produce.

Thus, for example, when these anti-Communists speak of Communism they have in mind not really the classic Communism of Marx, Lenin, that is, those theories concerned with the socialization of material and instruments of production, not only the doctrine of the class struggle and the technique of proletarian dictatorship. They have in mind every measure and man in public life whom they don't happen to like. What they have in mind is every law, for example which may regulate gambling on the stock exchange, every law for social security and every law serving man, every law regulating hours and wages, rights of labor to organize. What they have in mind are taxes which they don't happen to like and the people who propose them. They are all branded with the term communist or communism. They use that term very loosely and deliberately very carelessly to whatever threatens their privileges.

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They not only mean communists. They mean even more - socialists. Whom do the communists regard as their mortal enemies? Liberalists, democracies. They brand Roosevelt as a communist. Perkins is a communist. Ickes is a communist. Every member of the Cabinet is a communist. Yesterday it was the American Federation of Labor. Today it is the C.I.O. In the Red Network, Newton D. Baker was included as a Red. What kind of a Red he was you all know! Every prominent educator, journalist, teacher who at one time or another advocated free speech, the right of free expression - all such people were smeared with a large and generous with the term Communism - Red.

This is the technique. If you can daub all progressive measures, men in public life with this label and then if you can drill into the minds of people through repetitious propaganda that a sinister conspiracy is cunningly being worked out by the hands of a suspect group, a minority group in the nation - the Jewish group - you are not only on the way of defeating these measures and these men but the democratic apparatus which gave these men a voice and these measures a chance to be enacted.

In other words, Fascism which is the last desperate resort of the privileged classes, hard-pressed by political and economic democracy, is made possible in a democracy through this technique of attacking Communism, of raising a Communist scare and then of selling the idea to the masses that this Communism is a Jewish conspiracy.

The technique of Fascist propagandists and Nazi propagandists should be made clear to every thinking man and it is this: You first creat a sense of tension and cricis in a country. You first convince the people that the country is in danger by enemies who are boring from within and the reason that you have not been aware of this is that the press and the radio and

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all channels of infomation are controlled by these enemies who are boring from within. And who are these enemies? Why they are the aliens, the reds who take their orderes from Moscow. And who are the powers behind these reds and these powers that be in Moscow? Why, back of the real leaders, behind the sene really are the Jews. They are the internationalists in the world. They have no loyalty or patriotism. They are an unassimilable element in any country. Their spirit is really hostile and eternally at war with the country - these Jews who are working through Communism to overthrow the nation.

And added to that argument, to savor this miserable mess of potage, they throw in for good measure, race patriotism, national chauvenism, passionate aspiration, national longing, mission and destiny. This is but the paprika, the seasoning of this thing so that the mind of the people is worked up to a tension of fear, of hysteria. Unless something is done immediately - and that something to be done is suggested. You can't save the world by relying on democratic government or democratic machinery, peace. That is really in the hands of your enemies. What you should really do is to put yourself in the hands of this great leader, defender, spokesman or champion or this one party and give them full power. Then push aside your cumberson apparatus which brought you to this sorry state. Let him save you and when he will have saved you and destroyed these fomentors of Communism, this me minority, when then everything will come back to you and you will live happily ever after.

This is the cup of intoxication and it is no laughing matter. That is exactly what was done in Germany, in Italy. That is how it will be done in every country unless people are prepared in advance to cope with it. It is a cup of intoxication to a madness so that the masses will do exactly what these people want them to do in a blind rush

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towards a goal. When they sober up it is too late for them to change their minds.

In a democracy you can vote the wrong people in office. However you can also vote them out of office. Once you vote a Fascist regime into power, that Fascist group immediately proceeds to outlaw every other power and to make sure that no other party is in power. The only way a Fascist regime can be driven out is through revolution or war.

Now, in this cup of fury which is prepared by the cunning hands of propagandists, the Jewish ingrediant is the most important. This is the third thought I should like to leave with you. The most important ingrediant poured into this cup of fury is anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism today has become the sure way for destroying democracy. Just as anti-Semitism was used in the Middle Ages by religious reactionaries to maintain the power and the prestige of the church, so anti-Semitism is being used in the Twentieth century in the days of economic and political reaction to maintain the power and prestige of those parties interested in economic and political reaction. It is a device. It is a method. It is a technique which so far has been eminently successful.

We need not go into the fact at the moment that Jews had very little to do with Communism and Bolshevism. The story has been told, statistics have been given, volumes written. In Russia, the miracle is not that so many Jews participated in the Revolution but that so few participated considering the condistions under which they lived in Russia. The vast majority of the Russian Jews belonged to the class of private trader, merchant. They hated Communism. They were destroyed by Communism. The Jewish middle class in Russia was wiped out just as the middle class of other nationalities were wiped out.

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In 1918, at the time of the <sup>B</sup>olshevik Revolution, ther were 124,000 members of the Bolshevik Party and only two and a half percent of that number were Jews. In 1924, when another census was taken there were 900,000 members in the <sup>B</sup>olshevik Party and only five percent were Jews. Most of the names that were given as Jews by anti-Semitic, anti-<sup>C</sup>ommunist propagandists are frauds - that sixty-one out of thirty-four leaders in the Russian Communist Party were Jews is a pure fabrication. The people whose names were given never existed.

The idea that international bankers financed the Bolsevik Revolution is a lie. You may recall that fifteen to twenty years ago you and I had to raise many millions in this country to feed the starving Jews and clothe the naked among them who had been declassed, outlawed, denied citizenship, driven to desperation. The suggestion made that Jewish Communists killed from twenty to twenty-five million Christians in Russia is the mot fantastic of lies. The suggestion that the Jews have been favored in the Soviet Union and protected while professing Christians are victimized is a lie of the vilest kind. The Jewish middle class man was liquidated, pauperized. The teaching of Judaism was barred. Zionists were sent to Siberia. The expression of Jewish life, the teaching of Hebrew was a crime.

Most of the Jews in Russia before the Revolution belonged to what we would call the liberal parties, the constitutional and democratic parties, the social democratic parties. There were Jews among the Communists. Why shouldn't there be? There were slavs, Ukrainians, Poles among the Communist group. Why shouldn't Jewish names be found among the Communist group and in every and any political group in the world?

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The role which Jews played in Communism in Germany is so infinitesimal that you would have to use a microscope to discover it. In 1932 before Hitler came into power there were 89 Communist Deputies in the Reichstag and <u>one</u> was a Jew. There were six million Communists in Germany in 1932. Counting every man, woman and child, there were five hundred thousand Jews in Germany.

As for the story of Communism in the United States, when an actual election takes place, you can't judge it by the noise which takes place on the street corners. You will find that the Jewish number in Communism is not out of proportion. Communist Jews have little to do with Communism. The very genius of Judaism is not in consonance with the genius of Communism. There is hardly a trace of Communism in Jewish history. There is in Christianity. The early church was definitely communistic in structure. The Catholic monasteries and nuneries were all built on Communism.

Judaism any more than Christianity today cannot accept the philosophy of materialism, of economic determinism which is at the basis of Communist ideology because Judaism stresses the reality of the spiritual, the pre-eminence of spiritual motives as the driving motives in life, the dynamics of personality and Will, of the individual. Judaism has never approved of dictaorship and has been consistently throughout the history of Judaism a powerful democratic impulse. The only thing that was omnipotent in Judaism was the Will of God. Judaism never toleranted and can never tolerate the submergence of the individual and therefore never monolithic collectivism. It cannot rely on power. "Not by might, not by militant strength, but by my spirit."

Judaism cannot accept the principle that a class, state,

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bureaucracy is supreme unto tiself morally, that its ethics are not subject to the higher law. No one is exempt from the mandates of supreme moral law. Judaism cannot accept the concept of class struggle. It overarches classes and groups just as it over-arches nations and governments. It is a unifying principle, the ideal of social reconstruction which Judaism first announced to the world - "Not through hate and sacrifice of others, but through and self-sacrifice". "Thou hast been told, oh man, to do justice and love mercy and to walk humbly."

You may seek justice not through tyranny and arrogance and insolence. Because of that basic philosophy of Judaism, it has never accepted Communism. It is a tactic. Every responsible Jewish leader has opposed Communism. I have over and over again in these many years expressed my criticism, a sharp criticism of Communism. Every Jewish organization in American life, the American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'r th, the Labor Organization, the Jewish War veterans, have gone on record as opposed to Communism. It is the blackest lie that the Jews have been pampering Communism or have been silent about it while vigorously denouncing Fascism or Nazism.

What we have refused to do and this is the fourth thought I would like to leave with you - we have refused to attack Communism to the exclusion of Fascism. Fascism is far more intolerable than Communism because Fascism adds to the technique of dictatorship, which is abhorent to it, a mad vicious racialism and anti-Jewish bias.

Many of these anti-Communist agitators who were so violent in their denunciation of Communism hardly opened their mouths about Fascism and this eminent churchman who has been rambling in recent weeks about the horrors of Communism has not yet spoken a word in criticism of

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Fascism. When a churchman does that he definitely gives the impression that what he is interested in is not the freedom for mankind but freedom for his church. What he is interested in is not liberty for mankind but liberty for his ecclesiastical organization. It is opposed to dictatorship only when it steps upon the toes of the church.

While we have spoken up against Communism over and over again and made our position not only clear and effective, we have refused, and this is the last thought I would leave with you, we have refused to join in any crusade against Communism. We have preferred to work all along the line for democracy and fight all dictatorships. We have refused to join the kind of crusade this gentleman and others would like to see launched in the United States, because we do not want to play in the hands of Mr. Hitler. Mr. Hitler has set himself up as the pope of anti-Communism. Why? What are his real motives? He is not afraid of Communism. His interests are political. He has determined to see through that old dream of the German empire, the "drang noch Osten" ( towards the East). German eyes lie on the Ukraine which the German people must have. This attitude towards anti-Communism is simply to clear the way towards the march towards the East. That means ultimately, of course, a struggle with the Soviet Union which is in control of the Ukraine. His political purpose therefore is to isolate the Soviet Union so that when the day of reckoning arrives, he will be able to crush it. It is trying to make the Soviet Union as odious in the eyes of the Western democracies as possible. And we Jews, by joining another group in a "Red Hunt", in a blind crusade against the Soviet Union will actually will become the most helpful propaganda agents and victims of the Third Reich of Mr. Hitler.

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We refuse to do that. Nor are we willing to call everything Communist, everything that our friends would like to daub as Communist.

And this brings me to Spain. Many Catholics say to us: We have expressed ourselves over and over on the Spanish situation but you seem to be silent about our persecuted people in Spain. What is the matter? Are you in sympathy with Communism?

Last year, 150 leading American Protestant Clergymen, Popes, heads of the churches of America speaking for over a million people came out in defense of the Loyalists and attacked the Pastoral Letter. They maintained as many of us maintain that what we have in Spain is a military Fascist rebellion against a legally elected government. What we believe is that Franco is Fascist because he said himself that he is a Fascist and Franco is an anti-Semite. And in order to please our Catholic friends and get their good will, we will not endorse a military government. If we have to forego the good will of these friends, we will just simply have to forego it. Of course there have been atrocities on both sides. Catholics have been massacred, and Spaniards have been massacred, etc.

No, we Jews will not yield. We will remain non-partisan in this Spanish struggle or we will, most of us who choose not to remain partisan, take our stand with those forces which are opposed to Fascism in Spain.

I conclude with this word, Friends. This you may pass on to your friends Jewish and non-Jewish. The Jewish people of the United States will not be blackmailed into joining any reactionary movement or any "Red Hunt" or anti-Communist crusade on the threat of reprisals by way of the intensification of anti-Semitism or the charge of Jewish

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sympathies for Communism. We have too wide a perspective of history to be tricked into such a position. We are going to denounce Communism and Fascism and Nazism for their unsound theses, for their reliance upon what we regard immoral technique for their heartless disregard of the rights of the individual. We are going to speak in defense of democracy, liberalism, of justice, of equality, of brotherhood and we will take our chances with the rest of mankind. Just at the moment we are most hard pressed. Just nows we are on the anvil beaten by the hammers. This is not our first experience. We will endure. We will suffer. We will endure and we will carry on faithful to the classic values of our faith. Freedom, justice, liberty, tolerance, brotherhood, good will - these are the things we shall labor

for, work for, and suffer for.

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