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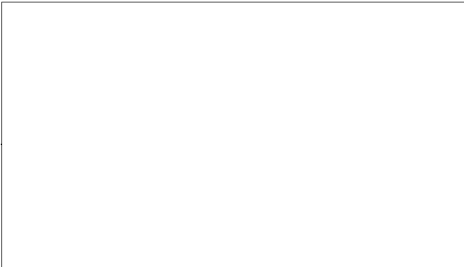
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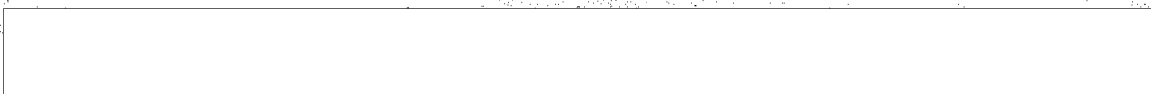
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DEFECTOR'S VIEW OF SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM:
PSYCHOLOGICAL PREPARATION FOR WAR



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There is a tension between the Kremlin and the Western world, the so-called cold war. The Kremlin masters of propaganda are carrying on this war, as is generally recognized, boldly, with initiative and with a knowledge of the psychology of the masses. The special agencies of the Kremlin for the wide collection of secret information in foreign countries and in the Satellite countries (the "Sovinformburo," the Communist parties, the MIB, the Razvedupr (Intelligence Administration), etc.) enable the Kremlin at all times to know the state of mind and attitudes of all classes of the world's population and the changes in them in connection with the periodic campaigns, attacks, and retreats (in propaganda, diplomacy, etc.) which the Kremlin undertakes.

Recently, the Kremlin has unexpectedly begun a campaign of open anti-Semitism. In the West this has been taken almost as the beginning of the disruption of the Soviet system, as a gross error by Stalin, as the long-awaited opportunity to seize the initiative from the Kremlin in the cold war and to launch an extensive counterattack.

Actually, how could so clever and cautious a politician as Stalin have begun an open and un concealed persecution and even physical annihilation of a people on the basis of their national characteristics, against his usual tactics of "the fight for peace," and in spite of the international ideology of Communism? How could the Kremlin itself arouse such widespread indignation in the world community, for whose sympathy it has striven so long and persistently?

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Stalin's Western opponents in the cold war, tempted by this unexpected opportunity, have hastened to begin a large-scale counterattack against the Kremlin and against Communism. The first successes of the counterattack are increasing the temptation for further counterattacks on Stalinist anti-Semitism. (Confusion is observed in the Communist parties of the West; many fellow travelers and sympathizers with the Kremlin have obviously cooled in their pro-Soviet sympathies.)

The more cautious political observers explain this anti-Semitism as meaning that Stalin has decided to sacrifice the sympathies and help of many western Communists and fellow travelers, risk the hostility of 10 million Jews, and risk a great loss in the cold war in order to attain a number of successes important to the Kremlin in the field of foreign policy: to gain the sympathy of the Germans in the struggle for Germany, to win the Arab League to its side in the struggle for the Near East and its oil, and, finally, to make the Jews scape-goats for the wide discontent among the population of the Satellite countries.

Some, including many Jewish circles, see the anti-Semitism of the Kremlin as a consequence of the unbridled nationalism to which the Kremlin is resorting in its internal policy, and compare the anti-Semitism of Stalin with the racial anti-Semitism of Hitler.

To understand that Stalin is not Hitler and that his anti-Semitism is immeasurably more complex in its plan than crude racial anti-Semitism, it is only necessary to call to mind Stalin's deputy, L. Kaganovich, a Jew; the recent award of the Stalin Prize for Peace to another Jew, I. Erenburg; and the pre-tentious funeral services at the walls of the Kremlin for the Jew L. Mekhlis. Moreover, note what Stalin wrote about anti-Semitism on 12 January 1931:

"... National and racial chauvinism are a survival of the inhumane morality characteristic of the period of cannibalism. Anti-Semitism serves the exploiters as a lightning rod, diverting from them the wrath of the workers, as a false trail, leading the workers away from the right path and into the jungle. Therefore Communists, as consistent internationalists, must be irreconcilable mortal enemies of anti-Semitism. In the USSR it is sternly prosecuted as a manifestation deeply inimical to the Soviet social order. Active anti-Semitism is punished by the death penalty under the laws of the USSR."

Stalin wrote this letter for foreign countries in the days when he was beginning his policy of annihilating the opposition, among whom were many Jews (Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.). Stalin feared the unfavorable reaction of Western democracy. This letter was published in the USSR only on 30 November 1936, in order, before the Yezhov purges, to emphasize the difference between Stalin and the anti-Semite, Hitler; Stalin needed the support of the mass of Jews both at home and abroad.

In Mein Kampf Hitler wrote that mass propaganda must take into account one characteristic of the psychology of the masses: that it is impossible to set them against several enemies simultaneously; that all enemies must be represented in the form of a single enemy, and that this one enemy must, for the masses, include within itself all the enemies against which the propaganda is directed. Stalin understood perfectly this political propaganda rule of the totalitarian regimes. He chose the Jews as the composite image of all the enemies of the Kremlin: the capitalist, the westerner, the American, the spy, the oppositionist (underscored as in original), the "cosmopolitan," the Trotskyite, the Menshevik, the "traitor to the country," and any other opponent of the Stalin regime.

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A favorite device of Stalin in politics is provocation. His anti-Semitism includes a great element of provocation. An atmosphere of indignation and of aroused passions, in the West (and chiefly in the US, where the greater part of the Jews live), is necessary for Stalin to be able to provoke his enemy (particularly his chief opponent, the US and its government) to ill-considered measures which would give him (Stalin) and the Kremlin the advantage they most need before war with the West and the US.

Stalin is consciously and deliberately sacrificing the sympathies of the Jews and many of his allies in the West. He knows that when war begins, these sympathies will be of little use to him. (He remembers that 5 million Germans who voted for the Communist, Thaelmann, before Hitler's advent to power, fought against the USSR during the war.) In their place he counts on acquiring other allies--anti-Semitic ones--and mainly counts on converting the millions of people of the USSR and the Satellites into active defenders of himself and haters of the US.

The chief aims of Stalin's anti-Semitism are:

1. To arouse hatred of the US in the peoples of the USSR and its Satellites.
2. To gain a psychological basis for carrying out a mass prewar purge in the USSR and its Satellites.

All this means that the policy of the Kremlin has entered its final period before war. In this period the cold war for the sympathies of the great mass of people of the West no longer has any decisive importance for Stalin, and the main thing for him has become the psychological preparation of the home front.

Failure of Kremlin's Anti-American Propaganda

The experience of the last war shows that the Soviet Army and the people of the USSR do not want to fight for and will not fight for Communism. In 1941, Stalin had to address the people as "brothers and sisters" and proclaim a "patriotic war" for defense of the country, deliberately keeping silent about the Soviet regime and Communism. In November 1941, by order of the Main Political Administration of the Red Army, a new banner was designed in Moscow for the guards divisions, with the inscription: "For Country! For Stalin!" Immediately thereafter, however, on the orders of Stalin himself, Colonel-General Shcherbakov, chief of the Political Administration and member of the Politburo, ordered that only the inscription, "For Country!" should be left and that "For Stalin" should be painted out.

The experience of the last war showed that in order to make the Soviet Army fight, it was necessary to arouse hatred of the enemy in the people and in the army; that the rational elements of the ideology of Communism-Leninism-Stalinism were of no use for this purpose. Patriotism and hatred of the enemy--irrational factors--made the Red Army and the people fight the Germans. We must remember that in the first year of the war the anti-Nazi, anti-Hitler propaganda, i.e., the ideological propaganda, was ineffective; the Soviet people did not believe it. Only the total propaganda of national hatred of the Germans, the dreadful reality of being a prisoner of the Germans and of the German occupation, and the Hitler theory of the "untermensch" made the Soviet people begin to fight the Germans to the death.

In this connection we must note that in Russian historical tradition, in Russian customs and literature, and finally, in the very nature of the Russians, of the Slavic people, there has existed for centuries an antipathy toward the Germans. The German policy of "drang nach Osten" was known in Russia for

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hundreds of years. Also, every thinking person knew that the Germans lacked enough territory of their own and that it was logical for them to expand to the unpopulated, fertile East. In the great mass of the people there was an ancient hostility to the Germans (note the proverbs: "What's good for a Russian would kill a German," or "German--pepper and sausage" [i.e., delicatessen man], etc.).

All this facilitated the task of the Kremlin's anti-German propaganda. Nevertheless, the Kremlin resorted to methods of provocation to increase the effect of this propaganda. Before giving some examples of this, I should like to point out what great importance the Kremlin has placed on psychological measures to condition the minds of the army and the people, and how calculatingly and systematically it has carried them out.

In the Staraya Russa region, in 1942, an antiguerrilla detachment of a Prince Ivanov, operating for the Germans, mercilessly destroyed peaceful inhabitants, killed women and children, and set fire to villages. The population fled to the woods. German intelligence established that Ivanov was a Soviet agent. Upon being interrogated, he admitted that he had been assigned to stir up hatred of the Germans in the population.

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In summer 1942, a Soviet captain was transferred to a regiment which was preparing to attack a village under German occupation, in which the captain's family lived. The captain, of course, was happy over this "coincidence." When the village had been taken, he was permitted to visit his family. At his home he found a dreadful spectacle: his children, wife, mother and father, and sister had been brutally killed and mutilated. The captain was beside himself, and in the presence of the assembled officers and soldiers, he swore vengeance on the German beasts. Photographers and motion-picture cameramen appeared on the scene. The next day the whole front knew what had happened. Meetings were held in the units, and photographs of the bodies shown; the film on "German bestiality" was shown on motion-picture screens throughout the country. After this, the division in which the captain served became one of the hardest-fighting units. Lieutenant-Colonel Tarakanov, commandant of the Pankov region of Berlin, who during the war served in SMERSH [Soviet Army counterespionage organization] and as commander of a zagradotryad [literally, "blocking detachment"; a detachment to block the flight of soldiers from the front lines], knew personally the two SMERSH agents who had carried out this "special assignment"; they had killed the family of the captain and prepared the bodies.

By such methods of provocation the Kremlin greatly increased the effect of its anti-German propaganda. When the Kremlin had succeeded in arousing an irrational feeling of hatred of the Germans in the people and the mass of the soldiers, then Stalin was sure that the Germans would sooner or later be beaten. Throughout the war he merely sustained and aroused this feeling: "Kill the German!"

After the war there remained one power in the world which Stalin feared and which blocked the path of victory of Stalinism over the whole world. This was the US. Stalin always adhered to Lenin's rule: strike at the main link in the chain of events and problems. This main link for Stalin is the US, i.e., the struggle, the future war with the US. To this Stalin subordinates everything.

Since Stalin knew that the Soviet Army and the people would not fight for Communism in the future war, immediately after the war he began extensive anti-American propaganda. In recent years the Soviet press and radio have talked about the US and Americans as they never talked about the Germans, even while at war with Germany. Nationalistic boasting (asserting that everything in the

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world was invented by Russians); incitement of intense hatred for Americans (the "savagery" of the Americans in Korea), ridiculing the American way of life (gangsters, "the sharks of Wall Street," the depravity of Hollywood, etc.)-- sometimes reading such things in the Soviet newspapers

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The propaganda methods which succeeded in arousing hatred of the Germans have proved useless with relation to Americans and the US. Neither the ordinary Soviet citizen, the party member, the soldier, the officer, the general, nor the secretary of a rayon or oblast committee believes the Soviet anti-American propaganda. They do not believe that the Americans are beasts, and especially they do not believe that the Americans want to conquer Russia, so distant from them, or enslave the Russian or other peoples of the USSR.

Enmity to America is not in the Russian nature, either historically or psychologically. On the contrary, America has never fought against Russia, and when she has fought, it has been on the side of Russia, or of the USSR, and she has always supported the Russians. For the Russians, America has always been a legendary country, rich and free. Russian youth has grown up on the books of Jack London, Wayne Reid, James Fenimore Cooper, and James Cliver Curwood. They know contemporary America from the novels of Hemingway, from meetings with American soldiers on the Elbe, and from the gay carousing of officers in the "Femina" in Berlin. Soviet children dream about "flight to America," just as children in old Russia used to do.

During the first twenty years of the Soviet regime, members of the government, leaders of industry, and writers who had been in America wrote with delight about American life and American technology. Even Stalin, with his slogan, "Overtake and surpass America!" affirmed the leading position of the US in the world. Textbooks and scientific books cannot but reveal the mighty power and wealth of the US. Everyone knows that the US is the first in the world in production of steel, coal, oil, cement, automobiles, and machinery, in number of telephones, radio and television sets, and automobiles. And all this is connected with the psychological attitude of the Soviet people, who have been taught by the Bolsheviks to admire science and technology. In 1946, when they began the construction of the "Moscow skyscrapers" of 20 or 30 stories, the Moscow people said: "We're still far behind America. There, there are buildings more than a 100 stories high."

Regardless of the lengths to which the Soviet anti-American propaganda may go, the Americans remain good, generous people in the eyes of the Soviet people. Nobody in the USSR can forget that during the war the whole Soviet population and the Soviet Army ate American powdered eggs and American canned goods. The soldiers remember American shoes; the officers, uniforms of American materials. Even today the army travels in "jeeps"--Willys, Studebaker, Ford, and Chevrolet. The older people remember the help of ARA (American Relief Association) in the years of great famine. This is why the Soviet people and the Soviet Army have not believed the Kremlin propaganda that the Americans and the US want to conquer and control the USSR. _____ people in the USSR say: "Why should America, far off across the ocean, want to conquer Russia? The rich Americans have plenty of their own; why should they want what is ours?"

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The Kremlin has a special service for wide collection of secret information, by means of which it follows the real public opinion of the country. This information has shown the Kremlin that arousing national hatred, as they did against Germany, has not succeeded against the US, that the people and the army do not want to and will not fight the Americans and the US. They will be still

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less willing to fight beyond the borders of Russia. It must be remembered that the last war was mainly fought on Russian territory. History has shown that the Russians have always fought well at home and have won defensive wars, but have fought reluctantly on foreign soil.

The experienced masters of mass psychology in the Kremlin know from experience of the last war that the Soviet people will not fight from rational motives of Communist doctrine; they also know that the irrational method of arousing national hatred, tested in the last war, has not succeeded. But the Kremlin has in reserve another irrational trump card which it has recently begun to use extensively--anti-Semitism.

How Soviet Anti-Semitism Was Developed

Before the Yezhov purges, anti-Semitism in the USSR was punished as an offense against social morality. For the use of the single word "zhid" [derogatory word for Jew] people were condemned to 3 years in a concentration camp. During the mass prewar purges of 1937 - 1938, many Jews were arrested on the charge of "bourgeois nationalism," i.e., Zionism. I met many "Zionists" in Leningrad prisons. But in the mass of those arrested for Ukrainian, Belorussian, or other nationalism, this [Zionism] was not apparent. Many Jews were arrested for "Trotskyism," "rightist deviation," sabotage, and espionage for Poland, Germany, and Britain. The Jewish state of Israel did not exist then, therefore, there were no Israeli spies. An engineer named Mikhail Livshits was in cell No 100 with me in the Shlaparka detention (slepatvennaya) prison in Leningrad; he was accused of being a spy for America. (He had been on an official trip to America.)

The only thing that was to be noted was the purge of Jews from the NKVD (Yagoda, Fel'dman, Gronskey, Belen'kiy, Ippolitov, Slutskiy, Agranov, Prelisser, Uritskiy, and others during Yezhov's time, and after Yezhov, Zakovskiy and Shapiro and others). Between 1937 and 1939, all Jews in leading positions in the NKVD were removed or arrested; this was the beginning of Soviet anti-Semitism. It is very significant that before the Yezhov period many leading government, party, economic, and other posts were held by Jews (Zinov'yev, Kamenev, Radek, Yagoda, Rozengol'ts, Yakir, Fel'dman, Litvinov, etc.). Almost the whole upper stratum of Soviet society was liquidated in the 1937 - 1938 purge, and at the same time, in proportional numbers, many Jews.

The new people in the Kremlin were Russians--Malenkov, Shcherbakov, Voznesenskiy (known as "the anti-Semite in the Politburo"), and Bulganin--and the Georgian, Beriia. Malenkov became chief of the Personnel Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party; this section made appointments to all the leading government and party posts. Since then, scarcely a single Jew has been appointed to a responsible position. In 1939, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was likewise cleared of Jews. This was also done in the army, where, however (possibly deliberately), Jews were left among the political personnel (headed by the chief of the Political Administration, Lev Mekhlis).

The purge was most thorough in the NKVD, the basic instrument of the Stalin dictatorship. Examination of the lists of chiefs of republic, oblast, and city administrations of the NKVD discloses that by the beginning of the war there remained only individual Jews here and there. Among the members of the latest Supreme Soviet USSR there is not a single Jew. It is true that many Jews remained in such positions in the upper stratum of Soviet society as leaders of industry (Ministers Ginzburg and Dvinskiy), the higher intelligentsia (in literature, art, medicine, philosophy, jurisprudence, and science), and leaders of trade. Many Jews continued to hold middle-grade and lower posts in trade, industry, and party activities.

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The war against anti-Semitic Germany strengthened the position of Jews in these posts. But this caused a rise of anti-Semitism among the people and, particularly, in the army. During the war resentment arose in many quarters of the population and the army over the fact that many Jews remained in the rear in economic positions, and that many of them in the army held supply, staff, or political positions. Political workers in the army were especially disliked, and since many of them were Jews, this dislike took on an anti-Semitic character.

At the time of the Red Army retreat in 1941 - 1942, the Soviet authorities did not warn the people that the Germans were annihilating the Jews. Many Jews remained in their homes, not believing that the Germans were destroying all Jews, and perished. Worst of all, during the evacuation (of Nal'chik, for example), the local authorities took no steps for the evacuation of Jews, but said that the rumors about German destruction of the Jews were untrue. Upon the retreat of Soviet troops, Ukrainian and Russian inhabitants often took vengeance on the Jews, considering them supporters of the Soviet regime. Pogroms occurred.

Many Jews were evacuated to Central Asia and the Urals. The Jews, city dwellers and families of important administrative officials, took their savings with them when evacuated, and were able to pay more for food. With the general scarcity, this led to a sharp rise in prices. For example, in Tashkent, in the first half year of the war, the price of a kilogram of mutton rose from 30 rubles to 500 rubles, and of a liter of milk, from 10 rubles to 150 rubles. The local population and the impoverished evacuees blamed this on the Jews. All this added to the general hardships and to the competition for work and for living quarters; it also led to anti-Semitism in the regions to which the Jewish refugees were sent.

The higher command levels of the army, the general officers, consisted of Russians. Under the general Soviet policy of national patriotism, anti-Semitism developed in these circles. The heroism of Jewish officers was ascribed not to patriotism, but only to vengeance on the Germans for destruction of the Jews.

German propaganda undoubtedly had an influence in all this. "Kill the Jews, save Russia!" "Down with Stalin and his pack of Jews!"-- such German leaflets intensified the anti-Semitism in the army.

In 1944, I was traveling on a train from Rostov to Moscow. In the compartment with me was an NKVD colonel; in the next compartment were a colonel of the tank corps and the chief accountant of some trust, a Jew. Once after dinner I heard a yell and abusive language in the neighboring compartment. The NKVD colonel entered our compartment smiling and told me with pleasure that the drunken tank colonel did not want to ride with a Jew and had chased him out of the compartment. All night, all the way to Moscow, the accountant stayed in the corridor of the train; there was no one to whom he could complain.

In Berlin, in 1946, in the company of generals and other officers, Lieutenant-General Mal'tsev (former chief of the Omsk NKVD) was telling an anti-Semitic anecdote. He said that in the guerrilla units of Belorussia the Jews were cooks, tailors, and shoemakers, and that they avoided going on combat operations. Somebody--I believe it was General Kvashnik--remarked that there were also Jews who were good fighters. General Mal'tsev scoffed at the idea and told about the only Jew he ever knew of among the guerrillas who went on an operation. "When the unit was on the way to blow up a railroad track, this Jew dragged behind everybody and kept complaining, 'Oh, I can't keep up! Oh, you're going too fast!' And after the track had been blown up he ran away so fast that nobody could overtake him."

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In the regions of the USSR which were under German occupation, German influence led to a sharp rise in anti-Semitism among the inhabitants. After the return of the Jews from evacuation, anti-Semitism grew still stronger. This was an anti-Semitism related to problems of livelihood. The returning Jews found those of their houses that were not destroyed occupied by new tenants, with their furniture stolen by their neighbors. The Jews demanded their houses and property back, and went to court about it. The local authorities, as a rule, took the side of the non-Jewish inhabitants.

In 1944, the following took place in the office of the chairman of the Proletarskiy Rayon Soviet Rostov city. A laryngologist, Professor Zalkind, a Jew returned from evacuation, asked to have returned to him two rooms of his apartment, which had been occupied during the war by another tenant. The chairman of the rayon soviet answered, "I can't put him out! He fought for the Fatherland!"

The professor remarked that the new tenant had not fought for the Fatherland, but had remained in Rostov under the Germans. At this the chairman became enraged: "And you? Did you fight for the Fatherland? On the Tashkent front, I suppose?" And he refused the professor's request.

After the war began the replacement, throughout the Soviet Union, of Jews in industry with non-Jews demobilized from the army.

At the beginning of 1947 a secret order was received in Germany to send to the Soviet Union all Jews in the occupation army and occupation agencies.

In 1950, the last Jews [in the Council of] Ministers were removed from the government: Ginsburg, Dvinskiy, and Mekhlis.

After the war, Jews still held a strong position in art, medicine, literature, jurisprudence, philosophy, and the sciences. The struggle against "cosmopolitanism," "worshippers of the West," and "bourgeois theories," proclaimed by Zhdanov in 1947, led to a gradual increase of pressure on Jews in these fields of Soviet life.

While during the war anti-Semitism grew up naturally in the USSR as a result of hardships, hunger, and the influence of German propaganda, after the war the Kremlin began to foment anti-Semitism artificially. At first this affected the upper strata of the social order. It was not difficult, considering the competition for self-advancement among the Soviet higher officials; the discharge or fall from a favor of a Jewish official created a vacancy, and that was occasion for rejoicing.

After the war, thousands of men were sent to Germany for the dismantling of industry, among them many deputy ministers, chiefs of main administrations, and directors. All of them brought home with them clothing, luxury articles, furniture, and rugs. One of them, Dikerman, a deputy minister of the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry, like all the others, brought some things home. He was detained in Moscow by agents of the NKVD. Then Shkiryatov, chairman of the Party Control Commission of the Central Committee, called Dikerman before him and shouted at him: "You go into Germany at the cost of the blood of our soldiers, and right away you are up to your Jewish tricks! You dirty Jew!"

Dikerman was removed from his position and given a severe reprimand according to the party line.

Ideologically, anti-Semitism was explained as a struggle against bourgeois Western influence, because the Jews were bearers of "cosmopolitanism."

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With the formation of the state of Israel, anti-Semitism in the USSR was relaxed somewhat. [redacted] this was because the Kremlin hoped to get Israel under its influence. For this purpose the Kremlin released many thousands of Jews from the USSR into Germany for emigration to Israel. Among these emigrants the Kremlin sent many of its own agents with the purpose of seizing power in Israel. (The NKVD, by agreement with the Jewish organizations, sent 10 percent of these emigrants.)

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After it became clear to the Kremlin that it would not succeed in making Israel an instrument of Soviet policy in the Near East, there began a period of stirring up anti-Semitism in the mass of the Soviet population; this has continued to this day. It is done by a definite method. In each rayon center or city some Jews--leaders of local trade or industry--are arrested. They are accused of stealing food supplies or other goods. This is easy to do, because among people dealing in trade robbery and theft are everyday occurrences. Public trials are held. The accused, of course, "confess" everything. They are sentenced to from 10 to 25 years in the labor camps. All this is presented to the people through propaganda in such a way that it appears that shortages of food and consumers' goods and defects in distribution are to be blamed on the Jew. The embittered ordinary Soviet citizen, suffering from want, begins to blame the Jews for everything, and not the Soviet regime.

After this general anti-Semitic propaganda treatment of the population had been mainly completed, at the Kremlin's command the arrests and trials began to take on a political aspect. Those arrested began to be accused of political offenses--Zionism, sabotage, and espionage for the US. This period began with the trial of Slansky. It is interesting to note that already in 1946 - 1947 there was conjecture among deputy ministers, generals, and officers that the Kremlin had made Jews (such as Pauker, Ra'ossi, etc.) leaders in the Satellites in order later to blame them for the inevitable hardships and difficulties. The Soviet accusation that Slansky had surrounded himself with his own agents and henchmen will not stand criticism, for the assignments to ministerial posts and leading party posts in the Satellites are made by the Kremlin.

The arrest of the Kremlin doctors and the provocation of a break in diplomatic relations with Israel mark the beginning of open Soviet anti-Semitism.

This anti-Semitism, as distinguished from the racial anti-Semitism of Hitler, is a well-considered measure of the Kremlin in preparation for war with the US and with the West in general.

Conversion of Anti-Semitism Into Anti-Americanism

Almost no foreign observers paid any attention to one peculiarity of recent Soviet propaganda. It may be summed up as follows: 1½ million Jews live in Israel; 6 million live in the US, i.e., more than half of [all] the Jews. But the Jews in America, the Soviets say, are not merely Jews, but wealthy "hucksters" i.e., capitalists, financiers. The notorious "sharks of Wall Street" are none other than these rich Jews. And since the "sharks of Wall Street" are in fact the bosses of the US, power in the US has been seized by Jews, and it follows that the US government, army, and politicians are only obedient agents of the Jews.

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The special information service of the MGB is undoubtedly widely disseminating among the population--both among those already infected with anti-Semitism and those not so infected--the proper rumors: the center of world Jewry is in the US; Israel is only a branch of it, only its agent. President Truman and the Jew, Secretary Morgenthau, (the representative of Wall Street), summoned the president and ministers of Israel and gave them their orders for sabotage and espionage in the USSR.

While the ordinary Soviet citizen and soldier do not believe that America and the Americans want to conquer Russia and reduce the Russians and other nations of the USSR to a colonial status, it is expected that, once prepared by Soviet anti-Semitic propaganda, they will believe that "world Jewry," which (says the Kremlin) has always cherished the hope of conquering the world, in its striving for world dominion does want to conquer Russia and enslave the Russian people. (They even say that the Jews--Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, et al.--adhered to Communism and to the Bolsheviks at the time of the Revolution in the hope of using the Comintern for world conquest, but did not succeed in this!)

The anti-Semite regards the Jew as a huckster, obsessed with a desire for profit and power through money. The more anti-Semites there are in the USSR and Satellites, the more the people will believe that the American policy of the Jews, the "sharks of Wall Street," is to conquer and destroy Russia and the Russian people. The more anti-Semites there are, the more people will fear the vengeance of the Jews, the more Soviet people there will be who will fight the US, seeing in it an instrument of the Jews and their vengeance.

The Moscow trial of the Jewish doctors, in which they will "confess" that they were "spies" and "agents" of the American (not the Israeli) Jews and their American intelligence service, is necessary to the Kremlin for the same purpose. When the doctors confess that they meant to kill, to poison, Soviet generals (incidentally, the generals were chosen from among the anti-Semites), then the generals, as well as many others in the army, will become haters of the Jews and the US. This, too, is necessary to the Kremlin.

Clever Stalin calculates well that the US and the Americans will help him in his provocation, and in setting the Soviet people against the Americans. Stalin knows that his anti-Semitism will inevitably call forth a wave of indignation and protests in the US, which, in the democratic system, will lead to corresponding steps by the US government. Stalin wants the conviction of the six Kremlin Jewish doctors to call forth public condemnation by the President, Cabinet members, and Congressmen, and an American protest to the United Nations.

All this will become widely known to the Soviet population--to the ordinary citizens, to the soldiers, and to the upper classes. With the help of the MGB and the party apparatus, rumors will be circulated to stir up the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and others against the US. For example, there will be this kind of talk: "You see, when our Jews during the period of collectivization killed and sent to Siberia millions of our people, neither the American President, the Cabinet members, nor the League of Nations made any protest! In 1937 - 1938, when millions of Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians were shot and put in concentration camps, the governments of the West did not protest. On the contrary, the US Ambassador, Davies (also a Jew, of course!) said that it was a good thing they were shot and arrested; otherwise the Jews would not have been able to defeat and revenge themselves on Hitler and the Germans! But now, when six Jews have been arrested, the US President, Cabinet members, and the United Nations are all protesting and are ready to drop atomic bombs!"

For all the crudity of this sort of talk, it will greatly strengthen anti-Semitism in the USSR and arouse a feeling of hatred of the US and the West, whose governments will be considered to have become obedient instruments of the

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Jews and "Jewish capital." Also, President Eisenhower and other members of the government may be called Jews, just as the Nazis called Roosevelt a Jew. (To the ordinary Russian, foreign surnames, like Eisenhower, sound like Jewish names.)

Undoubtedly the trial of the Kremlin doctors will be followed by other trials and other provocations with the same goal to intensify anti-Semitism and convert it into anti-Americanism and anti-Westernism.

Stalin feared that, as would be logical, Israel would head the fight against his anti-Semitism. Then it would be more difficult for him to represent the US as the center of "Jewry." So he hastened to throw the bomb in Tel Aviv and break off relations with Israel.

Stalin knows that a protest against his anti-Semitism will be lodged in the United Nations. He is only anxious that the protest be introduced, not by India or Iran or any of the Arab countries, but by the US or at least one of the other American states or by a member of the Atlantic Pact, so that he can say that this was done by orders of the "boss," the US.

Thus Stalin through anti-Semitism is trying to arouse hatred of the US and of Americans in the Soviet people and the Soviet Army. Without this hatred, as the last war showed, he cannot fight the US. War will bring fearful suffering to the people, and that which is irrational in people--hatred and malice--will be aroused to an extreme degree. Stalin hopes to divert this from himself and against the enemy. In the last war he succeeded brilliantly in this.

He knows that the Americans have begun active anti-Soviet propaganda (the radio of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia, Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, leaflets, etc.) and that in time of war this propaganda will be intensified and, with former Soviet citizens taking part in it, will be effective. Stalin knows that, having the benefit of the German mistakes in the last war, the Americans will not repeat these mistakes; certainly, they are not going to repeat the killing of prisoners, the frightfulness of the occupation, the policy of annihilation, or the theory of the "untermensch." He knows that the American propaganda will be conducted under the slogan of liberation of the peoples of Russia and the Satellites. Stalin is afraid of this. This is why he needs anti-Semitism, in order by skillful acts of provocation to be able to explain such propaganda as "Jewish machinations," to say that the radio stations are built with Jewish money, are staffed by Jews, etc.

By anti-Semitism Stalin hopes to counter the US propaganda, addressed to the people of the USSR and the Satellites, which is now taking an active form and is dangerous to him. Stalin's anti-Semitism is a defensive maneuver in the cold war.

The strenuous efforts of the Kremlin to show that there is no Soviet anti-Semitism (the award of the "peace prize" to Erenburg and the deliberately ostentatious funeral of Mekhlis, etc.) is intended not for the USSR, but for Europe and America, where among the Jews there are fellow travelers and ideological agents of Stalin; he does not want to lose them. He knows, of course, that these fellow travelers are deserting him. (It is significant that not long ago the appearance of Stalin on the screen of the Stanley Theater in New York, where Soviet films are shown, was greeted with applause, while recently it has been received with stony silence.) Partly for this reason the Kremlin is mobilizing all its forces in the West and in the US to get a commutation of the death sentence of the Rosenbergs, the atomic spies.

Possibly the saving of the Rosenbergs is necessary to the Kremlin for "domestic consumption" also, in order to emphasize to the people of the USSR that the power of the Jews in the US is so strong that the government, in

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compliance with their demands, has even pardoned atomic spies. It is possible that the trial of the Kremlin doctors in Moscow has been postponed in order to tempt the American government with the possibility of a minor victory in the cold war--that of showing its humanity and pardoning the Rosenbergs before the inevitable death sentence against the Jews in Moscow.

To millions of members of the Communist Party and the Komsomol in the USSR and Satellites, the Kremlin presents anti-Semitism from an "ideological point of view": The Jews are not a nation, but a historically banded-together group with a strong attraction toward the capitalist class. To the head of the capitalist class have risen Jewish financiers, the "sharks of Wall Street," enriched at the expense of the working class and the peasants. They have seized power in the US and are taking over all the countries of the capitalist world and preparing for war against the USSR to gain power over the whole world. For this reason, Judaism and its principal material and military base, the US, are mortal enemies of the Communists and the working class.

This is how, in simplified form, anti-Semitism appears in the present ideology of Stalinism.

Anti-Semitism as a Pretext for a Mass Prewar Purge in the USSR

The Yezhov purge of 1937 - 1938 justified itself in Stalin's eyes: if the existing and potential opposition in the party, the army, and the population had not been destroyed, Stalin could not have kept himself in power during the war with Germany. Therefore, he will inevitably carry out (and has already begun to carry out) the same kind of purge before the coming war.

At the 19th Party Congress Malenkov spoke of "ideological perversions," which in the Russian language, if one is to judge by the experience of 1936--before the Yezhov purge--means an imminent purge. Mikhaylov, member of the Central Committee and head of the Komsomol, on 21 January 1953, at the commemoration of the anniversary of Lenin's death, talked openly about the coming purge.

Just as in the Yezhov purge, this purge will be a liquidation of opposition elements who in time of war may become an active opposition. People who have no desire to fight for Communism and the Soviet regime will be isolated in camps. The existing passive resistance of the population will be suppressed by terror. The experience of the last war showed that the Yezhov purge was not enough; 2 million soldiers and officers gave themselves up voluntarily to the Germans, and General Vlasov and the secretary of the Moscow Rayon Committee, Zhilenkov, were able to convert this passive resistance into active resistance. Stalin knows that in the coming war the Americans will not repeat the Germans' mistakes with the Vlasov movement. Therefore, we may now expect a more general purge than that which preceded the last war.

However absolute a dictator Stalin may be, he cannot shoot and arrest hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, of people without proper political grounds; he cannot take the risk. This might result not in the suppression of opposition elements, but in widespread popular indignation, including indignation in the party and in the upper ruling circles. Just as the murder of Kirov, "Trotskyism," "rightist deviation," Menshevism, espionage for Germany and other European countries, the Tukhashevskiy conspiracy, etc., constituted such a political basis for the Yezhov purge, so in the coming purge the grounds will be "conspiracies," Zionism, "espionage for the US," "cosmopolitanism," etc.

It is very possible that a great trial will be arranged of some of those members of the party, and even of the Politburo, who have disappeared recently. These might include Ginzburg, Dvinskiy, Abakumov, the Minister of the MGB, and others who after the war worked abroad, in the Satellites (they will be accused

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of having been "connected" with Slansky, Pauker, and other "Zionists") and in Germany, where they were "recruited" by American and British intelligence. Voznesenskiy also may be tried (to be sure, it has been suggested that he has been shot; he disappeared simultaneously with the introduction of the death penalty in the USSR). All this will be a pretext for the arrest and isolation of the "untrustworthy"--Jews, Russians, Ukrainians, Caucasians, etc.

The Kremlin knows that in the event of war most of the Jews will be on the side of the West, as will their fatherland, Israel. Stalin tried to seize Israel by means of the Soviet Jewish agents sent there. But these agents, getting into conditions of freedom and among their own people, have broken with Stalin, i.e., in his opinion, they have betrayed the party. For such treachery among the peoples of the northern Caucasus, the Crimea, and the Kalmyk republic, Stalin liquidated all these nationalities in 1943 - 1944.

The prewar purge will inevitably affect a great number of Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and other nationalities of the USSR, for the Kremlin knows of the existence of passive but widespread opposition among all of them.

Disillusionment with the postwar policies of the Kremlin, tendencies favorable to the West among people who were in Europe during or after the war, oppositionist attitudes among the rank and file of party members, and dissatisfaction of the kolkhoz peasants, robbed by the Kremlin's monetary reform of 1948 and frightened by the projected strengthening of the kolkhozes, i.e., the conversion of the kolkhoz peasants into a rural proletariat--all these the new purge is to wipe out.

The Kremlin knows also about the deep sympathy for the US among the Soviet population, especially among the peasants (the failure of the anti-American propaganda is convincing evidence of that). During the last war, I often heard peasants say "America and England, for their help, are asking Stalin to abolish the kolkhozes and to allow free trade." They said: "He has dissolved the Comintern and opened the churches at the request of America, and free trade is beginning to some extent; however, it is impossible to dissolve the kolkhoz until the war is over." After the war the peasants said: "Stalin has deceived the Allies and us with regard to the kolkhozes and trade." The mass of ordinary peasants picture the US as their intercessor whom Stalin has deceived.

The Kremlin is using the same anti-Semitism to combat these sympathies of the kolkhoz peasants for the US, but more on religious grounds. The Kremlin is trying to use the Soviet Orthodox Church, permitted to exist under control of the MGB, and the religious nature of the ordinary peasants to intensify religious anti-Semitism and at the same time counter the peasants' sympathies for the US.

Stalin is combining all his enemies into one composite image, the Jew, in order that, in an atmosphere of inflamed anti-Semitism, he may dispose of all the numerous opposition elements in the USSR and Satellites who might in time of war become active opponents of the regime.

Anti-Semitism in the Struggle for Germany

The Soviet emigre general, A. Barmin [Alexander Barmin] told me what Stalin said in the 1920's before the Frunze General Staff Academy: "He who has Germany on his side will conquer the world." Barmin said that Stalin had a certain admiration for Germany. In this respect he went farther even than Lenin, who called Germany "the heart of Europe."

The prospective inclusion of West Germany in the European Defense Community undoubtedly frightens Stalin. Stalin apparently is unable to prevent it. Therefore, since it is impossible to get Germany to fight on the side of the USSR,

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Stalin wants to keep her from fighting on the side of the US against the USSR. In the complicated maneuver for this, Stalin is now using openly his trump card, anti-Semitism.

[redacted] from Soviet officials of SVAG (Soviet Military Administration of Germany) and Soviet officers in Berlin about the "Morgenthau plan." The Administration of Propaganda and Agitation and the German section of the "Sovinformbyuro" spread rumors about this plan among the German population. These rumors were to the effect that Morgenthau, the Jewish American Cabinet member, had conceived the plan in order to take vengeance on the Germans for their destruction of the Jews. According to this plan, one third of the population of Germany was to be destroyed by famine ("three Germans for one Jew" was the phrase used). Morgenthau's son-in-law, General L. Clay, American High Commissioner for Germany, was to carry out the plan. [redacted] many Germans--workers, peasants, and intelligentsia--who believed these rumors.

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The anti-Semitism of the Germans is well known. But Stalin has intensified it and will intensify it in order to direct it against the US.



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Conclusions

Soviet anti-Semitism is not the racial anti-Semitism of Hitler. It is an extensive psychological preparation by the Kremlin for war with the West and, mainly, for war with the US. The Kremlin must not be given opportunities or grounds for transforming the anti-Semitism existing in the USSR into anti-Americanism. Second, by means of active propaganda in the cold-war (by radio and press and in the United Nations), the Stalinist acts of provocation to

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transform anti-Semitism into anti-Americanism must be explained to the Soviet people. It must be explained and emphasized that the power in the US is not held by the Jews, that even the "sharks of Wall Street" are not Jews. (This is known in the West, but not in the USSR.) Third, the existing anti-Semitism must be combated, and the Kremlin must not be permitted to excite it further. World public opinion and propaganda must be utilized for this end, keeping in mind the necessity for extreme caution in measures taken in the name of the US government, so that the Kremlin will not be given propaganda material for representing the US as the tool of "world Jewry." Diplomatic and governmental measures against Soviet anti-Semitism must be undertaken in the name of Israel and of states which the Kremlin would have difficulty in representing as obedient instruments of the US,

There is a great hidden danger for Stalin in Soviet anti-Semitism. A way must be found to convert his anti-Semitism into a boomerang which will strike Stalin himself.

American governmental circles, in pursuit of local successes (in Western public opinion, in combating pro-Soviet tendencies in the US and Europe, and possibly, in the competition for votes, etc.), are forgetting about the world on the other side of the Iron Curtain, about the main base of Communism. The very fact of the Kremlin's anti-Semitism, with the help of propaganda, already assures the achievement of these local successes. The propaganda and diplomacy of the government ought to be directed against Stalin's home front.

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