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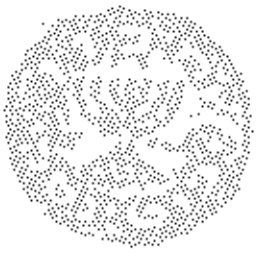
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אולף זאב ז'בוטינסקי

The Jewish War Front

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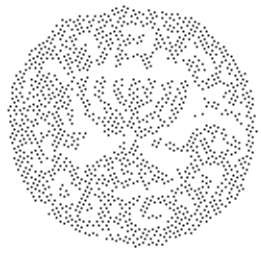


V. Jabotinsky

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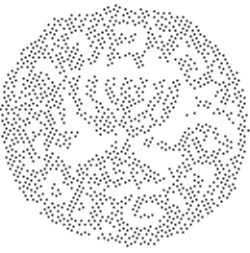


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CHAPTER I.

This book, written in January 1940, is intended to press a claim for the inclusion, first, of the Jewish problem into the war-aims of the Allied nations, and secondly - into the scope of any all-round revisionist discussion that may follow the war.

Responsible people, I know, are getting impatient of laymen's insistence on extending the war aims of the Allies so as to include the redress of almost any grievance ever raised anywhere on earth. These responsible people firmly demand that a stop be put to this nonsense; they point out that the proper "aims" of a nation at war <sup>(a/c)</sup> is to remove those factors which have caused that war, and hardly anything else; whereas other grievances, however justified, will have to be settled by some other method.

Those responsible people are perfectly right; nevertheless, and strictly in accordance with their argument just outlined, the removal of the Jewish grievance is a claim most undeniably entitled to a prominent place among the genuine and urgent aims of the war - without prejudice to the place to which it is entitled among the questions to be dealt with in the after-war reconstruction talks.

It is very useful for all of us to realize that there are, among the many questions of reconstruction raised in connection with the war, these two quite distinct categories: "war aims" and "all-round revisionism". Much confusion would be avoided if both were kept rigorously apart. A war aim is something which you actually and obviously fight for, and if you do not obtain it as an outcome of the war it will mean that you have been beaten. For instance, if a repetition of acts of violence such as Poland's invasion will not be rendered impossible, the Allies will have lost the war; crushing the Nazi regime is, therefore, a war aim. But such purposes as, for instance, re-establishing free trade between the nations, excellent as it is, cannot be called a war aim. A peace treaty can be signed without mentioning it and still be considered most satisfactory.

The removal of unreasonable trade barriers belongs to quite a different category of world needs: it is one of those problems that await the great Revision. Revisionism is not by any means unconnected with the war: on the contrary, most of us feel that it would be a criminal waste of a tragic but great opportunity if such a cataclysm were allowed to pass without leading up to some effort of all-round, thorough spring-cleaning. Which does not mean that no peace can be made before it is effected.

War aims are aims for which nations are compelled to fight with steel and gunpowder. Revisionism embraces purposes which can be discussed peacefully and settled without violence (even if not always without the pressure of implied threats). It is to be hoped that, as progress marches on, more and more problems will be solved by peaceful revision instead of by war. For the present it is unfortunately indispensable to distinguish between the two aspects, war aims and revision.

The preceding paragraph is not an academic essay: it has the very practical purpose of doing away with the convention that the Jewish problem, though ripe for "revision", is not to be considered a "war aim". This contention is wrong. The Jewish problem belongs to both categories, and above all to that of war-aims.

Responsible statesmen and press organs have been heard recently betraying some impatience with those voices out of the great public which attempt to bring up every overdue item of world-improvement as one of the sine qua non conditions for an acceptable peace. Those statesmen and newspapers are perfectly right: the circle of proper war-aims should not be extended beyond the really essential and indispensable items.

But the solution of the Jewish tragedy is exactly one of these essential and indispensable items. A peace treaty leaving the Jewish problem unsolved would not ensure anything like a durable peace. Jewish redress is a war aim.

The problem is vast and complicated; it can obviously not be settled in all its details at one single peace conference. These details will have to be left over for the "revision" period which will follow the end of the war. But complicated problems do not only consist of details: they also have roots. The root of the Jewish tragedy is a matter of terrible urgency; it is actually one of the main factors that brought about this war. This root must be extracted, and this is a war aim.

I wish to add also this to the distinction between "war aims" and "revision":

War aims will be discussed and settled at peace conferences, one or several conferences. Such conferences tend to be short and sharp.

The Revision period, which will follow the signature of the peace treaty or the various peace treaties, will probably take the form of a protracted session, by something like a European parliament or perhaps a world parliament. Its labours may last years, may last even a generation. It may be called a new League of Nations, or a continent's Federation, or any other name. One thing is certain: all humanity feels that it must come and that must carry out the great reconstruction.

It would doubtlessly have come without the pretext or the preface of this war, simply by the pressure of realities; this war is perhaps only a secondary incident. It is not the war that will reconstruct the universe: this will be accomplished by the Revision period. The war will only burn or sweep away a few rocks impeding the reconstruction; cut out a few malignant tumours preventing any recovery.

One of them is the cancer called the Jewish tragedy. Even a beginning of universal reconstruction cannot be made unless this is cut out. A war aim in the fullest sense of the term.



CHAPTER II.

The Jewish tragedy is not the microbe which has caused this war. The Jewish tragedy is "only" that favourable medium or feeding-ground in which the microbes grew to maturity.

Mysteries of mass psychology, when both the author and the reader are laymen, can best be explained, or at least illustrated, by metaphor and analogy. Several such present themselves to our mind in our case, to illuminate the important organic rôle of the Jew-hunting in the growth and progress of the Armageddon monster. It may be compared to the rôle of "spice" or "sauce" which help the masses to swallow a kind of poison-food which would be too unpalatable without it; or of a lubricating oil for speeding down the chute a load which might get stuck otherwise; or of those thin sticks of wood (dry) a housewife lights to get the heavy logs or lumps of coal in the big fireplace catch fire properly. I will have to use all of them, but none of them is quite exactly suitable to fit the case. After all, food can be swallowed even without the spice, the load can be pushed down without the grease, etc.: but Nazism would never have grown to such power without the help of antisemitism. "Feeding ground for the microbe" is the ~~best~~ simile best ~~meeting~~ meeting the case.

The man in the street may not be conscious of this intimate connection between the acute forms of antisemitism and war-danger. He may even think it a monstrous exaggeration

to suggest that Jew-baiting in Nazi Germany, however objectionable, was in any way responsible for, say, Hitler's disregarding the Anglo-French warning which was the direct cause of the conflict. The man in the street can be expected to dismiss such suggestions as a case of megalomania: "These Jews imagine that everything, weather and climate and earthquakes, depends on what is going to happen to him. Of course the Nazi programme and practice, beside the greed for world power and the cult of violence, also includes persecution of Jews, but the latter is just a concomitant, an accompanying phenomenon, not the essence. Nazism could have been just as bad if there were no Jews on earth".

This is utterly wrong. For destructive movements of the Nazi type, antisemitism is infinitely more than a "concomitant"; and Nazism would probably never have accomplished such rapid and sweeping conquests if it had not been able to ride the anti-Jewish horse.

Everybody knows that, in propoganda, the appeal of love is slow and clumsy in comparison with the appeal of hate. Hate is that piquant sauce which speeds up both the swallowing and the digestion of ideas and schemes. Furthermore, that "sauce" can only be fully effective if the object of the hate is within reach, well-known to all, easy and non-dangerous to attack. Had the Nazi propoganda, from its beginnings, been confined to preaching rebellion against the Versailles peace

terms and English, American or French wickedness, its appeal might have been still powerful theoretically, but its actual progress among the masses would have been so slow that it is doubtful whether it would ever have gathered enough momentum for an explosion. A Versailles treaty is not a tangible object for real <sup>palpable</sup> tangible hatred: masses cannot feel concretely emotional towards an object which can only be seen at the public library. On the other hand, hating the English or the Americans or the French is either a torture to the hater himself as long as he dare not express it by deeds, or a very dangerous enterprise if he tries prematurely to translate it into action. There is only one ideal object for mass training in collective hate, and that is the Jew. He is everywhere within reach, he can be pointed out at any street corner; and he can be insulted or assaulted with only the minimum of risk or with none at all. To foster a movement of the Nazi type without the daily use of Jewish targets would be like staging a pageant without rehearsals.

The world outside of Germany does not realise to what an all-prevading extent the Nazi movement has, through all the years of its existence, been dependant on its Jewish spice for vitality and driving power. Theoretically, a complete gospel of German National Socialism could have been composed without any reference to Jews at all: rearmament, militarisation of the Rhine district, restoration of colonies,

Anschluss of Austria, annexation of the Sudetenland, to say nothing of that childish scheme of social reforms devised in 1923 by an amateur erudite called Feder, and incorporated into the "immutable" programme of the party, and a little later abandoned:- all these could have been preached just as forcibly had their authors never thought of Israel and Judah. But those authors evidently felt, from the very beginning, that nothing of all this would "go down" properly with the masses unless seasoned with the all-powerful spice. The result was that not one spoonful of the dish was served without the spice; not one single ditch crossed but on the "Jewish" stilts.

It is foolish to explain this infatuation by using the term "mania". With a few exceptions, the Nazi chiefs are as sane as any other government or party leaders in any other country. Nor is it "sadism"; nor any other abnormal urge rooted in the morbid subconscious of men almost each one of whom, when defeated and shorn of his war-paint and examined in the ordinary light of drab everyday reality, will probably be found to be just drab average. Some of them (if not most of them) have long, and quite credibly, been reported to confess how endlessly "fed up" they were with the necessity always to talk of Jews, Jews, Jews. One does not do such things for pleasure: one does it only because of necessity. They knew that their propoganda would not win through fast enough and wide enough

without the sauce. It is only thanks to the sauce that it has won through so wide and so fast. The word only has just been italicized with full responsibility: not in the sense (let it be repeated) as though Jew-baiting belonged to the real essence of the Nazi contraband - which it does not: but because Jew-baiting has proved a powerful lubricant without which the load would have crawled instead of sliding down as it did.

(All this is not new, at least not to us Jews. As early as in the eighteenth eighties, after a pogrom in the Ukraine, a Russian Socialist party published a manifesto trying to comfort all friends of liberty by arguing that an anti-Jewish pogrom was, after all, not such a bad thing, being rather in the nature of a rehearsal: the peasants only begin by attacking the K Jews, they will continue by massacring the police and will end by smashing autocracy. - Years later, also in Russia, it was a Jewish revolutionary who chimed in, with the often quoted formula, "Jewish blood is the best for oiling the wheels of progress".).

The success of the Nazi experiment has proved instructive. Now, in the light of the present conflagration, the whole story of the last decade looks very much like a gradual shunting of several nations "falling in" into the one or the other of the two great camps about to clash. And it is really striking and curious to see that, whenever any of those nations thought of

Joining the enemy ~~mark~~ of the Western block (be it even only a hesitating attempt, soon to be abandoned), it invariably began by qualifying for admission in the same and only way - through a dose of the "Jewish" spice. That was the meaning of the Coga-intermezzo in Roumania: for a moment, in the autumn of 1936, that country's ruling circle oscillated close on the brink of an anti-Western orientation - and the first visible symptom of it was the application of that same "lubricant", a violently anti-semitic cabinet and a broadside of anti-Jewish legislation. A few weeks later the anti-Western orientation was found undesirable - and Mr. Coga<sup>was</sup> dismissed and his legislation quashed. This is not the moment to dwell on that short-lived incident longer than strictly necessary for pointing out its moral, but the moral is obvious and should not be forgotten.

Still less opportune would it be just now to emphasise the Italian analogy: yet it is one even more striking than Roumania's example. In Roumania there had always been antisemitic tendencies among the masses: so there was, at least, something (or even much) for a gambler to gamble upon. But Italy! It is not enough to say that its people, for half a century at least, had genuinely forgotten all about discriminating against a Jew: they had actually lost <sup>interest</sup> (all) in noticing who was a Jew and who wasn't. Yet, when the time came for swinging the country into a certain "orientation", in some mysterious way it was immediately felt that the new course

would not run sufficiently smoothly without a coat of the regulation grease. The lubricant here was applied half-heartedly, with evident repulsion, with countless apologies - as something one does admittedly contre-coeur, and only because one must: because, for that kind of job, this kind of black mass is in-dis-pen-sable.

I am neither a historian nor a sociologist, and raise no claim to being fully able to explain why it is "indispensable". Many a time have I, too, asked myself this question: innumerable wars had been fought in the past, yet never was any such necessity to prepare for it by such especial emphasis on the Jews. Why does it appear so necessary now?

One explanation is perhaps an almost comforting one: progress. The world has been moving on after all despite all our scepticism. Masses can no longer be sent to die simply by order: now they need some ~~xx~~ kind of "religion" to die for. It may not have been a mere word when some observers of, for instance, the Spanish civil war affirmed that the programmatic differences, or the clash of real interests, between Burgos and Madrid were infinitesimally small - it was not a fight over tangible issues but a pure and simple guerre de religion.

But a "religion" to fit Germany's claim to domination must be a formidable one. Populations speaking German dialects and occupying contiguous territories in Europe count close to one hundred million, as against 40 to 45 millions each of Britisners, Frenchmen or Italians. There is an inherent suggestion or temptation of supremacy in these figures: not just of ascendancy or predominance or influence but of actual subjugation, of power such as a slave-owner could wield over his Negroes. That temptation can only be curbed by some extremely powerful spiritual self-discipline: by that combination of countless traditions - ethical, philosophical, religious, cultural, democratic traditions - which we call civilisation or progress. All these had to be swept away before a nation with such a library as the Germans could be made to regress ten centuries back to a creed as primitive and cynical as this: We Germans are the salt of the earth, our neighbours' land is our Lebensraum, their human value can only be acknowledged in so far as it is useful to us; we may impose forced labour on their youths, we may drive them away from their ~~houses~~ towns and villages to make room for Germans - all that will be good and will be right, and any opposition to it will be criminal, and the means to be used in suppressing such opposition need not be weighed in any balance of ethics but only in the balance of efficiency.



In re-reading this paragraph I am conscious that much of this mentality was of course displayed in primitive conquests such as those described in my own Old Testament; also thousands of years later - in Europe's colonial policy since Columbus' day and down to perhaps a couple of generations back. It is a silly pastime to "defend" ancestors: I would not spend one drop of ink on the bestiality of Gideon, nor a minute of my time on reading a justification of the bestiality of Cortez. Yet all this has no bearing on our theme, ~~just~~ for ~~in~~ those ancient or bygone days the mass-mind of humanity was so easily accessible to relapses of bestiality that there was no need for any profound moral revolution before effecting the relapse. But the last century has brought such conceptions as humanity and equality really home to the minds of countless millions: now, to wash all that away in clearing the ground for the return of the beast, a formidable effort is required.

And a formidable amount of training by rehearsal, by cheap and easy experimenting in corpore vili. The dormant brute in German souls seems to have been hibernating very near to the surface, but even so it had to be converted to beastliness and cruelty by gradual drill. Like Voltaire's God, if the Jews had not existed they would have had to be invented for the purpose.

It would be criminal blindness, on the part of western statemanship, to disregard the historical truth of this enquiry. When the Nazis across the frontiers, or their hirelings in Britain and France, yell or whisper that this is a "Jewish War" they are perfectly right: the microbe would have died had it not been allowed to feed and multiply on the Jewish tragedy.

CHAPTER III.

Poland's part in that "Jewish" pre-history of the war is a chapter by itself. I shall have to speak of Poland in this book in other connections: here I only wish to point out the curious and painful of her historical rôle during these twenty years of her renewed existence. It was a period during which the new world war was hatching; during which her government did much to prevent it; but it so happened that, after Germany herself, Poland was, objectively, the main ground where the war-microbes bred.

There is a story about the late Marshal Pilsudski's interview with an important French envoy, soon after the Nazi conquest of the power in Berlin. The Frenchman was trying to persuade him to join France and England (plus, of course, Soviet Russia) against Germany. Pilsudski took his guest to a big wall map, showing Poland squeezed in between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, and said: "If these two clash some day, all their battles will be fought on our soil. Now you just imagine that this soil is not Poland but France, and tell me what would be your policy then".

From the moment Pilsudski took the power in 1926, perhaps even before that, the policy of the Polish Republic

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was dictated by this paramount aim: no war on Polish soil. In those days it was, in all minds, tantamount to "no war at all". Of all intensely, inherently, ingrainedly peace-minded countries, Poland was probably the most genuinely anxious: not because of what is called pacifism but because of something much more effective than pacifism - obvious unmistakable interest.

And at the same time, all that East-Central zone of Europe - we call it "Europe, E.C." - stretching from Riga on the Baltic down to Constantza on the Black Sea was uninterruptedly <sup>(kind of)</sup> seething with the most unhealthy social fever: and its centre, and the main focus from which it radiated North and South, was Poland. It was, of course, the same evil again: the "Jewish" fever.

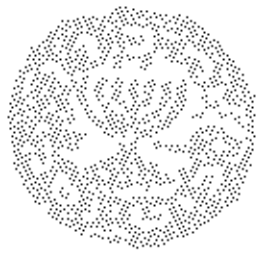
Its source was the statistical fact that the Jews were ten per cent of Poland's total, and about one third of Poland's urban population. This fact viciated and perverted every civic value. "Democracy" in this atmosphere meant that in the townhalls of Warsaw, Cracow, Lemberg, Lodz, of every important city, Poles would have to share mastery almost evenly with Jews: that was what it meant, or so people thought. "Equality of rights" in this atmosphere meant that in every branch of economy that requires some learning, the long-urbanised Jew will overtake and beat his Polish competitor, son or grandson of slow-witted peasantry: or so people thought .....

It does not matter how unfair and cruel this rings: in Poland, that was the constant all-deafening din filling the very air of her public life. We shall see in another chapter how true it is that in some countries it is not "anti-semitism of men" but "anti-semitism of Things" which decides: here we have a convincing illustration of that rule.

The result was that for twenty years Poland was always on the brink of some ugly inner convulsion. This does not by any means suggest that the Jewish question was her only painful spot: neither the only, nor perhaps the main one. Poland's Ukrainian problem, for one, was doubtless of deeper gravity. But this, or any other of her internal difficulties, did not possess that especial and <sup>c</sup>ursed peculiarity of anti-semitism - the talent never to stop, never to relax, to fester and distill venom day and night and again in the morning: something like a chronic cold in the head, not a grave disease in itself but a constant invitation to all other kinds of disease. Party strife in that "climate" became murderous hate; criticism degenerated into calumny; the whole temperature and temper of all public life reminded one of the atmosphere within a ~~bank~~ besieged fortress. Especially since Pilsudski's death, the government always, to a friendly onlooker, seemed like cheerfully but rather anxiously defending a trench - and that on a volcano.

Yet this was Poland, by size and numbers and prestige the central rock of "Europe, E.C.". Had she been given, by God or fate, a chance of developing calmly and steadily, her influence would have steadied the whole of that zone and would have made of it a real "Third Europe", a cohesive force capable of sobering its German neighbour despite all his numerical strength ("Europe, E.C." has itself a population not far from 100 million). As it was, Poland's unremitting feverishness only acted as a constant encouragement for the nest where birds of prey were hatching.

The conclusion is clear: no restoration, in Central or East-Central Europe, will be any use to durable peace if the sarcoma-root from which antisemitism flows is not cut out. Among the factors whose interplay has produced this war, that "Jewish" root - "Jewish" the Jews - was at the root of all. The war will have been fought in vain, the victory worse than a lie if it is left stuck in the ground to poison the future.



news", as they say in the B.B.C.:

It is useless to ask how much of it the reader has seen in the general Allied press. Yet all these are not events of some remote earthquake, or antipode typhoon, "something which after all is no concern of ours" from the standpoint of, say, sacro egoismo: these are the direct results of the conquest of Poland for which the Allies solemnly assume responsibility.

Under these conditions a conspiracy of silence is unforgivably insulting. But its main harm is in the inevitable suggestion that the Allies are ashamed of having Jews as fellow-sufferers. There is, both in England and France, a moral underworld ever trying to "get at" the non-defeatist camp by the taunt of a "Jewish war": which, as we have seen, is in a sense not quite entirely wrong. But polite society evidently shrinks from such "pornography". The result is that the Jewish fellow-sufferer is denied the even the last and most elementary privilege of a sufferer: to have his losses registered in proper and fair perspective, so that he may at least hope, when the day comes for all-round redress, restoration and retribution, to present his claims on equal terms with others. The only explanation of the conspiracy - whether instinctive or planned - is that it is not desirable that the Jewish claim should ever be presented.

This is a foolish policy: if continued, it can only drive all world Jewry to bitter and dangerous conclusions.



CHAPTER V.

Some desultory attempts have, however, been made by best-class British statesmen to include the Jewish question into the scope of the Allied war-aims. The men I am going to quote are worthy of all respect, and their intentions unimpeachably sincere and benevolent. The more disappointing will be the conclusion any Jew will have to draw from their compared utterances.

Should any more pronouncements on the subject have appeared before this book goes into the printing machine, they will be mentioned in the concluding chapter; but there is little hope that they can appreciably change the picture. As it is, the picture is extremely arid. It boils down to "as you were". It is, of course, foreshadowed that Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland will once again become liberal Republics, and there will be a reinforced League of



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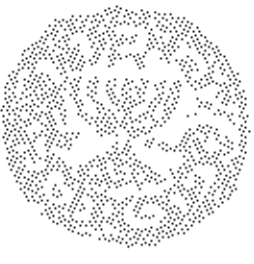
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The range of these excellent pledges will be the better appreciated if the reader recalls that equal rights for Jews, even in East-Central Europe, is nothing new. On the contrary, the legal recognition of this principle is almost in every one of these states just as old as the state itself. Only Austria-Hungary was older than its Jewish equality law, set on her statute book in 1867. When the German Empire was formed in 1871, its imperial constitution established equality for all irrespective of creed or origin. When the Berlin treaty (1878) definitely put into shape Roumania, Serbia and Bulgaria, it was guaranteed by the same treaty that in all of them all citizens would enjoy equal rights. When the peace treaties of 1919 created Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States, special minority clauses were solemnly inserted to ensure equality, and to avoid any evasions the Jewish minority was explicitly named as one of the beneficiaries; to say nothing of the League of Nations which was to supervise and guarantee. To tell once again how all this proved ineffective would be tedious; the only item that may tickle the reader's curiosity is that pre-war Roumania never took the equality clause seriously, openly treated her Jews as "foreigners", and never had any trouble on that account with any of the signatories of the Berlin treaty - one of whom was Great Britain and another France.

Nations to look after the treatment of minorities. On the other hand, Jews are honestly warned by Sir Archibald Sinclair (who ought to be sincerely thanked for saying the only essential word in all this cant) that actual and permanent supervision of internal developments in a sovereign country by outside organs is impracticable; in other words, the reality of any statute or treaty clauses about equal rights will ultimately depend, in Germany on the good will of the Germans, in Poland of the Poles. Roumania and Hungary, being as yet not at war, are not mentioned, but the obvious inference is that in these two countries outside supervision of the Jewish position is also out of question.

This disposes of some 2,000,000 Jews still living in the zone which, for 20 years, has been the main theatre of acute Jewish distress. Apart from cant, what they are really promised is status quo ante. This is presumably what is expected to keep the Jew enthusiastic for an Allied victory.

The general public, some Jews probably too, are very far from realising all the positive and hideous horror of the prospect this situation involves. It is worth analysing that prospect's details in the four chapters that follow.



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Furthermore, I also believe that all these peoples, restored to safety and sanity, will honestly try to devote themselves to sober restoration. I believe that they will detest war; I hope they will, at least for a generation's life-time, discard all thought of armed "revanches"; I expect them to give much more active support to the new League of Nations, or the European Federation, or whatever else it is to be called, than that which was enjoyed by the old Geneva one. True, one point is not quite clear yet even to a trustful believer, and that is the manner in which they will settle all those spikey questions of ethnically mixed provinces so as to satisfy everybody and stamp out irredentism; but so fervent is my desire to believe that I prefer not to think of the spikes: everything will somehow get adjusted in time, with a great deal of labour but without any more disasters. Some people may find my optimism absurd: I deny it, my cheerful expectations are soberly and moderately realistic. Credo, quia NON absurdum.

There is, however, one aspect of optimism which even the most sanguin among the sober should discard utterly and pitilessly: this is the belief that the anti-Jewish cancer can also be cured by such means as liberal constitutions and League of Nations supervision. No doubt, everything that is suitable to the subject will be duly inserted into those constitutions and into the League's new Covenant, ensuring the inviolability of equal rights for all. But the enforcement of these constitutions will have to be left for every country in the hands of local governments; and democratic elections will mean that those

governments will be as truly representative of the attitudes of the masses as only possible. It is therefore on the mass-attitudes that the actual working of any equal-rights paragraph, so far as Jews' rights are intended, will depend. Not so in the case of other minorities: they mostly live in close territorial clusters, districts or at least cantons, and can more or less look after themselves if left alone. The Jews live scattered throughout predominantly Gentile towns and villages: on every step, in the street or in life, they are exposed to the good will or the ill will of the local majority. To pretend that under conditions such as these any essential results can be ensured by law is a childish idea. NON credo qui absurdum. Nor do I admit that any statesman, even among those who profess to expect such magic effects from legislative incantations, are being really sincere about it.

Germany ( Jews) and Austria ( Jews).

The present situation in both is so universally known that it needs no further elaboration: what does is the past of German antisemitism, for a myth is being created to the effect

that the evil originated with the advent of a person called Adolf Hitler and born in 1888, so that if he can be removed it will disappear. But the truth is that Hitler has just as much to do with ~~it~~ that evil as Napoleon had with the invention of gunpowder. Napoleon did not invent it, he only made magnificent use of it; and when he went, others came and surpassed him.

Germany - and for this purpose she included Austria long before the Anschluss - has ever been the first and foremost and paramount workshop of modern antisemitism. Here, not anywhere else, was the discovery made, and the principle proclaimed, that the objection to the Jews is not religious but racial, and he must therefore be persecuted even if baptised. Here, not anywhere else, was antisemitism sublimated to the rank of a scientific philosophy. In no other nation was Jew-hatred as a ~~school~~ school of thought openly joined by such a large number of men really prominent, some of them even first-rate, in various walks of spiritual leadership; Schopenhauer, Feuerbach, Dribring, Treitschke; even Houston Stewart Chamberlain, to become a success, had to settle in Germany. Also in Germany, not anywhere else, was the practical aspect of antisemitism modernised and perfected: what had been a mere tendency for desultory street-rioting was, through German initiative, sublimated into a political system. Stoecker and Ahlward founded the movement in Berlin, bringing

into the Reichstag, in about 1893, the first bunch of deputies solemnly and quite democratically elected as Antisemitische Partei; and in Vienna, two years later, Lueger triumphantly conquered the Vienna townhall on a platform whose main, or rather only, "plank" was Jew-hatred, and became burgomaster amid scenes of the wildest mass-enthusiasm, and kept his seat for decades. All this had been happening for three quarters of a century long before a Nazi party was conceived.

It is foolish nonsense to pretend that Germans are only displaying antisemitism by order, so when the order will be withdrawn through liquidation of Nazism they will forget all about it. Germans abroad, who run no risk if they chose to disobey orders from Berlin, have amply and repeatedly shown that Nazism attracts them through its own fascination and not through fear of the Gestapo. The clearest proof was the Saar plebiscite, 1935, held under ideally democratic conditions, with British gendarmes ensuring the fullest freedom of propoganda, conscience and vote: out of 525,000 valid votes, 477,000 were cast for incorporation in Nazi Germany. Perhaps still more significant are, in quite recent days, the very imposing proportions of Germans in Italy, Latvia, Esthonia who accept the call to return to Germany - nearly autochtones all, descendants of conquerors and settlers of God knows how many centuries ago, leaving mostly comfortable homes and respectable social positions for the pleasure of enjoying the Nazi atmosphere. To stop it all,

there is that record of frank, sincere, full-throated, really totalitarian joy displayed by all classes of the Vienna crowd, in the first weeks after the Anschluss, when "Jewish ladies in fur coats" were ordered to scrub pavements and the mob flocked to watch and yell with delight, and mothers lifted babies over neighbours' heads to have a good look at the lovely sight. "By order"? Of course there must be an order to unleash the innermost brute: but the main point is the presence of the brute underneath, and what a multitude of them!

Antisemitism is traditionally and organically endemic in Germany: not in Germany alone by any means, but in no other country more than in Germany. Here again, being neither a sociologist nor a student of psychology, I will not attempt to explain the phenomenon: but it would take a fool or a liar to deny the phenomenon.

The collapse of Nazism, however, can bring no essential remedy to this endemic poison. I am realist enough to allow for the so-called swing of the pendulum: when Hitler goes there may be some kind of popular scurry to atone for the antisemitic orgy, partly for opportunist reasons but partly also, no doubt, out of genuine disgust at the more nakedly brutal forms the persecution had taken. Then, of course, there will have to be those equality-clauses in the peace treaty and the new constitution. Still more: there is not the slightest doubt that many Jews who were forced to leave Germany since 1933 will then be most ardently willing to return and forgive and forget: some



because of discouraging experiences while in exile, some out of genuine attachment to the German land and civilisation. But all superficial optimist should be warned that the result of all this backwash will be - almost immediately, perhaps only within a few weeks after that new édit de Nantes which will have opened the new era - a venomous recrudescence of the incurable tumor.

One shudders to think how venomous. Apart from racial idiosyncrasies, sheer material interest will provide a formidable dose of high explosives of unparalleled and terrific power. At ~~the~~ a conservative estimate, over 300,000 Jewish breadwinners of all kinds have been affected by the regime since 1933 in Germany and since 1938 in Austria: most of them (and the proportion is ever increasing) thrown ~~off~~ out of employment or profession altogether, a dwindling minority still clinging to sorry remnants of enterprise or job. All they have lost has been grabbed by Aryans. That "all" includes myriads of commercial and industrial positions from directors to typists or shop-assistants, heavy thousands of professional jobs from panel doctor to journalist, plus a comparatively important percentage of civil servants from school teacher up to judge and chief constable: middle class, intelligentsia, haute-bourgeoisie jobs all of them - just among the most conspicuous, the most vocal, and the touchiest strata of modern society. To all of them the return of the Jews will mean a flood of extremely dangerous competitors, in many cases better qualified than their present remplacants, in most cases faced

with the alternative "reconquer or starve", and in all cases morally entitled to an admitted grievance, something of an Enoch Arden claim only much more poignant because originating in admitted injustice.

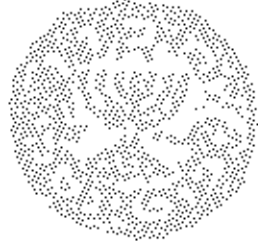
The kind of welcome expecting them is clear. I do not presume to foretell how soon it will rise to the pitch of direct persecution, and how the inevitable de facto denial of "equal rights" will be disguised to suit the constitution and the peace treaty: but it should ever be kept in mind that under a democratic constitution the power is bound to be predominantly influenced, first, by that endemic idiosyncrasy, - secondly, by that menace of competition close and serried as never before. Nor should anybody be misled by the pleasant souvenir that, in the sweet old days of Bismarck and of Wilhelm the Last, anti-Jewish principles used to be put into practice with restraint and moderation, without any ugly and disorderly brutality: so that the new after-war regime, under which all brutality will of course be strictly prohibited by numerous paragraphs, may after all prove "not so bad", at least not so bad for Jews who, after all, must not forget that they cannot really be choosers . . . . The souvenir is irrelevant: in the interval the brute had been unleashed and tasted blood.

To make the prospect still clearer, it will perhaps be best to ask the reader - supposing he be a non-Jew - to forget that beggars cannot be choosers, and imagine that a similar prospect is offered not to us but to him and to other Englishmen:

- the prospect of living at the mercy of a one-hundred-to-one majority trained for generations to abhor the English, under the sole protection of paper paragraphs and a supervision by Geneva, or a substitute for Geneva;

- and to wax or keep enthusiastic about the Allied victory when all it promises you is just this prospect.

I am sure that that reader's reply would be: "I'll see you in hell first".



(Insert after p. 35)

Some Jewish readers may find this chapter too lenient with regard to the several Polish governments that succeeded each other from 1920 to 1939 and, between them, should be held responsible for a state of things resulting in the progressive economic degradation of Poland's Jewry, for the systematic stultification of their legal equality guaranteed under both the Versailles treaty and the Polish constitution, and for many recurring and unchecked outbursts of brutal violence. The ~~charge~~ charge will be true: it is the author's considered intention to slide over the <sup>u</sup>gilt of men in order to concentrate the light of his enquiry on what is much more important, the objective reality whose trend in that zone of Europe is inherently and immanently hostile to a scattered minority. The policy of governments can affect this trend only to a certain extent; or it will perhaps be more exact to ~~say~~ say that any government has it in his power to increase that trend's hardship up to any limit of human endurance or beyond it, but can do very little to soften or diminish the inevitable pressure, and nothing at all to stop it.

It is unfortunately true that some of those Polish governments, especially in the period preceding Pilsudski's coup d'état, had done much to aggravate the pressure; and that none of them, not even the best, can claim having done their duty, or half or one tenth of their duty, to "diminish or soften". Nothing would be easier than now to

denounce them with all the bitterness they deserve, now that they are all beaten and broken and swept away. A chapter of that kind might give a deal of belated satisfaction to pent-up and long outraged feeling. But the author frankly confesses that it would not give any satisfaction to him; profoundly regretful if he disappoints, he will stick to his line of enquiry which deals not with the guilt of men but with the tendencies of an elemental social process.

Those men, ministers and officials, writers and priests, were often unforgivably guilty; long trails of Jewish tears, often tinged by a substance even more salty than tears, lead to their doors. If there is justice beyond this life, they will pay for it; if history will be written by honest hands, they will stand condemned. But this book is written to force Jew and Gentile to realise that the fundamental curse of Jewish existence in that Zone is infinitely deeper than policies or ideologies or propagandas, whether anti or pro; and the author deliberately refuses to allow the attention of his readers to be sidetracked in the direction of easy and cheap emotions, from the stern concentration on the essential and irremediable doom.

The ghetto of East-Central Europe was doomed. No government, no regime, no angel or devil could have transformed it into anything even remotely approaching a normal homeland. It is now still more impossible to restore it as such unless numerical ethnical proportions undergo a drastic change.

Some people are so touchy on the subject that they regard it a disloyalty to the cause of Jewish emancipation if facts are mentioned proving that legal equality alone is by far not sufficient to ensure the Jews even a minimum of normal existence, least of all in "Europe, E.C.". It reminds one of the same kind of ~~political~~ <sup>pruderie</sup> political ~~pruderie~~ which existed in Czarist Russia: all the Liberals there were so keen on "constitution" and "parliament" that they resented as political treason any hint that life in countries strictly constitutional and parliamentary was by far not immune from injustice, oppression, bribery, antisemitism and all other kinds of trouble. But they at least could claim justifiable ignorance; they had never lived under a constitutional regime. The excuse does not work in the case of the Jews of East-Central Europe: they have all had experience of what legal equality is really worth, those of Germany, Austria, the western half of Poland and the Balkans for three generations, those of eastern Poland and the Baltic countries for twenty years. All these Jews, all without any single individual exception, are fully and absolutely convinced that

legal equality alone is no cure for the disease which has poisoned their existence and will poison it again. It is unforgivably shortsighted now to withhold this experience from the notice of Allied statesmen, some of whom if not all may be genuinely ignorant of it and sincerely deluded into imagining that to restore the equal rights clauses in peace treaties, constitutions and covenants would be an efficient and sufficient solution. On the contrary: it would be a most harmful disservice to Jews and to Europe. The most urgent need of the day is to drive it home to all concerned that in East Central Europe the equality principle alone means no equality but the same old chaos all over again.

To make clear to outside observers, some bitter truths will have to be admitted and stated, however irksome that may seem to people of overdone susceptibility. Those awkward admissions centre around the one essential and dominating feature of East-European reality: there are some inevitable aspects in the normal social evolution of those countries (the words "inevitable" and "normal" should be especially noted) which prove inherently, objectively and organically fatal to the Jews' existence.

The subject will be repeatedly illustrated in the course of chapters that follow: here, as introduction into the subject, let us mention what is held to be the classical example of this incompatibility between a normal evolution

of East-Central Europe's economy and the Jews' foothold within that economy. It is the co-operative movement among the Gentile population, especially in rural districts. In Poland there were some 750,000 Jews living in villages, where they constituted on an average 3.2 percent of the total rural population. These three quarters of a million souls, with a few exceptions, lived by shopkeeping and peddling to the farmer. The co-operative movement began long before the Great war, but its decisive swing was reached during the last decade. In 1938 there were in rural Poland 3207 consumers' cooperatives (membership: 350,000), 1475 for the marketing of dairy produce (membership: 626,000), and 453 for general marketing (membership: 76,000 members). This development was killing the Jewish trader en masse. The effect was, remarkably, most deadly just in the Ukrainian districts where direct antisemitic propaganda was much weaker than among the Poles, and where the government had much less reason to weaken the Jewish influence than in the purely Polish provinces: a proof that the phenomenon has little to do with any conscious will to harm the Jews qua Jews, but is rather embedded in the very nature of the evolution. It would equally oust the rural shopkeeper if he were an Armenian or a Chinaman; only he happens to be a Jew who has nowhere to go.

True, there may have existed in those Ukrainian districts a few Christian shopkeepers, and they of course also



have to surrender before the onslaught of cooperation. But when that happens, the "broken" Christian, trader, as often as not, gets absorbed in the movement's administrative machinery: being a valuable "specialist" among simple peasants, he will be employed by the cooperative. The Jew will not; it is so obvious to all that there can simply be no question of including the displaced Jewish trader into the executive staff of a farmers' cooperative that no Jew would ever dream of asking for such an "absurdity". Is this, too, to be called "antisemitism"? The managers of the cooperative movement, men of advanced views in the great majority, would indignantly deny such a charge. It is "simply" that one has to look after one's own people first, etc.

The same phenomenon, but in a much more solemn form, can be observed in one of the Baltic States (or perhaps in all). Violent antisemitism is not tolerated. What ~~is~~ actually goes on is a social process rather commendable in itself: the State, in one form or another, is gradually taking over the more or less direct administration of all the worth-while industrial or commercial concerns. The owners are paid fair value; at least more or less fair value. If the owners were Gentiles, they mostly remain in charge. If Jews it is different: they are gradually replaced by non-Jews. This, as a rule,

is accomplished without any rude abruptness but nevertheless effectively. As one of the victims put it to the author: "In Poland, when the government takes over a Jewish-owned factory, all the Jews on the staff have to go. Here there is no such indecent haste. 90% of my former staff have been left in employment when it happened, now three years ago. A year later only 70% were left, last year 50%, and the end is in view".

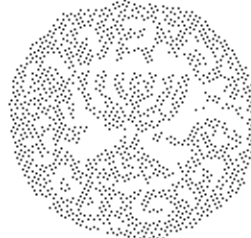
A remarkable dictum is often quoted in that country, supposed to have been pronounced in quite exalted quarters: "Never try to kill the flies: leave no crumbs for them instead". This allegorical aphorism is there interpreted as a cr do of deliberate if "polite" antisemitism; but there is no proof that it ever was pronounced, and it little matters if it was or not. The crux of the position is the question whether a government, engaged upon such an unquestionably progressive adventure as nationalisation of pivotal industries, would be allowed - in that atmosphere of Europe, E.C. - to act otherwise. The total population of the country is that of a London borough; but there is a university and a school for higher engineering, with several thousands pupils. Every year more and more of "one's own people", fully qualified, line up for jobs - mostly excellent types of young manhood, keen, ~~fig~~ gifted, efficient. How long would a government be tolerated to

govern if it kept them waiting while Jews went on running and manning what now would be state concerns (though created by Jewish enterprise with Jewish capital) - in that peculiar, all-pervading atmosphere of the Zone?

Gross injustice? Of course; but to disapprove of it it is useless. Its root is not hatred of Jews - a feeling which could, if not eradicated, at least be combated - but something much more firm, elemental, primordial: sympathy with "one's own people", an instinct which cannot even be criticised because, after all, it is as natural as preferring one's own children to one's neighbour's child.

X

Antisemitism of Things, at bottom, is also due to a certain attitude of men and women. The line we draw between the two kinds of Judeophobia - that of Men and that of Things - is, however, not artificial. The first kind is active enmity, a constant urge to harm the hated race, to humiliate them, to see them squirming and writhing beneath one's feet. Such an aggressive Sadistic mentality can obviously not be kept for ever on the same boiling level in every average soul of the community: it must have its ups and downs, periods of strain and periods of hibernation, and even at its strongest only a leading minority have it in its really and greedily acute stage - the remainder just follow suit and mildly enjoy the fun. Being thus of a somewhat elastic nature, "antisemitism of Men" can sometimes be fought against with a measure of success; the



7.

Germans, for instance, a nation endowed with remarkable genius for collective obedience, may be expected to tone it down by order.

There seems to be something pathological in such volcanic heat of hatred. However strong the genuine racial repulsion, however appalling the sins of Israel, the subject obviously does not justify even a fraction of such fuss. A suspicion inevitably arises that this attitude is subconsciously composed not only of repulsion but also of attraction: as all Sadism. A remarkable political feature of volcanic antisemitism is its inability to appreciate Zionist or similar aspirations. Logically, Nazis ought to be inclined to encourage movements tending towards the evacuation of Jews from Germany: in practice, they have done more than any other government to stir up anti-Jewish trouble in Palestine though it could only hamper the exodus. Should Uganda or Angola or Mindanao be declared a national home for the Jews instead of Palestine, the Nazi attitude would evidently be the same. Sadism does not want to loose its victims; the Biblical story was the first to record this curious interplay of two opposite tendencies, one to exterminate the hated breed and the other to stop them leaving.

Other curious hypotheses have been suggested by observers of this morbid phenomenon. The most popular one has been re-launched, years ago, by Henri Bernstein in a

show entitled "Israel": a story of a young French aristocrat most virulently incensed against the Jews, until he learns that his real father was not son cher papa but a smart Jewish banker. The obvious surmise is that all "volcanic" antisemitism is an abnormal infatuation which must have some physiological reasons, most likely racial. Baron ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Kötvsá (pronounced approximately, "Etvash"), a great Hungarian statesman, wrote almost a century ago: "An antisemite is a man who dislikes the Jews more than he should". Why more? Why the fuss? The easiest explanation is that he "has Jews on the brain", and that that is due to the presence of a drop of Jewish blood working some mysterious atavistic reactions upon the hybrid psyche. From this point of view, any "volcanic" Jew-hater - i.e. one who not just dislikes them "as he should" but makes a fuss about it - probably has Jewish ancestors; they may be very remote, or hidden by bar sinister so that no written record can reveal the fact; they may have left no trace on the shape of his nose or even the cut of his eyes, but all that is not essential: the "Jew-complex" itself is a sufficient proof of racial atavism, - etc. etc.

All this may or may not be a true guess; some day an investigator of collective psychopathology might devote to this matter a volume which will be of considerable interest to science. To the Jews it will make no difference, as they are not likely to be flattered nor need they be downcast by the revelation of Dr. Goebbels' Rabbinical descent, nor