An urgent warning on a most important matter

JEWS AND FASCISM

ONE PENNY

THE JEWS AND FASCISM

THE JEWISH WORKER.

English Jewry to-day is facing a crisis; the threat of fascism. In nearly every country in the world, disillusionment with the present system of society is spreading. Falling production, rising unemployment, stagnating industry, the growing preparations for war which our rulers are unable to conceal-all are causing men and women to put to themselves the question: Should not the system of society be altered that causes this state of affairs? The minds of the workers and common men and women throughout the world turn towards Socialism; increasingly they revolt against grinding poverty, against being used as cannon fodder -and to sidetrack and crush this indignation our rulers have invented a new movement (or rather a new name for an old movement), fascism, by means of which they hope to maintain their power and privilege. One of the main planks of this movement is antisemitism

ANTI-SEMITISM

This anti-semiliam of the fascists is not merely the idea of a few hot-headed hoolgans; it has been coolly and deliberably fostered in order to divert the minds of non-Jewish Workers and middle class from the real causes of crisis and distress, and in this way to sideconflicts. It is a time-honoured weapon for this purpose of the ruling class.

THE CAPITALISTS AND POGROMS

Anti-semiliam is always promoted, and without any government interference, in a country where there is revolutionary unrest among the workers; this was the case in Tsarist Russia, in Germany and Austria; and it is now coming to be so in the United States and Great Bitlain. In Germany it first appeared in an organised form as a consequence of the economic crisis of 1873; in Russia pogroms (such as that at Kishney, and the one in Odessa just before the revolution of 1905) were always organised when the workers showed fight.

So long as the capitalist class feels sure of itself and

of its enormous profits, it has no need to stir up race prejudice. In the middle of the nineteenth century, for sample, England and the United States were secure example, to give asylum to political refugees from other countries, and to tolerate liberal feelings towards Jews. This is not the case, however, in times of economic crisis, and of the consequent sharpening of the workers' unrest; for then anti-semitian presents itself as one of the most effective weapons of the ruling class for rallying all the reactionary forces against the threatened upheaval. "One often finds," said Lenin, "that the capitalist sair up ennity against the Jews, in order to divert the attention of the workers from the real enemy, capital."

THE CLASS DIVISIONS

Anti-semitism and the Jewish problem are not just an automatic consequence of the existence of Jews and Gentlies, come into being, as some people seem to think, without connection with worldly affairs, like original ain, or the weather. The Jewish problem is a part and parcel of the social system in which we live, and cannot be separated from it. It is a political question, because it is used politically—by those who would maintain the present system—for their own ends. All this makes if of the greatest importance that the worker, the small trader, and the intellectual, both Jewish and non-Jewish, should see fully and clearly the CLASS issues, as apart from fomented racial prejudices, involved in the Jewish question.

The first and most important fact is that the Jewish people are not an indivisible mass. They are divided, as the rest of human society is divided, into classes. The Jews comprise not only the middle-class shopkeepers, small business men, dectors, lawyers; and the great capitalist bankers, industrial magnates and large landowners. They also comprise workers, who own nothing, and can only exist by selling their skill for wages; and this proletariat forms the majority among them as among non-Jews.

JEWS NO DIFFERENT

The Jews differ in no way from the rest of society, so far as being involved in the bitter class struggle is concerned. The Jewish Worker, like his class brother, the

Gentile Worker, is exploited by Jewish and non-Jewish boss alike. It is commonly said that "you never see a poor Jew"; to which the slums in the East End. Manchester, or Glasgow offer a sufficient reply. For anyone who cares can there see that the same terrible housing conditions exist for the Jewish Worker as for the Gentile worker. Overcrowded tenement buildings in mean little streets; thousands of back-to-back houses in which families often occupy single rooms The majority of Jews in England are workers and they are employed mainly as tailors, cabinet makers, furcutters, as shop assistants and in the distributive trades. The conditions in these industries can be judged from the frequency with which strikes break out (" I am sick of hearing of strikes in the East End." said A. M. Wall, Secretary of the London Trades Council, referring to the strike of Jewish tailors at Coleman's), and the number of unemployed, owing mainly to rationalisation and the employment at cheaper rates of youths and female labour. Not only are wage and hour conditions bad in these trades, but the actual workshops are often ill-lit, badly-ventilated dens; in nine cases out of ten consisting of one of the living rooms of the employer.

Jewish Workers have the same problems as Gentile workers. Shakespeare said: "Hath not a Jew eyes. hath he not ears?" Does not a Jewish Worker need better conditions, higher wages and shorter hoursjust like the Gentile worker? And do not Jewish Workers fight side by side with Gentile workers to improve the conditions of both? There are thousands of unemployed Jews: are they not united with non-Jewish workers in the fight against unemployment and the means test? And in this fight the Jewish Worker and the Jewish employer are in opposite camps. Neither religion, nor culture, nor racial sympathies will prevent a Jewish employer from attacking the conditions of his Jewish workers. In the strike at Coleman's, for example, workers of whom the large majority are Jews, were demanding higher wages and Trade Union recognition from a Jewish firm.

HITLER AND THE JEWS

Mosley, taking his cue from Hitler, attacks the Jews, lumping them all, in theory, under one head, for his

own demagogic ends. But in actual practice. fascism makes a very careful and valid class distinction. It is known that rich Jews provided Hitler with funds before he took over power. These might offer as excuse the belief that his anti-semitic propaganda was just a show, but long after he had come to power and the most terrible persecutions of poor Jews had been begun, Jewish banking firms underwrote the loans of the new Hitler government. In spite of his hysterical denunciations of "the world conspiracy of Jewry" and his "hate of the motley collection of Czechs, Poles, etc., and, above all, that ever-present fungoid growth. Jews, and again Jews . . ." (" My Struggle." p. 59). we find that "of the 600.000 Jews in Germany before the advent of Hitler, 55 per cent. were wage earners. Only 8 per cent. earned their living in various professions. and the rest were engaged in business. The big Jewish financiers in Germany were never molested by the Nazis, not even on Boycott Saturday were the Jewish banks closed or picketed. The Jewish department stores and other big enterprises, too, have been but little disturbed after the one-day boycott. There is a clear and quite obvious tendency on the part of the Nazis to come to terms with Jewish capital. All the venom of the Nazi hatred has been directed against the 10-12.000 Jewish professional men and the tens of thousands of Jewish wage earners. . . . " "Thousands of Jewish Workers," adds the "Sunday Referee" (July 16th, 1933), "are without work or bread; thousands of women are thrown on the streets and all are doomed to swift and sure starvation"

JEWISH SUPPORT OF HITLER

We have no knowledge of protests by any rich'Jew living in Germany, but we do know that in August, 1934, after the murders of June 30th, an organisation of Jewish capitalists issued a manifesto piedging their utmost support to Hitler. "We welcomed the national revolution of January, 1933," say these Jews, "although it was accompanied by certain hardships for ourselves, for we consider it the only means of eliminating the damage done in fourteen miserable years by un-German elements." ("New Masses," December 4th, 1934.) In the same year Jewish organisations in Germany demanded the right to share in the protection of the Hitler regime by asking that Jews be allowed to serve in the German army ("Manchester Guardian"). It is clear, then, that these particular Jews are prepared to put up with "certain hardships" (chiefly at the expense of their poorer co-religionists), so long as the ruthless suppression of the workers, which aim they share with their non-Jewish capitalist think that our rich English Jews will behave differently, knowing as we do that their aims must be the same?

NO DELUSIONS

The Jewish Workers must not delude themselves with the idea that fascism will hexisted to behave to them as ruthlessly as in Germany, if it is allowed to take control in England; nor must they have any illusions that the capitalist Jews will fight with them against fascism; they will not. They will be found statistical effects of the only way in which devide the there is a state of the only way in which devide Workers can be sure of fighting fascism successfully is by uniting with their class brothers, the non-Jewish workers.

It is in order to split the ranks of the workers and prevent them from uniting, that fascism in this country is straining every nerve to work up antisemitic feeling.

THE MIDDLE-CLASS JEW

The case of the middle-class Jew is directly comparable to that of the Jewish Worker; he stands to suffer physically and materially in the same way under any form of facsism, and can hope for as little support as the worker from the rich capitallst Jew. And here the Jewish problem arises in an acute form; since in England, as in other parts of the capitallst world, It is in the middle class that anti-lewitism is most strongly rooted. Even before Mosley's campaign, middle-class Jews were barred from golf and tennis clubs, from premiums from Jews than from Gentiles. In the seaside resorts that the middle class patronises, advertisements appear offering rooms to let which specify "no does, no Jews." Individual competition, far more developed by the nature of their economic struggle among members of the middle class than among workers, the consequent desire to "get on " at the expense of rivuls, has always made the middle class a ready ground for the dissemination of national and racial hostilities.

MOSLEY AND MONOPOLIES

The classical method of appeasing middle-class discontent, whenever shortcomings in the capitalist system have needed explaining away, has been always to play upon this latent anti-semitic feeling as a means of diverting attention from the real causes. To-day. when the small trader is being systematically ruined by the absorption of trade by the big combines, it is becoming more than ever necessary that he should be deluded into blaming this on to Jewish interests. Even if it could be shown that the great combines were predominantly Jewish (which Mosley, wisely, has never attempted to do), we cannot surely imagine that a Jewish tradesman would object any the less to being put out of business by co-religionists; nor is it likely that the gentile tradesman would prefer to be ruined by a gentile combine. As a matter of fact, these combines are composed to an enormously preponderating extent of gentile interests; but this is irrelevant; the point is that monopoly capitalism, with its hundreds of branches spread over the country and its control of prices through international connections, operates outside race and creed. Its purpose is to exploit the worker, and to crush the middle man; and this aim it pursues regardless of lovalties or sentiment.

THE "LITTLE MAN"

To-day the small trader is as dependent on the orders of his "betters" as any employes. The banker doles him out the funds for his business; the combine runs his business as it wishes, through the control of prices and the use of a black list; and since the essence of his survival is "individualism," there is nowhere he can turn when times are bad. Now that the period of expansion is over, and what trade remains is rapidly passing into the hands of the monopoly capitalists, he is faced more and more clearity with the prosect of being driven down, dole-less, into the ranks of the working class.

Particularly is this so with the small Jewish employer, who very often is almost as badly off as his employees. These little employers subcontract from larger firms, who cut the contracting price for making goods so finely that it is only by the most superhuman efforts that he can make enough to get a living himself and to pay his workers' wages. It is no uncommon sight to see these men and their families working to the shop going. The sweat-shop is still here, often just as much forced on the petty proprietor as on the workers in it, by the pressure of the larger stores and their cut contracts.

THE JEWISH "CONSPIRACY"

The business man realises his difficulties. He sees that monopoly capitalism is oppressing him, and that he is at the mercy of the banks: so he hates the monopolist and the financier (who are so often one and the same); and he is prepared to hate anyone who is in competition with him. It is here that fascism steps in; the very fascism which, ironically enough, is organised and waged by that same blend of monopoly capitalism which is the cause of his impending ruin. If fascism can make the harrassed small trader feel that the combines are Jewish, that high finance is Jewish, that it is the Jews who are conspiring against him and compassing his destruction, it will prevent him from joining forces with the working class and insisting on the elimination of the big combine system, as combine and monopoly, and irrespective of race. It should be realised that fascism everywhere has attained its mass support by exploiting the indignation of worker and small tradesman with the very conditions it intends to preserve. It rages against the very monopolies and combines from which it accepts financial support.

FASCIST PROMISES

Many of the millions of despairing small middle class who voted for Hitler before he came to power did so because the Nazi programme, which he had declared "unalterable" and sworn an oath to promote if neces-

sary at the cost of his life contained the following points' (11) all unearned incomes to be abolished: (12) returns from war profiteering forefeited down to the last farthing; (13) State to take over all trusts; (14) State to have the profits of all large industries; (16) large stores to be immediately communalised: (18) usurers and profiteers to be nunished with death regardless of race or creed. Not one of these things, of course, has fascism even attempted to put into effect. It distracted the attention of the Workers and middle class from the obvious fact that if they wanted them done they must organise together to do them themselves, and under the smoke screen of anti-semitism set up a system in which the trusts and monopolies flourish as never before and a system of "leadership" stifles every form of protest.

Let us see how, here in England also, the fascist tries to side-track the real issue by playing upon the business rivalry between the gentile and Jewish middleman, and trying to divert the hatred of monopoly capitalism into racial prejudices.

MOSLEY'S TACTICS

Describing Mosley's Albert Hall meeting on October 28th, 1934, "The New Statesman and Nation" (November 3rd, 1934) wrote:—

"The audience was composed of blackshirts, well to do suburban people (middle class) with a sprinkling of workers. The dominant note of the meeting was a passionate anti-semitism. . . . Let no one after this meeting say that anti-semitism is not dangerous in England. Sir Oswald's anti-semitic passages were wildly, madly, cheered from all parts of the hall People rose in their seats and yelled delight when he accused the Jews of blackmailing the press and of destroying England by their international financial control. (I agreed with some of his remarks about the influence of the international finance, adds the correspondent, but can not see why the Jewish banker is better or worse than the gentile. Actually the proportion of Jewish financiers in the city is very small.) He said, amidst terrific applause that it is not 'the sweepings from the ghettoes of Europe we are interested in, but it is the big men we are after A propos of this remark I will disclose a recent inci-

dent. I met a very wealthy Jewish financier the other day, one of the men presumably that Sir Oswald is 'after.' He told me that he was not troubled about fascism in this country. He had made discreet enquiries about Mosley's real attitude and had been given complete assurance that he did not really intend to damage the financiers or the Jews. His attack on the City was merely propaganda and not really part of his programme. You see the technique? Hitler got money from the big German Jews by the same tactics. The fascist leader stumps the country, rousing intense hatred of the Jews and the financiers, privately he lets the big Jews and financiers know that he values their support in saving capitalism from 'Left.' and that his attack on them is only poppycock for the multitude."

The above is workly of being pondered over by Jew and gentile, worker and middleman, alike. They must all realise, while there is time for action, that their interests are indissolubly linked; that each of them can only win freedom by co-operation in the face of the fascist menace; and that only the destruction of capitalism can avert their complete subjection to its power.

THE JEWISH CAPITALIST

It has long been a pleasant fiction among many Jews and gentiles, that the rich Jew is first of all a Jew, and a capitalist afterwards; and upon this supposition many Jews have been prevailed upon by their rich ocreligionists to refrain from active struggles against fascism, since they have been brought to believe that fascism is a racial and national issue, instead of, as it really is, a CLASS issue.

THE RICH JEW AND FASCISM

But the rich Jew, whatever attitude he may adopt publicly in this matter, is privately under no illusion as to the class nature of the struggle. The late Lord Melchet (Sir Alfred Mond, of Mondism), for instance, is reported in the "Daily Herald" of May 12th, 1928, as saying: "I admire fascism because it is successful in bringing about social peace. . . , I have been working for years towards the same peace in the industrial field in England . . .fascism is tending towards the realisation of my political ideals namely. to make all classes to collaborate lovally." Anyone who knows the history of "Mond arbitration" in this country, and how "loval collaboration between employer and employee" meant sacrifice after sacrifice from the worker, none from the employer, and the shackling of Trade Union protest, will realise the significance of this admission. The same spirit has animated the rich Jews in Germany; and the "Evening Standard" can report (September 11th, 1934) on the death of Oscar Wasserman that Germany has lost "her most conspicuous and her most universally respected Jewish hanker. . . . As a fearless champion of individualism." it adds, "he remained at his post after Hitler's accession to power. To the last he was consulted regularly by Dr. Schacht." In Austria, also, during the heroic struggle of the workers against fascism, the rich Viennese Jews hastened to support Dollfuss and furnished him with funds. Are we to imagine that when the critical moment comes in this country, and the Rothschilds and Swavthlings are confronted with the choice between fascism and social revolution, they will not choose to uphold the present system?

PREPARING THE WAY

Already the way is being prepared. "The Jewish community as such," writes the chairman of the Anglo-Palestinian Club, to Mosley, "has taken up no attitude, either for or against fascism as such." Montefiore, chairman of the joint committee of the Jewish Board of Deputies, is reported to have said at a meeting:--

"But for the anti-semitic plank of the Nazi programme, the larger proportion of young German Jews would be enthusiastic followers of the movement, for they were anxious to contribute what they could to the renaissance and rebirth of their country." ("Manchester Guardian.")

The Jewish capitalist, like his Gentile colleague, is preparing the way for facesim; and he has not been slow to take advantage of Mosley's ideas on the Jewish question. He has realised that he will cloud the class issue and slow up the workers' resistance if he can mobilise the 'loyal Jewish' spirit. To this end are mobilise the 'loyal Jewish' spirit. To this end are plexish Lads' Brigade (officered by Jews of the upper middle class, who are already faceist in mentality): to this end are working the religious and charitable societies, which claim to demonstrate the indivisibility of the Jewish people, and the absence of class differences amongst them. But what are the facts? Is there no class difference between the poor Jew, who lives in a slum, on starvation wages when he is in work and starving on the dole when he is not-is there no class difference between him and the host of Swavthlings. Samuels and Sassoons? Are there not Jewish capitalists who live by exploiting the workers and the middle class in every country, just as the rest of capitalists do? Most of the rich Jews are die-hard Tories, and it is in their ranks that the bitterest opponents of the working-class movement are to be found. Sir Philip Sassoon is Under Secretary for Air in the National Government; Blumenfeld, chairman of the "Daily Express," is the founder of the Anti-Socialist Union: the interests of all these men are indissolubly linked with the present system of capitalist exploitation. We can say, then, that although these people might be anti-Hitler or anti-Mosley, they cannot be anti-fascist. How, indeed, could it be otherwise?

AGAINST THE MILITANT JEWS

And that is why the militant Jewish Worker is anathema to them: that is why any attempt by classconscious Jews to combat fascism is immediately denounced by them. Compare their phrases with those used by Mosley. "The alien Jew that rises to rob us of our heritage." . . . "Of sixty-four men convicted since June of attacks on fascists, thirty-two were Jews with foreign names." . . . "Sweepings of the ghettoes of Europe." . . . "Alien sub men from the slums." What difference is there between these and the following used by Sir Philip Magnus? "There are some black sheep certainly among Jews. . . . I can well believe that the presence on occasions of a few hooligans drawn from the slums . . . may give rise to a measure of misunderstanding. These people are liable to appear conspicuously foreign, they or their parents having. very probably, come to this country from Russia or Russian Poland" ("Jewish Post," February 15th, 1935): whilst after a struggle in the streets in which Jewish workers protected themselves from fascist violence. Montefiore, the Chief Rabbi, and N. Laski sent the

following statements to the Press: "Whatever the provocation, participation by Jews in such disturbances brings discredit upon the Anglo-Jewish community." ("Manchester Guardian," May 12th, 1954). Is it not plain where these gentlemen derive their inspiration? Is it not obvious that the Monteflores, the Magnuses, the Blumenfelds, with the Bearsteds, Sassoons and similar interests, form, at least objectively, a "united front" with Mosley in their opposition to the militant anti-fascist Jew?

FIGHT FASCISM

This fact is already understood and appreciated by many Jews. "It appears to me," wrote a Dr. Hinden, in the "Jewish Chronicle," December, 1934, "that the protagonists of this policy honesity feel that, provided they give no provocation, their position is safe. This feeling of security. I have no doubt, arises out of the exalled social and economic position which these gentiemen occupy; but I think that the Jewish workman and even the Jewish middle-class doctor and the danger. It will fight factism by the only way in which it can be fought, by joining the local Anti-Faseist Council."

ZIONISM

The Jewish "gentlemen of exalted economic and social position" iend to be enthuisaisci about Palestine, as the place for the Jewish Worker to live in. This is not surprising. Many of the leading Jewish industrialists, etc., have large sums of money invested there (see "Jewish Chronicle," Palestine Supplement, February 8th, 1935) and know that the myth of a "Jewish Matonicle," Palestine Supplement, exploitation of Jewish and Arab worker alike does not trouble them: they know that the more labour is available in Palestine, the lower the wages that can be paid

ZIONIST IDEALS

Whatever the ideals of Zionists and similar organisations may be, and in spite of the striving of young idealists to establish co-operative settlements, the hard facts remain that the prevailing mode of production in Palestine is based on private ownership and that its proportion in the life of the country is increasing. It is not to be expected that those who stand to benefit from this arrangement will hesitate to follow any method that guarantees or increases their profits. In spite of the hideous treatment of the Jews in Germany, we find that German trade with Palestine "has gone up from £810,700 in 1933 to £858,744 in 1934" ("Jewish Chronicle," Petruary 1st, 1935) and is now second only to British trade. Can we we surprised that the fascists jeer at the Jewish captilist? "The Jew only understands the big stick," says the fascist, Beckett, commenting on the above trade figures in the "Blackshitt."

JEWISH FASCISTS

British imperialism is using Palestine as a strategic war base, fomenting race prejudice between Jew and Arab to prevent them from uniting (just as it does between Hindu and Muslim in India). Moreover, a Jewish brand of fascism, "Revisionism," has arisen there. We read in the "Sunday Referee" (September 10th, 1933) that Jabotinsky, the leader, "has taken a number of leaves out of Hitler's book. ... Its phraseology bears a striking resemblance to that of the Jewbaiting Nazi . . . These Jewish fascists organise strike breakers, and just as in Germany during the last years. the Jewish fascists provoke the workers with brown parades, and bands of hooligans are engaged to break up labour assemblies. Jabotinsky's organ glorifies the 'radiant name of Hitler' and holds up the Nazi movement as a model for a genuine patriotic Zionism."

PALESTINE NO SOLUTION

It is clear that Palestine will provide no solution of the Jewish problem. The way to solve problems is not merely to transfer them into fresh surroundings, but to destroy their basic cause at its very root. It is the capitalist system that is responsible for class and race aniagonism, and the creation of a fresh capitalist class distinction, exploitation and pogroms. All this is happening in Palestine to-day.

The solution of the Jewish problem is only to be sought for within the class struggle: it is inseparable from the class struggle, just as fascism is, and neither of them can be isolated from it. Palestine has proved to be no way out for the Jews, but history has shown that there is another path: that symbolised by the name BIROBIDJAN.

THE WAY OUT

Long ago Karl Marx said that the emancipation of the Jew would coincide with the emancipation of the working class; and the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia has shown this to be true. Birobidjan itself, the autonomous Jewish territory, is only in its infancy. Up to the present it includes only a few thousand tories where Jewish collective farms, Jewish educational and cultural institutions exist and fouriab.

FREEDOM OF NATIONALITIES

With the fall of Tsardom vanished Jewish disabilities: the pale; the prohibition on working land; the prohibition on working side by side in industry with non-Jewish workers. Throughout the Soviet Union there is no capitalist exploitation, and consequentily no antisemitism, no fascism, no pogroms. The Social Revolution meant not just freedom for the Jew, but freedom and equality of every race, freedom from repression and inequality. There is not one race or nation in the Soviet Union, that land which includes the most various human stocks and colours, that exploits or is exploited by another, that does not possess its own culture, its own language, its own equal share in industrial advancement, and an absolutely equal opportunity in all professions, posts and rights. This is not to be explained by any "race" idea, not because "Russians" from being bad suddenly become good. It happened because Socialism, the Dictatorship and Government of the Workers, with the destruction of capitalists and privilege, and the establishment of equality of service and opportunity, removes every possible cause or motive of jealousy between races.

THE JEWISH SOUL

The Jewish capitalist talks of "the Jewish soulb acing free": he can afford to do so. Jewish souls are to be saved in Germany to-day on a strictly cash basis; and we cannot doubt but that some satisfactory financial arrangement, should a similar situation arise, would be arrived at in this country too. But the Jewish Worker will never achieve freedom either of his soul or anything else, until he has secured freedom from capitalism.

THE UNITED FRONT

There is only one way in which this freedom can be brought about: by the constant untiring. united front of the whole of the working class. of every small trader, of each intellectual, against their common enemy, fascism. Jew must unite with Gentile in this fight; neither must allow himself to be sidetracked into the notion that their aims are not the same. Jewry is not united and indivisible any more than Gentile society is united and indivisible: the real union is, and must be, of all those who are exploited within the capitalist system, against those few who profit by this exploitation. And this is true without any distinction whatsoever, of race, or creed, or nation. It is on this basis of unity, alone, that capitalism can be abolished: and with it the "Jewish problem," together with all other class problems, from the face of the earth.

"Disgrace and infamy," said Lenin, "to whoever sows enmity against Jews and hatred against other nations. Long live brotherly faith and unity in the struggle of all nations, for the overthrow of capitalism.

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

R. PALME DUTT

"A work which not to have read is to be politically ignorant."—W. J. BROWN

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