

**Understanding Polish Nationalism,
Especially on Jews and Ukrainians (51 Books Reviewed)**

Jan Peczkis

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Some Objective Histories of Polish Nationalism

The Virtue of Nationalism Hazony, Yoram 2018

Internationalist Movements Generate Hatreds More Than Nationalist Ones, With Poland Especially Vilified. European Union is Virtually the Fourth Reich. Inconsistency in Pope John Paul II Simultaneously Supporting Traditional Morality and the European Union

Author Yoram Hazony identifies himself as a lifelong Jewish nationalist and Zionist. (p. 2). His work is exceptionally perceptive. EVERYTHING BAD IN NATIONALISM CAN ALSO BE FOUND IN INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENTS The stock argument against nationalism is the well-worn claim that it promotes hatred, and that nation-states are inferior to international movements (and empires) in guaranteeing the rights of minorities. Contrary to this, Hazony points out that imperial states have oppressed minorities no less than some national states, and that it was only in national states that the tradition of individual rights and liberties came to be. (p. 136). Imperialist and internationalist movements (such as Communism and [not mentioned] its cultural Marxist successor) are just as capable of promoting hatred as can nationalism. The author comments, "We can therefore recognize two different kinds of hatred: There is the kind of hatred that is found in nationalist movements, which is the hatred of one clan, tribe, or nation for another that is in competition with it. And there is the kind of hatred that is found in imperialist movements, which is the hatred that a universal idea bears against those nations and tribes that refuse to accept its claims of universality." (p. 191). Hazony expands on this, "But Islam, Marxism, and liberalism have proved themselves quite capable of inflaming similarly vicious hatreds against groups that are determined to resist the universal doctrines they propose." (p. 11). Let us look at this more closely, with special attention to the Polonophobic aspects of cultural Marxism and the European Union:

TODAY'S INTERNATIONALIST--AND NOT NATIONALIST--MOVEMENTS ARE THE MAIN ENGINES OF HATRED At times, the cultural Marxist hostility towards sovereign nations is relatively subtle. For instance, Hazony perceptively notes that, "A common view among

academic scholars regards the nation as a fiction or a recent invention." (p. 254). At other times, the hostility against sovereign nations is much more overt. The author writes, "Liberal internationalism" is not merely a positive agenda for the erasure of national boundaries and the dismantling of the nation states in Europe and elsewhere. **IT IS AN IMPERIALIST IDEOLOGY THAT INCITES AGAINST NATIONALISM AND NATIONALISTS, SEEKING THEIR DELEGITIMIZATION WHEREVER THEY APPEAR IN EUROPE**, or among nations such as America and Israel that are regarded having emerged from European civilization" (p. 219; Emphasis added). Author Yoram Hazony then calls attention to the hatred against Poland directed by the European Union for dissenting against its policy of massively accepting Third World immigrants. (p. 217). This campaign of hatred against Poland has since intensified, and assumed almost-hysterical proportions. Belgian Europarlament leader Guy Verhofstadt has slandered Polish Independence Day marchers, calling them fascists and neo-Nazis. These kinds of egregious lies about Polish patriotism and nationalism are now a mainstay in the West's leftmedia. **THE EUROPEAN UNION IS EFFECTIVELY THE FOURTH REICH**

To begin with, Hazony reminds us that, "I will understand 'globalism' for what it obviously is--a version of the old imperialism." (p. 6). The author does not hesitate in describing the German drive to bring once-sovereign nations into the clutches of the European Union, "In Europe, the German-led effort to subordinate the independent nations of the continent to the European Union proceeded apace." (p. 50). Hazony then makes these eye-opening statements, "The European nations are, as everyone understands, dominated by Germany. **THE EUROPEAN UNION IS A GERMAN IMPERIAL STATE IN ALL BUT NAME.** However, as long as Germany seeks to avoid building up its military and taking responsibility for the security of the continent, the EU will apparently remain an American protectorate--a protectorate that is also an empire in its own right. Should the United States ever withdraw its protection, all the talk of Europeans pioneering a new form of political order will quickly evaporate. At that time, a strong European executive will be appointed by Germany and empowered to maintain the security of the continent. Then the reconstitution of the medieval German empire in Europe will be complete, and the English-inspired experiment with an order of independent nation-states in Europe will have reached its end." (p. 154; Emphasis added). For

more on the astonishing similarities between the Third Reich and the Fourth Reich (European Union), see: *THE TAINTED SOURCE*, by John Laughland, and read my detailed review. UNFORTUNATELY, POPE JOHN PAUL II WAS INCONSISTENT IN SIMULTANEOUSLY SUPPORTING THE EUROPEAN UNION AND TRADITIONAL CATHOLICISM

Saint Pope John Paul II's early endorsement of the European Union played a major role in making Poland a member, and is still cited by Poles that are opposed to any thought of POLEXIT. Although author Hazony does not mention any of this, he does allude to the self-defeating character of this position. Hazony comments, "In practice, neo-Catholics have been politically outspoken in defending traditional religious views of marriage and the family, opposing the legalization of assisted suicide and abortion, and objecting to the removal of Jewish and Christian symbols (such as public displays of the Mosaic Ten Precepts) from government properties. But they have been ambivalent about the order of national states, tending to support the growth of a regime of coercive international law that will override the powers of national governments." (p. 52). He continues, "Neo-Catholics will continue to fight rearguard culture wars against liberal elites on issues such as abortion and the definition of marriage. But at the same time, they will be found offering active or passive support to the liberal imperialism that is uprooting the ability of nations to maintain their independence on constitutional and religious matters of precisely this kind." (p. 53).

THROUGHOUT HISTORY, THE MAIN ADVERSARIES OF NATIONALISM HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALIST. NAZISM WAS NOT NATIONALIST: IT WAS INTERNATIONALIST

The current attempts to discredit nationalist movements by equating them with fascism and Nazism are not only false: They are also ironic. Fascism and Nazism were actually opposed to the self-determination of peoples that is characteristic of nationalism. (pp. 38-39). They were imperialistic and internationalist in character. Let us examine the essential difference between imperialist/internationalist movements and nationalist movements in historical context. Yoram Hazony writes, "This was the case in the Thirty Years' War, which was fought in order to assert a German-Catholic Empire over Europe. It was true, as well, of the Napoleonic Wars, which sought to overturn the old political order and established a French-Liberal Empire across an entire continent and beyond it. And it was no less true of the Second World War, in which a German-Nazi Empire aimed at

establishing a new order according to its own perverse universal theory of how mankind's salvation was to be brought about." (p. 116). In other words, Nazism was, first and foremost, a racist movement and thereby an internationalist (not nationalist) one. Moreover, Hitler was an imperialist that aimed to revive the Holy Roman Empire (the First Reich) as embodied in the Third Reich. (pp. 38-39). Finally, as written in MEIN KAMPF, Hitler desired a German Empire that would, among other things, put an end to wars by imposing a PAX GERMANICA upon Europe. (p. 273).

Polska dla Polakow! Kim byli i sa... polscy narodowcy

Chodakiewicz, Marek Jan 2015 **A One-Volume**

***Encyclopedic Analysis of Polish Nationalism--Old and New. The Truth at Last. Endek Thinking is Demystified* POLAND FOR THE POLES!**

WHO WERE AND ARE THE POLISH NATIONALISTS? is the title of this Polish-language work. This tour de force is a comprehensive history of the Polish national movement, and it provides a much-needed corrective to the grotesque caricature, of Polish nationalism, that is routinely done by leftists and certain Jews. This work covers Polish nationalism from the days of Roman Dmowski, and then proceeds through Polish history all the way to the present. It is a somewhat frustrating item to review, as there is so much worthwhile information, and space to mention only a little of it. Nationalism has been made into a naughty word by the LEWAKS (leftists). It is not. It is defined by the authors as an organization of society according to the principles of a shared language, culture, history, geographical locality, etc. It also includes a defense of national interests. (p. 11). [In addition, of course, there is a world of difference between emancipatory nationalism and imperialistic nationalism.] **MANY "EXTRAS" IN THIS WORK**

The book, besides being jam-packed with information (notably biographical information) features many seldom-published photos of Polish nationalist rallies. The reader is reminded of the fact that, in the 1930s, the stiff-arm salute was widely used by anti-Communists at the time, all over Europe, and had no pro-Nazi connotations as it does today. In fact, the flat palm in the salute was a counter to the closed fist of the Communist salute. (pp. 131-132). This work includes the texts of nationalist songs, and features reproductions of posters and brochures. For instance, one of them reminds the reader of Jewish-Soviet collaboration (as at Wlodawa,

Wolkowysk, and Bialystok), during the pivotal 1920 Polish-Bolshevik War, as well as the camp at Jablonna (near Warsaw) for Jewish deserters from the Polish Army. (p. 136). **JAGIELLONIAN AND PIAST: A MUCH-EXAGGERATED DICHOTOMY** Conventionally, the nationalism envisioned by Pilsudski is regarded as of the Jagiellonian type ("inclusive"), whereas the nationalism envisioned by Dmowski is of the Piast type ("exclusive"). This is, at best, an oversimplification. To begin with, the positions of Pilsudski and Dmowski, and their followers, were not set-in-stone ideologies. They were driven by specific events, and they evolved according to changing circumstances. When Roman Dmowski expounded on the fact of his being part of the Polish nation, he was well aware of the fact that Jagiellonian Poland had consisted of many nationalities and religions. (pp. 32-33). The Endek movement had originated while Poland was under Partition, and Poles had to defend their very Polishness from the aggressive Russification and Germanization of the occupants. That is why the Endeks were "exclusivist", and thought in terms of "Piast Poland." (p. 57, 526). One of the most commonly-heard leftist buzzwords, today, is "inclusion". On this basis, the reader should appreciate the fact that the Endeks had not excluded anyone from the Polish nation. Instead, the Jews, Germans, and--to a lesser extent--the Ukrainians, had first excluded themselves from Polishness through their overt separatism!

ETHNONATIONALISM AND INTEGRAL NATIONALISM--NOT ENDEK Authors Chodakiewicz et al. repudiate integral nationalism, as it is a racist and state-deifying construct, and a criminal one. (pp. 13-14). Ethnonationalism is chauvinistic, and incompatible with Poland's Catholic tradition. (pp. 527-528). They also contend that modern Polish nationalism should be of the Jagiellonian type. (p. 526). Polish nationalist thinking, as exemplified by the SN (STRONNICTWO NARODOWE) was centered on Roman Catholicism as one of the main foundations of Polish national identity, and it soundly rejected Nazi-style racism. (p. 161). [There were a few tiny Polish nationalist groups in existence, in the 1930's, that were based on neo-paganism or National Socialism. However, their membership was negligible, and they soon disappeared. (pp. 206-208).] Wincenty Lutoslawski, a leading Endek thinker decisively said, in 1939, that a Pole can be of Jewish, Gypsy (Sinti and Roma), Armenian, German, or Tatar origin. Even an African-American (in modern parlance) or American Indian (Native American, in modern parlance) can become a Pole. (p. 5; See also

pp. 17-18). Consider the pedigrees of some Polish nationalist leaders. For example, Roman Dmowski was of Tatar descent (p. 35), and Wojciech Wasiutynski was of Jewish background. (p. 22). This was no anomaly. Various Polish nationalist organizations long had the habit of accepting certain "Poles of Jewish background" as valid Poles. (p. 27). So much for the myth of Endek ethnonationalism! Now consider religion. The central role of Roman Catholicism, in Polish national identity, does not mean that other religions were, according to Endek opinion, unwelcome under the rubric of Polishness--to the contrary. The Endeks recognized Polish Protestants, Uniates, and Muslims as valid Poles, but did not accept those currently practicing Judaism as Poles. (p. 21, 29). [The reader should remember that, unlike most other religions, the Jewish religion ITSELF has connotations of nationality (e. g, "Next year in Jerusalem!"). In fact, until recent times, diaspora Jews thought of themselves as situated among the GOYIM (gentile nations) but not OF them. As Jews became secularized, this increasingly gave way to politicized forms of Jews as nationality (Bundism and Zionism).]

POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS AND POGROMS: ENDEKS AND JEWS

During the 1905 Revolution, a considerable number of Jews fought in the ranks of the proto-Communist SDKPiL, and engaged in the slayings of Endeks. The Endeks eventually conducted retaliatory killings. (pp. 77-81). Now consider the 1912 Duma elections. The usual criticisms, nowadays, of Roman Dmowski, for launching a boycott against the Jews, leave out crucial facts. The Jewish electoral action that had provoked the boycott was no innocent little game. It had put an anti-Polish socialist [Jagiello] in power. In addition, the boycott was hardly some sort harsh, unusual, or anti-Jewish act. In fact, it was the Jews who had started the boycott process in the first place. In 1907, Jews had enjoined fellow Jews to boycott Polish doctors. In 1909, the Jews broke a Polish boycott, of German goods in the Russian occupied part of Poland, by supporting the Germans--another enemy of Poland. (p. 133). We now move on to interwar Poland. Boycotts of Jewish shops were deemed necessary in order to rein-in Jewish privilege, to break the Jewish economic hegemony over Poland, and to create business opportunities for Poles, who were otherwise kept out of entrepreneurship, and locked in poverty. (e. g, p. 134, 161). [Nowadays, in the USA, this process of discrimination against a more successful group, in favor of a less-successful group, is called affirmative action.] It should be stressed that

Endek actions were not just anti-someone, but also FOR the Pole. This included the promotion of Polish commerce (p. 141) and numerous other affirmative forms of nation-building. (p. 123). As for the universities, the numerus clausus, numerus nullus, and ghetto benches came about because Jews were much overrepresented at Poland's universities. This not only denied a university education to many Poles including underprivileged ones (p. 148), but also meant that Poland's elite would continue to have too many Jews, whose ways were generally foreign to Polish ones, and who were prone to act not in accordance with Polish interests. (p. 134). Julian Tuwim had attacked Poland in his writings (and later became openly Communist). No wonder that he had earned an unfavorable opinion among Polish patriots. (p. 24). Nowadays, some marginal Polish nationalists try to ferret out the alleged Jewish origins of Poles--including even the likes of Lech Walesa. Ironically, during the interwar period, it was the leftists and mainstream Jews that tried to unmask the Jewish origin of certain Polish nationalists! (p. 22, 24). This was futile on its face, as the Endeks never adhered to any Nazi-style belief of Jews as a race, and so acceptance of Polish nationalists of Jewish background was never a problem.

THE ENDEKS DURING WWII Very many Endeks perished during and after WWII, at the hands of the Germans and the Soviets. Others found themselves exiled in the West. During the German occupation, the Endeks refused Nazi enticements to remove Jewish lawyers. (pp. 239-240). Later, quite a few Endeks gave their lives while trying to save fugitive Jews. (pp. 236-on). The BRYGADA SWIETOKRZYSKA is well-known for its adventures. Contrary to Communist propaganda, it never fought on the side of the Germans. In fact, it waged combat against the Germans, and later resisted German enticements to make it part of the Waffen SS, for use against the Red Army. A small group, led by Captain "Tom", accepted German training in parachute jumping, as a time-stalling tactic (with just several weeks left for the existence of the Third Reich.) The unit was parachuted into Soviet-ruled Poland, but was under no German directives. (p. 269).

PALEO-ENDEKS AND NEO-ENDEKS For purpose of reference (and not terms generally used by the participants), Chodakiewicz et al. refer to paleo-Endeks as those Polish nationalists who remembered Poland before WWII, and neo-Endeks as those who, based in part on a revival of interest in the ideas of Roman Dmowski (p. 364), became nationally active in the 1970's

and especially the 1980's. (p. 368). After the post-Stalin "thaw" of 1956, some of the paleo-Endeks in Poland became more visible--only to experience renewed repression. A few named individuals bravely persisted in their activism despite renewed arrests and other difficulties. Some of the emigre and local paleo-Endeks, faced with the reality that Communism in Poland was "permanent", and sobered by the Soviet military repressions of 1956 and 1968, modified their anti-Communism, and advocated some form of modus vivendi with the Soviet-imposed Communist puppet government. (p. 359). Of course, the paleo- and neo-Endek distinction is only general. For instance, one could think of Edward Staniewski (1929-2009) who, by virtue of his age and life experiences, was a paleo-Endek. However, his style of independent thinking and action, and his readiness to form alliances with people having different opinions from his own, was more characteristic of a neo-Endek. (p. 398). The generational difference between paleo- and neo-Endeks was sometimes counterintuitive. That is, the members of the older generation could be more radical, whereas the youth could partake of ossified 1930s-style thinking. (p. 367). The neo-Endeks, unlike some of the paleo-Endeks, generally rejected any hope of reforming Communism. They affirmed the fact that Germany could potentially once again be an enemy of Poland, but also rejected the Communist-advanced notion that the USSR was the guarantee of the permanence of Poland's western border with Germany. (p. 368).

THE SOLIDARITY ERA The neo-Endeks eventually became part of the Solidarity movement and--as the Real Poles--clashed with the largely-Jewish leftist-secularist KOR (KOMITET OBRONY ROBOTNIKOW) element. (p. 366, 368, 403, pp. 409-410). The latter came to embody the left-wing of the Solidarity movement, and its best-known member was Adam Michnik vel Szechter [who remains unrepentant for the crimes of his Communist father and brother to this day.] According to one former KOR member, were it not for Jaruzelski's imposition of martial law in 1981, the Solidarity movement would probably eventually have split up--into the national-Catholic group and the Jewish-secularist-leftist group. (p. 409). [The long-term antipathy towards Polish patriotism and Catholicism, of the original KOR element, lives on, to this day, under the auspices of the leftist and Judeocentric GAZETA WYBORCZA.]

CONTEMPORARY LEFTIST TACTICS IN ACTION Authors Chodakiewicz et al. (pp. 304-305) point out that today's leftists and neo-Stalinists misrepresent Boleslaw Piasecki and

his PAX, as an example of the Communists trying to revive pre-WWII Endek nationalism, or even of being Endek nationalists themselves! Against this nonsense, we must realize that the Communists had merely recruited Piasecki for propaganda purposes, that the Communists never had anything other than enmity against Polish patriotism, and that Piasecki had been an opportunist who had supported whatever was in vogue. Today, leftists zero-in on marginal groups (e. g, a few Polish skinheads, and what may be called "lumpen-Endeks") and propagandize them as representative components of the Polish national movement. (p. 470, 472). It is an obvious smear tactic. Nowadays, the presumed unique evil of the Holocaust is used by leftists to falsely associate Nazism with the political right, and thereby to form a guilt-by-association for all rightists, including modern ones. The Holocaust is also used as a weapon, by LEWAKS (left-wingers), for attacking Polish patriotic traditions and the Catholic Church. In addition, the monolithic focus on the Holocaust serves to deflect attention away from Communist crimes. (p. 525).

CONTEMPORARY POLISH NATIONALISM The modern Polish national movement is hardly a singularity. It is allied with similar movements in Europe, notably Jobbik in Hungary. (p. 484). One goal of the movement is to abolish the Round Table agreements and finally to end the harmful legacy of Communism. (p. 480). The long-taboo ZOLNIERZE WYKLECI (anti-Communist Polish freedom-fighting guerrillas) are finally honored, and the day to commemorate them has been set aside as March 1st. (p. 486). There are many Polish nationalist activists. One of the most dynamic and popular of these is historian and publicist Leszek Zebrowski. (p. 441, 486-487, 494). Among classical Endeks, the works of Wojciech Wasiutynski especially continue to inspire young Polish nationalists. (pp. 390-393, 435, 440). The first Independence Day march, in 2010, drew 5,000 marchers. In 2011, it was 20,000. In 2012 and 2013, there were 80,000 participants. (p. 480). Leftist counter-demonstrators tried to slander and physically assault the Polish patriots, but their hysterics have waned in recent years. All indicators point to the Polish national movement growing in size and influence. Polish Power! POLSKA SILA!

Nacjonalizm chrześcijański: narodowo-katolicka formacja ideowa...

Grott, Bogumil 1991

Polish Christian Nationalism Clarified

and Demystified. Is Very Different From Fascism

Title:

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM. In modern politically-correct times, nationalism has become a dirty word, unilaterally and thoughtlessly condemned as intolerant, and confused with fascism and Nazism. It deserves to be studied impartially and understood correctly. POLISH NATIONALISM WAS AND IS FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT FROM FASCISM

Unlike Polish Catholic nationalism, fascism had been characterized by a deification of the state. Mussolini said that: "The state is absolute." (p. 47). Following Hegel, Nazism had made the state into a god. (p. 115). Polish Catholic Nationalism is often attacked for being exclusivist. However, this exclusivism was never absolute. (p. 92). Nazi-style racism was almost completely rejected by Polish nationalists. This was true even of the ONR (O.N.R.) and the extremist Falanga. (p. 255). This work discusses Francisco Franco and Spanish Carlism. [For more on this, see my review of: Chodakiewicz, *Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*]. It then moves on to Salazarism, which is identified as the model of government that was the most followed by the younger Endeks. Portugal's Salazar had rejected liberalism, individualism, class warfare, parliamentarianism, and other "pagan" notions. He also rejected unbridled capitalism and totalitarianism, and repudiated fascism. (pp. 53-54). Study of this Polish-language volume quickly shows the reader that there always were many different strands of Polish nationalism. For instance, Roman Dmowski had been influenced by Spencer. (p. 19). Balicki wrote of "National Egoism". Other Polish Catholic nationalists rejected the latter. (p. 85). WHY POLISH NATIONALISM AND TRADITIONAL ROMAN CATHOLICISM GO HAND-IN-HAND Grott believes that Catholicism and Polish Nationalism were readily synthesized with each other owing to a common set of positions, namely the rejection of liberalism, especially related to matters of free thought, and a distaste for socialism and other forms of the Radical Left, of Jews, but only as representatives of a certain set of customs, and certainly not in a racist-Nazi sense, and of Freemasonry. (p. 294). Sometimes, certain Jewish teachings were themselves considered racist. (p. 221). However, popular anti-Semitism probably owed more to the juxtaposition of Polish poverty with Jewish economic dominance than the teachings of the Endeks and similar groups. (p. 228).

The Origins of Totalitarianism Arendt, Hannah 1951

Rejecting the Cult of Jewish Suffering. The 1937-1938 Slaughter of Soviet Poles Was An Act of Genocide. The Nazi Polokaust Was Not Utilitarian. Polish Nationalism Was Never Imperialist Hannah

Arendt was a German Jew who wrote many political works of enduring interest. There are now many reviews of this item in existence, and they discuss the main themes of this work. I instead focus on a few items of contemporary interest.

JEWES, VICTIMIZATION, AND CHRISTIAN ANTI-JUDAIC TEACHINGS Hannah Arendt delivers a strong

message to those who would blame Christianity for the Holocaust. She realizes that religious-based antagonisms between Jews and Christians were reciprocal in nature, and that the latter was not a forerunner of anti-Semitism, much less the Holocaust. She comments, (quote) Anti-Semitism, a secular nineteenth-century ideology--which in name, though not in argument, was unknown before the 1870's--and religious Jew-hatred, inspired by the mutually hostile antagonism of two conflicting creeds, are obviously not the same; and even the extent to which the former derives its arguments and emotional appeal from the latter is open to question. The notion of an unbroken continuity of persecutions, expulsions, and massacres from the end of the Roman Empire to the Middle Ages, the modern era, and down to our time, frequently embellished by the idea that modern anti-Semitism is no more than a secularized version of popular medieval superstitions, is no less fallacious (although of course less mischievous) than the corresponding anti-Semitic notion of a Jewish secret society that has ruled, or aspired to rule, the world since antiquity. (unquote). (p. xi).

JEWES WERE NOT SCAPEGOATS AND VICTIMS

In addition, Arendt parts ways with those who emphasize Jews historically as victims. She writes, (quote) Judaism, as it was now maintained chiefly by Jewish historians, had always been superior to other religions in that it believed in human equality and tolerance. That this was self-deceiving theory, accompanied by the belief that the Jewish people had always been the passive, suffering object of Christian persecutions, actually amounted to a prolongation and modernization of the old myth of chosenness... (unquote). (p. xiii). She continues (quote) The representation of THE Jew as the incarnation of evil is usually blamed on remnants and

superstitious memories from the Middle Ages, but is actually closely connected with the more recent ambiguous role which Jews played in European society since their emancipation. One thing is undeniable: In the postwar period Jews had become more prominent than ever. (unquote). (emphasis is Arendt's). (p. 354). THE POLOKAUST--THE NAZI GERMAN GENOCIDE OF POLES--WAS NOT UTILITARIAN One talking point used to justify Holocaust supremacism is the one about the Jews' Holocaust--unlike all other genocide--being uniquely irrational. In other words, Judeocentrists, as well as neo-Stalinists and LEWAKS, commonly assert that, because of Nazi actions during WWII, "Jews died because they were Jews, and Poles died because it was war." Arendt categorically rejects this phony dichotomy, not only because she realizes that the Germans intended eventually to exterminate the Slavs (e. g, p. 411, 424, 443), but also because the existing Nazi German mass murder of Poles went far beyond the utilitarian ends of the war and successful occupation. She writes, (quote) When they [the Nazis] liquidated the greater part of the Polish intelligentsia, they did it not because of its opposition, but because, according to their doctrine Poles had no intellect, and when they planned to kidnap blue-eyed and blond-haired children, they did not intend to frighten the population but to save "German blood". (unquote). (p. 342). ARENDT RECOGNIZES THE FACT OF THE 1937-1938 GENOCIDE OF POLES DURING THE GREAT TERROR

Arendt engages in a form of double genocide (Red=Brown). She finds considerable parallels between the exterminatory policies of Nazis and Communists. For instance, in the Soviet Union, new groups targeted for extermination, after the former ruling classes, were the kulaks and the Russian Poles (1936-1938). (p. 424). POLISH NATIONALISM WAS NOT IMPERIALIST: A REFRESHINGLY CORRECT UNDERSTANDING OF POLISH NATIONALISM Nationalism, in academia, is nowadays commonly a dirty word. In contrast, Arendt realizes that there are different kinds of nationalism. She quips, (quote) Pan-Latinism is a misnomer for a few abortive attempts of the Latin nations to make some kind of alliance against the German danger, and even Polish Messianism never claimed more than what at some time might conceivably have been Polish-dominated territory. (unquote). (pp. 232-233)

Roman Dmowski Fountain, Alvin 1980 ***Undemonizing Dmowski. His Essential Political Thought*** Author Alvin Fountain

is no "Polish nationalist". He is an American historian. This book covers Dmowski's thinking in 1895-1907, well before Poland's regaining of independence (1918). **NEITHER ETHNONATIONALISM NOR CIVIC NATIONALISM** The nation should not be defined by language, geography, or political situation, but as follows, according to Dmowski himself: "We are a nation, a unified, indivisible nation, because we possess a sense of our unity, possess a common, collective consciousness, a shared NATIONAL SPIRIT." (p. 30; italics Dmowski's).

THE PRACTICAL ACTIVISM OF ROMAN DMOWSKI Pointedly, Dmowski offered an alternative to the extremes of strategically-unsound violence, and fatalistic submission, that had been common in foreign-ruled Poland. Fountain notes: "Rejecting the idea of revolution as practiced in 1830 and 1863 and rejecting also the idea of class revolution, Dmowski set forth instead a revolution on the model of Ireland, directed towards political gains." (p. 88). Also: "Dmowski admired most the Poles of Poznan who, under the pressure of the German government and the *Deutscher Ostmarkenverein*, had developed in defense their own system of financial institutions and social organizations." (p. 91). In addition, Dmowski encouraged the reading of books (p. 32) and the education of women (p. 49).

DMOWSKI PUSHED BACK AGAINST JEWISH SEPARATISM AND ECONOMIC HEGEMONY On another topic, Fountain comments: "In regard to the Jews, Dmowski evinced worry over both numbers and separate tradition, the existence of a distinct and highly visible nation within a nation, speaking another language, holding a different religion, and occupying pivotal positions in finance and trade." p. 31). Also: "Personal experience may have been influential in Dmowski's anti-Semitism. Growing up in Warsaw during an era of Jewish expansion, he would have found some 90 percent of the shopkeepers of his native city to have been Jewish, a large percentage of the private banks under Jewish control, and a small but growing and influential Jewish professional class." (p. 111). The preoccupation of key socioeconomic niches by Jews had prevented Poland's normal development by delaying and hindering the emergence of a Polish middle class (p. 95), and that of financially-knowledgeable Poles. (p. 199). In addition, the Litvaks (Russian Jews) had been a Russifying and radicalizing element. (p. 111). Dmowski believed

that Jews in general placed their interests ahead of that of the Polish nation--but then again so did the Polish nobility. (p. 109). Contrary to the view that Jews were made into scapegoats for Polish problems, Dmowski found fault with many peoples, including his fellow Poles--as this book makes so obvious. At no time did Dmowski blame Jews for the crucifixion of Christ, and at no time did he toy with Nazi-style racial notions. (p. 109). Dmowski denied hating Jews (p. 202), and, while contending that Polish Jews were too numerous to assimilate (p. 159), accepted the premise that individual Jews could become loyal Poles. (p. 81, 109). **FORGET THE MUCH-OVERUSED FASCIST LABEL** Dmowski was no proto-fascist (pp. 158-160), and he opposed the ONR (O.N.R). His position mostly closely coincided with that of Irish nationalist Charles Stewart Parnell. (p. 161). Fountain thus summarizes the essence of Dmowski's thought: "Those nations which did not compete successfully in the struggle for existence would be swallowed up, their best elements assimilated into the stronger nations around them." (p. 102). Let this serve as a sobering wake-up to the "Euro-enthusiasts", and other LEWAK Poles who think that patriotism is unimportant or outdated!

Spanish Carlism and Polish Nationalism: The Borderlands of Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries Chodakiewicz, Marek Jan 2003

Undemonizing Nationalism: Neither Polish Nationalism Nor Spanish Nationalism Had Been Forms of Fascism. Essential Differences From Fascism Reader: Prepare to learn a lot of things you will never get from the leftmedia or the mostly-leftist academia!

NATIONALISM IS NOT A NAUGHTY WORD In recent decades, especially, nationalism has become a dirty word, often made synonymous with fascism. Communist and other left-wing propaganda has made this connotation. During and after the process leading to the postwar imposition of the Soviet-sponsored Communist puppet state upon Poland, slurs of fascism were often directed against the legitimate Polish government in exile as well as Polish anti-Nazi and anti-Communist forces such as the AK, NSZ, and the ZOLNIERZE WYKLECI. Unfortunately, this denigration of past and present Polish nationalism survives to the present in the form of certain Holocaust materials and discussions, not to mention the LEWACTWO. The demonization of nationalism is also a standard tactic

of the globalists, cultural Marxists, and the Eurcrats. [For example, think of the recent (November 2017) scurrilous characterization of Polish Independence Day marchers, as neo-Nazis, by the eminent Belgian politician Guy Verhofstadt.]

ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FASCISM AND POLISH NATIONALISM In actuality, even the most extreme form of Polish nationalism differed from fascism in that it respected a certain degree of civil liberties for all social groups, and its cultural chauvinism was constrained by a respect for Europe's Latin culture (p. 51). Prewar Polish nationalists such as Giertych rejected the omnipotence of the state (p. 59), and had sensed the alien character of fascism to their thinking (p. 58). The deification of the state and race, characteristic of fascism and Nazism, were explicitly rejected by Polish nationalists as forms of historical materialism (p. 52). While perhaps not fully democratic, even the most extreme Polish nationalists recognized the legality of all non-Communist parties (p. 51). **AT NO TIME DID EVEN THE MOST EXTREME POLISH NATIONALISTS BECOME PRO-NAZI**

Not mentioned in this book is the fact that the even the most extreme prewar Polish nationalists, while condoning and sometimes practicing violence against Jews, had refrained from attacking synagogues--in order to make the point that their hostility was directed against Jewish economic dominance of Poland, not against Jewish religion or Jewish people as a whole. Despite Nazi German support for the Spanish anti-Communists, the Polish nationalists never lost sight of the German threat to Poland (p. 55). It was suggested that the German involvement in the Spanish Civil had been motivated by Germany's desire to regain her former African colonies (p. 60). At no time did even the most extreme Polish nationalists contemplate, much less support, anything resembling genocide against peoples. The book should also mention that, during the ensuing German Nazi occupation of Poland, Polish nationalists, unlike their counterparts in most other German-occupied nations, did not, apart from rare exceptions, participate in the Holocaust. Francisco Franco himself strongly opposed the German conquest of Poland (p. 90), and, with some exceptions, remained a champion of Polish freedom fighters. **THE MODERN DANGER OF CULTURAL MARXISM** Bearing in mind that the twin phenomena of Spanish Carlism and Polish nationalism had been efforts to resist the dethroning of God, we should examine their modern counterparts. There is a cultural war going on in Poland, the US, and some other nations. It is part

of a rising tide of hostility, by left wing and humanist pseudo-intellectuals, directed against the traditional family, Christian morality, Christian expression, etc. One can sense the ascendancy of consumerism, cultural and moral nihilism, and other manifestations of secularist triumphalism. In the US, the much-maligned Religious Right is fighting against the removal of God from all sectors of public life by unelected humanist judges (as rationalized by "the separation of church and state", "pluralism and diversity", "sensitivity to non-Christians", etc.). In Poland, there is the danger of the secularists of western Europe using Poland's newfound EU membership to force the progressive atheization of Poland. Neo-Marxism is on the warpath. Only time will tell how the cultural wars will eventually play out.

ANALYZING SPANISH NATIONALISM Carlism was a form of Spanish Catholic traditionalism, named after the royalist Carlos, was directed against the inimical aspects of modernizing influences. One can think of it as a manifestation of Spanishness (*espanolidad*). It was specifically directed against the anti-Christian aspects of the French Revolution and the dethroning of God in general. Insofar as Jews had long been disproportionately involved in left wing and atheistic movements, it had a strain of anti-Semitism. Owing to the fact that Freemasonry had professed contempt for the Catholic Church, and included certain rites deemed incompatible with Christianity, the Carlists too condemned it.

NATIONALISM IS NOT--AS OFTEN PROPAGANDIZED--A TOOL OF THE RICH AND THE PRIVILEGED Not surprisingly, Carlism was strongly anti-Communist. But capitalism was also condemned insofar as it had disrupted Spanish society. Capitalist development had driven the poor off Spanish lands, virtually imprisoning them in barrios. The formerly independent Spanish artisans had become relegated to sweat shops.

BOTH POLISH AND SPANISH NATIONALISM HAD BEEN POSITIVE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES Neither Carlism nor its Polish counterpart had been merely "anti" something. They also possessed a dynamism that led to the active betterment of their respective societies. For instance, in Poland, Catholic traditionalists were responsible for the founding of religious orders that benefited the laity. Nor is it correct to say that Catholic traditionalism implied an uncritical approach to the conduct of the Catholic hierarchy. For instance, Polish nationalist Roman Dmowski was critical of the excessive involvement of the Catholic Church in political matters. Nevertheless, both Carlism and Polish nationalism can be viewed

as Maccabean-like movements launched in defense of God.

DEMYTHOLOGIZING THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR Carlism persisted well into the 20th century. The Spanish Civil War was and is often (falsely) portrayed as an unsuccessful early struggle of freedom against fascism. Articles in the American press that romanticize the International Brigades appear from time to time (for instance, a laudatory column several years ago by Ann Landers, who also mentioned the large-scale Jewish participation in these Brigades). The Nazi German involvement is frequently mentioned (particularly the bombing of Guernica, which killed 37 people), but not the frightful atrocities directed by the Communists against priests and nuns, which definitely claimed thousands of victims (p. 104). In actuality, the Spanish Civil War, which can properly be thought of as the most recent Carlist war, had been a war against an attempted Communist takeover.

More Than Independence: Polish Political Thought 1918-1939

Jachymek, Jan 2003 *Debunks Many Myths About the Interwar Polish Right. Endeks Were in No Sense Pro-Fascist or Pro-Nazi* This anthology features many authors and political movements. Owing to its breadth, I focus on a few items. CONSERVATISM IS NOT SYNONYMOUS WITH REACTION LEWAKS commonly accuse Polish conservatives of living in the past. Such was manifestly not the case. Polish conservatives admired the Jagiellonian idea, but they did not seek a return to pre-Partition realities, even if this was possible, and they were critical of the failings of the First Republic. (Włodzimierz Mich, p. 36). Conservatives were willing to embrace necessary change. Mich comments, (quote) An evolutionary attitude dominated among the conservatives; they strove for preservation of the continuity of development according to the motto: CONSERVATIO EST CONTINUA CREATIO, rather than for a restoration of the past or invariability of the existing relations. (unquote). (p. 41). POLISH NATIONALISM: NEITHER CHAUVINISM NOR MARTYR-CENTEREDNESS Nowadays, leftists make out of nationalism a dirty word. They lump all forms of nationalism together as one and the same, falsely conflating it with fascism and Nazism. Let us examine Polish nationalism. Marcin Wichmanowski writes that, (quote) Christian Democrats stressed that “the Christian national ideology is not identical

with chauvinistic nationalism, which regards the national interest as the most important and only criterion of all values. We only wish to arouse the active love of Motherland in the nation." (unquote). (p. 192). Polish nationalists are nowadays often mischaracterized (by post-Stalinists such as Jan T. Gross) as adhering to a martyrdom-oriented view of Poland as "The Jesus Christ of Nations". This, too, is false. In fact, the Endeks, influenced as they were by positivism, explicitly rejected such a concept. Ewa Maj writes, (quote) National Democrats opposed Romantic, martyrdom-oriented patriotism, too sentimental and anachronistic and totally incapable of adjustment in modern politics. (unquote). (p. 129).

ENDEKS WERE ANTI-FASCIST AND ANTI-NAZI Nowadays, Endeks are often slandered, in many leftist and Jewish publications, as fascists or Nazi sympathizers. Nothing could be further from the truth. Notwithstanding any admiration that some Endeks felt for the dynamism of the fascist and Nazi movements (which, BTW, were hardly limited to either Poles of conservatives!), their attitude was unambiguous. Ewa Maj comments, (quote) For National Democrats fascism was unique as the product of the spirit of the Italian nation. Any attempts to imitate it in Poland, however, could threaten to pervert the direction of the development of Polish nationalism. The National Party (SN) criticized Nazism for falsifying the national German ideology. The pagan elements, racism and materialism of Adolf Hitler's political conceptions provoked aversion just as the Nazi methods of political fight. They were seen as evidence of Germany's departure from "Roman civilization". (unquote). (p. 131). **NO BLIND ADMIRATION TO THE OZON GOVERNMENT** Polish conservatives always thought of a necessary balance between citizens' rights and obligations. Interestingly, some of them concluded that the authoritarian tendencies of the post-Pilsudski regime had tilted too far to the latter. (Włodzimierz Mich, p. 52). **POLISH CONSERVATIVES: NO BLIND SERVANTS OF CAPITALISM** Polish conservatives were against the expropriation of property from any owner, and opposed the idea of a compulsory breakup of large landed estates. However, they contended that widespread ownership would eventually eliminate the non-propertied classes of people, and would thus stabilize the social order. (Mich, p. 55). The fact that Polish conservatives were anti-Communist in no sense means that they gave an unqualified endorsement to western-style capitalism. For instance, the Endeks recognized private ownership of

production as the foundation of Poland's economic development, but they also regarded capitalism as synonymous with brutality, greed, and a materialistic outlook that dehumanized labor. (Ewa Maj, pp. 150-151). The Endeks also frowned upon cartels and syndicates, especially when the capital was concentrated in non-Polish hands. (pp. 151-152). The National Democrats also had regard for the needs of the working class. Ewa Maj (p. 143) points out that the National Democrats (Endeks) supported legislation that protected workers in terms of such things as wages, length of working hours, insurance for old age, etc. (p. 143). While on the subject of economics, the impact of the 1929 Great Depression deserves mention. (Quote) The economic crisis that swept all over Europe was felt in Poland far more acutely than in the wealthy Western European countries.

(unquote). (Wichmanowski, p. 173).

THE PEASANTRY AND THE PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT Jan Jachymek introduces this movement to the reader, (quote) The people's movement was a current of genuinely Polish origin, representing the interests of the numerically strongest social class, the peasantry, from whom the whole Polish nation arose. The first people's movement advocate was, in the general view, Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who epitomized the ideas of fight for the state's independence and the proper position of the peasants in it. (unquote). (p. 211). The economic views of the people's movement were dominated by agrarianism. Specific policies found themselves between capitalist liberal individualism and Marxist collectivism. There would be different, essentially hybrid forms of ownership. Mining and key industries, banking, etc., would be nationalized. Other endeavors, notably those related to agriculture, would be privately owned. Still others, such as small and medium-sized businesses, would have mixed ownership, being cooperative and community-owned. (Jachymek, pp. 252-253).

Polish Memoirs Rose, William John 1976 *Polish Nationalism Undemonized and Clarified. The Jewish Share of Blame. Teschen 1938 Justified. Age-Old German Polonophobia* William John Rose was a Canadian from Winnipeg who visited Poland around the time just before WWI. He learned much about Poland. Soon thereafter, he was thrust into a position of diplomacy caused by the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From then on, he became an authority on

Poland, and eventually taught at several western universities. DO NOT MIX ALL FORMS OF NATIONALISM IN THE SAME SMELLY BAG!

Nowadays, nationalism, in academia, is a dirty word, and it is a standard pejorative LEWAK buzzword. This, for one thing, confuses emancipatory nationalism with imperialistic nationalism. In addition, Stone comments, "Poland, in contrast, made a deep impression on Rose, as he found in the nationalist movement moral values corresponding to his earlier training...Polish nationalism appeared to Rose to stress moral regeneration and the rejection of materialism." (pp. xv-xvi). Rose thought highly of Pilsudski.

JEWS MUST ACCEPT THEIR SHARE OF BLAME FOR THE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF POLISH-JEWISH RELATIONS

Having a firsthand knowledge of Poles and Jews, Rose, in contradistinction to most modern thinking, found Jews the ones primarily responsible for the negative aspects of Polish-Jewish relations. Citing several sources published by Rose, Editor Stone comments, (quote) He (Rose) recognized that Jews were subject to discrimination but considered actual anti-Semitism uncommon and of recent date, deriving from economic competition. The real problem was not Polish attitudes but the refusal of Jews to assimilate. He strenuously opposed Zionism insofar as it led to a resurgence of Jewish nationalism in Eastern Europe. The best solution needs to be emigration, preferably to established countries where Jews would not be too 'arrogant' to assimilate. Rose applauded those Jews who considered themselves Polish nationals... [such as] historian Szymon Aszkenazy, a practicing Jew...Nonetheless, assimilation could not offer a solution to the mass of Jews." (p. xxiii). Rose touches on his many encounters with thinking people of various sorts. While meeting with intellectuals and thinkers, Rose, already before WWI, had come across numerous atheistic Jews. (pp. 14-15). [This confirms Polish Cardinal August Hlond, and his much-condemned 1936 statement on Jews as freethinkers.] Although they were living, of all places, in Poland, many Jews were hostile to even learning Polish--even after the resurrection of the Polish state itself! Rose describes his experiences with a Polish Jew who experienced enmity from fellow Jews for not sharing their veiled (and politicized) anti-Polish and anti-goy sentiments: (quote) Then my guide took me to see what everyone regarded as a model piece of work for abandoned children, the Jewish orphanage on Leszno Street [in Warsaw], managed by a Mr. Hosenpud. This remarkable man had been a teacher for

years, and was president of the Jewish Teacher's Association. A believer, he took the view that Jewry is a religion and not a nation, and had many enemies among his own people, who were opposed to having orphan lads taught Polish, or brought up to play games, or introduced to the school curriculum that is regarded the world over as the road to intelligent citizenship. (unquote)(p. 100).

POLES WERE LONG DISENFRANCHIZED ON THEIR OWN LANDS In Lodz, the "Polish Manchester", Rose found a city lacking even sewers and a central water supply. He adds, "The controls were really in Russian hands; the owners and managers of the cotton mills were mostly of German or Jewish blood, while the workers were chiefly Poles from the surrounding rural area, or again the poorest and most ignorant type of Jew." (p. 175).

EVEN IF IT WAS ARGUABLY NOT A GOOD PUBLIC RELATIONS MOVE, POLAND WAS FULLY JUSTIFIED IN TAKING BACK CIESZYN IN 1938 For a time, Rose had lived in Teschen (Cieszyn). He was there when the Austro-Hungarian Empire broke up. As for the later events of 1938, Rose continued to maintain his lifelong belief that Poland had full rights to Cieszyn, but, recounting still later events (WWII)[letting history run backwards], now questioned the political wisdom of Poland's 1938 acquisition of Teschen. (p. 106). [Of course, Polonophobes will always find something to blame on Poland. If Teschen 1938 never happened, it would be something else.]

AGE-OLD GERMAN POLONOPHOBIA

According to Rose, as of at least just before WWI, "only a few" German thinkers regarded the thinking and writing of Slavs of having anything of value. (p. 14). Although Germans were later to reckon the territory of the Polish Corridor as "eternally German", Rose cited the Germans' own Spett map of 1912. It showed that the eventual Polish Corridor had a Polish-speaking majority long before 1918. (p. 82). Rose frowned upon plebiscites as a method for deciding the German-Polish frontier around 1918-1920. The Germans, just defeated in their imperialistic war, were now about to be rewarded for German majorities caused by the earlier massive and barbarous German colonization and denationalization of conquered Polish lands. (p. 80). Well said!

THE PROBLEM OF WESTERN IGNORANCE ABOUT POLAND [THEN AND NOW] In conclusion, William John Rose was one of not many westerners who became a Polonophile--a true friend of Poland. Why their rarity? Here are some clues: In the Introduction, Editor Daniel Stone points out that most

westerners knew Slavs primarily as unappealing, poor, uneducated immigrants [the Bieganski stereotype]. In addition, the sobering fact was that, in just the years around WWI, Poland was actually more exotic to most westerners than was China! (p. ix). [Nowadays, the problem is not only western ignorance about Poland, but also that what little westerners know is filtered through Jewish narratives.]

Twenty-Five Years With the Poles Super, Paul 1951

Poland's Interwar Achievements. Undemonizing Polish Nationalism. Teschen/Cieszyn 1938. YMCA in Poland The author arrived in Poland in 1922. At that time, Poland was afflicted with hyperinflation, and would be for at least another two years (for details, see p. 55). This reminds us that hyperinflation, a common exculpation invoked for German support of Hitler, was hardly limited to post-WWI Germany.

POLAK POTRAFI (THE POLE WILL DO IT) Paul Super visited Czarna Wies, and commented on the rebuilding efforts after the devastation of WWI. (Quote) Here the Poles had gathered many twisted, bent, and rusty sections of structural bridge steel brought far and wide from rivers and gullies, the dynamited wreckage of war, and with steam hammer and sledge hammer and vast patience and car they had cut and beaten and pounded these ruins into new bridge units and were putting them in place over streams and ravines to again carry Poland's trains to the eastern provinces. What a people! I thought. (unquote). (p. 32). Now consider the "miracle port" of Gdynia. In 1922, Gdynia was a small fishing village. Work began in April 1923. However, serious construction of the port did not begin until mid-1926. (p. 84). By 1939, the port of Gdynia had become the greatest port on the Baltic Sea. Its import and export tonnage surpassed such long-established ports as Helsingfors, Koenigsberg, Danzig, Stettin, Copenhagen, and Stockholm. (p. 142). **THE TRUTH ABOUT POLISH NATIONALISM** Nowadays, nationalism is a dirty word in the largely left-wing academia, and is a standard label for someone that leftists and Judeocentrists don't like. When it came to Poland, at least, Super knew better. He commented, (quote) I have spent a quarter of a century among Poles and probably know more Poles than any living foreigner. Except among a small but politically active element of the student population of Poland, I have never encountered that which is evil in

nationalism, and there is a good, a splendid, side...Such nationalism as Poland had, looked inward, to the building of a worthy nation; it does not look outward in envy of some other nation's lands; it never took the form we Americans call spread-eagle boasting; it made no silly assertions of superiority over all other nations. (unquote).(p. 115). DEMYSTIFYING AND DE-POLITICIZING THE NARUTOWICZ ASSASSINATION

Nowadays, the assassination of Gabriel Narutowicz is blamed on (what else?) anti-Semitism, and is portrayed as a great stain on Poland's history (to this day, notably by LEWAKS and certain Jews). [For example, see Paul Brykczynski's *Primed For Violence*.] The author was in the crowd when President Narutowicz was murdered, and personally experienced the commotion in the crowd. Although he faults the Endeks for being too strident in their criticisms of Narutowicz, and realizes that the assassin was an unbalanced fanatic, he also alludes to the reasonableness of the Endek position. He writes, (quote) ...General Joseph Haller, the standard bearer of that party, fastened an incident in my memory. "Poland must be independent; Poland must be Catholic", the general shouted to his demonstrating followers. This seemed perfectly obvious, even banal, to me. But the general and many others feared the election of a parliament in which the Socialists and national minorities would unite and elect a president too far to the left. (unquote).(p. 46). PAUL SUPER

ADDRESSES MISCHARACTERIZATIONS OF JOSEF PILSUDSKI AND JOSEF BECK The author's firsthand familiarity with many Polish leaders is insightful. Super takes a middle view of the Pilsudski "coup" of 1926. He categorically rejects the label of Pilsudski the dictator, even an informal one. Pilsudski's rule was nothing like that of Mussolini, Hitler, or Stalin. Moreover, Super adds, (quote) There were whole areas of life in which his government never interfered...hundreds of matters were never referred to him nor did he meddle in minor affairs nor even in certain weighty ones. In many ways he played a far lesser role than did President Franklin D. Roosevelt and he was not nearly as publicly conspicuous as that colorful figure. (unquote). (pp. 83-84). Super strongly condemns the mis-portrayal of Jozef Beck as pro-German. In actuality, he was pro-Polish, and had a delicate balancing act to do with Poland's enemies. (p. 149). There is no way that Polish leaders could have averted WWII. 1938 TESCHEN

Although the author disliked Poland's taking of the border area of Teschen (Cieszyn) from Czechoslovakia, he came to see that Poland could

not have done otherwise. He also realized that Czechoslovakia had been the aggressor, not Poland. He pointed out that, (quote) The Czechs attacked and occupied Teschen, Silesia, January 23, 1919. They rejected the unanimous decision of the Interallied Commission of April 28, 1919 as to where the boundary between Poland and Czechoslovakia should run, a decision arrived at after three months of study on the spot. The Czechs claimed certain territory not for moral, historical, nor racial reasons but because of economic considerations. The inhabitants of the old Austrian duchy were 70% Poles, the rest Germans and Czechs. In the final settlement forced on Poland the Poles did not get a single locality with a Czech majority but Czechoslovakia seized 9 boroughs which, according to the census of 1910, had a Polish majority of 90%...Poland simply took back what had been taken by the Czechs and kept it out of the hands of Hitler. (unquote).(p. 158).

THE 1939 WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH By 1938, 70% of Poland's commerce went through her outlet to the Baltic Sea. (p. 156). Clearly (even if overlooking Germany's true designs on Poland, which was lebensraum), giving into Germany's demands for the Corridor (or even a corridor within the Corridor) would have been suicidal on its face. Super lists the usual factors leading to Poland's rapid defeat in the 1939 war. However, he highlights the size and perfidy of the German fifth column in Poland. (e. g, p. 214).The author places Nazi German aggression in historical context. For instance, Danzig (Gdansk) was German because the Germans had wiped out its original Slavic population in 1308. (p. 30). Super adds, (quote) The Germans have been a warlike and military people throughout history. Days of Rome, Caesar, Tacitus. Pressure toward the east after 800 A. D. Prussian expansion in the 18th Century. Recent history. 1864, 1866, 1870, 1914, 1939. (unquote). (p. 309).

THE YMCA IN POLAND Paul Super (1880-1949) focuses on the establishment and development of the YMCA in newly resurrected Poland. [Review based on original 1951 edition.] At first, this was hindered by the perception of the YMCA as a Protestant institution, and by the burden of it being "Masonic". In Europe, Freemasonry commonly had the connotation of an irreligious, secret movement with nefarious goals. (p. 50). In time, the YMCA became established in Poland, and grew at a rapid pace. (see graph, p. 145). During WWII, Super was involved with the YMCA activities on behalf of Polish refugees and soldiers in Hungary, Romania, and, later, France and other parts of the world. Finally, he

attempted to re-establish the YMCA in war-torn Poland until his retirement in 1947.

Teaching Poles to Believe in Themselves and Defend Their Interests

Mysli Nowoczesnego Polaka Dmowski, Roman 1903

Dmowski Inveighs Against Polish Passivity and Defeatism.

Dmowski's True Views of Jews: Tactical Anti-Semitism Owed to Clashing Polish-Jewish Interests THOUGHTS OF A MODERN-

THINKING POLE is the title of this Polish-language book. Originally published in 1903, its 4th edition, the subject of this review, came out in 1933. Dmowski has been endlessly demonized by Jews and leftists because he stood up for Polish interests. Worse yet, his inspiring message was dangerous: It could actually motivate Poles to do something about those who were taking advantage of them! NATIONALISM--THAT NAUGHTY WORD Nationalism is nowadays often equated with "Hooray for our side" cheerleading. Not nationalist Dmowski! The thrust of his thought, in this work, was that Poles lacked substantive love for their nation (p. 12), were thinking and acting in a manner quite inconsistent with their interests, and were essentially lazy and passive. This very mentality had led to Targowica. (pp. 176-177). "BETTER NOT DO ANYTHING THAT MIGHT GET OTHERS MAD" DEFEATISM CONFRONTED Poles were prone to think that they had better dare do nothing that would give the ruling powers any further reason to be even more oppressive. (p. 70, 79). Some even hinted that there should be no Polish nation lest she oppress others. (p. 24). Although there was no such thing as a fixed national character (p. 44), the Poles' situation under foreign rule had enabled them to vegetate. (p. 72). WHO IS THE CHOSEN PEOPLE? IN WHAT WAY?

According to one aspect of Polish humor, the Jews were a Chosen People fated to exploit others, while the Poles were a Chosen People fated to be exploited by others. (p. 29). Nowadays, ironically, the similar "Jesus Christ of Nations" thinking is blamed for Poles' presumed refusal to admit their wrongs towards Jews. Just the opposite! Such thinking--in actuality--tended, and tends, to facilitate a self-abnegating mindset among Poles.

"POLES MUST ALWAYS BE NICE TO OTHERS" DEFEATISM
 CONFRONTED Interestingly, Poles often rationalized their passivity through such concepts as magnanimity, tolerance, and humanitarianism. (p. 89). Dmowski's comment in this regard proved prophetic in describing far too many Polish leaders of today! FATHER PIOTR WAWRZYNIAK'S
 ACTIVISM: POLES BEAT GERMANS AT THEIR OWN GAME OF ORGANIZATION AND EFFICIENCY A spectacular exception to the Dmowski-condemned Polish passivity occurred in Prussian-ruled Poland, where the Poles were forced to develop their national character or face linguistic, cultural, and economic annihilation by the Germans. The Poles rose to the occasion at an essentially revolutionary pace! (p. 73-on).

LEWAKS FALSELY EQUATE PATRIOTISM AND NATIONALISM WITH HATRED. NOT SO. Nationalism nowadays is often equated with hatred towards enemies. Dmowski was no hate-filled person. For instance, he said that, while the egoism of the Germans was an object of scorn or ridicule, their energy, discipline, ability to organize themselves, and level-headed thinking were admirable. (p. 191). DO NOT CONFUSE NATIONALISM WITH CHAUVINISM Likewise, nationalism is nowadays often equated with chauvinism. Dmowski was no chauvinist. For instance, he stated that he would be just as disgusted at the sight of a Polish teacher beating a Ukrainian child, for speaking Ukrainian, as he would be at the sight of a Russian or German teacher beating a Polish child, for speaking Polish. (p. 193). Nor was Dmowski particularly chauvinistic towards Poland's minorities. He did consider the Eastern Galician Ruthenians (Ukrainians) as even lazier and more passive than the Poles (p. 95), but he also faulted Poles for pursuing fruitless avoid-offending-Ukrainians-at-any-cost policies (pp. 92-94), and for failing to pursue one of two strategies towards the Ukrainians: 1). Polonize them, or 2). Force them to earn the status of a nation--a nation that could become Poland's ally against the Russians. (pp. 93-95). The 1st strategy is the one that Dmowski is remembered for, while the 2nd strategy is surprising in that it is the one that is normally credited to Pilsudski. SO WHAT IS THE BOGEYMAN NATIONALIST? Dmowski freely used the term nationalist. (e.g., p. 144, 151). He defined a nationalist as one who is attached to his nation's language, customs, traditions, etc., and is particularly attuned to defending the interests of his nation. (pp. 144-145). The nationalist subordinates his interests to that of his nation, and his nation's situation becomes his own,

regardless of whether or not it affects his personal fortunes. (pp. 151-153).

DMOWSKI AND HIS REASONABLE POSITION ON JEWS As for the Jews, Dmowski suggested that they lacked real fellowship with the Polish nation (p. 42) and had become the Third Estate in Polish society--to the detriment of the development of the common Polish people. (p. 43). He also concluded that the Jewish identity is so well crystallized over so many centuries that it could not be melded together with the more recently developed Polish national character. (p. 202).

THE JEWISH SCAPEGOAT MYTH Far from making Jews into scapegoats, Dmowski actually blamed Polish leaders in this regard. He wrote: "We have allowed a huge mass of Jews to settle amongst us, and we have decreed that they have rights that, in many respects, were not granted even to native-born Polish townspeople. We did all this because our leaders had needed Jewish money. We did not hamper the new arrivals, we did not persecute them, we did not revolt against their acquisition of power--all because our SZLACHTA (nobility/gentry) saw it in their interest to back the Jews against the Polish townspeople, to the detriment of the entire Polish nation. Our townspeople were too weak, insufficiently united, and passive to counteract this obvious evil. The situation was not alleviated by the fact that we have presented our policy towards Jews as one of the greatest manifestations of our humanitarianism and tolerance." (p. 90).

DMOWSKI'S ANTI-SEMITISM WAS TACTICAL IN NATURE Roman Dmowski called anti-Semitism one of the manifestations of the "base instincts of the masses". (p. 87). Nevertheless, he adopted an end-justifies-means position when he said that the combatting of Jewish dominance in petty trade is a sign of healthy national development (owing to the importance of economic emancipation of Polish society), regardless of whether it is merely the outcome of Christians going into business, or if it is also animated by some measure of anti-Semitism. (p. 87). Dmowski reckoned that, especially owing to their large number, Polish Jews were one of the most difficult challenges that Poles faced. Instead of accusing Jews of being crooks, Dmowski suggested that these most commercialized of peoples were operating in an atmosphere which, at the time (1903), had seen chaos in economics as well as a marked overall decline in business ethics. (p. 295). Nowhere in this work does Dmowski advocate the boycotting of Jews. This evidently developed later. However, Jews were not the only target of

boycotts. The Prussians were using the boycott as an economic and political weapon against the Poles. (p. 74).

Pilsudski: Builder of Poland Humphrey, Grace 1936

Excellent Detail About the January 1863 Insurrection, Pilsudski as a Revolutionary, etc. This book devotes considerable attention to the failed January 1863 Insurrection, in which a small force of Poles took on the tsarist armies. The severe Russian repressions in the aftermath caused decades of severe apathy and fear among Poles. (e. g., p. 36, 49), (as also described by Dmowski in his works.) Pilsudski grew up in Lithuania, which was ruled by the very heavy hand of Muraviev. Humphrey comments: "He (Muraviev) made no attempt to cover this russification with the cloak of law as Bismarck did in German Poland." (p. 15). Muraviev confiscated 1,794 Polish estates and condemned over 5,000 persons to death. (p. 15). Poles routinely faced imprisonment and exile, often under the slightest pretext.

CONTEMPT FOR POLAND STOKES PILSUDSKI'S RIGHTEOUS ANGER, AND PILSUDSKI PUTS IT TO GOOD USE Pilsudski's mother would remove Polish books from their hiding places, and read them to the young Joseph and the other children. Mere possession of such books could have one sent to Siberia. The teenage Pilsudski had to endure humiliations of Poland in the Russian-controlled schools, and his mother told him to conceal his anger until a time that he could productively express it. He did! Humphrey describes the thought process of the young adult Pilsudski: "All his dreams centered around a war with Russia which he hated with his whole soul." (p. 31). For a time, Pilsudski identified with the Socialists. However, he disliked the fact that the Socialists wanted to replace the despotism of the tsar with a despotism of their own. (p. 46) and he disagreed with the class hatred fomented by the Socialists. (p. 55). Finally, people could not be free until Poland was free.

PILSUDSKI THE REVOLUTIONARY AND PILSUDSKI THE LEADER IN WHAT FIRST SEEMED LIKE A QUIXOTIC VENTURE Pilsudski's own revolutionary activity included the clever distribution of his underground newspaper, the **ROBOTNIK (WORKER)**. Even though Dmowski and his Endeks were often at odds with Pilsudski as to the means of Poland recovering her independence, Dmowski reportedly "...sent him (Pilsudski) hearty congratulations after two years of steady publication." (p. 56). Later,

Pilsudski led a small revolutionary Polish group known as the BOJOWKA (COMBAT UNIT). This grew into the Polish Riflemen (STRZELEC), and finally the Pilsudski Legions. However, although there had been a thaw in Polish fear and apathy after about 1900, Poles did not flock to nationalistic movements. Pilsudski's units remained quite small until well into WWI. (p. 130). It took some time for Pilsudski to persuade the Poles to believe in themselves again. PILSUDSKI COMPARED WITH OTHER WORLD-CLASS LEADERS Pilsudski loved nature (p. 283) and he loved children. (p. 285). Humphrey compares Pilsudski to Joan of Arc (who had rallied her nation from discouragement following repeated defeats in war), to Oliver Cromwell (who became both leader of the army and head of the government), and to conspiracy leaders and guerrilla leaders such as Mazzini and Garibaldi, respectively. (p. 299). Finally, Humphrey compares Pilsudski to George Washington. (pp. 299-300). Both men had no formal university or military school training. Both led armies composed of volunteers in rebellion against a powerful empire. Both were remarkable, self-taught strategists. Both rallied passive, discouraged people to success. Both died at age 67. Finally, both laid down their great power when they could easily have become king or dictator. Would that Pilsudski's spirit infect more Poles today. Polska Sila! Polish Power!

Narodowa Demokracja Wobec Chlopow w Latach 1887-1914

Wolsza, Tadeusz 1992 *Endeks Driven Not By Hatred, But By Practical Initiatives to Elevate the Polish Peasantry, Resist Poland's Oppressors, Free Poland From Jewish Economic Hegemony, and Prepare Poland For Eventual Independence* THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATS IN RELATION TO THE PEASANTS IN THE YEARS 1887-1914, is the title of this Polish-language book. One of its most useful features is a set of tables, including annotated lists of: Endek organizations active in villages (pp. 307-308), Endek periodicals (pp. 208-209), major Endek-sponsored events (pp. 309-310), and major Endek activists among the Polish peasantry. (pp. 310-313). PEASANT PATRIOTIC INACTION STEMMED FROM OVERALL LOWLINESS, NOT A LACK OF PEASANT NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS Roman Dmowski was a strong advocate of Endek peasant initiatives, notably education. (p. 67). However, this fact is not support for the notion that preliterate peasants lacked national

consciousness. There is a difference between a lack of national consciousness and the inability to express it effectively and to translate it into practical action. For instance, Jan Ludwik Poplawski characterized the Polish peasantry as one that, up to that time, and owing to their lowliness, were connected neither to Polish national life, nor to the means of self-defense of their interests, nor to the pre-requisites for self-improvement in both the spiritual and material sense. (pp. 24-25). ENDEKS MODERNIZE THE PEASANTRY, AND HELP PEASANTS HELP THEMSELVES

Endek-sponsored activities to enlighten the peasantry, besides formal schooling, included the furthering of self-education, reading rooms, and libraries. One society, the TCzL (TOWARZYSTWO CZYTALNI LUDOWYCH), already had 149 libraries, with 3,067 books, all over foreign-ruled Poland, by the end of 1882. (p. 245). Other activities included lectures, informal courses, and evening social affairs that included such things as literature and music. Endek-sponsored enlightenment initiatives encompassed academic, religious, vocational, as well as patriotic issues. (e.g., p. 27, 161). In addition to all this, there were major drives to eliminate peasant illiteracy. (e. g., p. 241). Endek-sponsored enlightenment activities occurred in all three occupation zones--even among the Polish minority of distant Kiev. (p. 246). SECRET ENDEK POLITICAL ACTIVISM

Owing to the fact that partitioned Poland was under foreign occupation, many Endek activities had to be covert. For instance, Roman Dmowski had to write under over 30 pseudonyms. (p. 56). Interestingly, a woman Endek activist, Helena Ceysingerowna, led secret peasant-enlightenment activities under Russian rule. (p. 312). ENDEKS PUSH BACK AGAINST POLAND'S OPPRESSORS--IN A PRODUCTIVE MANNER Poland's enemies, ruling over her, had long been trying to de-nationalize the Poles, as by suppression of the Polish language. Endek initiatives combated this by promulgating the use of Polish (p. 163), and by supporting school strikes, not only in Prussian-ruled Poland, but also in Russian-ruled central Poland. For instance, female Endek activists Ceysingerowna and Dzierzanowska led school strikes. (p. 132). In 1875, the "liberal" tsar Alexander II tried to force Uniates to convert to Eastern Orthodoxy, notably in the Polish provinces of Chelm and Podlasie. (pp. 111-on). Endeks resisted these efforts. [Decades later, when Poles tried to reverse the tsarist action, Ukrainians accused Poles of trying to suppress their religion.] ENDEKS RESIST THE INROADS OF COMMUNIST

PROPAGANDA The Endeks opposed the attempts of the socialists to entice the peasantry. Evidently using scare tactics, the socialists, even in the 20th century, were warning peasants that serfdom could return. In response, the Endeks pointed out that the right of peasants to own their own land was unquestioned (p. 179), and that the socialists are preaching stupidity in view of the fact that serfdom had, by then, long been abolished virtually everywhere. (p. 180). POLISH PEASANTS LEARN HOW TO BE POLITICALLY ACTIVE--THANKS TO ENDEK ACTIVISM

Endeks supported peasant political initiatives, notably local (GMINA) self-governments. (e. g, p. 157). Peasants also increasingly became active in higher-level politics. For instance, peasants represented Polish interests, to a significant and increasing extent, in the DUMA. (p. 203). ENDEK ACTIVISM FOR A ONE-DAY FREE POLAND

The Endek emphasis on organic work, and opposition to fruitless bloodletting in insurrections, in no sense implies that they were "pro-Russian", or that they had lost sight of the goal of Polish independence. Developments near the beginning of the 20th century served as a source of inspiration for Endek thinkers and their teachings. This included the successes of the Boers against the English, and the newly achieved independence of nations such as Bulgaria and Greece. (p. 65). One day, there would be a Polish Army fighting for a resurrected Poland. For now, paramilitary organizations came into existence, including the gymnastics society Sokol (pp. 274-on) and the DRUZYNY BARTOSZOWE. (pp. 280-on). The first Polish Sokol was formed in Lwow in 1867. (p. 274). ENDEKS OPPOSED JEWS BECAUSE JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY THWARTED POLISH ASPIRATIONS

Considering all the volume of negative attention given to Endeks in relation to Jews, the reader may be surprised to find that Wolsza mentions Jews only once. In contrast to those who stridently accuse Endeks of being anti-Semitic, Wolsza characterizes the Endek statements about Jews as measured in nature, and ones that react to Jewish economic dominance as a barrier to Polish peasant economic emancipation. (p. 152). In addition, there may be an allusion to Jews in the form of Endeks opposing Polish peasant involvement in the 1905 Revolution, in part because its leadership was not Polish (in addition to the fact that it did not serve Polish interests, and could trigger an intensified tsarist Russian repression of Poles). (p. 172). ENDEKS

BOYCOTTED RUSSIANS, NOT JUST JEWS It is interesting to note that

Endeks advocated the boycott of the Russian language (p. 162) and the boycott of occupant-sponsored schools (see the listed 1905 Tract #50, p. 299). Clearly, then, the eventual Endek boycott of Jews was not solely aimed at them, and was part of broader Endek boycott initiatives directed against those acting against Polish national interests. Although Wolsza does not mention the 1912 Duma and the Dmowski-led boycott of Jews, he points out that the Polish representation in the previous (1st and 2nd) Duma had emphasized such issues, crucial to Polish national development, as Polish autonomy, schooling, Russia's appropriation of Polish churches of the Chelm area, and agrarian reform. (p. 203). No wonder, then, that the Jewish action in 1912 would provoke such a vigorous Polish counter-reaction. ENDEKS DID NOT PREACH HATRED OR SCAPEGOATING OF JEWS Far from being instigators of fear and hatred, as nowadays portrayed by LEWAKS and certain Jews, the Endeks repudiated demagoguery and doctrinaire thinking, in favor of rational, practical action. (p. 27). In no sense were Endek ideology and policies a matter of making scapegoats out of Jews or other non-Poles. Endeks realized that Polish problems were partly of the Poles' own making. Thus, for instance, there were Endek initiatives against alcoholism among Poles. (p. 300, tract #56). Evidently alluding to the "Polish vice" of division and quarrelsomeness, the Endeks taught peasants how to act in unity towards common local as well as national objectives. WHY THE GERMANS WERE POLAND'S NUMBER ONE ENEMY On another subject, Endek initiatives against the Prussian occupiers included the struggle against Germanization. (e. g., p. 217). Roman Dmowski clarified his anti-German outlook. He called the Germans "Poland's eternal enemy", citing the thousand years of German acts of greed against Slavic peoples. (p. 65).

Narodowa Demokracja: Antologia myśli politycznej "Przeglądu Wszechpolskiego" (1895-1905) Torunczyk, Barbara 1983

Primary Sources on Endek Thought: Jan Ludwik Poplawski, Roman Dmowski, etc. On Jews, Ukrainians, Freemasonry, etc. Finnish and Irish Nationalism as Models for Polish Nationalists to Emulate

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATS: AN ANTHOLOGY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT FROM THE "PRZEGLAD WSZECHPOLSKI" (1895-1905), is the title of this Polish-language work. After a moderately long introduction, it

features an abridged version of articles from the said Endek publication. (All the paginations in my review are based on this book, not the original, and are from the said publication unless otherwise noted.) This work is especially useful for understanding Endek thinker Jan Ludwik Poplawski. It also features Roman Dmowski, Zygmunt Balicki, and some unidentified Endek authors.

POLISH NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG THE MASSES What does Polish peasant national consciousness actually entail? Poplawski, in 1897, described what had developed in the 19th century. The common people, for the first time, were in solidarity with the national ideals and aspirations of educated Poles. (p. 97). Note that, despite this, Poplawski is NOT saying that Polish peasant national consciousness was nonexistent prior to the middle or late 19th century. He suggests that the peasants of old had a self-identity based on religious affiliation and tribal distinctiveness, and that they had an unclear historical memory of an independent Poland. (p. 97). [By now a century in the past]. Since the Slavic tribes that had originally formed the Polish people had long since lost their identities, Poplawski must have been referring to peasants considering themselves "Poles" in some tribal sense. In addition, the fact that peasants had some understanding of a long-ago free Poland, even if it was vague, indicates that they had some kind of early national consciousness.

ENDEKS ON JEWS Dmowski (1901) suggested that the dynamic Jewish element of Warsaw had grown very influential, at the expense of the Poles, in endeavors as diverse as society, politics, religion, and culture, for a simple reason. Jews were relentless ("pushy" in modern parlance), while Poles were the opposite, and it is those who are relentless that emerge dominant (pp. 138-139). Jews, no matter how thoroughly Polonized, were, generally devoid of Polish national feeling and thinking. Although Jews may express sympathy for Poles mistreated by the foreign powers, Polish national issues are foreign to Jews. (p. 139).

THE LITWAKS (LITVAKS) An author named Ignotus (1903) alluded to the Litvak problem when he mentioned that the Jewish element in Warsaw is becoming larger and more powerful as Russified Jews move there from places such as Kishinev [site of a massive recent pogrom] and Kiev. (p. 158). In addition, even Jews native to Warsaw are becoming Russified as facilitated by tsarist Russian de-Polonization policies. (p. 156).

THE FLEXIBLE LOYALTIES OF THE JEWS Ignotus also made the following observations about Jews: In Hungary, Jews became

chauvinistic Magyars. In Prussian-ruled Poland, Jews became pro-Prussian. In eastern Russian-occupied Poland, Jews became pro-Russian. In Russian-ruled central Poland, Jews at first vacillated in their loyalties and then, after the defeat of the Polish January 1863 Insurrection, and having sensed Polish weakness in general, became pro-Russian. (p. 157). All of the foregoing has a prosaic explanation: Jews tend to side not necessarily with those who treat them better, but with those who they consider to unambiguously be stronger. This also explains the apparent paradox of Jews being pro-Russian even though the Russians "hate and despise them more than anyone else does". (p. 157).

SOME SURPRISING ENDEK NUANCE ON JEWS It should be stressed that Endek antagonism towards Jews (or Endek responsive antagonism to pre-existing Jewish aloofness/antagonism towards the Polish cause) was never absolute. To begin with, Dmowski (1905) pointed out that Jews in Poland are a reality--one with which Poles must come to terms. (p. 211). Dmowski (1901) recognized that Jews are of good and bad character, and that his generalization about even assimilated Jews does not apply to all of them. (p. 139). In addition, Dmowski (1905) emphasized that some Jews have a genuine interest in the Polish cause--something Poles should do likewise. (p. 222). One unidentified Endek (1900) author essentially exculpated Jewish conduct by suggesting that, while Polish Jews may identify with Polish language and culture, they should not be expected to identify with the Polish national cause--owing to injustices they had experienced from Poles, and because Jews have a strong sense of their own self-identity. (p. 165). Another unidentified Endek author (1903), while pointing to the aloofness of Jews to the Polish cause, and the growing and objectionable character of Jewish economic dominance, emphasized the fact that some Jews become "unreservedly Poles" These Jews not only adopt Polish culture, but also identify with the Polish national cause, as shown by the fact that they oppose Poland-alooof Jews. (pp. 121-122).

THE ENDEKS ARE NOT PICKING ON JEWS Finally, the Endek attitude towards Jews must be placed in broader context. Dmowski (1905) implied that the Germanization, Russification, and "Judaization" (my term), of Poles and Poland, are ALL equally objectionable to the patriotic Pole. (p. 217).

ENDEKS AND RUTHENIANS (UKRAINIANS) The Endeks have been mischaracterized as valuing only ethnic Poles and of being essentially intolerant towards other ethnicities living on Polish soil (the false

ethnonationalism meme). This is untrue. An unidentified Endek author (1903) wrote of National Democrats appreciating the culture of non-Poles, and of striving to enjoy good relations with them. (p. 121). There is no single Endek position on the subject of minorities, and Dmowski has been accused of advocating the forced Polonization of Ruthenians. This is incorrect. Skrzycki and Dmowski (1902) were open to two possibilities: If Ruthenians are to become Poles, then they should be Polonized. If, on the other hand, the newfound Ruthenian nationality is real, then the Ruthenians should act like one, because, for now, "they are even more passive and lazy than the Poles." (p. 152). Ironic to perennial Ruthenian complaints about both active and passive Polonization processes, Skrzycki and Dmowski (1902) pointed to the successful Ruthenization of the Polish peasants of Podolia. (p. 145).

POLISH NATIONALISM IN CONFLICT WITH THE NATIONALISMS OF OTHER PEOPLES The Partitions of Poland, and ensuing foreign rule, took their toll. The destruction of the Polish state had obviously caused non-Polish ethnicities to lose their Polonocentric orientation. In addition, Dmowski (1908) realized that, where Poles formed a minority, they had become weakened by Russifying tendencies--to the point that they found themselves increasingly incapable of competing with the emerging separatisms of the other ethnicities. (p. 293).

LIKE THEN LIKE NOW: POLES TRY TO HARD TO PLEASE OTHERS An unidentified Endek author (1896) warned against a continuing Polish spirit of appeasement. He recounted how Polish efforts to avoid war, by handing-over territory during the First Partition, had only led to the final destruction of Poland. (p. 90).

NOT TRUE THAT DMOWSKI WAS CONTENT WITH POLAND UNDER FOREIGN RULE The oft-repeated Endek emphasis on organic work needs to be qualified. Jan Ludwik Poplawski (1898) rhetorically asked what good are another 20 or 200 Russian-tolerated reading rooms when the substantive Polish content is minimal. What good is another hour of instruction in the Polish language when the tsarist authorities bar Poles from administrative posts? (p. 110).

NEITHER VIOLENCE NOR ROMANTICISM: MODELS OF PRODUCTIVE NATIONALISM The dream of a free Poland never ceased. Roman Dmowski's (1902) vision of effective nonviolent opposition to foreign rule cited the examples of Ireland and Finland. (p. 116).

THE PERNICIOUS NATURE OF FREEMASONRY Dmowski (1905) clarified his

opposition to Freemasonry. He placed it in the broader context of various manifestations of anti-religious radicalism. (pp. 232-233).

Zygmunt Balicki: Ideolog Narodowej Demokracji Grott, Bogumil
1995 ***A Selection of The Original Writings of Pioneering***

Endek Thinker Zygmunt Balicki (1858-1916). Balicki's "National Egoism" Was Common-Sense Self-Interest ZYGMUNT BALICKI:

NATIONAL DEMOCRAT IDEOLOGUE, is the title of this two-part book. In the first part, Bogumil Grott analyzes Balicki (pp. 5-80). In the latter part, the author provides a selection of Balicki's writings (pp. 83-175), including a slightly abridged version of NATIONAL EGOISM (1902). (pp. 114-143). I have read the original, unabridged version of NATIONAL EGOISM, and mention some of the relevant omitted parts in this review. READ THE ENDEKS, NOT WHAT THE LEWAKS AND MANY JEWS SAY ABOUT THE ENDEKS! Consistent with my oft-repeated premise that Endek thinkers should be understood according to what they said, and not what others say about them, I first read and reviewed Balicki's writings, and wrote down my comments in this review. Only then did I go back and read Grott. My review is sequenced accordingly: 1) General Comments on Balicki's Original Writings, 2) Balicki's EGOISM NARODOWY WOBEC ETYKI (NATIONAL EGOISM IN THE LIGHT OF ETHICS), 3) Other Original Works by Balicki, and 4). Bogumil Grott's assessment of Balicki.

STOP EQUATING NATIONALISM WITH HATRED Contrary to the usual leftist demonization of the Endeks as fire-breathing haters, Balicki is nothing of the sort. All of his writing is conspicuously low-keyed, and most of his writing is abstract and philosophical, in fact, bland at times. In addition, relatively little of it directly addresses the situation facing Poles and foreign-ruled Poland. Balicki was not driven by emotion or fanaticism. Far from it. He clearly was a deep thinker, juxtaposing his ideas with other thinkers, such as Spencer, Epicurus, Bentham, Tolstoy, Krasinski, de Maistre, Goethe, etc. This broad-based thinking further challenges the misportrayal of Endeks as some kind of insular xenophobes. BALICKI'S SOCIAL DARWINISM HAS BEEN GREATLY EXAGGERATED Ironic to the characterization of Endeks as Social Darwinists, Balicki mentions and discusses Herbert Spencer in only 4 pages of text out of the 92 pages of his text (pp. 83-175)! Even then, he does not dwell on it, and never gives

an unqualified endorsement of such thinking. Although Endeks are best known, and condemned, for their ideas about Jews, Balicki mentions Jews only once in 92 pages of text, and then only in reference to Jewish separatism, not Jews per se. (p. 162). More on this later. *BALICKI'S EGOISM NARODOWY WOBEC ETYKI (NATIONAL EGOISM IN THE LIGHT OF ETHICS)*

To begin with, one must not confuse egoism with egotism. They are not synonyms. The former refers to self-interest, while the latter refers to selfish behavior. It is obvious, from this and other writings by Balicki, that he is not advocating that Poles be belligerent, vainglorious, or looking down on other peoples. He is simply advocating that Poles engage in common-sense self-interest. There even different forms of national egoism within the context of imperialistic nationalism [not be confused with the emancipatory nationalism being practiced by Poles]. Balicki contrasts the relatively benign nature of American and British imperialism with the aggressive imperialism of Prussia (Germany) and Russia. The Americans and British respect their subject peoples, and do not drift into barbarism. The Prussians and Russians, whether in peace or war, have no such respect for subject peoples, and are prone to perfidy, lawlessness, and barbarism. (p. 138). Balicki scorns militarism, as well as those soldiers who commit atrocities against civilians. Instead, he praises the knightly conduct of the Polish citizen soldier who, in 1848, refused to perform an Austrian order to fire on Polish civilians, preferring to draw the punishment upon himself. (p. 141). Consider utilitarianism. An example would be a nation that allows another freely to occupy a small area of its territory, based on the consideration that the territory is small, of little value, and otherwise not worth fighting over. Balicki rejects utilitarianism. He notes that, yielding a "small" amount of low-worth territory only emboldens the enemy to take the rest. Even if that did not happen, it would violate the nation's essential character. (p. 133). It is obvious from his *NATIONAL EGOISM* that Balicki is not opposed to altruism. He is in favor of what he calls rational altruism, an altruism that has limits, and is cognizant of the results of its actions. (p. 119). Balicki opposes altruism when it is misguided. For instance, he points to the fact that Poles support missionary work among the Africans and Chinese while not even thinking about organizing and supporting domestic charities that would rescue Polish factory workers from corruption and paganization. (p. 136). Clearly, were Poles to support their own, Polish altruism would coexist with Polish

national egoism. DEMONIZING POLISH NATIONALISM--THEN AND NOW Balicki condemns those who hide under the banner of "humanitarianism" to attack Polish patriotism as "Polish Hakatism", etc. He recognizes Polish patriotism as a defense of Polish rights and status (under foreign rule at the time). (p. 136). Consistent with Balicki's concept of NATIONAL EGOISM as nothing more than enlightened self-interest, he chides Poles for unilaterally supporting others' interests. For instance, in a part that was edited out (ellipses on p. 136 of Grott; is located on p. 47 in original), he brings up the case of Polish youth supporting Russian claims to equal status in the Polish universities of Russian-ruled Poland. The author of NATIONAL EGOISM spends little time talking about other nations within the old Polish Commonwealth. In a part that was edited out (ellipses on p. 137 of Grott; is located on p. 50 in original), Balicki considers the Ukrainians as ones who prefer subjugation by Russia to freedom under Poland. JUST WHO IS THE CHAUVINIST? In *DEMOKRATYZM I LIBERALIZM* (DEMOCRACY AND LIBERALISM), Balicki points to the amorphousness of political labels. For instance, every new movement has thought of itself as progressive. (p. 84). As for the French Revolution, who was "liberal" and who was "reactionary" was also not clear-cut. (p. 83).

Balicki's *NASZ "SZOWINIZM"* (OUR "CHAUVINISM")(1896) is eye opening. He notes the supreme irony of the Russian conquerors calling the conquered Poles chauvinists. (p. 92). [The reader may note a similar irony: The big-power members of the European Union wax triumphant, talk down to Poles, tell them that they must "outgrow their religious and patriotic traditions", and "start thinking like Europeans", while those very nations engage in unambiguous self-interest.] Balicki notes that, far from being chauvinistic, Poles lacked sufficient chauvinism even to head off their being partitioned! (p. 93). He asks what other peoples would be so self-effacing as to let the literature of other nations dominate their own. (p. 92). In a situation astonishingly similar to that of today, Balicki points out that Poles have a mortal fear of epithets such as "chauvinism" hurled by outsiders (in this case, the Russian rulers). (p. 91). [The informed reader can think of Polish timorousness in the face of the modern left-wing buzzwords directed against Polish patriotism, such as "fascism" (what else?),"nationalism", and "xenophobia".] In a further assessment of the Poles failing to exercise even elementary self-interest, Balicki, in his *NIEPODLEGLOSC WEWNETRZNA* (INTERNAL INDEPENDENCE)(1898), asks this: Why do

Poles, living under Prussian occupation, agree to sell their farms to Germans, and other Poles do not stop them? (p. 100). In a pithy lesson for today, Balicki stresses the fact that private and public morality cannot be dichotomized. (p. 101). In *NACJONALIZM I PATRIOTYZM* (NATIONALISM AND PATRIOTISM)(1912), Balicki faults Poles for being too accepting of the decades-old Polish-foreign and Polish-hostile Jewish and Ruthenian movements. (p. 162). In *NASZA NIEZALEZNOSC DUCHOWA* (OUR SPIRITUAL INDEPENDENCE)(1916), Balicki states that Poles have been far too trusting of the big powers, and that Russian Pan-Slavic ideology is just a cover for Russian hegemony. (p. 167). In *ZASADY WYCHOWANIA NARODOWEGO* (PRINCIPLES OF NATIONAL PEDAGOGY)(1909), Balicki quotes Roman Dmowski. Here Dmowski complains that Poles teach their children what they must not do, when they should also be teaching them what they should be doing. (p. 155).

ASSESSING ZYGMUNT BALICKI Author Bogumil Grott considers Balicki as without doubt one of the most prominent political activists in the latter years of foreign rule over Poland. He also cites from some other of Balicki's works. Balicki opposed cosmopolitanism, socialism, and liberalism because they were anti-national. (p. 41, 45). Balicki and other Endeks believed that Germany was Poland's enemy because, unlike backwards Russia, Germany had a dynamic civilization that, apart from its military and imperial power, was in a position to do greater harm to Poland. We learn that Balicki was not interested in religion as part of his concept of a national movement. (p. 37). Jędrzej Giertych, one of the younger Endeks, was. Giertych, who came decades later, considered Balicki's ideas somewhat outdated, and warned that NATIONAL EGOISM could lead to paganism. (pp. 66-67). Giertych's concept was one of Christian Nationalism.

Roman Dmowski and the Oft-Distorted 1912 Duma Elections

Warsaw Before the First World War: Poles and Jews in the Third City of the Russian Empire, 1880-1914 Corrsin, Stephen D. 1989

Includes Corrective, Seldom-Mentioned Details on The 1912 Elections to the Duma, and the Much-Condemed Dmowski-Led Retaliatory Boycott of Jews This work provides much data on

the development of Russian-ruled Warsaw in the late 19th and early 20th century. This includes many tables of information. Increasing urbanization went hand in hand with increasing crime. On the west side of Warsaw, two major criminal gangs, one Polish and one Jewish, functioned. They controlled the prostitution in the area. (p. 16). Jewish support for the Polish patriotic movement, which led to the January 1863 Insurrection, came from various quarters. This included assimilationists, such as the wealthy Mathias Rosen, as well as liberal rabbis Marcus Jastrow and Isaac Kramsztyk. It also featured the orthodox chief rabbi of Warsaw, Dov Berush Meisels. (p. 10). The tsarist Russian rule, over even Congress Poland, was stifling. Underground Polish education included the so-called flying universities. (p. 18). (Such flying universities later became famous under the German Nazi occupation of Poland).

NATURE OF ASSIMILATION. ASSIMILATED POLISH JEWS ARE NOT NECESSARILY POLES

These are amorphous terms. Corrsin uses the term acculturation to refer to Jews adopting Polish ways, and restricts the term assimilation to refer to Jews coming to adopt the national identity of the majority. (pp. 121-122). Elsewhere, Corrsin calls this "identificational assimilation". (p. 108). According to the 1897 Russian tsarist census, 13.7% of Warsaw's Jews gave Polish as their mother tongue, but this admittedly does not inform us how many of them actually identified with Poland. (p. 31). In fact, use of the Polish language increasingly had little to do with a Jew's ethnic or political allegiances! (p. 33). The avowedly assimilationist Jewish institutions, such as the newspaper IZRAELITA, professing to speak for Poles of the Mosaic faith, and to oppose both Polish and Jewish nationalism, did not follow a consistent pro-Polish path. For a time, at about the beginning of the 20th century, it veered into Zionism. (p. 74).

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATS (ENDEKS) WERE NOT INVARIABLY HOSTILE TO JEWS

Endek hostility to Jews was not unilateral. In fact, as recently as 1906-1907, the Endeks still considered at least some assimilationist Jews as part of the Polish nation. (p. 86). In 1912, National Democrats still praised the "handful of Jewish Poles" that had joined the National Concentration. (p. 88). It all boiled down to who was master of Warsaw. (pp. 86-88). Was it the Poles, or were Poles and Jews co-masters of Warsaw? [Imagine a group of Poles living in Jerusalem, organizing into a political bloc, and demanding that they be co-masters of Jerusalem along with the Jews. Would the Israeli Jews just step aside, and welcome such

an arrangement?] JEWS WERE DEMOGRAPHICALLY TAKING OVER A number of factors led to the increasing polarization of Jews and Poles, besides the growing nationalism in both peoples. In 1882-1914, the Jewish population of Warsaw rose by 163.5% and the Polish population of Warsaw increased by only 118.7%. (p. 24). In addition, the rapid increase in the number of newspapers, both Polish and Jewish, intensified the sense of ethnic identification within these groups. (p. 67). Endek newspapers were notable in their numbers and the variety of targeted Polish audiences. (pp. 71-72). JEWISH URBANIZATION AND JEWISH OVERREPRESENTATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE 1912 DUMA ELECTIONS AND THE DMOWSKI-LED BOYCOTT OF JEWS

Jews had, in recent centuries, always been an urban people. This meant, of course, that if political representation was apportioned according to the population of particular cities, Jews would have an inordinately large overrepresentation. [Such concerns, of course, occur in various political contexts, and it does not follow that representation in government necessarily should follow population. For instance, in the U. S. Senate, each U. S. state gets two representatives (senators), regardless of whether the state is populous (e. g., California) or not (e. g., Alaska).] Because of this population imbalance, the Poles supported a Duma policy in which Jews would be no more than one-fifth of a city council, even if Jews were the majority in a city. (p. 89). However, a technicality in the policy, under unclear circumstances, allowed Jews to assume 55% of the voters in Warsaw even though the 1912 proportion of Warsaw's population was about 36% Jewish. (p. 90). Kucharzewski, a member of the National Concentration that had earlier broken with Dmowski, expressed himself as follows, (quote) "I am a supporter of the principle of Jewish equal rights." On the specific issue of urban self-government, however, he felt that limitations would have to be put on Jewish participation. Without this, since Jews made up a majority in many Polish cities, they would be able to control the institutions of self-government. He said that this would be an unacceptable "privilege" for the Jews, and not "equal rights" at all: "the seizure of urban administration by the Jews would be tantamount to the removal of the Poles from the organization of their own economic and cultural life." On a broader issue, he supported the abolition of the Pale of Settlement. (unquote). (p. 95). SOME POLISH JEWS CONCURRED WITH DMOWSKI'S POSITION ON THE JEWISH POLITICAL

USURPATION OF THE 1912 DUMA ELECTIONS Although usually presented as such, this was no black-and-white issue. Most interestingly, an article in the Jewish assimilationist newspaper, IZRAELITA, fully concurred with the National Concentration and Endek position on this matter, (quote) "Warsaw is a Polish city! The Jews must not benefit from their accidental voting majority! They must vote for a man of tested civic virtues, for a fervent Polish patriot! A manifestation of Jewish separatism must not be allowed to take place." (unquote) (pp. 92-93).

BROAD-BASED POLISH OPPOSITION TO JEWISH USURPATIONIST POLITICS IN THE 1912 DUMA ELECTIONS Jewish support for the socialist Jagiello, and his election, had obvious consequences. The Poles of Warsaw were deprived of Polish representation in the Duma. (pp. 103-104). Earlier, Roman Dmowski had stated that it made no difference if an elected politician was Jewish or Polish, if he represented Jewish instead of Polish interests. (p. 91). The ensuing militant Polish opposition to the political conduct of the Jews, including the boycotts, came to encompass not only the National Democrats (Endeks) and members of the National Concentration, but also many Polish liberal elements. The latter fact is stressed by author Stephen D. Corrsin. (e. g., p. 102, 104, 107).

JEWISH SEPARATIST POLITICS: A WEAPON OF RUSSIAN RULE OVER POLAND The aggressive, politicized separatism of the Jews of Russian-ruled Congress Poland (framed in terms of "civil rights" or "equal rights") was not just a local matter. Although author Corrsin does not put it this way, there is evidence of a broad-based collusion of Empire-wide Jewish and Russian influences behind the Jewish bloc voting in the 1912 Warsaw elections to the Duma. With reference to the Yiddish newspaper, HAYNT, Corrsin comments, (quote) One development in late October [1912] that caused a furor came when HAYNT interviewed Russian Kadet Party leaders in St. Petersburg. Pavel Miliukov, Ivan Petrunkevich, Fedor Rodichev, and Maksim Vinaver (the last by birth a Warsaw Jew) stated that the Jewish and Polish electors must compromise on a liberal Pole who would support Jewish equal rights. By November 4, Vinaver had gone further and added that, since no Polish nationalist elector had been found who would make this commitment, the Jewish electors should support the socialist Jagiello. (unquote). (p. 98; See also p. 101). The foregoing matter raises questions. To what extent were the tsarist authorities meddling with Polish elections in order to weaken the Polish patriotic element?

The New Poland Jones, Paul V. B. 1919 ***Duma Elections Importance. Especially Good on the Effective Polish Pushback***

Against Prussian Rule Over Northwest Poland This 16-page pamphlet discusses several issues related to Poland's regaining of independence in 1918. THE PARTITIONS WERE NOT INEVITABLE Author Paul Jones realizes the internal weaknesses, notably the LIBERUM VETO of pre-Partitioned Poland, but suggests that: "As a matter of fact it is highly probable that Poland could have amended her vicious system, had the time been afforded. Eighteenth century Poland, keenly aware of many of her problems, was indeed striving quite vigorously to handle them..." (p. 3).

GERMAN RULE OVER POLAND WAS THE WORST Prussian-ruled Poland suffered the most, as the Russians lacked sufficient organizational skills and policies to fully enforce their despotism. (p. 4). Von Bulow (Buelow) forced the Germanization of virtually all aspects of Polish life, engaged in mass colonization of Polish lands by Germans along with virtual confiscation of Polish properties, etc. POLES GET ORGANIZED AND PUSH BACK AGAINST GERMAN OPPRESSION

The Poles retained their Polish identity, and, far from being impractical romantics or hotheaded revolutionaries, actually beat the Germans at their own game. Jones comments: "Meanwhile, the Poles were doing something besides talking, and nursing a deeply burning hatred. They learned thrift from their German masters, formed remarkable co-operative organizations, and developed, under the management of their priests who well understood their people and their needs, an excellent banking system, conforming rigidly to the very letter of the Prussian banking laws, and able to pay a slightly better rate of interest than the German banks." (pp. 5-6). The author continues: "Von Bulow himself finally admitted that the scheme for colonization had failed...the Prussian Poles...have benefited greatly from the rigid disciplining of their stern masters, and now, chastened in temper, steadfast, thrifty and aggressive, they have their reward: Leadership in the New Poland must devolve on them--an amazing retribution for Prussia!" (p. 6). Polska Sila! Polish Power! PILSUDSKI AND DMOWSKI Jones summarizes the two main national movements in Poland--those of Jozef Pilsudski and Roman Dmowski: "Whereas Pilsudski's group--working-men, for the most part, are

described at that time (1904-1906) as more socialistic than national, with a hatred for the Polish capitalistic, landholding element, akin to their abhorrence of Russian autocracy, and with small respect for the Church, the National Democrats [Endeks], on the other hand, representing landholders, bourgeoisie, peasants, and like their opponents with a scattering of intellectuals, were strongly national, but pro-Russian, with the hope of securing an autonomous Poland. The latter party, able, after the Revolutionary crisis following the war with Japan, to control the Polish seats in the Duma..." (p. 7).

THE IMPORTANCE OF POLISH SEATS IN THE DUMA The centrality of Polish representation in the Duma (tsarist Russian parliament), to Polish national interests in general, and to the Endek program of national development in particular, is clear. Although not mentioned by Jones, it explains the entirely-reasonable Dmowski's boycotting of Jews in retaliation for the Jews' election of their own, pro-Russian candidate in the 1912 Duma elections.

The Third Duma, Election and Profile Levin, Alfred 1973
Important Background Information to the Much-Mischaracterized 1912 Duma Election and Retaliatory Dmowski-Led Boycott of Jews

This work requires an in-depth knowledge of the political process in the early 20th-century Russian Empire. It focuses on political parties and personages. This book has a number of shortcomings. It repeatedly throws around such slogans as "Jewish rights" and "equal rights", but never defines such terms. In addition, author Levin glosses over the nature of the territories of the western Russian Empire. He treats each of the ethnic and religious groups as if they were independent islands in an unidentified sea. The reader would never guess that these territories were Russian-occupied Poland! For purposes of this review, I focus on matters that set the stage for the later 4th Duma (1912). This is best known for the Warsaw Jews' election of Eugeniusz Jagiello and the ensuing Dmowski-led retaliatory Endek boycott of Jews.

PROPORTIONATE AND DISPROPORTIONATE ELECTORAL REPRESENTATION: WHY JEWS HAD SO MUCH POWER IN THE 1912 DUMA ELECTIONS IN WARSAW

The degree of Jewish over-representation in the Warsaw district (owing to the fact that urban areas were favored by the tsarist Russian electoral policies, and Jews were concentrated in urban areas--especially

Warsaw itself) became a factor in the 1912 Duma elections. It exaggerated the impact of Jewish politics, and accentuated the damage to Poland caused by the Jewish vote for Jagiello. Interestingly, Levin makes it clear that the matter of skewed electoral policies was a long-standing and broad-based issue. For instance, there were pocket boroughs created for Russians in overwhelmingly non-Russian areas. In the Bialystok area, one elector represented 112 Russians while another elector represented 2,900 Poles and Jews. (p. 154). In addition, Poles were strongly under-represented in the Minsk area (p. 89), and the same held for Poles from what Levin calls the "Vistula Provinces" (Warsaw area, formerly Congress Poland). (p. 105).

WHY JEWISH POLITICAL INFLUENCES IN THE DUMA WERE INDIRECT RATHER THAN DIRECT For a time, Jews tended to take a low-key approach to advancing their interests, partly out of concern with arousing Polish opposition, and because they lacked the political unity to take more overt action. Levin comments, (quote) The first inclination of the Jewish political leadership, like the Polish, was to urge a closing of ranks to assure the election of an exclusively Jewish deputy in the Duma, if possible. But they were resigned to indirect representation, through moderately liberal Poles, since they were aware that the National Democrats could not control nationalist and anti-Jewish sentiment among the landowners, peasantry, and clergy. But the long-standing ideological differences among the Jews resting on philosophical grounds and class sustained a habitual state of disunity which rendered them politically ineffective. (unquote). (p. 54). [The Polish counterpart to this calculus was stated by Roman Dmowski, who pointed out that it did not matter if it was a Pole or a Jew who was elected, if he represented Jewish instead of Polish interests. That is exactly what happened in the 1912 Duma elections. The Jews could not elect a Jew to the Duma, or chose not to do so, for which reason they instead elected Kucharzewski--a Pole who did not serve Polish interests.]

INCREASINGLY OVERT POLITICIZED JEWISH SEPARATISM

With reference to Jewish political groupings, Levin writes (quote) Conservative and nationalist groups and, in a sense, the Jewish Bund were opposed to coordination of efforts with non-Jews, or concentration of effort on purely Jewish problems. Ultraconservatives (like the Khassidic [Hasidic] sect) feared liberal and revolutionary influences that made for religious indifferentism or godlessness among the Jewish youth. But it was the Zionists who were largely responsible for the fragmentation

of the political efforts of the Society For Equal Rights by their insistence on the Duma concerned with Jewish, and particularly national interests. In 1910 they carried on a separate campaign with their own candidates attacking the Equal Rightists as assimilationists...The position of the Bund in the matter of cooperation with non-Jewish elements was somewhat anomalous. Like other Social Democrats among the national minorities, they would join with non-Marxist elements only insofar as that was practical and with the Populists and liberals when necessary. Their chief concern lay with the Jewish proletariat, and they warned specifically against traffic with the Polish Endeki [Endeks] for fear that Polish nationalists would disregard Jewish interests in general and particularly that of the workers. (unquote). (p. 55). From the foregoing, a number of facts are evident. Despite the many differences between them, the Jewish groups (including the assimilationists) generally had no concept of being part of the Polish nation, and were essentially self-defined foreigners on Russian-ruled Polish soil. The Bund, and other so-called Social Democrats, were Marxist. (See also p. 53). Furthermore, the polarization between Jewish nationalists and Polish nationalists was mutual, but nowadays only the Endeks are blamed for it. There was a definite tendency towards the self-atheization and radicalization of Polish Jews, as later pointed out in a much-criticized statement, by Polish Cardinal August Hlond in 1936, on "Jews as freethinkers and vanguards of Bolshevism".

The New Poland Phillips, Charles 1923 ***Undemonizing Dmowski: Seldom-Told Facts About the 1912 Duma Elections. Judeopolonia. Jewish Disloyalty in the 1920 War*** The author had been a member of the American Red Cross Commission to Poland. Every imaginable aspect of Polish life is featured in detail in this volume: History, details of Poland's exploitation and WWI-era devastation, lore, music, the then-new Scouting movement, struggles for freedom, education, politics, women in Polish life, geography, religion, saints, national habits, fascinating facts, and much more. Did you know, for instance, that storks and windmills were common in Poland as well as Holland? (p. 233). Charles Phillips comments on Polish theater: "Never have I seen the Jew ridiculed or offended on the Polish stage." (p. 210). Phillips has a way with metaphors: Piotr Skarga had been the Polish Savonarola (p. 23), and Juliusz Slowacki

had been the Polish Shelley. (p. 324). JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES Economics has long divided Polish Jews and gentiles: "The first trade of the Jew in Poland was the slave trade. Money lending and the subleasing of State revenues next developed...then tavern-keeping and the liquor traffic, which became in time almost exclusively a Jewish business; finally, a general trading and brokerage in all commodities...Money-lending, in the days when such business knew no regulations and the profits were unlimited, naturally led to extortion and usury; and out of it all grew inevitably that bitter feeling which such trade always engenders between lender and borrower--in this case between Jew and Pole." (p. 288). UNDEMONIZING DMOWSKI: JUDEOPOLONIA (A JEWISH TERM), THE 1912 DUMA ELECTIONS, AND THE ENSUING BOYCOTT Dmowski's 1912 anti-Jewish boycott (see next two paragraphs) is nowadays presented without proper context, and always in a blame-everything-on-Poles approach. Phillips, by contrast, understands the crucial nature of Polish representation in the Duma [Russian parliament]: "But then had come the Russo-Japanese war and the establishment of the Duma, with Poles sharing in the newly-won constitutional privileges of the Empire. These privileges, extremely limited though they were, had revived the political impulse of the Pole." (p. 52). "But Russia still feared the subject State. Within two years, practically all the blood-bought concessions of 1905 had been repudiated. Poland's Duma delegation of thirty-four was reduced to twelve..." (p. 101). Continuing this theme, Phillips elaborates on the overt Jewish separatism as follows: "The newcomers, especially those from Lithuania and Russia, the 'Litwaki' [Litvaks], brought with them as counteractants against assimilation not only a rigorist Talmudism...but they added the embittering factor of political Judaism, which they immediately backed up with the foundation of the Jewish Press...It was at this period that the Poles, now literally inundated with the Jewish flood, heard perhaps for the first time the cry of 'Polish Judea' raised in their midst. 'Judeo-Polonia!'--Poland was henceforth to be Zion...The Rabbinical extremists welcomed this new political strength...The Jewish masses, wholly ignorant except for their Talmudic training, fell completely under the spell of the new 'Judeo-Polonia' [Judeopolonia] power, which spoke so efficaciously to them in terms of political ambition that by 1912, in the election for the Russian Duma, the Jews of Warsaw--40 percent of the city's population--were able to secure

majority enough to send their own representative to the Assembly at Petrograd as the spokesman for the Polish capital. If he had been simply a Jew--that is, if he had been merely a Polish citizen of the Mosaic religion--it would have been one thing. But he was a radical internationalist socialist, pledged to every policy and ideal abhorrent to Poland and to democracy. The complete cleavage of Pole and Jew dates from this time." It was then that Dmowski launched his much-condemned boycotts of Jews. Phillips sees the 1912 decision as not so much a boycott of Jews as "a protest of the Poles against political Zionism" (p. 305), and continuation of the positive goal whose end had been the economic emancipation of Poles: "The co-operative movement in Poland did not owe its origin to anti-Jewish politics, but was a natural outgrowth of the country's agricultural and economic progress. The realization among Poles that Jewish trade was becoming a dangerous monopoly did, however, give enormous impetus to the idea...." (p. 305).

THE MINORITIES TREATY WOULD HAVE LOCKED JEWS IN MEDIEVAL-STYLE ISOLATION Polish resentment of the Minorities Treaty stemmed in part because it had been forced on them. (p. 64). Ironically, had it been fully implemented, it would have backfired on the Jews. Phillips quips: "He [the Polish Jew] cannot, in fact, afford even to take advantage of the artificial rights and special privileges allowed him in the Minorities Treaty if he desires to progress." (p. 304).

JEWISH DISLOYALTY TO POLAND IN THE 1920 POLISH-BOLSHEVIK WAR The Zydokomuna (Jewish-Soviet collaboration) has long alienated Poles from Jews. "'While it does not follow that all Jews are Bolsheviks', says deputy Armand Libermann, a Jewish member of the Polish Sejm [Parliament], 'the fact remains that a large number of Jews play a dominant role in the Communist movement.'" (p. 296). "At Kielce, three hundred Jewish youths marched through the streets shouting 'Viva Lenin! Viva Trotsky! Down with Poland!'" (pp. 297-298). During the 1920 Polish-Soviet War: "Though Jewish individuals often suffered bitterly for their misplaced confidence in Trotsky's hordes, on the other hand, in innumerable cases--in the generality of cases--Jews were rewarded with power and became active workers of the Red regime. Jewish commissars in the Bolshevik armies were quick to find their own in the invaded towns..." (p. 297). Author Phillips notes armed local Jews fighting on behalf of the Soviets at places such as Hrubieszow, Siedlice, Wlodawa, Bialystok, Minsk, and Vilna [Wilno, Vilnius]. (pp. 297-299). Members of the Danish

legation made a sworn statement in which they affirmed seeing Jews firing on Polish troops at a railway station in Wilno. (p. 299). The ensuing Polish execution of the Jews responsible was then misrepresented as a pogrom. General Jozef Haller organized the "Miracle Army" and threw it against the 1920 Bolsheviks. (p. 166). With Warsaw surrounded, Father Ignatius Skorupka, a volunteer chaplain, rallied and inspired the discouraged Polish troops at suburban Radzymin, reversed the Red advance, and gave his life. (pp. 223-225). Poland was saved.

GERMAN SUPREMACISM AND GERMAN POLONOPHOBIA "For ten centuries the German has pressed eastward; for ten centuries the Pole has held his ground." (p. 11). Phillips believes that German putdowns of Poles (e. g., *Polnische wirtschafft*, Polish 'racial femininity', Polish 'incapacity of self-government') are actually German envy of the fact that they could never subjugate, Germanize, or exterminate the Poles. (p. 312).

THE POLISH-UKRAINIAN WAR, 1918-1919 The 1918 Ukrainian separatist war in eastern Galicia had been a German-paid and Austrian-paid anti-Polish intrigue (p. 57, 327-328). It had minimal support among the local Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population. (p. 328). After the Ukrainian separatists had seized Lwow, the local Poles organized an army of 6,000 volunteers, including many women, in a matter of hours, and took their city back. (pp. 149-151).

The Inside Story of the Peace Conference Dillon, Emile Joseph 1920
A Non-Pole Rationally Assesses Roman Dmowski and His Well-Reasoned Position on Jews This book (review based on original 1920 edition) covers many topics, and I focus on a few of them. The author is remarkably even-handed with reference to Poland. However, the author does not have a pro-Polish bias. He repeats certain negative stereotypes of Poles and their presumably-deficient governing ability. (p. 269, 389). Nowadays, Roman Dmowski is commonly demonized by leftists (LEWAKS) and certain Jews, who like to appeal to emotions (Hater!) instead of thought, and Poland is excoriated for resisting the Minorities Treaty. Author Dillon approaches the subject rationally, and provides the necessary balance (elaborated below). This work is full of interesting information. For instance, Dillon assesses Bolshevism in general. He characterizes Trotzky/Trotsky (Braunstein/Bronshhteyn) as "an unscrupulous despot, in whose veins flow the poison of malignity. His element is cruelty; his special

gift is organizing capacity." (p. 385). This is in contrast to those today who "rehabilitate" Communism as something that was idealistic and benign (as under Trotsky) until it later "went bad" under Stalin and Stalinism.

THE LITVAKS (LITWAKS): IMPLICATIONS OF POLITICIZED JEWISH SEPARATISM

Although the author does not use the term Litvak, he realizes the fact that these many descendants of Polish Jews had little sympathy for a resurrected Poland. He quips, (Quote) The Lithuanian Jews, however, were of a different way of thinking, and they opposed the Polish claims with a degree of steadfastness and animation which wounded Poland's national pride and left rankling sores behind. (unquote). (p. 260;

See also p. 80).

MINORITIES TREATY: SEPARATE-NATION SPECIAL RIGHTS

Emile Joseph Dillon, in effect, sees Jews as wanting to have their cake and eat it too--simultaneously antagonizing Poland and then wanting special rights from the new Polish nation. He elaborates on this as he comments, (Quote) Moreover, the foreign Jewish elements there, which have immigrated from Russia, having lost--like everybody else before the war--the expectation of seeing Polish independence ever restored, had definitely thrown in their lot with the enemies of Poland. Now to put into the hands of such enemies constitutional weapons is already a sacrifice and a risk. The Jews in Vilna [Wilno, Vilnius] recently voted solidly against the incorporation of that city in Poland...The Jewish coalition in Vilna inscribed on its program the union of Vilna with Russia...(LA TEMPS, September 14, 1919)...Are they to be treated as loyal Polish citizens? We have conceded the point unreservedly. But to give them autonomy over and above, to create a state within the state, and enable its subjects to call in foreign Powers at every hand's turn, against the lawfully constituted authorities--that is an expedient which does not commend itself to the newly emancipated peoples. (unquote). (p. 499).

THE MINORITIES TREATY AND BOGUS POGROM ACCOUNTS

E. J. Dillon characterizes what became called the Minorities Treaty as one that endows Jews with what various special privileges, and one that forces Poland, and other nations, to renounce part of their sovereignty. (p. 453). This, of course, concurs with the Polish position. The 1918-era accounts of massive pogroms in Poland are instructive. Dillon again sees eye-to-eye with the Poles, (Quote) We are able to be hauled before a foreign tribunal whenever one of our minorities formulates a complaint against us. How easily, nay, how wickedly such complaints were

filed of late may be inferred from the heartrending accounts of pogroms in Poland, which have since been shown by the Allies' own confidential envoys to be utterly fictitious. (unquote). (p. 504). **POLITICAL HYPOCRISY OF THE MINORITIES TREATY** Dillon characterizes the world-parliament as essentially an Anglo-Saxon assembly whose political conceptions were to be impressed upon others. (p. 509; see also pp. 496-497). Moreover, the Anglo-American powers were imposing something on Poland that they did not adhere to themselves. Dillon, quoting an unnamed speaker, says, (Quote) We are to bind ourselves toward the Great Powers, who themselves have their minorities which complain in vain of being continually coerced. Ireland, Egypt, and the Negroes are three striking examples. None of their delegates was admitted to the Conference. (unquote). (p. 504). **MINORITY RIGHTS GOOD, IF THEY ARE FOR JEWS, AND TO HECK WITH OTHER MINORITIES**

Even apparently innocuous Jewish demands often turned out to be demands for special rights. Consider the protection of the Sabbath. Dillon comments, (Quote) M. Gauvain writes: "One may put the question, why respect for the Sabbath is so peremptorily imposed when Sunday is ignored among several of the Allied Powers. In France, Christians are not dispensed from appearing on Sundays before the assize courts...Catholicism has adapted itself in practice to laic legislation and to the exigencies of modern life. It may well seem that Judaism in Poland could do likewise." (unquote). (pp. 505-506). Now consider the Jewish demand for special government-funded Jewish schools in Poland. Emile Joseph Dillon comments, (quote) Another eminent Frenchman, M. Denis Cochin, who until quite recently was a Cabinet Minister, wrote: "I have spent a large part of my career in demanding for French Catholics exactly that which the Conference imposes elsewhere. The Catholics pay taxes in money and taxes in blood. Yet there is no budget for those schools in which their religion is taught...(unquote). (p. 507). **ROMAN DMOWSKI CONFRONTS JEWISH INFLUENCE** Instead of avoiding the subject of Jewish influence as a forbidden anti-Semitic one, or going to the other extreme (of making allegations of nefarious Jewish world-control schemes that entail shadow governments ruled by all-powerful malevolent Jews), Dillon rationally addresses specific and demonstrable forms of Jewish influence. He notes that, (Quote) Of all the collectivities whose interests were furthered at the Conference, the Jews had perhaps the most

resourceful and certainly the most influential exponents. There were Jews from Palestine, from Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, Rumania, Greece, Britain, Holland, the Belgium; but the largest and most brilliant contingent was sent by the United States. (unquote). The author provides an atypically balanced portrayal of Roman Dmowski and his conduct at the Peace Conference. (pp. 79-81). It is a welcome alternative to the usual simplistic hatchet jobs on Endeks. In fact, Dillon casts Dmowski as the one who was the underdog, as he remarks, (Quote) M. Dmowski appeared at the Conference under all the disadvantages that could be heaped upon a man who has incurred the resentment of the most powerful international body of modern times. He had the misfortune to have the Jews of the world as his adversaries. (unquote). (p. 79). Dillon adds that, (Quote) Polish Jews who appeared in Paris, some of them his bitterest antagonists, recognized the chivalrous way in which he conducts his electoral and other campaigns. (unquote). (p. 80). **DMOWSKI: NO SPECIAL RIGHTS FOR JEWS**

Emile Joseph Dillon avoids the stereotyping of Jews as he displays his understanding of where Roman Dmowski was coming from. He comments, (Quote) The frequency with which the leading spirits of Bolshevism turn out to be Jews--to the dismay and disgust of the bulk of their own community--and the ingenuity they displayed in spreading their corrosive tenets in Poland may not have been without effect upon the energy of M. Dmowski's attitude toward the demand of the Polish Jews to be placed in a privileged position of wards of the League of Nations. (unquote). (p. 81).

Jews' Hostility to Poland Earned Roman Dmowski's Hostility to Jews

Separatyzm Zydow i Jego Zrodla Dmowski, Roman 1909
Some Jews Polish Patriots: Most are Not. Jewish Germanophilia and Identification With Partitioning Powers. Yiddishist Movement. Disloyalty to Poland By Assimilationist as Well as Anti-Assimilationist Jews
JEWS JEWISH SEPARATISM AND ITS CAUSES is the title of this 19-page Polish-language booklet. Originally published as an article in a Warsaw publication in 1909, it came out before the intensification of Polish-Jewish conflicts caused by the 1912 Jewish vote for a pro-Russian

candidate to the Duma (Russian parliament), which amounted to a direct attack on Polish national aspirations, and which provoked the Dmowski-led retaliatory boycott of Jews. ROMAN DMOWSKI REALIZED THAT SOME--BUT ONLY SOME--JEWS BECOME PATRIOTIC POLES

Considering Dmowski reputation, it is astonishing to read the almost-exculpatory tone that he uses, in this publication, while analyzing Jewish separatism. There is no trace of rancor against Jews. He recognizes the fact that some Jews, both converted and unconverted, had been patriotic Poles. (p. 12). POLAND'S JEWS USING YIDDISH—A RELATIVELY RECENT DEVELOPMENT The reader may be surprised to learn that the linguistic aspects of Jewish separatism were far from eternal. During the Piast and Jagiellonian dynasties, Poland's Jews spoke Polish. It was only during the later influx of German Jews that Poland's Jews switched to Yiddish--a German dialect. (p. 24). At the time of the Partitions, Poland's Jews identified with Poland. However, this tie grew weaker with each generation of foreign rule over Poland. (p. 15). By 1909, as recognized by Dmowski, Jews still existed who had been raised from childhood in the spirit of Polish-ness, but these were very rare. (p. 15). JEWS IDENTIFY WITH POLAND'S OPPRESSORS AND NOT WITH THE OPPRESSED POLES The turning point, in Russian-ruled Poland, had been the failed January (1863) Insurrection. (p. 12). The tsarist authorities commenced a savage repression of Poles that included Russification, effectively reducing Poles to aboriginals. (p. 16). As a result of the Partitions, the Jews stopped seeing the Poles as masters of their territories. Instead of drawing closer to Poles by common suffering, the Jews identified with the powerful Russians. This Dmowski attributes to the Jewish survival instinct of living for centuries in foreign nations, and naturally subordinating themselves to whoever was in power. (p. 17). [However, it also shows that Jews were never strongly attached to Poland in the first place, and that their loyalties were of a rather opportunistic nature.] The Jews were educated in a Russian spirit and with contempt for Poles. They constantly saw everything Polish as nothing but the subject of putdowns. In time, this led to a "Polish is not desirable", and then "Polish is contemptible" attitude among the Jews. [p. 17]. [A similar psychological process may explain why some Poles treated Jews with contempt, or at least with lack of empathy, during the later Nazi occupation.] THE BEGINNING OF THE ZYDOKOMUNA

Revolutionary ideologies grew in popularity among the Jews, and

these favored internationalism over Polish-ness. In fact, anything Polish was scorned as contrary to modernity and progress. (p. 18). [Note how the very same slogans were used against Polish patriotism and religion under the Communists, and are again in very recent times by the lewaks (Polish leftists)].

THE YIDDISHIST MOVEMENT The growth of nationalistic feelings among Jews also drove them away from anything Polish. The growing Jewish intelligentsia was attracted to its counterpart among Russian Jews, and acquired a condescending attitude towards everything Polish. (p. 19). Some Jews moved beyond their traditional role as shopkeepers and usurers, and became part of the Russian-sponsored industrialization of the Russian empire. (p. 23).

JEWISH POLONOPHOBIA AS A TOOL OF JEWISH SELF-IDENTITY The growing Jewish Polonophobia took on a life of its own. Dmowski suggests that false accusations against Poles were deliberately made in order to solidify the anti-Polish orientation among the Jews. (p. 25).

THE LITVAK (LITWAK) PROBLEM Dmowski presents statistics that show that, whereas the percentage of Jews living in Austrian-ruled and Prussian-ruled Poland had been decreasing, that in the Kingdom (Russian-ruled central Poland) was steadily rising, and amounting to a very-high 15% at the time. (pp. 19-20). About 150,000 of the newly anti-Polish Russified Jews, or Litvaks (Litwaks), had arrived in the Kingdom (p. 7)--not only from Lithuania, but also from other parts of Russian-ruled Poland, and even from central Russia. (p. 5). Expressive and organized, the Litvak immigrants infected the remaining Polish Jews with anti-Polonism. (p. 7).

JEWISH GERMANOPHILIA--AND AT POLAND'S EXPENSE The overall situation was even worse in Prussian-ruled Poland. The Jews had become so completely self-Germanized that some even became members of the HAKATA--a fanatically anti-Polish German organization. (p. 16). Polish Jews in Austrian-ruled Poland also tended to become Germanized. (p. 11). Some readers may find Dmowski's explanations for Jewish separatism a bit on the exculpatory side, and as ones that beg the question. The Poles generally withstood the tsarist Russian oppression and intense Russifying pressures. Why, then, did the local Jews so largely succumb to these processes--unless their original ties to Polish-ness had been weak and ephemeral to begin with?

ASSIMILATED JEWS CAN BE JUST AS HOSTILE TO POLAND AS ANTI-ASSIMILATIONIST JEWS We sometimes hear the clever-sounding notion that "anti-Semitism" is self-

contradictory, in that it simultaneously faults Jews for not assimilating and for assimilating. Let us take a closer look at this. There is no Endek "inconsistency" on assimilation. Already by 1909, Dmowski had been of the position that Jewish assimilation is not the answer. To begin with, Dmowski (correctly) figured that most Polish Jews would never assimilate. (p. 29). Second, the Polonization of assimilated Jews was mostly superficial (p. 12). Dmowski spoke of assimilated Polish Jews who nevertheless remained far from Polish ideals, aspirations, and societal goals, and even remained in opposition to the same. (p. 26). Finally, Dmowski cited the example of Hungary. Jews had assimilated, and assumed positions of power, but had remained at odds with their host nation. (p. 29).

JEWS BOYCOTTED POLES FIRST, BUT NOWADAYS ONLY POLES ARE BLAMED FOR IT Nowhere in this work does Dmowski advocate the boycotting of Jews. This came later. The Jews started the boycott process. They suddenly stopped patronizing Polish doctors and lawyers in favor of Jewish ones (who, incidentally, were assimilated). (p. 28).

Niemcy, Rosja i Kwestya Polska Dmowski, Roman 1908
Roman Dmowski's Sophisticated View of Jews. Poles Partly to Blame. Jews NOT Made Into Scapegoats GERMANY, RUSSIA, AND THE POLISH QUESTION is the title of this Polish-language book, originally published in 1908. It describes a time when Poland, as a sovereign state, was a distant memory, and the prospects of her resurrection as a nation seemed remote. Dmowski devotes much of his book to the relations between Russians, Prussians, and Austrians, and the politics between them. **POLES BELIEVED TOO MUCH IN THE GOODWILL OF OTHERS [AND STILL DO]** The author spurns Polish romanticism as a holdover from early 19th-century thinking. It was naively idealistic in that it believed that the self-evident injustice of the Partitions would become widely and strongly appreciated among the European nations, and thus lead to the restoration of the Polish state. (p. 212). The failure of the Insurrections taught the Poles that violent uprisings cannot succeed while the Partitioning empires remain in place. (p. 246). If I follow his reasoning correctly, his dim view of Polish support for the Japanese during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) stemmed from his

belief that it would not resurrect the Polish state, and only produce of new wave of Russian repression reminiscent of that following the 1863 Insurrection. (pp. 116-117).

POLAND'S ENEMIES BEAR DOWN ON PARTITIONED POLAND Dmowski discusses the savage repression of Poles in the wake of the January 1863 Insurrection, and the de-Polonization conducted by Muraviev. The author describes Russia as inciting the Lithuanians to turn against the Poles (p. 7), and of stirring up anti-Polish sentiments, in general, by cultivating hostilities based on religion, class, and nationality (p. 194). The Austrians had stirred up the Polish peasants to massacre Polish landlords in the jacquerie of 1846. (p. 222). Germans, even more than Austrians, incited the Galician Ukrainian movement against the Poles, and the latter reciprocated with a strong Germanophilism. (p. 164). The author warns of the danger of Russia's Pan-Slavism, which actually is a veiled attempt to destroy Polishness, the oldest and most developed of Slavic cultures. (p. 136). In addition, Russian Pan-Slavism is a device for promoting Russian rule over other Slavic peoples. (p. 136, p. 194).

ROMAN DMOWSKI WAS NO REACTIONARY: JUST THE OPPOSITE! Dmowski has sometimes been accused of being pro-feudal. This is far from the case. In fact, he saw the social structure in Poland as an archaic one--and one that had been prolonged owing to the foreign rule over Poland. (pp. 222-223). Notwithstanding the efforts of the Polish gentry to end it, the peasantry remained unable to develop because of this holdover feudal structure. (p. 222). Dmowski touches on Polish peasant national consciousness. He sees the earlier peasantry as being aloof to Polish patriotic movements, as was typically the case during the 1863 Insurrection, owing to their ignorance and passivity. (p. 222-223). Of course, the Russians did their best to convince the peasants that the Insurrections were "landlord" in nature (p. 223), and the tsarist emancipation of the peasantry was a device to turn peasants against landlords. (pp. 223-224).

DMOWSKI DID NOT MAKE SCAPEGOATS OF THE JEWS: HE ALSO BLAMED "POLISH LAZINESS" FOR JEWS' ACQUISITION OF ECONOMIC DOMINANCE Roman Dmowski is nowadays unilaterally condemned for his views about Jews. In this book, written well after the supposed strong Endek turn to anti-Semitism by about 1900, the author devotes little attention to Jews. Moreover, what Dmowski writes about Jews is low-keyed, and devoid of anger or hatred. At the same time, written in 1908, Dmowski's thinking was

uninfluenced by future Pole-Jew polarizing developments, such as the 1912 Duma elections and ensuing retaliatory Dmowski-led systematic boycott of Jews, and the 1918-era attacks on the new Polish state by "international Jewry". The author gives figures on the decline in the relative Jewish population of the Prussian-occupied Posen (Poznan) region. (p. 14). The years (and percentages) are 1825 (6.3%), 1871 (3.9%), 1900 (1.9%), and 1905 (1.5%). [This reflects the Jews becoming self-Germanized, and moving to more economically viable regions of Germany, such as the newly-industrializing Ruhr region.] Dmowski describes tsarist-Russian ruled Poland as one in which there are three active elements--the Russians, the Jews, and the Poles. He sees the Russian element as a relatively weak one, and largely limited to the administration. The Russian authorities tend to be mistrustful of Jews as well as Poles. (p. 183). Jews dominate the towns of Lithuania and Ukraine. (p. 39, 178). They tend to be the most prosperous, in their usual role as middlemen, in places where Polish economic life is the weakest. (p. 178). Ironic to the characterization of Dmowski making scapegoats out of Jews, he contended that Jews were elevated to prominence as middlemen in part because of the laziness of various Polish classes in developing and conducting their own economic life. (p. 180).

WHY JEWS WERE LARGELY INCOMPATIBLE WITH POLISH NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

The Jewish intelligentsia had become partly Russified, and tends toward Russian liberal and revolutionary tendencies. (p. 38, 179). Jews, as a whole, have a strong separatist self-identity that is in enmity with Poles and Poland. (pp. 38). Dmowski chides Polish Socialists for not expecting of Jews that they refrain from opposing Polish interests and that they refrain from helping Poland's enemies. (p. 239).

THE DUMA ELECTIONS

This book is valuable because, written a few years before the pivotal events of 1912, it helps the reader understand what led up to them. In the first elections to the Duma, the entire Polish nation rallied behind Polish politicians, who had marginalized those politicians who had earlier promoted "conciliation" (now under the guise of "political realism"). [Parenthetically, this refutes the charge that Dmowski was "pro-tsarist"]. However, these new Polish politicians were coming into sharp conflict with Jewish politicians, who were a large part of the "progressive" coalition, and who sensed no obligation to be in solidarity with the representatives of the Polish nation. (pp. 122-123). Now consider the elections to the 2nd Duma. Russia had reduced the

number of representatives to the Duma, in the Kingdom of Poland, from 36 to 12. A pattern began to develop. The election of non-Polish majorities, in various regions of pre-Partition Poland, took place, except for the Wilno (Vilnius) region. (p. 127). In the elections to the 3rd Duma, the Jews, for once, did not put up their own candidates to compete against those put up by the National Democrats. However, the overall pattern continued. Many politicians hostile to Polish national aspirations were elected, and the Poles got only 18 representatives elected (11 from the Kingdom, and the remainder from the rest of Pre-Partition Poland). (p. 129). Obviously, Dmowski was repeatedly sensitized to non-Polish influences in the Duma elections, and understood them as affronts to Polish national aspirations. [This alone makes it easy to see why he turned against the Jews when they would not support his candidate to the 4th Duma in 1912. It was more anti-Polish than anti-Jewish in character, and more a political move than an anti-Semitic one.]

Myths and Realities in Eastern Europe Kolarz, Walter 1972

Roman Dmowski Was Right: In Eastern Europe, Jews Have Generally Weak and Often Ephemeral Attachments to the Nations in Which They Live

The author surveys the claims of nations and nationalities in some detail. I focus on a few items of lasting interest.

THE POLESIANS--A SEPARATE NATIONALITY? In the past, Poles commonly thought of the Belarussian identity as an amorphous one. For example, Roman Catholic Belarussians were, in some way, considered Poles. Russians, on the other hand, tended to treat the Belarussians (and Ukrainians) as just another branch of the Russian peoples. Interestingly, however, some Russians thought of at least the Polesians as a separate nationality. Kolarz comments, (quote) In North-eastern Poland (or South-western White Russia--which term we use entirely depends on our political sympathies) is to be found another linguistic and ethnological curiosity, the "Pinchuki", who live in the marshy country of Polesia or Pinshchina (around the town of Pinsk) which is one of the areas contested between the Poles and the Soviets. They have a number...Polish statistics record over 700,000 of such Pinchuki who are simply described as "locals"...the "Pinchuki" are not a Polish invention but were recognized by Russian ethnographers long before the first World War. (unquote). (p. 17).

DMOWSKI WAS RIGHT: JEWS AND CONFLICTED IDENTITY

Kolarz writes, (quote) Secondly, there were Jews whose assimilation had been complicated by the fact that they lived in a multi-national country or in an area of mixed language. In such cases it very often happened that Jews between two censuses or over a longer period withdrew from one ethnical group and attached themselves to the other. In some towns of Bohemia and Moravia, for instance, from the end of the nineteenth century onward, and ever-growing number of German Jews have changed over to the Czech nation. On a smaller scale the same thing happened in Slovakia, where a part of the Jews gave up their membership in the Magyar ethnical community and became Slovaks...Finally, there were the Jews who were indifferent to the rival claims of nationalities, and these were the majority. (unquote). (p. 23). Now consider the implications. Roman Dmowski, while always realizing that some Polish Jews become genuine patriotic Poles, pointed out that most Jews (of eastern Europe) had no real attachment to the nations in which they lived, and cited the example of Hungarian Jews as ones whose assimilated status, and patriotic identification with Hungary [including that as the Israelitish Magyars], turned out to be a chameleon-like ephemeral loyalty. He feared that the same could happen with Poland-identifying Polish Jews. Kolarz's statements, quoted above, though not presented as such, indicate that Dmowski's concerns had some foundation.

Van Loon: Popular Historian, Journalist, and FDR Confidant

Minnen, Cornelis van 2005 *Early 20th Century Dutch*

Journalist: Both Jews and Poles Were at Fault. Dmowski Pro-Russian a Myth

This work begins with a biography of Hendrik Willem van Loon, and moves on to his early life in Holland, and subsequent move to the USA. He was at Harvard University, and then a journalist in Russian-ruled Poland. In time, his American occupations included educator, journalist, artist, and radio commentator. Author van Minnen characterizes him as an all-around Dutch-American Renaissance man. (p. 267). Van Loon was a free spirit, and had multiple marriages. He eschewed religion in favor of a vague cultural Protestantism, and eventually became a Unitarian. (p. 255). He verbalized a scorn for such things as Russian introspectivism, Jewish Talmudic reasoning, etc., in favor of "doing whatever pleases me as long as it does not interfere with my neighbor's rights to do the same". (p. 227).

Dutch affairs continued to have impact on van Loon. He hailed the inauguration of KLM, Holland's airline, and took an active role on behalf of the Netherlands following the Nazi German invasion of that country in 1940. I devote the remainder of my review to Poland and Polish-related matters. **KNOWING ROMAN DMOWSKI: DMOWSKI WAS NOT PRO-RUSSIAN** As noted earlier, Hendrik Willem van Loon, during 1905-1907, was a journalist in Russia and Russian-ruled Poland. He dined with Roman Dmowski, and reported that Dmowski had verbalized (at this relatively early date) the Poles' desire to "throw off the Russian yoke." (p. 29). [This corrects the misrepresentations of Dmowski variously being pro-Russian, interested only in "organic work", or content merely with greater Polish freedoms under Russian rule.] Eliza, Hendrik Willem's fiancee, described Dmowski as one of the few men "who stick to their country and put their energies into solving her problems." (p. 273). **POLES AND JEWS: A PLAGUE ON BOTH YOUR HOUSES** While in Russian-ruled Poland (1905-1907), van Loon thought that Poles were more capable than the Russians (p. 31), but increasingly came to see Poles as bigoted, anti-Semitic, fatalistic, full of vague and impractical ideas, and irredeemably backward. (pp. 30-32, 273-274). Although author van Minnen portrays van Loon as a typical WASP product of his times, it turns out that Van Loon's notions of Jews defied straightforward characterization. He expressed sympathy for Jewish suffering over the ages (p. 124), and stated his admiration for successful American Jews. (p. 190). In addition, van Loon verbalized utter revulsion at Nazi anti-Semitism, beginning with **MEIN KAMPF**. (pp. 175--on). However, Hendrik Willem van Loon also contended that Jewish separatism and Jewish elitism were at least partly responsible for Polish anti-Semitism. Author van Minnen analyzed Van Loon's unpublished writings, and commented, (quote) As for Poland, the majority of Jews there were equally "miserably poor and accordingly educated," but worst of all, he thought, most of them were never Polonized: They hardly ever used the Polish language and did not feel to be a Pole. This attitude was used successfully by the Russian "masters" to keep the Jews apart from the Poles. Polish national feelings being more awake than ever before, the Poles found themselves "in company with 5,500,000 strangers who live with them and on them and who have no intention to act in unison with them." More than anything else, Hendrik Willem saw the Jewish attitude of "I belong to the chosen people and am a different creature from

you" as the source of feelings of hatred toward the Jews in Poland. (unquote). (p. 31). Van Loon was unsparingly critical of even his own nationality. He faulted his fellow Dutch for such vices as low levels of culture and excessive religiosity, as well as narrow-minded, pedantic, and arrogant thinking. (pp. 96-97, 123).

Roman Dmowski Wapinski, Roman 1979 ***Undemonizing Dmowski: Reacting Intellectually, and Not Emotionally, to His***

Statements on Jews This work analyzes the Endek leader, and includes many seldom-published photos of the same. [Review based on 392-page 1988 edition]. The extensive quotations from Dmowski, including from his relatively obscure works, alone makes this book worthwhile. Owing to the proliferation of the topics presented, I can only discuss a few of them.

DMOWSKI WAS A SOPHISTICATED INTELLECTUAL Agree with Dmowski or not, but realize that he was no lightweight. The biographical details presented make it obvious that Roman Dmowski was far from a provincial xenophobe. He had exposure to many different cultures because of his travels, already by 1898-1899, to such places as France, England, Germany, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and Brazil. Dmowski was involved with many influential circles in western Europe. He also spoke fluently in several languages, notably French, English, and, to a lesser extent, Portuguese. (p. 87).

A COLLECTIVE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS MAKES A NATION Author Wapinski (p. 74) provides an extensive quote from Dmowski's 1895 *JEDNOSC NARODA*. Dmowski notes that languages do not in and of themselves create nationalities. For instance, the Bretons in France have their own language, but no one speaks of a Breton nationality. Conversely, the Swiss Germans, Austrians, and Prussians all speak the same language, but do not thereby form a single nationality. Poles form a nationality because they have a collective national consciousness, a single national spirit, and a sense of unity as a nation.

"ETHNOGRAPHIC FRONTIERS"--AN EVENTUAL BOGUS ISSUE DIRECTED AT POLAND The author also quotes from Dmowski's 1895 *KWESTIA LITEWSKA*. Dmowski points out that, had the Partitions never occurred, Lithuanian political separatism would have never emerged. [Of course, the same holds for Ruthenian (Ukrainian) and Byelorussian separatism.] While considering the Lithuanians, Dmowski brings up the

example of Switzerland, in which case Francophones and Germanophones [and Italianophones] speak their own language, yet consider themselves part of Switzerland. Pointedly, Dmowski then expresses respect for the language and culture of Lithuania. [This refutes the notion that Dmowski was a chauvinist whose only regard was for ethnic Poles, or that Dmowski advocated that Poles, given the opportunity, should Polonize, by force or otherwise, the non-Polish members of the Kresy. Furthermore, if the example of Switzerland is pressed, one should add that the French and Italians (along with the Germans) living there form their own respective ethnographic territories, yet consider themselves Swiss in nationality, and the non-Germanophones freely accept the overall German dominance of Switzerland.] Since Dmowski had written all this by 1895, it is obvious that whatever hostility he later expressed towards Poland's minorities was a consequence, and not cause, of their attitudes and conduct towards Poland.

CONTEXTUALIZING JEWISH PARASITISM Nowadays, the phrase "Jewish parasite" has Nazi connotations of Jews innately driven to exploit others, and of being vermin fit for extermination. Writing decades before the German Nazis, Dmowski used the phrase "Jewish parasite" without such connotations. In fact, author Wapinski points out that Dmowski did not express any well-developed philosophy about Jews, so we should not read too much into Dmowski's isolated statements about Jews. (p. 109). [One should also realize that many of the occupations practiced by Jews, notably usury, were commonly seen as parasitic ones in that they did not involve the creation of products (e. g., crops). In addition, these Jewish-practiced occupations carried the connotation of unearned privilege (not requiring "real work"--the heavy physical labor that was the lot of the overwhelming majority of Poles), and were often ones that were burdened by the additional stigma of taking advantage of others.] Consider also the specific context of Roman Dmowski's remarks. Quoted in the 1895 *WYMOWNY CYFRY*, Dmowski spoke of the Jews being parasites in the sense that they live within and off other nations. (p. 107). [Thus, "parasitic nation" is not necessarily pejorative, insofar as the Jewish nation, having no country of its own, is forced to live off other nations--in much the same way that the term "beggar" is not necessarily pejorative, insofar as the person living off others is not in a position to be gainfully employed.]

DEMOGRAPHICS ADDED TO JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY

Jews become dominant when they have a much greater rate of

natural increase in population than Poles (for instance, 229% versus 35%, during 1850-1890, in the Wilno (Vilnius) area: p. 107). Conversely, Poles have been able to advance the most economically, notably in Prussian-ruled Poland, where the Jews were the fewest. (p. 107-108). In addition, the Polish successes in Prussian-ruled Poland drove even more Jews to move elsewhere in much the same way that a healthy organism drives off parasites attempting to colonize it. (p. 108). Clearly, then, Dmowski's remark equating Jews and parasites, though certainly uncharitable, and unacceptable in modern discourse, was in the context of economic rivalry and usual Jewish separatism. (p. 109). DMOWSKI WAS NOT UNILATERALLY NEGATIVE ABOUT JEWS Pointedly, Dmowski recognized that Jews can and do become patriotic Poles. Writing in the 1903 *PROGRAMIE STRONNICTWA DEMOKRATYCZNO-NARODOWEGO*, Dmowski stated that Jews can adopt Polish culture, and become unreservedly and fully one with Polish society when they support Polish national goals, including the reduction of the power and influence of separatist Jews. (p. 112). Clearly, then, Dmowski did not see ALL Jews as parasites, and he did not see parasitism as some kind of trait that was innate to Jews--much less an unchangeable one.

Barricades and Banners: The Revolution of 1905 and the Transformation of Warsaw Jewry Ury, Scott 2012 *Jew-on-Jew Violence. Jewish Social Problems. Roman Dmowski Undemonized. Endek Activism and Boycotts of Jews*

CASUISTRY IN ACTION Scott Ury provides unusual, and sometimes arcane, detail on the social dislocations caused by the rapidly growing Jewish population of Russian-ruled Warsaw by about 1900. For example, some religious Jews circumvented Sabbath prohibitions against financial transactions by paying for their drink on Friday, and then bringing the receipt on Sabbath day (Saturday) so that they could drink beer or wine on the Sabbath. (pp. 325-326). POGROMS: JEWS AGAINST JEWS

Social problems developed. Prostitution (pp. 61-on), violence (pp. 70-on), fraud (pp. 76-on), etc., were quite common among the Jews. For all the customary general attention given to goy-on-Jew violence (pogroms), the reader may be surprised to learn of significant Jew-on-Jew violence. (p. 73, pp. 81-on). UNDEMONIZING ROMAN DMOWSKI AND THE

ENDEKS A BIT The author goes beyond Brian Szucs-Porter and his "Endek politics of hate" notion to focus on the growing mass appeal of the National Democrats. Many of Ury's ideas are self-refuting. For instance, he tries to make the Litvak (Litvake, Litwak) problem into some kind of Endek bogeyman, on parallel with the later Zydokomuna (Bolshevized Judaism). (p. 235, 240). Ury then turns around and admits that some Jews themselves opposed the Litvaks and used this very term. (p. 204, 355). In addition, as shown later in this review (Chronology), Ury himself indirectly acknowledges the validity of the Litvak problem, albeit without then using the term. Ury berates the Endeks for thinking of Jews as perpetual foreigners, and disloyal to Poland. (see Endek quote, p. 253, which states, "Poland accepted You, and settled You on her lands at a time when You were persecuted and expelled from everywhere else...However, Polish lands were never a motherland for You. And now, at a moment when the entire people stand in a battle for their national rights and liberation, the entire population has found an enemy in You instead of a partner...Abandon this dangerous game or You will bring unhappiness on yourself."). To put matters in perspective, Jewish aloofness to the Polish cause had long preceded even the birth of Dmowski (1864) (again, see Chronology below). In fact, the strong Jewish sense of particularism and separatism, based originally on religious considerations, went back to antiquity. Early Jewish political initiatives were aimed at the accentuation of Jewish particularism, not in the building of bridges to Polish national aspirations. Thus, the communal GMINA (self-government, in this case Jewish, dating from at least 1870 in Warsaw: p. 36) was essentially elitist, and directly accountable to the Russian rulers of Poland. (p. 49). Jewish publications, as in Warsaw, inveighed against the Endeks as "chauvinists" and "the party of pogroms" (p. 202). In reality, Endeks welcomed Pole-supporting Jews (see next paragraph), sometimes endorsed Jewish candidates (p. 202), and specifically opposed any form of violence against Jews, even in the event of Jews turning completely against Poles and the Polish cause. (See quoted paragraph, p. 252). Without intending to, Ury demolishes the premise, that Endeks were chauvinists and anti-Semites, when he quotes from an April 1906 Endek flier that makes it clear that Endeks were not against ALL Jews. The excerpt states that, (quote) This means that Jews, who represent one third of the population of Warsaw, prefer that our capital send their representatives to the Duma,

representatives who will advocate their interests and not defend the rights of the country. We are not talking about all Jews without exception; we are not talking about those who truly feel like Poles, but about the overwhelming majority. That majority feels no solidarity toward the country or toward Polish society. If that were not the case, then they would not go out on their own and would not separate from us during the elections. (unquote)(p. 231). Interestingly, some Warsaw-area Jews did vote for Endek and Endek-supported candidates. Some did so sincerely, for which the separatist-oriented Jews attacked them as MA YOFES ("Uncle Toms"). (p. 196, 345; see also p. 201). However, most fascinating of all is a Jewish publication that reveals the REAL reason animating the usual Jewish conduct. It was not merely hostility to Endeks. It was hostility to POLAND, pure and simple. The publication, a 1907 edition of *IDISHES TAGEBLAT*, states, (quote) "not for you, Jews, but for the good of Poland, and for the happiness of the Polish people." (unquote)(p. 202, 346). ENDEK ACTIVISM AND PUBLIC MANIFESTATIONS Endek-led rallies in Warsaw sometimes had over 100,000 participants. In October 1905, there was a massive Endek demonstration in Warsaw in which the participants sang BOZE COS POLSKE and Z DYMEM PORANOW [actually Z DYMEM POZAROW], and carried drawings of the Polish Eagle, as well as signs such as "Long live a free and independent Poland." (pp. 133-134). This corrects the common misconception of Endeks as ones who were "pro-tsarist" and interested only in Polish "organic work". THE MUCH-CONDEMNED ENDEK BOYCOTTS OF JEWS IN PERSPECTIVE

Finally, it turns out that the eventual Dmowski-led retaliatory boycott of Jews in 1912 had precedent, even in the narrow context of Duma-related politics. In 1906, most Jewish revolutionary parties listened to the Bolshevik call to boycott the elections to the First Duma. (p. 181). Now Consider some Chronology: Author Scott Ury introduces Jewish history in the context of pre-Partition and post-Partition Poland. Ury mentions the Jewish supporters of Polish independence, such as Rabbi Markus Jastrow (1823-1903) and Rabbi Dov Ber Meisels (1798-1870), but acknowledges the fact that most of Poland's Jews, even in the capital, Warsaw, at no time felt any sense of duty towards the foreign-occupied Polish nation. He writes, (quote) On the political plane, the Polish insurrections of 1830-1831 and 1863 are often seen as moments of truth for Warsaw's Jewish integrationists and their designs for large-scale reforms of "the Jews".

Caught between Russian desires for imperial rule, on the one hand, and Polish desires for national autonomy, on the other, most of Warsaw's Jews avoided taking open public positions on these questions. (unquote)(p. 34). After the fall of the January 1863 Insurrection, the tsarist authorities sharpened their repressions of Poland, In fact, the Russians delegitimized Poland entirely by referring to her central part as Vistulaland. (p. 6). The Litvak (Litwak) problem became a significant one that early antagonized Poles and Jews. (The Litvaks, coming from not only Wilno (Vilnius), but also other parts of former-Poland's heavily tsarist-ruled eastern territories, increasingly infected the relatively autonomous Warsaw-area Jews with Russification, atheism, Communism, and especially anti-Polonism.) Although Ury does not introduce the actual term Litvak until later, and then, as noted earlier, to hit the Endeks for thinking it, he tacitly acknowledges its long-precedent reality. He comments, (quote) In Warsaw, the rapid growth of the entire Jewish population in the FOUR DECADES PREDEDING THE REVOLUTION OF 1905 shocked both the larger society and Jewish residents as the city came to dominate social, financial, and cultural spheres in Congress Poland. While some scholars have pointed to a relatively high birth rate among Jews as the primary cause of this population explosion, Shaul Stampfer, Stephen Corrsin, and others have argued convincingly that Jewish in-migrants from other parts of the Russian Empire contributed considerably to the population boom. As a result of these demographic changes, some 50 percent of the city's Jewish residents in 1897 were born outside of the city. (unquote)(emphasis added)(pp. 50-51). Note that the Litvak problem began about 1865, which was long BEFORE the "rise of Polish anti-Semitism". Thus, Jan Jelenski's ROLA did not begin until 1883, and then its circulation and influence remained small for some time. (p. 37). Furthermore, according to Theodore R. Weeks, Jelenski's "Judeophobic" views remained a minority voice in Polish society until about 1900. (p. 286). As the title of this review states, Jewish-Polish hostilities were largely concurrent. (p. 20). The Endeks themselves were a relatively recent development. The Polish League was formed in 1887, and was subsequently renamed the National League in 1893 and the National Democrats (Endeks), in 1897. (p. 30).

African Americans and Jews in the Twentieth Century: Studies in Convergence and Conflict Franklin, V.P. 1998 *Jewish/African-America Cooperation and Conflict, With Unmentioned Endek Parallels in Pre-WWII Poland*

This scholarly anthology consists of many articles, of which I discuss a few. One theme is the identification of many African-Americans with ancient Jewish slavery in Egypt. (e. g, p. 300). This work includes references to Jewish Communists and African Americans in the 1930's. The relatively recent alienation of blacks from Jews stems largely from disagreements about such things as affirmative action. Some authors in this work contend that structural inequalities in American society prevented blacks from advancing the way that immigrant groups, including Jews, had done. On the other hand, ethnic groups, such as Polish-Americans, objected to being lumped with others simply as "whites". According to some authors, blacks tended to see Jewish liberals as "whites", and did not always react positively to them. For instance, some of the whites involved in the Freedom Riders were seen as hypocritical in travelling to the South to denounce its segregationist policies while ignoring even greater patterns of segregation near their homes in the north, such as in Harlem.

REALITIES, NOT PREJUDICIAL ARCHETYPES I write the remainder of my review from the vantage point of Jewish-Polish relations. Very often, black [and Polish] anti-Jewish sentiments are reflexively blamed on traditional Christian teachings about Jews. Such an explanation is, at best, a gross oversimplification. V. P. Franklin quotes Leonard Dinnerstein, who comments, "...since the 1930's there have been enough specific examples of negative interactions between African Americans and Jews for African Americans to assume that they are responding to realities in their lives rather than building on myths from the past." (p. 300).

NOT JEWS AS SCAPEGOATS At times, black [and Polish] anti-Jewish sentiments are blamed on the oppressed group feeling better, or trying to fit in with the oppressor, by putting Jews down. Others reject such thinking. Joe W. Trotter Jr., quotes James Baldwin who said, "The Jew has been taught--and, too often, accepts--the legend of Negro inferiority; and the Negro, on the other hand, has found nothing in his experience with Jews to counteract the legend of Semitic greed." (p. 205). [The reader can

substitute Pole for Negro.] PARALLELS TO THE POLISH EXPERIENCE WITH JEWS Now consider the decidedly hostile Jewish-Endek relations, and apply a parallel to the black-Jewish experience. (Endeks were the followers of Roman Dmowski, a prominent Polish patriotic leader accused of anti-Semitism for opposing Jewish influence and economic dominance, and of advocating boycotts against Jews.)

Malcolm X is quoted by V. P. Franklin as follows: (quote) I will bet that I have told five hundred such challengers that Jews as a group would never watch some other minority systematically siphoning out their community's resources without doing something about it. I have told them that I tell the simple truth, it doesn't mean that I am anti-Semitic; it merely means that I am anti-exploitation. (unquote)(p. 293).

Roman Dmowski Never Taught That Jews are a World Conspiracy

Polityka polska i odbudowanie panstwa Dmowski, Roman 1925
Dmowski vs. Jews: The Seldom-Told Dmowski Side of the Story.
Dmowski Rejected PROTOCOLS-Style Jewish World-Control Conspiracy Theories POLISH POLITICS AND THE REBUILDING OF THE NATION is the title of this 2-volume Polish-language book. (Review based on 2nd, 1937 edition, reprinted in 1988). Owing to the breadth of its content, I focus mainly on what Dmowski is most remembered for--his evaluation of Jews. ROMAN DMOWSKI WAS NOT A BELIEVER IN "JEWS CONTROL EVERYTHING" PROTOCOLS-STYLE BELIEFS Ironic to those who condemn Dmowski as being an anti-Semite, he actually condemned those who demonize Jews and ascribe fantastic powers to them--as much as he condemned those who made light of Jewish power and influence! He also thought it a mistake to overlook the contributions that Jews had made to human civilization. (V2, p. 44).

JEWS ARE NOT SCAPEGOATS FOR ALL OF POLAND'S PROBLEMS Nor does Dmowski scapegoat Jews for Polish problems. He puts much blame on none other than Poles themselves. He faults Poles (specifically their weak middle class) for facilitating the rapid growth of Jewish population since the 17th century. (V2, p. 279). He chides Poles for still having a weak overall sense of political organization in 1914, after

decades of improvement. (V1, p. 207). While in the USA, instead of dwelling on the pro-German and Jewish influence in the American media, he primarily faults Poles for not getting the word out. (V2, p. 90).

DMOWSKI'S HOSTILITY TO JEWS AN ANSWER TO EARLIER JEWISH HOSTILITY TOWARDS THE POLISH CAUSE Although Dmowski does not use the term Litvak (Litwak), he describes how Jews, driven out of Russia, were artificially transplanted into Russian-ruled Poland. These Jews did not consider themselves Poles. They were ruled by Jewish nationalists [Yiddishists or Bundists] that were hostile to Polish overtures. This led to the Polish boycott of Jews. (V2, p. 279). Jews under tsarist Russian rule, having acquired positions of authority, had displayed enmity towards Poles well before the pivotal events of 1905, and the 1912 Jewish-led election of the pro-Russian Jagiello to the Duma had been among the political moves that had threatened the very viability of the emerging Polish national movement. (V1, p. 163). This prompted Dmowski to retaliate by launching his much-condemned boycotts of Jews. Long before Dmowski had taken any measures against Jews, however, they had been strongly attacking his Polish-independence movement, in the press, as being "reactionary." (V1, p. 148).

GERMANY WAS POLAND'S GREATEST ENEMY The German-Jewish symbiosis was probably an even greater threat to Polish independence than the Russian-Jewish one. Jews had played an instrumental role in the growth of Bismarck's Prussia. Much of its banking, industry, and commerce had been in Jewish hands. (V2, p. 50). Small wonder that Jewish vested interests were hostile to the resurrection of the Polish state. (V2, p. 52). In the Austrian-ruled part of Poland, the conduct of the Jews towards Polish national aspirations was no better. (V1, p. 232). Jews had acquired such significance in the government and economy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire that they had assumed the role of "glue" holding the Empire together. (V2, p. 50).

MAKING POLAND A VIRTUAL, IF NOT LITERAL, JUDEOPOLONIA Although Dmowski does not use the terms Judeocracy or Judeopolonia, he does mention the fact that some Jews had come to see foreign-ruled Polish territory as a second Land of Canaan--existing for the benefit of Jews, and not the native Polish inhabitants. (V2, p. 52). [Later, while in the USA, angry Jews beset Dmowski, demanding that the new Polish state grant "cultural autonomy" [actually, expansive, separate-nation special rights] to its Jews. (V2, p. 84)]. Dmowski shows how Jewish separatism had become

politicized in the form of Jewish nationalism and early forms of Zionism, which had tended towards the goal of acquiring Jewish territory (not necessarily in Palestine). This found encouragement in a 1902 proposal to carve the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a union of autonomous units, as well as the possibility of a German-ruled Jewish state in German-ruled Poland facilitated by the close similarity between Yiddish and German. (V2, pp. 46-47).

THE 1918 MASSIVE-POGROM HORROR

PROPAGANDA A JEWISH-GERMAN PROVOCATION

In time of war, Jews tended to give their loyalty to whomever they think was stronger or would emerge victorious. (V2, p. 17, 51). The influence of German Jews upon world Jewry was very strong, and Jews sided with Germany during the first half of the Great War. (V1, p. 189; V2, p. 49). Erstwhile Polish Jews in Prussian-ruled Poland had become so pro-German that local Poles did not want them in the Polish armed forces for this reason. (V2, p. 39; see also p. 36). The German press served as a conduit for bogus Jewish reports of massive pogroms in Poland. This was a pro-German, anti-Polish provocation. (V2, pp. 115-116). In 1917, the Jews, in large part, switched their loyalties. They now backed the defeat of Germany. Even so, the Jews never totally abandoned their Germanocentric orientation. (V2, p. 52). [This switch became the basis for the Nazi charge that Jews had "stabbed Germany in the back" during the War (WWI)]

JEWISH

GEOPOLITICAL HARM TO POLAND

Pro-German, anti-Polish

Jewish influence in Britain had contributed to the impression that those who live in Poznania willed for it to remain part of Germany. (V1, p. 259). In fact, Lewis Namier (Bernstein) exemplified the influential anti-Polish Jew who caused great geopolitical harm to Poland. (V1, p. 264, 266). He also spread false information about what Dmowski had been doing. (V1, pp. 309-310). Lloyd George had been steered into an anti-Polish, pro-German direction by influential Jews. (V2, pp. 61-62, 139, 147). On the other hand, anti-German sentiment in the US had proved too strong for the same to happen to President Wilson.

DMOWSKI'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCES WITH LEADING WESTERN LEADERS

In France, when in a discussion with Clemenceau and President Wilson, Dmowski said that Poland was situated in a part of Europe in which peace was the most threatened.

Dmowski had to juggle languages because the Jewish translator, Mantoux, had twisted Dmowski's statement into: "My nation represents the greatest threat to peace." (V2, p. 128).

DO NOT BLAME POLES FOR NOT

LIKING JEWS When in the USA, Dmowski talked for hours with Louis Marschall, a prominent American Jew. Marschall said that American Jews are unambiguously enemies of Poland--because of such things as the boycotts of Poland's Jews. Dmowski replied that Poland's Jews should strive to help Poland be independent, strong, and rich. (V2, p. 94). **THE DANGERS OF FREEMASONRY** Dmowski touches on the enmity of Freemasonry against everything Catholic--ever since it had been associated with the Hannover Dynasty and the Jacobins, and had become a tool of Frederick the Great. (V2, p. 141).

The Perpetual “Otherness” of Jews—Also Held By Many Jews. But Nowadays Only the Poles are Blamed For It

The Jewish Radical Right: Revisionist Zionism and Its Ideological Legacy Kaplan, Eran 2005 *Undemonizing Dmowski: The Zionist Jabotinsky Believed (For Jews) Very Much the Same As Dmowski Did (For Poles)* The title of this work is a little misleading, if not pejorative, as the Zionist Revisionist movement, according to the author himself, was hardly radical. Although his detractors have often labeled Vladimir Jabotinsky a fascist, he was not. All along, Jabotinsky believed in an old-fashioned liberalism (p. 14), liberal economics (p. 15), and parliamentary democracy. (p. 20). **REVISIONIST ZIONISM IMITATES PILSUDSKI** Jabotinsky dissented against conventional Zionism over its socialism, materialism, and especially its less than practical character. As a cure for the latter, "The Beitarists took as their model Jozef Pilsudski, who had led the Polish Legion in World War I and who, unlike Jabotinsky, had continued to fight both politically and militarily for his people's goals after the war was over. The young Revisionists saw in Pilsudski a leader who not only wrote eloquently on the importance and implications of militarism but actually used his army to achieve concrete, recognizable goals." (p. 8)." Jabotinsky even suggested in a 1935 speech before Beitar [Betar] members in Krakow that soil from Trumpeldor's grave in Palestine be brought to Jozef Pilsudski's grave as a symbol of the two national movements' close relations." (p. 150). In Palestine, the local Revisionists went further than Jabotinsky in their emulation of Pilsudski.

Kaplan comments: "The members of the Irgun, mostly young Beitarists, announced that they were uninterested in an organization [Haganah] that would only defend Jewish settlements from Arab attacks. They wanted a military organization that would initiate attacks on both Arab and British targets. True to their Polish roots, the founders of the Irgun were inspired by the example of Pilsudski's military organization in Poland." (p. 9). Of course, the Revisionists drew inspiration from many sources. Jabotinsky, for example, admired the spirit of the pioneers of the American West, and that of the Boers of South Africa. (pp. 116-117).

DMOWSKI
NOWADAYS DEMONIZED FOR BELIEVING MUCH THE SAME AS
JABOTINSKY (AND NOT A FEW MODERN ISRAELI JEWS) DID AND DO

As for his concept of Arab-Jewish relations in a future State of Israel, Jabotinsky allowed Arabs to live in Israel with full civic equality, yet: "...they could never be part of the Israeli nation. They could not become one with the dominant force that would determine the nature of the country...to maintain the distinction between members of the Hebrew nation, who ruled the country (and determined its character), and the Arabs, whom the Hebrews denied any access to real centers of power." (pp. 49-50). Not mentioned by Kaplan is the fact that Jabotinsky's concept of the essential Jewishness of Israel is very similar to the Endek concept of the essential Polishness of Poland. Minority groups are tolerated, but must remain subordinate to the host nation. This followed from Jabotinsky's tacit definition of nationalism: "Every distinctive race aspires to become a nation, to create a separate society, in which everything must be in this race's image--everything must accommodate the tastes, habits, and unique attributes of this specific race...A national culture cannot be limited to music or books as many argue." (p. 49).

MILITANT ZIONISTS AND THEIR
RELATIONSHIP TO FASCISM Let us examine more closely the question of Italian fascism and German Nazism. It was the marginal branch of Revisionism, the maximalists such as Achimeir, Yevin, and Greenberg, who were fascists. (p. 15). Achimeir, who identified himself as a fascist (p. 15, 152), embraced Sinn Fein's fundamental principle--that nations must rely on their own power and resources, and not the kindness of others nations. (p. 150). Achimeir's lawyer, Zvi Cohen, declared in 1932 that, were the Nazis were to renounced their anti-Semitism, the Revisionists could support them! (p. 182). In 1932, von Weisel, a leading Revisionist activist, saw in Nazi anti-Semitism a cover for anti-Marxism. (p. 183). The socialist

Zionist Chaim Alzoroff had, in 1933, tried to broker a Jews-emigrate-to-Palestine deal with the Nazis after the Revisionists, as a whole, had condemned Hitler and Nazism, and broken with them. (pp. 11-12). According to Kaplan, the Italian fascists were the ultimate national model for the Revisionists (pp. 150-155), even though Jabotinsky disavowed support for fascism itself. (p. 21). Of course, unlike the Nazis, the Italian fascists were not anti-Semitic [until later]. (p. 21). Evidently, the Beitarists were looking for powerful allies. They drew closer to Mussolini's Italy as their disappointment grew with Britain. (p. 153-on). OMISSIONS OF THIS WORK One obvious shortcoming of this book is its failure to discuss the late-1930's Jabotinsky-Beck deal, apart from a short and superficial mention. (p. 182). In addition, it omits Jabotinsky's sophisticated analysis of Polish-Jewish relations. See the Peczkis review of *The Jewish War Front*.

The “Endek Goal” of Removing Most of Poland’s Jews: Shared By Some Jews Themselves

Problems of Eastern and Central Europe Dmowski, Roman 1917
Polish Statesman Dmowski Clarifies Polish Successes Against the Overbearing Prussians, the Kresy, Poland's Boundaries, Jewish Separatism and Overcrowding, etc. This small book packs quite a punch. For example: “COLONIZATION”: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE COIN
 For a long time, Ukrainian writers had complained about centuries of "Polish colonists" moving into eastern Galicia. Actually, the "colonization" went from both directions. For instance, after the 12th-13th century Tatar invasions of Kieven Rus, many Ukrainians fled northwestward into what became Eastern Galicia. (p. 39). DON'T BLAME THE VICTIM--POLAND--FOR THE PARTITIONS Roman Dmowski rejects the common view that Poland's internal divisions were the primary cause of the Partitions, seeing this as a ready-made excuse by those who conducted or supported the Partitions. He points out that nations, as a rule, go through periods of internal weakness, yet don't disappear from the map. It takes powerful, aggressive neighbors for that to happen. Ironically, Poland was coming out of her 150-year period of

weakness when she was Partitioned. (pp. 58-59). POLISH ACTIVISM THWARTS BISMARCK AND VON BUELOW Dmowski's emphasis on "organic development" shows up in his praise of Prussian-ruled Poles: "The Poles of Poznan and West Prussia organized, however, such a dogged defense of their nationality that, in spite of unheard-of persecutions, of most ingenious anti-Polish laws, of gigantic sums spent by the Prussian Government on its anti-Polish policy, they preserved the Polish character of their country and even in great measure strengthened their position." (p. 69).

DMOWSKI NO IMPERIALIST. NO DESIRE FOR NON-POLISH LANDS Where should the eastern border of the about-to-be-resurrected Polish state be placed? Some Poles advocated the pre-1772 boundary, while the Russians thought of the eastern boundary of Congress Poland. [The latter, of course, became reality, after WWII, as the Teheran (1943) betrayal]. Dmowski suggested that areas with a large Polish minority, Roman Catholic majority, and with dominant Polish culture, should be part of Poland. (p. 65, 76). [This, of course, became partly realized when the Kresy were part of 1918-1939 Poland.] As for the western Ukrainians, he believed that eastern Galicia should be part of Poland because of its sizeable Polish minority (which he put at 25%: p. 78), and that amiable Polish-Ukrainian relations could become reality in the absence of interference by the Austrians (p. 78), and the Germans. (pp. 56-57). A viable Polish state could not exist without an outlet to the sea. (p. 72). [Clearly, had Poland given into Hitler's 1939 demands to hand-over the Corridor in an attempt to avoid war, even had it placated the Third Reich, it would have been suicidal for Poland.] DMOWSKI IN NO SENSE

INTOLERANT OR NAZI-LIKE Dmowski has been at times accused, by lewaks (leftist Poles), and by many Jews, of being a racist in that he had no regard for minorities. This is patently false. Dmowski wrote: "The non-Polish races inhabiting those parts would enjoy, as members of the Polish State, freedom of development on their own lines." (p. 76). DMOWSKI

OPPOSES JEWISH OVERABUNDANCE, JEWISH SEPARATISM (E. G., THE YIDDISHIST MOVEMENT), AND JEWISH ECONOMIC DOMINANCE

As for Jews, I will let Dmowski speak for himself: "In Russian Poland, however, increase of the Jewish population has continued up to the very latest times, the Jews expelled from Russia [Litvaks, or Litwaks] being artificially crowded into Poland. Here an overwhelming majority of the Jews do not consider themselves of Polish nationality; they are led by the Jewish

nationalist organizations which work against the influence upon the Jews of Polish culture and Polish ideas. Here, therefore, strong antagonism developed between the Jews and the Poles, especially the rapidly growing Polish middle class, an antagonism which finally provoked a commercial boycott of the Jews by the Poles. Of late years, however, the Jews of Russian Poland have shown a strong tendency towards emigration, which is likely in the future to develop on a large scale. The difficult Jewish problem in Poland will thus gradually lose its acuteness." (pp. 78-79).

THE GERMAN HABIT OF TRYING TO DOMINATE OTHER NATIONS REMAINS INTACT With the Great War (now called WWI) having just ended, Dmowski essentially predicted WWII [even had Germany remained democratic], as he commented: "The supposition that this war will bring about a radical change of spirit within Germany, put an end to her policy of conquest and make of her a pacific nation, has no serious foundations whatsoever. The hopes set in this respect upon German democracy are somewhat illusory." (p. 5). [Furthermore, this German spirit lives on to the present day--in the form of the European Union. Polexit now!]

Suitors and Suppliants: The Little Nations at Versailles Bonsal, Stephen 1946 ***Soundly Debunks the Myth of Dmowski Wanting All Jews to Leave Poland. Dmowski Actually Believed That the Jews' Liabilities Were Partly Situational, and That Some Jews Could Become a Part of Poland***

By way of introduction, author Stephen Bonsal was an American diplomat, journalist, war correspondent, and translator. It was in the latter capacity that he served President Woodrow Wilson during the 1919 Paris Peace Conference. This book features informal discussions about such things as the Balfour Declaration, the relationship between Croats and Serbs, the ownership of the city of Fiume, the German confiscation of Schleswig-Holstein from the Danes, and the Polish delegation at Versailles. I now focus on the latter.

THE SILESIAN PLEBISCITES: A GERMAN-SERVING FRAUD The German grab of Silesia, and the large number of German settlers recently planted in order to skew the upcoming plebiscite results, led to prescient comment. It stated that the German conduct was but the first step in renewed German aggression, and that it would end with Germany being on the warpath

again in 5-10 years. (pp. 126-127). [Dmowski was only slightly wrong: It ended up taking 20 years.] UNDERSTAND DMOWSKI. DO NOT DISMISS HIM Unlike those Jews and LEWAKS that just demonize Dmowski, author Stephen Bonsal had productive discussions with Endek Roman Dmowski, and, as a person capable in various intellectual and linguistic pursuits, became impressed with Dmowski's education and his facility in various languages. On January 3, 1919, Bonsal, having been sent to "feel" Dmowski out on the Jewish question (p. 123), reported the following: ROMAN DMOWSKI DID NOT FAVOR THE EMIGRATION OF ALL (ONLY SOME) JEWS FROM POLAND (Quote) Dmowski took it very well, and, so it seemed to me at least, talked quite rationally upon the thorny subject...He [Dmowski] points out, however, that there are distinctive features in the Jewish problem of Poland which are not met with in other countries. To begin with, he asserts that the OSTJUDEN (Eastern Jews) are a peculiar, a most peculiar, clan, and that their activities and characteristics are very trying to those who must live in daily contact with them. "We have in Poland more than one quarter of all the Jews of the world. They form 10 percent of our population, and in my judgment, this is at least 8 percent too much. When there is only a small group of Jews in our villages, even when they are grasping storekeepers or avaricious moneylenders, as they often are, everything moves along smoothly; but when more come, and generally do come, there is trouble and at times small pogroms." (unquote). (p. 124). Bonsal continues to let Dmowski speak, (quote) "We have too many Jews, and those who will be allowed to remain with us must change their habits; and of course I recognize that this will be difficult and will take time. The Jew must produce and not remain devoted exclusively to what we regard as parasitical pursuits. Unless restrictions are imposed upon them soon, all our lawyers, doctors, and small merchants will be Jews. They must turn to agriculture, and they must at least share small business and retail stores with their Polish neighbors. I readily admit that there is some basis in the Jewish contention that in days past it was difficult for them to own land or even to work the fields of others as tenants; that they were often compelled by circumstances beyond their control to gain their livelihood in ways that are hurtful to the Polish economy. Under our new constitution all this will be changed, and for their own good I hope the Jews will avail themselves of their new opportunities. I say this in their own interest as well as in the interest of restored Poland.

Now, and I fear for decades to come, Poland will be too poor to permit one tenth of its population to engage in pursuits which to say the least are not productive." (unquote) (p. 124). ANALYSIS OF DMOWSKI'S COMMENTS ON JEWS Author Stephan Bonsal finds great similarity between the views, concerning Jews, of Roman Dmowski, and those of Count Tolstoi (Tolstoy)--heard by the author during the 1905-1906 Russian revolution. (p. 124). However, he does not elaborate on the implications of Dmowski's quoted statements, and I do this now. It is evident that Endek Roman Dmowski was not totally opposed to Jews living in Poland--far from it. Had 80% of Jews on Polish soil emigrated, as Dmowski wanted to happen, the remaining 20% would have amounted to 650,000 Jews--still one of the largest Jewish communities in the world! It is also clear that, instead of making Jews into scapegoats, Dmowski realized that it was not the Jews' fault (or entirely their fault) that they were concentrated in certain occupations in a manner objectionable to Poles. In addition, Dmowski clearly believed that a substantial number of Poland's Jews could become integrated into the newly resurrected Polish nation.

Knowing Too Much: Why the American Jewish Romance with Israel Is Coming to an End Finkelstein, Norman G. 2012 *Most Israeli Jews Want Israeli Arabs Expelled, Just as Pre-WWII Endeks Wanted Poland's Jews (Partly) Expelled* This book is primarily about certain Jews' objections to the conduct of the State of Israel. I instead focus on deeper issues.

LIKE POLES LIKE ISRAEL JEWS: WANTING A MINORITY GROUP TO LEAVE ONE'S NATION Author Norman G. Finkelstein points out that most Israelis, if forced to make a choice, would prefer to live next to a mentally ill person than an Arab. In addition, in the last twenty years, 50%-70% of Israeli Jews have supported the use of State inducements to rid the Jewish state of its Palestinian inhabitants. (p. 14). This parallels the attitudes of many Poles to the huge Jewish population in pre-WWII Poland. THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE On another issue, Finkelstein focuses negative attention on the large income disparity between wealthy and poor Israeli Jews. (p. 9, 357). In doing so, he follows the liberal view that income disparity, by itself, constitutes inequality, and that it is the government's job to engage in income redistribution in order to remedy it. How does one define "the poor?" In

addition, consider the fact that very-successful people the world over are disproportionately Jewish. Why is it surprising that the gap between very-successful and less-successful Jews is perhaps larger than that between their respective counterparts in other nationalities?

The New Order in Poland Segal, Simon 1942 **Some Jews Spared From Nazi Persecution. Mass Emigration of Jews Supported By VARIOUS Poles and Jews!** Prewar Poland Had Achieved Much in Agriculture. Because this book was written just before the Holocaust, its analyses were not colored by it. PRE-SHOAH: NOT ALL CLASSES OF JEWS IN POLAND WERE PERSECUTED BY THE NAZIS Foreign nationals who were Jews were generally exempt from the Nazi anti-Jewish laws, and didn't have to wear the Star. (p. 69). The Germans, besides isolating the Jews in ghettos, wanted to isolate them further in a Lublin-area reservation (pp. 61-63), and the German press had hailed this as being "a solution of the Jewish problem in Europe." (p. 64). Madagascar was also mentioned in this regard. NOT ONLY THE ZIONISTS AND ENDEKS HAD PROPOSED A MASS EMIGRATION (VIRTUAL EXPULSION) OF POLAND'S JEWS What if the Holocaust never happened? Mass emigration of Poland's Jews was proposed not only by the Zionist Jabotinsky (Jabotinski) and the Endek elements in the Polish Government-in-Exile, but also by Joseph Retinger, General Sikorski's secretary. (p. 275). In addition, "However, even some leaders of the Peasant and Socialist Parties believe that because of the faulty social and economic structure of Polish Jewry, a Jewish mass emigration will be necessary after the war." (pp. 273-274). PRE-WWII POLAND HAD MADE STRIDES IN SOLVING HER AGRICULTURAL INEFFICIENCIES

The prewar Polish government did consolidate many inefficiently-small holdings (pp. 141-142), and Poland had been a food-exporting nation all along. (p. 193). In the Reich-annexed provinces, German settlers' mechanized agriculture could only modestly improve upon the land's prewar Polish output. (p. 137).

The New Poland and the Jews Segal, Simon 1938 **Anti-Jewish Violence in Poland Way Overblown, Privileges of the German**

Minority, and Rarity of "Polish Settlers" in the Kresy This Jewish author is quite hostile to Poland. For this reason, the facts he presents, and which I quote, are not likely to be of a "Polish apologetic" nature! ONR ANTI-JEWISH VIOLENCE: A MOUNTAIN OUT OF A MOLEHILL

Out of 48,000 Polish university students, about 1,500 participated in anti-Jewish riots. (p. 90). This comes out to a staggering 3%. Yet countless books have presented this as something normal in Poland! THE GERMAN MINORITY HAD IT BAD MYTH Segal noted that the average German living in Poland was better off than the average Pole. (p. 171). Yet the fate of the German minority was one of the pretexts that Hitler used to invade Poland in 1939. THOSE MUCH-EXAGGERATED "POLISH COLONISTS" ON "UKRAINIAN LANDS" Newly-settled Poles in Ukrainian-majority areas numbered only 50,000 (p. 166). That was a drop in the bucket compared with millions of indigenous Poles and Ukrainians living in the southeast Kresy. DO POLES HAVE AN EVERLASTING OBLIGATION TO JEWS?

Incredibly, Segal believed that Poland should accept Jewish economic dominance because Jews had originally been invited to Poland to develop its trade. (p. 139). Did he seriously suppose that Poles should be content to live in perpetuity as economically second-class citizens in their own nation because of a monarch's decision several centuries ago? THE JEWISH MIDDLEMAN Segal asserted that the arguably-superfluous Jewish middlemen were merely being replaced by equally-superfluous Polish middlemen. (p. 149). To the extent that this was true, it was still of value. It gave Poles needed business experience, and served as a step in the economic emancipation of Poles. As it turns out, many if not most middleman positions were eliminated entirely, and Polish peasants sold their produce directly. This led to sometimes-violent clashes with Jewish middlemen at the marketplace--a series of which escalated into the Przytyk pogrom (see Peczkis review of POGROM?...by Gontarczyk).

IS POLISH POVERTY NO BIG DEAL? Segal alleged that the discriminatory policies were driving Jews to poverty (p. 136), and that Jewish emigration was no overall solution because other nations didn't accept many Jews (or Poles)(p. 87, 209). Whose fault was that? Also, Segal lacked perspective. Many Poles also lived in crushing poverty (p. 102), and, despite the discrimination facing him, the average Jew remained wealthier than the average Pole. WHENCE THE ANTI-JEWISH VIOLENCE? Official government policy was to oppose violence against

Jews while supporting the boycotts. From this, Segal made another non sequitur--that the boycotts caused the violence. (p. 81, 89). That is a standard left-wing talking point: Disagreeing with some leftist-favored minority group becomes equivalent to inciting violence against them. What if it was the Jewish economic hegemony itself and the increasing Polish unwillingness to put up with it any longer that had provoked the violence? (Recall what liberals tell us about inequities, and rising expectations, breeding violence). BOYCOTTS OF JEWS: LONG-TERM GOALS

Finally, Segal argued that the policies against Jews only hurt Poland's economy and reputation. (p. 142). What if so? This may be likened to emergency surgery that temporarily adds to the patient's injuries, but is necessary for her eventual recovery. Other nations, which never had to deal with the problems facing Poland, and not a few of which had less-than-stellar treatments of their own minorities, could moralize all they wanted about human rights, but Poland did not have any such luxury. Like the situation today, Poland is attacked, and then she is blamed for defending herself!

The ONR (*Oboz Narodowo-Radykalne*) and the Jews

Dzialalnosci i Mysl Spoleczno-Polityczna Obozu Narodowo-Radykalnego ABC 1934-1939 Kawecki, Krzysztof 2009 *The Polish "Far-Right" ONR (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalne). In No Sense Fascist or Pro-Nazi, as Alleged by LEWAKS (Leftists) and Some Jews. Minorities Not All Rejected.* THE SOCIO-POLITICAL

THOUGHT AND POLICIES OF THE POLISH RADICAL NATIONAL CAMP ABC 1934-1939, is the title of this Polish-language work. I focus on a few major topics in my review: RELATIONSHIP TO FASCISM AND NAZISM

The ONR's detractors, notably the leftists and the Jews, have usually portrayed it as a form of Polish fascism, or imitation of Nazism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The ONR wanted a Poland that promoted Roman Catholic civilization, in opposition to the "two paganisms"--that of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. (p. 68). Nor was this merely a tactical move against impending German aggression against Poland. Many years

before WWII was even on the horizon, the Polish Right had completely repudiated Italian Fascism and German Nazism. For instance, an article in the 1934 SZTAFETA stressed the fact that the Polish nationalist movement wanted nothing to do with Fascism and Nazism, as both of the latter have many faults and many sins. In related publications, it was noted, already by the early-mid 1930's, that Italian fascism had become beholden to big capitalism, and that Nazism had rejected basic Christian moral values. (p. 29).

JEWES AND THE POLISH POLITICAL RIGHT: AN

INTRODUCTION

Kawecki's work includes section of photographs that follows p. 60. One of the photos is of the January 1938 issue of a newspaper, O.N.R.--OWIEC. It describes how wealthy Jews, such as the Fajgenbaums, are using bribes to buy their way out of military service. It also objects to Jews, in high places, that are Communists, and it faults Jews who use their influence on radio to promote untruths and to defame Poland. (Sound familiar?) In 1934, a group of rabbis visited Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, and called on him to condemn the ONR in sermons throughout Poland. He responded that he was opposed to all excesses and violence, regardless of who engages in it. He also called attention to the Jewish insensitivity towards, and provocations directed against, Polish religious feelings and Catholic moral values. (p. 27). [Were there such courageous Polish religious leaders--today--willing to be so politically incorrect and to stand up for Poland!] This work provides biographical information on leading ONR personages. This includes Tadeusz Gluzinski (nom de plume Henryk Rolicki), and one of his works, ZMIERZCH IZRAELA. (p. 60). Although the ONR in general, and Rolicki in particular, are usually considered very anti-Semitic, it turns out that this work was quite measured and moderate (especially for its time) in its critical analysis of Jewish conduct. Please see my English-language review of *Zmierzch Izraela* - Tadeusz Gluzinski ps. Henryk Rolicki. Now consider the infamous ghetto benches. They served to lessen the antagonisms between Polish and Jewish university students. In addition, the ghetto benches were supported not only by the likes of the ONR, but also by Jewish-student Zionist organizations. (p. 56).

FREEING POLAND FROM JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY

The goals of radical Polish nationalists centered upon the emancipation of Poland from the centuries-old, self-perpetuating Jewish economic privileges. The policies included the short-term promotion of Polish businesses with the concomitant boycotting of

Jewish economic establishments, and the long-term emigration of Jews. Otherwise, even the "extreme" Polish nationalist ideas were not monolithic. Thus, for instance, the OZN (*Oboz Zjednoczenia Narodowego*), unlike the ONR and SN, favored allowing the Jews to retain their political rights. (p. 83). The boycotts of businesses were not limited to Jewish ones. German firms were also boycotted. (p. 58). Far from engaging in the scapegoating of Jews, leading ONR thinkers realized that Poland's economic problems went far beyond Jewish economic dominance, and were structural in nature. Various reform proposals were introduced. (pp. 74-75). This included the enhancement of industrial development in villages, which was to follow the removal of the Jews from commerce and industry. (p. 74).

THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION The Endeks in general, and the ONR in particular, are often branded as ethnonationalists. Whatever this left-wing buzzword is supposed to mean, the situation was not that simple. The ONR ABC did call for Poland's Ukrainians and Belorussians to be assimilated to Polish civilization--but as "gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus", (p. 85) evidently not a complete abandonment of prior self-identity in favor of complete Polonization. ONR thinker Wojciech Zaleski was even more moderate: He noted that Ukrainians are a nation of their own, and the Polish state must be based upon shared political ideals, and not upon shared Polish language. (p. 86). FOR FURTHER STUDY One feature of this work is its brevity. For more comprehensive analyses of the ONR, please read my detailed English-language reviews, of *Duch mlodych* and *Polska dla Polakow! Kim Byli i Sa Polscy Narodowcy*.

Oboz Narodowo-Radykalne Rudnicki, Szymon 1985 *The ONR (OBOZ NARODOWO-RADYKALNE) Was in No Sense Fascist or Nazi-Imitating. Even Extreme Polish Nationalists Were Not Unilaterally Anti-Minority* Jewish author Rudnicki wrote this book while Poland was still under Communist rule, and this colors it. However, it does provide a short introduction to the ONR for the interested reader. The ONR used the Sword of Boleslaw Chrobry as its symbol (as does its modern Polish patriotic counterpart). Uniforms came later, and they consisted of sand-colored shirts, and pants and berets that were navy blue. The ONR salute consisted of raising one's right hand upward and saying "CZOLEM!" (Hail!). (p. 30). IN POLAND: THERE ARE MINORITY GROUPS AND THERE

ARE MINORITY GROUPS Even though the ONR was understandably hostile towards the Jewish economic hegemony over Poland, the ONR policies were not unilaterally anti-minority. For instance, Jędrzej Giertych opposed the colonization of Ukrainian-majority areas of the Kresy with ethnic Poles, and believed that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian intelligentsia should be treated with respect. (p. 110). NO SUCH THING AS POLISH FASCISM A major characteristic of both fascism and Nazism is the deification of the state. Contrary to the mischaracterizations by LEWAKS and some Jews, the ONR was in no sense a form of Polish fascism. For example, Jędrzej Giertych opposed Ukrainian nationalism, not only because it was anti-Polish, but also because it elevated the state to the highest good. (p. 362).

Narodowe Sily Zbrojne Siemaszko, Zbigniew S. 1982 **ONR Platform: Not Fascist or Nazi-Imitating, Not Pro-Privileged, Not Unilaterally Anti-Minority, and Not an Advocate of Imperialistic Nationalism** THE NATIONAL ARMED FORCES is the title of this

Polish-language book, although it gives few details about the WWII combat operations of the NSZ guerillas. Relying on primary-source documents which are printed out, it gives considerable insight into the ONR (O. N. R.), the National Radical Camp. THE ONR WAS NOT FASCIST

The LEWACTWO has always freely thrown around the label of fascism towards groups with whom it disagrees. Not surprisingly, the ONR has commonly been misunderstood and misrepresented as Polish fascism. [Decades ago, not knowing any better, I had asked a onetime ONR member and friend of my father, Mr. Stefan Marcinkowski, if he once had to wear a uniform similar to that of Mussolini's Blackshirts. He just laughed.] The ONR favored a non-totalitarian form of government that also rejected the weaknesses of democracy. (p. 13, 69, 76). Although the ONR promoted fervent nationalism, it rejected the cult of the absolute leader (Fuhrer, Duce, etc.)(p. 203). Instead of being state-centered or racialist-centered, ONR ideology was Catholic-centered (as a system of values, not in a Church or clerical sense.)(e. g., p. 13, 241). CONTRARY TO COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA, THE POLISH RIGHT WAS NOT A TOOL OF THE PRIVILEGED Both socialist-style collectivism and unbridled capitalism were rejected. (pp. 80-81). The ONR's position stated that big businesses

cause social injustice, and are harmful to Poland in that they are owned by foreigners and Jews, in effect making Poland their colony. (p. 12). [Much as exists today as a result of Poland's membership in the European Union]. A system of small businesses was seen as the one that was most compatible with Catholic values. (p. 81). The ONR also favored agrarian reform, in which every peasant would have the right to own a sizeable piece of land. (p. 242). **THE ONR: NOT IMPERIALISTIC NATIONALISM** Although the ONR was a revolutionary movement that advocated violence as necessary, including street violence (p. 16), its ranks were, unlike those of the early Italian fascists and German Nazis, largely free of the criminal element. (p. 16). At no time did the ONR's position partake of expansionist or imperialist nationalism. It accepted the permanence of the Riga eastern border, and rejected any idea of resurrecting pre-Partition Poland in any form. Before WWII, the ONR had suggested that Poland follow neither a pro-Soviet nor pro-German orientation. Instead, Poland should be allied with other middle-European states, such as Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Romania. (p. 75). **THE ONR: NOT UNILATERALLY ANTI-MINORITY**

Although the ONR's position can be seen as being so pro-Polish as to be anti-minority, this was not unilaterally so. The continued presence of Lithuanians, Byelorussians, and part of the Ukrainians (Rusins) on Polish soil was deemed compatible with Poland's interests, insofar as these minorities were deemed susceptible to Polonization. In contrast, Germans, Jews, and hostile Ukrainians were to be expelled. (p. 12, pp. 82-83).

JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY PROVOKES ONR HOSTILITY

So the ONR's position on Jews was anti-Semitic. (p. 82). Why so? Jewish middlemen contributed to the poverty of Poland's peasants, and Jewish economic dominance was seen as fundamentally incompatible with Poland's interests. (p. 242). **THE ONR NEVER ENDORSED NAZI ACTIONS**

When the German-made Holocaust later occurred, the ONR noted that, whereas the Nazi actions had fulfilled ONR's goals of a largely Jewish-free Poland, the ONR had never imagined physical extermination of the Jews. Nazi methods were rejected, and an article in *SZANIEC* (THE RAMPART) stated that: "Murder is not our weapon." (p. 82). **THE USSR WAS JUST AS MUCH AN ENEMY OF POLAND AS NAZI GERMANY**

Unlike the AK (ARMIA KRAJOWA), the NSZ permanently considered the Soviets to be just as much enemies as the Nazis, and opposed any fighting on behalf of the advancing Red Army. (e. g., p. 112). After the

Soviet "liberation" of Poland, part of the NSZ fought the Communists alongside like-minded groups. They were part of the *Zolnierze Wykoleci*. In fact, according to a cited Polish Communist source, there existed, in 1944-1948, 1,364 illegal political and military groups, comprising 91,000 members. The U.B. (UB, or Communist security forces) lost 886 men killed, but captured 46,000 firearms from the anti-Communist guerillas. (p. 174). There is a chapter on the Holy Cross Brigade. For additional details, see *BYLEM DOWODCA BRYGADY SWIETOKRZYSKIEJ*. The remainder of this book includes NSZ and ONR documents, as well as biographic details of important members. EARLY ONR ADVOCACY OF WHAT TURNED OUT TO BE POLAND'S POST-WWII WESTERN BOUNDARY

Interestingly, as far back as 1940 (p. 35), the ONR had suggested that Poland be compensated for German aggression and crimes by being awarded German-ruled lands up to the Oder-Neisse (Odra-Nysa) line. (See also p. 69, 75). [Ironically, this became reality under Soviet auspices in 1945, albeit with simultaneous Soviet confiscation of the Kresy (Poland's eastern half)].

Zmierzch Izraela Rolicki, Henryk 1933 **An ONR Perspective on Jewish History--From Antiquity Until the Pre-WWII Period. Jews' Holocaust Anticipated** THE MEASURE OF ISRAEL is the title of this Polish-language work (review based on 1933 edition). The author, aka Tadeusz Gluzinski, was a leading thinker in the ONR (Oboz Narodowo-Radykalny: The Polish National Radical Camp). The reader, whether agreeing with Rolicki or not, can immediately see where this author is coming from. The reader can also recognize that many of the claims of this work are based on verified facts. The author relies on scholarly sources in numerous languages, including those of leading Jewish thinkers such as Heinrich Graetz, Simon Dubnow, Meir Balaban, Ignacy Schiper (Schipper), Samuel Hirszhorn, Alfred Nossig, and Karl Kautsky. JEWISH MESSIANISM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

Rolicki suggests that Jews historically had commonly been animated by their belief that an earthly messiah will come and make the Jews rule over all other peoples. (p. 400). He contends that Jews try to impose their economic and ethical ways on non-Jews, especially following the widespread application of liberalism in the 19th century enabling them to do

so. (p. 339). However, his reasoning is measured. For instance, he never goes as far as suggesting that Jews are sinister or all-powerful. The author does not suggest that Jews are a race, at least in the sense of having immutable characteristics. For instance, he recognizes that Jews that come to the USA commonly assimilate to the point of losing their Jewish identities. (p. 400). [He said that back in 1933. This trend has since greatly accelerated.]

LIKE THEN LIKE NOW—BLAMING EVERYTHING ON CHRISTIANITY Even when Rolicki published this book (1933), Jewish-Christian dialogue already was being reduced to a one-sided black-and-white narrative of Jews as victims. Thus, Christians were blaming Jews for the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and saddling Jews with a thousand slanders about conducting ritual murders, poisoning wells, desecrating Christian objects, etc. (p. 52). This one-sided Jews-as-victim theme is even more true today! Henryk Rolicki sees much Jewish assimilation and Jewish conversion in the past (e.g, the Marranos) as being only outward in nature. However, he appreciates the fact that this was the only way that Jews could become part of the larger society before the 18th century granting of political rights to Jews. (p. 339).

JEWES IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY Long before Christians persecuted Jews, Jews persecuted Christians. Here are just a few instances: The quoted historian Graetz pointed out that Bar-Kokhba treated Christians very severely. (pp. 52-53). The Roman Emperor Diocletian was well known for his savage persecutions of Christians. According to Graetz, Diocletian was sympathetic to Jews, at least in part because he hated Christians. (p. 47). Later, in 614 A. D., during the Persian conquest of Jerusalem, Jews massacred tens of thousands of Christians. (p. 41, 56). For more on this, please click on *Reckless Rites: Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence (Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World)*, and read the detailed Peczkis review.

MEDIEVAL TIMES In the Middle Ages, Jews were the only channel of commerce between Islamic and Christian countries. According to the quoted historian Ignacy Schipper, German Jews were responsible for the slave trade that involved captives from Slavic lands. (p. 85). For centuries, Jews segregated themselves according to the dictates of the Talmud. The first instance of a forced ghetto for Jews, in Christian lands, was not until Venice in 1516. (p. 111). As for the conduct of the Inquisition, it was no different from comparable institutions of the time. (p. 94).

THE CENTURIES BEFORE THE

PARTITIONS OF POLAND Nowadays, Poland's Jews are usually understood as ones that performed an essential function for, and on behalf of, the nobility. In contrast, Rolicki sees them as an economic burden on Poles. He claims that, during the centuries of the pre-modern period, it took a large number of Poles to feed one Jew. (p. 308). In addition, Rolicki quotes the eminent Jewish philosopher Salomon Maimon, who stated that large fraction of Poland's Jews did not do productive work at all. They instead devoted their entire time to studying and contemplating the Kabbalah and the Talmud. (p. 263). [In modern Israel, much the same criticisms are directed at the Haredim.] Those Jews massacred during the Chmielnicki (Khmelnysky) revolt are commonly portrayed, especially in Ukrainian-Jewish dialogue, as innocent, collateral victims of the oppressive practices of the Polish nobility. According to this thinking, the Jews were merely executors of the heavy-handed dictates of the Polish nobility, and Jews were then the objects of displaced peasant anger the nobility. In contrast, Rolicki quotes the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz, who saw the Jews as largely conducting oppressive policies on their own, and with the nobility playing a secondary role. (pp. 175-176). THE JANUARY 1863

INSURRECTION Rolicki presents a mixed picture of Jews relative to the Poles' ill-fated 1863 Uprising. He quotes from the Jewish historian Samuel Hirszhorn. Hirszhorn writes that the tepid support of Lithuanian Jews for the 1863 Insurrection spared them from the cruelties of Muraviev's reprisals. However, according to Hirszhorn, not even the Jews of Congress Poland suffered significant repercussions from the tsarist Russian authorities. (p. 330). JEWS IMPOSE PRECONDITIONS ON THE

RESURRECTION OF POLAND (1918) Karl Kautsky, a leading Jewish Marxist theoretician, was quoted by Rolicki as stating that any independent Polish state would impose intolerable limitations on Jewish economic activity. Moreover, an independent Poland would be "too Junker" and "too Catholic". (p. 333). The Litvak (Litwak) newspaper, *JEWREPSKAJA ZYZN*, in a 1915 article, warned that a Polish economy would be disastrous for Jews. Only a continued pluralism of nationalities on Polish soil, and continued foreign rule over Poland, would guarantee the safety [actually, economic self-interest] of Jews. (p. 334). One common explanation (or exculpation) for Jews refusing to support the emergence of a new Polish state was the premise that such a state would not guarantee Jewish rights. The real issue was more a matter of Jewish separatism and Jewish elitism,

along with a healthy dose of quasi-racist anti-Polonism. A quoted article from the June 1918 Yiddishist *LECTJE NAJER*, published in Wilno (Vilnius), expressed surprise that Poles would even ask Jews for support. This was in view of the fact that Poles will not accept Jews as a full-fledged separate nationality, and because Jewish culture is older and more advanced than Polish culture. Moreover, the Jews of the "Jerusalem of Lithuania" do not have the slightest desire to become "Polish Jews", as the moral development of Poles is on the same level as that of the Hottentots! (p. 336). The racist attitude of American Jews was unambiguous. In a quoted 1916 work, Benjamin Segel, a Galician Jew, pointed out that groups of American Jews commonly meet, and declare their lack of sympathy towards a resurrected Polish state. (p. 335).

JEWS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS The author quotes a number of scholars who consider socialism and Communism as not as much systems that abolish capitalism in general, but as ones that eliminate the small-business capitalist. This causes the concentration of capital in a few hands. (p. 361, 403). This explains the apparent paradox of wealthy capitalists supporting Communism. Henryk Rolicki (p. 386) lists the following Jewish banking houses that helped finance the Russian Revolution: Jacob Schiff; Kuhn, Loeb; Feliks Warburg; Otto Kahn; Mortimer Schiff; Serome H. Hanauer; Guggenheim, and Maks Breitung. He elaborates on how some of these bankers publicly took credit for the success of the Russian Revolution. (pp. 386-387).

THE JEWS' HOLOCAUST ANTICIPATED--REVENGE AGAINST THE ZYDOKOMUNA The author then quotes Alfred Nossig, the Zionist. Nossig pointed out that, while Communism is not Jewish, the large-scale Jewish participation in Soviet Communism is undeniable, and that it provokes antagonism towards Jews in general, such as the massive pogroms at the time of the Russian Revolution. (p. 389). He also warned that the eventual end of Soviet rule would unleash a catastrophic vengeance, from the oppressed masses, against Soviet Jews, most of whom had nothing to do with Bolshevism. (pp. 389-390). [Unfortunately, this soon proved prophetic. The Nazi German invasion of its erstwhile Soviet ally, in 1941, temporarily ended Communist rule in the western Soviet Union, and significant numbers of Baltics and Ukrainians collaborated with the Nazis in the implementation of the Holocaust.]

Neither Roman Dmowski Nor the ONR Were in Any Sense Fascist or Nazi-Imitating

Roman Dmowski: Czlowiek, Polak, Przyjaciel Wolikowska, Isabella
 1961 ***Roman Dmowski Was a Very Different Man From the
 Portrayal By His Critics*** ROMAN DMOWSKI: PERSONAGE, POLE,
 AND FRIEND is the title of this book in English-language translation. [My
 review is based on the original 1961 edition.] It was published by Chicago-
 area members of the SN (STRONNICTWO NARODOWE), including Antoni
 Wawro. [I knew his son, in my childhood, from Saturday-morning Polish
 School and from the ZUCHY (young Polish Scouts)]. Apart from the main
 text, the book includes an assortment of short articles, some reprinted from
 other sources, about Dmowski. It also features considerable detail about
 Dmowski's declining health, death, and funeral. Several eulogies are
 published. Several misconceptions about Dmowski are addressed. Contrary
 to popular belief, Dmowski was not an atheist. He had grown up in a
 religious home, and, although he did not actively practice Catholicism
 during much of his life, he was never far from it, as evidenced by his
 statements and writings. He had a good knowledge of the Bible and,
 although he was influenced by the then-new higher-critical theories, he
 never was completely absorbed by them. (p. 68, 230). Nor had Walenty
 Dmowski, Roman's father, been illiterate. Walenty had misidentified himself
 as an illiterate as an act of defiance against the occupying Russian
 authorities, who had been requiring Poles to sign their names in Russian.
 This he would not do. (p. 61). ROMAN DMOWSKI: A MAN OF MANY
 GIFTS Roman Dmowski was a man of intellect. He was self-
 taught in both French and English. (p. 22). His background in Latin enabled
 him to learn Spanish with no difficulty. (p. 74). Dmowski was best known for
 his leadership. He was a true servant of Poland, but in no sense a career
 politician even though he had known no other profession. (p. 150). In 1944,
 none other than the main Nazi publication, *VOLKISCHER BEOBACHTER*,
 described Roman Dmowski as a man of great wisdom, and one who
 overcame many difficult challenges to secure Silesia and Pomerania for
 Poland at Versailles. (p. 164). Interestingly, Roman Dmowski had
 organized the first mass public rally in Russian-ruled Warsaw since the ill-
 fated January (1863) Insurrection. (p. 21). Occurring in 1891, it

commemorated the 100th anniversary of the historic Polish Constitution. All social classes of Poles were involved in it. As punishment for this, the tsarist Russian authorities imprisoned him for five months. (For a picture of the prison, see first picture that faces page 32). ROMAN DMOWSKI HAD NO TRACE OF FASCIST TENDENCIES Dmowski had unambiguously called his movement a nationalistic one. (p. 185, 188). Nowadays, nationalism is often burlesqued, by LEWAKS (leftists) as chauvinism, xenophobia, anger, and hatred. Dmowski did not fit this stereotype at all. For example, he said that Poles should avoid reacting with blind antipathy towards Germany, and he longed for the day when the German-Polish relationship would be one guided by friendship and mutual respect. (pp. 124-125). Such traits as bitterness, vindictiveness, and fanaticism were completely foreign to Dmowski (p. 155), and he had a chronically jovial disposition. (p. 104). ROMAN DMOWSKI DEMONIZED BY THE JEWS FOR NOT CARRYING THEIR WATER Jews have never forgiven Dmowski for standing up to them. He was vilified as an anti-Semite, and gone down in history as one. Whether or not he was an anti-Semite depends upon the definition of this oft-used elastic term. Tadeusz Sztajer recounts how, during one of the trips to the USA, Dmowski was visited by Jewish bankers demanding that he call off the boycott of Jews. He replied: "Let Jews start devoting their lives and wealth to the cause of Poland." They retorted: "This Jews will not do." Dmowski also mentioned how, at Versailles, he had to switch back and forth between English and French because the translators, most of whom were Jewish, were distorting what he was saying. (p. 237). Wojciech Wasiutynski, the editor of the London-based newspaper, *MYSLI POLSKIEJ*, commented: "Dmowski was an anti-Semite but never was a Judeophobe or racist. You will never find anything in his writings advocating the persecution of Jews or acts of violence against them. Dmowski devoted much more attention to Freemasonry, which he saw as an ever-present danger." (p. 223). Andrzej Wolikowski seconds the entire foregoing opinion, and adds that Dmowski knew many patriotic Polish Jews, and greatly respected them. In addition, those who practiced violence against Jews had been a splinter group that had betrayed the principles of Dmowski's national movement. (p. 278). In contrast to those who suppose that Endeks had nothing but antipathy towards Jews, Izabella Wolikowska, the main author of this Endek publication, comments: "Naturally, there were many Jews in the Polish

armed forces, and as soldiers and patriots we will always honor them. Roman Dmowski was the type of person who could never stoop so low as to hate...I am convinced that a man so free of hatred was not and could not be an anti-Semite. He was an uncompromising defender of Polishness, and when Jews hindered the development of Polish commerce...and since they had taken over Polish industry and commerce, Dmowski fought against them. But it was always a fight out in the open based on morally clean principles. The same cannot be said of the other side." (p. 125; see also p. 50).

Wybor pism. Tom 1 Dmowski, Roman 1893-1934 **Roman Dmowski Was in No Sense Pro-Fascist or Pro-Nazi** A SELECTION OF THE WRITINGS OF ROMAN DMOWSKI is the title of this compilation of 29 Polish-language articles originally published between 1893 and 1934. THOUGHTS OF A MODERN-THINKING POLE (1902), here an essay (pp. 74-112), soon became a book. See the Peczkis review: *Mysli Nowoczesnego Polaka (Polish Edition)*. In MEMORIAL ON THE TERRITORY OF THE POLISH NATION (1917), Dmowski mentions the centuries of Polishness of Danzig (Gdansk), right up until the Second Partition. (p. 228). In QUESTIONS ON CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (1917) Dmowski, mindful of the fact that German democrats had promoted the Great War no less than did the Kaiser and militarist Junkers, scoffed at the notion that a democratic Germany is necessarily a benign one. (p. 231). He also elaborated on the pre-WWI German-rule-Europe MITTELEUROPA Plan (p. 238). [Were he alive today, would Dmowski see the European Union as its fulfillment?] In POLISH POLITICS AND THE REBUILDING OF THE NATION (1925), Dmowski focused on the reasons that Poland had succeeded in re-acquiring her independence after more than a century of failures. It was only partly due to favorable international developments. (p. 260). Also important was the acquisition of national consciousness, since about 1875, by the masses (p. 252); the abandonment of martyrdom and fatalism as options (p. 256); and the nature of the Polish national movement, embracing all social classes (p. 257), unambiguously led by fearless, selfless, realistic, and disciplined thinkers and leaders who did not seek cheap popularity. (p. 257). The "Germans are the main enemy" position was widely held by Poles, not just

by Dmowski himself. (p. 262). In DECLARATION OF IDEAS (1926), Dmowski, though not a practicing Catholic, declares that Catholicism must be central in Polish life, and that youth must be raised in this spirit. (p. 29). The Pole must strive to uphold the good name of Poland. (p. 269). In THE CHURCH, NATION, AND COUNTRY (1927) Dmowski re-affirms the fact that Poland is a Catholic nation--not only because the majority of Poles are Catholic, but also because Catholicism is dominant and must therefore inform secular Polish policies. Even non-Catholic Poles, some of whom recognizably were the best sons of the Polish nation, understood this fact. A Polish citizen is at liberty to practice any religion, but is not free to pursue a political course of action inconsistent with the character and practices of Polish Catholicism. (p. 287). On another subject, Dmowski dislikes the word nationalism, because the "-ism" connotes a doctrine. It detracts from the worth and thinking of the national movement. (p. 282). JEWISH-RELATED ACCUSATIONS AGAINST DMOWSKI DEBUNKED

Dmowski's detractors have misrepresented him as one who believed that a Jewish conspiracy ruled the world, and that he grew Nazi-like near the end of his life. The four final writings of this collection debunk these myths. In THE JEWS AND IMPERIALISM (1932), Dmowski characterized Jews as ones who tend to support those who are powerful. He cited the services of Jews to empires and their rulers, from the days of Cyrus right up to the time of Bismarck. (p. 312). However, Dmowski rejected conspiracy theories. He did not see influential Jews as ones so powerful as to form a shadow government that controls a given nation, let alone the PROTOCOLS-style rule over the entire world. The actions of influential Jews followed developments; they did not cause them. For example, as Germany first chose to draw closer to England at the beginning of the 20th century, THEN German Jews and English Jews drew closer to each other. (p. 313). Influential Jews ATTEMPTED to impose policy decisions on empires, but did not necessarily succeed (p. 314). In HITLERISM AS A NATIONAL MOVEMENT (1932), Dmowski characterizes Italian fascism and German Nazism as attempts to restore order to the political crisis of the times. He condemns Masonic liberalism for its promulgation of a variety of scoundrels and vices, often against the will of the recipient, while simultaneously condemning Nazism for its lack of spirituality. (p. 320). Dmowski notes the paradox of Nazism combatting Freemasonry, even though Freemasonry had strongly influenced Prussia's OSTPOLITIK,

notably the partitions of Poland. (p. 322). The Hitlerites were attempting to remove Jewish influence as part of their nation-building strategy, even though the Jews had done so much to make Germany a world power, and had long served Prussia at the expense of the Poles, starting with the Partitions. (pp. 322-323). In unmentioned agreement with Ukrainian nationalists, Dmowski acknowledges that Poles, for their part, had used Jews as part of their policies relative to the Ukrainians. (p. 324). In *THE WORLD UPHEAVAL AND THE EVOLUTION OF POLISH POLITICS* (1932), Dmowski suggests that Mussolini achieved his following in part by taking advantage of the privations of the Italians. (p. 325). He believes that, during the Great Depression, the ones getting wealthier, in many nations, tended to be Jews. (p. 326). He reminds the reader that the Freemasons played a key role in the French Revolution, and suggests that Freemasons help Jews achieve their goals. (p. 327). He describes Polish Jews as follows: "This dynamic people, alien to Polish-ness in every way, capable at an instant of going against Poland, pro-German in the last world war and pro-Soviet in the 1920 War..." (p. 328). Dmowski sees fascism as something that will sweep Europe and do away with the anarchic character of parliamentary democracy. (p. 328). However, the Polish national movement must develop in its own way, solve Poland's Jewish problem (he did not say how), and be soundly based on Polish-ness. (pp. 323-324). In *THE MILITARIZATION OF POLITICS* (1934), Dmowski frowns on the growing emphasis on the military in Germany and Italy. This is stifling political creativity (p. 337). Fascism and Nazism are emphasizing the destruction of the objectionable, but not the creation of good. (pp. 338-339). Worse yet, fascism and Nazism are preventing the rule of law. Evidently referring to the assassination of Ernst Roehm, Dmowski realizes that "Whatever Hitler says is law" has taken over (p. 341), and concludes that one would have to be an enemy of civilization to emulate this movement. (p. 342).

Duch Europy Dmowski, Roman 1938 ***Dmowski Comments on Nazi-Style Racism--In No Sense Embracing It*** THE SOUL OF EUROPE is the title of this 45-page book. It was originally published, to a small audience, by Dmowski in 1938. This was less than one year before his death. It is one of his last, if not his last, work. However, this book was

not widely published until well after WWII. The author ponders the theory that Europeans are Aryans in the sense that they are descended from a people in India. (p. 19). He considers this a question, not a fact. Dmowski then mentions how "scientific" racism had become popular in the 19th century. It promoted the view that one people is superior to another. Dmowski mentions the views of Gobineau and, obviously alluding to the Nazis, notes how the Germans had come to believe that they are the closest to the original Aryans, and that they had a right to rule over others because of it. (p. 22). At no time does Dmowski endorse these views. (Ironically, were Dmowski to do so, he would have to reverse his lifelong premise--that Germany was Poland's main enemy--and would have to repudiate his lifelong work by concurring that Germans have an innate right to rule over Poles!) At no time does Dmowski use the word Aryan in any sort of Nazi-style Aryan-Jew dialectic. Dmowski reflects upon classical antiquity. He praises the achievements of the Ancient Greeks. He also admires the strength of Ancient Roman Civilization, but realizes that the origins of this civilization are obscure. Finally, Dmowski contends that the emergence of Christianity saved humanity from barbarism. (p. 43).

Duch Mlodych: Organizacja Polska i Oboz Narodowo-Radykalne w Latach 1934-1944 Muszynski, Wojciech 2011 **Contrary to the Smears of Leftists and Certain Jews, the Polish Patriotic ONR Was Never Fascist or Pro-Nazi. Nor Was it "Reactionary" or Ethnonationalist**

THE SPIRIT OF THE YOUNG: THE POLISH NATIONAL RADICAL CAMP IN THE YEARS 1934-1944: FROM STUDENT REVOLTS TO CONSPIRACY FOR POLISH INDEPENDENCE.

It is a shame that this encyclopedic work has not been translated into English. It is based on a great deal of archival materials (pp. 13-on), and serves to correct decades of Communist propaganda about this movement. (p. 15). This work is very rich in biographical detail, and includes many photographs of ONR individuals and ONR publications. For instance, I recognize Stefan Marcinkowski "Poraj" (1906-1996)(p. 339), whom I knew from childhood, and with whom I had endless discussions. The reader learns about many organizations: The ONR, the Falanga, the SN (Stronnictwo Narodowe), and many others. In Polish, a member of the ONR was an oenerowiec (onerowiec), and this was oenerowcy (onerowcy)

in the plural. Owing to the exhaustive detail given to various organizations, it is not always easy for the non-specialist to keep track of what organization is being discussed. When I use the term "ONR" in my review, it may be in reference to an organization, founded during or after 1934, whose views were similar to that of the ONR. Because this work has so much detail, I focus on a few issues. I also omit discussion of the ONR and its struggle against the Nazi German and Soviet Communist enemies of Poland during WWII.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ONR The ONR was a university student movement, supported by young, elite educated Poles. (p. 7, pp. 25-on). Later, workers joined the movement. (p. 41). The ONR thought of the Sanacja as incompetent, and lacking the vision to solve Poland's social, economic, and political problems. (p. 21). [Reader: Does this sound like today's Polish government?] Far from being a reactionary movement, the ONR was, in the words of Witold Staniszkis (1908-2008: p. 63), a youth movement dedicated to the modernization of Poland, and supported by confidence in new developments, in the elevation of the standard of living, and in social progress. (p. 21). Contrary to the stereotype of rightists wanting to preserve the status quo, and to benefit the wealthy and privileged, the ONR adopted a leftist-style approach to social problems. (p. 193). More on this below.

ONR: NEVER POLISH FASCISM The oenerowcy did evaluate their political philosophies in juxtaposition with various fascist movements in Europe at the time. However, the ONR did so not in order to emulate them, but rather to compare them with its own, especially in the light of Poland's realities. (p. 19). The ONR rejected Mussolini's Fascism over the distancing of the latter from the Catholic Church (p. 23), for its totalitarianism (p. 44), and for its cult of the state (p. 203). In addition, the oenerowiec frowned upon fascism for its lack of respect for the individual, for its excessive collectivism in economic matters, etc. (p. 44). The young in the ONR were sympathetic to the concept of strong leader. Roman Dmowski, according to Wojciech Wasiutynski (1910-1994: p. 63), decidedly was not. (p. 70). Uniforms, symbols, greetings, slogans, etc., were a common military-style form that was widely popular in Europe at the time. Their use by the ONR did not indicate an affinity for fascism. (p. 35). Apparent similarities between the ONR and fascism were outward only. (p. 204). The ONR rejected Nazism, not only because of its anti-Polish German-imperialist character, but also over its racism, which was a form of materialism incompatible with

Christianity. (p. 44, 481). The stiff-arm salute, used by the ONR, was widely employed in various contexts by various organizations, and had no Nazi, pro-Nazi, or Nazi-imitating connotation at the time. (p. 35). According to some opinions (not shared by author Muszynski), the Falanga, an offshoot of the ONR led by Boleslaw Piasecki, did flirt with fascism, racism, and the cult of the leader. After WWII, Piasecki served the Communists. (p. 481). The *oenerowcy* (*onerowcy*) were centered on Catholicism. The ONR thus offered a third way between western-style parliamentarianism, capitalism, and democracy on one hand, and the various totalitarian movements (fascism, Nazism, Communism) on the other. (e. g, p. 7, 194).

NUMERUS CLAUSUS, NUMERUS NULLUS, AND GHETTO BENCHES The Jews, based on the Talmud, had a fundamentally different civilization from the Poles, according to the ONR. This made them fundamentally incompatible with Poland's Catholic civilization. (p. 197). The ONR understood its discriminatory policies against Jews as ones that were not anti-Semitic or imitating Nazi-style racism, as charged by the Jewish and socialist critics, but as ones that were necessary in order to create more opportunities for Poles of disadvantaged (peasant and worker) backgrounds. (pp. 147-on, p. 197). [The same considerations apply today to the affirmative action debate in the USA.] In 1931 (and especially from 1934), the *numerus nullus* came into play, based on the notion that the *numerus clausus* was insufficiently aggressive in ending Jewish overrepresentation at universities. According to the *numerus nullus*, Jews, at minimum, should not be admitted to Polish universities until the proportionate share of Polish professionals matched that of the Jews. (pp. 150-151). As for the ghetto benches, these essentially formalized the already-existing polarization between Poles and Jews, in that most Poles already did not wish to sit next to Jews. (pp. 151-152). Contrary to the "Jews as scapegoats" notion, the ONR actually promoted a multi-faceted program for increasing the access, to a university education, for the common Pole. It was not a matter of blaming the problem entirely on the Jews--far from it! In terms of specifics, the ONR favored the reduction of the cost of university education (by at least 35%: p. 147) in order to make it more affordable, tuition-free university courses for the children of peasants and workers, increased scholarships for Polish students, universal education to eliminate illiteracy, etc. (p. 138, 147, 153, 195, 200). Author Muszynski questions the effectiveness of the *numerus clausus* and

numerus nullus. (pp. 152-153). These policies were not applied either consistently or comprehensively. There was indeed a drop in the relative percentage of university students who were Jewish, but this had multiple causes. Note, for example, that there was never a numerus clausus or numerus nullus at the gimnasja (secondary schools), yet the share of the Jewish students dropped from 23.7% in 1921 to 16.5% in 1936. (p. 153).

SYSTEMATIC ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF JEWS The proposed removal of Jews from economic positions enjoyed brought-based support. It was promoted not only by the Endeks and the ONR, but also by various members of other parts of the political spectrum, and then not only those who were part of the OZN. (p. 200). The ONR's policies, again, did not make scapegoats of Jews. Instead, the ONR realized that Poland's economic problems went much deeper than Jewish economic dominance, and had a systematic program for addressing these problems. For instance, not only the Jews, but also foreign capitalists would be prevented from owning businesses. (p. 376). The ONR favored the abolition of social classes in Poland (p. 195), and the empowerment of the Polish proletariat through such things as guaranteed adequate-paying employment. (pp. 200-201).

ONR: NOT UNILATERALLY ANTI-MINORITY The Endeks in general, and the ONR in particular, have been widely misrepresented as teaching that only ethnic Poles, and Roman Catholics, can be true Poles. This is far from the truth! The ZPK! A fraternity, a forerunner of the ONR, rejected into membership those who declared themselves to be of German, Ukrainian, or Jewish nationality. However, in this respect, it was no more exclusivist that German, Ukrainian, and Jewish fraternities, all of which typically excluded ethnic Poles from membership! (p. 27). As for the ZPK! A, there were no barriers to membership of those of other nationalities, as long as they considered themselves Poles and were Christians. (p. 27). For instance, Leon Ter-Oganian (1910-2001), a prominent ONR author, was an Armenian Pole. (p. 27). Additionally, membership was not necessarily limited to Christians. Pointedly, the Polish Tatars, who were Muslims, were welcome. (p. 27). The Germans and the Jews were deemed by the oenerowcy to be unwilling to be part of Poland, and their continued existence on Polish soil was considered inimical to Polish national interests. (p. 68). The ONR favored not only the forced emigration of Jews, but also the forced emigration of Germans. (p. 199). However, the Slavic minorities (Byelorussians and non-separatist

Ukrainians) were welcome in Poland as long as they were loyal to Poland. (p. 68). The ONR rejected the premise that only Polish-speakers can be Poles (pp. 195-196), and specifically opposed the forced Polonization of the Byelorussians and Ukrainians. (p. 199). ONR VIOLENCE WAY OVERBLOWN, AND DWARFED BY SELDOM-MENTIONED COMMUNIST VIOLENCE Violence was a common feature of political action in pre-WWII Poland, and was conducted by both leftists and rightists. Ironically, according to author Wojciech Jerzy Muszynski, the ONR copied the Communist methods of violence. (p. 7). Jewish groups, such as the militant Zionist Betar and certain Bundist units, also practiced violence, often disguising their conduct as "self-defense". (pp. 81-82). The ONR and the Betar were essentially mirror images of each other. The ONR and Betar both agreed that Jews and Poland were fundamentally incompatible with each other, and that violence was an acceptable means of accentuating the polarization between Poles and Jews. Sometimes, the Betar and ONR fought against each other, but the majority of Betar violence was directed at those Jews deemed to be "too Polish", too friendly to the Polish state, etc. (p. 150). How much overall violence actually stemmed from the oenerowcy? Muszynski has examined 30,429 police records from 1935-1937 Poland (p. 82), and found that the ONR, SN, and similar rightist organizations collectively accounted for only 2-4% of violent incidents in Poland during this time. (pp. 82-87). The overwhelming majority of violent incidents were by Communists. Clearly, the characterization of the ONR as a hotbed of violence is off the mark. For a Jewish source that candidly supports Muszynski's findings on violence in pre-WWII Poland, see *TWENTY YEARS WITH THE JEWISH LABOR BUND*, by Bernard Goldstein.

Zwiazek Jaszczurczy i Narodowe Sily Zbrojne na Pomorzu 1939-1947: Nieznane Karty Pomorskiej Konspiracji Chrzanowski, Bogdan

1997 ***Polish ONR Anti-Jewish Policies Not Nazi-Like.***

Amazingly, ONR-NSZ Guerrillas Functioned Effectively Even in Polish Territory Annexed By the Third Reich The literally-translated title of

this Polish-language work is: *THE ORDER OF LIZARDS AND NATIONAL ARMED FORCED IN POMERANIA 1939-1947*. It focuses on descriptions of events and people instead of combat operations. THE ONR IN NO

SENSE HAD SYMPATHY FOR NAZI ANTI-SEMITISM OR THE GERMAN-MADE HOLOCAUST

The ONR (Polish National Radical Camp), when founded, at first looked to the Italian fascists as a model. However, as the true nature of fascism became obvious, the ONR distanced itself from it. The ONR directives in 1934 included anti-Jewish ones, but these were never Nazi-like. They focused on economic issues. For more on this, see: *DUCH MLODYCH*, by Muszynski, and read my detailed review. As the Nazis began murdering the Jews, the ONR repudiated its earlier anti-Semitism. (p. 11). In fact, some ONR members rescued Jews. This was true of an E. Baranowski, an NSZ officer, who was cited by Jews for helping them. ONR member Edward Kemnitz joined Zegota [refuting the silly argument that the Endeks opposed aid to Jews], and was awarded the Yad Vashem medal for his aid to Jews. (p. 116).

ONR-NSZ GUERRILLA WARFARE IN THE AFTERMATH OF POLAND'S 1939 DEFEAT

That portion of the Pomorze region belonging to Poland before WWII was incorporated directly into the Third Reich after the 1939 German-Soviet conquest of Poland. For this reason, the ONR-NSZ Polish guerrillas in this area had much fewer opportunities to act openly than in the GG (General Government). Actual combat encounters with the Germans were of a sporadic nature. Otherwise, the ONR-NSZ was prepared to fight alongside the better-known AK (ARMIA KRAJOWA). By February 1944, one part of German-occupied Pomorze had more than 6,000 well-armed ONR-NSZ guerrillas. (p. 92). The local ONR-NSZ emphasized intelligence gathering. It planted agents in many cities, including Königsberg, Berlin, and Munich. (p. 28). The Germans themselves gave unstinting credit to the Poles for being the best agents that the British had. (p. 56). The local ONR-NSZ underground press sometimes produced 4,000-5,000 issues of publications. (p. 94).

THE UNFOLDING POLOKAUST

The ONR-NSZ monitored the Nazi German cultural genocide of Poles. (p. 77). The Germans instituted a strict prohibition of the use of Polish language and culture. Poles were beaten for refusing to sign the VOLKSLISTE. Polish minors were among those forced to do heavy labor. Only 60 of 600 local priests remained functional; the Germans had murdered or incarcerated the remainder. (p. 175). In the areas incorporated into the Reich, the Germans sometimes forced even ethnic Poles to serve in the Wehrmacht. The ONR-NSZ encouraged such Poles to desert (p. 40), while keeping others there as secret agents. (p. 53). Falling into German hands meant torture and

death. One Polish woman, about to be guillotined, wrote that she had no fear of death, and that she wanted her last words to be, "Poland, come forth! Crumble the shackles!" The Poles managed to rebuild their NSZ guerrilla organization even after it had been seemingly eliminated by the Germans.

ANTICIPATING A FUTURE POLAND This work includes a number of political position papers by the ONR-NSZ. For instance, it not only favored the persistence of Poland's eastern (Treaty of Riga) boundary, but also extension of Poland west to the Oder-Neisse rivers (p. 85) (which, of course, became reality under Soviet rule but at the expense of Poland's eastern half).

TWO ENEMIES OF POLAND

The ONR-NSZ considered the Soviets as much enemies of Poland as the Germans. The local guerrillas fought off attempted arrests, and engaged in counter-intelligence and counter-propaganda. They also monitored Soviet robberies and other crimes against Poles. By June 1, 1945, there were 22,000 to 30,000--50,000 NSZ members throughout Russian-occupied Poland. (p. 103). The ONR-NSZ in the Pomorze region was able to resist efforts to destroy it until about the end of 1945 (p. 102), which is almost a year after the entry of the Red Army into part of Poland.

FOR FURTHER STUDY This work has an English-language abstract (pp. 213-215), an extensive index, much biographic information, and a collection of photographs. It includes annexes that consist of interviews of former ONR-NSZ members. (p. 157-on). There is also a list of Polish Underground members who had been sent by the Germans to Stutthof Concentration Camp near Danzig (Gdansk). (p. 173).

Na Pograniczu Dwoch Swiatow Hartglas, Apolinary 1996 **Far From Being Nazi-Imitating, the ONR Defiantly Told Off the Nazis on Jews! Jews, Even When Assimilated, Can Retain a Hostility to Poland**

IN THE NO-MAN'S-LAND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS is a nonliteral, but perhaps the most informative, translation of this Polish-language work. It refers to the assimilated Jewish author's difficulty of completely fitting into either the Jewish world or the Polish world. In fact, "assimilation" is an amorphous term. Though of course not written for this purpose, this memoir, by a high-ranking assimilated Polish Jew, helps the reader understand why the Endeks commonly doubted if assimilated Polish Jews are "real" Poles. This posthumously-published memoir of Apolinary

Hartglas (1883-1953), covers quite a range of Polish history--from life under tsarist Russia, through the Second Republic (1918-1939), WWII and the Nazi German occupation, and the early postwar period.

OPPORTUNISTIC LOYALTIES? One learns that industrialist and politician Leopold Kronenberg (1812-1879), a lifelong Jew, had converted to Christianity in 1845, had supported the Poles' ill-fated January 1863 Insurrection. But after its defeat, he evidently switched sides, and was ennobled by the tsarist Russian authorities in 1868. (p. 25).

EARLY LIFE: A DISLIKE OF TRADITIONAL JEWS The author was born, and grew up in, Siedlce, in Russian-ruled Congress Poland, in what is now the central part of eastern Poland. The language spoken at home was Polish, except when the parents wanted to hide something from the children. Then they spoke Yiddish. The family ate TREYF food, and did not observe the Sabbath. They only attended synagogue on Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah. (p. 30). The young Apolinary disliked the traditional dress of non-assimilated Jews, and frowned on Jewish funerals, owing to the paid grieverers and their loud wailing. He found Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic funerals much more dignified. (p. 31). As a young boy, Apolinary, owing to his dislike for Jews even though he was one, used to run the local Jewish children off the town square. He indicates that the Polish children neither encouraged him in this conduct, nor took part in it. (p. 35).

JEWSH AUTHOR HARTGLAS NEVER EXPERIENCED ANTI-SEMITISM Hartglas writes that he experienced countless acts of benevolence from Poles, and never personally suffered from Polish anti-Semitism. (p. 40, 46). While in GYMNASIUM (high school), he was once insulted by a Russian and once by a Pole. These incidents were resolved with fisticuffs, with Poles and Russians sometimes supported him. (pp. 46-47). Apolinary Hartglas stated that he loved both the Polish and the Jewish nations. He also shared the Jews' grief and anger at the wrongs that Jews faced from Poles, even though he himself did not experience them. (p. 19).

At the same time, he felt many of the same grievances that many Poles--including even the "best" Poles--had against Jews. (p. 19). **JEWS WERE NOT ANGELS EITHER** Interestingly, Hartglas' worst experiences were from fellow Jews. For instance, while a lawyer, he was exploited by Jews. Large numbers of Jewish clients would come to him, saying that they were destitute and in need of his services for free, even though they later turned out to be well-off. (p. 107). **THE 1906 SIEDLCE**

AND BIALYSTOK POGROMS Thirty Jews perished in the Siedlce pogrom, and Hartglas arrived soon thereafter to investigate the pogrom. Based on eyewitness accounts, he concluded that the perpetrators had been Russian soldiers, and not Poles. In fact, Poles had sheltered the Jews. (p. 88). Hartglas also arrived, by train, to the area near Bialystok, the site of another pogrom. He plainly saw the train station surrounded by Russians. Some of them got on the train, and beat up a Jew. (pp. 90-91). Later, Hartglas and Jabotinsky spoke with eyewitnesses, and concluded that the perpetrators had been Russian police, soldiers, and youth. Very rarely had the perpetrators been Poles and Belarussians, who aided the Jews. (p. 91). Hartglas repudiated the tsarist Russian attempts to blame the pogrom on the Poles. (p. 92).

HOW "POLISH" WERE POLAND'S ASSIMILATED JEWS? Support for assimilation is not synonymous with allegiance to Polish national interests. The leading Jewish assimilationist weekly, IZRAELITA, edited by Samuel Cwi Peltyn, supported Zionism. (p. 51). Hartglas said that his Jewishness was not a religion but a nationality, in the same way that Poles are a nationality. (p. 18, 54). What's more, Hartglas plainly stated that he did not consider himself a Pole. (p. 55). In addition, Hartglas considered himself a Zionist. (p. 51). Zionism, by definition, was a form of loyalty to another state, and not only, or not at all, to Poland.

HAVING YOUR CAKE AND EATING IT TOO: DEMANDING CIVIL RIGHTS AND SPECIAL SEPARATIST RIGHTS AT THE SAME TIME During some May 3 ceremonies in 1916, there was a speech given by a prominent Jewish speaker. The speech called for Jews to be granted full rights alongside Poles, while also fully retaining their rights to their own language and their own cultural separatism. (p. 174). Based on this, one might reasonably think that this Jewish speaker was part of the Yiddishist (folkist, or Bundist) variety. But no. It was Hartglas--the assimilated Polish Jew! The foregoing confirms Endek accusations that Poland's Jews wanted it both ways--to be Poles and NOT to be Poles. Is it any wonder that Endeks commonly doubted if assimilation would transform Jews into Poles? Of course, there were also assimilated Polish Jews who considered themselves Polish by nationality. (pp. 190-192). However, it is unclear how common they were, and how many of these were unambiguously Poles first and Jews second.

RENEWED AGGRESSIVE JEWISH SEPARATISM Interestingly, Hartglas' attitudes towards the Jewish national movement (Yiddishism)

were not exactly flattering. Referring to the time around 1914, Hartlas stated that the idealistic assimilationist impulse was dead, that the Jewish national movement had by now grown immensely, and that--outside of Zionism--it had, in his words, "acquired distasteful, chauvinistic tones." (p. 152).

INDEPENDENT POLAND (1918-1939) During this time, Hartglas served in the Sejm (Polish parliament). Jews constituted about 10% of Poland's population. The militant ONR (Oboz Narodowo Radykalny), demanded a reduction in the 40% share of Poland's lawyers that were Jewish. Interestingly, the ONR did not call for the elimination of Poland's Jewish lawyers. Instead, the ONR wanted the share reduced to 5%. (p. 192).

POLAND IN WWII The author gave his firsthand experiences with the German siege of Warsaw in 1939. He then described the Nazi creation of the Warsaw Ghetto. Hartglas knew Adam Czerniakow quite well. The author was candid about the fact that the Jews were involved in commercial activities with the Germans, including with the Gestapo. (p. 321).

THE ONR CATEGORICALLY REFUSES NAZI ENTICEMENTS AGAINST JEWS

The Nazis proposed that Jews be removed from among Poland's lawyers. Leon Nowodworski (1889-1941), described by Hartglas as a strong anti-Semite despite his Frankist ancestry, and an Endek (National Democrat) close in views to the ONR, replied without hesitation, (quote) If such a need arises in a free Poland, we ourselves will remove Jews from among our lawyers. But as long as this is a proposal from an occupant, then not only won't we do this, but we will fight against the removal of our Jewish colleagues." (unquote). (Translated by me). (pp. 295-296). Touche! This act of defiance by Nowodworski was a factor in his arrest by the Germans.

FLEEING THE IMPENDING SHOAH

It is a rarely-known fact that some Jews were allowed to emigrate from German-occupied Poland in 1939 (p. 315). Hartglas did so, enabling him to escape the eventual Holocaust. He went to Palestine, where he spent the last several years of his life.

The Post-Pilsudski Government (1936-on): No Drift to Fascism

Poland - Key to Europe Buell, Raymond Leslie 1939 **Late-Interwar Poland: The OZON Government's anti-Jewish Policies Were NOT an Imitation of Those of Next-Door Nazi Germany** In this mini-encyclopedia of Poland (1918-1939), [review based on 1939 edition], one learns about matters as diverse as the Polish achievement in constructing the port of Gdynia from scratch (p. 159), the crushing poverty of the peasantry (pp. 20-21), the stunting effect of government intervention on the growth of free enterprise (p. 185), and much more. THE SO-CALLED MINORITIES TREATY--SPECIAL, SEPARATIST RIGHTS FOR JEWS Buell's analysis of Poland's treatment of her minorities is critical but relatively fair. He realizes that the imposed Minorities Treaty was hypocritical in that the Powers weakly followed it (p. 240, 316), that Polish fears of her neighbors using it as a tool against her were factually-based (pp. 242-244), and that the Polish government never actually repudiated it. (pp. 244-245). The perceptive reader can see how, using modern parlance, parts of the Treaty advanced special rights. For instance, its full implementation would not only mean that Jews would be required to be allowed to use Yiddish in courts and public institutions, but also that multitudes of Poles would be forced to learn Yiddish in order for this to be realized. (pp. 295-296). THE STRUGGLE AGAINST JEWISH ECONOMIC HEGEMONY According to Buell, the discriminatory policies intended to end Jewish economic dominance hurt Poland. Polish merchants and tradesmen couldn't duplicate the output of the Jewish ones they had replaced. (p. 314). [But this might be analogous to a surgical procedure done to a victim after an accident. The very process of surgery adds to the injury sustained by the patient, but is absolutely necessary for him to get better. So it is with Poles temporarily hurting themselves more in order to eventually free themselves from Jewish economic hegemony]. Without intending to, Buell highlights the severity of the economic disenfranchisement of the Poles at the hands of the Jews! DO NOT CONFLATE REAL OR IMAGINED POLISH ANTISEMITISM WITH THAT OF NAZI GERMANY The author rejects the notion that Polish anti-

Semitic policies, notably those of the post-Pilsudski OZON Government, were simply an imitation of Nazi ones in (prewar) Germany. For instance, Poland never enacted the Nuremberg laws, in part because racialist thinking did not fit into this Catholic society. (p. 316). To the contrary: In spite of the self-imposed Jewish apartheid (my term), and contrary to Heller's *ON THE EDGE OF DESTRUCTION*, Poland's Jews were accepted to a counterintuitive extent. Buell comments: "The ordinary Jew speaks Yiddish...and is influenced by a particularly formidable type of orthodoxy, or rabbinism, of the Tsadika or Wunderabbi variety. While some Jews contend that the government obstructs assimilation, there is little doubt that the most powerful factor which keeps the Jew separate from the Pole is the type of orthodoxy which dominates a large part of the Jewish population. The American visitor unaccustomed to the Polish tradition wonders why more interracial disputes have not occurred when, on visiting a typical village, he sees the Orthodox Jew, wearing his skullcap, black boots, long double-breasted coat, curls and beard, mingling with the Poles proper. The government may think that it is in its interest to support the Orthodox Jews against their more assimilated brethren, but the foreign observer is nevertheless struck by the readiness of the ordinary Poles to accept the assimilated or baptized Jew as an equal. In government departments, in the army, in the banks, and in newspapers, one finds the baptized Jews occupying important positions. This class, which in Nazi Germany is subject to bitter persecution, has been freely accepted in Poland. With the growth of nationalist spirit among both Jews and Poles, the trend toward assimilation seems to have been arrested. It remains true, however, that the Polish attitude towards the Jew is governed by racial considerations to a lesser degree than the attitude of other peoples." (pp. 308-309).

THE MYTH OF THE PERSECUTED GERMANY MINORITY OF PRE-WWII POLAND Buell characterizes the German minority as one that was well-off (pp. 246-247), prone to make frivolous complaints (p. 243), and enjoying far greater privileges than the Polish minority in (pre-WWII) Nazi Germany. (p. 251). Recounting the history of the region, Buell rejects the premise that Polish rule over Ukrainian-majority areas was a form of imperialism (pp. 80-81), and realizes that the granting of greater autonomy to the Ukrainians could increase separatist impulses instead of weakening them. (p. 284). Finally, he suggests that Jews be more sensitive to ending their abuses, as well as realizing that the middleman-peasant

relationship is an outdated one. (pp. 317-318). **THE HOLOCAUST AND POLOKAUST ANTICIPATED** Owing to the fact that, except for the last paragraph as an add-on, it was written before WWII, this book escapes being colored by it. Therefore, fascinating is the fact that Buell recognized not only the long-term Nazi plans (e. g., Hitler and Rosenberg) for the conquest of the Slavic east and the replacement of the local population by German settlers (pp. 10-11), but also the fact that these plans most probably implied that the Poles (and Jews) would have to be exterminated. (p. 11).

Final Report Beck, Jozef 1957 ***Jozef Beck's Memoirs: Polonized Jews Not To Be Expelled; Teschen (Cieszyn) 1938 Detail; Nonaggression Pacts; 1939 Myth on "Hasty and Cowardly" Government Evacuation Corrected*** This work provides Jozef Beck's perspective on such things as the Pilsudski coup of 1926, interwar Poland, international diplomacy and Poland's "dance of safety" between two aggressive powers, and much more. It also touches on his personal life.

THE POST-PILSUDSKI OZON GOVERNMENT WAS NOT UNILATERALLY ANTAGONISTIC TO JEWS Jozef Beck considered the Jewish problem in pre-WWII Poland. (pp. 134-136). He found the Litwaks (Litvaks--erstwhile Russian Jews) objectionable. On the other hand, he condemned the prejudices directed at Polonized Jews, commenting: "Something quite different again was the old group of Jewish assimilationists of the end of the XIX century, who were deeply connected with the file of our nation and who were obviously wronged by the eliminating movement so fashionable during the last years before 1939." (p. 134). Beck suggested that mass emigration, as to Palestine, was the only solution to the Jewish economic dominance of Poland. It had been complicated by the resistance of the British and French, and the lack of understanding of eastern European Jews by western Jews and their Zionist organizations. **TESCHEN/CIESZYN 1938: THE TRUTH AT LAST**

This work is timely because Russian revisionists have recently tried to nonsensically relativize the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact as a 1939 Soviet-German dismemberment of Poland that was "really no different" from the 1938 "Polish-German dismemberment" of Czechoslovakia. The latter involved Poland's taking of the Teschen (Cieszyn) Trans-Olza (Zaolza)

area. To begin with, this area annexed by Poland was a tiny border one, comprising just 0.6% of the territory of pre-WWII Czechoslovakia. So it was not a Polish participation in the German-Nazi dismemberment of Czechoslovakia except in the most trivial sense of the word. The tiny border area was not Czech: It was, according to the 1910 Austrian census, 76% Polish. (p. 268). The Teschen (Cieszyn) area had recently (1919) been fraudulently seized by Czechoslovakia (p. 78, 153), with the Czech forces disguising themselves as French ones, and taking advantage of Poland's weakness. (pp. 268-269). A French-based commission waved off the promised plebiscite that was supposed to fairly decide the fate of the area, and unilaterally awarded six of the eight counties of Teschen (Cieszyn) to Czechoslovakia. (p. 269). This left 180,000 Poles in this small, compact area on the Czech side of the Polish-Czech border. No wonder Poland wanted to rectify this blatant injustice.

TRYING TO BLAME POLAND FOR WWII: BECK WILL HAVE NONE OF IT

Beck's memoirs also remind us that the recently-stated Russian revisionist accusation of Poland having a secret deal with Nazi Germany to attack the USSR is nothing more than an old saw. Beck commented: "Our pact is non-aggression with the Soviets and the German Reich were negotiated one year apart and each of them presented full value in itself. As, however, it was with difficulty that the world would believe that the aim of these pacts was so simple, as could be seen from their texts, people looked everywhere for some secret appendices which would change the nature of these agreements. I attached great importance to the necessity of stressing that there was no contradiction between the two pacts, as the improvement of our relations with Germany and Russia was limited by the impossibility of making our policy dependent on any of these dangerous partners." (p. 51).

THE 1939 EVACUATION OF POLAND'S GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN STRATEGIC AND PRE-PLANNED

The 1939 wartime evacuation of the Polish government from Warsaw has at times been misrepresented as some kind of panicked, defeatist, cowardly flight. It was no such thing. It was a protective move that had been planned before the war. (p. 211). Owing to the rapidity of the German advance, initial plans to move the government to Lublin or Lwow were abandoned in favor of Krzemieniec. Beck and other government officials were there by September 11. With the unanticipated Soviet aggression against Poland

commencing September 17, Beck and others moved to Kolomya (p. 226), and then on to Romania.

Three Faces Of Fascism: Action Francaise, Italian Fascism, National Socialism Nolte, Ernst 1963 *This Scholar Censored Because Crimes of Nazism are Like Those of Communism. Verboten! Pre-WWII Polish Government Was in No Sense Fascist* German

scholar Nolte first points out that the term fascist has been widely over-used, and regularly invoked by Communists as a label against those who disagree with them (p. 455). Fascism is not the same as military dictatorship (p. 455), nor is it synonymous with extreme nationalism (p. 397). In particular, "The most marked characteristic of any fascism--and fascism always remained 'national fascism' in its era--is the combination of a nationalistic and a socialistic motif." (p. 460). Nor is fascism simply the Far Right or extreme conservatism, as politicians of that stripe were often opponents of fascism (p. 313, 417). SO WHAT IS FASCISM? Nolte defines fascism as follows : "Fascism is anti-Marxism which seeks to destroy the enemy by the evolvment of a radically opposed and yet related ideology and by the use of almost identical and yet typically modified methods, always, however, within the unyielding framework of national self-assertion and autonomy." (p. 21). Also, "...both [Italian fascism and German National Socialism]...fought a war of annihilation against Marxism by adopting and typically transforming Marxist methods." (p. 369).

THE DEVELOPMENT OF FASCISM Nolte then traces the history of fascism, and provides interesting information regarding the same. For instance, Mussolini had been a Communist as recently as 1921 (p. 154). The position of Jews towards Italian fascism had, for some time, been an ambiguous one: "The founder of Roman fascism was a Jew (Enrico Rocca), also the theoretician of corporatism (Gino Arias); moreover, there had been quite a number of Jews among the early Fascists. On the other hand we cannot overlook the fact that the number of Jews among the opponents of fascism was considerable..." (p. 230). Nolte provides much detail about the strongly anti-Christian character of fascism (p. 189, 331, 397, 407, etc.). PRE-WWII POLISH GOVERNMENT (INCLUDING OZON) WAS NOT FASCIST

Some Polonophobes have mischaracterized the prewar Polish government as a fascist or quasi-fascist

one, but Nolte repudiates this: "In Poland, too, the threat from outside the country--although it came from Bolshevik Russia and, in contrast with Bavaria and Hungary, actually did represent a deadly threat--did not lead directly to the development of fascist trends." (p. 11). "The 'moral dictatorship' set up by Pilsudski in Poland in 1926, with the aim of leading the country to recovery (Sanacja) by abolishing the 'abuses' of the parliamentary system, relied principally on the army. The core of the army consisted of his own legionaries, and even if Pilsudski himself never infringed on the multiplicity of parties and a fairly extensive freedom of expression of opinion, his successors took some forceful steps in the direction of an authoritarian, one-party dictatorship of soldier-statesmen." (p. 14). Nolte concludes: "The poles of authoritarianism and totalitarianism bracket a span ranging from Pilsudski's regime, via the political totalitarianism of Falangist Spain, to the all-encompassing totalitarianism of Mussolini and Hitler." (p. 460).

EARLY MARXIAN HOSTILITY TO POLAND

There was a time when Marx and Engel had been sympathetic to extreme German nationalism, and, in addition, had exterminatory attitudes towards partitioned Poland. Nolte comments: " Cf. also the extraordinary letter from Engels to Marx of May 23, 1851 ('Wrest from the Poles in the West what one can;...send them into the fire, eat their land bare...!')." (p. 541).

THE POLES WERE THE FIRST VICTIMS OF NAZI GENOCIDAL POLICIES

Nolte traces the development of Hitler's exterminatory policies: "From an objective standpoint, the campaign in Poland proved that an agrarian people is virtually helpless when confronted by an attack from a highly armed industrial nation...the policy of annihilation. In this, its first appearance, it was directed not against Jews and not against Bolsheviks, but against the Polish intelligentsia." (p. 355). Holocaust-uniqueness advocates have argued that, while (supposedly) all Jews were slated for extermination, some Poles would be spared and converted into Germans. In actuality, the "Poles" involved WERE Germans--that had long ago become Polonized. In the case of the kidnapping of Polish children of good racial stock (blonde, blue-eyed), as in the Lebensborn program, their German ancestry was ipso facto assumed even in the absence of independent evidence. Nolte comments: "Accordingly many Poles were scrutinized by experts for their 'Germanness' and where necessary transferred to a German environment for 'renationalization,' in the process of which there was in principle nothing to prevent children

being taken from their homes and being taught, against the will of their parents, to hearken to the true 'voice of blood'." (p. 396). **WHY THE GERMANS WERE FORCED TO TREAT JEWS AND POLES DIFFERENTLY** For all the talk about Poles and Jews being "unequal victims" in WWII, it becomes obvious that unequal German treatment of each group was motivated solely by practical considerations. The Nazis certainly did not regard the Poles as having any more inherent right to live than the Jews. In describing future German plans for the conquered Poles, Nolte writes: "Underlying everything is the total disfranchisement of the subjugated. They have no claims of any kind, except an early death...In order to sell them contraceptive devices, Hitler jokes, one ought perhaps even to employ the Jews...Infantile meanderings? Of course. But in Poland they had become a reality in many vital initial points." (p. 414). And, against the claim that Hitler was uniquely obsessed with Jews, even at the time of his suicide, we learn the following: "And Hitler never wavered in this view, except perhaps just before his death when, strangely enough 'the more powerful people of the East' appeared to him to be the true winners of the war." (p. 522). **UNDERSTANDING ANTISEMITISM** Anti-Semitism has frequently been described as completely irrational and incomprehensible, but Nolte does not share this view: "Anti-Semitism is by no means a relic of the Middle Ages or the expression of petit-bourgeois social envy; in an age of the growing awareness of national and social differences it is under certain conditions an element of national consciousness itself." (p. 381). **WAS HITLER, IN SOME WAYS, PROGRESSIVE?** Interestingly, Hitler had promoted vegetarianism (p. 419) and wanted to enforce vegetarianism and to abolish smoking after the war (p. 291).

Poland "Bad to Minorities" is Old Propaganda of Stalin and Hitler, and is Still Used Today

The Speeches Of Adolf Hitler, April 1922--August 1939: An English Translation Of Representative Passages Hitler, Adolf 1942
Hitler Blackened Poland Over "Horrible Treatment of Minorities" Just Like Cultural Marxists, and Certain Jews, Do Today. Nazism Was

Leftist, Not Rightist. German LEBENSRAUM Ambitions, and Not "Polish Intransigence", Caused WWII

This outstanding resource for scholars consists of two volumes with a common pagination, making it 1,980 pages long. Each speech of Hitler is profusely cross-referenced in an extensive index, so that the researcher can find what Hitler said about just about every imaginable topic. There are also scholarly articles and books for further study. Because they, and the book itself, predate WWII, they are not colored by it. Owing to the breadth of this work, I only touch on a few issues raised by Hitler. [Of course, analyzing Hitler in no way implies agreement with him or admiration for him, and my four-star rating is for the historical value.]

THE POLAND IS JUST TERRIBLE TO MINORITIES" LINE WAS BELATEDLY INVOKED BY HITLER The phony indignation over Poland's treatment of her minorities has, for over a century, been a staple of Polonophobes (most recently Jewish Polonophobes and their LEWAK and cultural Marxist allies). Hitler also played this anti-Polish game: He accused Poland of mistreating her German minority. However, that was an about-face. A year and a half before starting WWII, Hitler had reckoned the German minority in Poland as really no different from the Polish minority in Germany! (p. 1425).

OTHER GERMAN PRETEXTS FOR ATTACKING POLAND WERE ALSO SELF-REFUTING The refusal of Poland to return the "rightfully German" Polish Corridor was the official German justification for attacking Poland in 1939. Earlier, however, Hitler had said that the Corridor was no reason for Poland and Germany to go to war (p. 1107), and, moreover, that it was a matter of little importance that would be forgotten within 50 years. (p. 1249). Finally, the Fuhrer had repeatedly said (pp. 1424-1425, 1565), most recently six months before attacking Poland (p. 1587), that Poland was too great a nation to be denied access to the sea. [Of course, had the Corridor been the real issue, as opposed to a smokescreen, Germany could've seized the Corridor and left the rest of Poland alone.]

THE REAL REASON FOR WWII: GERMANY'S ONGOING HANKERING AFTER POLISH AND RUSSIAN TERRITORIES

No sooner had the guns of WWI fallen silent than Germany again advertised her warlike and expansionist ambitions. Consider lebensraum. Continuing this theme mentioned in MEIN KAMPF and HITLER'S SECOND BOOK, the Fuhrer repeatedly returned to this subject, as on October 1935 (p. 913-on), March 1936 (p. 1274-on), and March 1939 (p. 1586). He also reiterated the

desirability of conquering Russia for lebensraum purposes (September 1936)(p. 929). THE HOLOCAUST: PLENTY OF BLAME TO GO AROUND: TO THE WEST: GET OFF POLAND'S CASE! A common theme of Hitler's diatribes against Jews was the hypocrisy of western nations. They extolled Jewish virtues and expressed concern about the treatment of Jews in Germany, but generally refused to accept German Jews as immigrants. (e. g., p. 729, 740). In his infamous February 1, 1939 speech, Hitler promised the destruction of Europe's Jews in the event that the "international Jewish financiers" precipitated another world war. (p. 741). (However, Hitler may not have meant physical extermination at the time.) DO NOT BLAME THE CHURCH FOR "NOT DOING MORE" TO AMELIORATE THE HOLOCAUST Recurrent Jewish (and KATOLEWICA) complaints about the Church not speaking out more against Nazi crimes are out of touch with reality. In fact, Hitler had threatened the Catholic Church with dire consequences for its enmity towards National Socialism--moreover long before WWII and the Holocaust. (August 1935)(pp. 388-389). When the Catholic Church came out with the encyclical *MIT BRENNENDER SORGE* in March 1937, which condemned the racism in Nazi ideology as immoral, Hitler told the Church to stop trying to impose its concepts of morality on others, and basically to avoid overstepping the boundaries of church and state. (pp. 389-390). [Very familiar leftspeak.] NAZISM WAS GERMANOCENTRIC RACIALISM, NOT NATIONALISM Hitler scorned "bourgeoisie nationalism" (pp. 93-94)--the very same phrase used by the Communists! Nazism was primarily a racist ideology, as embodied by Hitler's phrase, "Blood and Soil." (p. 992). NAZISM WAS LEFT-WING, NOT RIGHT-WING Nazism has commonly, and deliberately been mischaracterized as extreme conservatism. In actuality, the Fuhrer attacked the German Right for such things as its blindness to Jewish rule in democracy and capitalism. (pp. 13-14, 26-27). There is no doubt that National Socialism (NSDAP) had actually been a form of socialism. According to Hitler, the German people had to choose between physical survival and the kind of economic liberty found in western democracies. (p. 927-on). Hitler wanted a dictatorship of the German people, not the class-based rule of the bourgeoisie under capitalism or the dictatorship of the proletariat under Communism. (p. 855). He promoted the planned economy. (pp. 910-911, 914). Unlike Marxian socialism, Hitler allowed for personal property, albeit

in consonance with the needs of the community. (p. 93). Hitler believed that it was nonsensical to nationalize productive industries such as the Krupp Steelworks, but he reserved the right to nationalize industries deemed inconsistent with the needs of the nation. (pp. 111-112). Hitler and his National Socialist movement consistently observed May Day. (p. 67, 739, 891). In common with all socialists, Adolf Hitler regarded common financial profit as more important than individual financial profit and, true to socialist ideation, considered individual financial profit to be egoistic. (p. 896). [Nowadays, in the USA, we likewise hear, from leftists, that successful people got that way because "they were greedy" and because "they were privileged" and because they had "won life's lottery".]

An Example of a Hatchet Job on Polish Nationalism

When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland Porter, Brian 2000 *Left-Wing Hatchet Job on Polish Patriotism. Ironically, Positions Used by Porter to Demonize Dmowski Were Commonly Held By Jews Themselves!*

WARNING: Cultural Marxism UWAGA: Kulturowe Marksizm

BACKGROUND: Author Brian Porter-Szucs has a blog [I read it]. It figures. He is much further left-wing than is apparent from what he writes in his books. For instance, he runs-down Poland's freely-elected PiS government. Brian Porter (now Porter-Szucs) is almost devoid of objectivity. To begin with, he focuses on Jews being increasingly seen by Poles as "others" and "aliens" (e. g, 158, 179, 228) without elaborating how, long before Dmowski was even born, erstwhile Polish Jews themselves had departed from Polish-ness in several major ways. In evaluating Dmowski and the Endeks, Porter writes, "One could selectively quote from National Democratic texts to show that they supported unqualified aggression, or to demonstrate that they were benign advocates of patriotism and national solidarity. Neither image would be inaccurate, but both would be incomplete." (p. 218). It is ironic for Porter to complain about selective quotations, because, as demonstrated below, he is the worst offender in this regard. Virtually everything he quotes from Endek sources, assuming that the quotations are accurate, is tendentiously cited to make

Dmowski look as horrible as possible. DMOWSKI NOT "ANTI-MINORITY

"Leftists commonly call people, whose views they do not agree with, as "anti-minority." Porter falsely accuses Dmowski of inconsistency in opposing the forced Germanization of Poles in Poznania while supporting the forced Polonization of Ukrainians further east. This is flatly untrue. Dmowski was no chauvinist. In fact, Dmowski had said that he would be just as disgusted at a Polish teacher beating a Ukrainian child for speaking Ukrainian as he would be disgusted with a German or Russian teacher beating a Polish child for speaking Polish. In fact, Dmowski had a flexible response when it came to Poland's minorities. Then again, Ukrainian national consciousness had been, at that time, a recent development, and Ukrainians themselves had differing conceptions about what it meant to be a "Ukrainian" and how this related to Russians and Poles. THE SAME OLD TIRED ACCUSATION OF (WHAT ELSE?) "HATE" Now let us consider this "hate" business that begins with Porter's title of this book. The informed reader realizes that selective accusations of "hate" are a standard, canned left-wing tactic, and have only intensified in recent years. In actuality, Dmowski never promulgated unilateral hate against anyone. Those who actually knew Dmowski personally said that he had a jovial disposition--quite the opposite of a hater. Dmowski actually faulted Poles when they blindly hated Germans. He pointed out that there are many things that Poles could learn from Germans, and he envisioned a day when Germans and Poles could live in friendship. LET'S UNDEMONIZE DMOWSKI A BIT Dmowski's antagonism to Jews was never total. It was directed solely against Jews as opponents of Polish natural aspirations. Dmowski always opposed violence against Jews, and was in no sense "ambivalent about pogroms". (p. 231). Far from making "outlandish claims about vast Jewish conspiracies" (p. 232), Dmowski actually taught that it was just as incorrect to overestimate Jewish power and influence as it was to underestimate it. Finally, Dmowski always recognized the fact that some Jews, both converted and unconverted, were Polish patriots. Nor was Dmowski a scapegoat-seeker. A cursory knowledge of Dmowski's writings shows that he criticized his fellow Poles for accentuating their own problems at least as much as he criticized others for causing Polish problems. THE AUTHOR'S FALSIFICATIONS OF HISTORY

Some of Porter's assertions are particularly egregious. He actually accuses Dmowski of being a "proto-fascist" (p. 155) and even of

promoting imperialism. (p. 183, 222). Precisely the opposite was the case! Dmowski opposed fascism to his dying day, and rejected ideas about resurrecting Poland in her 1772 boundaries, even in the form of a Pilsudski-style federation, precisely because the nations involved now had their own identities and would not want to be a part of Poland. The Endek flirtation with Social Darwinism--a very popular concept among European intellectuals of the late 19th-century--and then more true of Balicki than Dmowski, should not be overstated. As anyone familiar with them knows, Dmowski's later writings show a minimal imprint of Social Darwinist thinking. THE LEFT-WING AGENDA COMES THROUGH AGAIN AND AGAIN

Considering all of Porter's misrepresentations of Dmowski noted above, and still others that could be mentioned, the intelligent reader must ask: Where is Porter coming from? He reveals the source of his biases as he comments, "Like Andrzej Bryk, I believe...in the name of imaging a Poland--indeed, a Europe--for the twenty-first century, within which the nation-state will no longer be equated with cultural homogeneity...to envision a world of harmony among nations and diversity within nations." (pp. 237-238). Translating the familiar left-wing code words, the reader can discern a veiled hostility to conventional Polish patriotism and Catholicism. Then again, that is what cultural Marxism is all about.----- There is a further irony to all of Porter's misstatements about Dmowski:

ALL THAT AWFUL ENDEK "BIGOTRY"---HELD BY LEADING JEWS THEMSELVES Examples (Check my reviews, if available): Eminent Jewish philosopher Martin Buber: Even after centuries of assimilation, Jews remain a distinctive, Oriental people. *The Jewish Dark Continent: Life and Death in the Russian Pale of Settlement*

Martin Buber: Jews are a "community of blood". Jews are a VOLK. Jews are a STAMM (community of common descent). *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*

Prominent Yiddishist Noah Prylucki: Jews are the inevitable "other". Jews are their own VOLK. Jews are in RASSENKAMPF (racial struggle) with other peoples. Jews in Poland were not, are not, and never will be, Poles. Even a fully-assimilated Jew retains an indelible "Jewish spirit" that remains alien to the culture in which he lives. *Jewish People, Yiddish Nation: Noah Prylucki and the Folkists in Poland*

Leading Cultural-Zionist Asher Hirsch Ginsberg (Ahad Ha'Am): When Jews assimilate, they do not, and should not, fully join the gentile culture.

Instead, they do express, and should express, their Jewishness in terms of that gentile culture--all the while retaining their separatist identity. *Ahad Ha-Am ~ Essays - Letters – Memoirs* Evidently, if a Jew has a certain position, it is just fine, but if Dmowski has the same position, then he is a hater. Such is left-wing logic.

Polish Nationalism and Poland's National Boundaries

Poland and Germany Giertych, Jędrzej 1958

Combatting German Revanchism Regarding the Odra-Nysa (Oder-Neisse) River Eastern Boundary of Germany. The Polish Landlord Myth This book is quite lucid, and I focus on a few issues:

ONGOING RELEVANCE OF THE RECOVERED TERRITORIES

At times, Poland has come under attack for acquiring the territories comprising Silesia, Pomerania, and East Prussia after WWII. This work examines and refutes these attacks. Even today (2018), 60 years after this book had been written, the issue remains relevant. Even though formal German revanchist claims have (supposedly) died out, some Germans still retain the Recovered Territories as a "moral issue" in attempting to force Poland to allow Germans to buy-up Polish lands (notably at Szczecin), and to stake out a moral high ground in that Germans have "already repented for Nazism" in the form of the cession of these formerly-German territories. This is doubly nonsensical, as the Germans were forced to cede these territories just as the Germans were forced to apologize for Nazism and so have no right to claim moral credit for that. A PERSONAL ASIDE [The Odra River is Oder in German, which makes one think of odor. As a small boy, I made up this joke: "Why does the Odra River have a bad smell? Because the Germans had it for so long.] CREATING A NONEXISTENT GENOCIDE OF GERMANS

This is a small but fact-filled English-language book. The 2.2-million-German-expellee-dead-myth is repudiated. (p. 47). THE RECOVERED TERRITORIES ARE NOT A QUID PRO QUO FOR THE USSR SEIZING THE KRESY Poland's acquisition of German territories finds moral and legal justification in terms of German reparation

for the German evils done to Poland. (p. 2, 60, 67, etc.). Giertych does NOT see them as a replacement for the eastern Polish territories confiscated by the Soviet Union, or as an undoing of the fact that the recovered territories had belonged to Poland many centuries ago (during the Piast Dynasty).

GERMAN SELF-PITY ABOUT BEING "COLLECTIVELY PUNISHED" FOR NAZISM As for the accusation of collective punishment heaped upon Germans, Giertych cites an interesting 1946 sermon by Archbishop Konrad Groeber of Freiburg, in which he treated German crimes a moral issue having collective implications in terms of loss of territory. (p. 76). The archbishop pointed out that, although a person cannot be punished for the murder caused by one's sibling, he may still be morally bound to provide financial assistance to the victim's survivors. A partner in a business cannot be jailed for an act of fraud caused by an associate, but may well be obligated to help pay in rectification of the fraud. Let us take this further. If the Allied confiscation of these territories is an act of victor's justice, and a punishment of Germany for being on the losing side of the war, then what is the Allied confiscation of Poland's eastern half (the Kresy)?

NO MORAL HIGH GROUND FOR GERMANS (FALSELY) CLAIMING THAT THE RECOVERED TERRITORIES WERE ETERNALLY GERMAN Jedziej Giertych expounds on the past Slavic character of the territories in question, NOT to justify their Polish re-acquisition in 1945, but in refutation of the "eternally German" myths. There is no basis for the claim that the territories were Germanic until the Slavs drove them out in the 7th century. (p. 4). The fact that the Silingi were a Germanic tribe is irrelevant. The Germanic Burgunds, Vandals, Goths, etc. all had transient presences, but this does not mean that the relevant territories of modern-day France, Italy, etc. are thereby rightfully German. (pp. 4-5). Despite the intense Germanization of recent centuries, large parts of Pomerania, Silesia, Warmia and Masuria, etc. remained substantially Polish in language until fairly recent times. (p. 11, 15, 39-40, etc.).

PAST GERMAN COLONIALISM OF POLAND CANNOT BE COMPARED WITH OTHER COLONIALISMS Nowadays, past episodes of political and religious colonialism are often considered the same. They are not. For instance, consider Bismarck's forced-Germanization policies in Prussian-ruled western Poland: "The German influence there remained as superficial and artificial as the Dutch influence in Indonesia and the French in Morocco (with the great difference however,

that this was not compensated by any cultural or economic achievements comparable with the Dutch and French in those Dutch and French possessions.)" (p. 94). The missionary-pretending Teutonic Knights exterminated most (though not all) of the indigenous Prussian population and practically annihilated its culture. In contrast, "Let us compare the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia with a similar state, organized by a religious society, the Jesuit 'reduction' in Paraguay! Jesuits established there a benevolent 'Utopia' the aim of which was the material well-being and spiritual salvation of the natives. The very savage Guarani-Indians became transformed into a civilized and Christian population, which forms today the overwhelming majority of an independent state, Paraguay, and still speaks its native tongue." (pp. 25-26).

THE END-WWII GERMANS AS VICTIMS NARRATIVE FAILS The sinking of the WILHELM GUSTLOFF by the Soviets must be kept in perspective. During this same time, Germans evacuated the concentration camp at Stutthof (near Gdansk) and subsequently dumped the sick inmates off ships into the Baltic Sea. (p. 69).

AGAINST THE ATTEMPTED DELEGITIMIZATION OF POLAND: THEN AND NOW Against "Poland a historical failure"-type thinking, Giertych points to numerous Polish achievements in the short 21-year interwar period (pp. 116-117)--all in spite of the poverty and backwardness caused by 123 years of foreign occupation, massive devastation during WWI, etc. For example, a new large port (Gdynia) was built practically from scratch, 7,000 kilometers of new railways were constructed, and illiteracy in the eastern provinces was reduced from 66% to nearly zero. This is not solely of historical interest. Nowadays, the cultural Marxists, LEWAKS, globalists, etc., continue to try to delegitimize Poland in accordance with their agendas.

THE POLISH LANDLORD MYTH Poland was not fixated in feudalism: "By the way, it is not true, as many people believe, that Poland before the last war was a land predominantly of large agricultural estates: according to the census of 1931, 57.6 percent of land in Poland was in holdings under 50 hectares or 125 acres, 25.8 percent in farms and estates over this size, and 16.6 percent, mainly forests, belonging to the state and local governments. Note that on American or English standards 125 acres is not a large estate but a normal, quite average farm." (p. 117).

Contemporary Polish Nationalism

Suwerenny Narod W XXI Wieku: Program Ruchu Narodowego

Bosak, Krzysztof

2016

Fixing Poland: A Polish

Nationalist Manifesto. The Many Ways That the European Union Has Harmed Poland. Polesit Needed

THE SOVEREIGN NATION IN

THE 21ST CENTURY: THE PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT,

is the title of this Polish-language nationalist treatise. It is located at

ruchnarodowy.net, under "Program". The NARODOWCY were the

staunchest opponents of Poland's entry into the European Union in 2003.

(p. 29). The authors of this work are fully cognizant of the fact that the

majority of current Polish public opinion favors continued Polish

membership in the European Union. They note that, when the Polish public

is educated about what really is going on, it will support Polesit. (p. 31).

WHY POLAND'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EUROPEAN UNION FLIES
IN THE FACE OF HER BEST INTERESTS

Although over 25 years have passed since the Treaty of Maastricht, the European Union is beyond the possibility of significant reformation. (p. 29, 31). The European Union is a

child of the liberal-leftist revolution of the 1960's and 1970's and is founded upon cultural Marxism. (p. 30). It is an enemy of cultural norms and of

religion, which it slanders as "racism", "xenophobia", "fanaticism",

"fundamentalism", "sexism", and "homophobia". (p. 31). The authors forgot

"theocracy", "Talibanism", and (what else?) "anti-Semitism". The European

Union is an engine of social decay in Poland, as by the advancing of anti-

values, consumerism, hedonism, and licentiousness. (p. 76). Wealthy

sponsors from the West promote the homosexual lobby in Poland. (p. 78).

The European Union pushes "progressive" child rearing, which is in conflict with Poland's classical and Christian child rearing. (p. 87). The European

Union tries its best to force hedonistic-based sex education on Polish

children, often in disregard of parental wishes. (p. 84). In the 1990's,

Poland's leaders sold Polish industry, land, etc., to foreigners, thus

converting Poland into a neo-colony dependent upon western European

nations and their leaders. (p. 40). Poland's status as a neo-colony means

that she is a reservoir of cheap labor, and a dumping ground for foreign

products. (p. 40). Poland's membership in the European Union

exacerbated this problem, as the union of Polish and western European

markets means that Poland's remaining firms are put in a situation where they cannot compete with western firms. (p. 40). Poland's continued membership in the European Union prevents the re-industrialization of Poland, and prevents Poland from engaging in any kind of significant economic protectionism to protect her interests. (p. 41). The European Union's policy on carbon dioxide emissions, irrespective of the validity or invalidity of global warming, was a trick. It struck a blow at Polish industry, which did not have the technological advantages of French and German companies. (p. 51). Poland's membership in the European Union has made buildings in major cities attractive targets for investment, which has also made them unaffordable to most Poles. This, in turn, has facilitated delayed childbearing among Poles, and has encouraged Poles to emigrate. (p. 60). Poland's membership in the European Union has caused a "brain drain", notably those of medical personnel. (p. 65). Other factors to consider: Brussel's overweening bureaucracy (p. 3), and ever-growing European-Union-imposed regulations on member nations. (p. 29). The fear-mongering, first fostered by Communists and now by Euro-enthusiasts, about Poland being incapable of being sovereign and self-sufficient. (p. 29). The EURO turning out to benefit Germany. (p. 26). So no EURO. Keep Polish currency as it is. (p. 4, 66). Poland a would-be dumping ground for immigrants--in this case an attempt of western European nations to shift some of their problems onto Poland. (p. 18). The growing rebellion of individual European nations against Eurocrat officiousness (p. 26), and against the European-Union-promoted political correctness and multiculturalism (p. 26), as well as against the European-Union-caused crises in finance and immigration. (p. 26).

FOREIGN POLICY MAJOR POINTS OF THIS COMMON-SENSE MANIFESTO: Making Poland acquire "weight", in international matters, through the creation of a strong Polish lobby in Great Britain, the USA, etc. (p. 39). Having Poland acquire nuclear weapons in order to deter any aggressors. (p. 15). Rejecting the Jagiellonian ideal, wherein Poland could be allied with her neighbors as a buffer against both Russia and Germany. (p. 21). Support for the Poles that remain in the Kresy, and for the worldwide Polonia. (p. 3, 34-38).

REJECTING IMMIGRATION QUOTAS IMPOSED UPON POLAND:

Realizing the fact that the arrival of immigrants tends to lower the wages of Poles. This is especially the case with low-skilled occupations. (p. 63). Thwarting the forced Polish acceptance of Third World

immigrants and their cheap labor. (p. 18). In particular, Muslims are difficult to assimilate into Polish culture, and have often proved to be hostile to the nations to which they have moved. (p. 19). On the other hand, some Ukrainian immigrants are acceptable (p. 20), provided that they fully integrate into Polish life, avoid concentrating in ethnic enclaves (p. 24), and refrain from glorifying Stepan Bandera and other OUN-UPA genocidal murderers. (p. 24). No acceptance of illegal aliens. (p. 20).

DOMESTIC MAJOR POINTS OF THIS COMMON-SENSE MANIFESTO: Freeing of Poland from the media domination [restrictions on free speech] of the elites of the so-called Round Table Agreement of 1989. (p. 4). Belatedly completing the de-Communization process and removing Soviet monuments while always respecting the dead of all nationalities. (p. 25). Promoting a consistent pro-family pro-life orientation (p. 3, 79), and rejecting abortion on demand. Also rejecting the abortion of deformed infants as a "compromise solution", as this is a form of the eugenics practiced by both Nazis and Communists. (p. 79). The affirmation of marriage as the union of one man and one woman. (p. 78). No feminism. (p. 8). No pseudo-science of genderism (p. 78). Unmasking Orwellian leftspeak, which includes such deceptive terms as "reproductive rights", "rights of sexual minorities", "gender identity", etc. (p. 80). Combatting Poland's social decay (promoted by the European Union), which includes a decline in marriages, an increase in divorces, a disinclination of having children, and an increasing number of children born out of wedlock. (p. 76). Rebuilding Poland's Catholic culture, which has often been disregarded in public life. (p. 88). Rejecting the "rights of minorities" double standard regarding the favorable treatment of the German minority in Poland and the unfavorable treatment of the Polish minority in Germany. (p. 26). Raising the young in a spirit of patriotism and other Polish traditions. No political correctness, moral relativism, multiculturalism, cultural Marxism, globalism, LEWACTO, postmodernism, consumerism, or hedonism (pp. 3-4, 18, 26, 32, 89). These harmful tendencies are disguised as "modernization". (p. 22). Reforming Poland's excessively complicated tax system. This has been a problem since 1989. (p. 71). Fostering true free enterprise, without which Poland will never prosper, and without which Poland will keep losing her brightest and best to the attractive possibilities offered by other nations. (p. 4). No total laissez faire capitalism, but no government-supported economy either. (p. 41, 44). Reduction of the service sector. (p. 42). Encouraging

Poles to "buy Polish" as a means of supporting the Polish nation. (p. 43). Engaging in a systematic re-industrialization of Poland (p. 15), and with the most modern technology and equipment. (p. 41). Counteracting the ownership of Polish agriculture by foreign concerns. (p. 22). Making Poland energy-independent by exploiting her coal reserves, which are sufficient for centuries. (p. 49). Using the latest coal technology to make this happen. (p. 51). Also promoting the fracking of gas shale deposits. (p. 52). Restoring Poland's shipbuilding industry. (p. 54). Accelerating Poland's road construction (p. 57) and modernizing Polish railroads. (p. 58). Removing the excessive administration and bureaucracy that permeates so much of Polish life (p. 9). Ending the welfare state: Ceasing the effective paying of the unemployed to avoid gainful employment. Creating public works for the unemployed. (p. 62). Conducting the long-overdue judicial reforms (pp. 10-11), including a major reduction in the over-abundance of judges and prosecutors. (pp. 12-13). [Remember, this was written in 2016. In 2018 there was a big media stink about Poland's judicial reforms, raised by a hysterical European Union whose hegemony over Poland was evidently threatened. Note also that the judiciary is a major promoter of left-wing ideology, for which reason the LEWAKS dread any hint of the reining-in of the excessive powers of the judiciary.] Bringing back the death penalty (p. 10). Restoring discipline to Poland's elementary schools, and reaffirming respect for teachers from parents as well as children. Eliminating the colossal amounts of bureaucracy that strangles the educational system of Poland. (p. 86). Eliminating the cosmopolitan approach to the teaching of history in favor of a one that stresses Polish national identity. (p. 91). This, contrary to caricatures, does not mean the inculcation of "national myths" or an uncritical understanding of Polish history. (p. 91). Requiring the young to learn how to use firearms (p. 14), and restore gun-ownership rights for most Polish adults. (p. 15). Affirming the protection of the environment while rejecting environmentalist ideologies and rejecting onerous policies that harm economic development. (p. 98). **FIGHTING POLONOPHOBIA**

The aforementioned Polish lobby should refute the falsehoods said about Poland. (p. 39). Jewish anti-Polonism is a long-standing problem, and Poles should fight back with diplomatic intervention, lawsuits, polemics, etc. (p. 92). However, the authors point out that the truth about Poland is not exactly a matter of concern to the French or the American elite. For this reason, the authors recommend that Poles not be overly concerned about

what others think about them. (p. 92). Unfortunately, the authors do not go far enough. They do not discuss the dangers of the Holocaust Industry and its efforts to extort "reparations" (actually, tribute) money from Poland.

STANDING UP TO INTERNET GIANTS AND THEIR CENSORSHIP

The authors point that, during the interval of April-November 2016, Facebook removed the profiles of over 100 Polish patriotic organizations. (p. 95). Such blatant acts of internet censorship can only be remedied by such thing as the relevant internet outlets being subject to a Polish law that prizes free speech. PROMOTING HISTORICAL AWARENESS OF THE POLOKAUST A major institution should be developed, and deliberately sited on the Recovered Territories (as in Wroclaw) as a reminder to Germany. It would educate the public on the Polokaust--the Nazi German genocide of the Poles. (p. 38).

Mysli Nowoczesnego Endeka Ziemkiewicz, Rafal, A. 2012

How Poles Too Often Retain a Creole Mentality--That of a Colonized People Whose Role is To Serve Foreign Interests. Why Dmowski Opposed Jews This book, now a little dated, was written before the election of the PiS (PRAWA I SPRAWIEDLIWOSC) government by the Polish people. THOUGHTS OF A MODERN-THINKING ENDEK is the title of this Polish-language book. It had been a bestseller in Poland. The title alludes to Roman Dmowski's THOUGHTS OF A MODERN THINKING POLE. When Dmowski had written his work, many Poles had become convinced that a Pole should, least of all, be a Pole. (p. 61, 64; a notion very much promulgated today: p. 62). The essence of Dmowski's thinking, revived by Ziemkiewicz, is the fact that the Pole has a fundamental duty to Poland, and not only to his own private interests or to someone else's concept of what he should be. (p. 76). However, the analogy with the Endeks should not be taken too far. Ziemkiewicz disagrees with the modern Polish right on many issues (e.g., pp. 190-on). He also rejects the suggestion that the conduct of Polish policy-makers represents an intentional attempt to ruin Poland. (p. 102). THE LEWACTWO CRIPPLES POLAND Poland's post-Communist government would have us believe--and backed by oft-repeated propaganda--that Poland has been very successful. Ziemkiewicz shows that Poland has actually regressed in many ways. For instance, Poland's

economic productivity is very low. (pp. 7-8). Out of 132 surveyed countries, Poland's railways rate 75th, while her roadways and highways rank an abysmal 125th place. (p. 20). This, of course, discourages foreign investment. Poland's businesses and economy are hampered by bureaucratic absurdities, unsound policies, hyper-regulation of the "free" market, etc. (p. 14). Most of all, thanks to the post-Communist elitists, Poland is afflicted by a culture of corruption. The world-class rating agency, Ernst&Young (EY), has reckoned corruption in Poland as worse than that of many African and South American nations. (p. 26). THE LEWAKS LOOK DOWN ON THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH THEM In addition, Poland's post-Communist government is characterized by elitism. Its members look down on the Polish population as "dark" and "unenlightened." (pp. 45-on). Although Ziemkiewicz is no fan of RADIO MARYJA, he chides the elitists for their snobbish insinuation that Poland will never become "fully European" as long as there are listeners to RADIO MARYJA, and that its listeners will thankfully die out like dinosaurs. (p. 48, 53). Poland's post-Communist ruling elite find their power and privilege threatened by Polish patriotism. It is for this reason that they defame Poland's history (pp. 65-on), in what sometimes has been called the PEDAGOGIKA WSTYDU. They also smear Polish patriotism as a form of (what else?) anti-Semitism, reaction, obscurantism, chauvinism, xenophobia, and whatnot (p. 46), or--at best--an outdated concept. In addition, they try to redefine the term. During Communist rule, the elitists tried to redefine patriotism as a "struggle for socialism". (p. 77). Today's post-Communist elite, and GAZETA WYBORCZA types [now funded by George Soros], try to "modernize" and redefine Polish patriotism as a fight against "national chauvinism", and support for the European Union. (p. 78). The reality is quite different. Nations still very much exist. To those Poles who accept the premise that nations are obsolete, and the EU (European Union) is what Poles should aspire to, he asks if they REALLY believe that France and Germany would sacrifice their interests for the benefit of Poland. (p. 80). [Since this book was written, we have the example of Brexit, which should lead to Polesxit.] SINCE NO ONE IS PUNISHED FOR CRIMES AGAINST POLES, IT MEANS THAT POLES DO NOT RESPECT THEMSELVES Although the author seldom uses the term lustration (LUSTRACJA)(p. 141), he discusses it. "What does it matter to me if the Communists are punished for their crimes?" many Poles

ask. Ziemkiewicz turns this question around, "Does it matter to you that there is no accountability?" To those who say that it does not matter, Ziemkiewicz shows that they are very wrong. He points out that Communism, initially imposed by the Soviet Union, created a large ruling and thieving mafia. This mafia continues to act and rule with lawless abandon because it never was made accountable in the first place. (p. 75).

THE ROUND TABLE AGREEMENT DECEPTION The author finds very limited analogy between de-Communization in Poland and de-Nazification in post-WWII Germany. To be sure, only a small number of Nazi war criminals were ever punished, and many German officials from the Nazi era remained in influential positions for decades after the war. However, these individuals generally had to hide their pasts, or be ashamed of it. (p. 96). Such was not the case with Poland's Communists after 1989, in the wake of the Round Table agreements. (pp. 106-on). Deals were struck. Poland became a post-colonial nation, but essentially the same elite retained much of their privileges and their immunity from justice. Poland's new "capitalism" was based more on political favor than sound economic principles. (pp. 118-119).

INTERNALIZED POLONOPHOBIA Ziemkiewicz traces the history of all these developments. (pp. 154-on, 160). The Germans and the Soviets had destroyed much of Poland's intelligentsia, culture, etc., and enslaved Poland for over half a century. Going back earlier, to the Partitions, Poland's enemies had been defining Poles as a hopeless and incompetent people. The Poles internalized this Polonophobia. They lost faith in themselves and their capacity to better themselves. They developed a subservient mentality towards those who ruled over them, and became conditioned to accept anything from them, including a lack of economic standards and moral integrity. Poles began to internalize all the negative things said about them, and saw themselves as ones that need to apologize to everybody and otherwise to "earn the right" to be fully European.

POLES RETAIN A SUBSERVIENT, COLONIZED-PEOPLE MENTALITY The same situation informed the attitudes of the masses and the elitists. (pp. 143-on). The masses adopted a serf mentality, which featured a lack of concern for anything beyond their immediate personal needs. They tended to think what little work they could get away with, what they could get from someone else, etc. The Polish elitists, on the other hand, developed the "colonial sergeant" syndrome.

(pp. 144-on). They proudly saw themselves as the "bearers of civilization" of the colonial powers ruling over Poland. They looked down on the Polish masses as primitives and savages, and treated them harshly. During the post-Communist post-colonial era, this elitism included the "Michnik disease". (see: *Michnikowszczyzna: Zapis Choroby* (Polish Edition)). Ziemkiewicz uses another colonial analogy for this situation. The post-Communist elitists are the Creoles, and the commonly patriotic and Catholic masses are the self-evidently backward natives. (p. 157).

JEDWABNE: THE PEDAGOGIKA WSTYDU IN ACTION The Jedwabne affair exemplifies the condescending attitude of the post-Communist elite towards the Polish masses, notably the peasants. (p. 175). The media trumpeted the accusations of Jan T. Gross as fact even before the investigation. The fact that a few Jew-murdering Poles could be found now meant that the Polish nation as a whole had to "come to terms with the past", acknowledge this collective "Polish sin", apologize to the world, etc. Predictably, nothing was said about any Communist criminals (e.g., the U. B., or Bezpieka) made accountable for their actions. (p. 176).

WHY ROMAN DMOWSKI WAS (AND IS) DEMONIZED BY LEFTISTS AND CERTAIN JEWS In the past, those who ruled over Poland would much rather face the (presumably) romantic revolutionaries than Endeks. The Endek nation-building program could elevate Poland, and could actually threaten the rulers' power and privileges. (p. 277-on). It is for the same reason that Poland's post-Communist elite demonizes the Endeks and the Catholic Church.

NATIONALISM--THAT NAUGHTY WORD. DO NOT CONFLATE ENDEKS WITH NAZIS Ziemkiewicz addresses some of these smears. There are many varieties of nationalism, and Endek nationalism was completely different from German nationalism. (p. 278). Endek policies against Jews had nothing to do with Nazi ones. The Endek program of developing a Polish middle class was made impossible and unnecessary as long as Jewish economic dominance existed. (p. 279). The ghetto benches and numerus clausus, though supposedly facilitated by Nazi policies against German Jews, were not animated by racial hatreds. They stemmed from the blockage of university opportunities to Polish peasants, and small-town people, by the large Jewish presence at Polish universities. (p. 280).