

PATTERNS IN THE LIFE OF AN ETHNIC MINORITY

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The subject of this study is the ethnic minority composed of individuals living in a country other than their own, specifically the Jewish people, a classic example of such minority.

A little more than ten years ago the Jews differed from all other peoples of the world in possessing no territory of their own. The situation changed after Israel was founded on May 14, 1948, in part of what was formerly Palestine. Ever since, those Jews who have settled on their own land have made up the majority of the population there and have organized life according to their own wishes under the protection of their own state and that of international law. At present around two million Jews live in Israel. However, a great part of the Jewish people, some ten millions of them, live in the Diaspora, scattered in nearly all countries of the world. From the standpoint of the state of Israel these ten million Jews may be considered the Israeli Diaspora. Evidently these people have a feeling of belonging to this Diaspora as is attested by the considerable funds coming to Israel from the Jews in other countries.

The renewal of territorial status of the Jewish people has had a profound psychological effect on the attitude of non-Jewish people toward the Jews, as well as on the consciousness of the Jews in the Diaspora. It is impossible to determine today the degree to which these changes in attitudes have influenced patterns for the Jewish minority in the Diaspora. This remains a task of the future, since a historical perspective is needed for conclusions of this kind.

The fact that the Jews now possess territory of their own makes the status of these unique people similar in a certain respect to that of other peoples who, although they have never lost their territory, have in the course of history given up parts of their population to other countries, mainly as emigrants. Most of these peoples are concentrated in their own countries, with the minority living outside. In spite of the fact that only

the minority of the Jews live within their own land while the majority form the Diaspora, there is a great similarity in the living conditions of groups of Diaspora Jews and those of other peoples. This similarity has become still more marked in the course of the last ten years as a result of epochal changes in the international status of the Jews since nationhood was achieved. This resemblance is caused by the fact that any ethnic minority living in a country other than its own is dependent on the host of that country, i.e., on the people forming the majority. The life of an ethnic minority is ruled by peculiar sociological patterns, which have been clearly expressed in the conditions of the classic ethnic minority represented by the Jews, and to some degree in the life of any ethnic group in a foreign environment. Essentially, this life depends on the attitude of the native population toward the newcomers, who have to adjust to the loss of their home country and to forget the conditions of life there, where everyone had a right to activity in any field.

People living in their native country feel that that country, with all its natural resources and its social, political, and cultural institutions has from time immemorial belonged to the native population and to nobody else. Thus, the feeling prevails among the natives that only they are entitled to order the life in the country according to their understanding and aspirations. This right to live on their own land and to use its resources is felt by the ethnic majority as their *primary right*. Such a conviction makes them unwilling to share this right with ethnic minorities living in their country, even if they have lived there for centuries and form a majority in certain parts of the country.

In some cases the minority groups feel themselves closely tied to the adoptive country and look on it as their new home. History has recorded examples of devoted service of minority groups in the interest of their country of residence. However, the attitude of minority groups has never determined the fate of these groups in certain countries nor affected their social

status there. These have been determined by the attitude of the majority.

The ethnic majority is always sure that the right of the minority to participate in the life of the country is determined by the degree of advantage to the majority obtained from the minority's participation in economic, political, cultural and other fields. These feelings of the majority underlie the *relative* or *secondary* right of the minority to settle and to live in the country. The Jews throughout the long history of their dispersal among peoples and countries of the world have been subjected to this relative right to live and to act in a foreign environment—a right which at any time could be restricted, violated and abolished. Other ethnic minorities have also been subjected to this. However, the Jewish minority presents a classic example for studying the peculiar patterns which govern the life of any minority, resulting from the exercise of this relative right.

Migration has always been of great importance and is now of the utmost significance both for peoples and individuals. Mass migration is always forced, even when it occurs not through war or revolution, but as a result of an open violation of political, religious or racial character. Even migration in pursuit of better living conditions actually is forced since it is caused by poverty in the home country. The Jews again present a unique example of the forced migration resulting from persecution and poverty.

It is quite natural that in a new place and under new conditions people of common origin, language, faith and traditions hold together and at first are rather isolated. This self-isolation soon gives place to a contrary tendency, that of close cooperation with society in all fields of activity. Such desire to come in close contact with the local population, the tendency toward complete amalgamation with the population, exacts a price in the newcomers' ethnic characteristics—their language, traditions and ways of life; this is clearly manifested in the second and third generations. However, because of the *relativity* of the right of ethnic minorities to participate in the local life,

usually they are not treated as equals by the indigenous population. Opportunities for participation by minorities in a given field are conditioned by the advantages gained from this activity, and depend also on circumstances of place and time, as well as on the minority's geographic and racial origin. All ethnic minorities encounter certain obstacles in their activities. These obstacles, although of different dimensions, result from the existence of the *relative right*, as mentioned above.

The attitude of the majority toward the Jews in many countries is again an example of the resistance of the local population to the penetration of newcomers into different strata of the society, against their belonging to local classes and guilds, and against their right to work in any field of their choice. The principle of "relative existence" is clearly manifested in relations between the Jewish minority and the non-Jewish majority.

This study is concerned with showing how the principle of "relative existence" applied to the Jewish minority has influenced the fate of this minority. We shall see that the Jews in the Diaspora could win the right of residence among other peoples and the right of participation in the economic life of their adoptive countries only because their sojourn was justified by the *utilitarian profit* they rendered to the host population.

In general, people belonging to foreign ethnic groups, particularly the Jews, are confined to such forms of activity, including the economic, as are considered harmless and profitable for the ethnic majority. In the course of many centuries the Jews have rendered services *for* other peoples but never *together with* those peoples. This article will show that this relationship between the ethnic majority and the Jewish minority did not change essentially with the beginning of the age of industrialization. It is true, a free competition replaced the closed economy, abolished *estates* and groups from which Jews had been restricted; and finally the walls of the Jewish ghetto fell and the isolation seemed to come to an end. The activities and initiative of the Jews contributed generously to the establishment of new economic forms. However, the legal emancipation of

the Jews brought about by the new economic organization was not accompanied by a real economic and social emancipation. Although the Jews made great efforts to join the non-Jewish milieu and to assimilate therein, they did not succeed here. Sociological patterns which govern interrelations between these ethnic groups are of long duration and do not depend on economic and social status, since they are patterns of a national kind and govern interrelations between nationalities everywhere and in all historical periods.

Participation of the Jewish population in economic activity in any country in no way resembles the participation of the non-Jewish population of the same country in identical spheres of activity. Social stratification also differs to a considerable degree in the two ethnic groups.

I shall endeavor to present in figures a general picture of the economic composition of the Jewish population of three European countries in which the great majority of European Jewry lived, prior to the Jewish catastrophe of the Second World War: in Russia (later the U.S.S.R.), Poland and Germany. This economic distribution of the Jews will be compared with the economic distribution of the entire population of those countries. Rumania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia will also be considered, thus embracing an area within the limits of which there lived more than seven million Jews, that is, half of all the Jewish people of the period examined here. We are considering so many countries because each had reached a different stage of economic and social development. Thus a more dynamic picture is given of the effects of industrialization upon the processes investigated.

Within the borders of the Russian Empire there were more than five million Jews at the time of the first population census in 1897. This census disclosed a striking contrast between the economic distribution of the Jews and the economic structure of the country as a whole: in 1897, 31½ per cent of Russian Jews were engaged in agriculture, at a time when

75 per cent of the total population of Russia were engaged in this activity.¹ This contrast in the structure of occupations did not change much during the period of more than forty years between the first tsarist census and the last Soviet census of January 1939:² this time we see a decrease in the proportion of the agricultural population to 63 per cent in the whole country, which is explained by the rapid rate of industrialization. At the same time we note the opposite trend among the Jews, with whom the proportion in agriculture rose to 7 per cent.

The same contrast in trends is indicated in other spheres of the national economy:³ industry and trade accounted for 10.3 per cent of the general population in 1897, and 5.8 per cent according to the Soviet census of 1926. (The 1926 data refer only to people gainfully employed, including agriculture.) With respect to the Jews, the ration in 1897 was 35.4 per cent, and in 1926, 34.4 per cent. The same phenomenon is repeated in commerce: 3.8 per cent for the general population in 1897, and 38.6 per cent for the Jews. In 1926 the data were: 1.4 for the general population and 19.3 for the Jews. The figures pertaining to the Ukraine in 1926 show the wage-earning population engaged in commercial occupations as 0.7 per cent, with 20 per cent for the Jewish population. The changes in the balance of economic occupations, especially in commerce were brought about by changes in the political system.

Poland provides quite a similar picture, as the figures of the two censuses of 1921 and 1931 indicate.⁴ In Poland, 5.8 per cent of the total Jewish population were engaged in agriculture during the period of the first census; 66.7 per cent of

1 N. Gergel, *Di lage fun di jidn in Russland*, Warsaw, 1926, p. 36.

2 Jacob Lestschinsky, *Does sovjetische jidntum*, New York, 1941, p. 171.

3 For 1897: N. Gergel, *op. cit.*; for 1926: Jacob Lestschinsky, "Die Umsiedlung und Umschichtung des jüdischen Volkes," *Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, Band 32, Heft 2, pp. 582-583; *Schriften für Ökonomik und Statistik*, Berlin, 1928, Band 1; *Wirtschaft und Leben*, Berlin, 1928, Band 1.

4 Jacob Lestschinsky, "The Industrial and Social Structure of the Jewish Population of Interbellum Poland," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, New York, 1956/57, Vol. XI, p. 246.

the non-Jewish population were farmers in that same year. The census of 1931 shows the same divergence: 4.3 per cent of the Jews earned their living from agricultural occupations; among non-Jews 61.4 were farmers. Two occupational fields, next in importance after agriculture, presented quite a different relation between numbers of Jews and non-Jews engaged in these fields. In 1921, 15.8 per cent of the general population were engaged in industry, and 19.4 per cent in 1931. Corresponding figures for the Jews are 36.7 and 42.2 per cent. The contrast is still sharper in the field of commerce in which 6.5 per cent of the general population were engaged in 1921 and 6.1 per cent in 1931. For the Jews: 41.3 in 1921 and 36.6 per cent in 1931.

The same imbalance in the main economic occupations of the Jews and the total population can be seen in Germany. Here too the same trend is seen for 25 years, between the censuses of 1907 and 1933:⁵ the Jewish population is concentrated in occupations which are unimportant as means of livelihood for the non-Jewish population, as though Jews avoided those branches of the economy in which the Germans were engaged. Thus, in 1907, 33.7 per cent of all Germans were engaged in agriculture, but there were only 1.4 per cent farmers among German Jews. True, a lesser, but still quite considerable disparity occurs in occupations of the two groups in industry: 38.2 per cent for Germans and 24.2 for Jews. This disparity was probably most significant in the field of commerce (together with credit and transport): more than half of the German Jews, or 55.8 per cent, were concentrated in these occupations; the percentage of the Germans engaged in commerce, credit and transport was only 11.55 per cent in 1907. Diverse also was the scale of "free professions," together with services, between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations of Germany 50 years ago: 6.4 per cent for the Jews and 3.6 per cent for the non-Jews.⁶

The 1933 census in Germany was taken in the last year of complete political and social equality of the Jews in a demo-

⁵ Jacob Lestschinsky, "Die Umsiedlung und Umschichtung. . . ."

⁶ *Ibid.*

cratic Weimar Germany. What was the economic structure of the half million German Jews in comparison with the structure of the entire population of Germany at that historic moment? Had the German Jews succeeded in bringing their economic structure to the level of the structure of the rest of the population? Nothing of the kind! Just as the structure had differed from that of the rest of the population over the many centuries of the Jewish minority's residence in Germany, just as it differed from that of the Germans during the long period of Jewish habitation behind the ghetto walls, it retained its distinct character during the period of complete social and political emancipation of the two last centuries. As in the early period, according to the 1933 census, the main occupations of the Jews in the last year of their stay on German soil differed markedly from the occupations of non-Jews. Here are the 1933 census figures: agriculture among the Jews, 1 per cent, the rest of the population 21 per cent. Industry and handicraft: Jews—19.1 per cent, non-Jews—38.8 per cent. Commerce and transport: 52.5 per cent for the Jews, 16.9 per cent for non-Jews. In "free professions" and services 10.7 per cent accounted for the occupations of the Jews, 7.8 per cent, for the occupations of non-Jews.⁷

From these statistics we may conclude that the occupational distribution of Jews in any country, regardless of the period, the national economic level or the political and social system, is in inverse ratio to the occupational distribution of the general population of the country.

However, the statistics quoted fall short of the requirements for a dynamic analysis, because the figures for each of the three countries refer in the first census period to the entire population, whereas in the second census period only the gainfully employed population is covered. The above picture of economic structure is therefore static for the time being.

⁷ *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich.*

Since the chief index of a modern economy is its industrialization, it is interesting to compare the degree of industrialization in European countries inhabited by considerable Jewish minorities during the period under consideration, that is from 1900 up to the last world war, which was the time of the annihilation of the great majority of those Jewish minorities.

This investigation will confine itself to the existing statistical material, in which only official census data will be utilized, and of these only the figures that have been used in registration of the population to indicate nationality or religion. These indices make possible a comparison of the positions of various ethnic groups. Therefore, the research embraces eleven countries of different sizes and levels of economic development, according to the index of the degree of their industrialization, starting with Byelorussia and the Ukraine in the East, and proceeding to Germany in the West. Our figures apply only to the earning population in its distribution according to chief occupations. In each country and in each occupation we are contrasting the percentage of Jewish with that of non-Jewish earners and thus are determining the importance of each general occupational classification as the means of livelihood for the Jewish minority of each country, or group of countries, in comparison with the importance of that same occupation as a source of livelihood for the non-Jewish majority; thereby the role of each of the two ethnic groups in each occupational class and in the economy of the country as a whole will be determined.

These eleven countries will be divided into three categories in accordance with the degree of their industrialization, which is also a measure of their economic level. A comparison of the economic status of these two groups in countries at various stages of industrialization can give exactly the required dynamic picture: the economic status of a given group in a country of a higher level of industrialization can be accepted as a likely, even a certain, prediction for that same ethnic group in a country now on a lower level of industrialization.

TABLE I

THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE TWO ETHNIC GROUPS
ACCORDING TO THE INDEX OF THE LEVEL OF INDUSTRIALIZATION
Percentage of Jews and Non-Jews in Occupational Fields⁸

	Agriculture		Industry		Commerce		Free Professions	
	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews	Jews	Non-Jews
I. Agrarian countries	10.2	84.5	34.1	5.8	28.4	1.0	6.7	1.8
II. Transitional (semi-industrial) countries	5.6	61.6	29.9	18.0	43.7	3.3	8.3	4.2
III. Industrial countries	1.6	33.4	23.4	38.4	52.6	7.6	7.0	3.7

I. Agrarian countries: Soviet Ukraine (1926), Byelorussia (1926), Galicia (1921), Poland (including Galicia, 1921), The Carpathian Ukraine (1921), Romania (1913).

II. Countries in transition: Hungary (1920), Slovakia (1921).

III. Industrial countries: Bohemia (Czechia, 1921); Moravia (including Silesia, 1921), Germany (1907).

Even a superficial glance at this table confirms our original thesis concerning the inverse character of the economic structure of the Jewish minority. The thesis, which was established on the basis of the data on population distribution according to economic occupations in three different countries, Russia, Poland and Germany, is now supported by the comparison of that distribution in the three economic spheres. But this time the figures speak in much more distinct terms. The figures of this table show also the tendency of an *inverse development* for the Jewish minority in relation to the non-Jewish majority. With the transition of any country, inhabited by a considerable Jewish minority, from a lower economic level to a higher, there occur, of course, certain changes also in the distribution of occupational fields among the Jews, but the general picture of the inverse relationship remains.

But this is not all. Industrialization means of course an in-

⁸ *Schripte für Ökonomik und Statistik*, Berlin, 1928, Band I, p. 39; *Wirtschaft und Leben*, Heft 2, p. 25; *Bulletin Ort*, Moscow, 1929; Salomon Goldelman, *Judische Galuthwirtschaft*, Prague, 1934-35.

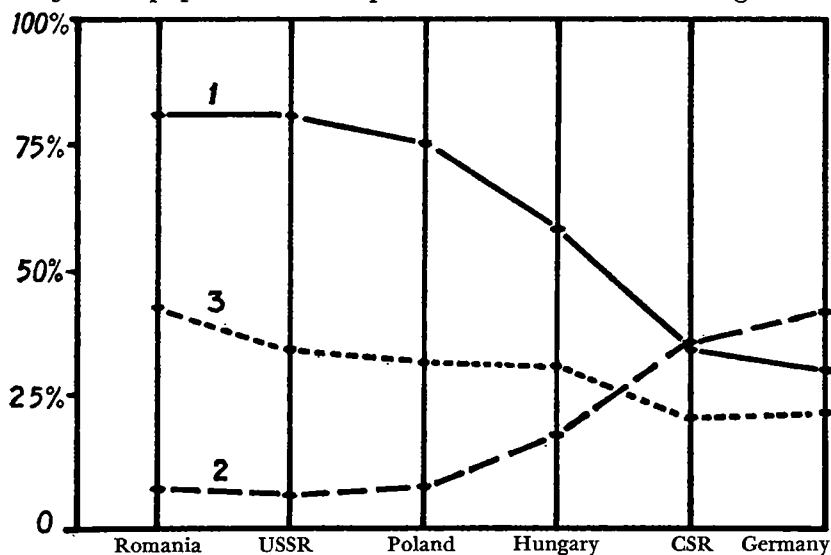
crease in the scale of industrial activity in the national economy. In the two columns of the foregoing Table I, we see how the percentage of the non-Jewish population engaged in this branch of activity increases with the transition of agrarian to industrial countries from 5.8 per cent for the former, to 18 per cent in the case of semi-industrialized (transitional) countries, and up to 38.4 per cent in the case of industrial countries. This process, which corresponds to the economic development of our age, is obvious, but looking at the *Industry* column at the percentages of the Jewish population engaged in this activity, we observe the inverse process: a decrease in industrial occupations among the Jews from 34.1 per cent in agrarian countries to 29.9 per cent in semi-industrial (transitional) countries and, finally, to 23.4 per cent in industrial countries. Therefore, there is evidence in the case of the Jewish minority of an inverse process, one which runs counter to the basic principle of economic development of our age—industrialization.

The obviousness of this inverse trend in the economic structure of a Jewish minority is indicated clearly in the following Table II. The first horizontal line indicates the industrialization level of six European countries—Romania, the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Germany. This level is seen in the figures on rural population: with increased industrialization the proportion of farmers in the whole population decreases. Thus is seen a progressive growth of industrialization in these countries, starting with Romania to Germany, with a decrease in the rural farm population from 80.5 to 30.5 per cent. The next horizontal line indicates the trend in the growth of the percentage of occupations in industry for the non-Jewish population. Here is a line of figures, which from left to right, from Romania to Germany, all swing directly upward: from 7.0 per cent to 41.4 per cent. Finally, the third line shows the importance of industry among the sources of livelihood for the Jews. Here, too, is a line of consecutive figures, but here all figures point downward: starting from 42.5 per cent of “industrialized” Jews in agrarian Romania, down to 21.9 per cent in highly industrialized Germany.

TABLE II
INDUSTRIALIZATION OF JEWS AND NON-JEWS⁹

	Romania 1913	U.S.S.R. 1926	Poland 1921	Hungary 1920	Czecho- Slovakia 1930	Germany 1925
% in rural occupational fields (Jews and non-Jews)	80.5	80.5	76.2	58.3	34.6	30.5
% of non-Jews engaged in industry	7.0	5.8	7.7	18.0	35.3	41.4
% of Jews engaged in industry	42.5	34.4	32.2	31.6	21.6	21.9

This contrast in the trend of economic development of Jews and non-Jews is clearly seen in the ensuing diagram: The curve of industrialization of the non-Jewish population climbs gradually and crosses the curve of agrarianization of the population in question—always in accordance with the trend of economic development. We see then how the curve of industrialization for Jewish population runs parallel with the curve of agrarian-



1—Percent in rural occupational fields (Jews and non-Jews).

2—Percent of non-Jews engaged in industry.

3—Percent of Jews engaged in industry.

⁹ Three sources cited in footnote 8, and also: *Statistická ročenka ČSR*, 1935; *Statistickij obzor ČSR*, 1934;

ization and crosses the general curve of industrialization, that is, continues against the trend of economic development in all these countries.

It is apparent that there must exist certain specific factors contributing to the fact that the economic structure of a Jewish minority is in an inverse relation to the main trend of economic development that determines the economic structure of the majority. We shall now try to analyze the statistical data of several countries of eastern and western Europe.

We shall begin with Galicia for which we possess the census data compiled in 1900 and 1921,¹⁰ taking the four main occupational fields which develop rapidly in a period of industrialization: industry and trade, commerce and credit, transport and communications, services and "free professions." We shall consider the significance of these fields in the occupations of the non-Jewish and Jewish populations in Galicia in 1900, and compare it with the 1921 figures. Obviously, this time the clear dynamic comparison will help to establish the trend of development with respect to the two ethnic groups. Taking the 1900 figures arbitrarily as 100, the situation in 1921 is as follows:

Occupational fields	Jews	non-Jews
Industry and trade	107.2	140.0
Commerce and credit	102.6	160.8
Transport and communications	108.0	151.0
Services and free professions	88.4	169.6

The conclusion of this table is absolutely clear: there is a relative stagnation (even a considerable loss in the last category) in the case of Galician Jews, and in contrast with this, a rapid rate of development for the non-Jewish population of Galicia.

The picture will be still more distinct when the rates of development for Jews and non-Jews are contrasted:

	Industry and trade	Commerce and credit	Transport and communications	Services and free professions
Non-Jewish population	+40.0	+60.8	+51.0	+69.6
Jewish population	+7.2	+2.6	+8.0	-11.6

¹⁰ *Schriften für Ökonomik und Statistik*, Berlin, 1928, Band I, pp. 39 and 43.

The most significant feature in this difference in rates of development is that one can observe in this process a penetration by non-Jewish elements in the occupational fields which for centuries served the Jewish population, chiefly urban, as the main means of livelihood. Therefore, the question arises whether this stagnation in the development of the Jews, and even the loss of ground, is not a result of the penetration of the former "Jewish professions" by the non-Jewish population? Is it not by this circumstance that we must explain the fact, which at first seems so strange, that in industrial countries such a typically urban element as the Jews occupies a secondary position in the performance of such typically urban professions as those in industry, commerce, transportation, and so on; whereas in the agrarian countries we see a contrary situation? Is this not because of the fact that in agrarian, backward countries the Jews are almost the only persons engaged in industrial activity, simply because the non-Jewish population is still continuing to perform the traditional economic function of their ancestors, and still continues to look upon the "urban professions" with a little contempt as being purely "Jewish?"

Of course, to provide a final and convincing answer to these questions, it is not enough to present for comparison purposes the example of economically-backward Galicia. For that reason we shall turn to Bohemia, at the time industrially more developed, where one may expect the rates of development to be still more distinct. If we take the 1921 figures as 100, the situation in 1930 is as follows:¹¹

Occupational fields	Jews	non-Jews
Industry and trade	88.3	109.9
Commerce and credit	100.03	141.7
Transport and communications	58.1	118.2
Service and free professions	105.3	110.8

This table, too, has its interesting aspect. During the period 1921-1930 the economy of Bohemia had reached quite a high level of industrialization. For this reason the rates of develop-

¹¹ *Statistická ročenka ČSR, 1935, p. 10; Statistický obzor ČSR, 1934, p. 143.*

ment are not so rapid here. Yet the loss of previously held positions by the Jews in industry and in transport, as well as the stagnation in commerce, service and free professions, continues. Is the interdependence between the non-Jewish penetration of industrial occupations and elimination of the Jews from these areas also present here? Before looking for an answer to this question, let us also see, with respect to Bohemia, what kind of differences exist in the rates of development for these population groups.

	Industry and trade	Commerce and credit	Transport and communications	Services and free professions
Non-Jewish population	+ 9.9	+41.1	+18.2	+10.8
Jewish population	-11.7	+0.03	-41.9	- 5.3

Thus we have: a comparative, moderate progress for non-Jews in such occupations as industry, transport, services and free professions; a very significant rate of progress in commerce. In contrast to this we have in the case of the Jews a loss, especially in transport, and stagnation in the commercial field. According to the 1921 census the commercial field has been the source of income for 44.3 per cent of the Jewish earners in Bohemia, with 18.8 per cent dependent on industry and 8.4 per cent in services and free professions. Therefore one is able to arrive at a conclusion about the significance of the situation in 1930 for the Jewish population in that country. What has become of those who had lost their former employment, since the entire Jewish population of the country decreased only by 4.4%? Apparently they were living on public charity.

Finally, we shall dwell upon that same dynamic process in Germany. Here there are statistics for a more extended period for the entire earning population of the country, according to the censuses of 1882, 1895, 1907, 1925 and 1933, while for the Jewish minority of this country there are only the census statistics of 1907, 1925 and 1933.¹² As before we are using the

¹² *Statistisches Handbuch für das Deutsche Reich; Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich.*

figures of the first census as 100, and on this basis are comparing the data of the subsequent censuses.

DYNAMICS OF ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE
POPULATION OF GERMANY

Occupational fields	1882	1895	1907	1925	1933
Industry and trade	100	130.8	172.4	236.5	228.9
Commerce and transport	100	150.0	242.1	362.1	410.0

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF JEWISH POPULATION IN GERMANY

Occupational fields	1907	1925	1933
Industry and trade	100	103.0	88.4
Commerce and transport	100	109.1	101.2

These two tables clearly define the relationship between the two groups in the national economy. It is apparent that for the Germans activity in both areas increases rapidly and sharply over the period 1882-1933, by 128.9 in industry and 310 in commerce. For the German Jews, however, the situation is reversed: they lose ground (11.6) in industrial occupations, and in commerce barely hold their own, with a 1.2 increase over 1930 and a 7.9 drop from the 1925 level. In 1925, 51.4 per cent of the Jews in Germany depended on employment in commerce; by 1933 only 48.9 per cent were so engaged. As a result of this process (here and in other areas) there was a 33 per cent increase in the unemployed among German Jews during the period 1925-1933.

In order to find the answer to the question as to whether there exists a casual interdependence between these two such contradictory structures and the rates of their development, it is necessary to analyze the situation in countries of different economic levels, systems of government, and social orders. In each case we contrast two phenomena: 1) the percentage of non-Jews engaged in certain economic fields at various periods; 2) the percentage of Jews among all those engaged in the same

field. This analysis will show the effect of an increase or decrease in the percentage of non-Jews in certain areas, that is, changes in the significance of a given field as employment for the non-Jewish population, in relation to the number of Jews engaged in the same field. If there actually is interdependence here, then we should expect an automatic decline in the participation of the Jews in a given field as that field grows in importance for non-Jews. In other words: the Jews must yield their position to competitors from the non-Jewish majority.

Now we shall turn to the analysis of existing statistics, once more beginning our analysis with Galicia.

NON-JEWS AND JEWS IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN GALICIA
IN 1900 AND 1921¹³

Occupational fields	Non-Jews		Jews	
	1900	1921	1900	1921
Industry and trade	4.2	5.2	25.0	20.3
Commerce and credit	0.6	0.9	81.7	74.1

The interdependence here is quite clear: with the increased importance of industry and commerce for non-Jews, from 4.2 per cent to 5.2 in industry, and from 0.6 per cent to 0.9 in commerce, the proportion of Jewish earners in the two fields declines from 25.0 per cent to 20.3 in industry, and from 81.7 per cent to 74.1 per cent in commerce and credit. The Jewish minority little by little yields ground in the two fields to new, non-Jewish competitors.

NON-JEWS AND JEWS IN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE
IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1921 AND 1930¹⁴

Occupational fields	Non-Jews		Jews	
	1921	1930	1921	1930
Commerce	6.4	8.5	8.3	6.0
Industry	40.8	42.0	0.57	0.46

¹³ *Statystyka Polski, Spis ludności 1921*, Warsaw, 1926-28; *Statystyka Polski, Spis ludności 1931*, Warsaw, 1935-39.

¹⁴ *Statistická ročenka ČSR, 1935. Statistický obzor ČSR, 1934.*

The same interdependence appears in Czechoslovakia, except that the non-Jews in this industrialized country have maintained for so long such dominance in the field of industry that there is very little room for the Jewish minority. In industry the percentage of Jews ranged between slightly more and slightly less than one half of one per cent (that is, for every 200 employed in industry only one was a Jew).

And now a look into one corner of the German economy—the situation as it pertains to commerce in Prussia. Here we have the data for a longer period: from 1861 to 1925.¹⁵

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE POSITION OF THE NON-JEWS AND JEWS
IN COMMERCE IN PRUSSIA

	1861	1882	1907	1925
Non-Jews	2.0	5.9	7.8	10.5
Jews	21.0	10.1	6.4	5.0

The data here are so clear that interdependence—penetration of a field by non-Jews and retreat from the field by Jews—is incontrovertibly established.

Finally this question will be considered with respect to the economy of Germany as a whole during the period covered by the censuses of 1907, 1925 and 1933 for the three main fields of this highly industrialized economy: industry and trade, commerce and transport, services and free professions.

Occupational fields	Non-Jews			Jews		
	1907	1925	1933	1907	1925	1933
Industry and trade	38.2	41.7	40.4	0.56	0.52	0.43
Commerce and transport	11.5	16.6	18.4	4.1	3.1	2.5
Services and free professions	3.6	6.6	8.4	1.6	1.3	1.1

These three fields embrace about 70 per cent of the German economy. The importance of all three as means of livelihood for the population grew steadily over the census periods (with the exception of 1933, in industry, when a small decrease re-

¹⁵ Jacob Lestschinsky, *Das wirtschaftliche Schicksal des deutschen Judentums*, Berlin, 1932.

sulted from the world-wide economic crisis, 1928-1934). But this was not true for the German Jews: they lost ground in all three fields in the course of the entire period. Certainly there can be no economic logic in this down-grading of the Jews. There is, however, a different logic: the force of the competition between nationality groups.

It seems to us that on the basis of the preceding analysis we may say we have succeeded in demonstrating the existence of a specific principle which characterizes the economy of Jews in the Diaspora. This principle can be described as an inverse dependence of the Jewish economic structure on the economic structure of the majority or, more correctly, of the master peoples of those countries where the Jewish masses, in their constant wandering, found themselves. This principle is one of interdependence between the interest of the non-Jewish population in certain economic occupations and the relative importance of letting the Jews perform these functions. This pattern assumes a special significance in mutual relations in the economy between the Jewish minority and the non-Jewish majority.¹⁶ It would be desirable to study this process in countries of the New World, especially in the U.S.A.

¹⁶ In addition to the above cited references, the following publications may be of interest: Salomon Goldelman, *Löst der Kommunismus die Judenfrage?* Vienna-Prague, 1937, and *Das historische Wirtschaftsschicksal der deutschen Juden*, Prague-Sukachevo, 1936-1937; L. Singer, *Evreiskoe naselenie v SSSR*, Moscow, 1932; Jacob Lestschinskij, *Die ökonomische lage fun jidn in Polen*, Devin, 1932, and *Dos sovjetische Jidntum*, New York, 1941.