

VOL. II.

JUNE, 1928

NO. 2

The
VANGUARD

A Monthly Magazine of Progressive Jewish Life



Propagandist and Realist Zionism

By H. M. Kallen

The American Jewish Congress

By Leo Wolfson

Judaism and Social Justice

By A. Rosebury

Brands of Nationalism

By Alfred Baker Lewis

(See inside for complete Table of Contents)

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JACQUES SAINT-ANN — A rising short story writer, of French descent.

ISRAEL H. WEISFELD—Advanced student Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and C.C.N.Y.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS—Formerly teacher Philadelphia Labor College, director Rand School for Social Science, Secretary S. P. of Massachusetts.

HELEN MELMUD—Former actress, dramatic critic, contributor to periodicals, studied at Cornell University.

The rest, having contributed before, are presumed to be known to our readers.

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The VANGUARD

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Vol. II.

JUNE, 1928

No. 2.

The Gates of Palestine

JEWISH immigration to Palestine is the very essence of Zionism and the sine qua non of the restoration of our homeland. We cannot rebuild the country unless the Jews are free to come in. We cannot hope to form a majority unless the influx of ever larger streams of Jews is encouraged, and we cannot maintain the very movement of Zionism unless there be a constant flow of Jewish immigration to Palestine. This is so clear, so patent, so obvious that even the Churchill White Paper, which attempted to emasculate the Balfour Declaration and the provisions of the Mandate, insists on the necessity of allowing Jews to come into their national home.

In spite of all this, however, so many obstacles have been placed in the way and such remarkable theories have been formed on the relationship between immigration and economic necessity that no new blood is practically permitted to filter in. The notion has taken root that no pioneer and no settler shall greet the land unless there is a clear need for him. Palestine which cannot be developed without

outside labor and capital; which is at best a land of colonization waiting for Jewish brain and brawn to reclaim it; which cannot therefore of itself offer any opportunities to newcomers unless they are wrested from it by sheer force of hard toil, this Palestine is thought of in terms of an industrially developed land where immigration is to be regulated in conformity with a pre-existent demand.

The real reason for restricting Jewish immigration to a minimum, and even down to zero, is the desire of Great Britain to retard the growth of the Jewish settlement, as well as to satisfy, in part at least, the ambitions of the Arab Effendis,—at the expense of the very people in whose interest she secured the mandate over Palestine. She has succeeded, however, in foisting a plausible theory on the Zionists, and for years now we hear her arguments from the lips of people who are where they are solely to make immigration possible.

The Zionist Executive is in this case, as in many others, pulling the chestnuts for Great Britain, believing itself all the while independent and able to follow its own will. It has

lost all consideration with the British and is allowed merely to abet their policies, however unwittingly. A striking instance thereof we have just witnessed in the case of the half-dozen Jewish tourists who were ordered to leave immediately they declared their intention of settling in Palestine. All of them had property in the country and all of them had money, but inasmuch as they had come in as tourists the law was invoked against them, in spite of all reason and the fundamentals of recognized Zionism. The term tourist necessarily denotes a temporary sojourner, a guest, and the immigration commissioner insisted that they must first leave the country and then apply for re-entry. The commissioner happens to be a Jew, at that—one of those Jews whom England knows so well how to use for her own purposes.

In the light of this occurrence, it is rather ludicrous to hear the gentlemen and the lady of the Jerusalem Executive pour out their anguished souls to the representatives of the Jewish press in Palestine on the subject of immigration. As Miss Szold explained on that occasion:

"Immigration at the one end and cultural opportunities at the other end are the be-all and end-all of the whole Zionist ideal. Without them the central undertaking, colonization, has no meaning. Ours is not an economic movement, but a spiritual movement on an economic basis. If I cannot speak lightly on the subject, I can still less act lightly.

"I cannot act lightly in opposing immigration. I cannot act lightly in inviting immigration. The responsibility is huge either way."

As if the Executive had really the

choice in the matter! We doubt whether the present Zionist leadership will ever have the courage to demand a free hand in the regulation of Jewish immigration. It is hopelessly enmeshed in the cobweb of the theory so artfully inculcated by the British Administration.

It is a matter of record that the Zionist Executive, since Dr. Weizmann put himself in saddle, never took the initiative in opening the portals of Palestine to Jews. When it did not resist it merely followed. It was the Halutzim in the various countries and the workers in Palestine who forced the Zionists into action and in many instances went directly over their heads to the Administration or to the British Labor Party to win their demands.

A recent case in point is the solution of the unemployment problem. The workers prepared a constructive plan for absorbing the jobless and presented it to the Zionist Executive. The plan called for public works which the Government had long before decided on but was slow to undertake. The Executive was urged to make the proper representations, but it refused, nay, laughed the whole plan out of court. So the workers took things in their own hands, had conferences with the Administration and finally proved successful. Now this same Zionist Executive is brazen enough to take unto itself the credit for abolishing unemployment.

Renewed immigration, and free immigration, without which Zionism is a pernicious illusion, must be placed at the very forefront of an enlightened Zionist policy. Palestine must be open

to all Jews. No authority in or out of Jewry should prevent our people from joining the builders of our Homeland. If the Zionist Organization cannot provide the political and financial aid a large colonization and open doors involve, let it take the inferior place in Jewish life that it deserves and cease being a hindrance to Zion. It should not be permitted to play into the hands of an anti-Homeland British policy and to check spontaneous and independent Jewish effort. No one will ask of the Zionists more than they can do, but neither should they attempt to dominate when they cannot build.

Organized Jewry

THE American Jewish Congress is giving indications of a renewed hope. Its special conference of delegates and representatives from affiliated organizations, on the 10th of this month, marks an attempt to revitalize the great principle which called it into being, that of an authoritative, organized Jewry intelligently and concertedly directing its public life for the good of our people here and abroad.

Conceived in high idealism and born at a time of national afflatus rarely witnessed even in Jewish history, the Congress succeeded in uniting all classes and sections of American Jewry in response to the need of the hour. Its achievements are recorded for all time in the treaties of European nations, and are written large in the recent annals of our corporate life.

It is a thousand pities that the Congress could not hold its own amidst the indifference and the sectionalism

that again set in with the close of the war and the subsidence of the idealism which had filled the heart of humanity. Clashing interests and individual ambitions again reared their heads and all but vitiated the valiant efforts of the Congress to continue as guiding authority. Issues of great moment were permitted to become the football of organization politics, to the untold harm of our people. We are rapidly drifting back into the chaos of pre-war days when everyone spoke for Jewry and no one could call him to account. This should not be allowed to continue. Neither individuals nor groups should be permitted to act where united action alone is essential. Those who would refuse to go along, who would persist in their pernicious independence should be made powerless by an effectual rebuke from the proper authority—the Congress.

To fulfill such mission, to be a really directive force in our life, the American Jewish Congress must be so organized and so strengthened from within as to be both representative of the will of the people and powerful to enforce its moral authority. No one should be placed in a position that would breed warranted discontent and none should be led to believe that his withdrawal could endanger the whole structure. When Dr. Wise resigned from the Zionist Administration voices were heard, in public print, that the Congress might suffer, that respective constituent bodies might withdraw. . . . Such a state of affairs, if unchecked, will reduce the Congress to a mere subsidiary committee of each affiliated organization. A preposterous situation.

The American Jewish Congress would best serve its high purpose if made into the central body of all Jewry through the local communities throughout the land. But even if national organizations are given special representation, in addition to general elections and local committees, it must be made clear that they are taken in as separate groups solely because they can thus aid better in the tasks of the larger and all-inclusive body.

With the Congress as a free, open, and authoritative Jewish public tribunal, order could be effected in our life, including Zionism which is so woefully handled because there is no superior control.

We believe it is to the interest of all elements in American Jewry to unite in making the Congress the supreme American Jewish council that we all so sorely need.

Misguided Courtesy

THE United Rumanian Jews of America apparently felt that it was a matter of courtesy and loyalty for it to strengthen the hand of the Rumanian Government in its negotiations for a loan in this country, and it has gone out of its way to make a public declaration to that effect.

We have no doubt that the motive in this case was pure and unselfish. In view of the encouraging fact that the protests and representations of American Jewry brought about, for the while, a cessation of open anti-Jewish activity, in conformity with the assurances cabled to the United Rumanian Jews of America by the Minister For Foreign Affairs, and be-

cause of the dissolution of the nefarious Christian Students' League, as previously demanded by the Rumanian Jews of America, this organization was induced to make the following statement:

"The United Rumanian Jews of America has always taken a deep interest in the welfare of Rumania and has heretofore, on various occasions, rendered valuable assistance to the native country of its membership. It has always taken the position that the fortunes of its Jewish citizens are inextricably bound up with those of the country, and that a prosperous, happy Rumania will make possible a happy Rumanian Jewry. It therefore cannot but view with favor the efforts which Rumania is now making to stabilize its currency and to improve its financial conditions by means of the proposed loan.

"The United Rumanian Jews of America has recently made certain recommendations to his Excellency the Rumanian Minister at Washington, and has also formulated some requests with a view to ameliorate and improve the conditions of the Jews in Rumania. It notes with satisfaction the assurances which have been given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Rumania, to the effect that all necessary measures have been taken to protect Jewish life and property and that it will consider with sympathy the recommendations made.

"The United Rumanian Jews of America feels that it may render a service to Rumania at this time and avails itself of the opportunity. It expresses itself in favor of the loan which Rumania is at present negotiating, and hopes that the effort will meet with success."

Now, while dictated by a sense of gallantry, this endorsement of the loan is likely to be interpreted as a sort of repayment for something that it is the bounden duty of any country and any government to do,—full jus-

tice to the people. It is conceivable that Rumania herself will so look upon it and will thus be encouraged in her view of the Jews as a foreign element, whose status can be used in bargaining for outside advantages. The modern world has left behind it that stage when rights were bought and sold, and nothing should be done to revive it. Under ordinary circumstances, if no discrimination were practised against Jews, it would be quite in keeping with all the proprieties for erstwhile Rumanian citizens to aid their old country, but coming, as it does, on the heels of "concessions," the above statement will appear out of place and harmful in the end.

It would have been a great deal better for all concerned if the American Jewish Congress, of which the United Rumanian Jews is a constituent part, had been left in full control of the Rumanian situation from the very beginning. It is American Jewry, irrespective of birth place, that should be fighting for the rights of our people, and not particular groups of Jews.

In this connection, we are glad to be informed by the worthy Congressman from the 14th New York District, Dr. William I. Sirovich, that he did not withdraw his resolution against Rumania, that it is on file ready to be called up when occasion will warrant. We owe the Doctor an apology and we are happy to make it, though it was not altogether our fault when he allowed the news about the alleged withdrawal to go unchallenged in the press long before we commented on it, in our April issue.

ENTRE NOUS

EVERY LITTLE WHILE a new era is heralded for the American Jewish Committee, and, like the illusive millennium, it never comes. We are now for the twelfth consecutive time promised that the self-appointed committee will become democratized, and interested persons are seeing to it that the rumor is persistently spread in circles which are amenable to autocratic influences. The occasion for the spread of this report now is the selection of a new secretary for the Committee in the person of Dr. Morris Waldman. Dr. Waldman is a social worker of standing and ability, with the required capacity for withholding from the public any definite views which he might have on vital Jewish questions. It is understood that Dr. Waldman has been engaged chiefly for his ability to raise funds for the Committee, and it is further understood that the opinions which prevail in the Committee, the attitude toward Jewish questions, the personnel of the leadership, remain as of yore. This much being quite well known, it is hard to understand through what avenue or closely-guarded door the scheme of democratization will enter.

Miraculous transformations and sudden changes being very rare in American Jewish life, it is hard to understand how a body with such fixed, if not petrified attitude, an organization so inert in its makeup, so docile in its mental state, so reactionary in its policies, so hostile to intellectual alertness, so jealous of any but one voice being heard, can ever be

changed to a living, vital, and vibrant society of not one but a number of human beings.

Dr. Waldman can undoubtedly bring considerable expertness to such activities of negotiation and research as the Committee is carrying on, but he will have to be a giant of a man, a person of most positive point of view, and assume complete leadership in order to overcome the obstacles that will stand in his way and to dissolve the accumulation of ill-will and resentment created by years of defiance of Jewish public opinion.

That this defiance of Jewish public opinion—as more recently exemplified in the matter of the Rumanian outrages, the Schwartzbard case, the Aaron Sapiro trial, etc., etc.—has not long ago been repudiated by at least part of the membership of the American Jewish Committee, is not the least indictment of the whole scheme of things which makes such a condition possible, assuming even that some of the members regard this body only as a social club wherein the airing of differences of opinion is not exactly in place.

How many members of the American Jewish Committee have under the inspiration of the present leadership qualified themselves as experts on the rights of minorities, on immigration, on general Jewish conditions in Eastern Europe, on a dozen more difficult problems involving the welfare of our people? How many members of the American Jewish Committee have through its deliberations given examples of a courageous outlook, of sterling convictions, of clear thinking, of

far vision—thus applying genuine intellect to our problems and giving inspiration to the Jewish youth of America, and to a possible future leadership? How many men traveling from different cities of the country for the annual lunch of the Committee—it is always a good lunch—have dissented from the prevailing point of view, from the set prejudices of the presiding officer? How much helpful discussion, knowledge, love of truth, clear understanding of conditions has ever come out of the deliberations of the American Jewish Committee?

But the Committee is to be democratized. Well, if you believe that, many more strange rumors will soon be circulated through the corridors of Jewish life.

THE ZIONIST OPPOSITION must be warned against its friends, the kind that are capable of fishing in muddy waters and bedraggle their own circle. Mr. Fromenson's "stunt" with the original statement by Dr. Joseph Krimsky on the causes of his withdrawal from the presidency of the Jewish National Fund, and his subsequent explanation, when caught red-handed, that he did not know what he was doing when transcribing that statement are of a piece that is not apt to lend lustre to the high cause of the opposition.

We fail to understand how such mischievous and slanderous remarks on the National Fund could creep in unnoticed. We do not know well enough the publicity game, but we always thought that even a publicity writer had sense, at least to know what was and what was not part of a given

statement. The more strange appears the case to us when Mr. Fromenson says in his letter of apology that he is a friend of the Fund. A friend is supposed to weigh carefully charges even if they have all the earmarks of truth. But that a friend should be so careless as to *add* things of a most damaging character, is beyond the boundaries of sound reason.

It is a good lesson, nevertheless: we shall hence know how to judge statements to the press from the bureau of that stunt publicity man.

THE ZIONIST ADMINISTRATION announced "that it would welcome the appointment by Dr. Weizmann of a committee of impartial persons in whom the public would have confidence, which will be given power and authority to investigate the facts and make public its report as to whether there is any basis for charging misconduct on the part of the Administration."

This proposal of inquiry, though ostensibly in response to the request of Philadelphia Zionists, was a gratuitous act on the part of officialdom, and it comes as a shock. True, it was made shortly before Dr. Weizmann's departure, and the president of the World Zionist Organization would not have been in a position to name the committee and to receive its report. True also that Dr. Weizmann could be hoped to be a lenient judge, as he, on repeated occasions, allied himself completely with the American Zionist officials. Nevertheless, there was grave danger of the proposal being accepted, and that would have meant that the

Lipsky administration could not run for reelection at the forthcoming Pittsburgh convention, for no official can ask, or get, the nomination while he is being investigated.

Clearly, the Administration was bewildered when deciding on such a dangerous step. It is a pity, indeed, the challenge was not taken up.

AT THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL conference on Sunday, May 20, at the Hotel Astor, the president of the Zionist Organization of America made a highly partisan speech on the Zionist controversy and used unguarded language which called forth the stinging rebuke of at least one brave member, a woman. But what is of interest is the peculiar argument he advanced that by attacking his administration the opposition was menacing the United Palestine Appeal and the very 'Homeland. How?—Simply because the Zionist Organization of America has become so inextricably interwoven with the United Palestine Appeal that they cannot be told apart.

This is what we call the height of impudence. First they wrongfully and illegally substitute the Zionist Organization for the U. P. A., to the exclusion of all the other groups and parties in American Zionism, and then they demand that nothing be said against their administration because it is the same as the United Palestine Appeal.

TO WHAT EXTENT the administration Zionists have monopolized the funds and the machinery of the movement, is best seen in the case of the

two subventioned journals, the *New Palestine* and *Dos Yiddishe Folk*. The tremendous sums, over a hundred thousand dollars, that these publications are getting from the funds of the United Palestine Appeal were said (even by Mr. Rosensohn who is now fighting his former colleagues on the Administrative Committee) to be necessary for the very success of the Palestine campaigns.

Well, if they are essential to the U. P. A. they ought to serve all the parties that have formed this U. P. A. which would include the labor wing, the Hadassah, and the other opposition elements. Instead, these journals are the organs of the administration officials, fighting with tooth and nail against the rest of the movement.

But Mr. Lipsky offers the reason: His administration is the U. P. A.; no one else counts, and it is therefore in the interests of the cause to support these weeklies which support him. . . .

AT THE SAME CONFERENCE, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in trying to find the underlying principles of the opposition, hit upon "private initiative" as the possible bone of contention and proceeded to enlighten his hearers, and the Zionist world at large, that no private initiative could ever hope to succeed before national capital had prepared the way for it. He had some pointed remarks to make on the "efficiency" slogans, on the striking fact that no private American capital was embarked in the successful enterprises in Palestine, and so forth.

And all this time we were thinking: Where was all this sound logic, almost bodily taken from the Zionist labor program, two years ago, when the present administration launched its vicious attack upon the Halutzim and Jewish labor in the Homeland? and where was this excellent reasoning, so gladly borrowed when occasion demands, where was it during the last Zionist Congress when the American Zionists, with Dr. Weizmann's assistance, bullied that Zionist gathering into driving labor out of the Executive in the name of the "efficiency", which he now so belabors?

For one who has the capacity for taking attitudes as required by the exigencies of the moment, the different elements constituting the Zionist movement are a real blessing, for they offer a variety of slogans and theories to suit the needs of the day.

MR. LIPSKY, TOO, appears to have been cured of the attitude he held in the noble battle against labor in Palestine and Zionism. And he now talks of lowering the dollar flag and raising the torch of idealism, or some such thing to that effect. This is what we call broad-mindedness, complete lack of bias,—when circumstances demand.

But the old shibboleths are still retained. Mr. Lipsky's colleague on, and latest spokesman of, the administration, the inimitable Mr. Isadore Morrison, is quick to remind the world that the present leaders are still behind the old principles of a year or so ago. In his letter to Judge Julian Mack, reproduced in the *New Palestine* for June 1st, he says:

"The statement is made that by reason of its inexperience, incompetence, etc., the American Organization exercised no influence on the World Zionist Organization or the Palestine Zionist Executive. The facts are to the contrary. The American Delegation at the last Zionist Congress dominated the proceedings of that gathering and carried through the program decided upon at the last Zionist Convention. The reforms instituted in the administration in Palestine are directly due to the influence of the Zionist Organization of America."

There you have a group of officials who can readily prove all things to all men,—in verbiage.

MR. MORRIS ROTHENBERG, vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America, and one of the very few who came out unscathed from all the battles around the present leadership, was induced to use his reputation in favor of his less fortunate comrades and he has, in his innocence, construed a theory of honor. Says he, in the *New Palestine* for May 11th:

"Moreover, in view of the aspersions which have been broadcast by the news-

papers as a result of the statements of the opposition, statements reflecting on the honesty of the Administration of the Zionist Organization, the question as to whether the present Zionist Administration shall remain in office has become secondary.

"The issue has resolved itself into a question of honor of the Zionist movement."

We can understand the talk of "vindication" of Mr. Lipsky's honor, whatever that may mean, though this sort of appeal is usually resorted to by an offender on his last legs, but the honor of the movement? Well, well, unless Mr. Rothenberg seriously thinks that the present Zionist administration is coterminous and coextensive with the movement,—in which case we need not waste our breath,—his defense will prove a boomerang. For the movement comes first, and if it is a question of honor it is for the movement to get rid of officials who by their incompetence and unfitness bring down ridicule and contempt upon it, that is to say, upon the tens of thousands of Jews who are known as Zionists.



PROPAGANDIST AND REALIST ZIONISM

By H. M. KALLEN

Professor Kallen was an outstanding intellectual force in American Zionism during the Brandeis administration. He was largely responsible for the formulation of the famous, now, unfortunately, completely forgotten, Pittsburgh Program. In his book, Zionism and World Politics, published in 1921, now out of print, Dr. Kallen expounds views on Zionist problems which are still timely and which he holds to be true to this day. Of particular interest to the reader is the story of the "split" at the Cleveland convention.—EDITOR.

THE purpose of Zionism is now the effective establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Logically, if this purpose can be best accomplished through keeping the Zionist organization intact, then it should be kept intact. If it can be best accomplished by entirely making over the Zionist organization, then it should be made over, and if it can be best accomplished by abolishing the Zionist organization, then it should be abolished. Of course, no such logical consideration of alternatives is likely to take place; the same trend by which a child clings for years to a rag-doll, in spite of many better-made and more satisfactory playthings, makes men cling to antiquated tools and survival-types of organization, particularly if their vanities and sense of personal worth and achievement cohere in them: livelihoods need in this connection not be mentioned, for there are

none or few.* In case of the Zionists, thus, the problem is critical.

It is the more critical because, without its solution, there cannot be accomplished, within reasonable time, the change in the Jewish habit of mind regarding Palestine upon which the successful establishment of the Jewish homeland is postulated. Both the feeling and action of the people need to be redirected so as to work in relevant, and not defensive or compensatory ways, toward the upbuilding of the restored Jewish homeland. Such a redirection cannot be accomplished through propaganda merely. Whatever success accrued to the propagandist movement, prior to the Great War, was in itself something in the nature of an unearned increment upon the existing funds of feeling and the instituted will of the Jewish masses regarding Palestine. The corrective and salvational character of the feeling has already been indicated; it keeps Palestine still so much a gratified fantasy in the consciousness of the masses that they resent any realistic account of its own character or that of its inhabitants. To overcome this, how much careful teaching will they not need that a happy Palestine tomorrow implies complete disillusion about Palestine's to-day. They will

* Since this was written, livelihoods seem to me to have become of paramount importance. Palestine was penalized to support Zionism.

require a new ideology, a new philosophy of Zion, established as habit in thought and in action, through a new objective, new institutions, and a new technique. There should be no fear that such philosophy need or can be a break with the old. It will differ from the old because inevitably it must rest upon a different set of determining conditions and must consist of the development and rounding-out of the implications of these conditions; but within this development the old cannot fail to be absorbed and transmuted.

These determining conditions are organically interrelated. They differ from those which grounded the Basle Programme in that they are positive rather than negative. The conditions that led Herzl to his great enterprise still obtain and are likely to obtain for generations to come. But now they are essentially at the periphery of the Jew's problem, not at its center. With the San Remo decision the Basle Programme has been realized. And with the realization of the Basle Programme the center of the Jew's problem has been shifted from the Diaspora to Palestine. Americans have expressed the change in the formula that the Basle Programme must be replaced by the Pittsburgh Programme. What they mean is that the nature of the free Jewish commonwealth, which, in the fullness of time, is to grow up and function in Palestine, has become the norm-giving objective in the affairs of the Jewish people.

At the Annual Conference of 1920, at London, Mr. Justice Brandeis pro-

posed a fundamental reconstruction that would actually have subordinated the organization to its purposes and that would have created for it organs adequate to the new functions which the situation requires. The proposal failed of acceptance, largely through the type of motive discussed above. The subsequent activities of the officers of the international organization seem to have been determined thereby to the point of a complete break with the realistic American leaders who demand that administrative integrity should replace sentimental looseness; and the economic needs of Palestine should take precedence over the organization politics of Zionism.

This demand was apparently granted. The business of the new Inner Actions Committee, which was chosen at the London Conference, was to be reorganization and retrenchment in both London and Jerusalem, and construction in Palestine. A Reorganization Commission, with full power, was appointed to undertake the work in Palestine. But its activities were nullified before they were begun, and two members of the Commission, Messrs. Simon and De Lieme, who were also members of the Inner Actions Committee, were forced into resignation. The immediate cause of their resignation was a secret agreement made by Doctor Weizmann with M. Jabotinsky by which M. Jabotinsky, who had failed of election to the Inner Actions Committee at the London Conference, was to be added to it, with the understanding that the conditions on which he assumed membership would be

met. These conditions were that the control which the World Zionist Organization exercised over the Keren Hayesod would be abolished. The Keren Hayesod, or Foundation Fund, was the new fiscal agency which had, by a vague resolution, been ordered by the London Conference. Its control was, like that of other financial institutions of the Zionist Movement, kept in the hands of the World Zionist Organization by giving it fifty-one per cent of the voting power, which was exercised for it by a governor appointed for that purpose by the Inner Actions Committee.

It was this control that was abolished. Under the charter, which was subsequently drawn for it, the Keren Hayesod becomes a corporation with unlimited powers, of such a sort that it may replace both the Zionist Congress and its executive agencies. The American leaders were opposed to this. They had found reason to mistrust the integrity and the competency of some of the administrative officers in both London and Palestine. These, they had discovered, had been constantly exceeding the budget, had diverted trust-funds to meet current expenses; had, without authority or right, made use of non-Zionist monies for Zionist purposes, and violated the integrity and broken the statutes of the Jewish National Fund.

The explanations offered by Doctor Weizmann for himself and his colleagues were those of emergency and necessity. They rationalized these explanations in terms of what they call a "philosophy" of the Zionist position—namely, that Palestine and

the Jewish National Home are not identical, and that it is the business of the Zionists to make the two identical. Differences of opinion and policy between the representatives of the national Jewish interest in Palestine and the British colonial interest were not only possible, they were inevitable. Jewish activities in Palestine must be such as would be sure to attain the Jewish objective. Although those of the mandatory would often be in harmony with them, quite as often they would not be. Hence the need for the Keren Hayesod, hence the justification of budgetary looseness and other irregularities. Hence the need for a strong centralized Zionist organization, for work in the Diaspora, for Diaspora Nationalism and all the complications of a propaganda-organization.

To which the American reply indicates that the American leaders agree with the "philosophy" but do not see how the conclusions of Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues can be drawn from the premises it supplies. With respect to the Keren Hayesod, to budgetary and other irregularities, they drew the exactly opposite conclusions. (See the Annual Report of Zionist Organization of America, for period Nov. 1, 1920, to May 31, 1921, particularly Exhibit 3.) The differences did not lie in "philosophy." They lay in the fact that the Americans were thinking in terms of the economic actualities of Palestine and the Diaspora, and the Europeans were thinking in terms of the political complications within the Zionist Organization. Consequently, Dr. Weizmann

and his colleagues resented the resolution adopted by the Convention of the Zionist Organization at Buffalo, Nov. 28, 1921, which separated donation from investment funds, and otherwise sought to keep Zionist activity in Palestine on solid ground. In answer to his letter, embodying his objections, Judge Mack was directed by the National Executive Committee to formulate a reply which should embody "a detailed statement" on the position of the American Organization. This reply took the form of a memorandum (Exhibit 3 of the Report mentioned above) which was submitted to Doctor Weizmann on his arrival in the United States in April, accompanied by Messrs. Ussishkin and Mossinsohn, from Palestine, and conducting Albert Einstein.

Negotiations began which revealed at once a deep fissure between the American leaders on the one side and the Europeans on the other. In the National Executive Committee itself a minority, the customary opposition, had voted against the memorandum and had dissociated itself from its representatives. This minority took sides with Weizmann and his colleagues. As time went on, the fissure widened and deepened. The Yiddish press, with the exception of one paper, was solid against the American leaders. The minority conducted a powerful propaganda against them. The accusation, made by Weizmann even before the London Conference as a rallying cry, was shouted from the housetops. They were accused of secession from the World Zionist Organization; they were accused of

rebellion against the duly constituted authority of Weizmann and his Keren Hayesod. They were particularly accused of being disregarding of the respect due to distinguished guests. It was said that they were not Jews, that they did not understand the heart of the Jewish people, that they were autocrats, out of touch with the democracy.

That they were out of touch, and very completely out of touch, soon became obvious. The facts they pointed to, the records they published, were denounced by the press and the minority as exaggerations or mitigated as "emergencies." Their explanation that far from seceding, it was they who were protecting the integrity of the World Zionist Organization from usurpation fell on deaf ears. Their plea that they were seeking to protect the honor of the World Zionist Organization by securing standards of trusteeship and the customary safeguards for trust funds was ignored. That the officers of the administration in Palestine "did not put the money in their own pockets" but used it for Zionist purposes was regarded as sufficient vindication of their honesty and their efficiency. "Our Weizmann," "our Ussishkin," Zionists for so long, the press and the orators declared, could do no wrong: these accusations grew out of the secessionism of the autocratic newcomers in the movement, like Mack and Brandeis. In a word, American Jewry was in the grip of a wave emotion, a religion-like frenzy with Weizmann and the Keren Hayesod as its object of worship, which made

it as impervious to the realities of the case as any country community under the influence of the evangelical revivalist. Pledges of all sorts and sizes were made to the Keren Hayesod, which Weizmann formally opened by proclamation on April 17, 1921. Reception Committees were organized and passionate meetings held. The delegates to the convention which the majority of the Executive Committee decided to call for a determination of the issue, were overwhelmingly instructed against Judge Mack and his administration. Upon the rejection of his report, by a vote of 139 to 75—acceptance would have been tantamount to a vote of confidence—he and more than two-thirds of the Executive Committee resigned, declaring at the same time that they could not hold any office in the Zionist organization so long as it was opposed to the principles for which they stood. Simultaneously, a letter was read from Mr. Justice Brandeis endorsing the stand taken by Judge Mack and his associates, and resigning as honorary president of the Zionist Organization of America. He has also tendered his resignation as Honorary President of the World Zionist Organization.

Thus in the United States, in

Europe and in Palestine, the responsibility for the future, so far as it is in the hands of the Zionist Organization, falls squarely and unequivocally upon the pre-war propagandist group. The American leadership—for although rejected by a majority they will be responded to as a leadership because of their distinction of character, their position in public life, their moral authority, and their unparalleled services to the cause—are now liberated from the restrictions set upon their work for Palestine by the past and the politics of the Zionist Organization. They can go at the task of upbuilding Jewish Palestine as a living economy without internal hindrance. At the conference they held with their followers in Cleveland after the rejection of Judge Mack's report, they determined to do so. Time alone can show whether they are capable of the success in which must lie their vindication.*

* The record in Palestine seems to me to show that what successes have been attained, have been attained by individuals and groups in spite of the Zionist organization and Zionist officialdom. During my visit to Palestine, Fall 1926-27, I got the painful impression of a blight upon whatever the Zionist organization manipulated or controlled.

10

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

An Experiment in Democracy

By LEO WOLFSON

I.

THE American Jewish Congress has recently celebrated the tenth anniversary of its existence and activity. What should have been an event of great importance and general Jewish jubilation, was a very small banquet, with rather pale and almost insignificant addresses, with the exception of two. There was not presented a general review of its accomplishments by the president or any of its leaders. The event passed by almost unnoticed and the work of the Congress during the last decade remained unsung, unpraised and unappreciated. It is a pity. The Congress deserved better of its friends, both for what it has done and stood for, and, what to me is more important, what it could still do and mean in the life of American Jewry. I confess, I am an incurable "Congressist". I believe in the American Jewish Congress with heart and soul. I shall therefore attempt, in the following paragraphs, to give expression—even if inadequately, to an appreciation of its splendid work, to discuss its failures and to renew my faith in it by humbly suggesting some remedies.

II.

The American Jewish Congress constitutes one of the most glorious chapters of American Jewish history. I consider the date: December 15, 1918; the hour, 2.30 P. M.; the place, Met-

ropolitan Opera House, Philadelphia Pa., as the most important and most thrilling in the history of American Jewry. It is the time, hour and place, when the first session of the American Jewish Congress convened. That historical gathering was composed of the very best men and women—the flower of American Jewry. It represented practically all of the national organizations, and democratically elected Jewish representatives from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The loftiest addresses were made—addresses which reflected the highest spiritual expression of the Jews of America. It was a gathering dedicated to the unselfish service of Israel, and to the earnest consideration of most weighty and important Jewish problems. Never before had American Jewry so completely and unanimously felt the high sense of duty towards general Jewish questions, and dealt with them in so thorough, responsible and sympathetic a manner. It was, indeed, a great moment, and American Jewry rose to its fullest spiritual heights. The work of the Congress, and of the Delegation sent to Paris, is a priceless treasure which will be cherished in the ages to come. The achievements of the Congress and the Delegation, in securing the minority rights for Eastern European Jewry, as well as the work it did in behalf of Palestine, will forever remain a shining example of what Jewish unity can accomplish.



Those who have been privileged to participate in the first session of the Congress will carry with them to their last days the feeling that in the hour of greatest need of our people they and their fellow American Jews have fully and conscientiously done their duty, and that the experience has enriched their lives. American Jewry has reason to be proud of many things which it has done, but I dare assert that the proudest moment of its life was the opening session of the Congress.

III.

There are those who assert that the American Jewish Congress ended its existence at the second session when the Delegation to the Peace Conference presented the report of its work, and it adjourned without a date. They also claim that the Congress which reassembled immediately after the adjournment, and the work it has carried on since, may be a Congress or whatever else one may choose to call it, but it is not the American Jewish Congress. It is not, because they have chosen to refuse to recognize it and to participate in its work. Technically, under the agreement which was entered into after the preliminary Conference of Philadelphia, the Congress was to end after the work it had set out to do in connection with the peace conference was finished. Actually, it was felt, by the large Jewish masses which participated, that the Congress should remain a permanent institution in American Jewish life, and, as a matter of fact, it became so.

The work of the Congress is a

splendid record of achievement. It took a deep and earnest interest in all questions affecting the life of east European Jewry, and rendered to them yeoman service. It helped continue the existence of the Committee of Jewish Delegations; it made representations on Jewish matters whenever and wherever it became necessary and zealously, with much sympathy and understanding, aided, protected, and defended the life and property and the acquired rights of the Jews in Eastern Europe. The sessions of the Congress were epoch-making events. The addresses delivered at the various sessions by Israel Zangwill, Dr. Leon Reich, Anita Miller Cohen, Dr. Isaac Grunberg, and other notable Jews of Europe, besides their inspiration and information, brought American Jewry in closer contact with the thoughts, needs and ideals of our European brethren.

As I look back upon the various sessions, and realize the amount of fine work they accomplished, I have the feeling that American Jewry is indebted to the Congress for many moments of high spirituality, for a good deal of splendid work, and, what is more important, for having kept up the high purpose and promise to aid, further and defend the cause of the Jews wherever they are oppressed. Grateful Jewries in Poland, Rumania, Ukraina, Latvia, Bulgaria, and other countries, testify to this great service. The Congress has a record of achievement during the last ten years of which it may well be proud, in spite of the tremendous difficulties it had to contend with, including much

apathy and even indifference on the part of many factions and parties in American Jewry.

IV.

Yet the American Jewish Congress is not what its sponsors originally hoped it would be. It is not the democratic representation of American Jewry, nor its accepted authorized spokesman, and does not play the role in American Jewish life which it intended.

The chief fault lies in the agreement which was entered into after the Philadelphia Preliminary Conference. The desire and effort to bring about what was called peace in the American Jewish ranks, while praiseworthy in every respect, resulted in an agreement which limited its scope and activity and practically crippled the Congress. It brought into its philosophy and ideology the principle that the Congress ought to and should deal only with European Jewish matters. It excluded from its program consideration and attention to domestic matters—matters affecting Jewish life in America.

The direction to this effect having been given by the first Congress, it was largely adhered to at all subsequent sessions of the Congress. All of them, with hardly an exception, dealt with eastern European Jewish matters. The many problems which affect the lives of nearly four million Jews in America, were practically never given any consideration. It is true that American Jewry was and is interested to help their brethren abroad, but this interest is not and cannot be general.

Frankly, I do not think all American Jews are interested in a personal way in the fate of European Jewry. If called upon to help some are willing to do so. If others do it they have no objection. If it is done well, they may be glad and even applaud, and if done badly they heap bitter criticism. The whole question, however, is not theirs directly.

A number of serious, intricate and complex problems face American Jewry as such, both generally and locally, and they are very much interested in them, and deal with them to the best of their ability and understanding. The Congress came to be looked upon as an organization dealing exclusively with Jewish matters abroad, and not with internal questions. It was allowed to do the work it chose with the approval of some, the tolerance of others, the objection of still others, and, it must be stated with much regret, with the unpardonable indifference of the great masses of American Jewry. The democracy of the Congress, while genuine in principle, and even in practice to the extent that it was possible, is in fact a mere semblance. Not that the Congress did not want to be democratic, not that it did not use every possible means to interest in its work all Jews, but because the masses of Jewry did not respond; they were not and, I believe, could not be interested in mere work abroad when there was, and there is, so much to do at home.

V.

The faults and defects of the Congress were many. They were charged

to the leaders in due time by the press and its friends and enemies. Some were justified, others were not, and it would serve no purpose to enumerate them here. The Congress itself would be the first to admit to many errors—errors of judgment but never of heart. Its intentions were ever the best, its strivings ideal, and its service almost always helpful. With all its shortcomings, it deserved and still deserves the active co-operation of all Jews. It is an undeniable fact that it did not get the co-operation it asked, even of those it had a right to ask. With the exception of the National Jewish Organizations which stood by loyally and made its activities possible, the so-called Jewish democracy stood aside and apart. Jewish labor which should have been the first to seize and welcome this attempt to bring in a spirit of democracy in Jewish life, woefully failed to rise to the occasion. The large number of Zionists who should have taken hold of it and made it an effective instrument in American Jewish life, also failed to perceive its great possibilities. It is true that the Zionist Organization was and is a constituent member of the Congress and that many leading Zionists have occupied positions of leadership in it. It is also true that the Congress has often been persuaded to further Zionist purposes, but the rank and file of the American Zionists have not taken an interest in the Congress per se, for the good that it could do. I can phrase my meaning better by saying that the Zionists were at all times conscious and good Zionists and “congressists”,—if and when necessary. Yet the

Congress as such should have claimed the heart and soul and attention of every good Zionist.

I believe Zionists to be the best Jews—Jews conscious of Jewish needs and ideals, Jews who feel and respond to the finest and best in Jewish life. As such, individually they should have worked to make the Congress a truly democratic American Jewish institution. They did not. Even the group of Jews—eminent Jews, men of service and at times of very fine spirit, who constitute the American Jewish Committee should have rallied to the Congress. It would have been to their advantage and they would have served better the cause of Israel in which they are genuinely interested. They should have welcomed the gropings of American Jewry to come into its own, and helped it find the way. Mere aloof leadership, the very best, accompanied by the most solicitous attitude prompted by the best of intentions, is not the same thing as helping to find the way. A great opportunity was theirs to practise the democracy which they cherish and preach, and to have made that democracy the beacon light by which American Jewry should walk. They did not understand it, did not see it.

VI.

But why go on with the past? Let bygones be bygones. Let the Congress receive what praise there is due to it, even if it be only that it aspired to the stars. Historians will in due time fairly appraise its work and effect. Do we need a Congress? Do

we want a Congress? If so what should be done about it?

I maintain that American Jewish life would have been poorer spiritually if the Congress had not existed, and it would be a great loss if it ceased to exist. A part of our life is wound up with its existence, a part of which we have every reason to be proud. I cannot think of American Jewish life without an American Jewish Congress. It has to be made, however, a true American Jewish Congress. I mean an all-embracing Congress of American Jewry, which will envisage, consider, take up and deal with American Jewish problems and, of course, also with the problems of European Jewry. Such problems of general Jewish interest which we have in America should be dealt with by American Jewry as a whole through the Congress.

I am unalterably opposed to the practice which makes Jewish problems, of one kind or another, the particular activity of one group or another, even though these groups do the work in the best possible manner. I do not mean that we should do away with all organizations and make one mess of everything. For many years to come there will be necessity for organization work in particular fields. But even particular work should be

carried on with a view of benefiting all.

Jews suffer even when one strays from the path, and a lot of our sufferings have been due to the acts of commission and omission of the many as well as of the few. A truly representative American Jewish Congress may help bring order in our life, may help co-ordinate the various agencies, may bring about proper co-operation, and will undoubtedly enhance our prestige. An American Jewish program ought to be worked out and presented to American Jewry for consideration. A European Jewry program ought to be worked out and presented to American Jewry for consideration. If properly prepared and presented, and if these programs should express the needs of the time, I think American Jewry would respond. It may be, nay, it will be difficult to get the various parties, groups and factions in our midst to agree to one program, but the effort would be worth while, and in the end the aim would be achieved.

I call upon the very best in American Jewry for assistance to make the American Jewish Congress a truly democratic, responsible and representative body to represent and to deal with general Jewish problems at home and abroad.



JUDAISM AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

By A. ROSEBURY

*He's true to God who's true to man;
wherever wrong is done
To the humblest and the weakest,
'neath the all-beholding sun,
That wrong is also done to us, and
they are slaves most base
Whose love of right is for themselves
and not for all the race.*

—LOWELL.

DESPITE Nietzsche's notion that the social ideals of the Bible represent a slave morality, it will not be denied by any one save those who admire jungle morality that Moses and the Prophets have made by far the greatest contribution to the world's socio-ethical thought. Biblical ethics have been absorbed into many a system of law and government counteracting the aggressiveness of man's primitive instincts. The advance of modern civilization would have been impossible without that ethical check on man's inhumanity to man.

To a large extent western nations are still consciously and unconsciously swayed by the ethics of the Bible. In view of this, it is pertinent to inquire: How far is Judaism, the offspring of the Biblical theocracy, following in the footsteps of its parent in stimulating socio-ethical ideals?

All religions, in their aim and prescription for human woe, may be traced way back to the dawn of intelligence. Upon a thorough analysis religion does not need modernization

to be effective. All it needs is an occasional scrubbing, a washing away of cobwebs and interpolations of meddlers and forgers, retaining the kernel of eternal truth as a salve to jagged emotions.

What is this sentiment that has preoccupied the human mind in all ages, causing so much strife and bloodshed?

A pithy, expressive definition is given by J. Köstlin in the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia. According to this, "Religion means the conscious relation between man and God and the expression of that relation in human conduct." Another indirect definition is furnished by Matthew Arnold that there is "A power not ourselves which makes for righteousness." If we accept either or both of these definitions they lead us to think that religion apart from the human element—human needs and human welfare—would be entirely useless.

I am inclined to go even further and say that the human element is the most absorbing and fundamental part of religion, because only the human element is perceptible in the case. Only this we can know and feel in our joys and sorrows. I stress this point because official religion has ever impressed on its devotees the idea that the preponderating element in religion is belief in God. Theology everywhere has gone to the limit of inculcating self-denial, endurance of pain, and torture in the worship of the deity. It

has devised a system of sin and atonement in an assumption that by conscious suffering and flattering words we please God and stay His wrath. . . .

Under this system religion has become narrowly personal, the exclusive concern of each individual self.

It is this poverty of its philosophy that dooms official religion to ultimate bankruptcy in an age of science, machinery, invention and personal acquisitiveness. Official religion denies this and tries to take comfort in statistical reports of increasing interest in religious institutions; but the increase is more superficial than real—a mere outlet of the gregarious instinct and the pursuit of entertainment.

Constant craving for private possession must inevitably clash with the Golden Rule of religion, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." Small wonder that the Golden Rule, both the Jewish and the Christian version of it, has almost lapsed, in a tacit assumption of its being impracticable. Scratch the surface of the individualism of modern society and the primitive instinct with all its lust of private possession reveals itself. Where this is glorified as the dominant order of life the Golden Rule naturally must be laid aside. Philanthropy overflowing from superabundance does not and cannot fulfill it. The Golden Rule has lapsed because official religion gives it an individual emphasis.

It seems to me that the human conduct relation of religion, or the idea of righteousness, can only be realized under a system of ethics bordering on Socialism. While Socialism as an eco-

nomic theory is a modern conception, applicable to industrial society rather than to a pastoral people or a primitive agricultural community, it undoubtedly had its origin in the social ethics so conspicuously featured in Moses and the Prophets.

II.

All original religions had a social basis. Traces of this may be found in Egyptian lore from which Moses is said to have derived his main system of theocracy. The social basis of religion is even more evident in the theocracy and social laws of Hammurabi, founder of the first Babylonian empire, who antedated Moses by 500 to 600 years (2100 B. C.). Bible religion simply bristles with social provisions. God speaks through Moses to all Israel at once. There is no indication in the Bible of individual worship or personal prayer. On the other hand, all allusions to the individual are those of justice, material well-being and happiness. It gives the poor, the laborer and the slave a human value scarcely recognized by the surrounding peoples.

Life in all its fullness is to Moses of paramount interest—life on earth and not the illusive life after death. If Moses had been inspired by Egyptian ideas he seems to have departed from them entirely on this point. The ancient Egyptians and their contemporary semi-civilizations had an insensate belief in future life, evident from their mode of burial. Note, however, the difference between their edification of the dead and Moses' placing the dead in the category of the unclean.

Obviously Moses possessed a knowledge of sanitation that was absent in ancient Egypt. Moses was too practical to embody the idea of a future life in his system. Not a trace of it is found in Pentateuch. He sought to create an ideal people and a model state. His was a profound humanism, modern in its appeal. The human element of Bible religion outweighs even the religious element itself. To Moses religion seemed made for man—not man for religion.

The divine power behind Moses and the Prophets was an inevitable part of the system, because an omnipotent and supernatural providence furnished a plausible explanation of life's mysteries. It was the universal conception of the times, accounting for the awe-inspiring forces of nature. But the basic principle of the Hebrew theocracy aimed at making Israel a national entity, a chosen people, that is, a people excelling in social justice, righteousness and purity of life.

I am not versed in Jewish theology and cannot say whether eminent theologians emphasize the point. But it seems to me that this feature of Bible religion is far and away the most important legacy to the human race. It has generated all the sparks of inspiration in seers, saints and martyrs who have denounced legalized wrong and cruelty and preached social justice in all ages. It gave rise to utopian socialism and spurred the thought of the propounders of modern socialism. Ferdinand Lassalle and Karl Marx probably imbibed their social justice ideas from Jewish environment in their childhood.

His emphasis on the human angle of religion places Moses, as a religious leader, in a class by himself. All those who predict the emergence of a new religion in the near future—a religion free from dogmatism and meaningless lip-worship—may without scruple take Moses as their guide and inspiration. As a statesman, who had witnessed the anguish of soul endured by tens of thousands of his kinsmen under a cruel yoke of slavery, he was mastered by the human appeal towering above every other consideration. For, after all, what is the aim of all our social and political strife and the struggle for power and wealth if it be not for the ultimate good of humanity?

Similarly all sincerely religious people should ask point blank: Does the God of our conjecture, the all-wise, all-powerful creator, *need our veneration?* Could a perfect being insist on his children groveling in the dust before him in prayer and adoration to acknowledge his divine authority? What earthly or heavenly use to Him is our worship, our praise and flattery? We rightly think prostration before kings and rulers a barbarous relic of bygone ages. We are inclined to ridicule or feel repulsion at the sight or report of human beings still following these practices in the worship of the deity. If it were true that the originator of the universe needs our adulation to keep Him in good humor He must at times be subject to the same vagaries and wanderings as exhibited by His imperfect creatures; in other words, He must be altogether human and of the ancient type, to

boot. Sane thinking cannot accept so inane a proposition.

III.

Modern Judaism has deleted much of the barbarian element of religion, but it has gone to the opposite extreme of a dubious mummery and vapid ceremonial. Judaism and business have coalesced to an extent that we can no longer tell whether it be religion or business that we are called upon to uphold. It seems to have no vitality left save what it can draw from the studied antics of the cantor and the admiration of millionaire philanthropists. What Judaism needs, in my opinion, is to return to the social and ethical idealism of Moses and the Prophets.

The projected Hebrew commonwealth as set forth in the Old Testament was never realized because its principles were much in advance of the times. In the most flourishing periods of Israel's national existence no effort was made to give it reality. The people were led astray by priests and exploited by kings and their hangers-on. At other times the people were crushed and humiliated in unsuccessful wars with surrounding enemies.

Thus the social structure, originally meant to be a true republican democracy, was doomed to a premature death. But the light of social justice shines forth from the pages of the Bible. Like the traditional column of fire it accompanies humanity on its onward march to social and industrial redemption, warning it against a possible lapse into a dark age of Keyserling's prediction.

The social and ethical utterances of the Bible are still pulsating with life, still more modern than modern Judaism. While, as already indicated, a good deal of the scriptures is obsolete and inapplicable to our times, there remains much which, if slightly revised, might mitigate the worst evils of mammon worship. In this respect Judaism and the Prophets part company.

IV.

Socialism in England displays the zeal of the Prophets. On the continent of Europe Socialism seems to be making greater strides. Of late, leaders and writers have come to a new viewpoint—an insistence on the ethical side of Socialism as more in accord with the modern spirit than the scientific materialism of the Marxian school. In certain quarters an attempt is even being made to clothe Socialism in the mantle of religion; to combine the two in a forceful appeal to the masses.

The British Labor Party has derived great strength from the adhesion to its ranks of a numerous following of religious believers and from a hobnobbing with the more advanced section of the church. In Austria Socialism has actually invaded the church population. This march toward ethical Socialism may sooner or later elicit from the Pope himself a partly sympathetic or, at least, a neutral attitude. For if Socialism directed its appeal in such a way as to substitute the ideal of social justice in the affection of the masses for an outworn, empty, ceremonial the danger to an obsolete

church would be greater than the pre-war Socialist crusade against religion.

Such a change in the outlook of sincerely religious people is inevitable in a labor world. Old-time religion — Christianity as well as Judaism—has always fought on the side of the big battalions, for wealth and the powers that be, however corrupt and despotic. Its mere preaching to the wealthy has done nothing to mitigate social evils. In this respect Socialism and organized labor have accomplished greater improvements in fifty years than the church in twenty centuries.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century applied science and labor-saving devices have played directly into the hands of wealth. Wealth, accumulated by labor and industry, has assumed the name of "capital" and ensconced itself behind property rights and legal sanctions. Its economist advocates have gone to great lengths in an attempt to prove that capital, though being stored-up energy of muscle and brain, is a value superior to labor. This specious logic, though fortified by law and government, is nevertheless open to grave doubt. Since the end of the war wealth has been continually mapping plans to encircle the globe with an iron ring of economic control for its own benefit. And the church always has been preaching the submission of the mass to the wealthy class.

Even in America Socialism is reaching out for a wider sphere of influ-

ence. There is a far-flung discontent which as yet does not know how to become articulate. If Socialism, by means of constructive education, were able to supply the needed articulation we should be nearer realizing social justice here than in Europe.

Note the close kinship of the American traditions to the Prophets from which the authors of the Declaration of Independence drew their inspiration. Note the similarity of tone in the Biblical denunciation of kings and right to happiness of all alike to that enunciated in the Declaration. Note the prominence that Moses attaches to labor ("Six days shalt thou work") Note the imperative "shalt". In the same way labor in the United States has been exalted in outward appearance, if not in actual reality. America has attained pre-eminence in the modern world almost entirely by labor applied to the rich natural resources. The time is fast coming when no nation will be sure of progress without a systematic partnership with labor and the social square deal.

A section of the church in America is approaching Socialism by way of the old Biblical social idealism. Only Judaism appears to be backward, ever seeming to strengthen its alliance or compromise with wealth. It continues to pay lip-homage to Moses and the Prophets without thinking of their altruistic significance and noble message to the modern world.



THE NEW ARISTOCRACY OF JUDEA

By MOISHE RIVLIN

ANOTHER hope and ambition of mine gone on the rocks. Though somewhat of a radical, I was always a staunch disciple of Carlyle; hence a raving aristocrat. I always had a soft spot in my radical heart for the aristocrat, and wanted to be one myself. For no sin of my commission I am not blessed with the privilege of having had one of my ancestors come to this country on the Mayflower. But some of my ancestors came to Palestine on a Parachod, which, though probbaly not as comfortable as the Mayflower, should for all intents and purposes serve the same purpose in Palestine as the Mayflower does in America. Being one of these lucky descendants, I thought I was slated to occupy a key position in the aristocracy-to-be of Palestine.

But it seems that the times have gone just a little ahead of me, and while I was spending my days in America dreaming of the aristocracy in Palestine which I would help organize, there sprung up one there most unexpectedly, and I am left out in the cold.

The aristocrcy of Palestine does not consist, as you might be led to think, of second or third generation Palestinians. Oh, no. The aristocracy is composed mainly of American and English Jews. These Jews, who hail from the Occident, could not, and one should not dare expect them

to, mingle with the native Jews of Palestine. It was below their acquired Nordic dignity to establish relations of any sort with such fools and Batlonim who were idiotic enough to waste all their lives to combat malaria, to build roads and cities, and to make Palestine livable for these aristocrats.

Of course, if these blue-bloods, among whom you will find such great leaders in Israel as Emanuel Mohl, Robert Kesselman, Bernard Joseph, Mr. Waterman and others of their ilk, had it in their power they would forthwith banish all of these despised native and particularly Jerusalem Jews from the country. How much would these aristocrats give to be rid of the Jews with their long beards! But, alas, hard as you will try these Jews cannot be expelled. Nor can they be persuaded to leave the country. Persecute them and oppress them as much as you will, they will not leave their positions. You see, their long years of experience with the Turkish oppressors so hardened them and tied them so much unto the land of their forefathers and of the future, that they will not give it up.

The aristocrats would not have the world notice the achievements of the Batlonim. Much less could they afford to let these Jews labor for a pittance while they, the aristocrats, can serve their beloved Palestine only for "good salary." It is a little

unpleasant for a young man who previously had done nothing for Palestine except sing the Hatikva in London or in New York, to draw a salary of fifty to one hundred pounds a month, while these Jerusalem Jews who have given their all for Erets Israel, are fools enough to work for ten to fifteen pounds a month and bring better results.

And they have conceived the noble plan of calumniating and belittling any and everything that these Jews dare do in the field of commerce and industry.

If these hated native Jews must stay in Palestine they must be made to understand their inferior position and be grateful to such men as Messers. Mohl and Joseph and Waterman for permitting them to exist, and be content with shining their shoes and driving their automobiles for them. What right have these Jerusalem Jews even to want to engage in business, which is a purely Anglo-American affair? It is bad enough that these Palestine Jews stole into the country several decades before them and thus had a chance to build it up. But let them go on with it—perish the thought.

And what if these Palestinian Jews built up the country? They did not build according to modern styles and with the comforts to which "we Americans and Englishmen" are used. Their houses are old-fashioned, and their standards of living not high enough. "We Americans and Englishmen" must make of Palestine a real Western country. But damn these

Palestinian Jews, they think themselves capable even of Westernizing Palestine. Without having been in New York, in London, or in Montreal, they have caught up with the times and are now building modern houses and beautiful quarters.

So the American aristocrats wanted to show the Palestinians once for all their superiority. In what field could they demonstrate it to any better advantage than in financing and banking? Hence they established several banks and were going to show those natives what marvels they could accomplish. But somehow the marvels would not come, try hard as they did. To add to their troubles, these native Jews went to work and organized banks of their own, which are meeting with better success than the American and English banks. The aristocrats went into the real estate business on a big scale, and along came the natives, caught up with them and, being more sincere, met with greater success.

What remains then for these poor and unappreciated aristocrats to do? Here is what they do. An American Jew who had purchased land in Jerusalem from a Palestinian real estate company was traveling recently by train from Haifa to Jerusalem. As luck would have it, he met on the train one of the guiding spirits of the aristocracy. The American Jew told the aristocrat, also an American, that he had purchased land in Jerusalem and had been told he could see the land from the train before arriving in Jerusalem. The aristocrat offered very generously to show him

the land, and he did. It so happened that an American girl living in Jerusalem was with them on the train, and when the aristocrat pointed out to the tourist the location of the land, she innocently remarked that she too had land there for which she had paid something like twenty-five dollars per dunam.

The tourist was enraged; he had paid ten times as much. He was told, of course, something not too flattering about the native directors of the corporaion and the tourist, as is natural in such cases, concluded that everyone in Palestine was a faker.

Later it was proven to the outraged tourist that the land which had been shown to him by the aristocrat was not that where he had bought his plot. His land, it was proven to him, lay within the city boundaries of Jerusalem, while the land that was point-

ed out to him was some fifteen miles away from the city.

Which shows that these aristocrats are willing at times to take a leaf from the book of the Arab guides who show tourists some old Arabian village and tell them that this is the Tel Aviv of which the Jews are so proud.

So, instead of becoming one of the early aristocrats of Palesine, I find myself with the outcast natives. I am prepared to accept my fate. But I must confess that I am very much disappointed. Even if I cannot be counted amongst the peers of Judea, I want the aristocracy there to be of the best. I am chauvinistic enough to want Palestine to produce the first Aristocracy of Brains that the world has been longing for. Instead, it seems that we are doomed to an aristocracy of the brainless.

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TWO TOILERS

By LIONEL FITZ-ROY SWAN

Last night two toilers tumbled to their death,
A Gentile and a Jew.
The scaffold trembled, creaked—we held our breath.
Thus passed the two.

Last night they poured their common sweat
On labor's common brow. And yet
They quarreled over race and creed,
Of which was pure, and which had need
Of rich red blood, and cursed the fate
To toil with objects of their hate.

VANITY

(A Story from the Talmud)

By A. FRUMKIN

VANITY is one of the vilest of human faults.

It degrades the finest character and makes the wise man look like a fool.

You may have acquired knowledge, and honors, and riches. Nevertheless, you are not to glory therein and look down contemptuously upon your fellow men.

And no matter how great and strong and handsome one be, he is none the more distinguished for it in the eyes of the Creator.

Thus is the story told in the Talmud:

One day the Tanna Rabbi Eliezer, the son of Rabbi Simeon, returned from the Yeshibah in a mood of joy and self-contentment.

He had had an excellent day of great achievements in learning—who was to equal him? . . .

So mused the Tanna, taking a donkey-ride on the shore of the river.

Suddenly he beheld a very ugly-looking man coming up the road towards him.

On approaching, the man made a deep bow before the riding, proud Tanna and said:

"Peace upon ye, Rabbi!"

Instead of returning the salutation, Rabbi Eliezer threw a swift look upon the man and said:

"How monstrously ugly you are! I wonder whether all your country-men are as ugly-looking as you. . . ."

"I do not know," retorted the other; "but suppose I am, is it my fault? You had better go up to the Creator in Heaven and blame Him for the ugly thing He has created. . . ."

In a second the Tanna saw his error, and the pride suddenly was driven out of his head.

He got off the donkey, kneeled before the ugly-looking man and begged his forgiveness.

But the other refused to listen to what the Tanna was saying.

"Go to the Creator," he insisted, "and hear what He has to say. . . ."

All the way long, with his head bent, Rabbi Eliezer followed the man, quietly begging him for his forgiveness.

As they reached the gate of the town, where the ugly-looking man was living, they found a multitude of people who came out to greet the Tanna and give him a hearty welcome.

But the man put a restraint upon their zeal.

"Do not exert yourselves in honoring him," he interposed; "for he is not worthy of it. . . ."

And he told them the whole story.

But the people of the town interceded.

"Forgive him," they asked, "for he is a holy man and a great scholar."

The man yielded to their wish.

"I do forgive him," he said, "and I hope this will be a lesson to him henceforth to weigh his words before he utters them. . . ."

And a lesson there came out of it, for the Tanna and the world.

The next day Rabbi Eliezer was teaching in the Yeshibah:

"Be as soft and yielding as a reed and not as hard and haughty as a cedar!"

YOUTH AND JEWRY

By DAVID ASHER

ALL civilizations, cultures, religions, nations, and social movements are dependent for their life and the perpetuation of their ideals upon the adherence of youth. Education is the name of the process whereby youth is imbued with the social ideals of his group and drilled in its manner of thought and action. When the process is completed he falls into his place in the group by sheer force of habit. Alas, then, for that culture which possesses no adequate educational system, alas for that culture whose youth is reared in the schools and in the streets of a competing civilization. It has a problem.

American Judaism is not in a position to coerce its youth, either by training, propaganda, or religious cudgeling, to follow the ancestral banner. Dominant cultures alone can coerce, because they can, and do, discipline by withholding attractive rewards which it is in their power to bestow upon the loyal. American youth is invariably loyal to American tradition because he has been trained in that tradition, and the American environment offers him an adequate sphere in which to make use of his training. Judaism today in the eyes of youth does neither.

In the good old Ghetto days Judaism kept its hold on youth in the same way that America does today. It was then a dominant culture within its sphere, and the young Jew had

no choice. He needed Judaism just as Judaism needed him. The American Jew, however, does have a choice, he can choose to live the American way of life and let Judaism go a-begging. He can do without Judaism very easily. The old bonds of dependence which compelled youth to accept the Jewish way of life have broken. You cannot force a man upon a given path when he has an alternative, you must persuade him.

The method of persuading the American Jewish youth until recently was: Be a Jew because Jewry needs you. It sounded very plausible to those whose lives were bound up with Judaism and whose very existence as influential beings depended on new recruits. They understand the significance of talking about Jewish problems, sacrifices, martyrs, and Torah. But youth does not think of Judaism in terms of problems, he thinks of it in terms of opportunity, opportunity for himself. Just as the leader of a community looks upon the youth as future servants of the group, so youth pictures the group as the servant of the individual, and the individual is his particular self.

The group in his eyes is the medium in which he can work, it is the clay of the potter, the cannon-fodder of the demagogue. It is his audience if he is an artist, his constituency if he is a politician, his pawns if he plays for power. He will choose that

which offers him the most profitable field of activity, he will fight and work to maintain and to develop that group which he has chosen, because its growth means the expansion of his opportunities and power. But first he must be "sold" on the indispensability of the group. He finds that America gives him opportunities, many of them, therefore he gives himself to America. And Judaism comes into competition with American civilization for the possession of its youth.

Jewish leadership must therefore leave off whining and become assertive. It must talk to youth in his own language of himself, tell him what Judaism means to him, not what he means to Judaism. When Judaism fails, he shrugs his shoulders and goes over to the American way of life. If he fails he goes back to Judaism and knows he will find himself accepted with open arms. But Jewry are reversed, age instead of must attract and hold the capable.

The positions of youth and age in Judaism are reversed, age instead of dictating the conditions to youth finds youth in the position of dictating terms to age. And the beauty of this anomalous conditions is that age finds as much difficulty in fathoming the whims of youth and devising the means of catering to them, as youth normally has in paying a similar homage to age. Note the gropings of leaders in educational conferences, experiments like the Hillel Foundation, Student Houses, and Community Centers.

What are the social demands of the American Jewish youth? They are the outgrowth of living in an American environment, which, of course, is not peculiarly American, but the result of modern industrial and scientific progress with the attendant psychological revaluations. They are material gain and personal success. The young Jew demands a career. And he either gets a career from Judaism or he turns his back upon it and seeks it elsewhere.

Youth asks: are my chances for success greater with American associations or with Jewish associations? Youth depends on push, but he knows the value of pull and he knows where to look for it. A Jewish employer giving a young Jew an opportunity by reason of the fact that he is a Jew makes a stronger convert to Judaism than all the sermons preached in New York last year could ever have done. That young Jew will decide that Jewish associations are of sufficient value to develop and maintain, even at a sacrifice, because they bring returns. Later he will bring Judaism returns, for Judaism as all social groups, has an eye for itself, it will exact its tithe. Here, then, we have an ideal business arrangement, consummated in terms of mutual satisfaction. Similar arrangements make many more young Jews conscious of their Judaism, just as notices "No Jews need apply" have the opposite effect of inducing many young Jews to deny their Judaism, at least in name, the first step in withdrawing from Judaism entirely. Jewish youth as well as age is troubled with the eco-

nomic complex and has no desire to support an incubus.

Organized Jewry spends much time and money in the effort to attract youth. The usual method in the past has been an education which consisted of the inculcation of the noble ideals and teachings of our people. These, strangely, inspired no one except the preachers. For, after all, youth knows that all races and nations have beautiful ideals and beliefs on paper; they have the Declaration of Independence, the Old and New Testaments, the Sayings of Confucius—and the addresses of Mussolini. It is not the ideals of a group, but the people, or a particular person in that group, that sways youth. In the presence of a powerful personality even the element of selfish success is frequently submerged.

When once or twice in the life of the young Jew an actual crisis presents itself and he must choose, say, marriage or vital business connections, to cast his lot either among the Jews or the gentiles he does not weigh the comparative merits of the Torah and the Constitution. A personality on one side or the other determines his choice. He does not choose to be a Jew, he chooses to marry a particular Miss; he does not choose to avoid Jewish contacts, he chooses to join a certain gentile club. After he has chosen, on this basis he will, perforce, accept the ideals, dogmas, and prejudices of the group, as well. Not through actual choice, of course—mere repetition among his associates will plant them firmly in his vocabulary. If Judaism wishes

to attract the youth and perpetuate its ideals and culture it should not merely deliver intellectual orations; a pat on the back, a basket ball league, a dance, and a Friday evening tea are much more effective.

This is the American way, and the correct way, to attract youth to the cultural group. It is not compromising, it is displaying common sense. Synagogues, Community Centers, Y. M. H. A.'s, Zionist clubs, Young Judean groups etc., know this truism. Not Parochial Schools and Yeshivoth that thwart and ruin the lives of young Jews in a modern environment by training them for life in a Ghetto that does not exist, but good-fellowship, ballyhoo, drives, boosterism spell salvation for American Jewry. These attract. If you want adherents you must unbend to get them. The American Public Schools have given this color to the young Jew's outlook. Judaism cannot afford to stand aloof and discordant, it must dress in harmony, even outdo the general scheme, but skilfully, to blend and yet be distinguished.

Youth inherently is aggressive and demands of its group an aggressive attitude, even if it is only talk. Mussolini knows this. Youth loves glory and victory, especially physical victory—the kind that is easier to understand. The moral victory of two thousand years of barely keeping one's nose above the water is of doubtful validity. It smacks too much of defeat. And defeat is a very sinister word with youth, much more so than it is with age. With youth

defeat or failure connotes a deficiency, an incapability, something wrong. He hasn't learned yet that the right does not invariably win, in fact he has a hazy notion that the winning makes anything and everything right.

To this stern, brutal judge of nations Judaism presents the wail of antisemitism and assimilation. Antisemitism to the youth places the Jew in the same category with the Nicaraguan and the Chinese. He pities the Nicaraguan and the Chinese but he would not care to be one of them. Personal contacts with antisemitism he brushes off as unworthy of his attention unless they actually thwart him. In the latter case he learns to hate Judaism as their cause, in the same way that he hates all hindrances. And he takes the easiest means to prevent their recurrences, which in America does not mean shutting himself up in a ghetto. With assimilation the young Jew concerns himself about as much as the young American concerns himself with the

fears of the D. A. R. and their ilk. Both are symptoms of defeat which youth studiously eschews. The assimilated youth seldom is conscious of his sad plight, and if someone brings it to his attention he feels only the more scorn for the group that could have had him but failed.

Zionism alone stands out as the one positive aspect of American Judaism which can conceivably attract the youth. The theory of Zionism as seen in the superficial eyes of youth is very attractive to him. Vacarious nationalism is perhaps better than no nationalism at all. With America frowning upon the desirability of Jewish blood, from which offense the young Jews find it difficult to escape, the ever present knowledge of a Jewish state in the glory of whose achievements he can claim a share, is very mollifying to youth's wounded ego. It bolsters his pride in his race and thereby his confidence in himself. It is aggressive, in theory at least, and it opens to him a new field of activity.

UNSUNG SONGS

By DEBORAH SUGARMAN

The sweetest songs are those unsung
which, poised for utterance in the throat
But stifled by a lack of power
Emit a plaintive, voiceless note.

The sweetest words are those untold
That, deep engraved within the heart
But formless, vague, upon the lips
Strive their message to impart.

THE ITEM

By JACQUE SAINT-ANN

ONE evening in the late fall several of the Hobo Collegians and myself were sitting on a bench in Union Square Park whiling the time away in a wandering discussion. A dapper figure in a gray topcoat and derby hat walked briskly by us. The mallaca cane hanging on his left arm and the brisk manner of his carriage lent an appearance of prosperity and importance greatly at variance with the usual thing in Union Square. This was heightened by the tortoise rimmed glasses which fitted well with the intellectual cast of his features.

"Hey, there, Willy," cried one of the group.

C. Wilberforce Wiggins, or The Item, as he was known in the Square, turned and came over to where we were sitting.

"How's everything," asked the first speaker.

"Well-I-I, everything is not just as everything should be," he answered, "But, on the other hand, things could be in a much more deplorable condition, so—" And he left the rest to the imagination. The boys smiled sympathetically.

"By the way, fellows," he added, "have you seen The Baron?"

"Sure," said Parlay Red, "he and Simon Simonides started down Fourth Avenue an hour ago. Simon had a smacker and a half, so its a ten to one shot you'll find the both of them in the cider house on Fourth Street."

After a little delay, The Item shook himself.

"Well, I guess I'll be on my way," he announced gracefully.

But before he could make his retreat, Benny Eidelberg spoke up.

"How's chances to put the 'Bee' on you for two-bits?"

"Sure—sure," answered The Item.

He extended the coin quickly and was on his way before any more requests could be made. As he disappeared across the park, Parlay Red voiced his curiosity.

"Who is this guy, anyway," he asked, "how does he come to be around here?"

"Why, he's a philosopher," said Benny grinning, "Can't you see that?"

"Christ, that's nothing; everyone in the College is some kind of nutty philosopher; — we wouldn't be here otherwise," Red declared, "But what gets me is how that guy can be on the bum and still worry so much about looking like a dude. Gee! you'd think he had ten grand in his kick, the way he looks. Say—," and Parlay Red leaned over confidentially, his hand on my arm.

"Did you ever see him going to bed?"

I nodded my head affirmatively. Red paid no attention to my answer.

"The other night I was sitting by the stove down in the College, dopping out the entries for the next day at New Orleans, when this guy Wiggins comes in. I said hello to him

and went on with what I was doing. The first thing I knew he pulled a cot over near the stove and got ready to turn in.—Now listen to what I tell you.—First he took off his glasses and put them in his breast pocket. Then he laid his hat at the end and his cane along the side of the cot. Then he laid down on his side and pulled his topcoat over him and put his two hands under his cheek. In a minute he went to sleep.

The next morning I woke up and went over to the stove, and, would you believe it, he was still in the very same position as when he laid down, not a thing had moved—just like he was a wooden dummy.”

Red paused to see the effect of his tale, and the crowd laughed appreciatively.

“Yes, sir, I’ve seen some queer bozoes in my travels, but none of them were any queerer to my way of thinking than that guy Wiggins.”

Benny Eidelberg chuckled.

“Sure, you think he’s queer,” he said. “It’s only natural to judge any guy that way if he’s got any brains and education and still hangs out here.”

The conversation had started a new train of thought in me, and I prepared to seek a little solitude along Fifth Avenue. As I arose I turned to Parlay Red.

“You’d be surprised to learn that The Item once had fifty thousand dollars, wouldn’t you, Red?” I asked.

And then I added, “Only a few years ago, too.”

Red exploded with laughter.

“Fifty grand! Why, hell, don’t

kid me, fellow-worker,” he declared. “Why, no one ever had fifty grand!”

The boys seemed to think this was very humorous of me, and I left them to their mirth.

I could not get The Item out of mind, and as I walked I recalled the many curious details of his unusual life. Strange as it may be to one who knows the Hobo College and Union Square, what I had told about Red was the absolute truth.

Once The Item was on his way to a comfortable fortune and only an epic combination of adverse circumstances was responsible for his return to the ranks of the Bohemia and our extreme pleasure in his estimable and amiable company.

The Item had once been a “high-pressure” salesman. I often saw him entertaining in various Greenwich village restaurants and saloons, but we had not become personally acquainted. In the balmy, opulent days of 1916 and 1917, he gathered a considerable bank account selling stocks and bonds. When he had accumulated five thousand dollars, he gave up selling and opened a trading account with a brokerage firm called Parsons and Skimmer.

Good fortune followed. The draft board rejected him definitely, and week after week his credits steadily grew beyond the wildest dreams of any member of the Hobo College. Soon he was installed at a personal desk with a phone to Mr. Parsons’ private office.

“When I get fifty thousand I’m going to quit,” vowed Mr. Wiggins one day in the spring of 1919.

"No one ever has," warned Mr. Parsons.

But the Item merely smiled and held his peace.

Toward the end of the fall of that year, there was feverish activity on the Exchange. Rumor upon rumor assailed the Street. Stocks soared and dropped with bewildering inconsistency, but generally Mr. Wiggins was on the correct side. When he bought, the stocks went up, and when he sold short, they went down.

Soon the entire office took to watching him and a story began to circulate that he had tapped a leak in one of the big financial institutions. Just which organization so kindly furnished him information was a moot question that seemed entirely immaterial since each person telling the tale devised a new name.

Following his moves became equally difficult. His hunches changed so rapidly that several customers of Parsons and Skimmer lost thousands in the attempt and one poor fellow was cleaned out and committed suicide. The Item paid up a deficit which the deceased left in the office and continued his operations.

At last came the big day. One morning he began trading with a credit of forty-five thousand dollars. A big raid was on. A prominent public utilities stock was the goat and under the steady pressure of a few big operators, it began to slide.

Mr. Wiggins sold short and rode with the storm. Several times during the battle the stock rallied and began to rise, but after alarming recoveries it always slid back.

These little manipulations wiped out thousands of unwary lambs who just would gambol with the wolves. But not so Mr. Higgins. With great agility he got out from under every trap, and when the market closed, after taking all his various stock holdings out of pawn, his credits stood fifty-six thousand dollars on the books of the firm.

"Well, gentlemen, tomorrow I shall prepare to leave you forever," he smilingly informed the two partners.

"We'll be very, very sorry to have you leave us, Mr. Wiggins," Parsons assured him, little dreaming of the prophetic import of his polite words. Of course, you know what is best for yourself."

"Yes, gentlemen," said Mr. Wiggins, "Aside from the usual regrets one has in severing one's connection with very amiable and delightful associates, I shall be very glad to forget that such a place as Wall Street even exists.

"A little private business, a home in the country, plenty of books and a well stocked cellar will just about approximate my idea of peace on earth."

"Yes, yes," said Mr. Skimmer, "A well stocked cellar will now be a great inducement to live in the country. I hope I may sometimes pay you a visit."

"And I certainly hope that both of you will," declared the polite Mr. Wiggins. Which being over with, he left for the Village.

With a crowd of friends he staged a glorious celebration. Several bot-

tles of sixteen year old whiskey, which, according to the law, would never be sold again, were duly opened and emptied. About three o'clock in the morning he stood upon a chair to bid farewell to his hilarious guests.

"Ladies and gentlemen," he exclaimed, "Tomorrow evening and every evening thereafter you will behold me in person with absolutely no connections in Wall Street. A person than whom none will have a greater aversion to dealing in stocks and bonds. Come now, one and all hear ye. And now let's have a drink on my permanent retirement from America's great and holy Monte Carlo."

The next morning, as was only natural, C. Wilberforce Wiggins slept until ten o'clock. He breakfasted leisurely and taxied down to the office about eleven-thirty.

As he alighted at the entrance to Parsons and Skimmer's building, he noticed that a few people were gathered about the steps of the sub-treasury, and that newsboys were frantically advertising an extra-edition.

With some slight nervous agitation he went up to the office. Here everything was in confusion. Clerks were rushing back and forth with papers. Customers were gathered about the board with pads in their hands, feverishly following the two stock-boys' movement with individual computations. An air of excitement and even frenzy permeated the entire assemblage. Mr. Parsons spied him at once.

"Mr. Wiggins, for God's sake, get out from under. The market has

gone crazy. The bottom's dropped out. What shall we sell for you — there's no time to lose!"

The solicitous gentleman was perspiring profusely. His collar was away, and his usually immaculate shirt-front was splashed with ink.

"Oh, don't get so upset," admonished Mr. Wiggins, "It can't be as bad as all that, nothing ever is. Besides, I have such varied holdings they can't very well touch me for much. Don't forget the big block of steel I mortgaged last week. That's a pretty solid sea-anchor."

"St-t-eel," spluttered Parsons, "Look—look,"—and he pointed to the board.

While Mr. Wiggins gazed fascinated, the boy nimbly and with skilled precision extracted and substituted the little cards in the steel rack.

Five and one-eighth—five—four and three quarters—four and five-eighths—a half—a quarter—an eighth—four.

It was unprecedented. The Item calmly removed his glasses and wiped them with his handkerchief. Then he gazed once more.

Three and five-eighths—a half—three-eighths—a quarter—an eighth—two.

With great alacrity Mr. Wiggins strode to his desk and extracted from the drawer a list of his holdings to date. He quickly checked it against the records as shown by the stock-board. Then he seized his 'phone and began giving orders.

All day the bedlam continued. During the last hour he had to wait ten minutes at a time to get results from

the floor of the Exchange. Mr. Skimmer, who had been jobbing stocks from the office under fictitious names, was frantically trying to cover himself and had little time for his mere customers.

Down, down, down was the monotonous song of the ticker, as the tape dispassionately spelled out the doom of untold thousands. Dozens and dozens of stocks were falling into a seemingly bottomless pit. Then minutes sometimes meant the loss of more than ten points. And while The Item sat with his mouth and ear glued to the 'phone, Mr. Skimmer deserted his ship and scrambled for his own safety.

At last the gong struck on the Exchange and the attendants went forth to clear the wreckage.

In the office of Parsons and Skimmer, C. Wilberforce Wiggins sat at a desk and calmly figured on a sheet of the firm's letter-head. His fingers were holding the pencil in a death-grasp. At last, he laid the pencil aside and wiped his glasses. His face was very pale and the glasses shook in his hand.

"Twenty-five thousand in the red," he said softly in a far away tone, and he then repeated, "Twenty-five thousand in the red."

He readjusted his glasses and carefully closed and locked the drawers of his desk.

"Well, I guess I'll bid you a good evening," he called to his nearest neighbor.

Then he donned his topcoat and took his stick preparatory to making

a graceful exit. As he crossed the floor, a voice hailed him excitedly.

"Mr. Wiggins—Mr. Wiggins, Mr. Parsons would like to see you immediately."

"Certainly — certainly," answered The Item with a sinking in the pit of his stomach, "with pleasure."

Bracing his shoulders he walked into the inner office. The two partners with wild eyes and feverish gestures met him with a shout.

"Mr. Wiggins, what are you going to do about this"—and Parsons held out to him a sheet with two rows of figures, one in black and one in red. The black column was ended with a red line. Below the red line in large red characters were the figures—\$25,000,000.

Mr. Wiggins mustered his last reserves.

"Oh, don't worry about that—don't let that little thing worry you," and he smiled engagingly. "Why, that's a mere drop in the bucket. Of course, I didn't tell you, but I sold short this morning through another firm and after deducting your little deficit I stand well over two hundred thousand in the black."

The two partners looked at each other in amazement. Then they both gave vent to relieved sighs. C. Wilberforce put on his best manner.

"Why, gentlemen, surely you didn't think I was cleaned out. Remember the old adage—'Never carry all your eggs in one basket!'" And he playfully slapped Skimmer on the back.

"Well," he said contentedly, "it's time for a little celebration, I think."

He slowly drew on his gloves. Then in a very confidential tone he said to Parsons:

"You know I do believe I haven't very much cash at home and the bank is closed. I wonder if you will be so kind as to get me a century note to tide me over until I get around to a place where I can cash a life-sized check?"

"Certainly, old man," he half spluttered, 'will that be enough?"

Mr. Wiggins eyed him speculatively.

"W-e-ll, now that you remind me—there's a few little things I want to attend to on the way uptown."

He thought a little longer and then added:

"You better make it two hundred."

Mr. Parsons hurried to the cashier's cage before Mr. Wiggins could again boost his request. As he tendered the two bills he had a worried look in his eyes once more.

"Don't bother to put it against my account," said C. Wilberforce, "I'll give it to you personally when I drop in tomorrow. But don't expect me before one o'clock," he added waggishly.

With calm tread he made his way to the elevator.

"All the fates have neglected is the brass band and Listz's funeral march," he mused sardonically while the elevator descended to the street.

He hailed a taxi and as it was pulling up to the curb, he noticed that a crowd gathered about the steps of the sub-treasury. Then he remembered that another Liberty Loan drive was in progress. On a

temporary platform four figures in police uniforms stood with bared heads.

As he gave directions to the driver a flute trilled forth a lilting prelude. The Item paid no attention, but as he seated himself, several more instruments joined in with the inspiring strains of an almost too well-known aria.

He threw back his head and burst into hysterical laughter. The taxi driver looked at him suspiciously.

"Drive on—drive on," exclaimed The Item between guffaws.

The driver obeyed and the cab slowly pulled by the edge of the crowd.

The four harmonists were now attuned and as The Item slowly drew away on his northerly course, the melodious voices burst forth into Tosti's immortal song:

Goodbye-ye-ye for-ever — Goodbye-ye-ye for-ever,
Goodbye-ye-ye — Godbye-ye-ye —
Goodbye-ye-ye.

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Gleanings and Comments

Language Medium in Palestine

CAPTAIN Owen Tweedy, an observer of Palestinian affairs since 1917, has a very lucid, very informative and very fair article in the May number of *Current History* on the Zionists' progress in Palestine. He did his observing honestly and diligently and seems to be in command of all the details and intricacies of his subject matter. But the author appears to take the wrong view, when he says, by way of digression:

"Jews are learning Arabic; but it is not to be expected that the Arabs will learn Hebrew. *Arab-Jewish cooperation will have to be built up on Arabic*, and it is therefore rather distressing to find, as the traveler does find in a new Jewish town, no notices other than in Hebrew. Parochial exclusiveness on such lines will not attract Arab buyers to Jewish markets nor foster good understanding."

Other observers tell us, on the contrary, that the Arabs learn to speak Hebrew. And they do it because the Jews represent the higher culture and a good market to the Arabs. What the future will bring no one can tell, but as Zionism aims at a Jewish majority in Palestine and must raise the Arab to a higher economic level for its own good, it would seem that Hebrew has at least as good a chance of becoming the medium of Arab-Jewish cooperation as has Arabic, and Hebrew should be stressed wherever advisable.

Overflowing Humor

THE *May Forum* carries an article, "The Jews in America", by Elma Ehrlich Levinger, who appears from

internal evidence to be a member of the race she writes about. There is nothing that can be said for it. A piece of the kind that is humorous, well-meaning and superficial. It sets out to say a whole lot and leaves the reader not much wiser than he was. Its sole virtue consists in that nothing much could be said against it. Except this, that even humor must have its limits,—a precaution sadly overlooked by the authoress, as will be seen from the following excerpt:

"The gentleman from New Harmony, Indiana, has come up to New York. A Jewish newsboy sells him a paper published by a Jew. On the first page he discovers through the headlines that Dr. Wise has officially recognized the Jewish prophet, Jesus; that Samuel Untermyer is defending certain Jewish striking garment-makers against their Jewish employers, or vice versa; that a mass meeting has just been held in Carnegie Hall to welcome the Jewish Longfellow, Mr. Bialic; while the picture and foreign-sounding name of a gunman, condemned to deliver up the Mosaic eye and tooth at Sing Sing's death house, strike him as being suspiciously Jewish. Arrived at Times Square, he submits a play his daughter has written to a Jewish play broker; he buys a clean collar for himself at a Jewish department store, a set of smutty postals for his brother-in-law at a hole-in-the-wall presided over by the cousin of one of our leading song writers. Falling to obtain a seat for one of the musical comedies, written, directed and produced by Jews, he wanders into the Theatre Guild to scowl over the programme as he searches for a non-Jewish name. The play, of course, is written by a German Jew."

Oil and Jews

CONGRESSMAN Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn calls our attention to the fact that while the Secretary of

State, Mr. Kellogg, "threatened to call the American loan to Rumania if they did not desist in their endeavor to *nationalize their oil wells*," the same Secretary "refused to interfere in the case of lives that had been put in jeopardy."

It will be of interest to our readers to know a little more about it, and we reproduce the following from Mr. Celler's speech, as it appears in the Congressional Record under date of April 1, 1928:

"I applied to the Secretary of State for information and received a letter containing what he terms to be the general policy with reference to these loans. There was nothing specific in the letter, and he gave me what had long since been published in the press.

"Reading from a clipping from the United States Daily, the Etate Department apparently stated that—

there was no need of an investigation of its policy of disapproving foreign loans, as proposed by Representative Celler, since all the facts are on file in the department and will be supplied Congress at any time upon request.

"In pursuance of that statement I applied to the Secretary of State for information as to what loans had been disapproved, and my office was informed over the phone that it would be quite embarrassing to the Secretary of State and quite impolitic and a breach of confidence to disclose the nature of those loans which had merited the Secretary's disapproval. So apparently what the Secretary says in one breath does not square with what the Secretary says in another breath. Mind you, I have no personal quarrel with the Secretary or his department. I simply take exception to his policy.

"Now, he also informed me several weeks ago, when I asked him to prescribe the loan to Rumania, for reasons

which I have indicated on this floor, and particularly because of the atrocities of this benighted nation, that it was not within the province of the Secretary of States to interfere with the internal or domestic conditions of any country, let alone Rumania. Yet, let me read to you a very significant paragraph from a volume entitled 'American Foreign Investments,' by Robert W. Dunn, on page 17 thereof, and I ask you to listen attentively:

"The importance of the war loan obligations, when it is desired to bring pressure to bear on countries whose national interests cross those of the American investors, was illustrated in 1924 in the case of Rumania.

"This is the very country that was the subject of correspondence between the Secretary of State and myself and loans which I am now asking be proscribed.

"The Rumanian Government enacted legislation tending to nationalize its oil supplies. This was resented by American oil companies, which had invested in Rumania. The State Department synchronously reminded the Rumanian Government that her loan was about to be called.

"And the author goes on to say:

"Similar political pressure is possible at any time through these great national loans owed to the United States Government.

"*Mr. LaGuardia*: Will the gentleman yield there?

"*Mr. Celler*: I yield.

"*Mr. LaGuardia*: The gentleman knows that, while a loan may be discounted at 90 bearing 6 per cent interest, there is no sentiment in a little thing like religious persecution which would keep bankers from making such a loan.

"*Mr. Celler*: Quite right; I have just shown you that the oil interests of the country brought pressure to bear upon the State Department or the other departments involved and that they in

turn coerced the Rumanian Government, interfering directly, without any question, in the internal policy of the Rumanian Government, only there dollars were involved and in my proposition lives are involved. The State Department seems to imply by its conduct that lives mean nothing to it and dollars mean apparently a great deal. . . ."

A Good Beginning

WE are frank to say we do not like *The Nation*. Highbrow radicalism is the worst of all the bad features present day America is blessed with. *The Nation* type of radicalizing is a sort of diet, well regulated and within definitely prescribed limits. Because of appearances, *The Nation* always has enjoyed the patronage of the Jewish radical, particularly of the class that have lost their erstwhile revolutionary spirit and are now glad to relieve their starved souls by a weekly dose of radical verbiage. Its attitude on Jewish matters and Zionism has been as conservative and as anti-national as is that of the old-time "Genosse", who will apparently die happy in his all-wise ignorance. We are, therefore, pleasantly surprised to find in its issue of May the 23rd a contribution on Palestine life based on true facts and sympathetically done. "Where Communism Is Real," by Philip S. Bernstein, is a good beginning,—if it isn't an accident.

Though brief, the article is too long to quote, and we shall confine ourself to reproducing a couple of paragraphs, to indicate its character.

"In Palestine communism is not political. Red flags are conspicuously absent, and there are no communications with Moscow. The attempt is being made in

thirty agricultural colonies to live a purely communistic life. These colonies are called *kvutzot*, cooperative groups. They vary in population from fifty to three hundred. Neither the land nor the buildings nor the tools are privately owned. The ground remains in the permanent possession of the Jewish people. All that is in the soil and on it belong to the colony.

* * *

"It would seem that such a system places a premium on shirking. Lazy people, apparently, need do only a minimum of work to receive not only their share, but if they have a number of children, more than the good worker. This is true, and yet indolence is rare. Perhaps it is because these workers are of the first generation, pioneers, and the pioneering spirit burns like a steady flame. Perhaps a moral compulsion keeps them from shirking, or perhaps the solemn sense of duty which animates most of these young idealists.

* * *

"The charge of immorality has been made against the communes. The reasons are not far to seek. In some of them, especially in those in which Jews from Russia predominate, men and women (never fewer than four or five) are placed in rooms together. It is aimed to establish a complete equality between the sexes and to make it possible for men and women to become intimate friends without the element of sex entering into their relationships. This policy has not been the parent of immoral practices, according to my observation. Looseness in sex relations was practically unknown, and was severely frowned upon. An American college graduate in a commune near the Syrian border maintained that his comrades were 'actually puritanical.' In some communes the practice of putting men and women in the same room has been dropped, not because it led to immorality but because, like mixed bathing, it involved some petty embarrassments and inconveniences.



* * *

"A word about religion. The sabbath and holy days are observed in the communes because they afford rest and recreation or because they are a nationalistic bond uniting all Israel. There are no formal religious observances of any kind. The Bible is read and taught not for its religious teachings but because it is a Jewish book, because it is the best Hebrew textbook, because its *locale* is Palestine. There are no synagogues, except, as in the largest commune, for the parents of the young pioneers. They are not antagonistic to formal religion; they say, 'We are simply indifferent.'"

We, Too, Wonder

THE Health Center at Jerusalem for which Mr. Nathan Straus of New York gave a quarter of a million dollars, is being built with cheap non-union Arab labor. No Jewish worker has been given the privilege of putting his hand to the structure. Amazing, is it not?—But when we remember that the Center has been placed in charge of that amiable Dr. Bluestone, the medical director of Hadassah, who is notorious for his anti-labor antics and is a thorn in the side of responsible local opinion, including the Zionist Executive, our amazement grows into shame. An American philanthropist should permit non-union, non-Jewish labor to build a Jewish public institution, and at a time when Jewish union workers are compelled to receive unemployment doles! A Zionist organization, Hadassah, should connive at such outrage and keep in power a man who is thoroughly disliked and will go far out of the way to spite the Jews and the Zionists! Verily, the Jews *are* a peculiar people.

We are glad to note that at least one Anglo-Jewish weekly is "amazed and ashamed". The Boston *Jewish Advocate* of May 10, 1928, gives expression to its feelings in the following editorial comment:

"We are in a quandry! Most reluctant as we are to question the employment situation in Palestine (especially since the recent reports have indicated that conditions are so very much improved there), yet we are faced with the cold, bare fact that the Straus Health Center in Jerusalem is being built without Jewish labor!

"Nathan Straus, whom we all revere, donated a quarter of a million dollars for the erection in Jerusalem of a health center, whose function is to be the prevention rather than the curing of disease. The Building Committee consists of a number of prominent personages among whom is the medical director of Hadassah, Dr. Bluestone.

"A news item informs us that the preliminary work of erecting the building has already been started with the cutting of 2,000 cubic meter of stone, and continues with the astounding statement that among the workers engaged in this work Jews are conspicuously absent. It states further that the Committee in charge of the building boycotts Jewish labor, because the Jewish worker cannot live on the starvation wages paid the Arabs, and if Jews had been employed, the cutting of the stone would have cost thirty pounds more (about \$146).

"Why this efficiency with a vengeance? It is incongruous, unbelievable, that this institution, which is to serve as a health preserving center, and which will bear the name of the venerable philanthropist, should be built without Jewish hands, perhaps causing the Jews, who need this employment, additional suffering and deprivation. We are wondering whether Nathan Straus knows of this?"

Hadassah and Strikebreaking

THE following quotation from the Palestine Workers' Fund Bulletin for May 10, 1928, tells a story that will make all friends of Hadassah hang their heads in shame:

"As we have previously reported, the strike at the Berman bakery stirred up public opinion. The attempt of the workers to better somewhat their trying condition found a lively response in all sections of the Jerusalem population. Private restaurants as well as many of the residents, let alone the workers and the poorer elements, refused during the period of the stoppage to purchase the bread that was baked by Arab strikebreakers.

"Not so Hadassah. This organization deemed it apparently its sacred duty to display its enmity towards the workers and its sympathies for the strikebreakers. To carry through this meritorious design, it did not refrain from a fight with its own personnel and the patients, who together with all the people of Jerusalem refused to eat strikebreakers' bread. They so informed, in writing, the management of Hadassah. They resolutely declared that they would rather starve than do something which was against their conscience. Among those who took such determined stand were gravely ill, who only recently passed through serious operations.

"The Hadassah management, however, would not listen. It continued to buy the bread of the strikebreakers and paid no attention to the starving patients. The thing went so far that the hospital servants bought for their own money bread elsewhere, to feed the sick, while Hadassah stood out for the rights of the strikebreakers, in spite of the sorrow and rage of the whole population."

Belated But Welcome

THE International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has, at its recent biennial convention in Boston placed

itself on record in favor of Jewish labor in Palestine with the following warm resolution:

"Whereas, the members of our organization are fully in sympathy with the aims and endeavors of the organized Jewish workers of Palestine and are gratified with the progress reported to have been made by that organization, and

"Whereas, our Union has expressed its support of the National Labor Committee for the Organized Workers of Palestine, a committee founded through the efforts of the United Hebrew Trades of America, be it therefore

"Resolved, that the incoming General convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union assembled in Boston, send its greetings to the National Jewish Labor Organization of Palestine—the Histadruth, and be it further,

"Resolved, that the including General Executive Board be instructed to make every effort to secure the support, moral and financial, of the International and its affiliated Locals in the campaign undertaken by the National Labor Committee for the organized workers of Palestine to raise a fund for our Palestinian brethren."

On the face of things it might appear strange that there still are unions with overwhelmingly Jewish membership which at this late season make known their minds on the greatest and largest Jewish task of the day, but if we remember with what passionate stubbornness the anti-Zionist diehards in the labor movement of this country are holding out against the spirit of the times and their own better judgment, the stand now taken by the International is a courageous act and we greet it as such. There was quite a fight in the resolutions committee and it took the presence of Mr. Israel Mereminsky, the special delegate of the Jew-

ish Labor Federation in Palestine, to win the day for reason and justice. The more hail to the convention which adopted the resolution unanimously.

Dr. Krimsky's Resignation

WE were eager to know the reasons which have induced Dr. Joseph Krimsky, whom we believe a sincere Zionist, to resign the presidency of the Fund which it had taken some arduous reasoning, as we understand, to prevail upon him to accept, and we have received the following letter:

May 15, 1928

Mr. I. Zaar,
Editor, The Vanguard,
32 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Zaar:

The specific recommendations which I made to the Jewish National Fund and which precipitated my resignation were the following, based upon my close study of existing weaknesses and flaws in the organization:-

1. That no paid employees of the organization be permitted to vote on the Administrative or Executive Committees.

2. That no one shall be eligible to serve on the Administrative Committee who has private business relations with the organization.

3. That the members of the Administrative Committee shall be chosen for their qualifications and willingness to serve rather than for their affiliation with the various groups and factions in the Zionist Movement in America.

4. That the president of the Jewish National Fund shall be empowered to appoint an Office Committee of three who shall participate with him in the super-

vision of the management of the National Fund Bureau.

Very sincerely yours,

JOSEPH KRIMSKY.

This is a statement of principles which may be argued for or against, given the background of the workings of our great national institution, but it does not begin to be as damaging to the character of the management as it appeared from statements and counterstatements in the daily press,—all due, it seems, to a publicity agent's flair for sensationalism. The version of the Board of Directors makes clear where the trouble lay. It follows:

"It is regrettable that Dr. Krimsky, who functioned as President of the Jewish National Fund for a very short time, and who has not participated in the activities of the Fund for the past four months, should have made this attempt to involve the National Fund in the controversy which is now going on within the Zionist Organization of America. It is necessary at this time to remind the public that the Jewish National Fund is a distinct entity, composed on neutral lines, and consisting of forty directors, thirty-one of whom represent the Zionist Organization, Mizrachi, Zeire Zion, Poale Zion, Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion, and nine of whom are elected at large from the various factions. Because of its character, the Jewish National Fund has never and does not now wish to enter into any political controversy. It has always been the policy of the National Fund to keep this popular fund-raising agency for Palestine aloof from all party interests.

"In the statement attributed to Dr. Krimsky, allegations of a criminal nature were made, such as "the National Fund has been involved in private real-estate operations", and that there was "a padded salary list".

"After the statement appeared, Dr. Krimsky himself denied these charges

and said: 'I have never and nowhere said that the National Fund is involved in private or semi-private real-estate operations. Furthermore, I never attacked the personal honesty of the leaders and workers connected with the present administration of the Jewish National Fund.'

"In a subsequent statement, Dr. Krimsky gave as the reasons for his resignation from the National Fund 'incompetence and bureaucracy' which, he declared, existed. The National Fund Board of Directors submits decision with regard to this to all those who know the composition of the Board of Directors and the record which the National Fund has made during the past few years.

"Mr. A. H. Fromenson, who is responsible for having released the statements containing criminal libel and attributed to Dr. Krimsky, sent a letter to Mr. I. H. Rubin, Secretary of the Jewish National Fund, in which he said: 'You were right. I did inadvertently and due to hasty copying from an original document, misrepresent the Jewish National Fund, in which you know I am keenly interested.

"You are at liberty to make such use of this statement as you desire, being assured of my regret over the incident. May I add that as soon as I discovered the error I had made I at once sent out a notice to the newspapers asking them to kill the original announcement.'

"The Board of Directors of the National Fund wishes to insist on the policy originally adopted by the Fund to devote itself entirely to fund-raising for the redemption of Palestine land. It has no other concern."

On The Vanguard

WE quote Mr. Wiernik, editor-in-chief of the *Jewish Morning Journal*, in that paper's issue of May 20th:

"In taking leave, as is my annual custom, of the readers of this department (Literary Reviews), for the few months between Pentecost and Tabernacle, I make use of the concluding lines of this

article to mention the first number of the second volume of the vigorous monthly *The Vanguard*, edited by our staff member Isaac Zaar. The May number appears in larger size, 64 pages, full of stimulating reading matter. James Oneal, Abraham Epstein, Sophie Udin, David Asher, Leo Dashevsky and Joseph Carmin are the new contributors to this issue, who, together with a dozen others, treat of a variety of things with that breadth and boldness which characterize the youthful and energetic Jewish-English organ which is winning for itself a place in the field of journalism."

The Pittsburgh Program

(Adopted by the Zionist Convention in 1913)

IN view of the approaching Zionist convention, which will be held at the same place where ten years ago the Pittsburgh Program was adopted, we believe it useful to reprint that document so that the Zionists of the land may compare the policies then announced with the anti-cooperative and anti-labor campaign waged by the present Zionist administration, — including some of those who are now fighting it. We take it from Professor Kallen's book, "Zionism and World Politics."

In 1897 the first Zionist Congress at Basle defined the object of Zionism to be "the establishment of a publicly recognized and legally secured homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine." The recent Declaration of Great Britain, France, Italy and others of the allied democratic states have established this public recognition of the Jewish national home as an international fact.

Therefore we desire to affirm anew the principles which have guided the Zionist Movement since its inception, and which were the foundations laid down by our lawgivers and prophets for the ancient

Jewish state, and were the inspiration of the living Jewish law embodied in the traditions of two thousand years of exile.

First—Political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith, for all the inhabitants of the land.

Second—To insure in the Jewish national home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which with due regard to existing rights shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources, and of all public utilities by the whole people.

Third—All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the full-

est opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

Fourth—The co-operative principle should be applied as far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.

Fifth—The fiscal policy shall be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every form of financial oppression.

Sixth—The system of free public instruction, which is to be established, should embrace all grades and departments of education.

Seventh—The medium of public instruction shall be Hebrew, the national language of the Jewish people.

10

QUESTING

By ZERUBBABEL

I sought you past the trail's end,
 Past the dwarfed fir and straggling pine.
 I sought you past the trail's end,
 Beyond the timberline.

I sought you where the eagle haunts
 And the ravenous night beast prowls.
 I sought you where the eagle haunts
 And desolation howls.

On the ultimate summit at last
 Athrill I stood and found you not.
 On the ultimate summit at last
 I stood and found you not!

.
 I shall not cease my sacred questing.
 Into the unknown, unplumbed vast,
 I shall not cease my sacred questing.
 I shall find you at last!

BRANDS OF NATIONALISM

By ALFRED BAKER LEWIS

NATIONALISM, the feeling that men speaking the same language or belonging to the same race should have a spirit of comradeship with each other and should stand together whenever necessary against other groups, has been an important factor in history and never more so than in the last hundred and fifty years. Often, too, nationalism has been a factor making for liberation against oppression. The nationalism of the Balkan States roused them to get rid of oppression by the Turks, and the nationalism of Finland and Poland was a progressive force against the tyranny of the Russian Czars.

While nationalism has thus served to arouse men to revolt against oppression, it has proved too often dangerous to liberty because the oppressed have frequently turned oppressor when given a chance, and in the name of nationalism, too.

For it seems that people cannot develop an especially strong spirit of comradeship within their national group without rationalizing that attitude into the belief that their nationality is the bearer of a peculiarly fine brand of civilization. If there are peculiar values in their civilization not possessed by the civilization and culture of other national groups, it is very easy to believe that other national groups are inferior to their own group. Such a feeling of superiority to all other national groups may not be a necessary logical result of nation-

alism, but it has been an extremely frequent psychological result. Furthermore, that feeling of superiority has lent itself very easily to exploitation by those groups in the community who profit by militarism and imperialism.

The Poles, for example, having won their freedom from Russian oppression, have used it to oppress in turn Jews, Galicians, Lithuanians, and Germans, and in the name of nationalism. The Italians, who freed their provinces of Venice and Lombardy from Austrian domination, seventy years ago, are now engaged in giving a dose of oppression to Austrians in the Southern Tyrol, and in the name of nationalism. Rumania, freed from Turkish oppression, is laying a decidedly heavy hand on Jews, Hungarians and Bessarabians. To come nearer home, the "100 per cent American" is usually bitterly intolerant toward immigrants or Negroes.

Of all the various nationalisms now rampant in the world it is probably true that Jewish nationalism is the best of the lot. It has been more than twenty centuries since Jews waged aggressive war against their neighbors. Nor does Palestine seem likely to develop an army and navy, at least in the near future. Also it is true that cultural nationalism, the study and development of the literary and artistic heritage of any group, as distinguished from political and geographical nationalism, is a safe and

sane force. In rediscovering, developing and applying its literary and spiritual heritage, Jewish nationalism would have a task calculated to take up all the energies of the most ardent nationalist, for the literary and spiritual heritage of the Jew is an unusually rich one.

Still, when all is said for nationalism that can be said, the readiness with which those who have resisted injustice and oppression in the name of nationalism have turned oppressors in the name of nationalism when they had the chance, and the ease with which nationalism can be exploited by militarists and imperialists makes any man who is an ardent nationalist in his ideals much like a man who is playing with dynamite, so far as hopes of achieving greater international brotherhood are concerned.

The Socialist and labor movement on the other hand is founded on the brotherhood of the working class whatever their race, color, or creed. Nor is that a mere sentiment. It is for the labor movement a necessity and a matter of common sense. Fundamentally, the workers are sellers of labor power. If any group of workers get a markedly low price for their labor power, that is a serious threat to the possibility of any other group of workers getting a higher price for their labor power.

If a farmer in North Dakota, who was getting \$1.00 a bushel for wheat, reads in the paper that farmers in the Argentine are getting only fifty cents a bushel, he would be badly worried, at least if he were wise. For he would know that he could not keep on selling

a bushel of wheat for \$1.00 while other farmers were selling wheat for only fifty cents.

The same general principle applies to the sale of labor power. Low wages, i. e., a low price for labor power, received by Hindu workers in the jute mills of India is a threat to the higher wages of the Scotch jute mill workers. Low wages for Chinese cotton mill operatives is a threat to higher wages of cotton mill workers in other countries. Low pay for workers in Mexico is a threat to the American standard of living. Consequently, the workers in the industrially advanced nations have generally opposed the attempts of their militarists and imperialists to exploit foreign labor at a low price. Even the American Federation of Labor, despite the fact that it is far from being Socialist, has protested against the policy of shooting Chinese strikers on their own soil, has helped and befriended the Mexican Federation of Labor (despite the opposition of the Catholic trade unionists within its ranks), and has protested against the policy of American intervention in Latin American countries to put down the growing liberal and labor movements there.

The same thing applies within our own borders. The Jews in the clothing trades may not like the Italians. But they know that they cannot keep on getting high wages while the Italians get low wages, and so out of necessity and common sense they must help their Italian fellow workers to organize and get higher wages. It is in the recognition by the labor movement of

the fact that a low standard of living for any group of workers is a threat to higher standards elsewhere that the chief hope of the world for international peace and brotherhood lies. That is what has made Socialism an anti-militarist and anti-imperialist force throughout the world.

The Poale Zionists have shown this spirit of international brotherhood when put to the test. While the Arabs in Palestine have been complaining that the ordinary Zionist officials discriminate against them, the Poale Zionists, I understand, have set out to organize the Arabs into trade unions. They have done this despite the fact that this policy, if steadily adhered to, might result in a very important, even a preponderant, Arab influence in the Palestine Labor Movement, a thing that no 100 per cent Jewish nationalist would like. For the Poale Zionists appear to realize that a high standard of living for the Jewish workers in Palestine would be threatened by a low standard of living for the Arab workers there.

The Poale Zion movement seems to me, I must confess, a somewhat strange mixture of nationalism and Socialism. But since Jewish nationalism is certainly the least objectionable form of nationalism for the reasons already stated in this article; and since the Poale Zionists have put their Socialism above their nationalism in their work of organizing the Arab workers in Palestine, there seems to me no reason at all why the most thoroughgoing internationalist should have any objection to the nationalism of the Poale Zionists.

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Workers

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THE READERS' FORUM

A Ghostly Federation

WE undersatnd that the versatile Dr.

A. Coralnick, not satisfied with his previous achievements as a sleight-of-hand artist in journalism, is now seeking new distinctions as either magician or alchemist, we do not know exactly what it is likely to be. In his attempt, however, to utilize the non-existent Federation of Ukrainian Jews for the creation of a Federation of Federations and to fuse other material which is chiefly nebulous, he is certainly entering the realms of the supernatural or the illusionary, or comes very close to attempting to produce something out of nothing. The question is, in the first place, whether even such a good juggler as Dr. Coralnick can perform such a feat, and in the second place, if such a Federation is established, what and how much it can ever accomplish. As a mere matter of charity one refrains from employing a cruel figure of speech about the multiplication of zeros. Such of the Federations of Jewish mutual aid and other societies or *Landsmanschaften*, like the Polish, Rumanian, or possibly one other group, as exist, have enough to do to maintain their own organizations and ot keep their special activities going.

With regard to general Jewish questions, these bodies are affiliated with the American Jewish Congress, and whether they give it sufficient material support or not, they are certainly accorded a free voice in all its councils, especially with respect to questions af-

fecting the particular spheres of their activities. So that for all necessary purposes the required federation already exists in the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress, which, leaving out the questions of the popularity of any recent elections, has certainly in all important Jewish matters which have lately come up, acted in accord with the wishes of the large masses of the Jewish people. That, too, is a form through which democracy can well express itself—the response of an organization to the prevailing mind, and, if you will, mood of the people.

But, this would be digressing into the realms of an abstract problem. The concrete question before us is whether the planned Federation of Jewish Federations, with regard to which we are told a number of conferences have been called, could accomplish anything more than weaken the aims and activities of the American Jewish Congress, and cater to the vanity of one or two persons, who, not being satisfied with the opportunity of being moulders of public opinion, also want to figure as superfluous presidents or vice-presidents of unnecessary organizations.

Let us close with a very humble and simple suggestion. Why should not the real Federations get busy about strengthening their own forces and giving additional aid to the ideals of the American Jewish Congress to which they have so repeatedly professed devotion?

David Burke

Sugar Industry in Palestine

TO talk now about anything else but orange groves may sound silly to many people in and out of Palestine, and yet there is an industry crying for Jewish capital and Jewish labor. It is the sugar industry.

Sugar is imported into Palestine at the rate of some eight thousand tons yearly, and the amount steadily increases with the growth of the population and the development of such industries as require sugar for their products, such as chocolate factories and the like.

Egypt, our neighboring country, whose climatic conditions are similar to ours, raises sugar cane in large quantities. More than 23,000 hectares are under cultivation with sugar cane. Most of the production is in the hands of the Societe Generale des Sucreries et de la Raffinerie d'Egypt. This company owns the land and rents it out to small holders, paying a stipulated price for all the cane delivered to it. Cane sugar is the only kind made in Egypt, which accounts for the fact that the factories work only four months a year, a condition that requires large reserves of seasonal labor. Compared with Palestine, labor in Egypt is cheaper, but as the price of land and irrigation is much lower here, the production of cane sugar in Palestine is equal in cost to that of Egypt.

Combining cane sugar with beet sugar would make it possible to run the factories from nine to ten months in the year. Tests made with cane and beet sugar by the Zionist Experiment Station, with which I am connected,

in different regions of Palestine showed the yields to be as large as anywhere else, and the percentage of sugar is even somewhat greater.

Taking ten thousand tons as the average annual sugar requirement of Palestine for the coming years, the area under cultivation to meet this demand would have to be some three thousand hectares of irrigated land, located within easy transportation facilities. This land should be subdivided among 600 small holders who could devote one third to cane, another to beet, and the last third to farming for their own necessities.

A hectare is calculated to give a net income of 70 pounds sterling. Two grown-up people can manage four hectares, which would yield 140 to 150 pounds per person,—a fairly good income in Palestine. The industry of extracting the sugar will require the steady employment of some 1500 people, so that the three thousand hectares would provide work and income to some three thousand people.

In view of the ready domestic market and the comparatively small investments required, the sugar industry is much better than any other agricultural industry.

Dr. Joseph Carmin,

Tel. Aviv, May 10, 1928

The Jewish Colonial Trust

A number of Palestinian banks, the labor bank, the Mizrahi bank, and the bank of Bnei Brak, respectively, have issued statements lately acquainting the stockholders with their present state of affairs, telling of conditions—and declar-

ing dividends. These banks are comparatively recent creations and yet seem to be successful.

The Jewish Colonial Trust, the great financial instrument of the mighty Zionist movement and the pride of Jewry in general, although of long standing and necessarily with business experience, has not been heard from for many years; neither has a proper statement been issued, nor has any dividend been declared in some years.

I am a stockholder and have also induced many others to invest and become stockholders. It has always been a riddle to me why the Zionist leaders are not anxious to have the confidence of at least the stockholders of the Jewish bank, of those who did respond when appealed to. If something did happen and the affairs of the bank are in bad shape, are not the stockholders entitled to know?

The United Palestine Appeal spent a fortune to prevent the Zion Commonwealth from going to smash. Naturally one wants to ask, why has nothing been done to strengthen the bank, at least to enable it to pay dividends once in a while so that the public would not lose faith in the Jewish Colonial Trust?

Banking is the most paying proposition in Palestine, which is yearning for credits. All banks there which are operated within the limits of strict business are successful and growing. Yet

our bank could not make a success of its business.

Whatever the facts, it points to an unhealthy and unbusinesslike condition, not in keeping with the dignity that should surround the financial instrument of the Zionist Organization.

* * *

At present there is a drive being conducted for the revival of Hebrew in America. Propaganda is being made and money is collected to make possible some Hebrew ventures, among them the Ogen book publishing company. The Ogen already issued one volume, a book of essays by Mr. M. Ribalow, editor of the Hadoar. The book is a collection of essays that already appeared in the Hadoar.

It takes great efforts to collect money for Hebrew literary enterprises, which after all appeal only to a very limited number. Why this precious money is used in issuing essays that already appeared in print and were read, when there are in America Hebrew men of letters who have valuable manuscripts ready for print, treasures that can not be published for lack of means, is beyond the simple mind of a layman like myself. What is the idea? Is this another example of inefficiency, or just plain helpless "batloness"?

DR. L. MILLER.

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THE CINEMA

BY
HELEN MELMUD

THE "intelligentsia" has gone in for naturalism; therefore anything that is natural is good. The logical conclusion of the theory would be to pick a person from off the street and place him on the stage to play the role he enacts in life. No actor could possibly play it as well as he. It is, however, one thing to be natural in life and quite another to be natural on the screen. If Emil Jannings, the greatest of actors, were really "natural" on the stage, the audience would think him a madman. In life people do not observe every little motion that those around them make; they rather receive a general impression of the whole. An artist, in order to build up a character, has to isolate those motions that make up the impression from those others that are either meaningless or would tend to confuse the audience. An audience watching the screen is scrutinizing every motion that the actor makes—not one gesture escapes the eye. Should an actor be natural these numerous little gestures that one makes in real life would ruin the characterization.

All of which leads us to Raquel Meller in *Carmen*. Miss Meller may be a fine legitimate actress, but she does not understand the camera. The stage and screen require entirely different acting technique, and an actress cannot lightly skip from one to another and hope to be successful. But she has not been given a fair

trial. With poor direction, worse photography and "naturalistic" settings, what more would the greatest of actors need to handicap them? What may have been terrifically exciting to the actors proved flat and uninteresting. Prosper Merimee's fine story is turned into a grey, monotonous picture—a shadow of the real thing.

* * *

In comparison, we have *Four Sons*—a very realistic picture. We are introduced to Bavaria where a family of mother and four sons live simply and happily. One day, as Joseph, the eldest, is joyously riding on top of a wagonload of hay, some of the hay falls on a Prussian officer. Joseph in return for his sincere apologies receives a slap in the face. Upon finding a letter from a friend in America urging him to leave Bavaria and seek his fortune in the land of the free, Joseph, still smarting under the injustice done to him, decides to go to America. His mother gives him the little money that she had saved though it hurts to see him go. Three sons are left. War breaks out, and the two older boys are forced to join the army. Still brave, she watches them leave never to return again. Finally the officers come for her youngest, and even though two sons had already given their lives for their country, they carry him off. In the meantime, Joseph has done very well for him-

self,—the proprietor of a delicatessen, a wife and babe. He leaves all this to join the American army.

In a truly moving picture manner, the first time over the top, of all the Germans, he encounters his last brother dying in No-Man's-Land. With a William Fox flourish, Joseph eases his dying breath.

Joseph is one of the lucky few that escape injury and he comes home to find that he is a wealthy man, due to the sagacious management of his wife. A letter is speeded across the ocean to his mother asking her to live with them. It reaches her just after she hears of the death of her youngest.

The whole village rejoices with her. The schoolmaster teaches her the alphabet so that she can pass the immigration test. But when she is examined her mind goes blank and she is held over in Ellis Island until the next day. Meanwhile son, daughter-in-law and grandson are anxiously waiting for her. They are informed that she cannot be released until the following day. Disappointed they go home only to be informed that she had disappeared. There is a frantic search made. The mother, finding that the authorities will not aid her to get to her son, decides to find him herself. After wandering through subways and heavy traffic, she finally reaches Joseph's home through the aid of a policeman and a Rabbi. When Joseph and his wife reach home, dejected and worn out with the vain search, they find her asleep in a chair with her grandson in her arms.

Germany, America, Ellis Island, the

war—all these are artificial sets, yet they are eminently pleasing. The cast is extremely well chosen, with the exception of Earle Foxe for the Major. Mr. Foxe tends to caricature the part. Margaret Mann plays the mother with fine artistic restraint. The first half of the film is a well-directed, excellent piece of work, but for some reason John Ford lost control in the second half. The gushing sentimentality that seeps through most of William Fox's fabrications, manages to take hold of the second half and injures what might have been a most unusual production.

* * *

Fortunately, Frank Borzage knows the difference between sentiment and sentimentality. He does not have to insult the intelligence of his audience in order to make them shed a few tears. In *Street Angel* we have one of the few fine pictures that have been made in America, and the only one on Broadway that is far above the average. This, too, is a Fox production.

Angela (Janet Gaynor), a poor Italian girl, is nursing her mother in a miserable old stone house in Naples. In order to earn some money with which to buy medicine, she essays the role of a street-walker, but proves very unsuccessful. Due to her extremely innocent appearance, the few men she encounters refuse to take her seriously. Driven to desperation, she attempts to steal some money, but is caught and taken to the city prison. She is sentenced to the workhouse for one year. On the way to her cell she manages to escape. In her precipitate flight, she falls in with a strolling cir-

cus. The players, having a natural antipathy for the police, bred by their roving profession, conceal her in the large drum which has been conveniently broken in a previous scene. Becoming a talented member of the troupe, she attracts the vagabond painter (Charles Farrell).

Angela, balancing herself on high stilts, notices two gendarmes observing her closely, and, fearing detection, she becomes nervous and falls. The resultant injury requires medical attention which is unavailable in the provincial town, and her sweetheart takes her back to Naples. Here they live happily for a while, and the artist begins to receive some slight recognition. At this point she is recognized by the gendarme who had previously arrested her. After a moving scene she is haled off to the workhouse to serve her sentence. In the workhouse Angela is cellmate to a bona fide street-walker who had been their neighbor.

The loss of his sweetheart of whose whereabouts he is entirely ignorant, breaks down the rising young painter. He is forced to relinquish an exceptionally important commission, due to his apathy. When the two girls are released, the street-walker finds him a derelict in a cheap dive. She heightens his misery by informing him that Angela has been her cellmate on the same charge. He rushes out to the water front and there in a deep fog encounters Angela. In his anger he threatens to kill her. She flees and seeks sanctuary in a chapel devoted to the Virgin Mary. She falls prostrate before the altar and he for a moment

is non-plussed at finding himself on holy ground. Gazing above the altar, he suddenly descries the first portrait which he had made of Angela, altered, by the addition of a halo and an ancient Jewish headdress, into a conception of the Blessed Virgin herself and purporting to be an old masterpiece. This coincidence evidently assists him to believe that Angela, in spite of all her escapades and adventures, is still, unbelievable as it might seem to an on-looker, a virgin. The fade-out leaves the two lovers on a stone stairway on the quay clasped in each other's arms, evidently waiting for the morning—or perhaps for the fog—to lift.

Despite the raucous Movietone, which did everything possible to detract from one's aesthetic enjoyment, it is hardly possible to praise this picture too highly. It is one of the very few pictures, American or otherwise, which deserves to be called an artistic production. It has been too often proved that though good actors are essential, what is much more essential is a good director. Lya de Putti and Pola Negri illustrate this point too well. As soon as they were transported to Hollywood, their talents seemed to diminish. Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell are very fortunate in having Mr. Borzage as their director.

* * *

Carl Laemmle's presentation of *The Man Who Laughs* is the best executed picture of any of Victor Hugo's novels that have been adapted to the screen. The story contains an overdose of sentimentality and melodramatic coincidences. The settings are very good;



the camera work is excellent, and the acting is above the ordinary. In this last respect we have only one fault to find. Conrad Veidt in this picture — as he has been prone to do in all the characterizations we have viewed—decidedly overacts in the final and climatic scenes. He seems to lack a sense of proportion. Were he to be less pathetic in the beginning of the picture, to make more of an attempt at being cheerful, his final scene in the House of Lords would prove gripping. As it is, Mr. Veidt weeps too much throughout the whole picture and is forced to go through awful contortions at the climax in a vain attempt to appear pathetic. But true, it is a most difficult role, due to the fact that the clown is very unpleasant to the eye. Mr. Veidt is an actor of undoubted ability and it would be a great gain to all concerned if he were to ex-

ercise a little more restraint. All the members of the cast acquitted themselves with great merit. Our memory of the book is slightly hazy, but we feel that the drawbacks of the story are in the main due to Victor Hugo's lamentable flair for sugar-coated melodramas. Paul Leni deserves great credit for his display of directorial ability.

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BRIEF NEWS FROM THE HOMELAND

Compiled by M. R.

WORK was begun recently on the construction of the Mascha-Afulah road. More than fifty Halutzim are engaged in the work, which is to last several months.

* * *

The Biscuit factory of the Frumin Company in Jerusalem succeeded in the few years of its existence to force out of the Palestine market all the cheaper biscuits that were previously imported from France and Belgium. Palestine consumes annually over \$25,000 worth of biscuits.

* * *

The Sha'anan cork factory of Tel Aviv has so expanded recently that it is now building a large factory in the city to make room for its increased personnel.

* * *

Plans are now being prepared for the large Zionist building in Jerusalem which is to house all the Zionist offices in Palestine. The building will cost about \$250,000. A large part of the money was borrowed from the Phoenix Insurance Company, Ltd. It is expected that construction work will begin next October.

* * *

"Re'ee" is the name of a new commercial journal in Hebrew. The journal contains much valuable information about industry and commerce in Erets Israel.

* * *

The new Nazareth-Mt. Carmel road was recently opened with much pomp and ceremony.

* * *

Two Jewish soccer teams emerged victorious in the semi-finals for the Palestine Soccer Cup. The Hapoel eleven of Tel Aviv eliminated the strong British team of Gaza by the score of 1 to 0. The Hapoel team of Haifa nosed out the

British booters of Haifa by the count of 2 to 1. Whoever of the Jewish teams wins in the finals, the cup, which was won successively for the last seven years by British teams, will now go for the first time to a Jewish team. It is interesting to add that both teams belong to the Labor Sporting Club Hapoel of Erets Israel. All players are workmen.

* * *

The Commercial Bulletin announces, on reliable authority, that the preliminary work of sketching the plans for the harbor of Haifa has been completed. Shortly the government will open bids for contracts, and it is expected that construction work will begin by the end of this Summer. Lord Plumer announced during a recent visit of his to Haifa that work on the harbor will begin in the Fall. The harbor, he said, would be three times as large as that of Beirut and will be the largest in the Near East. The harbor will be built near Bath Galim and Shaaray-Haifa.

* * *

Mr. J. Rokeach of Brooklyn gave \$25,000 to the Karen Shmuel Loan Fund of Jerusalem to be used for mortgages on new houses. This, together with \$25,000 gathered by the Fund over a period of years, will enable it to extend fifty mortgages of \$1,000 each to fifty of its members who are preparing to build in Kiryath Shmuel, near the railroad station of Jerusalem.

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A new convalescents' home for working girls was opened in Bath Galim, Haifa.

* * *

The Haifa branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank moved recently to its own new quarters.

* * *

Messrs. Bijansky and Tandovsky opened recently a towel factory in Tel Aviv. There is a large market in Palestine for this article which is now imported from other countries.

* * *

A number of Jewish engineers and

workers are now engaged in surveying the land near the Dead Sea.

* * *

All departments of the Bezalel Art School of Jerusalem are now open, through the aid of the Order Sons of Zion of America.

* * *

The stocking industry which is comparatively new in Palestine is making marvelous progress. Recently there was opened in Tel Aviv a fourth stocking factory. All firms are doing exceptionally well. Two hundred men and women are engaged in this industry in Tel Aviv alone.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Road to Plenty. By William T. Foster and Waddill Catchings. Published for the Pollak Foundation for Economic Research by the Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1928. 231 Pages. \$2.00.

This is a book on economics, written in the form of a novel, and reading like a good detective story. The authors employed the psychological device used in the short story and the mystery play—that of making every incident in the book lead up to a climax which reveals the unknown person or quantity. The absorbing human interest of the book does not detract from the soundness of the economic theory or the value of the plan proposed by the authors for correcting certain evils of our economic system.

The plan is described as "radical and revolutionary while being conservative and commonplace" because it is promised to cure a fundamental defect of the system without upsetting any of its assumptions, or institutions. Briefly, the proposal aims to do away with industrial depressions and with the paradox of millions of suffering unemployed side by side with an overabundance of goods

linguishing for lack of buyers. This it is proposed to accomplish without disturbing the profit motive in industry, or the mutual relations of labor and capital, or the gold standard ratio or giving the government more power in relation to business.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Foster and Mr. Catchings agree with the Socialists as to the immediate cause of business depressions—an overproduction of good that cannot be sold at sufficiently profitable prices. But while the Marxian explanation for this is that the employer withholds from the workers the full value of their products and thus prevents them from buying back all they produced, the authors maintain that the deficiency in buyers' money in relation to the sellers' goods results from savings. In other words, if people spent all

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the money they earned for consumption goods there would never be any depression, for consumers would buy back all the goods that were produced for the money they received in producing them. The fact, however, is that consumers, particularly the well-to-do, do not spend all their money on consumption goods. A great deal of it goes into savings. Most of these savings find their way, through bank loans, etc., into the hands not of consumers but of producers. As this process goes on the volume of goods increases, while the amount of money at the disposal of consumers grows relatively smaller. There is overproduction, which means that there are not enough buyers for the amount of goods on hand at prices that would bring in a profit. Workers are laid off and this still further decreases the purchasing power of consumers, aggravating the situation still more. Also, the psychological effect of a depression tends to heighten its results. Employers grow wary, cut down production, people do not spend as freely—every one, in short, in looking out for his own interests, contributes to deepening the depression.

The authors have some critical words to say against the classical economists in explanation of why economic thinking has never been turned on this problem before. This need not concern us here, but a word should be said of their reasons as to how we succeeded in getting in so many prosperous years in between. The reason is that a large part of savings is used for capital expenditures (i. e. for production not of consumption goods but of buildings, machinery, highways, etc.). This provides consumers with money without, on the other hand, providing sellers with an equivalent amount of goods for the time being, and enables the consumers to buy up the old stock of goods.

Now, what the authors urge is that the federal government, which is one of the largest consumers and producers in the country and in addition, through its power of taxation and unlimited borrow-

ing, can easily control the flow of huge sums of money, should make intelligent use of these powers for the benefit of the country. Since in the final analysis it is the relative shortage of consumers' income that brings depressions (as a relative overabundance of income may bring on inflation), the government should control the flow of that income in such a way as to keep it more or less on a par with the flow of consumption goods. Concretely, when there are signs of an approaching crisis the government should go ahead with building public works, throwing its huge purchasing power into the sagging market, and adopt other fiscal measures which would increase consumer income and make more difficult the expansion of production. Such a program would necessitate two things. One is the gathering of data, now very meagre, that would enable us to foretell the coming storms. The second is the creation of a board that would be specifically charged with the one task of coordinating the purchasing, taxing, and public works activities of the government with a view to keeping consumer income within proper limits relative to the amount of consumer goods.

There is no point in criticizing the authors for not going far enough in their program. It occurs to the reviewer, for example, that even in prosperous years some two-thirds of the population are barely able to provide their minimum needs ("the average annual wage of industrial workers... is no more than nineteen hundred dollars"... we are told by the Professor, p. 22). The glaring inequalities of wealth and income are as serious a problem as that of cyclical business depressions. The government might use its taxing powers in that direction and then, through public works, supply consumers with the requisite flow of money. One could suggest other, more radical, measures. But no one may quarrel with the authors for not adopting them. The plan proposed by them certainly seems sound and feasible, and full of promise for the solution of at least

the more disastrous features of industrial depressions. In the field of economic theory credit is due Messrs. Foster and Catchings for emphasizing the oft-forgotten role that money plays in our modern economy. True, it is only a standard of value and a medium of exchange. But its introduction into any public economy removes the seller from the buyer by one more gradation, and permits of an enormous concentration of wealth and of severe fluctuations in the market. It is to this neglect of the role of money that the authors ascribe the cause of some important errors made by the classical economists.

The authors—and the Pollak Foundation—ought to be congratulated on producing a most valuable contribution to economics in a form that makes it a rival with the "best sellers" for the affection of the general reading public.

H. SILVER.

Charles Darwin: The Man and His Warfare. By Henshaw Ward. Bobbs-Merrill. New York, 1928.

It is safe to say that no other man in the past half century has caused so much dissension and exerted so great an influence upon his fellow-man as has Charles Darwin. Himself a virtuous, peace-loving and rather sickly man, his scientific discoveries, especially the *Origin of Species*, roused such bitter feeling in certain circles that, to cite only one instance, Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, announced that he would "smash Darwin."

As a boy, Darwin was not at all above the average. In addition, his lack of stability caused his father great anxiety. For two years he was a medical student. The dryness of the subject-matter and the sights and smells of the clinics and operating rooms proved too much for him. Later, the pleadings of his father helped him to decide that he would like to become a clergyman.

An unexpected opportunity to join a scientific expedition deprived the world

of a potential clergyman and started the youth on his road towards his life-work and lasting fame. For with his embarking on the "Beagle" he was definitely entering his chosen field. Then followed a number of years in South America and in various islands where he studied species. As a result of these studies, he wrote three books on Geology which immediately placed him in the front rank of investigators of nature.

By this time, he had become interested in barnacles and spent eight years studying them. He was now laying the foundations for his major work, *The Origin of Species*. According to the author, "Darwin's task in writing the *Origin* was to show the probability that every species has originated by growing out of a previous species. He could not *prove* this. Even today no demonstration is possible. The method of argument, for Darwin as for us now, is to show the strong *probability* that species evolved from one another and that all life is part of one continuous pattern." Then began the hard and bitter struggle for Charles Darwin to have his theories recognized. Not only the clergy, but many scientists refused to accept his theories. Backed by loyal and able supporters, such as Huxley and Hooker, and in America, Asa Grey, the world of biology was coming steadily to Darwin's view. In Germany and America the new theory flourished. France was a little slower in accepting it. In England, 1870 saw almost all the younger men solidly in its favor.

As the author of "Evolution of John Doe", an interpretation of the Darwinian theory, and the "Circus of the Intellect", an attack upon the attackers of Darwin, Mr. Ward comes well-prepared to write the life of this man. The author is undeniably prejudiced in favor of Darwin and his doctrine, but this is far from being a fault. For, due to this prejudice, we have a vivid and humane portrayal of the man. An interesting chapter in the book is that on his home life, as related by Sir Frances Darwin

in the Life and Letters of his father. Here we have Charles Darwin, the man, the husband and father, with all his human frailties, his love for sweets which were forbidden him by his doctor, and his lack of success in keeping his 'vows' not to eat them. The daily routine shows him to have been a lovable man, and a scientist who was very modest in his appraisal of the merit of his work.

ISRAEL H. WEISFELD.

Back to Harlem. By Claude McKay.
Harper & Bros. New York.

"Back to Harlem" is a most genial and interesting introduction to the Negro in general and the Black Belt of Harlem in particular. We see him in all his foibles and follies and the why of them presented in a manner that can be read on the run. Yet it is a book written more for the Negro than for the white. The author draws a graphic picture of the colored man as he actually is from within as well as without, and in effect says, "Well, how do you like yourself?" Nothing is spared in the portrayal. Cabarets, gambling, dance halls, jazz, liquor flowing copiously, and 'chippies', ranging from dark brown to high yellow, according to one's delectation, ever ready to dance and to love. They live and work for the evenings that bring them together in their favorite haunts.

"Tell me pa-pa, I'se you ma-ma" jazz and syncopation seems the rythm of their lives, and social discrimination a necessary evil, though those that have touched the hems of the elite boast of the prestige achieved by the 'great ones' among them, and there are those others represented by Ray, the waiter on the Pullman, who thinks, but finds no way out.

"Can't a Negro have fine feelings about life?"

"Yes," replies Ray, "but not the old false feelings that used to be monopolized by educated and cultured people. You should educate yourself away from that."

"But education is something to make you fine."

"Modern education is planned to make you a sharp, snouty, rooting hog. We ought to get something new, we Negroes. But we get our education like our houses. When the whites move out, we move in, and take possession of the old dead stuff. Dead stuff that the age has no use for. . . ."

Mr. McClaude would awaken race pride in them, and so Ray asks Jake, the handsome, easy-going hero: "Have you heard of Dessalines who carried on the fight begun by Toussaint L'Ouverture and kept Haiti independent? Has Jake heard of the republic of Liberia, founded by American Negroes, and of Abyssinia that is as persistent as Palestine and as exotic as Persia? Did he know of the legend of 'The Royal Rake' of Jerusalem and how he fell in love with the Ethiopian queen of Sheba?"

Its all so hopeless, though. The Negro is not permitted to raise himself even by his own bootstraps. The carpenter, blacksmith, etc., haven't even a 'look-in' on their trades, because they are black, and are obliged to do unskilled labor or act as strike-breakers, underpaid, unorganized, cheated and kicked . . . the white man's underdog. Even in a crisis like war, he is recruited only to be kept behind the lines and denied the privilege of fighting.

The book is a cry for justice so subtly interwoven with the thread of the story that one is scarcely conscious of the author's design.

ZMIRA CARMEL.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild. By David Druck. New York. 1928.

Of all the Rothschild family, the Parisian Baron is the only one who has identified his name in red letters with the Palestine restoration movement, and Mr. Druck has given us an exhaustive and remarkably well done history of his great work for our Homeland.

No Zionist, of whatever shade of opinion, can be without this book.

Sefer Hamasoth. By Menahem Ribalow.
Ogen Publishing Co., New York.

This book of literary essays by the editor of the Hebrew "Hadoar", will be read with interest, not so much for what may be learned about the various authors discussed, as for the light it sheds on the preferences and prejudices of the man who is now the sole "arbiter elegantiarum" of Hebrew letters in America. This must not be taken to mean that the essays presented in this volume possess no intrinsic value. Most of them will be read with benefit by the uninitiated, to whom it will serve as excellent introduction to the works of the authors and poets themselves and perhaps as appetizers—no mean accomplishment of a critic.

However, as most of the Hebrew readers in this country need no introduction to Feterberg, Bialik, Chernichowsky, Achad Ha'am, etc., they, like myself, will rather be tempted to analyze the mind of the author who guides the destiny of Hebrew literature and its writers in America.

The thing that will impress the reader is the high opinion the author has of himself. He calls his collection of essays and newspaper articles, many of which have neither abiding interest nor lasting value (such as the notes on Babar and Masliansky)—"The Book of Essays". The circumstances under which this book was published would only strengthen this impression. Some time ago the Histadruth Ivrit announced the establishment of a publishing institution "Ogen", with the aim of "publishing from time to time *important* books on *all* subjects". The first book chosen by Mr. Ribalow—the mainstay of the Histadruth, was his own collection of essays which had already been read in various periodicals.

Our author is, however, "highbrow" but in choice of words and phrases rather than in attitude. He loves Hebrew literature too much to look down upon any one, so long as he possesses felicity of expression. This seems to be the only prerequisite with him. He just loves

beautiful and well sounding words and verbal combinations. The only writer he disapproves of is Grinberg and this, it would seem, only because of a lack of refinement in expression. (By the way, his essay on Grinberg is one of the most interesting in the present volume as here Mr. Ribalow tells us what he thinks of the poet instead of giving us a prose repetition of him, as he does in other places). He gets intoxicated with words and sometimes lets them get the best of him. Thus he describes Mendele as a pantheist who "worships nature with love and enthusiasm", caring little that Mendele, far from identifying the universe with God, clothed even his trees with prayer-shawls and cried out "God, how beautiful *Your world* is"!

Many pieces were written for occasions, such as deaths and anniversaries. These are therefore full of praises and devoid of objective judgments.

This is a book by one who writes for Shabbos readers, in Shabbos language. When I got through reading this book I understood more than ever why the Hadoar is full of beautifully said platitudes and also why there is so much of modern "Maamoristic" in this small Hebrew world of ours.

M. SHIFFMAN.

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