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*The*  
**VANGUARD**

*A Magazine of Progressive Jewish Life*

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Vol. 1

Published Monthly

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*JANUARY, 1928*

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*In This Issue:*

**LET CONGRESS BE SPECIFIC**

An Editorial

**JEWISH MARTYRDOM IN ROUMANIA**

By Leo Wolfson

**DRIFTING JEWISH LABOR**

By A. Rosebury

**WHAT AILS THE JEWISH THEATRE?**

By Jacob Fishman

*(See inside for complete Table of Contents)*

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month"—and usually they select from ten to fifteen other books, which they consider worthy of being recommended for one reason or another.

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## NEW CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

**LEO WOLFSON**, attorney, journalist, and president of the United Rumanian Jews of America.

**JACOB DE HAAS**, journalist, author, secretary of the Provisional Committee for Zionist affairs under Louis D. Brandeis, 1915-21.

**A. ROSEBURY**, editor of the *Fur Worker*, for many years labor correspondent *Jewish Chronicle* of London; for eight years editor the *Ladies' Garment Worker*.

**CHARLES JAFFE**, leading authority on chess, formerly champion of New York State, won games from Dr. Emanuel Lasker, Jose Capablanca and other masters, contributor to many newspapers and periodicals.

**DAVID PINSKI**, foremost Jewish playwright and poet, classic of modern Yiddish literature.

**ZVIE WOLF**, lives in Palestine, prominent member of the famous *Jewish Guard*.

**JACOB FISHMAN**, managing editor *Jewish Morning Journal*.

## CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1928

EDITORIALS . . . . .	3
ENTRE NOUS . . . . .	7
JEWISH MARTYRDOM IN ROUMANIA . . . . . <i>Leo Wolfson</i>	10
THE ASCENDANCY OF THE RABBI . . . . . <i>M. Shiffman</i>	14
DRIFTING JEWISH LABOR . . . . . <i>A. Rosebury</i>	18
MISS AMERICA (Poem) . . . . . <i>P. M. Raskin</i>	23
THE MAN WHO FOUND HIMSELF (Story) <i>David Pinski</i>	24
WHAT AILS THE JEWISH THEATRE? . . . . . <i>Jacob Fishman</i>	28
<b>MORE LIGHT ON THE BALFOUR DECLARATION</b>	
<i>Jacob De Haas</i>	33
GLEANINGS AND COMMENTS . . . . .	34
COMMENTS ON THE VANGUARD . . . . .	39
PALESTINE LABOR DRIVE . . . . . <i>Morris Sigman</i>	41
THE PALESTINE TAX SYSTEM . . . . . <i>Zvie Wolf</i>	42
THE JEW IN CHESS . . . . . <i>Charles Jaffe</i>	44
BRIEF NEWS FROM THE HOMELAND . . . . . <i>Moishe Rivlin</i>	47

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*Beginning with the February Issue, The Vanguard will appear in larger size.*

# The VANGUARD

A MAGAZINE OF PROGRESSIVE JEWISH LIFE

ISAAC ZAAR, *Editor*

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THE VANGUARD is a magazine of progressive Jewish life, devoted to the interests of Enlightened Nationalism, Progressive Zionism, Social Advance, and Modern Jewish Culture.

THE VANGUARD has the moral backing of all the groups in the Jewish nationalist radical movement, and will serve the high ideals, the fundamental principles, and the best interests of that movement.

THE VANGUARD is endorsed by  
The Poale-Zion of America,  
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The Young Poale-Zion,  
The Woman's Pioneer Organization for Palestine, and

The National Labor Committee for the Organized Workers in Palestine.

THE VANGUARD is open to all who have anything to say on any subject within its scope, irrespective of the editorial policy.

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## Let Congress Be Specific

**W**ILLIAM I. SIROVICH of New York introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives, December 12th, "calling upon President Calvin Coolidge to intercede in the name of humanity against the outrageous treatment of Roumanian minorities, and, failing in that, to bring

about the abrogation of the treaties between the Kingdom of Roumania and the Government of the United States."

In the whole of the preamble, which recounts the treachery of Roumania and its defiance of civilization and its own "pledged assurances to the sovereign powers that it would shelter all its subjects under its laws without regard to race or creed", there is no mention of the Jewish people whose plight called forth the resolution and whose condition this resolution is clearly aimed to remedy. The reference to "the solemn indictment of the Roumanian Government formulated by that great American Secretary of State, the late John Hay," and the further reference to the fact that "the barbarous brutalities of a like nature under the regime of the late Czar of Russia resulted in our abrogation of all treaty relations with the Russian Empire," leave no doubt in any rational mind that it is the Jews who are meant, and yet the name of our people does not appear in the indictment of the "outlaw in the family of nations".

The only place in the H. J. Res. 91 where the Jews are mentioned by name, is in its conclusion wherein President Coolidge is called upon to demand that the Roumanian Government "at once stop the barbarous and cruel treatment of *innocent Jewish citizens*, and protect their life and property in accordance with the coven-

ants of existing treaties between the Kingdom of Roumania and the Government of the United States." . . .

Whoever knows that Roumania has to this very day denied her Jews the right of citizenship, considering them, with few exceptions, "aliens without foreign protection", and that that wily, tricky, and deceitful nation would immediately put the stress on the "innocent" and be ready to declare that every mistreated Jew was so dealt with precisely because he was not innocent, will at once perceive the need for greater clearness and definiteness in stating the Jewish case.

For the chief cause of the Jewish tragedy in that benighted land has been lack of specific demands by the Powers that Roumania recognize the Jews as citizens.

For fifty long and terrible years hundreds of thousands of Jews have been paying a cruel price for the tragic error of hiding their case behind glittering generalities. In 1878, at the Berlin Congress called by the European Powers to revise the San Stefano treaty between Turkey and Russia, the Balkan states of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania obtained their respective boundaries and independence subject to a provision guaranteeing equality before the law to all citizens, irrespective of race or creed. This was done in response to the petitions of the various minorities which were to remain or be incorporated in the several states. Jewish representatives of Germany, France and Great Britain interceded for their brethren, and it was clearly understood that the general stipulation was to extend also to the Jews of those countries. Prince Gortchacov, the Russian Plenipotentiary, in order to justify the oppression of the Jews in his country, argued against the provision in so far as it was meant to embrace the Jews, but yielded to the demands of the rest of the Congress.

Servia (now Yugoslavia) addressed a communication to the Congress promising to take the first opportunity after the conclusion of peace to abolish the last restrictions against Jews, and she has kept her promise ever since. So has Bulgaria.

In the case of Roumania where the Jews had been suffering ever since the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia united under Prince Alexander Cuza (1859-66); where the constitution submitted in 1866 by the government of Charles von Hohenzollern contained the provision that "only such aliens as are of Christian faith may obtain citizenship"; where Jews were mistreated, pillaged and expelled; where "a number of Jews who proved their Roumanian birth were forced across the Danube, and, when Turkey refused to accept them, were thrown into the river and drowned"; in the case of Roumania, we repeat, the stipulation of the Berlin treaty, known as Article 44, was not sufficient.

There was at least one representative of the Powers, Count de Launay of Italy, who wished to take the proper precaution by offering to insert the following clause:

"The Jews of Roumania, in so far as they are not foreign nationals, acquire the full rights of Roumanian nationality."

Unfortunately, the Jewish representatives of that time did not have the courage, or the vision, of the great Italian. They relied on the general principles of Article 44, which reads, in its first paragraph:

"In Roumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors, or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever."

Germany, France and Great Britain

withheld the ratification of Roumanian independence for some time, in the hope of forcing Roumania to embody Article 44 in its constitution, but these three Powers finally, on February 20, 1880, sent an identical note to Roumania, agreeing to her independence on condition that the following Article 7 be made part of her constitution, instead of Article 44 of the Berlin treaty:

"Difference in religious beliefs and confessions does not constitute, in Roumania, an obstacle to the attainment of civil and political rights, nor to the exercise of these rights."

But in stipulating how to become a citizen of Roumania, this same Article provides, in Section 3, that:

"Naturalization cannot be given except by law, and individually."

That is to say, birth and long domicile are not sufficient, as elsewhere in the civilized world, but that everyone wishing to become a citizen must apply to the government for that privilege. This provision was meant to exclude the Jews from citizenship. It was clearly and brutally demonstrated in 1879, when the 8th paragraph of the civil code, which admitted to full citizenship on attaining their majority the children of foreign parents born on Roumanian soil on declaration of their wish to become Roumanians was abrogated, and the Attorney General, in a case of Cocin Avramescu, declared that the abrogation of the clause "fended a danger from Roumania, for a large number of Jews born in Roumania would thus have endeavored to avail themselves of this right, and sought naturalization en masse."

The same Article 7 provides in Section 5 that

"Only Roumanians, and those who have been naturalized Roumanians, can buy rural estates in Roumania."

Clearly against what Article 44 of the Berlin treaty says in the conclud-

ing words of the above--quoted first paragraph, but only in spirit, as the Jews are considered foreigners, and foreigners without protection so as not to conflict with the third and last paragraph of Article 44, which reads:

"The subjects and citizens of all the Powers, traders or others, shall be treated in Roumania, without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality."

Another great opportunity was missed when the conclusion of the World War brought the provision for so-called minority rights in Roumania. As the Jews were again not mentioned by name, the situation with regard to them remained just exactly where it was before.

A clear statement, such as proposed by Count de Launay, would have gone a long way to repress the brutal instincts of cruel Roumania. She would not have dared to violate openly the assumed obligations and would not by discriminatory laws have driven the Jews from the soil into the cities where they are the personification of the industrial evils to the peasants and the source of all competition to the non-Jewish merchants in a poor, economically and technically backward country.

Now that the conscience of civilized humanity is again aroused by the atrocities in Roumania, and we have the terrible experience with that ignorant but artful nation behind us, shall we for the third time play into her bloody hands by demanding justice for the Jews in terms of general, moral or political formulas?

We hope that the Sirovich resolution will be amended or re-drafted, and the Congress of the United States will in clear and unmistakable words demand, not only the protection of all the minorities in Roumania, but the full and complete recognition of the Jews as citizens of the country,—and the abrogation of all the discriminatory laws against them.

## The Petach-Tikva Scandal

**P**PETACH-TIKVA, the largest Jewish colony in Palestine, was conceived in idealism, founded by idealists and supported and helped to its feet by public funds and the generosity of Edmond Rothschild. Yet we have lived to see it become a curse on the Jewish National Home.

Petach-Tikva thrives on its vineyards and orange groves and relies almost exclusively on foreign markets. It has thus no economic interest in the rise of the home market which means, among other things, the rise of wages and living standard of the workers. Whatever it can squeeze out of the laborers, it considers clear profit, and it is ready and willing to run the dangers of a large conglomeration of under-paid and mistreated Arab labor and to ruin all chances for Jewish workers to gain a foothold in the country through employment on its plantations.

The erstwhile idealists and proteges of a nation have hardened into ruthless exploiters and destroyers of their people's hope. While the greatest exertions are needed all over the world to keep the resettlement of Palestine more or less going, these Jewish colonists refuse—with few exceptions—to give employment to workless Jews. While tens of thousands of pounds have been spent in doles—to the shame and mortification of the recipients who crave constructive labor, the colony which has it in its power to wipe out all the present unemployment in Palestine, let alone the Jewish unemployment in its own midst, continues to engage Arabs from near and far, turning a deaf ear to exhortations, admonitions, entreaties or demands.

The Petach-Tikva exploiters are generous enough to say that at the same low wage they will employ Jews, but, of course, there is more to it than wage: there is the criminal desire to

prevent Jewish workers from ever becoming a power in the colony through the exercise of the voting franchise which could not be withheld from them for long, and then there is the contemptible desire to be masters over defenceless human cattle as are the unorganized Arab laborers and as Jews would refuse to be.

Petach-Tikva has become a menace to Palestine and to world Jewry. We can well understand the bitterness which it has engendered in the land and particularly in the ranks of Jewish labor who came to build a home for a nation and find the doors closed to them by traitors to their people and to the cause of human freedom everywhere. We bow in deference to our peerless pioneers who could so long repress all passion of enraged justice, who had the unrivaled moral fortitude to keep calm in the face of such shameless and brutal treachery.

There is, however, great danger of an explosion if the colonists are not brought to reason. The shocking occurrence, on December 18, when defenceless and peaceful workers were set upon by police, at the behest of the Jewish feudal lords, and men and women were beaten into unconsciousness, is likely to lead to consequences of incalculable harm,—if the Zionists, the Palestine Jews, and the British Administration do not succeed in teaching Petach-Tikva a wholesome lesson in national economics and elementary decency. If those colonists cannot be reached by way of their interests which lie outside the Jewish settlement and the country at large, they can be reached in other ways, and we hope and trust that labor will not be forced to do the teaching.



## ENTRE NOUS

MR. LOUIS MARSHALL descended on the meeting at Cooper Union called by the Student Committee, on Sunday afternoon, December 18, to protest against Roumania for her outrageous treatment of the Jews, and, in the pompous way which is so characteristically his, harangued the assemblage of Jewish and non-Jewish students into a state of bewilderment and helplessness which resulted in an adjournment without action having been taken.

He wanted his hearers to be "patient" and not "to denounce anybody, especially people who live 2,500 miles away." All this great defender of Jewry wants, is 'to show to the Jews of Roumania, to the Jews of Hungary, to the Jews of every country in the world, where they are subjected to contumely, hatred, suspicion, and animosity that they here *sympathize* with them and will try to their utmost to create a public opinion which will *eventually* result in good."

Whatever Mr. Marshall meant to accomplish by this Sunday school twaddle, he did bring to naught the purpose of the meeting and instead of creating public opinion in favor of the Jews in Roumania gave the impression that we and our friends are mere excitable fools who know not what they want. It would have been a great deal better all around if he had done his "cogitation" to himself and stayed at home.

The president of the American Jewish Committee has become noted of late for his counsels of "moderation",—a sure sign of approaching senility. Mr. Marshall no longer leads; he is too set in his ways to march with the spirit of the day, and his former followers have long ago grown to manhood. His Committee has become a mere shadow of its former self, so

much so that it is compelled to hold its annual sessions behind closed doors; a mere fiction which serves its titular head as a cloak of dignity in his self-assumed role of arbiter of a people's destinies.

Other leaders in Jewry will consult with their associates or call larger conferences before taking action on matters vitally affecting our people. Not so Mr. Marshall. He would not trust the fate of his people into strange hands. He alone is wise enough to deal with all delicate problems,—and high diplomats. He likes letter-writing to ambassadors, consuls, and other important personages closely or distantly involved in some issue. And when one writes lots of letters one is bound to get replies now and then. A reply is rarely a slap in the face; it ordinarily contains some compliments and some expressions of good will and high intentions. He got them this time, too.

It takes a Marshall to place credence in the assurances of Roumanian officials after fifty years of perfidy so diligently and so systematically practised by all the parties and rulers that ever held the reigns of power in that country. And it takes inexperienced students to be carried away by pulpit sermons at a protest meeting.

At a time when the sole remedy for Roumanian Jewry, if any, lies in the hands of a conscience-stricken humanity, particularly in this country; at a time when Jew and non-Jew alike must first be roused into a powerful movement of protest before any official and effective action may be hoped to be taken, Mr. Marshall counsels "moderation"—and gives aid and encouragement to Roumania by attempting to stem the swelling tide of universal indignation against her. Instead of raising his voice in favor of compelling that country to recognize the Jews officially and legally as citizens and to abrogate all the shameful and cruel

laws against them, he preaches patience to a long suffering and patient people.

Happily, Mr. Marshall's voice no longer counts for much.

MORRIS SCHWARTZ, actor, director, and manager of the so-called Jewish Art Theatre, is alleged to be paying himself and family seven hundred dollars a week in salaries. We have even heard it asserted that fifteen hundred dollars is the weekly tribute he exacts from poor Jewish art for his services.

Taking the smaller amount as nearer the truth, it is a compensation far out of all proportion to the possible income and constitutes the very crux of the financial crisis the theatre is passing through. If Mr. Schwartz takes seven hundred dollars a week, he is the problem, nothing and nobody else.

The general opinion seems to be that while Schwartz is a good actor, at times an excellent actor, he is a poor director and a worse manager, and if anything is to come out of the efforts to place his theatre on a sound basis, he must be divorced from the fiscal affairs of the undertaking—and paid, let us add, "what the traffic will bear," no more.

We should have nothing to say in the matter if Mr. Schwartz himself did not constantly call the attention of the public to his "struggles in the service of art." Whoever lays claim to public recognition and support must first show that he is more or less unselfish in his endeavors. By taking such heavy toll from an institution which can stand so much and no more, the director of the Art Theatre impels his co-workers to demand more, too—which still further eats into the vitals of the financial resources. Where the income must follow the expense, there is no hope of ever stabilizing the business.

There is also need for greater economy in settings, which heretofore have

served mainly to hide the intrinsic worthlessness of the plays. Gaudy trappings are very costly and usually fail to impress the more serious audience.

But above all, it is well to remember that a public which pays good money and gets, most of the time, very little pleasure in return, has small patience with a self-styled and self-pampered "benefactor," in art or in anything else.

WE ARE WONDERING what is the use of holding conventions if the executive chosen to do its bidding overrides its decisions in flagrant fashion?

The Zionists had a group of naughty boys, and the delegates to the Atlantic City convention, encouraged by the women folk, determined to take the little fellows into the woodshed and give them the thrashing they deserved. They so did. And while not all meriting punishment, got it, the few that felt the lash took their medicine bravely—and slunk out of sight.

There was amongst them, however, a wayward little chap who made quite a fuss and ran from the woodshed into the house yelling at the top of his voice and creating a terrible scene right in the midst of all the guests. The elders felt chagrined and rather ashamed. The sight was too much for them, and they found themselves compelled to perform a painful duty: to spank that boy publicly and soundly and kick him out of the house. That was supposed to put finis to the comedy-drama.

But, lo and behold, the fellow is back with the family and has a seat at the very table. Peace again reigns supreme—by the grace of the National Executive who thought it best to have the boy in the house rather than to let him romp about the streets and disturb the neighborhood, and on the 14th day of December took him in.

A similar thing was done in the case of the secretary of the Zionist Organ-

ization. The convention did not elect him, his very name was not on the ballot, but no sooner did the Administrative Committee come together than it called the fellow back to his job.

We are afraid that a taste of "power" has weakened the stamina of the Hadassah representatives.

JOSEPH BARONDESS, the Jewish leader who is known for his sincerity and good nature to all, was moved to utter ominous words in the course of a speech (at Ford Hall, Boston, December 21st) in favor of the campaign of the National Labor Committee for the institutions of Palestine labor.

Commenting on the attacks the "pure-and-simple" Zionists continue to hurl against idealist Jewish labor in Palestine, the veteran of many fights for Jews and labor thundered, in a voice choked with indignation:

"May Palestine sink into the bowels of the earth, rather than have it built on suppressed Jewish labor!"

We applaud the sentiment which can break out with such tremendous force in a man who has weathered so many storms and is approaching the noble age of three score-ten. It speaks volumes for the high cause of Jewish labor which can grip with such power the hearts of its friends, while it is, at the same time, the severest indictment of administration Zionists who attempt to screen their ineptitude and failures by assailing the best element our people has produced in centuries—the pioneers, the Halutzim, the workers in Palestine.

We do not admit, however, for one

single moment that the present mis-managers of Zionist affairs will ever prove capable of running to the very end of their ruinous career. They are already showing signs of having over-reached themselves and will before long be compelled to make room for better leadership. For one thing, they are driving the better Zionists from their camp, Mr. Barondess himself being one of the conspicuous instances. He had worked with them until he saw where they were heading and he left them to join his real friends and co-workers, the National Labor Committee for Palestine, which is rapidly developing into a great force in this country and is making its influence felt more and ever more in the life and work of Palestine Jewish labor.

MORRIS SIGMAN, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has joined the National Labor Committee for Palestine in its campaign to raise this year the sum of \$300,000 for the institutions of the Jewish workers in our Homeland.

That makes the movement practically complete. It now means that all the responsible Jewish labor leadership in this country is with the splendid cause of constructive labor effort in Palestine, and we shall be able to go from one success to another.

Mr. Sigman, as will be seen from his statement elsewhere in this issue, has come in with undivided sentiment and with the desire to do his utmost. We congratulate him on the great and noble step, and we congratulate the movement on having gained his adherence and co-operation.

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## JEWISH MARTYRDOM IN ROUMANIA

By LEO WOLFSON

I WRITE with a feeling of despair about the Jews in Roumania. Theirs has been, and still is, a life of continued oppression, cruel persecution, tragic beyond description. All efforts to help them, to ameliorate their condition, have thus far proven vain and futile.

Eight hundred thousand Jews in Roumania are helplessly ground to dust before the eyes of the civilized world, and nobody seems to be able and willing to come to their assistance—beyond expressions of protests and indignation on the part of the Jews, and, now and then, some expressions of sympathy on the part of some liberal and enlightened Christians and Christian organizations.

There have been given many reasons, causes, explanations and even denials, coupled with remedial promises, for this situation.

I want to present and analyze just one cause which I regard as the very source of the trouble. It can be best perceived from a statement made about a year ago by the then Premier of Roumania, General Averescu. In a public letter addressed to a Jew, he said in effect that "the Jews are guests in Roumania, and as such ought to know their place and behave accordingly."

Here you have the most responsible Roumanian official, in face of historical facts, contrary to the meaning and interpretation of international treaties, contrary to the constitution and laws of his country, which he has sworn to uphold, enunciate to his countrymen and to the world at large the view that the Jews in Roumania are guests, i. e., aliens and foreigners, with the usual implications of such a status. This is the view not alone of General Averescu; it has been the view of

many former Roumanian statesmen and leaders, and is the view of many present officials. This attitude on the part of Roumanian officials, that the Jews are aliens, has manifested itself by the enactment of over two hundred discriminatory laws, ordinances and regulations against them during the period of 1877-1919, since the Jews were emancipated.

This same point of view accounts for the unspeakable condition of the Jews in Roumania during the great war. The world knows very little of the horrors the Jews suffered in those days in their native country, Roumania. One's heart is gripped and almost stops beating when one reads the official army orders and military documents of Roumania insofar as they relate to Jews and Jewish soldiers. The civil Jewish population was made the butt of every petty military official. They were abused, insulted, mistreated and maltreated, and everything that was near and dear to them, everything that was cherished and holy, was literally trodden under the feet of power-drunk officials. Neither young nor old, neither men nor women were spared. Jewish soldiers, wearing Roumanian military uniforms, in the service of their country, were unsafe with their lives amongst their comrades in arms. They were subjected to every possible degradation, continually lashed by poisonous, insulting and abusive tongues, and often suffered physical violence. Jewish soldiers were placed in the first lines and sent to the front with orders to the officers in command and to the petty officers of the companies to see to it that they did not return alive. Those who were not killed by the shells of the enemy were killed by the bullets of their own fellow soldiers, their own countrymen.

Many Jewish soldiers met their untimely death in this fiendish way, and those who have miraculously escaped owe their lives to the pity and compassion of kind-hearted Roumanian soldiers and officers.

The military orders of General Prezan and others, which I will publish some day in the near future, will astonish the world by their cruel, matter-of-fact point of view—to rid the country of the Jews, and this despite the fact that the Jews were called upon to do their sacred duty and to make the supreme sacrifice for their native country.

Take the emancipation of the Jews in Roumania. How grudgingly and ungenerously it was granted to them. For years the question agitated the country. One government after another promised it, but none had the moral courage to go through with it and once for all make the Jews citizens of the country of their birth. Roumania was the only country in the world where the status of the Jews was that of "aliens not subject to any foreign protection," a social and political status which was unique. Jews born in Roumania, of Roumanian-born parents, whose grandfathers and great grandfathers and remote ancestry were born in Roumania, who lived there, went to schools, colleges and universities, who spoke and wrote the Roumanian language, served in the army, paid taxes, carried on commerce and industries, who made their daily contribution to Roumanian life and activity, who knew no other country and were not under the protection of any foreign country—these Jews were considered aliens and foreigners; these Jews were subjected to the most oppressive, discriminatory laws which devilish, cunning cruelty could devise. They were forbidden to live in rural communities; to engage in agricultural pursuits, or in the practice of law or pharmacy as professions; to sell articles manufactured by the state;

to hold public office. In fact, every activity in which Jews were engaged received the attention of the various Roumanian governments, which saw to it that they were hampered, harassed and oppressed in connection therewith. This was also done with a view to get rid of the Jews and many, indeed, left Roumania, emigrating to various parts of the world.

In spite of their emancipation, as guaranteed by international treaties and the Roumanian constitution, their situation has not improved, and in some respects is even worse than before. The cry still is, the country must get rid of the Jews. Some say it in the form of General Averescu; the National Christian Alliance, a Roumanian political party, says it in its political program with such demands as the confiscation of Jewish property, the expulsion of the Jews from Roumania, without stopping short of murder; while the students demand formally a "numerus clausus" at the universities, and actually seek to have a "numerus nullus"—whatever Roumanian diplomats in Washington may claim to the contrary.

From 1922 to this date the life of the Jews in Roumania has been made unbearable by means of the most shameful and barbaric methods. By actual beatings and maimings of Jewish students in the classrooms, and assaults and insults in the streets and in and about the universities, by preventing them from attending the lectures, courses and examinations, the Jews have been practically driven out of the Roumanian universities. The students of the various colleges and high schools began to imitate their big brothers, and anti-Jewish student movements spread to these schools also, embittering beyond words the life of the Jewish students. School days, college days, university days, which for every human being who had the privilege of going through them, are more or less happy days, remembered with a sense

of joy and pleasure, are to the Jewish boys and girls in Roumania days full of bitterness, hatreds, insults, persecution, assaults, injustice and unfairness. It is hard, very hard, indeed, to live in Roumania as Jew, but it is unspeakably tragic to be a Jewish boy or girl in Roumania during school years.

The agitation spread from the schools to the streets. Anything was a sufficient pretext for a demonstration and manifestation, which usually ended with a mob descending upon the Jewish sections or the central business sections, smashing and breaking the show windows in the stores, beating up the storekeepers and passersby. Now and then some store would be pillaged and robbed. The police would sometimes stand by and do nothing, at other times they would be absent by some pre-arrangement; they usually did arrive after everything was over, the damage done, and then they made some perfunctory investigation, which resulted in nothing. Throughout the last five years, while all these atrocities were being perpetrated, not a single offender against the Jews has ever been punished. Those who were arrested at some time or another were formally led into the police stations by the front door and released almost immediately through a rear door.

Later, activities against the Jews became widened and enlarged. Bands of hoodlums surrounded railroad depots and beat up Jewish travelers. On trains Jewish passengers were attacked and beaten up. They were often thrown from fast-moving trains. Synagogues were invaded and devastated, and even cemeteries were desecrated. In Roumania neither the living nor the dead were spared as long as they were Jews.

Besides these physical manifestations, which have caused untold harm to the Jews in Roumania, a continuous, varied and manifold anti-Semitic propaganda is being carried on. Books, leaflets, placards, post cards, pamph-

lets, newspapers,—by the written word and by word of mouth anti-Semitic literature is openly distributed and openly preached. The vilest language is used in connection with the Jews, without the slightest interference by the government of Roumania. The Jews thus live in a poisoned atmosphere, full of bitterness, anguish and despair. The Jews in Roumania live in constant fear—fear of the immediate present and fear of the future.

All these crimes against the Jews have been witnessed by the Roumanian governments. They knew of each and every act and incident, and not only have they tolerated everything without a protest, but in many instances the government was actually responsible for the events which took place. None of the excesses, manifestations and riots could have taken place without the actual good will of the government; in many instances they were committed with the knowledge and with the connivance of the government. The crimes against the Jews in Roumania must be laid at the door of the government, which must be held publicly responsible for the same.

Of course, the Roumanian governments have from time to time had something to say about the shocking events. They issued denials which no one believed. They minimized the importance and cruelty of the events, and the world was left unconvinced. They even made promises of taking measures to prevent excesses and to punish the offenders, but it was known that they would not be kept. An infamous attempt was even made by the Roumanian Minister at Washington to charge the Jews with persecuting Roumania, instead of whitewashing, as usual, his own government.

During the last five months the government of Roumania has maintained order and has practically not allowed any anti-Jewish outbreaks. Then came the recent riots and outrages at Oradea Mare, Cluj and other cities. It

was merely a repetition, only in more violent form and over a wider area, of the previous excesses and riots. Once more we face the situation and stand helpless before it.

The Roumanian press reports that the responsible leaders of the students had made a solemn promise to Mr. Nicholas Titulescu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, that they had seen the errors of their ways, that they had come to understand that nationalism did not mean anti-Semitism, and that there would be no more manifestations, riots or excesses against Jews. The government, relying on these promises, permitted them to hold a congress, sent officials to address them and gave the students the usual allowances for train travel, etc. It turned out exactly contrary to the promises and expectations. The promises were broken and the students did what they had been trained for years to do—to jump on the Jews on the first occasion and create havoc and disaster.

I cannot excuse the government, and must sharply condemn it for having failed to take the necessary measures to safeguard the Jews, admitting that it did not will this disaster. It should have known better and should have acted in a more responsible manner. Its apparent good will towards the Jews has been destroyed by what actually happened. Neither Mr. Titulescu's wailings over the loss of prestige of Roumania abroad, nor Mr. Duca's—Minister of Internal Affairs—declarations in the parliament that, "We are determined to take the most severe measures and try to find the most radical means to heal the very root of this illness of which our

student body suffers, and that we cannot allow the nationalism of our youth to take on such a barbaric and savage form," and the further statement, "that I have not words strong enough to condemn what has taken place at Oradea Mare," will help to regain the very little confidence which some of us had in the present government.

The Jewish world is used to statements from Roumanian high sources, even though the recent statements are really forceful and direct. It cannot and will not accept statements—no matter how well meaning they may sound, unless they be accompanied by acts and measures, both of a punitive and a compensatory nature. Thus far the measures taken by the government are inadequate and unsatisfactory. There has been little equitable compensation and quite indefinite promises of further compensation of the victims. The trials of the students responsible for riots have been little more than perfunctory, and those who have actually been found guilty have been sentenced to ridiculously short terms.

The remedy, however, does not lie in palliative measures, necessary as they indeed are at present. The Roumanian Jewish situation can be solved only by a complete change of view about the Jews. Roumania will have to learn to consider and to treat the Jews as what they really are, sons and citizens of the country, who in every field of endeavor render valuable and substantial contribution. Not until this lesson is learned, and learned well, will Roumania be rid of the Jewish question, nor the world of the Jewish question in Roumania.

6

## THE ASCENDANCY OF THE RABBI

By M. SHIFFMAN

**I**T IS the old story of priestly castes fighting for supremacy in behalf of petrified law and obsolete institutions against the impertinent demands of modern life and thought.

During, and immediately after, the Haskalah period, when we were still in the habit of facing issues, the voices of the dead past knew their places and were satisfied to limit their sphere of influence to the haunted corners of dusty castles. The Rabbi then knew that his leadership was limited to the inside of the synagogue and never dared to raise his voice outside of his dominion. But in recent years our memory has failed us. We have been taken off our guard. As a result, the ghastly shadows of mediaevalism are lengthening, and the Rabbi is seen ascending in the twilight.

In vain were all the efforts of our Smolenskis, Lilienblums, etc., to secularize Jewish life; forgotten are the declarations so gloriously pronounced at Zionist congresses that the Jews are a national unit, a people bereaved of its homeland. We are once more "co-religionists," and Zionism is rapidly becoming an organized effort to found a settlement in Palestine under the strict surveillance of the "Mizrachi" and of non-affiliated Reverends.

The Holy War is declared! Knights are flocking from all over. Recruits from the laity are not lacking. Every volunteer is accepted without being questioned as to his past or present conduct; the only prerequisite is the ability to cry loudly: "Catch the Heretic!" And, since enlistment in this crusade is so easy, there gathered around the Rabbis a host of journalists, who find religion an inexhaustible and profitable theme, and principals of Hebrew schools, who preach political Zionism at Nationalistic gatherings

but find it proper to join the Ultra-Orthodox in their demands to teach the children that which their parents do not practice.

Then, of course, there are the biologically pious: the aged "Balebatim."

A teacher was needed for a Hebrew school in one of the suburbs of New York. One candidate, who had come to see a "balebos" on a Sabbath Day, was questioned and afterwards found capable and fit for the position. After the long conversation the host suddenly asked: "You say you live in the city, how, then, did you come here?" The teacher's answer was that he walked all the way. When three stars appeared on the horizon, the host offered to escort his guest to the street car. When the car was in sight the host asked: "Have you carfare?" The unsuspecting teacher, answering in the affirmative, was immediately told not to bother any more about the position, as "we shall not employ anyone who carries money in his pockets on Saturday."

The sons of this "balebos" ride to college and write on Saturdays.

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There are three kinds of "Spiritual Leaders" or, as they are called professionally, "Rabbis," who are engaged in uplifting and redeeming Israel: The Orthodox, the Conservative and the Reformed. The last do not pretend to have anything to do with Jews as a nation. Being busy with their "mission", they leave us Eastern Jews alone in matters of religion. They have nothing to do with Zionism as a political ideal and are not trying to dictate. At their conference of the year 1897 they unanimously voiced their standpoint that



"We totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish State. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which from the narrow political and national field has been expanded to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by the Jewish prophets." The Reformed Jews find that "Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm, our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens." True to their views, they oppose all our nationalistic activities and choose instead to deal with Jewish problems by means of philanthropy.

Quite different are the two other groups, who pretend to sympathize with the Basle program and still uphold every trait of the Galuth, to whom only he is a Jew who is a member of the Congregation. Let us see who these zealots are:

#### THE ORTHODOX RABBIS

These accept unquestionably every word handed down to us from the ancients. They see no conflict between their ceremonial Judaism and life under modern conditions; if there is any such conflict, then it is up to life to conform to traditional practice. Orthodox Rabbis would have us return to the modes of life that prevailed in the Ghetto. Finding it too much of a job to fight the home and the adults therein, they started with the Hebrew School, which must be strictly religious (although even there the shaven-faced teacher is preferred to his bearded comrade, because "the children have no respect for a whiskered teacher"). No modern "readers" and "bichlach" for these schools. The Jewish child must begin "Chumesh" in its first year of atten-

dance at the Hebrew School. And, mind you, the study of the Pentateuch must be from the full text, as it was handed down by Moses. Thus, the child must learn in its tender years: "And the man *knew* Eve his wife"; how "Noah was drunken, and uncovered within his tent"; the story of Lot and his daughters; how Abimelech looked out at the window "and saw, and beheld, Isaac was sporting with Rebecca, his wife"; how Rachel concluded a bargain with her sister Leah, saying, "Therefore he shall lie with thee tonight for thy son's mandrakes"; the story of Dinah and Shechem; how "Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine," etc., to mention a few things from the first book only.

As soon as the pupil has gained some knowledge of all, or some, of the five books of Moses, he must learn Rashi. Imagine a modern boy or girl learning the "Sedrah" of "Ki Tetzeh": "And seest among the captives a woman of goodly form, and thou hast a desire unto her, and wouldst take her to thee to wife, then thou shalt bring her home to thy house"; and then the words of Rashi (taken from Kid-dushin 21, b): אֵינָהּ אִשָּׁת אִישׁ

I must stop here to tell what I once heard in one of the Yeshiboth of New York:

Upon one of my visits I found the Hebrew teacher explaining to the children (in Yiddish) sentence 28 of Leviticus, Chap. 22, which says: "And an ox or a sheep you shall not slaughter it and its young in one day." Here the teacher had a good opportunity to dwell upon the humaneness of the law. He did not do it, for he had to explain to his pupils what Rashi says: "It means that you must not kill the mother and its young one on the same day, but one may kill the father and his young." Upon being asked by one of the pupils why the same law did not apply also to the father, the teacher answered: "How can one tell who the father was?"

The prophets, too, must be interpreted in the spirit of the commentators of the middle ages. One Rabbi, in Paterson, N. J., found fault with the principal of his Hebrew School because the latter was found teaching the Prophets from a text with a commentary of S. L. Gordon!

Finally, we come to the study of all studies: the Talmud. No matter how ignorant the pupil may be of the status and happenings of his people in his own days, he must fill his brain with laws that have no bearing whatsoever on his everyday life, such as cases of an ox goring a cow or of a man leaving his vessel in a public thoroughfare. The Jewish child must be taught to live a "goluth" life. He must not be too happy, for is it not written: "Do not rejoice Israel"? A Jew must not walk upright for it says in Brachoth, Chap II: "He who walks even four cubits with a proud, unbending gait is considered to have pushed the feet of the Schechinah." The student of the Talmud must be a believer in dreams, for "He who passes seven nights without dreaming is to be called wicked," and "Three dreams are bound to come true: that which is dreamed in the morning, that which is dreamed by one's neighbor and a dream which is interpreted within a dream." He must accept hygienic laws such as "our Rabbis" taught: "All raw vegetables make the face green." "Woe unto the house where turnip enters." Such a one must not have national dreams to be realized before the advent of Messiah if he wants to follow the example of the holy Talmudists, after reading a story like the following one:

"Reb Sera tried to avoid the sight of R. Juda because he wanted to go up to Palestine. R. Juda said: 'Whoever goes up to Palestine from Babylon transgresses the positive law, which says: "Unto Babylon shall they be carried and remain there until the day that I think of them, sayeth the Lord'."

Anyone who hesitates to accept this curriculum is, of course, an Apikores. These honest people and those followers whose outer garment is honesty—do not seem to understand that one may value all our holy books as the social and cultural mirrors of the times they were written in, and still refuse to give them in toto as text books to the young. The Talmud, especially in the Hagadah, contains much which may be a joy to every Jewish child. But this wealth of material must not be given indiscriminately to any pupil. We surely want Elijah the prophet as bringer of joy and herald of good tidings; but who wants the stories of the ancient Munchhausen, Rabba Bar Bar Chana?

Thus it comes about that the member of the Orthodox congregation leads a dual life. Officially he takes for granted every story and miracle which is recorded in the holy books. Officially he accepts without question that Joshua stopped the moon, that there exist witches, which must, according to the Torah, be exterminated, that when Messiah comes Jews will once more kill cattle and fowl on the holy altar to make up for their sins, that Adam co-habited with every species of animal and cattle before he came unto Eve, that one must not start anything new on the unlucky days of Mondays and Wednesdays, etc.; but in private affairs he very often desecrates the Sabbath, sends his children to college, where they write on the holy day, listens to female singers—which is taboo, according to the Talmud; permits his children to study evolution, laughs at stories about witches and will not hesitate to conclude any profitable bargain on the proverbial unlucky days.

And these are the Orthodox Jews in whose name we are asked to withhold support from our Chalutzim if they dare to celebrate a Jewish holiday in a manner they see fit!

To what lengths Rabbis will go with

their demands when our youth in Palestine is concerned, the following story may serve as example:—

A Rabbi who had returned from a short visit to Palestine, which in his opinion justified him to speak with authority on all Palestinian questions, was asked what was his opinion concerning the Chalutzim. The worthy Rabbi answered thus: "You see, they are certainly working hard and doing their utmost for our Holy Land. But they are not religious. I have heard with my own ears some of them speak the holy tongue at the seashore, when they were clad in bathing suits only."

Will any one be surprised if, in the near future, a resolution will be brought before a Zionist Congress that only those who wear Tsitsith be allowed to work on the land of the Jewish National Fund?

These Rabbis and their followers are excellent material for the organization of our Black Hundreds, the so-called Agudath Israel, whose real name should be Agudath Ishmael.

#### THE CONSERVATIVE RABBI

While there is a vast difference between the education they receive in the Seminary and that of their Orthodox colleagues, the general public distinguishes them mostly by their lack of beards and shortness of dress. Ministering as they do to congregations which are composed of various elements, trying to have the confidence of all the elements of the community, they are fearful of taking any decisive step in questions of rituals (The office of a Rabbi is one of ritual), even if they would like to do it. They also deliver most of their spiritual food in English and sicken their audiences with the "Israel" cult. In place of the "Yiddishkeit" of the Orthodox they have "Judaism" as slogan. As their time is not too much occupied with "passen-shaals", (the Jewess who is half-way between the old Shul and the temple does not bother with asking

"shaals"), they got busy recently with the bringing up of the young Jewish generation.

Wherever a new Rabbi is engaged, the seat of the trained—at least the experienced—principal of the Hebrew School begins to shake. The Rabbis who do not know the first thing about pedagogy and teaching ruin whatever little there has been built up in the field of improved education in recent years. The training of the Jew of tomorrow—wherever a Rabbi becomes principal, training takes the place of educating — as future good-standing members of the congregation becomes the main object. The reading of unintelligible words, the order of prayers and the reading of the Haftorah are emphasized. If any one ever cherished any hopes that Hebrew education might bring up a generation of new idealists, of workers in the field for our renaissance, he must be taken to a dream interpreter.

Only about a year and a half ago the Zionist Organization of America called a conference for the purpose of improving our cultural activities in the Hebrew language. Since this conference was due to a sudden interest in things Hebrew—while our poet Byalik was visiting this country—everyone expected that the organization would decide to open new schools, real Zionist schools,—instead of Bar Mitzvah factories, — where Jewish children would be brought up as future builders of Palestine. It was also thought that it would undertake to introduce more Zionism in the existing schools. All these hopes and expectations evaporated, however, as soon as one shaved Rabbi after another stood up and warned the delegates to leave the curriculum to the "spiritual leaders of Israel". The Zionist leaders being afraid to antagonize the Rabbis, voted with them and the newly formed Federation is now a thing of the past. Having nothing constructive to do, it died from ennui, with a yawn.

These Rabbis are even more dangerous to our aspirations of a national revival than the Orthodox. First, they are less sincere and therefore harder to deal with. Second, because of the influence they enjoy. Their polished English, seasoned at intervals with "thous" and "mine people", is influencing the "once-a-week-Jews". The audience, who has no time to tackle questions of religion, leaves everything to the Rabbi as long as he

is safe, and any Conservative Rabbi is safe so long as he announces on Yom Kippur night that all vows and oaths have no validity, does not come out openly against "Kaparoth" and, generally, says nothing new or original.

These anti-national and mediaeval forces are now trying to control every phase of Jewish life and they constitute a problem to which all progressive elements in the Jewish nation must attempt to find a solution.

## DRIFTING JEWISH LABOR

By A. ROSEBURY

TO the student of the labor movement it would appear as if the present plight of the trade unions, in which Jewish workers predominate, indicates a fall from their high estate. Turn back to the period of 1910-1918. In the early part of that period, the most enlightened section of American public opinion surveyed with amazement the great mass uprisings in the needle trades, followed by a display of constructive activity. The "Jewish Labor Movement"—a sentimental rather than an actual term—provided educators and leaders of opinion with pointers. College professors, librarians, students, research-men, settlement workers, writers, and government investigators, plunged into special studies of that remarkable phenomenon.

A certain document of less than 1,000 words was the centre of interest, and everybody who was somebody desired to be armed with a copy of it. The document was a Protocol of Peace in the cloak and suit industry of New York City. Its central idea had been conceived in the fertile brains of Louis D. Brandeis (now Supreme Court Justice of the United States) and the late genial leader, Meyer London. It was

a new industrial covenant accepted as a medium of conciliation between approximately 500 of the most influential manufacturers and some 40,000 workers enrolled in the Cloakmakers' Union. Capital and labor all over the country eagerly watched its workings. The experiment was regarded by many as a high tribute to the Jewish organizing genius.

One immediate effect of that peace compact was that the membership of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union increased many-fold almost overnight. Workers in other trades and industries profited by the example. Pioneers arose who built up unions on a similar scale. By methods of collective bargaining resembling the principle of the Protocol, astonishing improvements were effected in the conditions of labor. Tens of thousands of Jewish working men and women were raised from a state of sweated beasts of burden to the status of proud, independent American citizens.

By 1914 a process of drifting set in which eventually destroyed the main features of the Protocol. Only one or two offshoots remain to re-

mind us that by now it might have evolved into a machinery of perfection. In the fur industry of New York an instrument of conciliation on the same lines was originated by Dr. Judah L. Magnes and Dr. Paul Abelson. This has survived several shocks and convulsions and still functions more or less beneficially, Dr. Abelson still being at the helm as mediator and arbitrator. In the Chicago clothing industry the principle was copied by the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx in 1912. Gradually it was adopted by other large firms of that city. Subsequently the Chicago organization no doubt contributed to the launching of that aggressive organization—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

In spite of sectional conflicts for control, these unions, within a period of ten years, acquired large offices, buildings and other property. They became tremendous business propositions and established labor banks and cooperative concerns, etc.

At this moment, not all is well with some of the unions. A struggle for power and position has consumed the very vitals of two completely organized internationals. These, when the conflict broke out, had an aggregate membership of around 120,000 with a potential radius containing at least 250,000 more to be organized.

Other "Jewish labor" unions have been partly affected by the crisis and are using up a large amount of money and energy to combat the corroding influence. There is a visible collapse of discipline so vital to the success of a labor union. Constitutional authority so essential for keeping the ranks unbroken has been undermined. The menace of a creeping demoralization is dangling over the system. As if some sword of a capitalist Damocles had conspired with sinister forces within to bring about the downfall of the entire structure.

## II.

So far I have only stated the case already known to close observers. It now remains to trace the prime cause of the drifting, zigzag career, stretching back for half a century.

To say that Communist "boring from within" is the immediate cause of the crisis would be like presenting the climax of a tragedy and omitting the first acts. It seems to me that if there had been a solid foundation at the start, the Communists would have been repulsed at the first onset. They have not seriously affected the big American unions, and have been driven with disgrace from other fields.

My idea of a solid foundation is this: A trade union has no concern with political, religious or social theories, except where unanimity or near unanimity prevails.

Wherever the tendency to factionalism and party or religious shibboleths is rife, the trade union, be it composed of Jewish or other racial elements, must stress the labor and organizational end of its aims to the exclusion of party politics. It must positively rule out all political, religious and sectional entanglements. The high-strung Jewish people are traditionally hoping for a messiah. History shows that they are ready to worship a golden calf or embrace a Zabbatai Zevi, if the true deity or the messiah tarries. Among Jewish people in particular, any propaganda bearing no direct relation to the immediate aim of the trade union, acts like dynamite, exploding in the ranks with shattering effect.

Turn up the pages of labor history and you will find this to be the main cause of the periodical drifting. From its earliest beginnings, Jewish labor unionism was a stick of dynamite. Its pioneers were propagandists first and leaders or organizers last.

I recall a period of drifting, the first on record, in the pioneering years. England was the cradle of trade unionism, and in London, England, the first

attempt at Jewish labor organization was made in 1874.

First attempts in any field of endeavor are often crude, inevitably a groping in the dark. In England this was inexcusable. British trade unionism had already attained to constructive solidity and great prestige. The powerful trade organizations of that time excited the envy of individualistic do-as-you-like capitalism and the admiration of advanced thinkers everywhere. Jewish labor in England might have taken a leaf out of that open book. But the pioneer intellectuals knew better. They would not adjust themselves to the business system of the British unions, and drifted along.

Some fifteen years later Jewish labor activity centered in a Socialist-Anarchist-Atheist movement. Thus was begun a further process of drifting. In reality it was not an orderly movement but an outburst—an exasperating useless friction between the movement and the London Jewish community. Jewish trade unionism sprouted up again in the distinctively “Jewish trades”—tailoring, shoe-making, etc. Led by Socialist-Anarchist pioneers, this lusty infant disported itself with great gusto at the expense of religion, the Chief Rabbi of England, and all that was holy to “Englishmen of the Jewish persuasion”.

British labor exerting tangible influence on national life, did not make anti-religion a feature of its propaganda. But the leaders of Jewish labor, mostly political refugees from Russia, had a different conception of Labor's Goal. “Free the laborer of religion and nationalism and the social revolution is assured,” was their favorite slogan.

In S o v i e t R u s s i a a similar slogan, with more expressive brevity—“Religion is opium for the people”—has been inculcated apparently from the same erroneous conviction. Yet in ten years of strong revolutionary government Atheism in Rus-

sia has made little headway. Religious prohibition is proving a fiasco to the dismay of the Soviet leaders.

In England of the eighties the Jewish labor pioneers found encouragement in Charles Bradlaugh's rhetorical gibes at “God and his Anointed.” Bradlaugh was the man who at open-air meetings challenged the deity, watch in hand, to take his life in five minutes. Yet, when he died, the celebrated journalist, William T. Stead, declared him to have been a “servant of God” who purged the church of certain cobwebs of superstition. Bradlaugh's Atheism had a native nationalist coloring, carrying a rationalizing appeal; whereas the Jewish Socialists indulged in a scoffing, vitriolic, defiant disbelief, which consumed the vital force of constructive trade unionism. They succeeded in ranging around them a small coterie of kindred spirits, but the mass of the workers looked askance at the Atheistic demonstrations. Those who were attracted to the unions separated the economic wheat from the irreligious chaff; they used the one and scorned the other. But due to that useless, mistaken zeal, the early movements failed to take root and came to an untimely end.

### III.

The foregoing historical retrospect is only one of the examples of Jewish labor drifting. In America, the ultra-radical, anti-religious pattern, copied from the London ghetto by partly the same pioneers, is, unquestionably, the main cause of forty years' drifting. Here the loss of energy and resources has been colossal because the gains were tremendous. Here Jewish labor has been driven from pillar to post by external forces operating within. In the formative period and until the world war, drifting and instability may be traced to the advancing tide of modern civilization and certain “cultures” grafted on to Jewish hopes during the Haskala period. The strong current of assimilation expressed it-

self in various ways. One of these was an approximation to the gentile mode of life — a cosmopolitanism which Israel Zangwill has so humorously characterized as the "Christo-Jewish quaker . . . humanistic, Tolstoyistic . . . reverencing the Mishna and bending the knee to Krishna."

A concrete example is presented by the two types of Jewish labor leaders in America—the Bundist and the ultra-revolutionist. Some of the crowning successes were achieved during the great mass movements of 1909-1916. Led by Bundists or by Bundist sympathizers, the unions, born of those struggles, were permeated with the Bundist influence, and still largely bear the imprint of the Bund. Significant and inspiring to the rising Jewish proletariat as that wonderful organization was in Russia and Poland, in America it is nevertheless an importation. Almost all the internal conflicts for power and influence are directly traceable to the desire of certain leaders to make their imported methods supreme in the Jewish labor councils. These conflicts have done considerable damage in both hemispheres and are responsible for much of the drifting and waste of resources.

In the recent heart-searchings among leading Socialists as to the causes of the setback to the Socialist movement in this country, it has been freely asserted that the main cause is its being a German importation. Tardy is the recognition that America is developing along its own peculiar industrial and economic lines, inevitably affecting all social movements. Almost every phase of life in the United States in the last twenty-five years has assumed a different complexion from that of Europe. The difference is marked in press and pulpit and all forms of social organization. Even religious devotion is distinct from the old-world specimen. In Europe it is still, in the main, medieval and emotional, while in the United States, par-

ticularly in the non-Catholic denominations, it suffers from an industrialist, mechanistic environment. It is a moot point whether church and synagogue-attending folks attach more importance to the worship of business than to the worship of God. Even the general annual worship on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur has become hopelessly commercialized, destroying the emotional content and making religion a byword.

#### IV.

Note that the American labor movement exhibits the national trait to a marked degree. Almost from the beginning it has gone its own way, representing any imported flavor into its propaganda and educational activities. The history of the movement shows that all alien growths have run to earth. Only the American type—the American Federation of Labor—has survived.

At a time when the revolutionary leaders of Jewish labor were internationalists, in the sense of breaking down all national barriers, Samuel Gompers placed the American labor movement on a strictly national basis and thereby gave it strength and cohesion. In this, Gompers was more modern than the Socialists. Since the war there has been a phenomenal growth of the nationalist sentiment in the labor movement of almost every country. The old Socialist internationalism has entirely disappeared. It was too visionary to be lasting. In its place has sprung up an economic and commercial internationalism which is growing apace before our very eyes. Bertrand Russell, the celebrated British philosopher, is looking forward to centralized world control of economic resources. His reasoning seems to be justified by the trend of the times. If any such system arrive by degrees it will be the prelude to a species of Socialism altogether different from the

dream-stuff of contemporary Socialists.

The most notable labor movements of Great Britain, Germany, Belgium and Austria are becoming increasingly cognizant of this trend and are preparing to meet it along national lines by a slow adjustment to changing conditions. While keeping up frequent international contact, their major activities are focussed on the national arena, by intensive penetration into all phases of life and preparing the people for new world developments. The Russians are working out a peculiar brand of their own salvation, which may lend itself to being dovetailed into the universal system,—when it comes.

American labor appears backward by not indulging in revolutionary phrases. In reality, the striving after the five-day week and Real Wages—wages adjusted to prices—that found utterance at recent conventions, is only another way of declaring for the “national minimum” of the British Labor Party—a decided advance. High Socialist aims have been watered down everywhere. Socialist parties are marking time, urging what used to be called “palliatives.”

For that reason it is requisite that Jewish labor in the United States merge its destinies with the outstanding national organization—the American Federation of Labor—unless Jewish labor intends mass emigration to some other place in the sun.

To me this appears to be the corrective for the blundering, drifting, wasteful career of Jewish labor. Socialist pioneers have rendered noble service in teaching the oppressed and battered immigrants the value of economic organization; but the pioneering days have long passed. Socialists, Anarchists, De Lionists, I. W. W., Bundists, and finally the Communists—each in turn have tried to stake out a claim to sole influence and control.

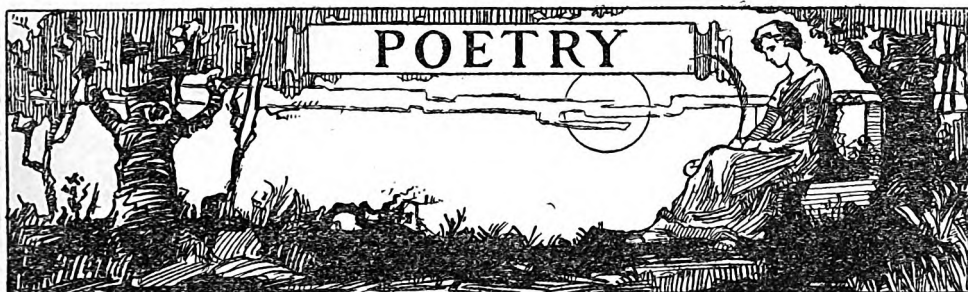
The result has been a destructive, demoralizing scramble. In the needle trades and other branches of industry where Jewish workers lead or predominate, the percentage of those ignorant of the English language is fast diminishing, and the time of constructive, stabilizing activity is long overdue. Pioneering methods of constant strife and turmoil are obsolete. In a number of cases these methods have exhausted further possibilities of improvement and brought new evils in their train.

For the reason that there has been a prejudice against the American Federation of Labor in some quarters, my suggested solution may not commend itself to ultra-Jewish nationalists. These may see in it a lurking menace of assimilation. But the question is: can Jewish labor maintain a separate entity in a labor world? The needle trades and other Jewish-led unions, of late years, have absorbed a goodly percentage of other racial elements; they are no longer distinctively Jewish; and labor must be united for economic ends.

In itself, in its principles or requirements, the American Federation of Labor is by no means a factor of assimilation. Loyalty and adhesion to a minimum of discipline to ensure unity is all it requires. There is no instance on record of the American Federation of Labor advising on or interfering with any national, racial, or religious aspiration. That is probably the reason for its persisting in the non-partisan policy on the political field.

There is no obstacle in the way of any Jewish interest—religious, national or educational—reaching the Jewish toilers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for certain specific aims, provided such activity operates from without and does not presume to interfere with or dictate internal affairs and policies.





## Miss America

By P. M. RASKIN

She is a young woman,  
 A full-grown healthy young woman;  
 She has been to college,  
 But is not over-clever.  
 She likes tennis,  
 Jazz,  
 Pretty frocks,  
 Automobiles.  
 She goes to Church  
 Every Sunday;  
 She can flirt,  
 But tolerates no nonsense of free-love.  
 She will make a good wife:  
 She likes a home  
 And lots of children.  
 She is quite accomplished:  
 She can play  
 Almost like a musician;  
 She can sing  
 Almost like a singer;  
 She even tries to paint,  
 When she has nothing else to do;  
 She can write  
 Stories and poems—  
 Short stories by preference:  
 (Time is money)  
 She hates stingy people,  
 And leaves big tips in restaurants.  
 You can rely on her shopping—  
 She knows a bargain when she sees  
 one;

She likes three square meals a day—  
 And plain cooking:  
 Ham and eggs,  
 Boston beans,  
 Apple pie,  
 And cold water with meals.  
 She is not sentimental,  
 Never pensive,  
 Never brooding,  
 She is a practical matter-of-fact  
 damsel,  
 And an heiress to a very big estate.  
 She talks of big things,  
 And her favorite figure is a million.  
 She likes big houses,  
 Big stores,  
 Crowds,  
 Parades,  
 And a lot of lamps.  
 She is a full-grown red-blooded  
 woman.  
 For a sweetheart  
 You might choose some other girl:  
 Daintier,  
 Cleverer,  
 Gracefuller,  
 But for a wife—  
 Why, man!  
 There is no better girl  
 On the face of God's earth!

## THE MAN WHO FOUND HIMSELF

By DAVID PINSKI

(Translated from the Yiddish by Anna K. Pinski)

**B**ECAUSE he had to earn his living, he wrote two stories a week for a daily paper, and turned out one or two plays for a Yiddish theatre every winter.

He was a highly gifted artist. At the beginning of his career he was most promising. Great things were expected of him. He had contributed to the growing Yiddish literature the visions of his own world, his own views on life and people. Also his own art—in style and form—of expressing and interpreting what he saw and experienced. But because he had to earn his living. . . .

With no leisure to pause and look about himself, he became deaf and blind to the important events of the day. When, at times, he did turn his attention to them, it was superficial, haphazard, even ridiculous. He had no opportunity to concentrate, to absorb his observations and to recast them carefully and thoroughly in the laboratory of his superior talent.

Still worse: the newspapers and theatres banned all serious work. The public, they said, was not interested in "heavy stuff" and cared but little for art. The public wants to be thrilled. It is bored with art and vital questions, and wants to be amused. Nothing but superficiality and shallowness. Depths are for those who are weary of life.

So he capitalized the happenings in his own life; hungrily seized upon the various experiences of his friends and acquaintances; transformed into short sketches, and long dramas each piece of intrigue he found in the news, ransacked his brain to invent plots—and delivered promptly each week two trivial thrilling stories, and every

season one or two light amusing plays. For years and years. Because he had to earn a livelihood.

But deep in his soul he was restless. Being an artist and honest with himself, he knew that he was on the wrong path; that he was wasting himself on triflings and superficialities, and sinning against a group whom he owed the fulfilment of a hope, the redemption of a promise. In the depth of his heart he was ashamed.

Storms raged about him, but he stood unmoved in the midst of it all, imperturbably tickling the multitude with the cheapest trash. If he ever stopped to listen to the turmoil, it was always to extract from it something to thrill or amuse, in style, and form, and content,—something to please the masses, down to the simplest mind.

Often he felt unhappy. Moments arrived when he was filled with a great yearning for true creativeness, for artistic self-expression. In years gone by, almost from the beginning of his literary work, he had nursed high ambitions. Now he dreaded to think of them. Besides, he lacked the time. No sooner had he finished one short story than he had to start work on a second, while between times he was occupied with the planning and writing of long, drawn-out plays,—and everything had to be amusing, thrilling, shallow.

One day he received a letter, written on the stationery of an American organization that was interested in studying the cultural conditions of the various immigrant groups. The type-written letter was signed "Irma Ringel" and asked for an interview on the subject of Yiddish literature. She requested him to answer by mail or

call her up at the office at an appointed hour.

He called up. It was easier for him than writing a letter, especially an English letter,—and he wanted to hear her voice. He would have to spend a quarter or a half hour in her company, so he was eager to know the kind of voice she had.

It rang hard and unfriendly. The unseen Irma, at the other end, was laconic. Her monosyllabic responses fell sharply, abruptly. He asked how to address her: Miss or Mrs.? "Miss", was the surly answer, as if in warning against flirtation. It was a voice without a smile.

The coming visit frightened him a little. She must be an ill-tempered old spinster. And surely a homely one. A sight! He made a grimace.

But soon his face brightened: here was a theme for a story! He ran to his desk, wrote "My Interviewer" in large letters, underlined the two words, and began hammering away at the story.

At the appointed hour he was still at work on it. The whole introduction was completed. Now he needed detail and development. But he had already described her appearance—that of an elderly, sour, homely spinster, with a voice that had no smile. He was curious to know whether he had guessed aright.

When he saw her he stared in dumb amazement.

Before him stood a girl in her early twenties, and of alluring beauty. Of more than medium height, slim, vigorous, with bobbed chocolate-colored hair and olive oval face, in which every feature, like every line in her graceful body, betokened strength, determination and distinction. And what eyes! What great gray piercing eyes! How full of shrewdness, intelligence, self-confidence!

And womanly charm! Though her costume was very simple, everything she wore accentuated her grace, and

held the eye with its neatness and elegance.

Involuntarily his eyes wandered in the direction of the scarce-begun story, and he smiled to himself. But when he again looked at Irma Ringel, he stood gaping, speechless, gasping for air.

She sat down without waiting for his invitation, and prepared paper and pencil, ready to ask questions and note down replies. She probably could not help perceiving the impression she had produced, but her face betrayed nothing. Her look was cold, indifferent, not even polite. She sat there like a police inspector facing a delinquent. And in the manner of an examining official she began:

"I have several questions to ask. Will you tell me—"

He interrupted. "What do you wish to know about me?" His voice sounded hoarse with agitation. He coughed lightly and collected himself with a little start.

The answer came coldly. "That is what I was about to tell you. Anyway, it is the society that employs me, not I myself, that desires the information about you."

He had just been wishing that she would take off her hat so he could see the whole of her forehead. But her words startled him, rousing him from his thoughts. Now he wanted to know what she meant by "anyway".

"Just what you heard," was the sharp, unfriendly retort. "The organization wishes to know your opinion on the future of Yiddish literature in this country."

"If you personally are not interested in the question, you will surely not be able to convey my answer."

An ironical smile lit up her large eyes.

"Who told you that I was not interested?"

"Why, then, do you insist that it was the organization that sent you?"

"Because that is the truth. I am

an employee and go wherever I am sent."

"But that is not the whole truth. I feel there is something else. Won't you tell me?"

He bent upon her one of his psycho-analytic looks to prove himself the artist-psychologist who pierces heart and mind of his vis-a-vis, and from whom there is no escape. Her eyes flashed angrily and after a moment's silence she went on firmly:

"The whole truth is that personally I am not interested in your opinion, and would not have come to seek it, if someone who considers it valuable had not sent me, and if I as employee did not have to go wherever I was sent."

She spoke as if she wanted to insult him. Her voice was like a lash that cut the air sharply and descended upon him with fierce blows; her beautiful mouth assumed a hard, hostile line, and the expression in her fine gray eyes became harsh and disdainful.

He felt the insult and raged inwardly. But he had foreseen that reply, had expected every word of it. It dawned upon him that she knew him, was familiar with his literary activity and had no regard for him. No, she even despised him. He felt beaten, humiliated. His high esteem of his own ability reared itself within him like a wild beast aroused. His eyes blazed and he was ready with an angry word. But the word died on his lips and the lightning vanished from his eyes. The charming figure on the neighboring chair disarmed him. Vanquished and subdued he asked:

"But why?"

He knew her answer, every word, but he wanted to hear it from her, stern and cutting, with contempt in her piercing eyes and derision in her proud imperious voice. And she spoke as he had anticipated, sternly and cuttingly, with contempt in her eyes and derision in her voice.

"Because writers like you have no future themselves, and care little for the future of their literature. You have no literature to develop and enrich. You are not interested in it, in the whole thing—"

She wanted to say more but interrupted herself with sparks of anger in her eyes.

"Be kind enough to tell me what the society wishes to know."

And she lowered her head to the paper.

He was pale. After a short pause he answered quietly.

"I won't be able to tell you anything now."

She arose and left. "Good-bye."

He barely answered.

\* \* \*

He was completely shattered. Not by what she had said, but that she had said it. The charge against him was not new. It lay in his very being. He did not live on illusions. Those who write for the moment have no future and build no future even as the short-lived butterflies, no matter how beautiful they may be. And his writings were no longer even beautiful. Often he called himself vile names, consuming himself in bitter self-criticism and self-condemning fits. But that this glorious creature had said it, that her beautiful mouth had uttered the criticism, that those large bewitching eyes had flashed anger and disdain!—

He smoked one cigarette after another, paced the floor, sat down and began to pace again. He found no room for himself. When his eyes fell on the unfinished story he tore it to bits and threw it into the waste basket.

Soon he escaped into the open and wandered about the streets, with her image before him, her voice in his ears. Upon his back he felt her blows. Upon return, tired and miserable, he tried a book, then an evening paper, but to no avail. Between the lines he saw and heard Irma Ringel. He spent a restless night and early the

following morning he wrote her a letter composed in the hours of sleeplessness. He begged for an appointment.

He did not want to call her, fearing a curt refusal.

He wrote, to experience the exquisite pain of uncertainty, expectancy, and impatience. But the letter was dispatched Special Delivery, to make sure it reached her safely and quickly.

The answer came immediately. She accepted. He all but kissed her note.

They met in an uptown restaurant and he warned her at once that he was seeing her, not because her organization was interested in him, but because he wanted to hear what she knew of him.

Over tea and cigarettes, calm, unconcerned, scarcely looking at him, she related what he was so eager to know. Until the last few years she had read all he had written. She, too, was one of the admirers of Yiddish literature who had looked to him with great hope and had expected splendid things of him. But for the last few years she no longer read him. His art had turned prostitute.

He shuddered at the words. The hand that held the teacup trembled. He laughed nervously and set down the cup.

It attracted her notice but she went on mercilessly. She would not be surprised if she should find plagiarism in his recent works, themes cribbed and revised from other authors and other languages.

He felt that such hard biting words could come only from one to whom he had meant much, one who had really lost much in him.

Leaning back in his chair he fastened upon her his "psychoanalytic" gaze and said quietly, measuring his words:

"Do you know that you told me a lie—pardon me—that it was not true that you came to me because you had been sent? You have long sought

an opportunity to meet me and tell me all that you have said today and the day before yesterday."

She answered with compressed lips, "Perhaps that is true."

"Why only 'perhaps'? he asked, softly, "Why won't you admit that it is true?"

At that moment she was sorry for him and thought she had been a little too stern. Her eyes became kinder. He noticed this and continued quietly and tenderly.

He was not apologizing for his work. To what purpose? He would not promise to give it up. He was seeking no indulgence for himself. He was well aware that any excuse he might offer would also be the excuse of the prostitute whom he despises, nevertheless. But he wanted her to know that he had taken nothing, had never stolen anything, had not sunk to the low level of plagiarist. All that had come from his pen was his own. Except perhaps for a scene in a play here and there, merely for theatrical effect. That was a trifle. And he wanted her to know that many of the things written years ago were not bad, many of them were even very good, and some of them could be favorably compared with the best that he did in the years when he was still a hope. Only the plays—but in them too—

He stopped, realizing that he was lowering himself in her estimation. She looked so tired, so bored.

"No, I won't speak of that," he cried with a look of pain, his hands clutching his head.

He sat mute for a while, then began, with a fixed stare, looking past her—"The truth is—the truth is—"

And he laid bare the truth about himself. Very frankly and more severely than she had done. It was the harshest self-criticism. A merciless blow in his own face. But as he spoke he became greater, nobler, became the one who had once been a great hope. He looked into the depths of his soul

and brought to light his longings; the visions that had been clouded by the apparent will of the public; the ambitions that he had never realized because daily necessity forced him to earn his living. Now he was the creative spirit, his very self.

As he spoke, looking for suitable words, he noticed that she was deeply moved. Her cheeks glowed and her eyes burned. Tense in every nerve, she was following his thoughts, thirstily drinking in his words with fluttering heart and open soul.

He stopped short and sat staring.

"How strange!"

\* \* \*

And suddenly it was clear to him: this was the woman God had created for him. She was the towering beacon that should have been his guiding force through his life.

Had he met her at the beginning of his literary career he would not have sunk into the mire in which he found himself now. He had gone astray because the light that God had made for him had not reached him in time.

"Why did you stop so suddenly?"

she asked. Her emotion did not seem to embarrass her. She wanted him to speak again. His words were liberation to her.

He was silent for a moment, then said, "A man has just found himself, and has discovered his path by the light that had been denied him before."

He held out his hand to her.

She gave him a searching look, then slowly placed her hand in his.

And this is what Naphtali Menkin, the writer, did when he found himself and saw his path by the light that had been denied him before.

He tore the manuscripts upon which he had been working, and wrote to the paper that employed him that he would no longer contribute. He wanted to rest from journalistic work, he wrote, wanted to forget the so-called demands of the public, to free himself of the imposed will of the masses.

The same day he looked up a friend who was foreman in a tailor shop, and asked him without introductory remarks:

"How long does it take to become a tailor?"

## WHAT AILS THE JEWISH THEATRE?

By JACOB FISHMAN

**T**HE CRISIS in the Jewish theatre has been a familiar cry to the Yiddish newspaper reader in the past few years. It generally begins in a whisper, about two or three weeks after the opening of the theatre season, and breaks out in a cacophonous hysteria with the approach of Yuletide.

This year, of course, is no exception. If anything, the hue and cry that the Jewish theatre is "going to the dogs" is more pronounced. Witness the fact of the shutting down of the Irving Place Theatre, one of the even dozen of Jewish theatres in

Greater New York that opened so auspiciously, with the renowned Madam Bertha Kalich "condescending" to play again a season of Jewish drama. It is said on good authority that during the fifteen weeks of playing the Irving Place Theatre "went" to the tune of thirty thousand dollars. Other impresarios manage to keep going, but plainly show the strain in their furrowed countenances. With some it is the case as with the Brownsville property owner who instead of holding the property is held by it.

That the situation this year is somewhat graver than in former years, may

be evidenced by the fact that the Hebrew Actors' Union, which thoroughly controls the situation as far as the actors are concerned, took official notice of the slump. It called the Jewish theatre managers to a conference in the union quarters, and its manager, Reuben Guskin, assumed the role of a godfather to the "showmen." He pointed out to them the weak spots in the business administration of the theatres, and actually implored them to organize themselves into an association of their own for the purpose of instituting economies and doing away with certain evils.

The managers, while listening intently, refused to become enthusiastic over the plan. Some passed the proposal over in silence. Those who gave utterance to their opinions blamed the other theatrical unions—the stage carpenters, musicians, dressers, ushers, doorkeepers, etc., for their plight. The actors' union they absolved of all blame. The artist is always worth his hire. But why a stage carpenter or a dresser should receive from seventy-five to one hundred dollars a week, and why they should be forced to employ these in numbers which they deem excessive, is beyond their comprehension. Only one of the managers, Max R. Wilner, of the now defunct Irving Place Theatre, referred to Guskin's proposal. He very sensibly declared that only a corporation might be in a position to stabilize the Jewish theatres, not an association. The meeting broke up as it began, with every one holding to his own opinions.

From the above it would seem that the commotion about the "crisis" in the Jewish theatre centered exclusively in its financial instability as a business proposition. The truth is that the crisis is a dual one, both financial and moral. Naturally, the two interlock and converge. They probably act alternately as cause and effect. But the box office man deals mostly with figures, ignoring the spiritual

values of the theatre, while the outside critic harps only on the "values," disregarding the financial side. Both naturally draw different, and often diametrically opposed, conclusions. The one says: "The Jewish theatre cannot stand the ever mounting expenses forced upon it by organized artistry and technical staffs." The other says: "You are not producing the right plays. By your poor imitations of 'Broadway shows' you are driving your clientele away. You cannot compete with Broadway. Stick to the Jewish theatre and you will stand a chance."

Now, it cannot be gainsaid that there is a good deal of truth in both assertions. As matters stand at present, the Jewish theatre is unstable financially and weak morally. The financial difficulty is, however, in the opinion of this writer, not so insurmountable as the moral or spiritual weakness.

The financial instability of the Jewish theatre allows of an analysis of a number of factors for which remedies may be found in future seasons at least, if not now. Let us examine these factors.

It is conceded on all sides that the combined income of the dozen Jewish theatres has not decreased. On the contrary, it is still in the increasing stage. However, there has been an overproduction in the last two seasons. On Second Avenue alone two costly houses designed for Jewish theatres came up last year, the Public and the Yiddish Art theatres. In their endeavor to compete, these theatres have no doubt overreached themselves in expenditures, incurring a weekly expense of almost ten thousand dollars. Compare this with the maximum of about four thousand only a decade ago, and you will have one reason for the straits in which these theatres find themselves.

In addition to the overproduction, there seems to be a very poor balance between the plays offered in the vari-

ous theatres. This season, for instance, the three largest theatres on the avenue opened with musical comedies of mediocre value. The results proved that the supply in this case was greater than the demand.

Another reason offered for the slump in the Jewish theatre is the falling off in benefit performances, which always were a considerable source of income for the Jewish theatres, especially on week-days. It is pointed out that it has become a fad with Jewish organizations, even those catering to the East Side, Harlem or the Bronx Jew, to buy "benefits" in Broadway houses. The Jewish Center of the East Side, for instance, has offered to its patrons tickets to the Winter Garden, and such examples have been numerous in the past.

Granting these conditions, they are not beyond the remedial stage. The surplus of theatres will sooner or later take care of itself in obedience to the rule of the survival of the fittest. One cannot consider it a disaster if instead of four unstable Jewish theatres on the avenue there will exist three stable ones. Expenses also may be pruned down. The unions will have to listen to reason when it becomes clear that their means of subsistence is being undermined by unreasonable conditions. The "benefit" can be reclaimed by a more intelligent handling of this department and by the force of public opinion. I venture to say that if some of the managers should search their own methods of treating these organizations, they might discover that the reason for the "desertion" by Jewish organizations of the Jewish theatre lies deeper than the mere explanation of "fad." Organizations arranging for "benefits" in Jewish theatres have not been given the best co-operation by the managers.

Thus it may be seen that the financial difficulties of the Jewish theatre can be overcome by more efficient methods and by some measure of co-ordi-

nation between the theatres. It is true that even after overcoming these difficulties the Jewish theatre will still offer a poor field for investment. The Jewish theatre will remain fundamentally different from the Broadway theatre, due to the fact that all Jewish theatres are run as "repertoire" houses or stock companies. Imagine what would happen if all the Broadway houses were overnight turned into "repertoire" houses? It would be an impossible situation, from which investors would shrink. Talk of even one "repertoire" theatre on Broadway is generally accompanied by some plan of subsidy. Still, the Jewish theatre manager has been carrying this "upside down" method on his shoulders for forty years. He has to contract with actors for a thirty-eight week season, while the Broadway manager engages his performers only for a particular production. The Jewish theatre manager is compelled to engage union ushers and union choristers by the season, something that Broadway contemplates with a smile.

The Jewish theatre manager makes all kinds of contracts and engagements before the season begins, but only few live up to their engagements and contracts. The first consideration is to obtain a "house," and this is generally accomplished with a comparatively small sum of money, usually a year's rent put up as "security." Even this sum seldom comes from the manager's own resources. Part of it may be raised by loans, part by "security" for the subleasing of a "candy privilege" or from a prospective box-office cashier as a sort of bond. It is a fact that some Jewish theatre managers went in business with as little as five thousand dollars. The one "big money" man in the Jewish theatre business, Joseph Edelstein, quit two years ago, leaving the theatre in the hands of five of his departmental managers.

In its eagerness to "place" all its actors, the Actors' Union has counte-



nanced these flimsy undertakings. It has never insisted on tangible guarantees of faithful performance. But this is more or less in the nature of all theatrical undertakings. Even the Actors' Equity Association is not equal to this strength, but its members seldom engage themselves by the season, and if a production "flops," the actors affected can immediately turn to something else, whereas a Jewish actor out of engagement has a very slim chance of obtaining employment in the middle of a season.

## II.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, the Jewish theatre has managed to keep its head above water financially. The sums required for investment purposes are generally not large, even if prospective returns are in no wise to be compared with Broadway successes. While the Jewish theatrical unions exact stringent conditions, yet they invariably "gamble" along with the management, frequently reducing wages in the middle of a poor season, allowing certain smaller houses to do without music or chorus, etc.

The real slump of the Jewish theatre is not in its financial worries, which are generally akin to those of all other theatrical enterprises. The trouble lies in the spiritual and cultural poverty of the Jewish stage. This does not apply to the actors. The Jewish actors are, to my mind, the greatest asset of the Jewish stage. Man for man, and woman for woman, they rate far above the artists on the English stage. They possess a native intelligence and intuition which makes them feel perfectly at home in a great variety of parts. I speak here of roles of Jews and Jewesses in different walks of life. It is true that we have as yet to see a half-way decent Jewish Hamlet, but the Jewish stage has produced a notable Shylock in the person of Jacob P. Adler. Whatever is Jewish, be it ancient or modern, is not strange to the better Jewish actor. The Jewish actor

is not amenable to standardization. Like his other fellow Jews, he carries the well-known Jewish trait of individualism with him to the boards. The all-powerful director of the English stage is a negligible figure in the Jewish theatre. The Jewish actor brings out the best that is in him only when he is given some latitude. Any attempt to drill him into prescribed methods and regulations is doomed to failure. And yet, marvelously enough, the Jewish actor has produced gratifying results, given decent dramatic material.

The slough in which the Jewish stage finds itself at present is due to the famine in half-way decent dramatic material. The Jewish stage has been "given up" by the few writers of the better sort and practically abandoned to a non-descript element of illiterate scribblers, who get their inspiration and their plots mostly from movie "thrillers." The first consideration with these scribes is to provide "parts" for the theatre they have in mind. These "parts" must be cut to order to suit the "stars" in a particular theatre. If the "star" be a man, then it's a hero, if it be a woman then it is a heroine. The rest is easy; put in a couple of elderly people who introduce some choice Jewish curses and cripple some English words by impossible exaggerations; add a couple of young "wisecrackers," the comic man and the soubrette; drag onto the stage a Jewish car conductor or street sweeper, who occasionally bursts out in song that he is "all right in America," or the reverse, "a curse on Columbus"—it really doesn't matter which—and you have the concoction generally called a "lebensbild," or a "comedy-drama." When these scribblers write for the musical theatres they may be forgiven. No one expects any sense in a musical comedy, and a Jewish musical comedy is no exception to this rule. However, when these "authors" spread their wings over theatres at-

tempting to produce drama, the situation becomes pestiferous.

My readers will naturally ask: "What of the Yiddish Art Theatre?"

The Yiddish Art Theatre, much overpraised and overrated by well-meaning Gentiles, has been groping in the dark for the greater part of its existence. It also suffers from the dearth in plays. It has achieved notable productions in the ten years of its existence, but it has not succeeded in finding its soul. It feeds us with too much caviar and dessert and much too little dramatic meat. It roams to the ends of the world for "bizarre" plays, but brings out very few Jewish plays.

This season, under the influence of a new Mecaenas, it opened up with a flimsy play of the lower order in an attempt to "appeal to the masses on the avenue," failed ingloriously, and has brought down a financial crisis on its head which it has not weathered yet. It is clear that if the Yiddish Art Theatre is to live up to its name, it not only must decide once for all times upon a policy, but it must free its able director, Maurice Schwartz, from the business management of the theatre. What Mr. Schwartz is trying to do now, to retrieve the financial losses of a decade, and at the same time produce good plays, is beyond his or anyone else's powers. If the Yiddish Art Theatre is not reorganized speedily on some such basis as the Theatre Guild, there is danger that only the name will be left.

Now, what are the underlying reasons for the famine in decent plays for the Jewish stage? Opinions vary on this problem. The few better writers put the blame on the managers. They accuse them of ignorance, impatience, incivility and, above all, of un-

fair business methods. It must be remembered that a Jewish author can at best expect only meagre returns for his work. There is absent here the lure of Broadway millions if a play "goes over." Most of these better writers are at present engaged in profitable newspaper work or other callings, and, according to them, it is self-stultification to deal with the managers. They leave the field free to the lower class mechanics. The managers, on the other hand, not only deny these accusations, but go much further. They say that most of these playwrights are passe, that they have no new message for the Jewish stage, yea, that they have themselves adopted the methods of the scribblers.

That there is exaggeration on both sides is evident. However, I am inclined to believe that the Jewish play market suffers because of lack of young blood. Levick looked promising a few years ago, though his first work was crude as a drama, and its partial success could be attributed mostly to the actors portraying some types vividly. His second play proved even cruder than his first, though Ben Ami gave it a splendid setting and direction.

One thing is certain, that the problem of the Jewish theatre is the lack of adequate Jewish plays. The rich material which the new and multi-colored Jewish population in America offers to playwrights, has barely been scratched on the surface. In part, this is due to the one-sided outlook upon life inherent in most of the Jewish writers, the proletarian outlook, also the ignorance of most Jewish writers in New York as to the problems and doings of the great mass of Jews in the American hinterland.

10

## More Light On the Balfour Declaration

Editor The Vanguard.

Dear Sir:—

May I raise an objection to my old acquaintance, James Fuchs, writing *in vacuo*. I looked forward with interest to reading his article "The Truth About the Balfour Declaration", but I found nothing there that added to my knowledge. Some part of the history of that document appeared in my article in the *Menorah Journal* entitled "Herzl and Thirty Years After"; some of the details I have elucidated in the *Jewish Tribune*, under the title of "Adventures with the Balfour Declaration", and some of the political factors I have briefly elucidated in the *Jewish World* of London, December 2nd.

For my own part, I would welcome all light that could be thrown on that document.

Let me add for Mr. Fuchs' information—as far as I can trace the matter back, the desire for the declaration was the outcome of negotiations that began in the early part of 1916. The two principal negotiators for the allied powers were Sir Mark Sykes for the British and M. Picot for the French. The Zionists were pressing the governments; the governments were not making offers to the Zionists. Both the French and the English were tied up in a treaty with Italy. This the Zionists did not know, but this also makes clear that the governments did not set out with some ulterior motive.

I am not a partisan, but I believe there is prevalent a thorough-going misconception on such matters. The political value of the declaration was discovered after its issuance by Great Britain. The Zionist pressure to obtain the declaration was based on the need for recognition and the thwarting of the opposition existing in Jewish

circles in England to a pro-Zionist policy on the part of Great Britain. This is not a theory but a fact that can be documented.

The form of the declaration was hampered as a matter of negotiation in two directions:

1. The British Government knew of the Sykes-Picot Treaty.
2. The Zionist councils at England were divided as to their objective. Dr. Gaster who helped to start things, was an old Herzlist; Chief Rabbi Hertz who had something to do with the phraseology had to be mindful of the susceptibilities of Anglo-Jewry; Achad Ha'am (see his essays on the subject) wanted no political substance, but was deeply in earnest about the historic rights of the Jews; Weizmann and Sokolow were apparently mediators trying to satisfy all parties; we in America could only cooperate by cable and under circumstances that did not permit elaborate discussion.

That we were able to remove the theory of Jewish resettlement in Palestine based on discontent, was at the moment a practical achievement. At that, the declaration is sufficiently wide going to cover all Zionist requirements. The mischief, and of this I find no reference in Fuchs' article, is that the declaration was substantially revised by the Churchill White paper.

And permit me this further comment. The most persistent and able defender of Jewish Rights in Palestine from 1920 on has been a thoroughly middle class Jewish Nationalistic organ, the London *Jewish Chronicle*. I have seen much elsewhere about the rights of labor—I have seen very little about the rights of Jews.

Very truly yours,

JACOB DE HAAS.

## GLEANNING AND COMMENT

*Parasites on the Community*

IT is gratifying to see that high wages, in relation to productivity of labor and cost of living, are being recognized in high quarters as a boon to industry. In his (fifteenth) annual report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1927, submitted to the new Congress, on the 5th of December, the Secretary of Labor points out the highly important and very instructive fact that

"Since 1899, taking all manufactured goods together, production per man has increased 49 per cent, and in the same year our exports were 7 per cent of our production. Yet in 1925 our exports were only 4.9 per cent of our production, proving that the home market—which means to a very large extent the purchasing power of the American workman—had absorbed more than the entire increase in his own productive powers since 1899."

And proceeds to give his view on the interrelationship between the worker as consumer and the growth of American industry:

"As I have repeatedly pointed out, our home market means the purchasing power of the workingman, and his purchasing power means the relation of his wages to production and price. Our relatively small exports, when measured in percentage of the whole of production, must emphasize to any thinking man the fact that in home market, not in exports, lies the safety of American industry and American business. The way to enlarge the home market is to enlarge the purchasing power of the vast majority of persons who constitute that market; that is to say, the workers."

But what is new and refreshing in the sound reasoning of Mr. James J. Davis, is his severe arraignment of the

low wage advocates. Says the Secretary of Labor to the Congress of the United States:

"It is sometimes argued that wages must be reduced if we are to increase the sale of our goods in foreign markets. The answer is that by such wage reductions we reduce our profitable home market far more than we increase the less certain profits of the foreign market. Experience has proved, even to the most casual observer, the fallacy of much of the bad economic thinking of the past.

The low-wage fallacy is the worst of all. A dullard must see the folly of killing the purchasing power of the greatest buyer, the worker, in the market at home which provides us with all but a fraction of our national wealth and prosperity.

No matter on what plea or excuse, reduction of wages is bad business and worse economics, whether applied in the broadest social sense or to a given industry. No matter how large the population, we know that no low-wage country is prosperous, and we also have it proved in figures and facts that no low-wage industry in the United States is prosperous today. *No low-wage section of the country today is as prosperous as are the sections where higher wages prevail.* The employer, therefore, who reduces wages, whether from a selfish motive or because he thinks it good business, is not a good business man and is hurting himself. He may for a time succeed in paying a wage below the cost of living, but he is only throwing on the community at large the expense of paying, in the form of unpaid grocery and clothing bills, the wages which he himself should pay. *To be very frank, he is stealing from the public.* This applies to any industry as a whole, as it does to any individual employer. The time has passed when any industry or any employer who seeks to break down wage scales will be looked upon by the community as shrewd or clever in business. Such employer is not clever in business but a *parasite on the community*, and public opinion will eventual-

ly force him to pay a decent wage or get out of business."

It is high time people in authority turned the righteous wrath of deep conviction against the other side, and not merely justify the stand of labor for a larger share in the wealth of the nation, and "stealing from the public", "parasites on the community" are the very words. We hope they will take wings and fly around the country. Wages are still a mooted question with most of the European scientists, chiefly because the Old World nations are looking to special classes and to foreign markets, and not to their own masses, as consumers of their products. In this country, however, where the home market is sufficient to absorb most of the products—and to stimulate an unending increase of industry, low wages, long hours, and any other labor disadvantage that tends to curtail the purchasing and consuming power of the workers, are a hindrance to the growth and maintenance even of class prosperity, let alone national prosperity in its true wide sense.

That means, incidentally, that the mine and steel industries which are furthest removed from the workers as consumers and therefore inclined to overlook the value of labor earnings for the welfare of the nation, must be brought to reason by an effectual public opinion, and organized labor itself. The atrocities in Colorado and the inhumanities in the Pennsylvania coal region are shocking proof of the extent to which some of the basic industries are "parasites on the community" and "stealing from the public".

### *Playing Solitaire*

**I**N the *New Palestine*, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, we find, in its issue of December 9th, a very curiously written and quite characteristic editorial, "The

Palestine Government Loan", from which we are tempted to quote at some length:

"Having been counseled by friends and foes alike to do some serious thinking, we wrote on a number of cards some salient facts. And we sat down to play solitaire, with the answer as to why the Palestine loan had been floated as the reward. The cards read:

"The Government of England is responsible for its financial manipulations to millions of exasperated taxpayers. The Bank of England vouches for no security that is not gilt-edged. No bond is ever offered at 100½ with the intention of making a quick sale unless its features are irresistible. People do not buy \$22,500,000 worth of bonds to satisfy a philanthropic instinct. A bond issue that is oversubscribed ten times within two and a half hours is gilt-edged.

"It was our task to shuffle these cards, lay them out, and win the game. Every so often a single card threatened us with failure; it looked as though we might have to begin all over again. At last we won the game, and secured the reward: the answer to why Palestine Government bonds sold so rapidly.

"The British Government guaranteed the loan of the Palestine Government for tens of millions of dollars, and hard-headed financiers bought and shrewd Exchange brokers handled those bonds because they have definite knowledge that Palestine is a steadily progressing country, that Palestine, because of ten years of Jewish effort, is sound at its foundations, that Palestine is the equal of any other country as regards financial stability."

The British Government of England guarantees a small loan to the British Government of Palestine more than half of which it retains for its home exchequer, while the rest will be invested in a port and similar improvements in Palestine. The loan was not made to the Jewish Agency (the Zion-

ist Organization), nor to Palestine Jewry. It has nothing to do with Zionism or the building of the Jewish National Home, except in that remote and indirect sense that improvements in the country *might*, under otherwise propitious circumstances, prove of benefit to Jewish settlers who will some day, we hope, grow into an autonomous Jewish state. Meanwhile the population, and that means almost exclusively the Jews, will be forced to pay the interests and the amortization of a loan whose larger share will stay in England. We, thus, see no reason for waxing enthusiastic over the successful and rapid sale of the bonds, as does our editorial writer, who says:

"Those who have an eye for facts, rather than an ear for gossip, will find great cause for jubilation in the situation created by the marketing of the Palestine loan. It is refreshing to be told by others than 'administration Zionists' that there is nothing wrong with Palestine, except for those ills indigenous to a developing country. It is hope-infusing to be informed by objective observers that the credit of Palestine is sound enough for the mighty Bank of England and for the astute financiers on the London Stock Exchange."

Of course, there is nothing wrong with Palestine as territory and country. What is wrong is the Zionist policy, on the one hand, and the British policy, on the other. No one will deny that England has a good thing in Palestine, nor that the Jews will continue to go there, notwithstanding all the hindrances placed in our way by the Mandatory Power, and, as a heavily taxed element, fill the coffers of the British treasury, but these two separate and distinct facts, so long as they remain separate and distinct, do not yet make for the building of the Jewish National Home, however sufficient they may be as excellent security for government loans.

But to the "solitaire players" and

"card shufflers" of the "administration Zionists" (a good and apt name, that, and we thank the *New Palestine* for acquainting us therewith) things appear different. More than that. In keeping with the political thought of the ruling party which lays claim to everything, from plentiful rain to bountiful crops, our "pure-and-simples" are ready to see their hand behind this financial transaction between England and England:

"For those skeptics who grinned at the official pronouncements and promises made on behalf of the British Government at the recent dinner to Lord Balfour, the marketing of the Palestine loan must have been a genuine dilemma. To deny the hopeful implications of the loan would be to give rise to a doubt as to their financial sanity. But they would be flung on the other horn if they admitted the justice of the loan, for then they would be thrown into 'administration' circles."

"Well, well, we regret to say it publicly, but the *New Palestine* has still a great deal, a very great deal, of "serious thinking" to do. . . .

### *Faint Hearts and Stout Talk*

WE have now before us in official form that notorious Marshall statement which might have sent to the guillotine the great avenger, Sholom Schwartzbard, and stamped the Jews of the world as the meanest cowards that ever polluted God's earth, had the Jewish people or the noble French jury paid the least attention to the pusillanimity of the New York Jewish leader. It is printed, black on white, in the latest volume of the American Jewish Year Book and is incorporated in the report of the American Jewish Committee, under the heading Russia, on pages 427 and 428 (See Volume 29, for the year 1927-1928). Though somewhat toned down, if our memory serves us, it is a monument to arrogant

stupidity the like of which no normal people could have bred in its midst. We quote it in full:

"The assassination in Paris of the former Ukrainian leader, Simon Petlura, by Sholom Schwartzbard, a Jew, is also likely to create difficulties for Jews in the Southern republic. The manner in which the matter is being discussed in sections of the Jewish press is calculated to arouse violent anti-Jewish feeling on the part of the Ukrainian people, among whom Petlura was and is held in great honor. The Ukrainians are irritated by the attempts which are being made to prove that Petlura was not only officially but also personally responsible for pogroms, and by the attitude of some of the Yiddish newspapers in various countries, which depict Schwartzbard's act as that of a national hero.

"This attitude is not only harmful but is believed to be unwise. It would involve the presentation to the French court as an issue the extent of Petlura's responsibility for the massacres which occurred in the Ukraine in 1920. Whether or not the juridical tribunal will undertake to determine it, whatever the decision may be, it will not be accepted by the partisans of Petlura and will inevitably tend to open old wounds and give occasion for bitter controversy from which the innocent will be sure to suffer. While we can understand how a man who constantly broods over human wrongs and crimes and whose relatives may have been pogrom victims may find himself in such a state of mind as to be driven to so desperate, and futile, an act, there is no justification for making him a national Jewish hero, or for the Jewish people to assume the responsibility for his deed. We trust that agitation along these false lines will cease before it is too late. Defence for his act should rather be sought in the field of mental irresponsibility in the juridical sense."

We will be charitable and overlook the breadth of legal knowledge displayed by the reputedly great lawyer

on the system of evidence and procedure in the French courts; we shall, in passing, compliment Mr. Marshall on the facility with which he is, at least in the above statement, using the dreadful word "national" with reference to the Jewish people, but we have no words strong enough to condemn the cowardly spirit which counsels the Jews to repress their feelings for fear of "irritating" the Ukrainians, the self-same Ukrainians "among whom Petlura was and is held in great honor"; "the partisans of Petlura" by whom the decision of the French Tribunal, "whatever it may be, will not be accepted", in any case!

This is the same spirit which counsels the Jews against Zionism, nationalism, and anything else proper and manly, for fear it might "arouse violent anti-Jewish feelings."

### *Wishy-Washy Liberals*

THE New York *Evening World* comments editorially, in its issue of December 14th, on the outrageous treatment of the Jews in Rumania in a vein of academic aloofness that is on a par with utter lack of sympathy with our people. Under the caption "Minorities in Rumania", that reputedly liberal newspaper says:

"In view of the *very evident* persecution of minorities in Roumania, and the present anti-Semitic rioting, a resolution has been offered in the House calling upon the President to intecede against the 'outrageous treatment of Roumanian minorities, and falling in that to break diplomatic relations between this country and Roumania.'

"This recalls the *interesting* fact that the recognition of Roumania, and the establishment of diplomatic relations in the time of the Hayes Administration, was due to a very distinct promise from Bucharest that the rights of minorities would be respected. Everything happening today was foreseen then, and power-

ful pressure was brought to bear from Jewish organizations here to make the pledge of justice to minorities a condition of recognition. Secretary of State Evarts instructed our representative in the negotiations to press this point of view. Unhappily the European Powers did not insist upon more than a pledge, and we now know what that amounts to. Thus, for half a century Roumania has been persecuting minorities and raising a *hue and cry* against the Jews."

Note the qualifying adjective "very evident" when referring to the persecution of minorities; the word "interesting" when speaking of Rumanian treachery, and, above all, the "hue and cry" when characterizing the atrocities against the Jews.

However, the "scientific" spirit reaches the very pinnacle in the concluding paragraph of that wishy-washy discharge of a public duty:

"Fifty years ago the protection of the minorities was urged as a condition for entering upon diplomatic relations; and now it is proposed as a condition for the continuation of those relations. The great opportunity passed when the other nations failed to press their advantage at a time when recognition was essential to the life of the Roumanian state."

In a calm, detached way the editorial writer is content to state that "the great opportunity passed", suggesting no remedy and offering no encouragement to an enraged world. As a newspaper owned by a descendant of the Jewish race and written and read largely by Jews, the *Evening World* is suspiciously impartial.

### *The Jew in Cuba*

IT takes our people very little time to get their bearings in a new environment and to feel themselves at one with the adopted country. Jews in Cuba are recent arrivals, the majority of them, and yet they already possess a

weekly, printed in Yiddish and Spanish, published by the Jewish Centre of Cuba in the interests of both the Sephardic and the Ashkenasic Jews who have joined hands (a remarkable achievement in itself) to promote the welfare of Jewry and the country; a weekly devoted to culture, Zionism, and even patriotism, and bearing the name *Oyfgang* (Rise).

In its issue of November 25 (volume I, number 9), the first with a Spanish section, there is an editorial, "Let Us Do Our Share" ("Contribuyamos"), where we find that

"Though recent arrivals, the Jews of Cuba have displayed a vim and vitality that have resulted in a multitude of small industrial and commercial enterprises which have brought many life necessities within the reach of the poorer classes of the country.

"Neither are we behind in the field of culture. We have this magazine, various societies for entertainment and recreation, and more particularly the Jewish Center of Cuba, a truly beneficent institution which dispenses to its membership medical aid and arranges concerts, dances, and theatrical performances. We take especial pride in our well appointed modern school ('colegio') with its teaching personnel of native Cubans of great experience and its hundred and fifty Jewish boys and girls who learn to love Cuba, its flag, and its institutions. In this manner we manifest our gratitude and attachment to this land and are raising the new generation of Jews, already grounded in Cuban soil, to contribute with their hands, minds and hearts to the greatness of the country."

Peculiar as it might seem, Cuban Jews are already involved in a grapple with assimilation. Rabbi Guerchon Maya contributes an article to the same issue wherein he complains that:

"Our Jews are beginning to forget their origin, their history, their traditions, and their religion. The new generation is completely ignorant of Jewish duties. Few of us know the life of our brethren in



other lands; few have heard of the sufferings of our people in Poland and Roumania, and almost none knows what Zionism is doing for the emancipation of the Jewish people and the building of the Jewish National Home in Palestine."

The Rabbi appears to be too pessimistic, for in the very same number of the *Oyfgang* we find an appeal for Zionist activity by the Central Committee of the Cuban branch of the Sephardic World Confederation, but the plaint is familiar and shows, if anything, that Cuban Jewry is beginning to take root.

### "A Model for a Goddess"

MARION WEINSTEIN, in an article, "The New Woman in Palestine", in the English section of the *Day*, on December 25th, pays a glowing tribute to the Jewish woman of modern Palestine as typified by Rachel Yanaith Ben Zvie, the leader of the

working women in our Homeland, who is now in this country:

"Rachel Ben Zvie's words, a rush of forceful, vivid phrases, and her flaming almost ruthless sincerity move her hearers. But more convincing than her eloquence is the woman herself. If pioneering in Palestine brings this splendid fruition of personality, every thinking Jewish woman will want to help her sisters who strive toward such self-realization.

"Rachel Ben Zvie seems to glow with an inner satisfaction. There is about her the harmony of complete adjustment and growing fulfillment. Abundant health and energy, happiness in wifehood and motherhood undoubtedly play their great part in her development. But over and above these natural sources of well-being, there is every evidence of the joy that springs from beloved work well done.

"A Jacob Epstein would find in her vigorous mould, in this lady and peasant, thinker and doer, a model for a Goddess of Labor."

## THE "JEWISH WORLD" OF LONDON ON "THE VANGUARD"

THE eminent Anglo-Jewish weekly, *The Jewish World*, in its issue of November the 24th, welcomes heartily THE VANGUARD and devotes nearly two pages to a discussion of two of its articles. Under the heading "Some Plain Speaking", it says:

"A word of hearty welcome to The Vanguard, a new 'Magazine of Progressive Jewish Life,' published in New York. Its Editor assures us that his publication 'is not fettered by financial backers. It has no 'angel' to tie its soul. Its only masters are its principles, and we hope our friends will make this independence into a tower of strength.' I hope so, too, because at least in the respect mentioned this is altogether a new departure in Jewish American publications. And I

may say that the first number gives good promise. I was much struck by an article contributed to the magazine by David L. Mekler on 'Judaism in America.' The writer declares that though the Jews in the New World 'have made great gains materially,' they 'have suffered irretrievable losses spiritually.' 'We are following and imitating our Gentile neighbors,' he continues, 'rather than setting an example of a more spiritual life.'"

After quoting the author in illustration of the statements cited, the Editor of *The Jewish World* goes on:

"But is America the only dissolvent of Jewish ideals? Surely of the Jew far nearer home it might be said with equal truth in the words of Mr. Mekler. 'His Judaism is nothing but an empty shell,

no matter how beautifully worked and richly bejewelled. It requires very little of him—charity, and attending once in a while services in the synagogue, where all the worshipping is done by the well-paid and perfectly groomed Rabbi. He enjoys the services when the Rabbi preaches well, and the Rabbi preaches well when he speaks of the things he approves of.' The hope, too, which the writer nourishes has a familiar ring. It is in the youth of Jewry—the hearts of the fathers turned to the children. "These young American orthodox Jews," he says, 'may not be so strict in other religious customs and laws, but they are orthodox almost as their fathers and grandfathers were, cherishing a Jewish life in accordance with the Laws of Moses.'

The Editor then pays us the compliment of analyzing the article "Thirty Years of Zionism" and, under the caption "The Zionist Position" says:

"The new magazine, of course, contains considerable reference to the Zionist Movement, and there is an article on "Thirty Years of Zionism," by the Editor, Mr. Isaac Zaar. The limiting of Zionism to the period between the founding of the present Movement by Herzl and today, usually leads to an erroneous, because partial, view of it. However, Mr. Zaar's purpose, which he carries out very effectually, is to show how, during the last thirty years, the Movement has had some remarkable opportunities brought to it with both hands by circumstances, which have been spoilt by 'Zionist muddle-headedness.'... 'the whole exasperating and, for the Jews in the main, destructive policy of the High Commissioner Herbert Samuel, who went so far in his 'neutrality' as to suggest that White Paper of the British Government which emasculate the Balfour declaration and the intent and purpose of the Mandate'; and the Mandate itself—all these matters have resulted as they have as a result of the 'lack of creative Zionist leadership' 'shot to pieces' by English diplomacy."

Giving a lengthy quotation for the

article, *The London Jewish World* then states:

"There is no one who, looking at things Zionist fairly, can gainsay what this writer says. And I hasten to say that I rejoice that he has said it chiefly because I am sure its being said is the surest way towards betterment. The trouble, as I have so often endeavoured to point out, is not with the Leader of Zionism. He does his best according to his powers. He would, however, I am convinced, do infinitely better if the Leadership in the wider sense—and in that is included the support that is tendered the Leader—were not so deplorably unprincipled—mere opportunism and craven fawning in place of what Mr. Zaar calls 'moral vigour' and consistency.

"This lack of proper Leadership in the Movement is not the fault of Dr. Weizmann. I maintain it is not altogether fair to debit it to his shortcomings. It is inherent in the Jewish People, from which he derives his position in the Movement, and although I do not intend here to enter into any lengthy argument on the matter I would say that it seems to me in itself a product of the Jewish condition during the last nearly two thousand years, divorced as we have been from everything that among other peoples produces competent leaders and worthy followers. That, superadded to our Jewish individualism, constitutes perhaps nine-tenths of the Jewish Problem which Zionism set out to ameliorate if not to solve, but which today it is doing so much to exacerbate and to deepen. And yet, withal Zionism properly understood is the only hope that Jews have that there will not be reserved for them during the next two thousand years, a more terrible experience, possibly to the point of utter extermination, than that through which they have passed during the two thousand years that have gone by. So that even those of us who know and deplore the faulty Leadership Mr. Zaar so pungently scorns, but who know that they could probably do no better and might do worse themselves if the opportunity that

has been and is Dr. Weizmann's came to them (though some of us might try what abiding by principles and consistency of policy might do),—even we feel bound to do what we can to preserve and keep alive the Movement in the hope that somehow and at some time it will adopt an orientation more in accordance with the hopes and the aspirations of Jewish Nationalists and more consistent with the dignity and the well-being of Judaism.”

On our part, we are extremely glad to have found favor in the eyes of *The Jewish World* of London which has never lost its independence of thought on affairs Zionist and which contributes thereby to the cause a great deal more than many of our official and unofficial factors.

### *Peter Wiernik Breaks His Rule*

**T**HE dean of Jewish literary critics and editor-in-chief of the *Jewish Morning Journal*, Mr. Peter Wiernik, broke his rule—to withhold comment on a new magazine until several issues had appeared—and greeted the very first, November number of THE VANGUARD.

Under the date of November 12th, Mr. Wiernik says, in the Sunday edition of that great Jewish newspaper:

“My rule not to give an opinion of a publication until several numbers had appeared, holds good even in the case of our own people, but it can already be said that the magazine (THE VANGUARD) which contains 48 pages and is beautifully printed, is well written and made up, and I wish it a long and prosperous career.”

### *Professor Gottheil's Opinion*

**P**ROFESSOR Richard Gottheil, of Columbia University, writes us, in a letter, under the date of December 18th:

“I am glad to subscribe to THE VANGUARD, as I have found it most excellent reading.”

## Palestine Labor Drive

By MORRIS SIGMAN,

*President International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.*

**I** HAVE been asked to state my opinion concerning the drive for a fund at present being sponsored by the United Hebrew Trades of New York for the activities of the organized Jewish workers in Palestine. I can say it in a few words.

I am fully in sympathy with this movement. Frankly, I am not a nationalist in the accepted term of the word, yet I do not hesitate in asserting that the Jewish workers in Palestine, situated less advantageously in an economic and industrial sense than their fellow-workers in America, have a right to expect aid and encouragement from the latter, and are fully entitled to it.

This is particularly true in view of the fact, as it is reliably told to me, that the money raised by the United Hebrew Trade's campaign in this country among Jewish workers has, to the last dollar, been expended, not for palliatives or philanthropy, but for sound trade union constructive work, such as the purchase of machinery and tools for the existing cooperatives, the construction of a remarkable Labor Temple in Tel-Aviv, the support of a benefit fund for ailing workers, contributions for workers' sanatoria, and such cultural activity as the maintenance of workers' children's "garden schools", workers' libraries and clubs, and similar enterprises.

The Palestine Jewish Labor movement, and its "Histadruth", young as it comparatively is, I am told, is a genuine workers' movement, with a fine fighting spirit and a splendid morale. It is part of the world-wide Labor Movement, as it is affiliated with the International Trade Union Federation. Above all, it is an organization of Jewish workers valiantly struggling to find a new economic footing, based on hu-

mane standards of life and labor, in a new land and against difficult, often disheartening odds. At this moment, in particular, Palestine is passing through a hard time. It is harassed by an economic crisis and by widespread unemployment.

Help, and speedy help, at this time,

therefore, would be doubly appreciated. Let us aid the Jewish workers in Palestine to weather the present storm, to preserve intact their unions and their work standards. They are looking to us for this aid. It is our plain duty not to fail to respond to their call in this hour of supreme need.

## THE PALESTINE TAX SYSTEM

By ZVIE WOLF

**T**HE financial system introduced into the country by the Mandatory Power is based chiefly on indirect taxation. Its income accrues mainly from that source, in an amount even greater than that imposed by the Turkish rulers. A system of taxation that rests mainly on one's living expenses, and not on his income, is bound to be productive of great injustice, by placing the burden on the shoulders of all classes of people, and hitting the poorer classes the hardest of all. In addition to this, this system reacts most unfavorably on the Jewish settlement, as under the guise of various taxes the government appropriates an appreciable portion of the Jewish capital, both public and private, intended for the upbuilding of the country. Especially is this burden imposed on the Jewish worker with his higher standard of living, a considerable portion of whose needs has to be supplied from abroad.

There is no doubt whatever that our economic life calls for a radical change in the existing tax-system. Taking the fiscal burden off the expense account of the citizen and placing it upon his income, above the minimum amount necessary for his existence, is a vital necessity. This income tax must be a progressive one, the percentage to be increased in accordance with one's income. There should also be introduced an Inheritance Tax, a special tax on

certain profits, etc. The income of the government should be derived from the citizen's income and not out of the necessities of life and the public wealth as at present, resulting in widespread economic suffering among the great masses, while hardly affecting the ranks of the wealthy. It is not to be denied that the introduction of income, inheritance and special income taxes in a primitive country like ours, the cultural position of the most of its settlers being low, is beset with many difficulties. Despite all this, it is not an utter impossibility. The Palestine of today is not the Palestine of ten years ago. Its citizens have progressed considerably and keep on progressing, so that even today it is possible to begin to divide the burden of taxation in accordance with the classes, such as the great merchants, the higher and lower officials, the banks, the money-lenders, real estate men, etc., etc., and in proportion as these taxes will mount in the government budget, the burden shall be lifted from the various life necessities.

To our regret, there is no prospect whatever that the present administration will of its own accord change the present order of things. Apparently, it has only one object in view: to increase by all means possible the income of the government in that field where it is sure to meet with the least opposition and in the form easiest to

collect, the indirect tax. (During the more recent months, we have been favored with a new tax on a necessity of life, the tax on imported pencils). We have no hope, therefore, that the government will change conditions of its own accord. Such a reform will come only after a long battle, a battle of arguments and agitation both within and without the country, and it devolves upon us, the General Organization of Jewish Workers, the representative of the individual worker who suffers mostly under the present arrangement, to become the shock-troops in this battle. We must make this the main plank in its platform. The lack of a determined stand on our part in this life-and-death problem is a positive misfortune. Even our last convention, the one that has devoted so much time to the consideration of our internal problems, has not found it necessary to adopt a positive stand with regard to this question. Some resolutions on the tax question were indeed adopted, but they do not answer the purpose fully. True, we should not delude ourselves with hopes of an immediate change. The fight will not by any means be an easy one. We must start a thorough investigation into the question, and gain the powerful support of our friends in the British Labor Party which has such excellent prospects of assuming the reigns of government at a not-too-distant date.

How far we are suffering from such an impost on our labors, the following fact will prove.

The new taxation system inaugurated in 1924 has introduced, with regard to many products, not a *price tax* as heretofore, but a *quantity tax*. This reform affected most of all food-stuffs and other necessities, while with regard to luxuries the old ad-valorem tax remained in force. As a result of this change, which must have been intro-

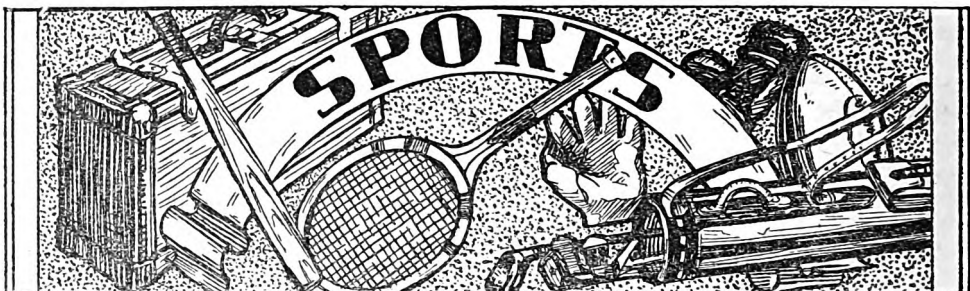
duced with a view to easing the technical duties of the administrators, the government of the country took several backward steps in a social sense. Each product has, as is well known, several qualities, differing in price from each other, so that by the adjustment of the tax to the price of the article there is maintained a proportional, if not a progressive scale of values. But by the imposition of a fixed tax on the weight or measure of the article the government has adopted an archaic method, resulting in much harm to the poorer ranks of the people.

The fact that the rice or the coffee of the highest grade, consumed by the wealthy, does not pay any higher rate than the pound of rice or coffee consumed by the masses, needs no comment. The government is collecting a higher percentage of taxes on the products consumed by the poor man than it does on the goods consumed by the rich man. And this is the system that was introduced into the country in 1924, the year that the Labor party was in power. We cannot, of course, accuse the Labor government of having willfully introduced this system. This reform, so-called, introduced by the Palestine government by order or the permission of the Colonial Department, must have been a legacy left by the previous government.

We feel sure that had we protested in time against this evil they would have rescinded that order. We are to blame for failing to take the proper measures at the time, but we have to undo the mischief now. The Executive of our Organization should call a special conference to consider the taxation system of the government, and to see to it that the needed changes are effected without undue delay.

*Translated from the "Davar", the Hebrew Labor Daily of Palestine.—Ed.*





## THE JEW IN CHESS

By CHARLES JAFFE

FOR more than half a century Jews held the chess championship of the world, first through the Bohemian Jewish chess master, William Steinitz, then through the German Jewish chess master, Dr. Emanuel Lasker.

Steinitz won the chess championship of the world in 1866, having wrested it from Prof. Anderssen, who had held it theretofore. For fully 28 years Steinitz retained the title. Eighteen times the greatest chess masters attempted by means of matches to wrest the championship from him, but in vain. Steinitz defeated them all, and defeated them decisively, so that there was not a shadow of doubt that he was the real chess champion of the world—until Dr. Lasker, then a young man, defeated him in a match played in 1894 and became in turn the world's champion chess player. As Dr. Lasker himself, with characteristic modesty, described his victory to his friends, Steinitz had lost the championship more on account of his advanced age than because of poor playing. Here are Lasker's own words, spoken immediately after his triumph: "Steinitz gave me 30 years' odds, and that's why he lost."

Steinitz is the father of modern chess. He spent forty years of his life studying, analyzing, and bringing before the public his new chess theory. In his book, *The Modern Chess In-*

*structor*, Steinitz laid down the fundamental principles of modern chess; in it he teaches how to win a game of chess by speedily securing advantages, however slight, and by careful development so as to make one's position invincible and victory assured.

Steinitz was of poor physique, limped and was quite short-sighted withal; mentally, however, he was a giant. Notwithstanding his theory of the mathematical calculation of position play, he never missed an opportunity to play by means of brilliant combinations and to score a victory by a display of rare ingenuity and resourcefulness. Many of the games of his youth and his old age are counted among the finest ever played, and rank as classics in the literature of chess.

The game which Steinitz played with Baron von Baderleben at the Hastings Masters' Tournament in 1895 is in our opinion the finest chess game of all time. A graphic description of Steinitz at that time and of the brilliant game he played is given by the British authoress, Mrs. Rhodes, in an article entitled, "Steinitz in Tears." She writes:

"I met my old friend Steinitz upon the steps of the hall in which the Hastings Masters' Tournament was held. I hardly recognized him. Old, broken, bent in two, he walked up to me and

after the first greeting complained to me with a note of sadness in his voice: 'What do you think of it, Mrs. Rhodes, what do you think of it? I have lost three games in succession. Even young Pillsbury has beaten me.' And bursting into tears he continued: 'I am old and shattered and will never win again.'

"I comforted him, presented him with flowers, and accompanied him into the hall, where he was to play against Baderleben. The game was absorbing and interesting from the first move to the last. Steinitz carried out one of the most brilliant combinations on the chess board, and announced mate in thirteen moves. After Baderleben had surrendered and left the table, Steinitz ran to me as fast as his lame leg would permit and taking me by the hand cried out in childish glee: 'Come and see, Mrs. Rhodes.' Leading me to the table, he demonstrated to me every one of the thirteen moves. 'If he moves this way, he is mate, and if he moves differently, I also mate him,' Steinitz said with a youthful fire in his black eyes." The game was uniquely beautiful and has become a classic in chess literature, where it is known as "Evergreen."

Steinitz lost little of his chess technique in his old age, but he lost a great deal of his physical strength and endurance. He lost the world championship to young Lasker in two matches, one played in New York and the other in Moscow. In 1900 he died of heart disease in New York.

Steinitz's successor, Dr. Emanuel Lasker, is undoubtedly the greatest chess player of our times. He held and successfully defended his title for fully 27 years, then he yielded it to the young chess master, Jose R. Capablanca in 1921, in a match held at Havana, Cuba, Capablanca's homeland.

We will not discuss here the reasons for holding the match in the hot climate of Havana, or the manner in

which it was played. Here we will merely state the fact that Lasker was very sick at the time, and that it was only poverty resulting from the war and its terrible aftermath which forced him to agree to play the match.

When we examine the games of the Lasker-Capablanca match with a critical eye, we see at once that Lasker played on that occasion like a third-rater. He made foolish mistakes; here he overlooked an easy way to win, and there a king's move which would have resulted in a draw. After 14 games had been played, Lasker resigned the match and the title.

Following this match Lasker met Capablanca twice in tournaments, in New York in 1924, and a year later in Moscow, and on both occasions took higher prizes than Capablanca. This goes to show that it was the Havana climate which defeated Lasker, that in a normal, temperate climate, Lasker would easily have beaten Capablanca.

Capablanca was unable to retain his place long; at the very first attempt to defend his title, recently at Buenos Aires, against the Russian master, Alexander Alekhin, he lost the world's championship, the score being 3 to 6 against him, with 25 drawn games. The games of this match showed that his style of playing, which aims at a quick exchange of pieces, is fundamentally unsound. Alekhin outplayed him in almost every game, losing the three games in the opening only because he went in for new and untried ways.

According to the latest newspaper reports, Lasker is ready to measure swords with Alekhin for the chess championship of the world. It will, therefore, be interesting to compare these two chess titans in order to determine their respective chances of victory in such a match.

Dr. Alexander Alekhin, the present champion of the world, is young, ambitious, and a remarkable player. He

belongs to the hypermodern, brilliant school of chess. His record in tournaments is very good; his record in matches is far from extraordinary. He is the best player of "blind" chess in the world. A few years ago, in New York, he broke the record of the Jewish chess master, Richard Reti, who had 22 simultaneous games of "blind" chess to his credit. Alekhin played 28 games of "blind" chess simultaneously, and played them with great success.

In his match with Capablanca, Alekhin displayed strength and endurance. In the most difficult and routine positions, of which there was an abundance in the match, Alekhin devised beautiful combinations and put life and color into some of them. The eleventh game of the match Alekhin played brilliantly from beginning to end, and the game is destined to become a classic. In the twenty-second game of the match, too, he carried out a brilliant combination, but fell short in the end-game, thereby turning a game that could easily have been won into a draw.

As a chess player, Dr. Emanuel Lasker is in a class all by himself. His record in tournaments and matches is incomparable. Dr. Lasker's style of playing is unique. He follows the ways of Steinitz, but with ideas of his own. His chess technique is the best, his combinations are flawless, and his conception of positions, his power of imagination, is unequalled. Dr. Lasker has played five games in tournaments with Alekhin. Of these he won three, while two games were drawn—a record which no other player in the world can show against Alekhin.

Dr. Lasker is a highly educated man, a philosopher, mathematician, and author. Despite his sixty years, he still plays chess with vim and vigor. He knows exactly what he is doing, and if he wants to play with Alekhin, he will surely beat him.

Besides Lasker, the one who has the best chances to win the world cham-

pionship is the Polish Jewish chess master, Akiba Rubinstein. The latter possesses a powerful chess technique; his building up of a chess position is phenomenal; he surpasses every one in position play. The war impaired his health, and as a result he contributed little to chess in recent years. He lost many games through simple errors. Of late, however, Rubinstein is regaining his old self; recently he came out first in a tournament in Lodz without losing a single game. Throughout the tournament he showed the hand of a master. When in good health, Rubinstein has more than an equal chance to win the chess championship of the world from Alekhin.

The other Jewish chess masters who have some chances against Alekhin are Aaron Niemzovitsch and the aforesaid Reti. Niemzovitsch is a dangerous player, he plays havoc with combinations, and no player can be sure to win from him.

Reti is a possibility. His combinations are too intricate, and his chances against Alekhin with this kind of playing are slight. Reti, however, is very resourceful and versatile, and can change his style of playing.

It seems unlikely that Capablanca will ever "come back." The tone of his article in *The Times*, following his defeat by Alekhin, shows it. He speaks there of advancing years, and of how chess is now played out so that every game can be made to end in a draw (if that is so, why did not Capablanca do it in his match with Alekhin?), and he resorts to other lame excuses and alibis. He speaks in such a tone of resignation that it is quite evident that he will never compete for the world championship again.

This leaves the field clear for the Jewish players. Lasker, Rubinstein, Niemzovitsch and Reti should play for the championship. They are the best chess players, and to any one of them the title belongs of right.



## BRIEF NEWS FROM THE HOMELAND

*Compiled by* MOISHE RIVLIN

Two hundred and forty workers are already engaged in the construction of the Ruthenberg Electric plant near the Jordan River, which is to supply all of Palestine and Transjordan with electricity.

Fifty workers are engaged now in the construction of the new road from Jaffa to Petach Tikvah.

The Public Works Department of the Palestine Government is about to begin work on the new road from Mamila Street (the new commercial center of Jerusalem) to Mekor Haim and Mitzpah-Jerusalem.

Twenty Jewish workers are employed by Arabs in Jericho in the rebuilding of their homes and the big hotel there which had been ruined by the earthquake, last summer.

One hundred and thirty-one Halutzim are occupied in the irrigation of 4,500 dunams of land which constitute the two Kvutzoth of Ein Charod and Tel Joseph.

The building-material industry of Tel Aviv has shown marked progress in recent months, according to latest figures. Many Arabs are now buying the material for the building of their homes almost exclusively from Jewish factories. The Government placed recently a large order for cement pipes for sewers with one of the Jewish factories in Tel Aviv. All of the factories in this industry have taken on new workers.

The shoe factory "Keter" of Tel Aviv received recently large orders for shoes from Syria. According to the owners of the factory, the recent increase of 15 per cent in wages was of great benefit to the factory and the industry in general because it created a uniform scale of wages for the entire shoe industry and

thus eliminated the cut-throat competition which all but ruined the industry last year.

The Nesher Cement factory of Haifa is now working constantly without a stop. Two hundred and thirty men work in three shifts of eight hours each.

Emir Abdalla, the ruler of Transjordan, has contracted with the Lowenstein furniture factory of Tel Aviv to supply all the highly expensive furniture for his new palace in Amman. Forty-five men are now working on the exquisite furniture for the throne-hall of the Emir. The work of furnishing the palace will take about two years.

The swimming section of the Gasher division of the Hapoel Athletic Club of Palestine arranged a swimming race of four kilometers (about two and a half miles) on the Kinnereth River. Eight men participated in the race. Two made the distance in 84 minutes.

The new field of the Hapoel (Jewish Workingmen's Athletic Organization) in Tel Aviv was opened on December first in the presence of several thousand people. The field was dedicated with a soccer game between the military team of Sarafend and the Hapoel team. The results were 2-1 in favor of the Hapoel.

The number of workingmen in Tel Aviv who received doles during the last month was 3,000 as compared with 4,236 of four months ago.

The number of Jewish workingmen in Transjordan is constantly increasing. A few months ago there was not a single Jewish workingman on the east side of the Jordan, now there are fifty Jewish workers in Amman, all gainfully employed.



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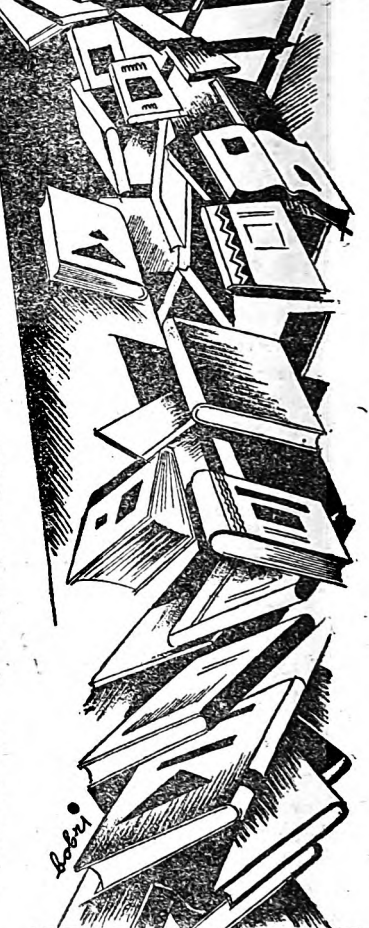
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