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Says Arabs Buoyant Because They Expect Commission's Report Will Favor Them

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

London, Jan. 23—The attitude of the Arab population of Palestine has become more conciliatory as a result of the conduct of the Palestine Commission of Inquiry, declares an editorial in "Near East and India," a magazine reputed to be close to the British Colonial Office. The editorial points out that the decision to send an Arab delegation to London which will arrive about the time of the publication of the Commission's report is largely inspired by hopes that the report will be favorable to the Arabs.

On the other hand, "Near East and India" notes that the buoyant attitude of the Arabs is counterbalanced by the comparative depression of the Zionists, and wonders whether it was good policy on the part of the Zionists to attack the Palestine administration, thus driving it and the Arabs closer together.

Continuing, the editorial says "yet, strong as the Arabs may think their case before the Commission to have been made out, they reveal a lamentable weakness in internal quarrels over the personnel of the London delegation." "Near East and India" advises the Palestine Arabs to follow the example of Ibn Saud and Faisal by putting aside family disputes for national interests, which will strengthen their position considerably.

"The British public is sick and tired of political manoeuvrings, wire-pullings and jerry-mandering in Palestine. Give it a broad issue of major justice in Palestine and it will meet it with a broad answer," says the editorial.

Tulkarem Land Court Reserves Judgment on Arab Squatters

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Jerusalem, Jan. 23—The land court at Tulkarem is reported to have reserved judgment on the Arab squatters' claim on the Wadi Hawareth lands of the Jewish National Fund. Counsel submitted that the squatters were not entitled to their claim because the land had been bought at public auction.

Arab Agitators Ordered to Court

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Jerusalem, Jan. 23—Saami Hussein and Mounir Farah, two well-known Gaza agitators, have been ordered to appear in the district court at Gaza today to show cause why they should not deposit \$2,500 as security for their good behavior and their willingness to keep peace for a year.

Austrian Supreme Court Denies Halsmann's Appeal

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Vienna, Jan. 23—The Supreme Court of Austria today denied the appeal of Philip Halsmann's lawyer to set aside the verdict of guilty which a court in Innsbruck had brought against him in connection with the death of his father.

As soon as Halsmann's mother and sister, who were in the court-room, heard the verdict of the Supreme Court which meant that Halsmann, who had been declared by doctors to be tubercular, would have to remain in prison, they broke down in a flood of tears.

The only thing that remains now for the Halsmann defense is to ask for a pardon.

Stormy scenes often interrupted the announcement as the verdict was given, the public joining with Halsmann's family in cries of "let's leave, we won't find anything here." The cries necessitated a delay of fifteen minutes in reading because the counsel left together with members of Halsmann's family, sympathizers and newspapermen. The court had to send a court usher to recall counsel in order to conclude the verdict.

A strong cordon of police guarded the vicinity of the court building against the excited populace.

Innsbruck, Jan. 23—Philip Halsmann quietly received the news of the verdict refusing to set aside the murder verdict against him. He was informed of the court's action through Advocate Pessler. Halsmann declared that despite the court's action he is "still not a murderer."

Pessler is awaiting the return of other counsel to consult with them as to the possibility of transferring Halsmann to a hospital, or perhaps secure a pardon, something which Halsmann emphatically declines.

It is also reported that new facts have been lately uncovered in Pressburg which may make it possible to secure an entirely new trial.

Czech Jews Sell Synagogue Because of Poverty, Migration

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Prague, Jan. 23—The synagogue belonging to one of the oldest Jewish communities in Wischau in Czechoslovakia, has been sold and will be converted into a moving picture house. The community was compelled to sell its synagogue in view of the poverty of the congregation and the great migration from the village.

Higher Court Annuls Sentence on First Jewish Kulaks Tried in Soviet Anti-Kulak Fight

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Moscow, Jan. 23—The trial of Jewish kulaks in the Soviet's campaign against the kulaks is reported from Nikolaev, where the local court sentenced five Jewish colonists of the Nikolaev region, confiscated their property and deported them from the region for three years. The colonists appealed to a higher court, which annulled the sentences.

Complaining against the action of the higher court, the Moscow "Emes," organ of the Jewish Communists, demands a retrial. At the same time, the "Emes" demands the liquidation of not only the Jewish kulaks from the colonies but also those having anything to do with religious matters, such as rabbis, shochem and mohels.

Armories Withdrawn from 5 Colonies Since Troubles

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

London, Jan. 23—Armories have been withdrawn from five colonies since the riots, while other Jewish colonies still retain custody of sealed armories, announced Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies, in reply to a question raised in the House of Commons by Archibald Sinclair.

Armories were withdrawn from Hula, Artuf and Kustineh because the evacuated armories from one of these colonies was transferred to the neighboring colony of Katra. The armories at Ekron have been reduced from ten to six. The armory at the colony of Jiar Majamie is no longer necessary, because troops are stationed there.

The under-secretary detailed the proposals now under consideration for future defence. In the meantime, measures of immediate urgency are concerning the High Commissioner, who has authorized the government grants towards the cost of providing roads giving access to outlying colonies.

Polish Jews of Tel Aviv Seek Funds for Bank

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

Tel Aviv, Jan. 23—The Federation of Polish Jews of Tel Aviv is sending Dr. Spindel and Abraham Lerner to Poland to sell stock in the Palestine-Polish Immigrant Bank. Five thousand dollars' worth of stock are said to have been sold in Palestine. It was explained that the purpose of the bank is to prepare for Jewish immigrants from Poland and to avert a repetition of the failure of 1925, when thousands of unprepared Polish Jews came to Palestine.

FULL TEXT DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES'S PAMPHLET "LIKE ALL THE NATIONS?"

Preface

I am issuing this pamphlet in English and in Hebrew entirely on my own responsibility, and no organization, institution or body of men is to be held responsible for it.

For more than seven years I have been in Palestine, a witness of some of the noble work done here, and I have done what I could to further this work myself and through others. But all this while and for several years before that, I had been an onlooker at Zionist politics and I have seen things done and left undone which it was hard to pass by in silence. I had, however, participated in previous years so actively in Jewish and Zionist work in America, and my opposition to the war to which I gave free expression, gave me such a surfeit of politics, that I had determined to make every effort "to keep out of politics" should I be fortunate enough to carry out the ardent hope of many years to settle in the Holy Land.

I had thought that by devoting myself single-mindedly to the building up of the Hebrew University as a center of learning and of inspiration, in the idea of which I believed throughout a generation, it would be possible to leave politics to others.

Explains Entrance to Politics

But recent events have made me realize again, all too clearly, what I should have preferred to forget, that, after all, politics means lives and all too often, too, the determination of moral, social and even religious issues. It was for that reason that I concluded, not without conflict with myself, that it would be necessary for me, as it should be for all of us in these critical times, to contribute my share, whatever it was worth, to the political discussion. I found this the more imperative because the official attitude on the Arab question appeared to me either intransigent or vague. Not being an official of any organization that is entitled to speak or negotiate in political matters, I have felt and I feel that I could be most helpful by speaking my own mind. This might at least aid in bringing about intelligent discussion and decision in Palestine and elsewhere.

Convocation Speech Necessary

The interest with which my address at the opening of this year's term at the University (November 18, 1922) and my interviews in the New York "Times" and the New York "Day" have been met, is proof that speech was necessary. If now I issue this pamphlet, it is that the process of clarification may be carried further. It may well be that it is premature for official personages and organizations to speak out or to take action. But it is not premature for others to discuss the fundamental and practical problems involved. Indeed, the discussion and the planning as well as action

should have been going on for ten years past.

First Article Answers Critics

The first article in this pamphlet is published here for the first time and is, in a measure, an answer to some of my critics. It does not pretend to be a full answer, because the elaboration of some points would make this pamphlet too much like a book.

The second article is a reproduction of an interview which appeared in the New York "Times," November 24, 1922, as a comment upon an interview published on the same day and prepared by Mr. H. St. J. B. Philby, the author of "The Heart of Arabia," "The Arabian Mandates" and "Arabia of the Wahabis," and formerly Chief British representative in Transjordan, and before that Adviser to the Ministry of the Interior, Mesopotamia. I am inserting also the main points of Mr. Philby's interview.

Attaches Importance to Philby's Article

I have been asked why I attached importance to Mr. Philby's article, which was written before I had met him. It was for these reasons: First, because Mr. Philby knows Arabia and Arabs as but few non-Arabs do. Second, because Mr. Philby is well known for his friendship to the Arab cause, and he has also had the reputation of being unfriendly to Zionism. It seemed to me that a moderate expression of opinion from such a source should be treated seriously. Third, because Mr. Philby is a not unknown member of the British Labor Party, now in power in England. And fourth, because Mr. Philby wrote his article after he had been in conference with not unimportant Arab leaders.

I am also publishing a telegram I sent to the New York "Day." This was in answer to a telegram from them saying that an interview with me had been published in New York on November 20 making me say I advocated the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration—the opposite of what I actually did say in the genuine interview published on November 24 in the New York "Times." It appears that the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in Jerusalem has made premature use of an advance copy of my "Times" interview, and had sent what purported to be an interview I had given them. I had given them no interview. Recording this here may also help us realize just how "like all the nations" some scribes of Israel in the Land of Israel have become.

Reprints Letter of 1921

There is also included a letter which appeared in the London "Jewish Chronicle" on August 26, 1921. This letter was written after the Jaffa riots of May 1921, and was an answer to a question of some of my friends in America as to why I could not reënter Zionist life. This letter was published a week before the first after-the-war

(Continued on Page 3)

Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations Urges Pension for Aged at Convention

A resolution urging that legislation be enacted to provide adequate means for the dependent aged was adopted by the tenth annual convention of the Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations which met Wednesday, at the Hotel Astor.

Over four hundred delegates, representing 160 affiliated organizations were present. Reports were read by Mrs. A. J. Davidson on Convention; Mrs. Irving Crane, Luncheon; Mrs. Samuel Gropper, Local Cooperation, and Mrs. Max L. Levenson on National Cooperation. International Cooperation was reported on by Miss Carrie Wise. The report of Mrs. Isaac Kubic on Membership was read by Mrs. Isaac Schorsch in Mr. Kubic's absence. Other reports included one on Social Service by Mrs. Henry Bodenheimer; Health, by Mrs. A. J. Davidson; Religion by Mrs. Rebecca M. Seligman; Education by Mrs. Irving Crane, and on Resolutions by Mrs. Seligman.

Guests of honor at the luncheon following the morning session included: Mrs. Herbert S. Goldstein, president of the Women's Branch, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America; Mrs. Rebekah Kohut, president of the World Organization of Jewish Women; Mrs. Max L. Levenson, honorary president of Federation of Jewish Women's Organizations; Nathan D. Shapiro, president of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities; Dudley D. Sicher, president of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies; Mrs. W. Palmer Smith, vice-president of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, and Mrs. Samuel Spiegel, president of the Women's League of the United Synagogue of America.

Mrs. David E. Goldfarb, president of the federation, was chairman of the sessions, and presided at the luncheon, which was addressed by Magistrate Jeanette G. Brill and Major Daniel Hopkin.

The convention committee included Mrs. Henry Bodenheimer, Mrs. A. J. Davidson, Mrs. A. L. Bretzfelder, Mrs. Samuel Lein and Mrs. Leon Kamaika.

The convention, besides endorsing a pension for dependent aged, also approved a resolution urging action on the part of transit companies to remedy the present unsanitary conditions of many comfort rooms in subway stations, and recommended that manufacturers of toys find satisfactory substitutes for military toys and that in the teaching of history in schools, stress be laid upon the accomplishments of heroes of peace, scientists, inventors, etc., and less upon the accomplishments of war heroes. Resolutions approving the amendments to the Dwellings Law of last year and suggesting methods for caring for the tuberculous, were also adopted.

If You Are Pleased with the "Jewish Daily Bulletin" Tell Your Friends to Subscribe.

FULL TEXT OF DR. JUDAH L. MAGNES'S PAMPHLET, "LIKE ALL THE NATIONS?"

(Continued from Page 2)

Zionist Congress was convened at Carlsbad. This letter and a speech delivered on May 20, 1919, reprinted from a volume of my "Wartime Addresses," are being included here in order to show that my present attitude is not new, and that it is the result of a view of life and a conception of the ethical function of Judaism, and does not just spring from tactical or strategic motives. Were I writing the letter and the speech today, I should perhaps have phrased this or that differently or more precisely. But the general idea remains the same: A Palestine where the Jews will be guaranteed as of right and not on sufferance these three things: Immigration, settlement on the land, Hebrew life and culture.

I am also publishing an English translation of the Preface by Ahad Haam to the 1921 edition of his four volumes of "Al Parashat Derahim" (At the Crossways). I do not know that this has been translated into English or that many have called themselves Ahad Haam's disciples have read this—his political testament—with sufficient care. This humble, strong man's clarity of mind and his ethical idealism would be of decisive importance for us in Palestine today, just as, if I may add one more personal word, would be the powerful mind and ethical personality of Louis Marshall.

Jerusalem, December 5, 1929.

(The editor of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency wishes to express his surprise at the statements made by Dr. Magnes in connection with this translation of his statements.)

Dr. Magnes wishes to infer that the Jewish Telegraphic Agency published a report according to which he had advocated the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration. When a statement to the same effect had been given by Dr. Magnes to the "Jewish Morning Journal," the New York office of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency cabled Dr. Magnes informing him that we had published a correct summary of the statement which had been issued by him in Jerusalem. On December 10th, the Jerusalem representative of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency wrote a letter to Dr. Magnes that at no time had the Jewish Telegraphic Agency reported claims favoring the abrogation of the Balfour Declaration. The attention of Dr. Magnes was drawn to the fact that Jewish papers in New York and Warsaw had published reports as early as November 1928 that Dr. Magnes favored a parliament in Palestine, that the students at the University intend to strike against Dr. Magnes and force his resignation, other papers reported that Dr. Magnes had, in a conference with the High Commissioner, submitted to the latter his plan of constitutional reforms, that Sir Robert B. Heald had reported Dr. Magnes's views to the Colonial Office and that the Zionist Executive was perturbed that political proposals had been made by Dr. Magnes without authorization by the Executive. The attention of Dr. Magnes was further drawn to the fact that while the "Day" and other papers reported his speech before the Vaad Leumi, Dr. Magnes has deemed it right not to answer the cablegram of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency of November 25th, but to repeat the statements in the booklet which he has just published.

From the Chancellor of the Hebrew University, who displays such laudable zeal in his crusade for justice to the Arabs and so sternly toward the Jewish people that "the generation" will set in unless justice is done, we would expect that he would not wish to commit an act of injustice against a Jewish

Agency which, in these difficult times, has most earnestly striven to give the Jewish public an objective and impartial record of the events in Palestine.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency was the only one to abstain from repeating the wild rumors which have been current in Palestine with regard to the propaganda or actions which Dr. Magnes engages in. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency quoted in full Dr. Magnes's statement as soon as it appeared in the "New York Times." It published also the statement cabled by Dr. Magnes to the "Day." It quoted not only newspapers unfavorable to Dr. Magnes's viewpoint but gave frequent and wide publicity to comments favorable to Dr. Magnes.

Dr. Magnes is right in one point—he did not give the interview to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency but the statement of Mr. Philby and the reply of Dr. Magnes were circulated in mimeographed form in Palestine and were in the hands of numerous people. There was no indication on the document that it was confidential nor did it carry the name of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. It received it, it surmised that the "New York Times" for one reason or another had not published it. Not knowing that it was intended exclusively for the "New York Times" exclusively the Jewish Telegraphic Agency published an excerpt of Dr. Magnes's statement. It appeared that the "New York Times" correspondent in Jerusalem, instead of cabling, sent it by mail. While we sympathize with the plight of the "New York Times" correspondent who thus was deprived of a scoop, Dr. Magnes is not right in terminating the interview which appeared in the "Times" as "genuine" while he obviously wished to indicate that he intended exclusively for the "New York Times." A comparison of the summary as published in the "Jewish Daily Bulletin" with the complete text of the statement published a few days later will convince every reader that the summary published by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency was fair and correct.

The Jewish Telegraphic Agency has given Dr. Magnes's statement that careful attention which it considers it its duty to extend to every worthwhile expression in the Jewish world and we sincerely regret that Dr. Magnes should wish to insult and injure an agency which certainly has treated him and his utterances with so much circumspection and consideration. Recording this here, may also help us realize just how "like all the nations" some leaders of Israel in the land of Israel have become.)

"LIKE ALL THE NATIONS?"

The discussion concerning the future political regime in Palestine is now happily beginning to take on a more or less objective character, and the searching question is being asked as to what we want here. What is our Zionism? What does Palestine mean for us?

As to what we should want here, I can answer for myself in almost the same terms that I have been in the habit of using many years:

Immigration;
Settlement on the land;
Hebrew life and culture.

If you can guarantee these for me, I should be willing to yield the Jewish "State," and the Jewish "majority," and the other hand I would agree to a Legislative Assembly together with a democratic political regime so carefully planned and worked out that the above three fundamentals could not be infringed. Indeed I should be willing to pay almost any price for these three, especially since this price would in my opinion also secure tranquility and mutual understanding. If the Jews really have an historical connection with Palestine, and what student of history will deny it, and if the Jewish People is to be in Palestine not

on sufferance (as during the days of the Turks) but as of right—a right solemnly recognized by most Governments and by the League of Nations, and also by thinking Arabs, then surely these three rights are elemental and hardly to be contested.

Work Out Program for a Generation

A former Administrator of Palestine reckoned that with agriculture remaining the chief industry of Palestine, the land within its present political borders could accommodate roughly 3,000,000 people. Others give higher figures. But as for myself, if I could know that in the course of a long, long period a Jewish community of 1,000,000 souls—one-third of the population—was possible here, I should be well content. There are now 900,000 people in the country, of whom 160,000 are Jews.

Let the planners and the students of vital statistics tell us how long a period it will take for Arabs to become 2,000,000 and Jews to become 1,000,000. Surely much longer than a full generation. Why not, therefore, let us try to work out a program for a generation, and let the generation after take care of its own problems? If we could do this, we should perhaps be talking less in abstractions, and even though we differed in our philosophies, all of us ought to be able to work together with a will.

Discussion Depends on Three Fundamental Rights

All theory, therefore, all discussions, all programs should, it seems to me, start from such basis: How can immigration, settlement on the soil, a Hebrew life and culture, be secured? Such moot questions as democracy, self-determination, legislative assembly, the functions of the Mandatory and its international obligations, our relations with the Arabs of Palestine and the rest of the Arab world, should all be considered from the point of view that, taking into account the Arab increase, the Jews may become, let us say arbitrarily, one-third of the total population. This would require enormous efforts and large sums of money. Why talk of "majorities" and "state," when even by the wildest stretch of the imagination we can hardly picture such a thing within an appreciable period, even if Britain and the Arabs and Jewish money-givers were helplessness itself? Who knows?

Perhaps through some miracle in the future the Jews might become a majority. Drought in Palestine leading to emigration of Arabs?—or even the success of Jewish colonization in Palestine might be so striking that the Arab States or Federation of the future would want Jewish colonizing, financial, industrial and cultural aid, and would want to encourage a large Jewish concentration in Palestine for the sake of developing backward parts (and they are legion) of the Arab world? It is pleasing to have such dreams as to the future. But surely

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New Biography of Walter Rathenau Shows Rise in Position of German Jews

A fine work picture of that great German patriot, Walter Rathenau, is presented in a new biography of the victim of Nationalistic oppression. The biography by Count Harry Kressler is no more brilliant than the review by James W. Gerard, former ambassador to Germany, writing about Rathenau in "The Sun."

Nothing more clearly marks the change from the Kaiser's Germany to the German of after-the-war than the elevation of Walter Rathenau, Jew, industrial organizer, dreamer and writer, to the high post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the German Commonwealth, says Mr. Gerard.

Continuing, he says, "In the Germany that I knew before the war no Jew could hold any title, no Jew could be an officer of the army. If a Jew wished to win the envied particle 'von' before his surname he had first to undergo Christian baptism. It was only a few years to the time when the product of the Royal Berlin Porcelain factory was called 'Jews' porcelain' because each Jew in Prussia was compelled to sell each year a certain quota of porcelain abroad. Only a few years to the time when Jews were allowed to meet for worship in Berlin, provided they met in a back room and made no noise. Not many years to the time when the union of Jew and Christian was punished as a crime. And so this most interesting and detailed life of 'Walter Rathenau' by Count Harry Kressler, well translated by W. D. Robson Scott and Lawrence Hyde (Harcourt, Brace & Co), is not only the absorbing biography of an extraordinary man, but is a picture of the march of the German nation toward a position more liberal, more in accord with the civilizations of France, England and America."

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no serious practical policy can be built up upon them, and it is a practical policy for the next 10-20-30 years we are after.

The above-mentioned three fundamental rights are bound up with practical problems which political wisdom should envisage in all their complications before paying the price required.

Would Reserve Immigration Question Constitutionally

Immigration is in the words of the White Paper of 1922 to be permitted in accordance with the economic capacity of the country to absorb it. As a matter of course; but who is to determine the economic capacity of the country and in what manner? This cannot surely be left simply to a legislative body with an Arab majority, and it is therefore necessary not only to reserve the question of immigration constitutionally as being beyond the province of the legislative to interfere with, but also to become clear as to the machinery that will actually determine the economic capacity of the country. It is not my province in this paper to go into any details of machinery. The best possible expert opinion must be secured, if it has not already been. But this is one of the questions where in my humble judgment the League of Nations, through the Mandated Commission or the International Labor Bureau, or some other expert commission, should have a direct say.

Discusses Land Purchase

Settlement on the soil involves, among other things, the purchase of land. This is a particularly complicated question in every Oriental country, and in the old Turkish lands not less so than elsewhere. Grave charges are made against the Jews as having driven peasants from the soil. I do not pretend to final knowledge in this matter. But I have tried to inform myself, although I know that without speaking Arabic to Fellaheen themselves, the information one gets is about as correct as third or fourth hand information usually is.

There seems to be no doubt that a small number of Fellaheen families have suffered hardship. But this was not because the Jews paid low prices

for the land. On the contrary, they have paid in many cases extravagant prices, and this is probably one of the causes of the high cost of living in Palestine. It is the absentee Effendi landlord who had pocketed the money, with little or nothing for the dispossessed Fellaheen. I am told that in the vast majority of instances the Jewish purchasers have compensated the Fellaheen in money or in other land beyond the price paid to the absentee Effendi. Moreover, the law formerly stipulated that no sale of land occupied by an agricultural tenant was valid unless provision was made for the retention of land somewhere in Palestine sufficient for his living.

The new ordinance of August, 1929 provides that an agricultural tenant cannot be dispossessed except after notice of over a year, and he is entitled to compensation to be established by a Board, and to additional compensation amounting to a year's rental if he had occupied the land for at least five years. The reverse side of the picture should not be omitted. It is that many an Arab village is poverty-stricken not only because they are in an infertile or difficult farming region, but because they are half-enslaved to an absentee Effendi landlord or to Arab usurers, both Christian and Moslem.

Fellaheen's Situation Important

The situation of the Fellaheen is one of the cardinal problems of the country. Here is a field for a great constructive program in which both Jews and Arabs should combine. The country can never be prosperous and happy with the Arab peasants half-serfs. I know there are some who think that if the Arab peasant rises in the scale, the Jews will have no more chance; and not all Arab Effendis are altogether keen about having the kindly but easily inflamed fellaah freed from his burden of ignorance and debt. But if the Jewish position here is dependent upon keeping the fellaah down, the Jew has no right here. It is, however, not true in fact that the fellaah must be kept down. The higher he rises in the scale, the greater will be his consuming and producing power, and the greater therefore the agricultural, industrial and labor turnover for the whole country.

The higher in the agricultural scale he rises, the less will his need be of large numbers of dunams farmed primitively for the needs of one family. With better and more intensive methods he will need less land for his subsistence, and as a consequence there will be more land for new settlement. If he rises in the cultural scale, he will be less easily inflamed by such gross lies as to Jewish designs on the mosque and he will be harder to arouse to massacre and plunder. Is it not the case everywhere that with the rise in the economic and cultural scale of oppressed elements in the popula-

Children of Naturalized Britishers Now Eligible for Civil Service Employment

(Jewish Telegraphic Agency)

London, Jan. 23.—As a result of pressure by the Board of Jewish Deputies upon the government, the treasury department has relaxed the nationality rules governing admission into the civil service, thus enabling children of naturalized British parents to obtain posts in the civil service, whereas until now only British-born children of British-born parents could be employed.

tion, the general welfare is served? It is the general welfare that we are after.

Land Question Requires Study

This question of the land therefore requires thorough-going study and careful and just handling, and here, too, restrictions must be placed upon the power of the Legislative Assembly; and the League of Nations, through the International Labor Bureau or otherwise, should be concerned with the land question in an active way and not merely in the capacity of a receiver of reports.

Recognition of Hebrew Stumbling Block

One would have thought that the official rights of the Hebrew language in all schools and governmental departments would be recognized as a matter of course. But I have been amazed to find that among some Arab leaders this is one of the chief stumbling-blocks. They are ready to show all honor to the Hebrew language. But they want the one official language to be Arabic. This would be for them the symbol of the Arab National State or Government. But if the theory advanced in these pages be true, that the Holy Land is no place for an Arab National State or Government, but for a bi-national country with a Mandate as nearly permanent as possible held by Great Britain from the League of Nations, it should be clear that the official and equal status of the Hebrew language must also be removed constitutionally from the competence of the Legislative Assembly to interfere with. It is not sufficient for the genuine revival of the Hebrew language and culture, for Hebrew to be taught in the schools alone. It must permeate life. No more can a Jewish spiritual and intellectual Center be created if we have a Hebrew University alone. The University must be based on a community living an Hebraic life, both through its participation in Government and in its agriculture, industry and labor.

I have not thought it essential to mention here such self-understood and non-controversial points as the complete freedom of religious practice and belief, and the equality of every individual before the law. Nor have I included such controversial points as the fate of advanced social and labor legislation, and the political status of women.

If a political regime can be worked out either through a constitution or through a treaty or in some other binding and international way, that can safeguard the three rights above outlined, then I am heartily in favor of including within this regime, but by no means as the whole of it, a Legislative Assembly in which the two nationalities shall participate upon the basis of a carefully worked out system of suffrage.

Maintenance of Colonial Regime Impossible

It is right in morals—insofar as political forms have anything to do with morals at all—that the people of this

and every other country should have a voice in their own government; and it is not possible, even though it were desirable, to maintain the present status quo—an absolutist colonial regime. It is not possible, because the British Government is making or has made political concessions in Egypt, Iraq and India, even in wild Transjordan, and the French Government has been doing the same in Syria. Why then not Palestine? Because the Jews are there? The Jewish conscience will not bear this for long. It must recognize, sooner, rather than later and from good will rather than through compulsion, that the inhabitants of this country, both Arabs and Jews, have not only the right but the duty to participate, in equitable and practical ways, in the government of their common Homeland.

I am asked, must we do that now? My answer is: Yes, now, and the pity is that we did not do it before Hebron and Safed. Now, because it is right that it be done, and the sooner the right thing is done the better, practically speaking, all round. We must pay bitterly for our fault of not having proposed and done this long since. The blame rests on each of us. Mea culpa.

Must Face Problems Despite Pogroms

And as the reward for the butcheries of Hebron and Safed, you ask me? But I would repeat what I said at the University: "We must face this problem, not because of the pogroms but despite them, not as a result of violence, not because of pressure from without but because of spiritual pressure from within ourselves."—Yet, let us not deceive ourselves—over our head hangs the sword. What a terrible thing it is to have to yield to violence. But have we as men and women responsible for each others' lives and for our work and hopes here any choice? Is not the world pagan—whatever high-sounding religious names it gives itself? Is it not a world of force and is it not against such a world that Israel with his body and his spirit has been destined all along to bear testimony? The Eastern peoples have learned that the most effective argument with the Western world is force and violence. Heaven forbid that Israel take up arms against such a world with the weapons of that world.

Let Not Israel Be Self-Righteous

And with those men—Arab and English—who are directly or indirectly responsible for the shedding of the innocent blood of our brothers and sisters? Yes—if necessary for our brothers' and sisters' sake, and for the peace of Zion—even with them. Israel's question always is, and whether we want it or not, will always be: Are my own hands clean of blood? Not, are his hands clean? Have I done him wrong? Not, has he done me wrong? That he has done us wrong we know, and resent, and suffer from in our own flesh and blood. Shall we therefore refrain from giving him what he has a right to ask? Look about us. Governments at war brand each other as criminals and declare that they will

never, never negotiate. Yet the time comes when they sit down together and negotiate. Let at least Israel not be hypocritical and self-righteous. This simple Jew who has come to the Holy Land with clean hands and a pure heart is of more importance to me than all my pride and honour, and all my political calculations and theories. What matters to me is that he and I and our People get a chance to live and to work here, and to make the Holy Land and the Holy City sacred again through our labor and our life.

The argument is adduced by men struggling sincerely with the constitutional problem, that although we Jews are devoted democrats and liberals and internationalists and even pacifists elsewhere, it is not possible, much to our regret, under present circumstances for us to yield on the constitutional question until the Jewish community is much stronger and until the Arabs have been through a period of political education, beginning with the municipalities, over a considerable period—10—15—20 years.

Country Needs Political Education

As to the latter point, I think no one will deny the great need of political education in the country. The incompetence and corruption of many of the Municipalities are not particularly encouraging to those advocating representative government. But the way to train a people in self-government is to place responsibility upon it, not to withhold self-government from it. This placing of responsibility should take place cautiously and gradually, and for that reason much care must be taken to safeguard all Jewish and minority rights and international obligations. Nor need the political forms adopted ape dogmatically or mechanically those of other lands. But a beginning has to be made all along the line from the municipalities through the Legislative Assembly and such other legislative and executive organs of government as are required and devised.

Bring Parties Into Open

The life of this unhappy country will be much saner and much less hysterical the sooner its population can exercise its political energies in legitimate and practical and constructive ways. It would bring men and parties out into the open instead of as today giving the extremist his chance to work in the dark. It will give some of the younger men their opportunity, and it will show the moderate the way of assuming responsibilities. It may realign parties along other than nationalistic lines, cutting through present groupings and bringing together into one party those Jews and Arabs who have common economic and social interests. The more the nationalist extremist, who works in the dark, can stir up passion, the more expense and trouble he can cause, the more he can embitter the lives of the mandatory representatives and of the moderates among the Arabs and Jews, the greater is his chance of landing eventually on top.

There are of course dangers in all

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political and in all democratic institutions. I have no illusions about the magnitude of the difficulties here. But it is of much greater danger, to let the old sore rankle and form into an abscess again. The best excuse both for home and for foreign consumption that the extremist now has, is the truth, namely, that the people have no share in their own government. I suppose no experiment in democracy was ever made except that there was controversy between those who said the people were not "ripe" and those who said, trust the people and thus make them ripe.

But the objection to a legislative assembly at the present time goes much deeper than that. The argument makes an important distinction between the basic nature of the Arab and the Jewish communities. For the Arab peoples, so the argument runs, this is but a small province in the great Arab world, and for this reason is not of vital and decisive importance for the Arab Nation. Palestine is, to be sure, of vital and decisive importance for the Palestinian Arabs who happen to live here. But it is not the Homeland, the source and origin of the Arab Nation.

Without Palestine, the Arab Nation would still have its millions of Arabs on genuine Arab territories that cover vast stretches of the globe. Therefore, although the Jews recognize the full and equal claims of the Arab inhabitants of Palestine to an equal share in all rights and duties attaching to the land, nevertheless the Arab on his side ought to recognize the fact that the Jews have no other Homeland, no other territorial center, and that if they are deprived of the right of free settlement and life here by a legislative assembly whose majority was Arab, this sole fatherland would be taken from them and this would be an historical crime. It would mean, so some declare, that the Jewish people is doomed to perish, because, in their view, the one chance of Jewish survival is a large Jewish concentration in Palestine.

The distinction is therefore made between the right of the Jewish People or Nation to Palestine and the right of the Arab inhabitants. Inasmuch as a People or Nation with historical connections with the Land is of greater consequence than a mere community of inhabitants who have their historical center elsewhere, this fact should balance the advantage which the Arab inhabitants have by reason of their greater number. In other words, the two groups should be regarded as equals, the deeper claim of the Jewish Nation offsetting the actual Arab majority.

Palestine Less Important to Arabs Than to Jews

Although I cannot agree with all the premises in this argument, as I hope to show, it does contain a deep truth. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the Jewish People has and

can have no other historical center than the Land of Israel, and it is a fact that Palestine is of much less importance in every way to the Arab Nation than Syria with Damascus, Iraq with Bagdad, the Nejd—the source of Arab vitality—and the Hedjaz with Mecca and Medina. The Arabs of Palestine are probably the descendants of all the myriad conquerors and conquerors who have ruled and passed through and tilled this land. Moreover, this is a land sacred to three religions, which is not true of other Arab lands. And, quite frankly, has there ever been such a yearning known to history as the century long yearning of Israel for this sacred soil? Was there ever another people that turned three times a day in its prayers over hundreds, now almost thousands of years, from all points of the compass towards the land from which it was exiled? Was it not a Hebrew singer who said: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may the tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth?"

Let us grant therefore the peculiar and profound and exceptional connection of this Jewish People sui generis with this Land sui generis. But is this a sufficient reason to withhold a Legislative Assembly until the Jews become at least as numerous as the Arabs? This is not logical, because the very hypothesis above described would, if its acceptance could be secured, make the Jewish People and the Arab community equals now, at this very moment, despite the disparity in their numbers. Why therefore wait with political concessions until the Jews are in the position not only of being a favored nation in relation to Palestine as their sole homeland, but of being a numerical majority as well?

Wants Two Legislative Houses

I am no expert in political science, nor have I the responsibility of having to decide as to the practicability or workability of this or any other proposal for the new governmental structure. I have gone through fourteen different projects, and an expert commission should be charged with digesting this and all the available material, and, in consultation with all parties, making its recommendations. If however, I may interject a personal predilection in this connection it would be for the creation of two Houses, the Lower Chamber elected by the whole population, which would give a large Arab majority, and an Upper Chamber, to be elected or appointed upon the basis of the equality of the three nationalities, Jewish, Arab, British. This is similar to the United States where the Senate is composed of two representatives of each State of the Union, large or small, populous or sparsely peopled, thereby expressing the equal rights of the states constituting the Union, whereas the House of Representatives represents the individuals of the population as individuals.

Reasons for Retaining Status Quo Not Valid

But my point here is, that whatever

be the scheme adopted; there is no validity in the reasons of those who, holding the theory of two equal nationalities, would do nothing now and would under all circumstances retain the present status quo. They ought to say, and this is what I should say with them, that because of the intense and peculiar relationship of the scattered Jewish People to Palestine, every possible care should be exercised to safeguard the rights and privileges of the Jewish People in any constitutional changes that may be made. The discussion should really be not on whether this should be done, but rather on how to exercise this care, and what safeguards to devise, and what constitutional changes to recommend in order that for the Jews there may be guaranteed the rights of immigration, of settlement on the Land, and of a Hebrew culture.

Without contesting the validity of the point that the Jews have a very special relationship to Palestine, I would subject some of the premises above outlined to a brief examination; and I do this because it is here perhaps, that I seem to differ from so many Zionists, and why some of my friends say that, although I live in Zion, I am not a Zionist at all. I wonder where the ecclesiastic authority as to who is and who is not a Zionist rests. At any rate the company of the banned is varied and long, and, if I remember right, it at times even includes some of the Faithful themselves. But perhaps these friends are right. It may not be "Zionism." But even they will admit that it is the undying, traditional "Hibbat Zion," the Love of Zion.

Jews Not Dying Without Palestine

Whether through temperament or other circumstances, I do not at all believe, and I think the facts are all against believing that without Palestine the Jewish People is dying out or is doomed to destruction. On the contrary it is growing stronger; and what is more, it should grow stronger, for, Palestine without communities in the Dispersion would be bereft of much of its significance as a spiritual center for the Judaism of the world.

To me it seems that there are three chief elements in Jewish life, in the following order of importance. The living Jewish People—now some 16,000,000; the Torah, in the broadest sense of this term, i. e., all our literature and documents and history, as also the great religious and ethical and social ideals the Torah contains for use and development in the present and the future; and third, the Land of Israel. My view is that the People and the Torah can exist and be creative as they have existed and have been creative without the Land; that however the Land is one of the chief means, if not the chief means, of revivifying and deepening the People and the Torah.

Living Jewish People Primary

The living Jewish People is primary. It is the living carrier and vessel of

Judaism, the Jewish spirit. It has used even its Exile for spreading light and learning. Palestine can help this people to understand itself, to give an account of itself, to an intensification of its culture, a deepening of its philosophy, a renewal of its religion. Palestine can help this People perform its great ethical mission as a national-international entity.

But this eternal and far-flung People does not need a Jewish State for the purpose of maintaining its very existence. The Jewish community throughout the world is a wondrous and paradoxical organism. It participates in the life of many nations, yet in spite of numberless predictions in the past and the present, it is not absorbed by them. It is patriotic in every land, yet it is international, cosmopolitan. Palestine cannot "solve the Jewish problem" of the Jewish people.

Wherever there are Jews there is the Jewish problem. It is part of the Jewish destiny to face this problem and make it mean something of good for mankind. Nor are the Jews dying out despite their weaknesses, their mixed marriages, their ignorance of Judaism and the deterioration that has laid hold of many a limb. I see them in America growing healthier and stronger in numbers and intellectual power. Their hearts respond generously to every Jewish call. They are multiplying their communities, their synagogues, schools, societies, libraries, unions. They are acquiring economic independence, and their sons and daughters are getting what the universities and colleges can give them. They are ignorant of Judaism. But they are asking eagerly, mostly in vain, to know what Judaism is. Perhaps it is not the fault of the teachers that the answer takes so long in coming. Judaism is a complex phenomenon. It is and it is not religion, philosophy, ethics, politics, ceremonies, life. The answer as to what it is and may mean to a new generation cannot come over night.

Day of Ferment Within Judaism

This is a day of ferment throughout the world, also within Judaism. The materials are there and are in the hands of the Potter. Palestine can perhaps help fashion this more than any one factor. But it is the living Jewish People everywhere that Palestine must serve. It is a People of useful citizens permeating the life of hundreds of communities, and yet giving evidence of the changelessness of that mystic phenomenon—their continued existence as a body set apart and separate. They are scattered, yet are one; they are unorganized, yet hold together through spiritual bonds more subtle than through organization. One sees this people in all the lands of its exile continuing to yield out of its body individuals of mind and spirit in the arts and sciences, and common soldiers in societies whose goal is the betterment of our human lot. The Dispersion of this People, the Diaspora, is a marvelous instrumentality for the fulfillment of its function as a teacher. The Dispersion is an irrevocable, historical fact, and Palestine can be a means of

making this fact into an even greater blessing.

Unfortunately one hears most of that Zionism which is not born of a positive, hopeful relationship towards the tremendous, unique fact of the Diaspora but of despair. It is a Zionism that loathes the "Ghetto" (which it identifies with the Dispersion), and that is so in despair of the future of Diaspora Judaism and that in its own way loves Jews and Judaism so passionately, that the further existence of Jews and Judaism is thought impossible if the present day Palestine be not made ready to act as saviour.

Diaspora and Palestine for Growth of Jewish People

Palestine is the center of this organism, but by no means all of it. The Dispersion and Palestine are both required for the fullest development of the Jewish People. This peculiar People could not be content with either alone. This sui generis organism which we call the Jewish People has need of these all-embracing, complicated forms—an intensive center and a great periphery. The complete salvation and working power of Judaism is dependent upon both together.

But if I have thus exalted the Diaspora what is Palestine to us? It is the Land of Israel, our Holy Land. It is holy for us in a practical and a mystic sense. Its holiness attracts our old and our young, the religious and the non-religious from far away places, and they want to work its soil, and build up an ethical community, and thereby make the land still more sacred. Its very landscape and color help every child and simple man among us to understand our classic literature and our history. It helps us as through no other means to bare our very soul, to get down deep into the sources of our being, as they are recorded for us and as we feel and apprehend them among these hills and valleys and deserts, and among these peoples, wild yet related.—The sources of our being, history? Does history really mean so much? The individual does without it, but the community is a Bedouin camp without it. If we want to live, the more intensive must be our apprehension of our history and literature. Palestine served Israel in exile for centuries in this regard even though it was but a far off ideal. Palestine as a reality is itself the very scroll on which our history is written and spread out for us.

Palestine Has Given Israel 3 Things

Three great things this poor little land has already given Israel in two generations. Hebrew has become a living possession and has thus restored to us and our children the sources of our history and our mind, and has thus given us the medium again for classic, permanent Jewish expression. The second great thing is the return of Jews to the soil, not only for the sake of a living from the soil but also for the sake of their love of this particular soil and its indissoluble connection with the body of the Jewish People. Third, the brave attempt on the part of city-bred, school-bred young Jews—

moderns of the modern—to work out in life, in the cities and on the land, a synthesis between the radicalism of their social outlook and their ancestral Judaism. It is problems of the same nature that a whole world in travail is laboring to solve; and among Jewry no more splendid attempt at a synthesis has been made than here, in every day life and not in theory alone.

The beginnings of all of this, and much more than the beginning were made under the Turks; and Palestine is of such moment to us that it is capable of giving us much even though our community here be poor and small. I have indicated above that I do not want it to be poor and small. But poor and small and faithful to Judaism, rather than large and powerful like all the nations.

It is in derogation of the actual importance of the living Jewish People and of Judaism to place them on one side of the scale and have it balanced by the relatively unimportant Arab community of Palestine. The true parallels and balancing forces are Jews and Judaism on the one side, and the Arab peoples and even all of Islam on the other. In this way you get a truer perspective of the whole and you increase the significance of Palestine as being that point where in this new day Judaism meets Islam again throughout all its confines, as once they met centuries back to the ultimate enrichment of human culture.

Palestine Serving as Testing Ground

Our theories may differ as to the purposes Palestine may or may not serve. But there is no question that it is now serving as a testing ground, a dangerous frontier land for the lovers of peace in Israel. Much of the theory of Zionism has been concerned with making the Jews into a "normal" nation in Palestine "like the Gentiles of the lands and the families of the earth." The desire for power and conquest seems to be normal to many human beings and groups, and we being the ruled everywhere, must here rule; being in the minority everywhere, we must here be in the majority. There is the "Wille zur Macht," the State, the army, the frontiers. We have been in Exile; now we are to be masters in our own Home. We are to have a Fatherland, and we are to encourage the feelings of pride, honor, glory that are part of the paraphernalia of the ordinary nationalistic patriotism. In the face of such danger one thinks of the dignity and the originality of that passage in the liturgy which raises the Lord of all things that "our portion is not like theirs and our lot not like all their multitude."

The question is, can we establish our life here not upon the basis of force and power, but upon that of human solidarity and understanding?

We are told that when we become the majority, we shall then show how just and generous a people in power can be. That is like the man who says that he will do anything and everything to get rich, so that he may do

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good with the money thus accumulated. Sometimes he never grows rich—he fails. And if he does grow rich under those circumstances, his power of doing good has been atrophied from long lack of use. In other words, it is not only the end which for Israel must be desirable, but what is of equal importance, the means must be conceived and brought forth in cleanliness. If as a minority we insist upon keeping the other man from achieving just aims, and if we keep him from this with the aid of bayonets, we must not be surprised if we are attacked, and what is worse, if moral degeneration sets in amongst us.

The anti-Semite has accused us of being democrats and liberals and radicals everywhere on the ground that we are not deeply rooted in any soil. He has charged us with having no conservative instincts because we have no real hearth and home, boundaries and property of our ancestors to defend. We are spectators, onlookers, bystanders, he says. We have always answered, that should we have the opportunity of exercising statecraft on our own soil, we would as participant and not as bystander uphold our prophetic traditions.

High End Doesn't Justify Low Means

Now, here we are, and it seems to be harder for us as a minority than we had pictured it as a majority. It is as though Providence itself was putting us to the test. We, the great democrats of the world, are trying to find every kind of reason to justify the denial of even the beginning of democracy to ourselves and others. I am afraid of this demoralization. For the Jewish People no high end will ever justify low means. We have been nurtured too long in the Rabbinic tradition for that. This may be disappointing to some. It may even excite the contempt of those two Englishmen and that Jew who told me not so long ago that, as the history of all conquest and colonization shows, the only possible hope of success is by the Joshua method. Perhaps so. At least I do not believe it, and I know that plain Jews everywhere, and the plain Jews who have come here to live and work, do not believe it. But if it be so, the Jewish People, thank God, will never be successful conquerors and colonizers. Neither the hostile world nor their own soul will let them.

Distinguishes Between Two Policies

I have no illusions about the Jews here becoming a Quaker community. That would be too good to be true. Nor do I see the possibility, in Palestine or elsewhere, of doing without adequate police protection. This ought to be given everywhere by any government worthy of the name, and if a future government be as helpless as this, we might have to take measures which all the world should know about. What I am driving at is to distinguish between two policies. The one maintains that we can establish a Jewish

Home here through the suppression of the political aspirations of the Arabs, and therefore a Home necessarily established on bayonets over a long period—a policy which I think bound to fail because of the violence against us it would occasion, and because good opinion in Britain and the conscience of the Jewish people itself would revolt against it. The other policy holds that we can establish a Home here only if we are true to ourselves as democrats and internationalists, thus being just and helpful to others, and that we ask for the protection of life and property the while we are eagerly and intelligently and sincerely at work to find a *modus vivendi* et operandi with our neighbors.

The world—not in Palestine alone—may be bent upon violence and bloodshed. But will not my opponent agree that there is a better chance of averting this tendency to bloodshed, if we make every possible effort politically as well as in other ways to work hand in hand—as teachers, helpers, friends—with this awakening Arab world?

Jews Cannot Abandon Palestine


You ask me do I want to quit? No, I do not. The Jew will not abandon the Land of Israel. He cannot abandon it. I have said that Palestine is of value by and of itself—its rocks, its hills, its ruins, its beauty—and that it is of value to Judaism even if our community here be small and poor. I am afraid the first of the quitters will be those who say it is useless except we be in the majority. But I also know that we cannot establish our work as it should be established if it be against the determined will of the "good European" world on our side.

Palestine means so much in the Jewish scheme of things that I am sure

that if the experiment fails, Heaven forbid, this time (due, as always, partly "to our own sins") there will be another time. But I do not want it to fail, and the only way it can succeed, so it seems to me, and that success is worth having, is if we overcome all obstacles through all the weapons of civilization except bayonets: spiritual, intellectual, social, cultural, financial, economic, medical . . . brotherly, friendly weapons. The Jew may have to be prepared to face for a further period the hostility of a section of Arabs and of English and others. Provided our own attitude is just and fair, we should face that opposition and not abandon the struggle. Our goal must be to have our enterprise rest upon the conviction of all concerned that it is right and just.

Palestine is holy to the Jew in that his attitude towards this Land is necessarily different from his attitude towards any other land. He may have to live in other lands upon the support of bayonets, but that may well be something which he, as a Jew, cannot help. But when he goes voluntarily as a Jew to repeople his own Jewish Homeland, it is by an act of will, of faith, of free choice, and he should not either will or believe in or want a Jewish Home that can be maintained in the long run only against the violent opposition of the Arab and Moslem peoples. The fact is that they are here in their overwhelming numbers in this part of the world, and whereas it may have been in accord with Israelitic needs in the time of Joshua to conquer the land and maintain their position in it with the sword, this is not in accord with the desire of plain Jews or with the long ethical tradition of Judaism that has not ceased developing to this day.

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