

AMERICA AND PALESTINE

By Dr. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

President, Zionist Organization of America

THE reconstruction of the Jewish homeland in Palestine has been watched with great sympathy by the American people and its government. We have every reason to hope that the United States, which will have a decisive role in determining the pattern of the postwar world, will look with favor upon the aspirations of the Jewish people with regard to the future upbuilding and development of Palestine.

The government of the United States, following the last war, expressed its interest in the Jewish claim to Palestine by the unanimous endorsement which Congress gave to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. This it did not only because of its moral and humanitarian interest in the Jewish problem but because as a co-belligerent with Great Britain, it helped bring about the victory which made it possible for Great Britain to become the Mandatory power in Palestine.

The United States in this war is playing an even more determining part in bringing about that victory which is saving Palestine and the whole of the Near and Middle East from the covetous grasp of Nazi Germany, and is therefore entitled to an even greater voice in determining the future of Palestine.

The United States, as co-sponsor with Great Britain of the Atlantic Charter with its pronouncement of the Four

Freedoms for individuals and peoples, is obliged to give consideration to the problem of European Jewry in terms of the fundamental freedom which is freedom from fear.

The American people, whose genius for raising the standard of living by scientific agriculture and by industrialization has set an example to all the world, may be expected to feel a keen interest in any similar program which would help directly all the inhabitants of Palestine, and indirectly through the force of example and stimulation, neighboring countries in the Near and Middle East.

The American people, believing that Democracy is the best form of government, should be interested in seeing Democracy extended to those areas of the world which are at present in a condition of semi-feudalism.

These are the basic premises of the argument that it is the right and duty of the American people and government to espouse the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Applied to the present situation, these premises lead to the following conclusions.

WHATEVER reasons the people and the government of the United States had in the past to intercede and intervene in behalf (Continued on page 81)



their ancestry. The Hebrew nation itself must be established as a sovereign state, on soil of its own, with all the organs of a national life on an equal footing with other national states — whatever degree of sovereignty small states everywhere in the post-war world may be able to maintain. The Jewish people must get the same conditions for national development, for cultural autonomy, for fair treatment within the family of nations. In the council of nations the Jewish nation must get an equal chance to be heard, as a distinct entity, speaking for and from a homeland, a realm from where it may defend its vital interests in

the hard times we are going to face after this war is over.

Even to Americans or Norwegians or Danes or Frenchmen of Jewish ancestry the fact, that there is a Jewish state, a country where the Jewish people is living in its own realm, will be of importance, if reactionary forces within the countries of their adoption should menace their safety and dignity. Emotionally it might enrich their lives and spur their efforts for the honor and prosperity of their own countries, the same way the thought of "the Old Country" in many cases has been valuable to Americans for instance of Norwegian or Greek or English descent.

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of Jews in other lands, pale beside the plight of European Jewry as it exists now during the war and will continue to exist for a long time after the war. There is no need to catalogue the Jewish tragedy. It is as familiar as it is indescribable. What is not as widely recognized as it should be is that the oft-repeated formula that all will be well with European Jewry when Hitler is vanquished, is a snare and a delusion. In the war's aftermath with its economic dislocations and social turmoil, Jews will again be the scapegoat. Besides it will take generations before the poisons sowed by Nazism can be eradicated. Let those who talk of en-

forced repatriation after the war consider that for most Jews enforced repatriation may mean enforced reincarceration. For great numbers of European Jews, Palestine alone will appeal as the only means of economic, social and psychological rehabilitation. Neither enforced repatriation nor enforced emigration should be tolerated, but for those who choose to emigrate as well as for those who choose to be repatriated every facility should be provided. American intercession can be constructively helpful if it is directed toward making Palestine available and accessible to large numbers of European Jews. For every Jew of Damascus or of Rumania or of



In a moment of relaxation United Nations soldiers gather to exchange reminiscences. Note Churchill victory poster in Hebrew in background.

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Czarist Russia who felt the comforting intercession of friendship of our government in years gone by, there are today and will be tomorrow hundreds of thousands of children and adults beseeching this great republic, the friend of the friendless, to help them find in Palestine the boon of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

If the American people never had as much moral reason to intercede they also never had as much legal right to intervene. There is a clause recorded in a document of 1924 which states that no changes shall be made by the mandatory government of Palestine in the administration of the mandate without the approval of our government in matters affecting American interests in Palestine. This clause has been variously interpreted as to whether it refers to commercial interests or general interest. There can be no difference of opinion, however, on the fact that American interest and American interests in the Near and Middle East are much more vital today, and will be tomorrow than they were during and after the last war. It is a right earned by military partnership and the outpouring of manpower and supplies which helped turn the tide of victory on that front and on all fronts. It is in due exercise of that right that the American people and government can favor the immediate abrogation of the White Paper, the opening of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration, and upon the achievement of a Jewish majority, the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

COMMONWEALTH ESSENTIAL

THE American sense of realism should prompt American statesmen to realize that the administration of Palestine under a British Mandate has been tried and found wanting and is unworkable, as the Royal Commission has itself admitted, that no immigration authority which is other than Jewish can be relied upon to let in large numbers of Jews, that no Jewish status other than majority status, can fulfill the promise of the Balfour Declaration, and that no government other than a Jewish Commonwealth can govern Palestine in such a way as to bring out its greatest potentialities agriculturally, industrially, culturally and spiritually.

The American penchant for converting nature's liabilities into assets, transforming the soil, increasing the output of industry, thus raising the standard of living and providing sustenance for in-

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creased numbers of people, this penchant will derive considerable satisfaction from the knowledge that a Jewish Palestine, will accomplish these objectives for the benefit of all the inhabitants of the land, and by force of influence and example, for the benefit of neighboring lands as well. What Jews have already accomplished there in the face of the government's discouragements and antagonisms, offers adequate assurance of how much can be accomplished under favorable conditions. Two-thirds of Western Palestine is still uninhabited and uncultivated. Only by Arab standards, but not by American or by Jewish standards, is it uninhabitable or uncultivable. With scientific agriculture, use of water power and modern industrialization, there is room in Palestine for at least two million more Jews without displacing a single Arab.

The American sense of fair play may be expected to disapprove a policy which would reward the malevolent neutrality of the Arabs of Palestine and envisions vis-a-vis the United Nations in the dark years of the present struggle while punishing the unequivocal loyalty and the unstinted war effort of the Jews in Palestine and throughout the world.

The American sense of justice should dictate that larger considerations of justice must be invoked in the solution of the Palestine problem just as larger considerations of justice will be invoked in the solution of many another thorny problem in the post-war world, involving boundaries, population transfers, jurisdictions and sovereignties. None of the solutions will have unanimous approval, yet they will be imposed if on the whole they seem just and workable. The larger consideration touching Palestine is that whereas there will be a dozen sovereign Arab states and peoples, around Palestine, one-twentieth of the area of the Arab lands is asked as the one land in which the homeless of the Jewish people can establish their home and their government.

DEMOCRACY ADVANCED

AMERICAN love of democracy, derived from its experience of the democratic way of life, should prompt the American people and government to welcome enthusiastically a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine which would be a haven for Democracy throughout the Near and Middle East where at present semi-feudalism obtains. All the institutions which the Zionist movement

has built up in Palestine are democratic institutions—the agricultural cooperatives, the community councils, the labor unions, the trade and farming associations, and the Jewish Agency for Palestine itself. These are the nuclei of a democratic commonwealth in the making.

A Jewish Commonwealth would stress the common weal of all the inhabitants of the land. The Jewish majority would accord the Arab minority every religious, political and cultural right. The Arab citizens of Palestine would enjoy under a Jewish Commonwealth exactly the same rights as are now being enjoyed by the Jewish citizens of the United States. This is a guarantee vouchsafed not only by the tradition of the Jewish people which American Democracy has enshrined in its own way of life, but by Jewish self-interest as well. Seeing that Jews are a minority in every other land, the Jewish administration of Palestine will surely set an example to all the world as to how a minority group should be treated.

COMMONWEALTH IN THE MAKING—A MODEL OF JUSTICE

The Jewish Commonwealth may be expected in all respects to be a model of justice and tolerance to the world. An earnest of the shape of things to come is already being provided by the present-day Jewish community which is in effect, the Commonwealth in the making.

When this hope is realized, it will be the fulfillment to the Jewish people, of that freedom promised by the Atlantic Charter which is basic to all the other freedoms, freedom from fear. We have had enough experience with anti-Semitism in Europe, both in its western democracies and in its eastern autocracies, to know that the remnants of European Jewry, outside of Russia, who will survive this war will have plenty to fear in the postwar period. It would be an act of historic justice if the United States of America, co-sponsor of the Atlantic Charter, itself the spiritual child of the ancient Jewish Commonwealth, would play a major role in bringing about the Jewish Commonwealth of our time in Eretz Israel where the remnant of Israel would live free from fear, every man dwelling under his vine and under his fig-tree with none to make him afraid.

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