

A SURE AND CERTAIN END

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AS THE DAY of victory approaches, all of us may justly rejoice in the fact that the free nations of the world have demonstrated their power and capacity to beat back the brute force of Hitlerism and win the war against the hordes of barbarism. The democracies have mobilized their full strength and by the might of their arms have clearly indicated the kind of world that they will not and can not tolerate. They are now called upon to draw up the plans and lay the foundations for a world which will best reflect the basic ideals of human freedom. What can Jews expect in that new world?

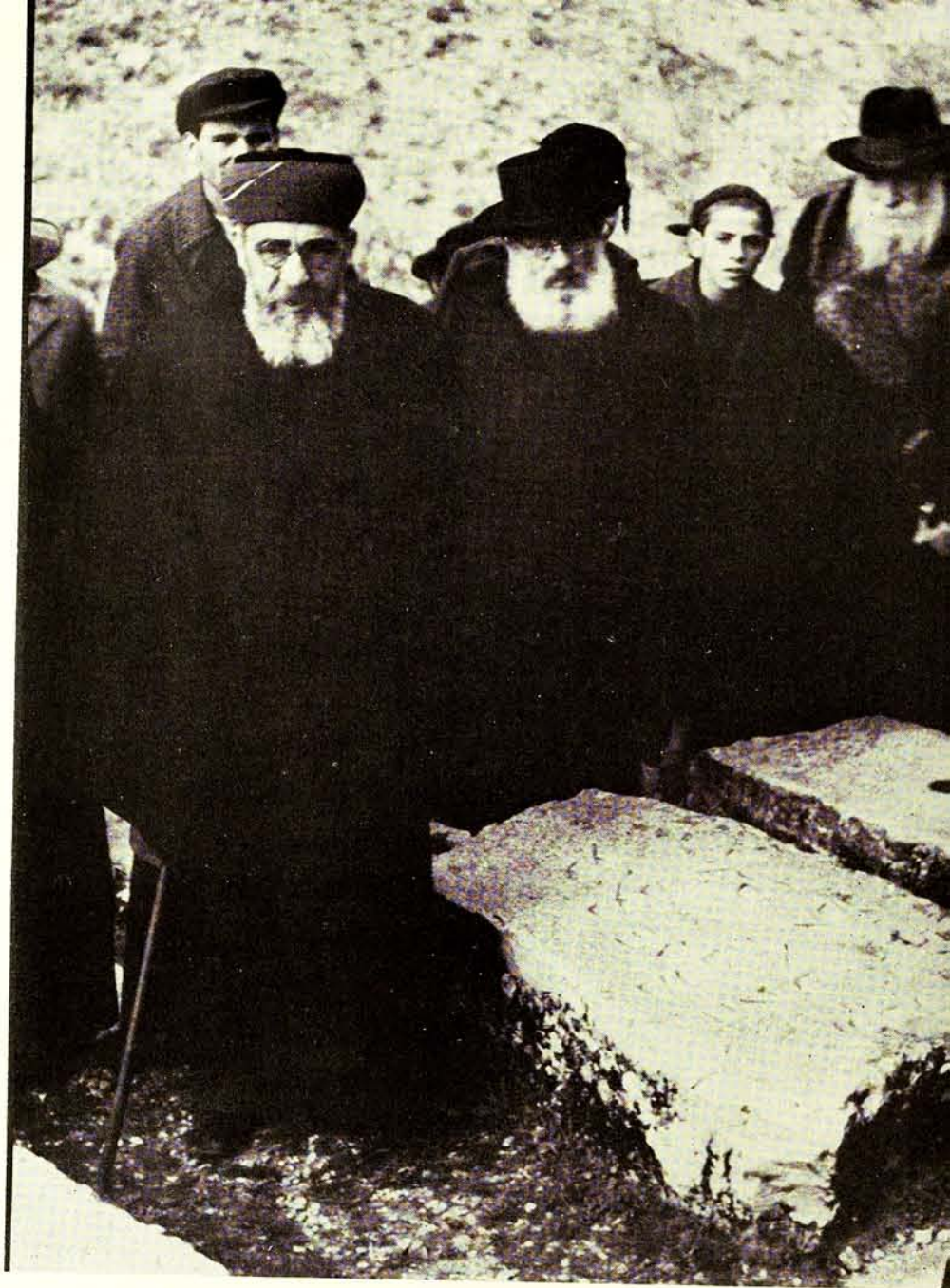
The Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the least healed and restored. Unless a constructive solution is found for the homelessness of our people there will be no healing for its sufferings, there will be no end to its life ringed by blood and tears.

The unquenchable yearning for the reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland stems from the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities of yesterday, today, and probably also of tomorrow.

From the death-blocks of Nazi-occupied lands where myriads of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end!"

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and

Mother and son in a typical settlement in the new Palestine.



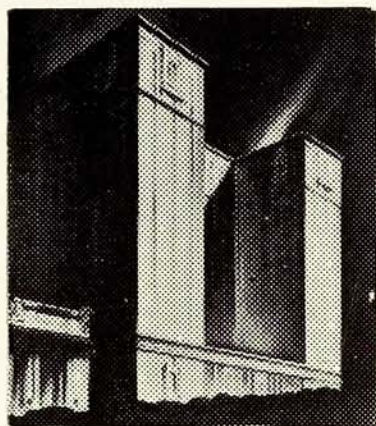
At the Mt. of Olives the Chief Rabbis mourn the Jewish casualties in Hitler's war of extermination during the past decade.

again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have been made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes. Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy?

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship but even minority rights. But we must not forget that it also brought in its wake the most thorough-going, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced. We must not, we dare not forget what transpired between the two World Wars. Now again, in the second World War many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied victory what an Allied victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them—peace and security.

THE immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our mil- (Continued on page 74)

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Palestine is not speculating about the shape of things to come. The Jewish Homeland is *already* grappling with the grave problem of the post-war period. To *live* it must grow and *expand*. For Eretz Israel, the tasks of rescue and reconstruction are *immediate* and feasible daily assignments. For the fulfillment of its historic task, the *Land* of Israel must be extended for the *rescue* of Israel. The land areas to be purchased and developed will implement the following program: (a) Provide a haven for the refugees, including children, who find their way to

Palestine during the war; (b) Absorb the mass immigration which will come to the shores of Eretz Israel in the post-war period; (c) Create the foundation for the settlement of Freedom's Fighters, the men and women who enlisted in the British and the Allied armies in the Middle East; (d) Make possible the implementation of housing and building programs adjoining the towns and larger villages; (e) Extend Jewish settlement to hitherto undeveloped parts of the country for the creation of new Jewish agricultural zones; (f) Consolidate the existing Jewish settlement areas.

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lenial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing as it ever was. It is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi revolution is the story of political positions captured in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition, which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition. At the slightest provocation, as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. This has been our persistent problem. This is our immediate emergency which, unfortunately, has been immediate almost to every generation of our people in almost every country. What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

There is but one solution for this persistent emergency in Jewish life, for national homelessness which is the source of our suffering and sorrow. That solution is a national home. The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration.

This declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere. The Balfour Declaration was a political, national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

THIS was the interpretation of the purpose of the Balfour Declaration which was universally accepted by the statesmen of the world and by those who were responsible for the issuance of the Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, or as many of them called it, a Jewish State which was to be the national outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Home.

Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued, spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. In 1919 President Wilson stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, who was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet at the time, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish state rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in

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1920 declared — and these are beautiful words:

"If as may well happen there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

Today, twenty-six years after the issuance of that historic Balfour pledge, the Jews of the world look to Great Britain to reaffirm that pledge and to bring it to fruition through the realization of its fundamental purpose.

THE last quarter of a century will live in history as a strange interlude in which delay in the reaffirmation of the principles of human freedom brought us to the brink of destruction and embroiled mankind in the bloodiest war in the history of civilization. During that strange interlude appeasement or the escape formula of statemanship appeared as the



A refugee on the Palestine war production line.

panacea. Little sacrifices were made to forestall the greater sacrifices which were required to restore the balance of civilization and human rights. The White Paper was a product of this "escape" statemanship. Following the formula of appeasement, it rewarded the hostile and punished the friendly—penalizing the Jewish people for its great achieve-

ments in the rebuilding of its ancient homeland.

The era of appeasement was ended when it was recognized that submission to injustice can only lead to further injustice. We fight this war so that justice rather than expediency shall determine the fate of peoples. It is incomprehensible that the policy of appeasement should continue in Pal-

estine and that the Jewish people there should be sacrificed to that discredited policy. It is to be hoped that with the active support of freedom-loving men everywhere in the democratic world, the White Paper policy which threatens to erect an illegal wall about Palestine, will be rescinded and that the pledge and purpose of the Balfour Declaration will be fully redeemed.

In the period between the two World Wars, American Jews have shared in the upbuilding of Palestine through the United Palestine Appeal. Their support has pumped the life-blood of economic, agricultural and cultural growth into the body of a new land rising upon the sands of what was once the glory of the ancient Jewish homeland. We have supplied the means, tools and materials for reconstruction. But the heart and the sacrifice have come from the valorous pioneers of the Jewish homeland.

Many hundreds of thousands of Jews will seek to enter Palestine when the war is won. American Jews may well take pride in the fact that in the United Palestine Appeal they have a channel of constructive effort which can serve to prepare the Jewish homeland to receive the hunted and the harassed who will seek home and future on the ancestral soil of Israel.

