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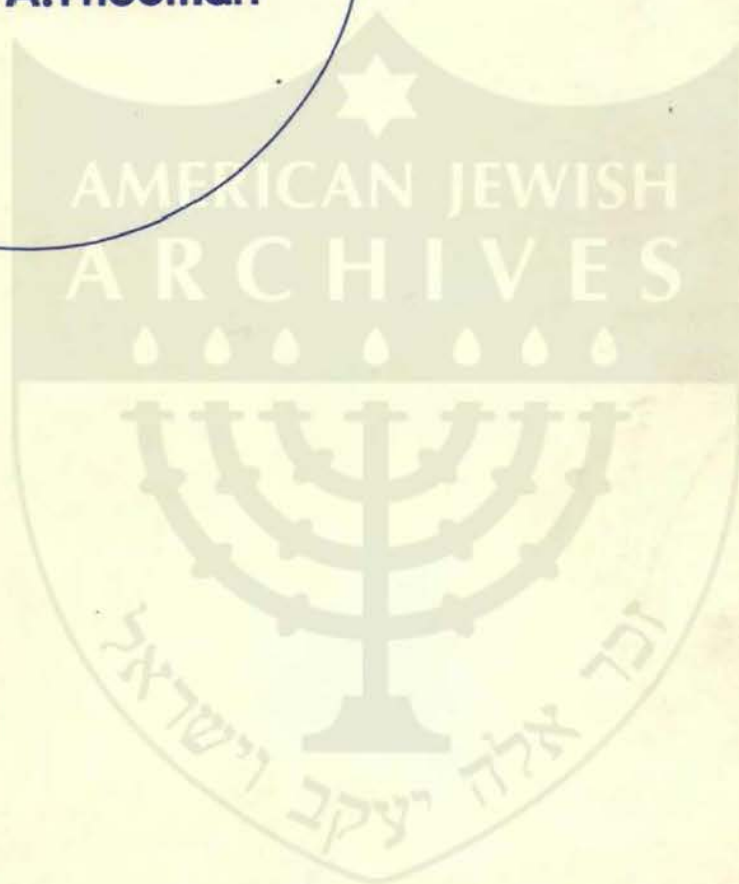
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Lectures
by
Rabbi
Herbert A. Friedman



Young Leadership Cabinet
United
Jewish Appeal

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Note: The Lectures presented in this volume were delivered by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman at the annual retreats of the United Jewish Appeal Young Leadership Cabinet in 1971 and 1972. The order in which they were delivered has been slightly changed to place the material in chronological sequence.

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The talk I gave in 1960 to the first Young Leadership Conference had the title, "One Hundred Years of Jewish Life, 1880 to 1980." I gave a talk in 1960, so I could cover 80 years of what had happened, and 20 years of what might happen.

These 100 years from 1880 to 1980 are without any doubt in my mind the single most important 100 years in all of Jewish history beginning with Abraham even including the time of Moses. I can't think of any other 100-year period, more crucial and more significant than these, for this period witnessed a greater national destruction than anything comparable, and also a greater national rebirth than ever before.

I began that last lecture in the year 1880, in Russia. This time I want to broaden it and I want to begin not just with the ghetto from which our fathers came, but I want to begin with the United States. I want us to understand first of all the roots of the American Jewish community in which we live.

I. ROOTS OF UNITED STATES JEWISH COMMUNITY

I think it is important to understand something about the Jews in the Middle Ages, just before the discovery of America. I don't know if you are aware of the fact that the technological inventions which made the explorations across the Atlantic possible were all Jewish. Tables and charts, mathematical lists with which the explorers could work with the astrolabes and the early instruments they had - (there was no compass) azimuth charts, maps were all the work of Jewish cartographers and mathematicians in the 12th, 13th, and 14th centuries.

In the early pages of "Pilgrim People" the author, who is a very pragmatic factual historian and not given to poetry, wrote something which characterizes the Jewish People, and in a sense gives me the feeling that we had a very real role to play in the discovery of this continent.

The roots of the American Jewish community begin back in Genoa and in Spain where we worked to help discover this continent. Listen to what the author says: "He who writes history performs an act of faith. The historian selects a fact here, a person there, seeking to recreate a vanished scene, to capture a mood, to clothe a skeleton in flesh and blood. The history of the Jews is not like that of any other people. It is distilled anguish, it is crystalized grief, it is the dirge of a people cut away from the land they love, Israel, yet always faithful to it. It is the story of an exiled band of pilgrims with Zion etched on its heart. The survival of the Jews is a major miracle of history. A people condemned to death and annihilation, to fire and torture, drowned in all the rivers of Europe, besieged in all its cities, yet always a remnant managing to survive.

"What does a man do when condemned to death? He spins phantasies in his dying hours, he reads the Bible as the clock ticks away the last few moments of his life.

"So the Jews, they took refuge in daydreams. They drew maps charting unknown continents, they dreamed of uncharted utopias, of islands where they could find a haven. They studied the stars, finding consolation in other worldliness, in the contemplation of untainted planets and undefiled constel-

lations. They became the astronomers and geographers, the astrologers and cartographers of their day.

"Just as the sick man is always preoccupied with his health, so is the unwanted one always concerned about the elsewhere. The present dwelling place bristling with harsh reality is but a threshold away from the land that is yet to be discovered, where the climate is pleasant, crops abundant and there is room for all.

"What is Jewish history but the shifting of Geographic centers?"

You know I have stated this thesis over and over and over again. We Jews began with Abraham in the Holy Land and shifted our center to Babylonia and we lived in Spain and we lived in Poland and we lived in the North American continent and we are going back today to where we started from and many of us will end where we started from, and many others will keep shifting from place to place. The world is our oyster. Jews are the most international of all peoples. This is one of our characteristics, of which our accusers are right.

The second half of the same accusation states that we can't be loyal to the countries in which we live. Here they are wrong. We have shed too much blood sometimes I think stupidly and wastefully, but nevertheless, we did it on behalf of the countries in which we lived temporarily, and we were loyal to them. Look at Jewish graves in French war cemeteries and Jewish graves in German war cemeteries. But the fact that we are an international people, that Jewish history is marked by the shifting of geographic centers, is a fact.

If you go through those Middle Age years there were people by the names of Abraham and Yehuda Crescas, who lived on the Island of Majorca, and wrote maps which Columbus took with him. It is a matter of record that when John, the Prince of Portugal, gave the title, Astrologer, Master of World Atlases and Compasses to Abraham Crescas, he said, "This is the most beautiful map I have ever seen." He referred to a map that Crescas had drawn to the possibility of land across the ocean.

It wasn't that Columbus sailed thinking he was going to fall off the edge, and it wasn't only that he sailed thinking he was going to Cathay and China and India. He sailed with the possibility that there was another continent and it was drawn on Abraham Crescas' map.

The author talks about Gabriel deValesca and about Abraham Zacuto and about the Almanac Perpetuum which was written in Latin by Zacuto, and Vasco DeGama's expedition was given all of the equipment by this man. The Almanac Perpetuum was written in Hebrew and then translated into Latin. She also talks about Joseph Vincenzo who met Columbus before he left. The Jewish role in the pre-exploration period is so clear and yet so completely unknown that I thought it was worth bringing to your attention.

The second theory is that of a Spanish scholar by the name of Salvador de Madariage, Professor of the University of Madrid who has written a book called "Christopher Columbus" in which he has 400 pages expounding the evidence behind his theory that Christopher Columbus was a Jew. It isn't one of these crazy things, as for instance the Russians trying to prove that they invented the airplane and that the Wright Brothers were really named some-

thing else, and that they invented the telegraph, and that Shakespeare was a Russian -- it is not that kind of cranky business.

Madariaga, who was a Spaniard Catholic scholar, read the evidence, read Columbus' diaries mainly -- that was his main source -- and came to believe that Columbus was from a Jewish family in Genoa who converted and moved over to Spain, but that the internal signs inside his diary indicate that his Jewish origin was still very clear and very much part of his consciousness.

Columbus sailed on August 3, 1492. The Jews were expelled from Spain on August the 1st, 1492, and in his diary he takes note of the fact that the harbor was filled with Jewish refugee boats from which he could hear the wailing of the women and the children as they were being cast out on the inhospitable waters by the Catholic monarchs of Spain.

You know, whether he was a Jew or whether he wasn't a Jew is really unimportant except in terms of this whole tone I am trying to develop, that the relationship of the Jewish people to the new world began much farther back than anybody thinks. We think, or we make the assumption that the Jewish community in the United States started in 1654. They were here long before that, but the 1654 episode is a very interesting one. There was a very substantial community of several hundred Jews living in Brazil during the 1500's who had fled from Spain. We are not talking about where the Jews fled from to other parts of Europe. Some of the Jews who left Spain after 1492 and Portugal after 1497 went up to Holland, and from Holland they went across to England under Cromwell in the 17th century, and that is the original root of the British Jewish community.

Many of the others went eastward to Turkey, many of them were caught by pirates in the Mediterranean and were taken to North Africa where there was the root of a Jewish community from the time Maimonides was there in the 12th century, so when Jews landed on those shores in the 15th century, they already found Jewish communities to welcome them.

I am not talking about where Jews went northward into Europe and eastward across the Mediterranean and southward into Africa. I am talking about where they went westward and they went to Brazil, hundreds of them from Spain, and there was a very large flourishing and happy Jewish community in Latin America during the 1500's and early 1600's until Portugal conquered Brazil in 1644. When that happened, Portugal brought with her the torture instruments of the inquisition.

And when the inquisition hit Brazil in 1654, the Jews knew the game was up again. So in 1654 a small group of 23 persons on a little caravel called the St. Charles, sailed northward from Recife to New Amsterdam.

Now, long before they got to New Amsterdam, the Jews had already colonized an impressive list of places. They had been in Brazil since 1500, went over to Peru by 1533, they got to Concepcion down south in 1600, they moved into the West Indies into Barbados in 1628, Surinam, the Dutch colonies off the coast of Latin America, Curacao, the island of Martinique, and then came up to New Amsterdam.

That whole story of those 23 refugees trying to land is one of those

fantastic sagas. Peter Stuyvesant didn't want them. He was the Governor of New Amsterdam and refused to admit them. The minister of the Dutch Reform Church wrote a long sermon and diatribe against them as being people from the devil who would corrupt and pollute and destroy the good Christian community of New Amsterdam.

For some reason Stuyvesant didn't drive the ship out of the harbor. The ship remained opposite what is today approximately Hoboken, and they stayed on board that ship all winter long, from September 1654 to the following April, in a most harrowing kind of ordeal while letters went back and forth across the Atlantic for months. Back went a letter to the Dutch West Indies Company in Old Amsterdam on whose board of directors there were seven Jews, and by the time the positive answer came back in the spring, that was it, and Peter Stuyvesant said, "All right, let them in, but make sure they take care of their own." And that famous slogan, that the Jews take care of their own, isn't just some pedagogical saying that we invented because it sounds nice and ethical, it is what was imposed upon us by the Governor before permitting the group to disembark.

Stuyvesant informed his superiors in the Dutch West Indies Company back home that the Jews had been ordered to leave, but he apparently hesitated about carrying out the command and driving the ship away. The minister, John Megopolensis, also decided to exercise what pressures he could on the directors in Amsterdam to render a decision on the Jewish question.

He wrote this letter: "These people have no other God than the Mammon of unrighteousness and no other aim than to get possession of Christian property and to overcome all other merchants by drawing all trade towards themselves."

Sounds familiar.

"Therefore, we request your reverences the directors to obtain from the messrs. directors that these Godless rescals who are of no benefit to the country, but look at everything for their own profit, may be sent away from here, for as we have here already Papists, Mennonites and Lutherans among the Dutch, also many Puritans or independents and many atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English under this government who conceal themselves under the name of Christians. It would create a still greater confusion if the obstinate and immovable Jews ever came to settle here."

The Sephardic community of Amsterdam got into the act. Seven of its members were among the company's 167 stockholders, and they put in a petition in favor of the Jewish nation (as they phrased it). They wrote that many Jewish had lost their wealth in the overthrow of Dutch power down in Brazil, that the Jews had been loyal to Holland down in Brazil, and that this group had only left Brazil when it was lost to Portugal and therefore they were loyal Dutch citizens and New Amsterdam should take them in. Finally the resolution was passed, "Granted that these people may reside and traffic provided that they shall not become a charge upon the deaconry or the West Indies Company" and so Stuyvesant had to give in. And on April 25, 1655 a whole long winter later, he sent a message out to the boat admitting them to

New Netherlands for residence and trade, "provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community but be supported by their own nation. You will now govern yourselves accordingly."

And so the whole concept of American Jewish organized communal life takes place from that first deal. The deal was we could land and live here if we took care of our own -- sort of like a separate little leper colony -- and if we didn't take care of our own, we just weren't welcome.

It so happened that there was an enormous compatability between that very, very unfriendly welcome and our own ethical point of view because we have always had from the beginning, from the Bible, our own concept that the community cares for each member of it.

Jews are totally different from every other family of man living on this earth in many regards, but in this one regard we are the most different from any other tribe, clan, or nation -- in the regard that every individual member of this Jewish community knows that he has the protection of the whole tribe. Not every Frenchman feels he has 50 million other Frenchmen working for him and pulling for him and worrying about him.

This is a phenomenon absolutely and utterly unique to the Jews. It doesn't exist among the Chinese, even with their strong family identity. Family is family, but you can chop up the family next door. We Jews are unique in our sense that the community is responsible for every individual, and every individual knows that the community exists to protect him.

We don't always live it out. We have poor Jews living in the suburbs of Newark and Boston and all the metropolitan cities of America whom we sometimes don't do enough for, but the clue to that sentence is, "sometimes don't do enough for."

We always do something for, and we are always driving ourselves to do more, do more. There is nobody for whom we do nothing. And I don't think there is another people on the face of the earth who can make that statement.

So when Peter Stuyvesant lowered the boom, this didn't shake the 23 Jews up very much, because they were perfectly willing to live by that standard because that is the standard they believed in anyhow.

That was the beginning, and now as we come down towards a hundred years later, towards the Revolutionary War, what did we have in the United States? I think you would be shocked to see what we had. Jews were very rare in the Thirteen Colonies. There never were more than 1,000 to 3,000 souls -- I mean, men, women and children -- among the three million inhabitants of the thirteen colonies at the time of 1776.

The largest community was in Newport. 175 people -- men, women and children -- lived in Newport, Rhode Island. A famous synagogue was built there -- the one that George Washington wrote the letter to. Perhaps New York had as many Jews or a few more.

Philadelphia, Charleston and Savannah were smaller, Savannah, Georgia was one of the five largest Jewish communities in America at the time of the Revolutionary

War. You wouldn't believe it. Two larger communities of several hundred -- larger than anything on the mainland -- were down in the Indies in Jamaica and Barbados, and when you go down there you can still see to this day synagogues, cemeteries, remnants of a community that goes way back earlier than anything up on the mainland.

So you begin to have a picture of the United States of America -- two hundred years ago. The Jews were a little cluster. They didn't have any meaning or weight and, yet, one of them financed the Revolutionary War - his name was Chaim Solomon; one of them was a close friend of George Washington. One of them was well enough known to be referred to by the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia when they were writing the Constitution.

Jefferson had met already many Jews, although there were almost none living in Virginia. Jefferson was not friendly towards Jews; a flaw in an otherwise magnificent human being.

One or two thousand people living here 200 years ago -- that's all we were.

The Revolutionary War was fought. America was established. America went through the early difficult days in the 1780's and '90's and 1800's, and another war in 1812 -- a struggling country pushing westward -- across the mountains -- you know the whole story.

The second wave of Jewish migration came into the United States in the 1820's, 1830's, 1840's. That was the German immigration. They brought with them four things: enlightenment, reform, assimilation, and merchandising.

First of all, as far as enlightenment was concerned: the Jews from Germany came very well educated. They had already passed through in Germany their barrier of fire to try to force their way into the modern world and be accepted in modern schools. They had broken out of the ghettos, such as the Rothschilds inhabited in Frankfurt in the 18th Century.

By the beginning of the 19th Century, some Jews had gone to German schools, learned the German language and were enlightened in the modern world, in the sense that they knew non-Jews, they knew how to live in big cities, they knew something of the affairs of trade and commerce, and they also knew that they wanted to get away from the reactionary attitudes of Europe. The biggest wave of migration came to the United States when the Revolution of 1848 failed and reaction again set in. That's when these enlightened Jews of Germany said: "There's never going to be room for us in Europe. We have a desire to live in an enlightened environment. Let's try for the New World."

The fact that they brought with them a tradition of knowing a modern language and wanting modern schooling was very good, because that set the tradition in the American Jewish community of high educational standards for children.

Now, the corollary of that, the other side of the coin, is that once you learn the language of the goyim around you with whom you begin to learn to associate, you then also begin to make some changes within yourself in

order to conform to this new environment in which you are trying to make your adjustment, and those changes consist of cutting your beard and cutting your ear locks and cutting the length of your long black coat, and cutting the size of the brim of your big black hat, and you change and you change and you change and you change. You adjust, you conform, you assimilate.

And German Jews brought with them a whole tendency to assimilate towards the American environment, especially in the midwest, into which they pushed.

When you assimilate to the environment and the population around you, one of the most important and striking differences between you and your neighbor is your religion. And so what you then start to do is to reform and change your religion. So, if your neighbor prays with his hat off, you pray with your hat off, too. And if your neighbor has an organ in his church, you put an organ in your church -- your synagogue.

The reformation of the religion went too far; we know that now in retrospect. The pendulum had swung way over. It got to be an absurdity. You couldn't tell the difference by the 1870's and 1880's. You could walk into a German reform synagogue and you didn't know you weren't in a church. You didn't hear any Hebrew and you didn't see any appurtenances. There was no talit, there was no kipah.

Maybe the rabbi remembered how to say a couple of sentences in Hebrew; maybe he didn't. It was really reductio ad absurdum. And, of course, as we all know, the pendulum has long since swung back the other way, thank God.

But you have to understand something in this context. When they brought with them their German enlightened education, and they brought with them their assimilationist desires to be friends with their neighbors, they brought with them the change of their religious forms; it was all logical and part of a package.

Their merchandising skill was something quite unique about that wave of immigration. Ninety-nine percent of them began as peddlers, and the image of the Jewish peddler with the covered wagon in 1820 or 1830, going down country roads in Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Iowa, down south into Tennessee, was not a stereotype, nor did it refer only to one or two or three people. Thousands of Jewish men began their business careers in the United States in the occupation of peddling from a wagon.

Professor Jacob Marcus has a very interesting sociological description of how, when you were peddling with your wagon and you come to a likely looking crossroad where people are going to come in two directions and therefore deliver double the possible potential traffic and potential customers, you set your wagon by the crossroads and, pretty soon, you said to yourself, "What the devil, I'm tired," and your wagon became a store. You didn't move it anymore, and your wagon, becoming a store at the crossroad, soon wound up becoming Macy's, and that's what happened.

Why did these German immigrants come?

Some left their old home for purely personal reasons; they made enemies and could not remain. A few wished to evade military conscription. Most

of them left because of anti-Jewish prejudice, political disabilities, hard times and the lack of economic opportunity. What Europe lacked, America offered.

The youngsters hoped for a real chance to make money here. They wanted to help the old folks back home. The final incentive to migrate usually came from a relative, often a brother who had gone ahead. First one son, then another, then the sisters and finally, the old folks were brought last.

Most of the men in Marcus' book began as peddlars.

Mrs. Lazarus Straus, the mother of the Strauses of R.H. Macy & Company, ran the store which her husband started in Talbotton, Georgia -- had an allowance of \$20 a month for her family of seven and managed very well. Her vegetable garden was the best in town.

The peddler had no desire to peddle; he wanted to settle down, and when he found a likely spot at a crossroad, a busy county seat or a bustling river town, he and his partner opened a little store. Theodore Weiner laid out Weinersville, in Kansas. Samuel Klein's father lived and did business in Baltimore; Cincinnati; Jerseyville, Illinois; Leavenworth, Kansas; Central City and Denver, Colorado; even going as far as Montana.

Cincinnati was called, in the 1820's the Queen City of the West because the railroad went through and because there were many stores there.

The center of gravity in American Jewish life during the first quarter of the 19th century was located in Charleston, South Carolina, where most of the Jews sent their children to Jewish parochial schools.

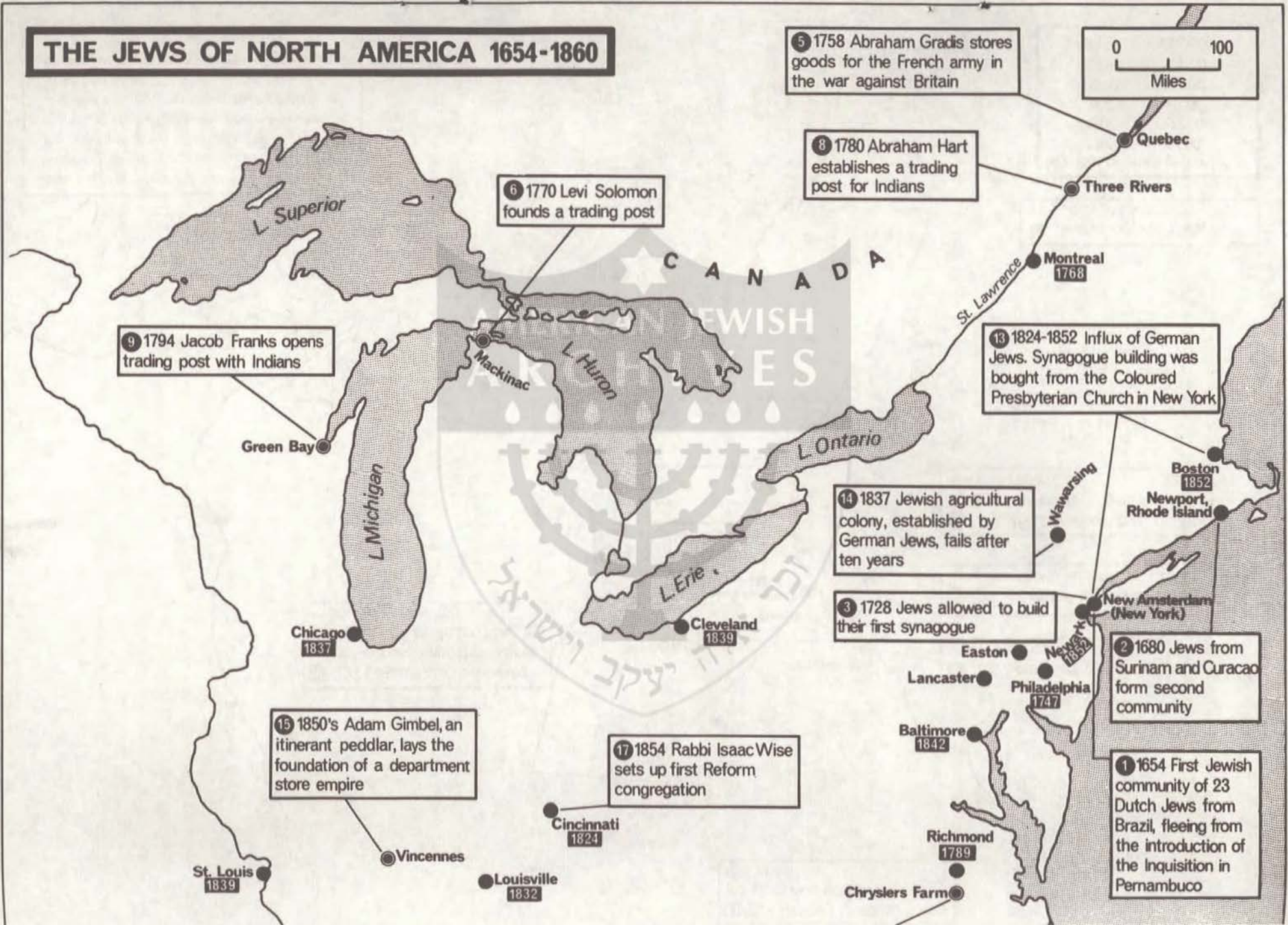
Lewis Stix went to St. Louis -- and Stix, Baer & Fuller, got started.

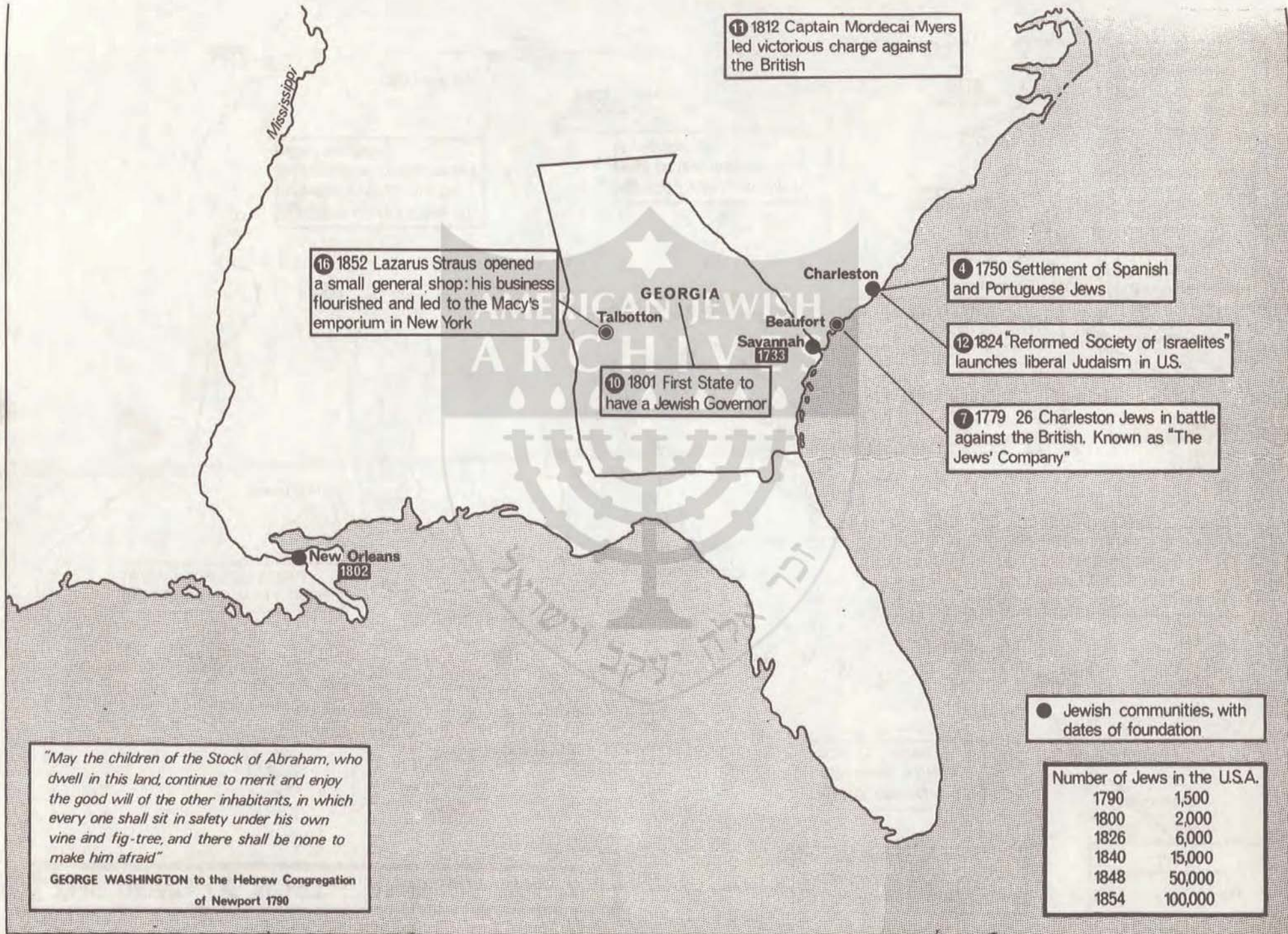
In 1837, a Jewish agricultural colony established by German Jews failed after ten years. What they tried to do in a small rural area near Albany was to say we must establish Palestine; i.e. Zion, here in North America, because we would like to go back. In 1837, long before anybody used the word "Zionists," they were the first Zionists, but they tried to do it up near Albany. It doesn't work near Albany. And after ten years it failed, but the idea was absolutely logical.

The American Jewish community was launched with some 1,000 Jews at the time of the Revolutionary War. By the time we get to the Civil War, almost a hundred years later, probably 200,000 Jews were living in the United States. (See Map No. 1)

What we have passed through so far are the first two waves of migration that came here to the U.S. One was the Sephardic, in the 17th to 18th Century, and the second was the German, in the 19th Century. But neither of these waves, while interesting, and charming and providing lots of nice stories was significant numerically. The American Jewish community of today has its roots, 99 percent of the way, from Russia and Poland -- in other words, Eastern Europe. On the next chart (see Map No. 2) we can see this most remarkable

THE JEWS OF NORTH AMERICA 1654-1860





1 1812 Captain Mordecai Myers led victorious charge against the British

16 1852 Lazarus Straus opened a small general shop: his business flourished and led to the Macy's emporium in New York

10 1801 First State to have a Jewish Governor

4 1750 Settlement of Spanish and Portuguese Jews

12 1824 "Reformed Society of Israelites" launches liberal Judaism in U.S.

7 1779 26 Charleston Jews in battle against the British. Known as "The Jews' Company"

New Orleans
1802

Talbotton

GEORGIA

Beaufort
Savannah
1733

Charleston

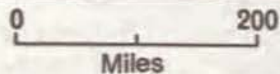
● Jewish communities, with dates of foundation

Number of Jews in the U.S.A.	
1790	1,500
1800	2,000
1826	6,000
1840	15,000
1848	50,000
1854	100,000

"May the children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, in which every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid"

GEORGE WASHINGTON to the Hebrew Congregation of Newport 1790

THE PALE 1835-1917



Principal town from which in 1880 began the exodus of over two million Jews from the Pale to the United States, Britain, Europe, South America, and Palestine

In 1882 500,000 Jews living in rural areas of the Pale were forced to leave their homes and live in towns or townlets (shtetls) in the Pale. 250,000 Jews living along the western frontier of Russia were also moved into the Pale. 700,000 Jews living east of the Pale were driven into the Pale by 1891

The Pale of Settlement. Russian Jews confined to this area by laws of 1795 and 1835. By 1885 there were over 4 million Jews living in the Pale

Towns within the Pale barred to Jews without special residence permits

of all phenomena, the heartland of the Jewish community which we call variously Polish or Russian, but it is East Europe which created an establishment called the Shtetl, from which most of us came.

The chapter now about to unfold is not about some queer Jews living in a museum somewhere but about your father, your grandfather, your great-grandfather at the most. You and I are close to the roots from which we came. The culture pattern of that society, the habit pattern the values, the things they did, the things they believed in, the way they acted in the Shtetl town are only 70 or 80 years away from us; that's all.

This area is called "The Pale." It covers the period 1835 to 1917. "The Pale of Settlement" refers to a physical area in Eastern Europe where Jews were permitted to live, and only there and no place else. No place else.

Over here in the east is Russia. All Jews were expelled from Russia into this Pale of Settlement outlined in black. From the Baltic up in the north to the Black Sea in the south. What is today, Rumania, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia -- that is all to the west. This is essentially what is Poland and a part of Russia.

In 1865, Jews used to be able to live in Moscow. A period of reaction set in and they were expelled from Moscow, they were expelled from St. Petersburg up here -- today Leningrad -- and they were forced into this area in the Pale of Settlement.

It was an open prison. This town in Brody, right here, in what is today Czechoslovakia is the principal town from which in 1880, began the exodus of over two million Jews from the Pale to the U.S., Britain, Europe, South America and Palestine.

In 1882, half a million Jews living in rural areas of the Pale -- were forced to leave their homes and live in towns or townlets called Shtetls in the Pale. A quarter of a million Jews living along the western frontier of Russia were also sent into the Pale, and three-quarters of a million Jews living east of the Pale were driven into it.

So, Jews from the west were driven in -- Jews from the east were driven in -- Jews from the rural areas were driven out of the rural areas into the town.

So, you had all the Jews being pushed onto the Pale of Settlement, and in the Pale of Settlement which was largely agricultural, the Jews were taken from the agricultural areas into the townships. They weren't allowed to own land and farm land. There was a law prohibiting Jews from owning property. So, when you talk about the Jews being an urban population, in their very oppression and persecution by the Russian Tsars they were further confined in little townlets in which they couldn't own land and till the soil. They were poor urban slum ghetto dwellers without welfare. The whole town was poverty-stricken. They were the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the bottom of the heap -- the Mexicans. They were in the 19th Century the underprivileged, deprived and oppressed portion of the population with which we are familiar today in the big urban cities of the 20th Century.

They were living here in this area -- tens of millions of Russians and Poles. I would take a guess that we're talking about 30 or 40 million people.

By 1885, there were over four million Jews living in the Pale. We are talking about four million Jews -- four million Jews who were the source of the American Jewish community because around three million of those four

million came here.

The Jerusalem of the Pale was Vilna because it had the great yeshivot and the great center of learning. It was always the aristocratic city of Jewish intellectual snobbery. This was our scale of values. Whoever was smartest was on the top of the totem pole.

My mother used to tell me stories about life up there in this little tiny village near Vilna in which she lived. She talked about the fact that the children were taught in the house, whether there were 18 kids or eight. There wasn't much of a school for them to go to. The Melamed, the Jewish teacher would come to the house. The whole thing was marked by piety.

Religiosity as we know it today consists of getting in your car and driving to services in a modern glass and brick multi-million dollar synagogue. Then you are practicing religion.

In those days, what it consisted of was a tremendous mood inside the house -- the house, not even so much the synagogue. The synagogue was a little wooden hut.

Piety was the characteristic of shtetel life. This little village or town had wooden sidewalks, if at all, and muddy streets. It had wooden houses, no trees. It had a little synagogue building where you went to pray. It had a communal bath where you went to the mikvah -- men and women alike -- and it had two or three rich men's houses made perhaps out of stone in the middle of town.

The Polish or Russian peasants who lived in the fields crowded up close to the edge of town; some of them even lived in town. That was the physical layout of a shtetel townlet.

It was characterized, first of all, by its piety in the home. It was characterized by an intensely close family life -- intensely close. It was characterized by utter and absolute poverty. It was characterized by complete emphasis on education and knowledge and learning. The value standards of the town were not who had the most money, but who was the most learned.

This was measured in very specific terms -- who had read the most pages of the Talmud, and the utmost respect existed for the man who was the most learned. Some poor people can't understand the relevance of education to their predicament. Jews, no matter how rotten their physical environment was, always understood that education was the one way they could pick themselves up out of the mud.

Jews were like prisoners who learned how to make use of their prison time instead of merely ranting against their fate. The prison time they were spending for hundreds of years in Russia and Poland or for scores of years in these Shtetels, they didn't simply weep and wail and complain, but they used their time to advantage. To what advantage? Study.

Now, the study of the Talmud and Torah and all sorts of things would seem to be utterly irrelevant to the problems of the world in which they lived. But it was not really. Because study for its own sake leads to

an understanding that study was a means of escaping from a bad environment. As we learned about the Middle Age cartographers, Jews living in a bad situation dreamed of some other place where the grass was greener, and they made maps of a new continent on the other side of the ocean.

If your mind works, then you try to find a way out of the prison which confines you.

In The First Circle a remarkable book, Solzhenitsyn writes about the prisoners who get 10 and 20 and 30 year sentences in Russian jails. What do they do with the time? They study. Fantastic quality of the Russian political prisoner. He learns three languages. He learns a skill. He reads abstract things like philosophy to divert him from the cold cell and the hunger in the belly.

There is an author by the name of Maurice Samuel, who has written the best book in the English language on the ghetto, on the shtetl, and he writes about an imaginary town by the name of Kasrilevka. There is no such town as this. This town was immortalized by the writer, Sholem Aleichem, and he is translated by Samuel. It is a "Fiddler on the Roof" town, like any one of a hundred Jewish centers in old White Russia.

"The town itself is a jumble of wooden houses clustering higgledy-piggledy around a marketplace at the foot of a hill. All around is the spaciousness of mighty Russia, but Kasrilevka is as crowded as a slum. In fact, it is a slum.

"The streets -- let us be courteous and call them that -- are as torturous as a Talmudic argument. They are bent into question marks and folded into parentheses. They run into cul-de-sacs like a theory stopped by a fact. They ooze off into lanes, alleys, backyards, like a thesis dribbling into an anti-climax.

"Sewerage and paving are as unknown in Kasrilevka as a steam train. Most of the marketplace was occupied by peddlers, hangers-on, parodies or commission men. Women with a basket of eggs or a bundle of old clothes. And the richest Jews in Kasrilevka could be bought out on the lower margin of four figures.

"Rich or poor, peddlers or artisans, their livelihood was drawn from the marketplace and from semi-annual fairs. It depends, naturally, on what you call a living.

"Urachmiel Moses, the Hebrew teacher, blind in one eye and short-sighted in the other, used to wear spectacles without lenses. Asked why, he would answer triumphantly, 'Well, it's better than nothing, isn't it?'"

Now that gives you the mood and the ambience of the shtetl, I said that Maurice Samuel had written the best book on it -- that is from a novelistic point of view. The best book on it from a scientific point of view was written under a grant given by the Office of Naval Research. It is called, Life is With People; The Culture of the Shtetl, written by Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog. This book describes the values that you and I are living by today.

An additional worthwhile reference to use for studying the life of the shtetl is called The Golden Tradition edited by Lucy Davidowicz. She writes it from a more political point of view, describing the political life inside the shtetl, the organization of the Jews and the political parties they believed in. This adds an additional dimension to the one which is in the Zborowski-Herzog book.

This team of two people persuaded the Navy Department to complete the study; they agreed that the institution of the shtetl, by the end of the war, would be wiped out and therefore the study which they did would be the only thing that would remain on earth, except in the memory of those of us who are the descendants. Apparently, the Office of Naval Research saw the wisdom of that.

The two authors write, "It became clearer and clearer and clearer to the anthropologists among us that we were not merely dealing with differences among Poles or among Ukrainians, which could be referred to differences in religious faith, namely, not that the Jews were like other Poles or Ukrainians but simply were a different religion.

"No. Apparently we were dealing with a living whole; that the Eastern European Jews had, in fact, a living culture which was essentially all of a piece. We realized this with growing excitement for while all anthropologists have the experience of working out the essential form of the cultures which they study, we seldom have the experience of discovering the existence of a whole at which we had not guessed."

So they were scientifically very delighted. Here was a whole living pattern which they could study before it disappeared.

"The purpose of this book is to present a study of a culture, the culture of the shtetl. It is an attempt to show the special ways in which these people had met the problem common to all mankind.

"Shtetl means community; community means the Jewish community. The Jews of Eastern Europe had one culture, one language, one religion, one set of values, a specific constellation of social mechanisms and institutions and a feeling of its members that they belonged to one group. And this was the thing that made them unique."

The most important fact of shtetl life was - the Sabbath. The Sabbath was a day which had a time clock. It began at three o'clock Friday afternoon. The man hurried off to the bath with his young sons, carrying a pile of clean clothes which his wife had prepared for him. In all this poverty there was a clean caftan and a clean shirt. In all of the filthiness in which he lived during the week; whatever he did, as a peddler, as a tavern keeper, usually involved in the liquor business, as a wagon driver from town to town, driving the non-Jewish peasants, was mostly menial labor, was mostly scratching and scrounging to make a living, it was cutting the lumber in the forest, -- it was dirty.

On Friday afternoon, the Sabbath was associated with cleanliness, with holiness. These are not just slogans, these are facts of actual life. You didn't bathe all week, but you bathed for the Shabbat. And you ran home and you took your sons to the Synagogue from the bath, clean, and dressed.

The mother was busy preparing the Sabbath meal, trying to get a few minutes when she, herself, could go to the mikvah to get clean. She didn't go to the Synagogue.

Prayers were recited and songs were sung. The men of the family came home and again, no matter how poverty stricken the household, two or three things were clear: there was money for candles, there was money for a loaf of white bread, the chalah. If there really was enough money, there was meat or chicken, the only time of the week they ate it. And if there was enough, enough, enough, enough money, there was a white tablecloth on the table. That was the setting for the Sabbath.

For every Jew of those four million, it was a real thing, and associated with the Sabbath was that element of surprise at what he would find on his table, what his wife had scrounged or saved or prepared. And the glow of the good feeling, the cleanliness of the baths, the holiness of the Synagogue, and now the anticipated loveliness of the clean house and the food, the wonderful Sabbath food, all made it seem as though Heaven had come on earth.

Around that table the Sabbath song was sung and the Sabbath Queen was welcomed.

And Saturday morning there wasn't the sweat or the rush for work. You would go again to the Synagogue, relaxed, in the pleasurable company of the other men, and have a chance to talk for a few minutes about Divrei Torah and the things of the spirit and the soul. The wagon driver could spend a half an hour making believe to himself he was an intellectual and it made him feel good, and when he came home and had the second meal of the Sabbath and took his nap, that great, magnificent luxury of sleeping in the middle of the day -- when could he do that? Then getting up at four o'clock and calling his son over to him and testing him to see what the boy had learned during the week from the "cheder". It was so typical - the father wanting a relaxed hour with the boy, who was shivering in his pants like every kid does, and the father gave him the questions and the kid waited for him to get it over with. Then came the sad part of the afternoon, the very sad part, as it got dark and the Sabbath was going away, and the Queen was running, and you could see her, she won't return for another week. So to say goodbye, yet to hold on to some of that flavor and keep it still in the house, you light candles again and you shake the spice box with the sweet spices so the sweet smell would stay in the house for a while, and you finish with the third and last meal, and by that time it is dark and it is Saturday night and it is all over. And, as a matter of fact, many people had to work Saturday night.

Only if you think of it in terms of what it meant, not as some peculiar abstraction merely religious, but in terms of the sociology of how the Sabbath was observed according to this timetable I have just given you, then you can see why it was so precious to people, even to people who were not necessarily so religious, because it was part of the culture pattern of the community and of your family life and your personal creature comforts, and you thanked God that he gave you a day like that once a week.

The non-Jews didn't have it. Their Sunday was not Sabbath. Most of the peasants of the surroundings didn't go to church except once in a while,

at Easter, or sometime when they would go for some superstition or religious mood of fear and priests who would stir them up. Religious feasts were always connected with huge drunkenness, and often became occasions for violence, for bloody pogroms against the neighboring Jews.

The peasants, poor, ignorant people, would also like to have had a day off once a week. They didn't know how to organize it. Their religion didn't provide it for them. Their circle didn't provide it for them. Their culture pattern didn't provide it for them. And strange as this sounds, this is one thing they envied the Jews for.

The market was the place in which the Jews had their relations with the non-Jews; the market represented the key contact point.

Aside from the market and scattered business negotiations, they inhabited different worlds, and in the dealing that brought them together they represent different aspects of the economy. The non-Jew, the peasant, was the farmer; the Jew, officially proscribed from owning farm land, was the urban peddler. Secretly, each felt superior to the other - the Jew in intellect and spirit; the peasant in physical force, his own and that of his whole group.

By the same token each felt at a disadvantage toward the other, the peasant uneasy at the intellectuality he attributed to the Jews, the Jew oppressed by the physical power he attributed to the peasant.

It was no rare occurrence for the market day to end in violence, the peasant having sold his wares would celebrate his profits and perhaps drink them all away at a Jewish inn. When he could no longer pay for liquor and still insisted on more, he would be thrown out, whereupon, if he was already inflamed by drinking, he would set up a cry, "The Jew has cheated me." If a group of comrades who have shared the activities of the day should join him, a riot may follow.

As the economic center of the shtetl, the scene of buying and selling and mingling, the marketplace epitomized the interdependence, the reciprocity, the ambivalence that existed between Jew and gentile.

Aside from that, there was no specific contact with his non-Jewish neighbor. The Jew lived in a world confined to himself. And he had his own set of values, and the most outstanding of all was the value of study. Study, learning and knowledge were his wealth.

The Jewish community without a center of learning was unthinkable. A shtetl of any size would have several varieties of school, a cheder where the youngest children studied, a Beth Midrash for both prayers and study of the Torah for those whose parents cannot pay tuition, and Yeshiva for higher study.

The mitzvah of learning never lost its strong position.

The joy, like the duty of study, was two-fold. There was pleasure in the exercise, which history has made the most cherished recreation of the shtetl. Learning is prestige, respect, authority and status.

The men who sat along the eastern wall of the Synagogue -- the eastern wall is the one that faces Jerusalem and is the wall where the Torah is -- the men who sat along the eastern wall and who lived aloof from the marketplace were known by a variety of names. They may be called the "fineh Yiden," which means fine; they may be called "edeleh Yiden" which means noble; they may be called "erhliche Yiden" which means pious. They may be called the "balabatisher." That means the burghers, the businessmen, the upper class property owners. Perhaps the most generally used term was "shayneh Yiden" which is defined as, literally, the beautiful Jew.

Now, that was a specific term. The exact opposite term was "prosteh" which meant common, ordinary, vulgar, uneducated, crude, ill-mannered. Those were the two words that described the Jew in the ghettos.

Shayneh Yiden were Jews who showed respect and received it; prosteh Yiden had no respect for anything, nor received any from anyone.

In marriage, what a father-in-law looked for was a learned son-in-law, -- not a rich one. The whole business of the sociology, of marriage in the ghetto, in the shtetl, had to do with a rich father-in-law offering two things: he offered to have a yeshiva student living in his house and eating at his table for nothing, without charging him. This was called eating "kest". The rich man went around saying, "I have three students eating kest at my house," and the other would say, "I've got four."

This was the status value, the one upmanship of the whole deal, how many poor students you fed.

And the second thing that the father-in-law wanted beside brilliance, was poverty. So he went to the yeshiva and if he could find that perfect combination of a brilliant student who, thank God, happened to be mouse poor, that was it. If he could get hold of that fellow as a son-in-law, then he hit the apex of social acceptability on the social ladder, and then all through town he was the shayneh Yid who had a very, very learned son-in-law whom he wore like a badge on his cloak.

I am dwelling on this because it seems so strange in terms of the values of today. The values of today are based upon money, not upon learning. It is a 180-degree switch from the way we used to live only 100 years ago.

We were more right then than we are today. We are wrong today. Today the values, the status values, the status symbol, have to do with how much money you have and how you display that money. And we have become a worse people for this transvaluation of our values.

Let us put this matter of money in proper perspective. There is nothing evil about money. Ideally, the shayneh Yid possesses both learning and wealth, learning and substance in one place. The mother's daydream is that the son should become a learned student and also a clever businessman.

A learned student and a clever businessman. The approved behavior which marks the man as shayneh embraces externals and intangibles. His manner shows decorum and restraint, the real good virtues. He is a man of honor and integrity. He is a man of social conscience. He sees to it that the poor people have something with which to make their Sabbath and that there is order in the community.

Learning is supposed to teach you deductive logic so you can make your way in the world and also run the affairs of your community, and there is a beautiful example here of what Jews mean by deductive logic, which comes almost by intuition when you are dealing with a whole community of educated people.

A woman goes in to ask her neighbor for the loan of a pot, a fleischeke pot to cook meat. She receives the warm response, "Congratulations, mazel tov, when will the wedding be?" Amazed, the woman asks, "How do you know?"

The answer is "Noo? Why shouldn't I know? You have a meat pot of your own so if you borrow mine, you must be planning to cook a lot of meat, but you never eat meat except on Shabbos and holy days, and this is the middle of the week, so you must have something to celebrate. Now, what would you have to celebrate? Here you are, your husband is sick, your two sons are out of work, but you also have a daughter. May the evil eye not befall her. And she is of an age to marry. Therefore, that must be it, and mazel tov and may she live in good health with her bridegroom and may you have much naches, I hope, and have fine grandchildren," and so it was.

A similar lightning process of applied logic accounted for the reaction to a notice put up by the local official that every house in a certain shtetl must be freshly painted. At once many started buying farm products and setting up stores, while in the Beth Midrash the scholars debated deep into the night with abstruse citations from remote volumes of the Talmud on the question, "Will the war be with Turkey or with Germany?"

The reasoning was as follows: Why must the house be painted? Obviously because some important government official is coming to this shtetl. But why should an important official come to a place like this? Obviously, only one thing would bring him, - military maneuvers. But why should military maneuvers be carried out here, of all places? Obviously, that could only happen under threat of real war. But with whom will such a war be? Obviously, it would be with Turkey or with Germany, but with which? This was the question and the only question that arose.

Obviously, too, soldiers will have to be quartered here. There will be fighting. And the shtetl prepared feverishly to receive them. The year was 1914.

So this whole business, you see, of deductive logic that comes out of this Jewish life is what is called in the shtetl the "grubbe finger", which means the thick finger which you stick into a problem. All problem solving must be accompanied by extravagant gestures of finger and hand, perhaps body swaying, and sing-song chant. "Now, if the answer is not this, then it's got to be this. If it is this, then this," and when you finally poke with the finger that means you have come to the conclusion. You have discovered the secret.

Any people that can live that way, with intellectual profit that way, is a great people possessed of a sense of humor, which the Jews have always had, as well as the intellectual ability for what is called deductive logic.

In addition to learning and wealth there was another virtue, called "yichus." Yichus had to do with a vague, intangible thing. It was very hard to know when a person had yichus and when he didn't.

Yichus consisted of family background with respect to these two qualities of learning and wealth -- family background. You can call it pedigree. You could call it the number of learned people you have in your background or the number of rich people you have in your background, but if you had too many rich and not enough learned, you haven't got yichus. If you have too many learned and not enough rich, you've got a lot of yichus.

Yichus has to do with the question of toponymy -- if you had just money and no learning, you had no yichus at all. You were just rich. Nouveau Riche. In Yiddish, it is called an "am-haaretz", which means an ignormant person -- a man of the people. A man of the people is illiterate and doesn't know how to read or write.

Learning, wealth and yichus are three things that constituted the hierarchy of the shtetl.

The next question was how you handled charity. Charity was a mitzva. It had to do not with just an abstract notion of respect for God and respecting God's wishes and doing the proper thing according to the Bible, but had to do with the very real matter of keeping a poor struggling community going. If you did not perform the mitzva of charity, it meant there would be some Jews in town who would die of hunger and every single Jew was expected to perform the mitzva of charity, no matter how poor he was himself, because some day he would be so poor he would not even have one Kopeck to give away and then he would expect to become a recipient. But so long as he's got one Kopeck, he's got to give away half of it.

The reason for this emphasis on charity was that it was a mitzva according to the original concept of the commandment but it was also a practical sociological fact in a poverty stricken community that if you want to take care of your own, you have to do it right now, and if you have only one penny left yourself, you still have more than the man who has zero and you have to share it. There will come a moment when you have zero and someone will share with you.

If you didn't perform your mitzva of charity, then you were committing what is called an "aveyreh," an aveyreh is a sin against God. Namely, it is a negative undesirable act. It is an aveyreh to kindle a fire on the Sabbath, but also an aveyreh to pay an exorbitant price for a purchase or to wear a clean dress while doing dirty work, or to die young. Thus mitzva and its opposite, aveyreh, is carried beyond the strict sense of commendment or violation, and stand respectively for what is culturally and socially good and desirable and what is not.

Life in a shtetl begins and ends with the act of doing charity and at every term during one's life, the reminder to give is present. At the circumcision ceremony and at every ceremony down to the burial, one is expected to put coins in the Tzedakah box. Every act during life is connected with clothing the naked, tending the sick and burying the dead. If something good or something bad happens, one puts a coin into the box.

Before lighting the sabbath candles, the housewife drops a coin into the box.

It is considered un-Jewish to play cards and the shayneh seldom do so except on Chanukah when it is the custom and therefore correct. The Prosteh who play cards very often, usually have a separate box for the poor. If bets are made, the stake is likely to go into one of the boxes. If a man bets it will rain tomorrow and if he loses, he will give so much and so much to the box of the home for the aged and every institution has a separate box so that those who play cards when they know they are not supposed to, clear their consciences by putting money into the boxes for charity.

Children are trained to the habit of giving. A father will let his son give alms to the beggar instead of giving it himself so the child will learn how to give it. The child is very often put in charge of the weekly dole at home when the beggars make their customary rounds. The beggars come to every house in the morning, asking for something for their own Shabbos. It didn't matter if five or ten come to your door in the morning; you give something to everybody.

There were in that world of the shtetl no people to whom you should say no.

Now, the degree of your yichus could also be determined by how much Tzadakah you gave. If you gave a lot of Tzadakah you had more yichus.

All the rules that we think we are inventing today for solicitation really stem from 100 years ago. For important and official fund raising, two respected officers of the association go from house to house collecting money. It is perhaps in these house-to-house collections that the full burden of social justice is felt most keenly. It is beautiful to give. It is gratifying to give, to reap up honor on earth and lay up rewards in heaven, to enhance the yichus of one's family and enhance the marriage prospects of one's children.

By the way, this whole business of building up a heavy load of yichus is to marry your daughter off properly. No respectable student in the yeshiva, especially if he is brilliant and poor, would consider marrying your daughter if you didn't have yichus. So to enhance the yichus of one's family, the marriage prospects of one's children, to enjoy the warmth of feeling you are a real Jew, obeying the law, doing what is expected of you, you ask for charity and you give charity.

This shtetl is a poor place. The coins that tinkle ceaselessly into boxes and outstretched palms are small coins, but their number is staggering. One gives and gives again and then once more is asked to give.

The fund raisers march into one's home. They have predetermined your rating. We need from you so much, they say. They will not be bashful in their request. To ask on behalf of someone else is not a shame but a virtue, so they come in belligerent. He who urges others to give charity and causes them to practice it earns a greater reward than the one who gives. In the end, the fund raisers depart, probably neither empty-handed nor completely satisfied.

Everyone must give down to the poorest, everyone wants to give, but almost everyone is in financial straits himself and almost no one can give easily. If one has only two rolls for the Sabbath meals, how can he satisfy the open mouths of all those who have none? How shall he answer the call of the multiple associations for the widow and for the orphan and for the poor bride and for the burial of the dead, not to speak about the many special calls?

In return for his donation, the Jew will receive "Koved," honor from the community. As the Hebrew root implies, koved means heavy. And it is a heavy, heavy job to earn koved. You have to give a lot of money to get koved.

It's a play on words. A Jew wants to receive honor from his community. To get honor he has to do a heavy thing. He has to give properly.

The shtetl a hundred years ago was governed by men who knew and who gave. To know meant to study, to be educated. I would like the American Jewish community today to be governed by men who know and who give. It isn't so yet. It is a state of being which we hope will come.

The shtetl, then, worked in all its poverty because it was led by men who had knowledge, and that meant compassion and not just money.

In the chapter called "As the Shtetl Sees the World", there is a summation:

"The shtetl views the universe as a planned whole, designed and governed by God, created from original chaos. It is a complex whole, but basically it is characterized by order, reason and purpose. Everything has its place, its cause, its function.

"In such a universe behavior of human beings must also be rooted in reason, order and purpose," and that is how Jews go about things.

"The shtetl believes further that the world brought into being by the Almighty is made for man." That is the Jewish point of view. The world was made for you; use it. To enjoy it, to make it better, life itself is to be enjoyed.

"Life on any terms is good." How could poverty stricken people living in mud and filth among crazy, drunken peasants who try to kill them every Sunday, believe that life was good? It seems like a paradox, a contradiction. But that belief is exactly what kept them going.

The emphasis on reason is linked with an enormous emphasis on words. Jews are highly verbal, because they have always believed that with words they could create order.

If with words you know how to say, "I mean one, two, three, four, I mean this, that, I want this, that," if by words you can communicate to another human being, if by words you can prevent misunderstanding, if by words you can set for yourself goals and explain to your children how you want them to act, then you can create a better world out of the miserable environment in which you live. The whole thing is to make the

miserable environment livable and even better than livable. Improve it. This is the whole Jewish attitude towards life. And nowhere is this better exemplified than in the Shtetl. That was our best training ground.

"In this highly verbalized culture, words are more than a medium of communication." Words are tools to force something to happen. God created the world with a word. That was God's tool which created the world. Let there be light. It was all done by a word to create something out of nothing. This is symbolism of the Jewish emphasis on words as an expression of ideas and thoughts.

"The ideal man is supposed to be restrained in behavior and attitude. Excesses of any kind are frowned on." That is why Jews never drank. It didn't mean you couldn't drink. You drank wine on Shabbos; you drank on Purim; you can drink on Chanukah. Restraint, no excess. The good in man should prevail. If he knows what is right he will do it.

Any event in the family is always a community event. When a baby is born it is good for the whole community, not just for the family itself. Many years ago, when I performed marriages often, I used to say to the couple that this consecration of two people getting married was very important, not just for themselves, but a marriage is an event that is important for the whole community and particularly since Hitler, every new family which is formed is an answer to the attempt to destroy us.

So that when you get married, you are not just getting married for yourself, you are getting married as an act of faith and further commitment to the whole Jewish community, which will benefit from your marriage. And I really believe that.

It is a part of the fact that every act in the family, every birth of a child, every Bar Mitzvah, every marriage adds to the community, every death weakens it, not just the family that suffers from the loss, the whole community is weakened. All of this comes from the closely knit society of the shtetl in which we lived.

There is a Hebrew word which I think all of you should know, "klal." It simply means the entirety. Everything that the UJA stands for is in that phrase, klal. The entire Israel is our responsibility. You are responsible for every Jew living on the face of this earth, like it or not, because you belong to something called "klal Yisroel," the entirety of the people of Israel. That came out of the shtetl philosophy that was taught there and preached there.

These philosophical points of view gave form to the Jewish people -- four million of them -- and these things which I have been reading to you describing to you now are exactly what you, your ancestors, brought here to the United States. Between 1880 and 1914, World War I, three million came from this Pale of Settlement over to the United States -- Russians, Polish, Jews. Keep the figures in your mind, that at the time of the Civil War, 1865, there were in America a couple of hundred thousand Jews.

If you keep in mind that the year 1880 is the watershed year, 1880, 1880 was the year in which Alexander the Second, the Tzar of Russia, was

assassinated and two horrible, terrible years of the pogrom followed, in which tens of thousands of Jews were killed, burned, tortured. The Tzar who followed, Nicholas, issued a civil decree. One-third of the Jews of Russia and the pale of settlement shall be killed; one-third of the Jews shall be forcibly converted to the Orthodox Church; one-third of the Jews shall be forcibly expelled.

That is a way to solve your Jewish problem, kill a third, convert a third, expel a third. These laws were made in May 1881. And that started the flight. It was almost as though the Jews said, "We will tell you what. We don't agree with the one-third being killed, and we don't agree about the one-third being converted, but if you insist upon expulsion..." And off they went like birds.

From 1881 to 1914, when World War I started, and shipping on the ocean was more difficult, from 1881 to 1914 is 33 years, almost three million Jews, an average of one hundred thousand per year, came to the United States in great gushes in a manner which I am sure you all know, on steerage boats, 30,40 days on the ocean, from two great ports, Bremen in Germany and Liverpool in England. The passage cost \$25 for 40 days in the hold, eating herring and vomiting, unbelievable voyages, and then getting to Ellis Island in New York and immediately sitting down to a job in a sweatshop, two dollars a week, three dollars a week, to save up for a ship ticket to send to the next member of the family. And when you got the \$25, you gave it to a ticket broker and bought a ticket for your brother or mother or uncle and they came on the next boat.

The question is why the United States? There were no immigration quotas at the time. They went into effect in the United States in 1924, in a bill called the Johnson Act, passed by Congress following World War I, when America turned very xenophobic and hated foreigners and kept foreigners out, and set up quotas, and the only people America liked were Germans.

The quota for Germans was 65,000; then, English at 25,000 per year. This was because America was based on Germanic, Anglo-Saxon stock. After these two the quotas dropped rapidly. Poles, 5,000; Italians, 5,000. When you got down to Chinese the number was 100 per year.

So one reason for the movement to America was no quotas; the second reason was America's reputation as a golden land where you could make a living. The third reason was that the movement of Zionism for Palestine had not yet become widespread.

So where else? If you were going to pick up and leave and go across and go up here, up to the Port of Bremen, or you went all the way across Germany and went over to England and got on the boat at Liverpool, why should you stop off at some European country on the way where you didn't know the language, either? Why should you change to go live in what? In Germany, France, Italy, in England? Go to the golden land, golden America.

That legend, you see, had already permeated Europe in the 1880's. They knew that America was some vast place; countries in Europe were small

places. They knew that America was a whole, big vast continent. They understood intuitively there were great opportunities to be found. Size and newness meant economic opportunity and since you were already on a journey, and it was a tough journey, anyhow, and you were going to go somewhere you didn't know the language anyhow, you might as well go where everybody else was going, where your Yiddish would help you and where your "landsmanshaft" would carry you.

And all the Jews that came from the same town here in the Pale would stick together, in Boston or Philadelphia or Galveston -- many ships went to Galveston -- that is how many Jews entered into the south and western parts of the United States.

One thing led to another and the American Jewish community grew as we see it and know it today, as the product of the shtetl. The earliest wave of migration, the Sephardic wave, made almost no influence; the second wave, the German wave, brought with it a few things but made really no great, tremendous dent; the third wave created the American Jewish community as it is today.

AMERICAN JEWISH

II. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF UNITED STATES JEWISH COMMUNITY

I have constructed this map (#3) showing the 21 cities in the U.S.A. which contain the vast majority of the Jews in the nation. The Jewish population of these 21 cities is 4,600,000 people. Now, all told, we think there are in America 5.8 million Jews. The balance of the population is scattered throughout hundreds and hundreds of other communities.

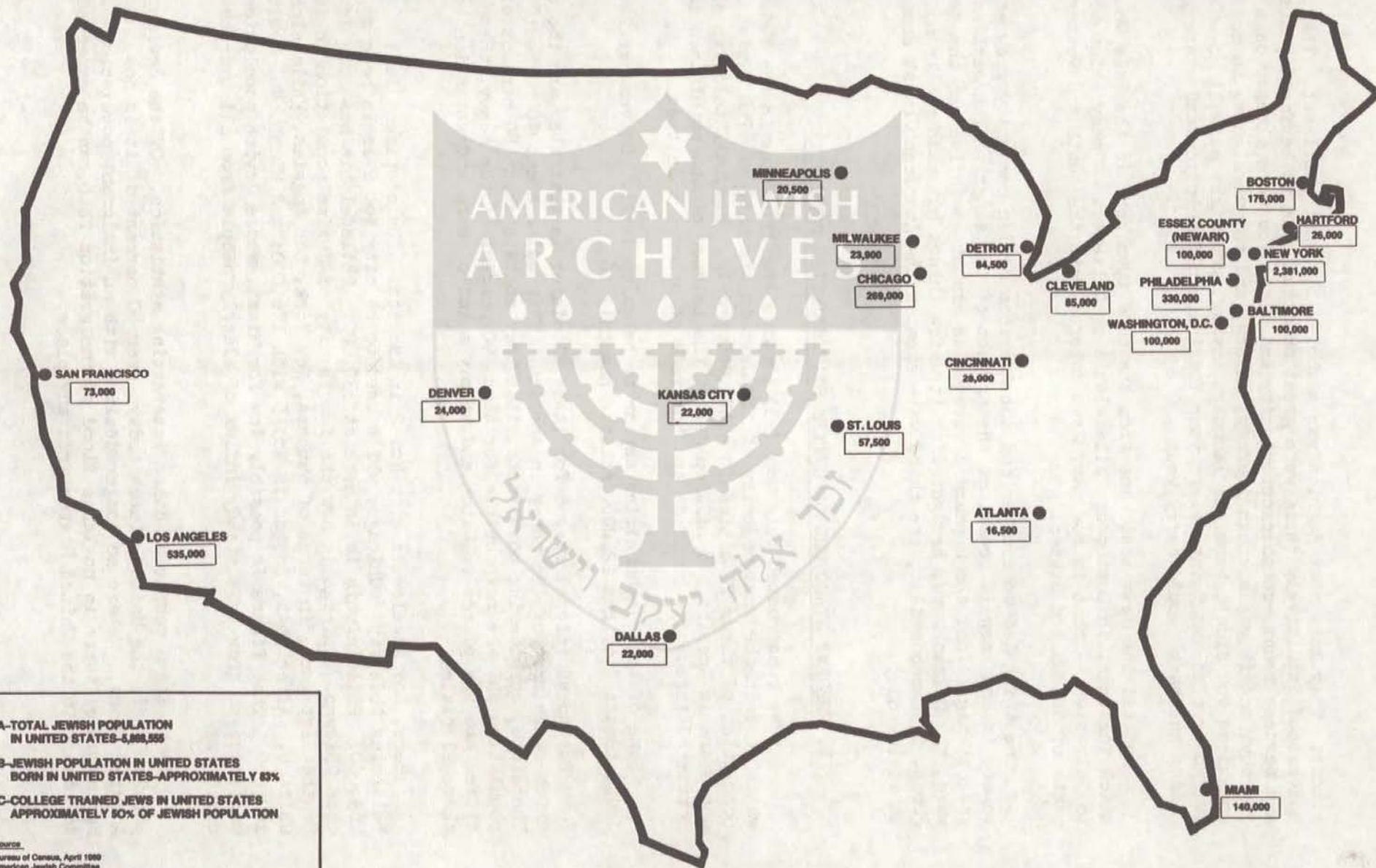
Some of these communities appear to be quite small. Denver has 24,000 Jews, Kansas City has 22,000, Atlanta has only 16,000.

But an additional reason for these 21 cities is that they are the ones which raise most of the money in America. They raise about 90 percent. Therefore, considering both facts, that they contain about 80 percent of the population and are responsible for about 90 percent of the money, these 21 cities are the places to watch and we pay a lot of care and attention to these 21 cities.

Here, Los Angeles is city No. 2 in America. The continent is balancing this way. Chicago, which used to be city No. 2 is in here as 269,000. Philadelphia is in here at 330,000. Philadelphia has more Jews than Chicago. Chicago is now the fourth city of Jewish population in America. So the list goes, in terms of numbers, New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Chicago. After that, Boston is No. 5 with 176,000; and Miami, No. 6 with 140,000. That figure is possibly low for Miami, whose Jewish population continues to grow by a steady influx of elderly people from all over the country.

There are a couple of other interesting statistics. Of the Jewish population in the United States today, over 80 percent of it is now American born. We are no longer dealing with an immigrant population. Furthermore, there is no large flood of immigration that can be expected to come into the United States from any place.

JEWISH POPULATION IN TWENTY-ONE CITIES OF UNITED STATES – 4,613,900



*A-TOTAL JEWISH POPULATION
IN UNITED STATES-5,868,555

**B-JEWISH POPULATION IN UNITED STATES
BORN IN UNITED STATES-APPROXIMATELY 83%

***C-COLLEGE TRAINED JEWS IN UNITED STATES
APPROXIMATELY 50% OF JEWISH POPULATION

Source

*Bureau of Census, April 1980

**American Jewish Committee

***Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds

So there is now a native born population which means that the future of this community will be determined by you and nobody else. You are not going to get any help from anybody else coming in from the outside. This community was built by the people who came from the shtetl outside. You are not going to have that kind of assistance any more. You have to build it yourself.

The other interesting fact about it is that of these five and a half million Jews in America, 50 percent of them are college-trained. Unbelievable! Absolutely unbelievable! And we are rapidly reaching a point where 60 and 70 and 80 percent -- and that means every man, woman and child, can you believe that? -- inside of 20 years, I believe, 75 or 80 percent of the Jewish population of this country, man, woman and child, is going to be college-trained.

The nature of the American Jewish community is fixed as far as numbers is concerned. We see no tendency at all for an increase in the birthrate. We enjoy Z.P.G. - Zero Population Growth.

The quality of this population we can already predict. It will be an Americanized population, it does not know Yiddish, it does not know Hebrew. These are all clues as to what must be done with this population.

I am not just citing these facts and saying they should be facts forever. These facts give us a clue as to what we have to do. It's going to be a completely American-born generation, it's going to be a small and confined group, a highly educated group, and a mobile upward in social terms and economic terms and it will become even more urbanized, or rather suburbanized.

Most communities used to have two organizations: the German sponsored Federation that started in the 1890's or later: and the Polish Russian Welfare Fund that started around the Hitler time, in the 1930's.

Boston was the first city in America to formulate a federated structure in 1895. By 1995, 100 years after the first federation was formed, you will see all American communities united, differences evaporated, bridges between German born and Polish born disappearing, and you will see a homogenous American Jewish community in the fact that every community will have one central institution.

This central federated instrument will have to decide on some ideology, and there is a struggle with ideology, i.e. the direction in which the local community is going. I have written down some topic headlines to give you an indication of what I mean by the struggle, the search for an ideology.

I put down hospitals. In every one of those 21 cities there is probably a Jewish hospital. Some have two, or even more.

I take a hospital as an example of what I am trying to drive at. There was a great feeling 30 or 40 years ago that the Jewish community ought to put up a Jewish hospital, because it had to do with the pride of the Jews, it had to do with a little bit of anti-Semitism, that the doctors couldn't practice and get on the staffs of other hospitals. It had to do with the feeling of Jews bending over backwards to make a contribution to the total

community, to put up an institution that offered the best that other people could use, and this would give the Jews a feeling of not only taking but also giving.

With medical care becoming now so much governmental and state, and with Medicaid and Medicare, and the whole attitude towards health and welfare services being the responsibility of the community at large, federal, state, or even local, the need for sectarian hospitals is now challengeable. Furthermore, bed occupancy has reached the point where, in many Jewish hospitals, 20 percent of those beds are occupied by Jews and 80 percent of those beds are occupied by somebody else. In New York it might be 10 and 90, for all I know. I am not using exact figures. These are available from The Council of Federations and Welfare Funds. I am simply trying to give illustrations and show trends.

I am using this as an example of the way that priorities change in this organized Jewish community of ours.

If we don't analyze the changing priorities and shift the manner in which community money is spent, we will be making serious errors.

Take a look at this item of Jewish education. Now everybody is in an uproar about Jewish education, every community leader. It is the favorite drawing room topic.

Everybody says Jewish education is in a perilous condition. Everybody says we have to do something but nobody knows what to do.

Some cities have a bureau of Jewish education, like the Board of Education of city schools as a whole. Some people feel that the Bureau of Jewish Education ought to be the central authority in town and tell all the other schools what to do and what to teach and how many hours and what the curriculum and whether Hebrew and whether no Hebrew. So sometimes you have an argument, should the Bureau of Jewish Education be a central body in charge of policy making?

Then we come to the parochial schools. Some people feel the only way to get a decent Jewish education is to send the kids to a parochial school, even if that parochial school is orthodox.

I believe in parochial Jewish type of day school education, not for its religious orientation but for its intellectual content.

Last week a miracle took place and a conference was held on Jewish education, in which the reform element said day schools were the only way to get a really decent education. This is certainly a switch.

If, on the other hand, the Bureau of Education, the central bureau, can run all the congregational schools and all the Talmud-Torahs and the afternoon schools, and we really believe that our Central Bureau of Education can do a better job than day schools, and if you are convinced of that, then support the cause of the Bureau of Jewish Education.

What about individual congregational schools? Are they the best approach? America believes in autonomy, and every congregation is autonomous and every rabbi is his own boss and every congregation has its own school, at the cost of horrendous budgets to all of you, and at the cost of very large dues. Can a congregational school give a sufficiently deep education in a few hours on Sunday morning? The answer is definitely negative.

I ran congregational schools for 14 years. And I ran two good ones. I did the best I knew how to charm the kids and I used the most modern audio-visual techniques. I poured everything I had into it, but I'm convinced it was simply inadequate. It didn't give the kids enough.

So - in the search for future directions - of defining the problems on which the community must concentrate, don't argue theoretically. Look at the real issues. Discard old conceptions. We may be losing children. We have problems with the aged. Shall we have Jewish aged homes or not? Maybe it's better to put the money into a Jewish old age home than into a Jewish hospital.

The use of drugs may pass, as a fad. On the other hand, they may turn out to become something very serious, very, very serious, and deeply permeate the whole community and they will become than like a disease. It will not be just a matter of one individual father not knowing how to cope with the drug problems of his individual kids, but it may reach the dimension of becoming a community problem, socially. I am not sure.

I don't want to be an alarmist. I don't think it will reach those dimensions, as a matter of fact. And yet it might, and then you will have to grapple with something that your parents generation never dreamed of, and wouldn't know how to handle.

You are going to try to decide the nature of the Jewish content, commitment and action of the community of this country. And, if you decide, for instance, that the best way to protect the survival of Judaism in America is for every Jew in America to learn Hebrew, you had better organize your educational facilities for that end.

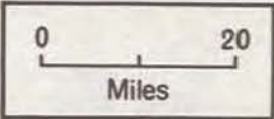
If everybody knew Hebrew, everybody could read the Bible in the original. And if everybody could read some Jewish literature and poetry and philosophy - everybody would remain close as a Jew.

I think language was one of our cementing factors, which kept Jews the world over united. We haven't got it any more. Hebrew should become our international common language, for culture and religion.

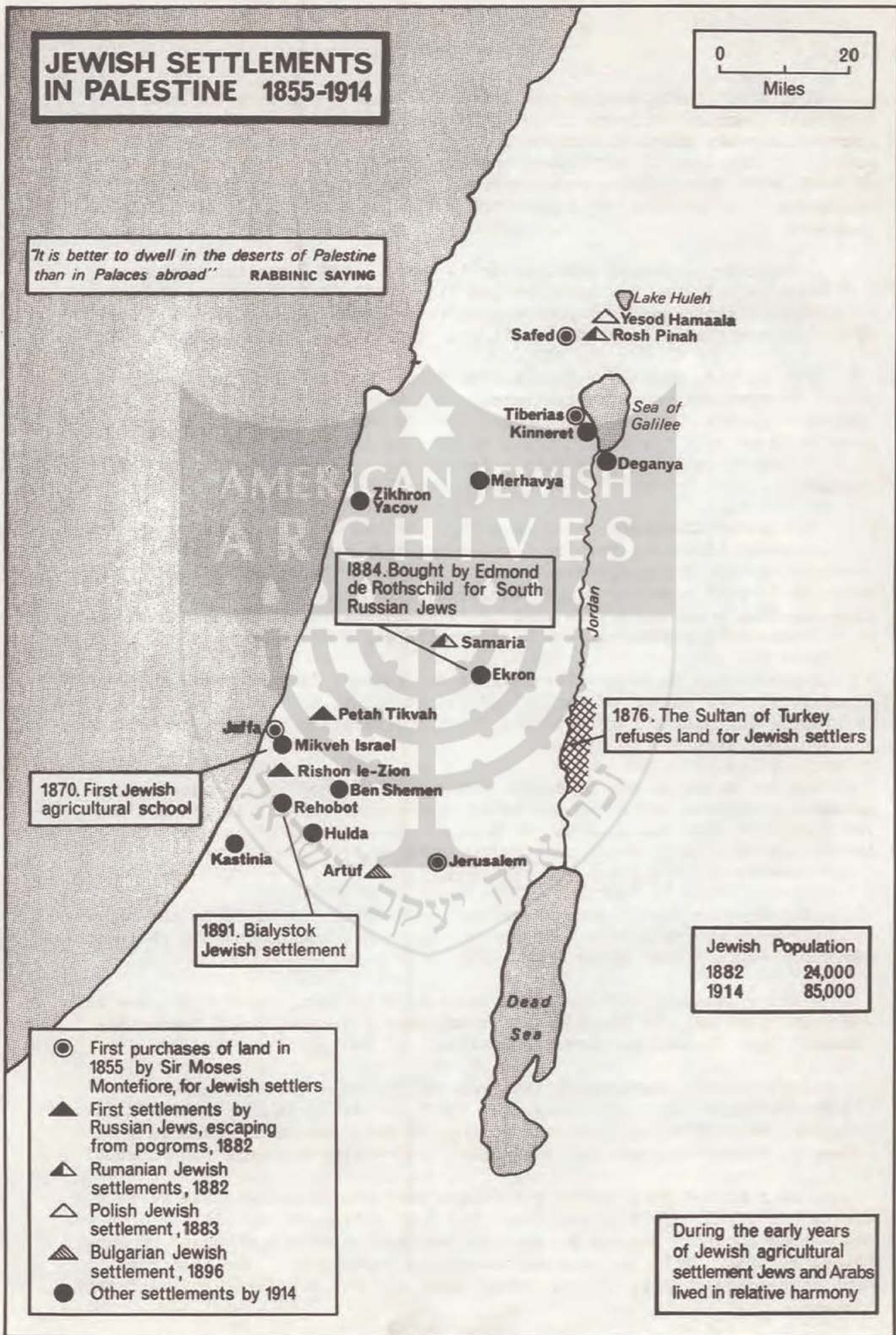
If you think, conversely, that you can keep the Jewish community together without the Hebrew language, that you can do it all in the English language, try. But make sure the content of what your kids learn in the community centers is not just basketball and bowling but more than that.

I will finish this point by saying a very simple thing: One very astute historian made a comment that the destruction of six million Jews was bad -- bad enough. But worse, was the destruction of six thousand communities. Because with the destruction of the communities, the libraries went, the schools went, the books went, and the scholars went, and they are gone.

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS IN PALESTINE 1855-1914



"It is better to dwell in the deserts of Palestine than in Palaces abroad" RABBINIC SAYING



1884. Bought by Edmond de Rothschild for South Russian Jews

1876. The Sultan of Turkey refuses land for Jewish settlers

1870. First Jewish agricultural school

1891. Bialystok Jewish settlement

Jewish Population	
1882	24,000
1914	85,000

- First purchases of land in 1855 by Sir Moses Montefiore, for Jewish settlers
- ▲ First settlements by Russian Jews, escaping from pogroms, 1882
- ▲ Rumanian Jewish settlements, 1882
- ▲ Polish Jewish settlement, 1883
- ▲ Bulgarian Jewish settlement, 1896
- Other settlements by 1914

During the early years of Jewish agricultural settlement Jews and Arabs lived in relative harmony

It isn't just people that disappeared into the gas ovens, it was structure, mechanisms which disappeared. They are not self-perpetuating, and we have to create new ones.

The track on which we are going now is not good enough to protect the future and to guarantee the survival of the Jewish community for another hundred years -- and the one thing that is lacking is knowledge and education.

We are all united on Israel. The American community has come through its inner turmoil on that question and it is 99 percent united on the subject of Israel.

There it has an ideology, a point of view, a direction, it has a goal, The American Jewish community is behind Israel. That is a positive thing which has been done. That is good, that is constructive.

But even Israel, I don't think, is enough to guarantee American Jewish survival. The future of this community will depend on its own creativity.

Lebeson has a sentence which is applicable at this point. She says:

"The age of migration is over. No more will entrenched and wealthy Jews be vexed by the influx of large numbers of impoverished immigrants. There will be less and less to do in the area of philanthropy and service for immigrants coming to these shores, for the reservoirs of potential immigration have dried up; the remnant of Israel that is left in other countries wants to return to the land of Israel. America no longer beckons today.

"The tides of mobility flow to the East, towards the River Jordan and Jerusalem -- the places that were once the center of the world to the Jewish cartographers who lavished their finest skills in drawing maps of a world that was new to their century. So there will be fewer immigrants. Because of that, there will be no replenishing of scholarship and genius. Where will the Jews of America find their leaders and teachers and interpreters of the Law? Where, but within their own ranks, with their seminaries and policies and institutes. Their strength will come from within."

III. ROOTS OF THE ISRAELI COMMUNITY

The roots and origins of the Israeli community, how the Jews started in modern Palestine, are shown on this map, (#4) marked, 1855 to 1914.

The first purchases of land were made in 1855 by Sir Moses Montefiore for Jewish settlers.

Those of you who have been in Jerusalem, have seen the windmill down near the King David Hotel. That windmill was put up by Sir Moses Montefiore, in a section called Yemin Moshe, after his first name Moses. He was a British Jew. They were all much better Zionists than the American Jews --

so were the French. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, a Frenchman, invested more in Palestine than anyone in the early days.

The historic fact is that Zionism was a European 19th Century nationalism. Good or bad, that is what it was. This Jewish nationalist movement, was born out of the matrix of all other nationalist movements in Europe, and I don't think there is any point in going into the argument whether nationalism is wrong and whether, instead, we should go down the path of internationalism and try to create one world without nations. It is not a matter of idealistic debate, whether the world is better off with nationalism or better off without it. The fact is that nationalism is a powerful force.

The first man concerning whom you should know something is Moses Hess. He wrote a book called ROME AND JERUSALEM. Moses Hess was a socialist, he was a cosmopolitan, he was a Bohemian. He fled from Judaism, he inter-married. He went through all the personal turmoil of not knowing what he believed in in his life, and he finally returned to Judaism.

And what did the trick? He was impressed by the Italian Mazzini.

This was the day of Mazzini, Cavour, Garibaldi -- the beginning of Italian nationalism -- and he reached the conclusion that if the Italians were entitled to their own risorgimento, their own revival movement, why were the Jews not entitled as well to their own national awakening and homeland?

If the liberation of Rome was an act of historic justice, why not the liberation of Jerusalem? And that is why he called the book Rome and Jerusalem.

The Italian people wished to create a nation of their own, out of many individual city states -- 15, 20, of them. Suddenly it hit Hess: if the Italians are trying to form a nation in their ancient capital of Rome, why not we Jews also?

I refer here to a book called "The Zionist Idea." This, you take one page at a time, two pages at a time. It is called an historical analysis and reader. The editor is a Rabbi Arthur Herzberg, and in here he has got everything, everything.

In "The Zionist Idea" (p. 133) Rabbi Arthur Herzberg tells how Moses Hess started thinking. Hess read a book by a Frenchman, who said:

"What European power would today oppose the plan that the Jews should buy back their ancient fatherland? Who would object if the Jews flung a handful of gold to decrepit old Turkey and said to her, 'Give me back my home and use this money to consolidate the other parts of your tottering empire.'? A great calling is reserved for the Jews: to be a living channel of communication between three continents. You shall be the bearer of civilization to people who are still inexperienced, and you shall be their teacher in the European sciences to which you have already contributed so much. You shall be the mediators between Europe and Far Asia

opening the roads that lead to India and China, those unknown regions which must ultimately be thrown open to civilization.

"You will come to the land of your fathers decorated with the crown of age-old martyrdom and there, finally, you will be completely healed from all your ills.

"Your capital will again bring the wide stretches of barren land under cultivation. Your labor and industry will once more turn the ancient soil into fruitful valleys and the world will again pay its homage to the oldest of people"

Hess liked what was said by this rhapsodic non-Jew, Ernst Laharanne, whose book was called The New Eastern Question, and was written just after the massacres in Syria in 1845. So, Hess advocated Jewish nationalism.

The next important work appeared 20 years later, in 1882. A man by the name of Leo Pinsker wrote a book called Auto-Emancipation.

Remember what I told you about 1881 being the great turning point in Jewish history, when Alexander II was assassinated? There were two terrible years of pogroms. The Jews began to flee Russia and go to the United States.

Pinsker wrote his book in 1882. He defined three causes of anti-Semitism: The Jews are a ghost people, unlike any other in the world and, therefore, feared as a thing apart; they are everywhere foreigners and nowhere hosts in their own national right; they are in economic competition with every majority in which they live. There is, therefore, only one workable solution: Find a country of their own where the bulk of Jewry would at last come to rest.

Do you notice something in there? He didn't say Palestine.

Here is the summary at the end of the book Auto-Emancipation, which was more impressive than Hess' book, and more intellectual:

"Jews are not a living nation. They are everywhere alien; therefore, they are despised. The civil and political emancipation of the Jews is not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of the world. The proper and only remedy would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, with the people living upon its own soil -- the auto-emancipation of the Jews; emancipation as a nation among nations, by the acquisition of a home of their own. The present moment is more favorable than any other for realizing the plan here unfolded.

"The international Jewish questions must receive a national solution. Of course, our national regeneration can only proceed slowly. We must take the first step. Our descendants must follow us with a measured and unhurried pace. A way must be opened for calling a Congress of Jewish notables..." This was 1882. The first Zionist Congress wasn't called until 15 years later, 1897.

"...No sacrifice would be too great to reach the goal which would insure our people's future, everywhere in danger. The financial accomplishment of the undertaking can, in the nature of the situation, encounter no insuperable difficulty. Help yourselves, and God will help you."

At about the same time as Pinsker's book, something very interesting happened. The first beginning of any kind of organized movement to Palestine took place, under the banner of a name BILU.

BILU is an acronym of four Hebrew words from a sentence in Isaiah: "Beth Yaakov Lechu Venelchu."

"Oh, House of Jacob, we will go, let us go," meaning let us go up to Palestine. And from those four letters they formed the first pioneering organization and they went to Palestine, and they established an agricultural school in 1870.

All you stamp collectors will know that 1970, last year, was the 100th anniversary of the Mikveh Israel Agricultural School. It was observed by the issuance of stamps. An agricultural school a hundred years old in Palestine.

Petach Tikvah was the first town that was started ten years later by the same BILU group.

The manifesto of BILU is quoted in a book called the Israel-Arab Reader, which, incidentally, is a terribly important volume because it gives every significant Arab document, if one wishes to study their side of the case, in addition to the important basic Jewish documents.

This manifesto was issued by the BILU group in Constantinople in 1882, on their way going to Palestine.

"The name of our society will be BILU, according to the motto, 'House of Jacob, come let us go.'

"Two: the seat of our committee shall be Jerusalem.

"Three: Donations and contributions shall be unfixed and unlimited.

"Four: We want, one, a home in our country. It was given to us by the mercy of God. It is ours as registered in the archives of history. Two, beg it of the Sultan himself. If it be impossible to obtain this, to beg that we many at least possess it as a state within a larger state.

"The internal administration to be ours, to have our civil and political rights and to act with the Turkish Empire only in foreign affairs, so as to help our brother Ishmael in the time of his need."

Ishmael was the ancestor of the Arabs. The early Biluim in 1880 already had in their minds that they were willing to live in peace, side by side with the Arabs.

By the way, you should read the documents in the same volume from King Faisal to Felix Frankfurter in 1915, in which Faisal says he looks forward to living in harmony with the Jews, in founding Palestine.

Going back to the map, here is the first Jewish agricultural school founded in Mikveh Israel, right outside of Jaffa.

On this map there is no Tel Aviv.

The Sultan of Turkey refuses land for Jewish settlers. The trouble is starting already.

1884, land Ekron bought by Edmond de Rothschild for South Russian Jews.

By 1884, there were already a few Jews from Russia moving--the Biluim--and Rothschild was buying them land.

Edmond Rothschild, by the way, in the course of his life in the 1880's and '90's, spent in Palestine \$100 million in gold francs of those days.

In 1891, the Jews from Bialystok founded the town of Rehovot. The solid triangle is the first settlements by Russian Jews escaping from the Pogroms in 1882.

Polish Jewish settlement, 1883. That is Yesod Hamaala, which is right up here in the Huleh.

Bulgarian and Jewish settlement, 1896, which no longer exists and then circle other settlements which by 1914--well, it means in the 1890's, 1901, 1905, 1910, up to World War I, all these other settlements were founded.

Kastinia, which is near Ashdod; Hulda; Ben Sheme; which still exists, Mikva, outside of Jaffa; Zichron, which was established by Rothschild, which is near Caesaria; Merhavia, which is where Golda started; Degania, where Eshkol started; Kineret. These with the black circle, were the lands purchased by Sir Moses Montefiore: Safed, Tiberias, Jerusalem and Jaffa.

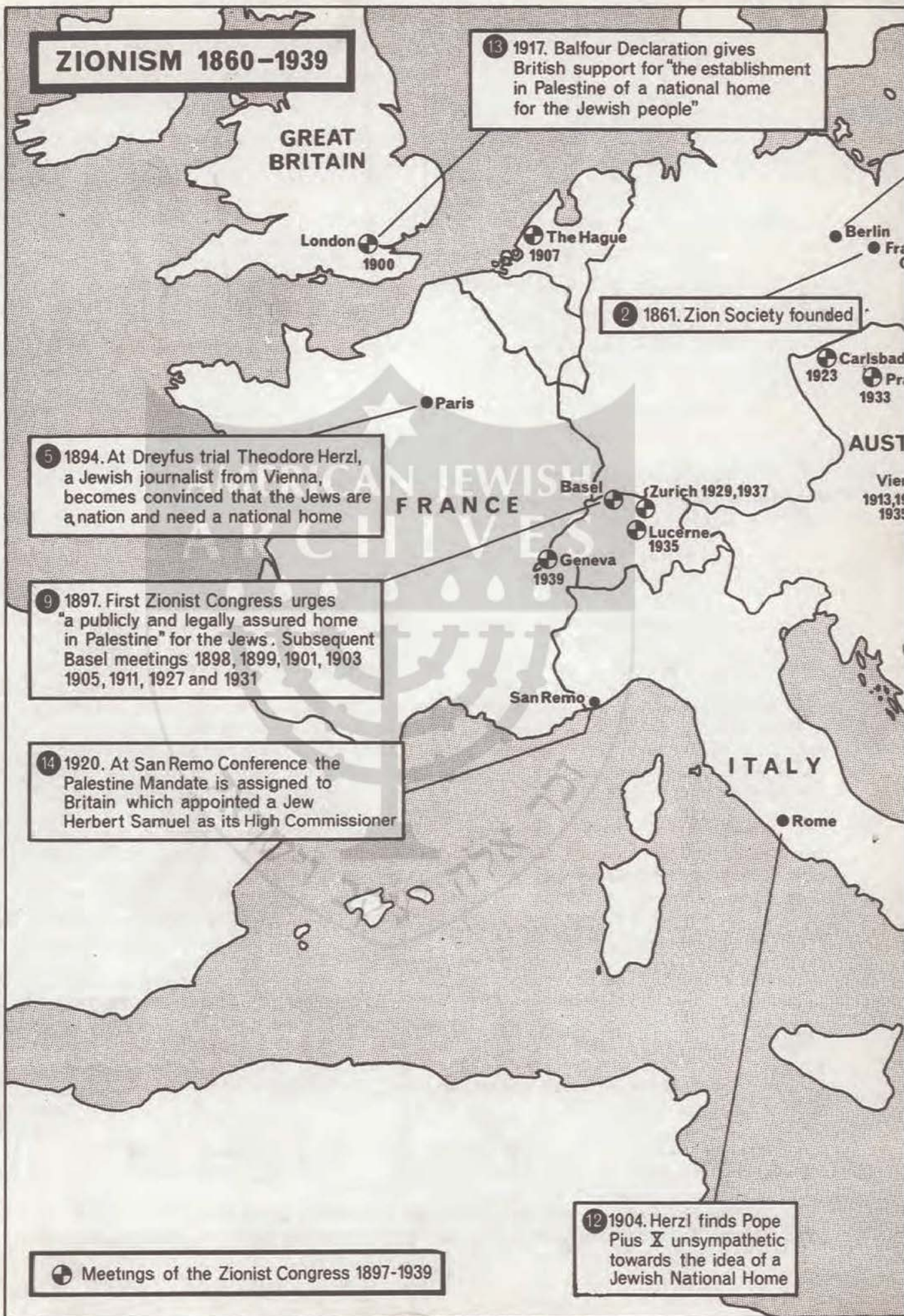
I don't know if you understand why these particular places. Jaffa was a port, the only port, and Montefiore bought some buildings on the edge of the port for the Jews to land. It wasn't a deep port then, either, any more than it was in the time of Jonah who sailed from there. Ships used to have to anchor far out and the people were brought in by lighters and tenders. It is still that way today.

The other places of Montefiore, Safed, Tiberias and Jerusalem, are three of the four holy towns. The fourth holy town of Judaism is Hebron, not marked on the map. That was totally Arab. These four holy towns, by tradition, have had Jews living in them ever since the destruction of the temples. In other words, they have never been without Jews. Never, never. So, what Montefiore did was to extend Jewish holdings in the four holy cities.

Now, let us look at Jewish population: in 1882, there were 24,000; by 1914, there were only 85,000.

During the early years of Jewish agricultural settlements, Jews and Arabs lived in relative harmony--that is the tragedy of it. They really did.

ZIONISM 1860-1939



1882. Leo Pinsker in "Auto-Emancipation" urged Jews to seek a national retreat, preferably on the banks of the Jordan

0 200
Miles

● Vilna

● Thorn

11 1903. Herzl acclaimed "Herzl the King" during visit to Russia

1 1860. Conference discusses possibility of a Jewish home in Palestine

● Kattowitz

R U S S I A

U N G A R Y

4 1884. "Lovers of Zion" movement holds conference

6 1896. Herzl publishes his "Jews' State" urging the Jews to seek their national home in Palestine. Its immediate impact was on Russian Jewry

● Odessa

A M E R I C A N J E W I S H A R C H I V E S

8 1897. "Lovers of Zion" revitalized by Herzl, and by its new President, Ussishkin, a disciple of Ahad Ha-am, the spiritual prophet of Zionism

B U L G A R I A

● Constantinople

7 1896. Herzl acclaimed as the Messiah

T U R K E Y

10 1901 Herzl has audience with Sultan. Asks in vain for Palestine as a Jewish national home

Let me point out in sequence these things on the map--beginning with No. 1. In 1860, in a Town in East Prussia, which was just on the edge of the Pale of Settlement, there was a conference called to discuss the possibility of a Jewish home in Palestine in 1860.

In 1861, in the Town of Frankfurt-am-Oder, near Berlin, a Zion society was founded, using the name "Zion."

In 1882, Pinsker in Berlin wrote his book Auto-Emancipation, urging Jews to seek a national retreat, preferably on the banks of the Jordan, but, he never said exactly where the Jewish national home should be. He didn't much care. Later on, after he wrote the book, people said to him: "Look, don't you think if you are going to start any kind of a national renaissance, it ought to be connected with the ancient homeland," and he said, "Yes, I suppose so; so let's use the banks of the Jordan River, because the Jordan is a holy river."

This lack of immediate identification with Palestine was not unusual. I will tell you a greater secret. Theodore Herzl, himself, offered the Jews two choices--Palestine or Argentina.

No. 4: In 1884, two years later, after Pinsker's book, the "Choveve Zion"--Lovers of Zion movement held its first conference in Katowitz.

You see, the Bilu movement got started in 1882, and the Choveve Zion in 1884, and they quickly merged, because they meant the same thing. They were the first group of Halutzim and pioneers who were willing to go to Palestine physically--physically, not just talk about it.

No. 5, ten years later. There was a blank ten years between 1884 and 1894--nothing happened. The Choveve Zion and the Biluim sent a few hundred people. A few towns got started--not very many. Ten years later, the whole thing came to a big crashing climax, with the Dreyfus trial.

At the Dreyfus trial, Theodor Herzl, a Jewish journalist from Vienna, became convinced that the Jews are a nation and need a national home.

What convinced him? The most wildly raging blinding anti-Semitism that prevailed in Europe as a result of the Dreyfus trial; wherein Dreyfus, the stinking, dirty blood-sucking Jew, the traitor, the one who sold the secrets of France to the Prussians was sent to Devil's Island and cashiered and broken and disgraced: following which on every wall in France, the words "A bas les Juives" were written in letters ten feet high.

The shock was all the worse, because people thought of France as the most civilized country in Europe--which had first given citizenship to Jews after the French Revolution; where Napoleon had said, "Form your own Sanhedrin and reestablish your own nation", which expressed the tradition of egalité and liberté and fraternité.

Herzl, who was a civilized, assimilated, not-very-Jewish Jew from Vienna, who was the Paris correspondent for the Neuer Freier Presse, and had come to cover the Dreyfus case as a journalist, sat in the press gallery and watched this explosion take place, and said to himself, "My God, if in Paris, the heart of civilized Europe, Jews can be cut to pieces like this and threatened with murder and death and pogroms, then no place on this earth is safe for them, and, they ought to have a home of their own. That's the only way out."

If a religious Jew had come up with that conclusion straight out of the Shtetl, that would be one thing. But this man was polished and suave. This man wore a top hat and tails. This man was French and German speaking. This man was elegant, rich, with access to all non-Jewish homes. He was of the literary and society world. For this man to come to the conclusion that Jews needed a home of their own was a startling conclusion. He was not some sweaty little Jew from the East End of London or the East Side of Lower New York. He was Theodor Herzl, the internationally famous poet!

It surprised everybody. But in the clarity of his vision he said it was clear to him that there was no Jewish fate and future possible anywhere in the world if it were not possible in France, and if it were not possible in France, then the Jews should build their own place—which, by the way, could be Palestine, could be the Argentine. He didn't care.

Two years after the Dreyfus case, when he went back to Vienna, Herzl published his book "The Jewish State," urging Jews to seek their national home in Palestine. Its immediate impact was on Russian Jewry because Russian Jewry was on the move towards the United States, but the dream and the idea of the Land of Palestine caught them and they thought of him, that western, assimilated German-speaking Jew. They called him King Herzl, and when he moved through the shtetl towns, as he did on a couple of tours he made later, tens of thousands of people came to the railroad stations to meet him.

No. 7. 1896, Herzl acclaimed as the Messiah.

No. 8. 1897, Lovers of Zion revitalized by Herzl, and their new president, Ussishkin, a disciple of Ahad Ha-am, the spiritual prophet of Zionism in Odessa.

No. 9. In 1897, in Basel, Switzerland, the first Zionist Congress urged a "publicly guaranteed and legally assured home in Palestine for the Jews." We want it by right and we want the world to say openly we've got a right to have it.

No. 10. 1901. Herzl had an audience with the Sultan in Constantinople and asked in vain for Palestine as a Jewish national home. He was turned down.

No. 11. 1903. Herzl acclaimed "Herzl the King," during a visit to Russia in Vilna.

No. 12. In 1904, Herzl found Pope Pius X unsympathetic towards the idea of a Jewish national home.

Baron Edmund de Hirsch was pouring tens of millions of dollars into the Argentine at that time through an organization called ICA, which was a Jewish colonization association, but he did not believe in a Jewish state. Herzl said to Baron de Hirsch, "You are making beggars out of those Jews down in the Argentine. Don't just send them money and support them in a few Jewish agricultural colonies. Make them form a state of their own."

And Baron de Hirsch said, "No, I am a citizen of France. I am not a member of a Jewish nation, I am a member of the French nation. I do not believe in a Jewish nation."

1904, Herzl died, 44 years old, brokenhearted, a young man, frustrated brilliant--just one of those unusual meteors to flash up on the scene, who died of a broken heart and overwork at being unable to sell his idea to anybody in the world.

Not until 1917, 13 years later, did the British Government give its support for the establishment of a Jewish home by issuing the Balfour Declaration. This was in the form of a letter sent by Lord Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild. I don't know if you know that the letter of the famous declaration is one sentence long. One sentence.

"His Majesty's Government looks with favor on the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

1920, following the end of World War I, at the San Remo Conference in Italy, the Palestine mandate was assigned to Britain which appointed a Jew, Herbert Samuel, as its first High Commissioner.

To recapitulate for a moment, the first aliyah began after the 1881 laws, and the second aliyah began in 1904, following the Kishinev pogrom.

The Kishinev pogrom was a terrible slaughter, and provoked a new wave of immigration.

I don't know if you know it, but you ask any Israeli leader and he will tell you that the Israeli equivalent of the term "Mayflower," "Mayflower descendants", "Did your ancestors come on the Mayflower?" is: "Are you from the second aliyah?"

Ben Gurion came in the second aliyah. Eshkol came in the second aliyah. And Katznelson and Gordon, all of them who founded, the intellectuals, the laborers, the socialists, the Histadrut. The second aliyah is the Mayflower of Israel.

The third aliyah came in following the Balfour Declaration and the first World War.

The fourth aliyah came in 1924, following economic restrictions by the Polish Government that sent a whole gush of Polish Jews. Co-incidentally that year, the U. S. Congress passed a law severely limiting immigration from eastern Europe.

After World War I, when the British took over Palestine, there was the British mandate period. During this period the Jews were struggling to live in harmony with the British and the British were favoring the Arabs-- there were no two ways about it, and the Arabs knew it, and they started periodically rioting against Jews. There were bad riots in 1921; there were bad riots again in 1936 - 1939, terrible riots in that period that went on intermittently for three years.

One who thinks that Israel has fought three wars with the Arabs is wrong. That period of 1936 - 1939 was the equivalent of a long drawn-out guerrilla war, with dozens and dozens of episodes, ambushing of trucks on the road, killings, convoys being stopped, towns being besieged; and always, always this terrible thing wherein the Jews were trying to smuggle arms, collect them, save them in kibbutzim, bury them under the cellars of cowsheds, and then the British coming in and conducting a search and destroy mission.

And when the British would find and take over a cache of arms and take it away from the Jews, and a particular kibbutz would be disarmed, the Arabs would hear about it and make an attack on that kibbutz at the moment when they had no arms to defend themselves. It was a bloody, bitter period.

It ended in 1939, when World War II started, because the British suddenly realized that Jews were an ally and the Arabs were taking the side of the Germans. Then their attitude towards the Jews internally, in Palestine, switched and they became less pro-Arab and more pro-Jewish, and then the Arab rioting stopped.

During all those years of World War II, Jewish soldiers were enlisting in the British Army and that is where many of the Jews learned their English. By the end of World War II, there had been 30,000 Palestinian Jews trained in the use of arms who had enlisted in the British Army and fought with the British 8th Army in Italy as a separate Jewish unit. The Jews had argued for five years to get permission to fight in their own Jewish brigade under their own flag, and the answer had always been no, and finally Churchill said yes, at the end of 1944 when the war had only a few months to go.

But the pride of that brigade was its shoulder patch with that flag stencilled with the Star of David on it, and then all the smuggling of immigrants that started with the jeeps being lettered on the front, H.M.J.C., His Majesty's Jewish Company, and these were fake companies, and the Jews used the jeeps to help smuggle immigrants. That is a whole other story by itself.

Finally came the vote of the United Nations on the Palestine Resolution on the 29th of November 1947. The vote was 33 yea, 13 nay, and 10 abstentions. That was the total number of nations in the United Nations. That is 56 countries. Today there are 123. (See chart No. 5) We won by only two votes. That's how close it was.

Of the 33 countries that voted yea, there was, of course, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Once the Russians voted yes, the Ukrainians voted yes and the Belorussians voted yes; because they control that. Much of South

**VOTING RECORD OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON
THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE—29TH NOVEMBER, 1947**

YEA (33)

AUSTRALIA
 BELGIUM
 BOLIVIA
 BRAZIL
 BYELO RUSSIA S.S.R.
 CANADA
 COSTA RICA
 CZECHOSLOVAKIA
 DENMARK
 DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
 ECUADOR
 FRANCE
 GUATEMALA
 HAITI
 ICELAND
 LIBERIA
 LUXEMBOURG
 NETHERLANDS
 NEW ZEALAND
 NICARAGUA
 NORWAY
 PANAMA
 PARAGUAY
 PERU
 PHILIPPINES
 POLAND
 SWEDEN
 UKRAINIAN S.S.R.
 UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
 URUGUAY
 U.S.A.
 U.S.S.R.
 VENEZUELA

NAY (13)

AFGHANISTAN
 CUBA
 EGYPT
 GREECE
 INDIA
 IRAN
 IRAQ
 LEBANON
 PAKISTAN
 SAUDI ARABIA
 SYRIA
 TURKEY
 YEMEN

ABSTENTION (10)

ARGENTINA
 CHILE
 CHINA
 COLOMBIA
 EL SALVADOR
 ETHIOPIA
 HONDURAS
 MEXICO
 UNITED KINGDOM
 YUGOSLAVIA



erica went with us, because of the influence of Guatemala. There was a wonderful man by the name of Granados in the United Nations at that time, who wrote a book called Palestine As I See It, and he swung much of Latin America. Without Latin America we wouldn't have won.

The United States didn't swing many countries--probably only the Philippines. Russia swung her two countries. Guatemala swung about nine or ten. Australia broke out of the Commonwealth and voted yes. That was a very courageous thing for Australia to do. Canada broke out of the Commonwealth and voted yes. New Zealand broke out of the Commonwealth and voted yes.

Britain did not control the Commonwealth. Britain really wanted to vote no, but was afraid of the judgement of history, and so abstained. Britain played a rather defeated role in the thing, and I would like you to know that the whole attitude of the British Government on the issue of Palestine became one of despair, weakness, boredom with the problem, fatigue, plus a violent huge dose of anti-Semitism on the part of Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, whom I had met with in London in January of that same year, 1947, under very peculiar circumstances, together with a rabbi from Rochester, New York, by the name of Philip Bernstein, who was then the adviser to General Lucius D. Clay in Germany on Jewish affairs, and whose deputy I was.

Rabbi Bernstein was a civilian and I was a captain (chaplain) in uniform. President Truman had sent a letter asking that a hundred thousand Jewish DP's should be admitted to Palestine, at least, as a humanitarian gesture.

General Clay, receiving a copy of that letter from President Truman, replied that the Jews who were in DP camps in Germany under American Army jurisdiction would be taken care of by the American Army, which would supply rail and boat transportation, food supplies, and so forth, to move the hundred thousand people to Palestine if the American President ordered it, but that it was obviously dependent on the British, who controlled Palestine.

And therefore General Clay sent a note back to President Truman explaining that he would send his adviser on Jewish Affairs over to London to talk to the British about whether they agreed with the President's proposal.

Rabbi Bernstein went to London at the request of General Clay, carrying a letter from President Truman, and I accompanied him. The scene in Whitehall with Ernest Bevin shall never be forgotten.

There was the Foreign Minister of His Majesty's Empire, on which the sun was never supposed to set, sitting all huddled up in an overcoat, freezing cold, because there was no heat in the room. There was no heat in the room in Whitehall because Britain was on the rocks in the hard winter of '46-'47, withdrawing her troops from India, fed up with this fight in Palestine.

Bevin unleashed an anti-Semitic barrage in language which simply can't be repeated. He was discussing a letter from the President of the United States to the general commanding the Army in Europe and using filthy, gutter language which was incredible in that setting. He concluded with approximately this sentence: "I am fed up with the whole blank subject, I am going to take the blanking Jews who caused all the trouble anyway and blank them. I am going to turn the blanking issue over to the United Nations, let them do what they want with the blank Jews. I am through with it."

A week later he wrote an instruction, which his Government accepted, that the problem should no longer be dealt with, that the mandate should be given up and turned back to the United Nations for their ultimate disposition.

So it was really a defeated attitude. It was a desperate attitude. It was, "We have no strength or ingenuity to handle this anymore." Therefore, they abstained, on the vote. But the rest of the Commonwealth didn't agree with that position and saw the justice of the Jewish position.

Czechoslovakia was a free and independent country in 1947, it had not yet been swallowed up by the Communists. Czechoslovakia had a tradition of its own freedom and its connection with the Jews. It voted quickly and positively. Denmark and Norway, of course. France, with a great, great big orgiastic speech about how Zionism was born on French soil. Iceland, a little, free, independent country; Liberia, the first free country in Africa. Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru--I have explained them all. Poland went with Russia. That's it.

Now the nays, the 13 negatives.

Out of 13, take a look: Afghanistan, one; Egypt, two; Iran, three; Iraq, four; Lebanon five; Pakistan, six; Saudi Arabia, seven; Syria, eight; Turkey, nine; Yemen, ten; ten countries out of thirteen where the religion is Moslem.

The Cuban vote I don't profess to understand; Greece went with the Arab bloc, perhaps, out of a sense of geographic proximity in the Eastern Mediterranean; and India pious India wasn't even neutral.

Now as to the ten abstentions, six were from Latin America. Perhaps church influence was strong. At any rate, we couldn't swing them-- but not one voted against.

China's abstention was probably because of no connection with the problem at all. This was before Communist China. This was 1947. Chiang Kai Shek was on the Mainland, not on Taiwan, and the Chinese delegate simply said that China doesn't understand this problem, doesn't know how to take sides on this problem. China abstained. That was the logic.

Ethiopia wanted to take sides with the Jews, actually, but felt that she couldn't with Sudan sitting on top of her. To this day, there is a civil war sputtering on the border between Sudan and Ethiopia. The United Kingdom we have discussed; and Yugoslavia I simply don't know.

What would happen today? We would lose. If the vote were taken among 123 countries today, we couldn't get a two-thirds majority if we stood on our heads. We could get a simple majority. There are 45 votes in the United Nations today that would vote against Israel on any proposition no matter what. It is irrelevant what the issue would be. There are 45 countries that would simply vote against Israel en bloc. So, we couldn't get the necessary two-thirds majority. Even in 1947 we only got it by two votes.

Always, in the history of man, there comes a moment when a turning point has arrived and one realizes by intuition that he had better put all his chips on that number and then back it up with everything he has because he might not get the chance again.

In 1947, an historic cross roads was reached. Once the British decided to give Palestine up, throw it into the United Nations, we knew we had to win it then or we would never be sure that we could ever win it. We never would know what future circumstances would develop. Once the British were giving up their grip and once we had the chance to put it to the vote, we had to pull out all the stops, to win the votes--and then to face the consequences.

There was one concomitant which you have to know about. The Arabs said that if the vote went against them; i.e., if it went affirmative and called for partition, with a Jewish state and an Arab state, the Arabs said in advance they would not form a state of their own. They said, secondly, they would attack the Jewish State the next day after the vote. And, in fact, the next morning, 30 November 1947, Arab guerilla chieftans did just that. Firing started. We knew that. We knew that they had put all of their chips on the table against the State. We had put all of our chips on the table for the State. We knew that if we won the vote, we would have a war on our hands. We knew it. So, at the same time, all during 1947, that we were lobbying to get those votes, and we had months in which to do the lobbying, we were also busy preparing for war. And there was no guesswork about it. Nobody had to be a great brilliant genius. We knew we would have to fight the war. Deductive logic.

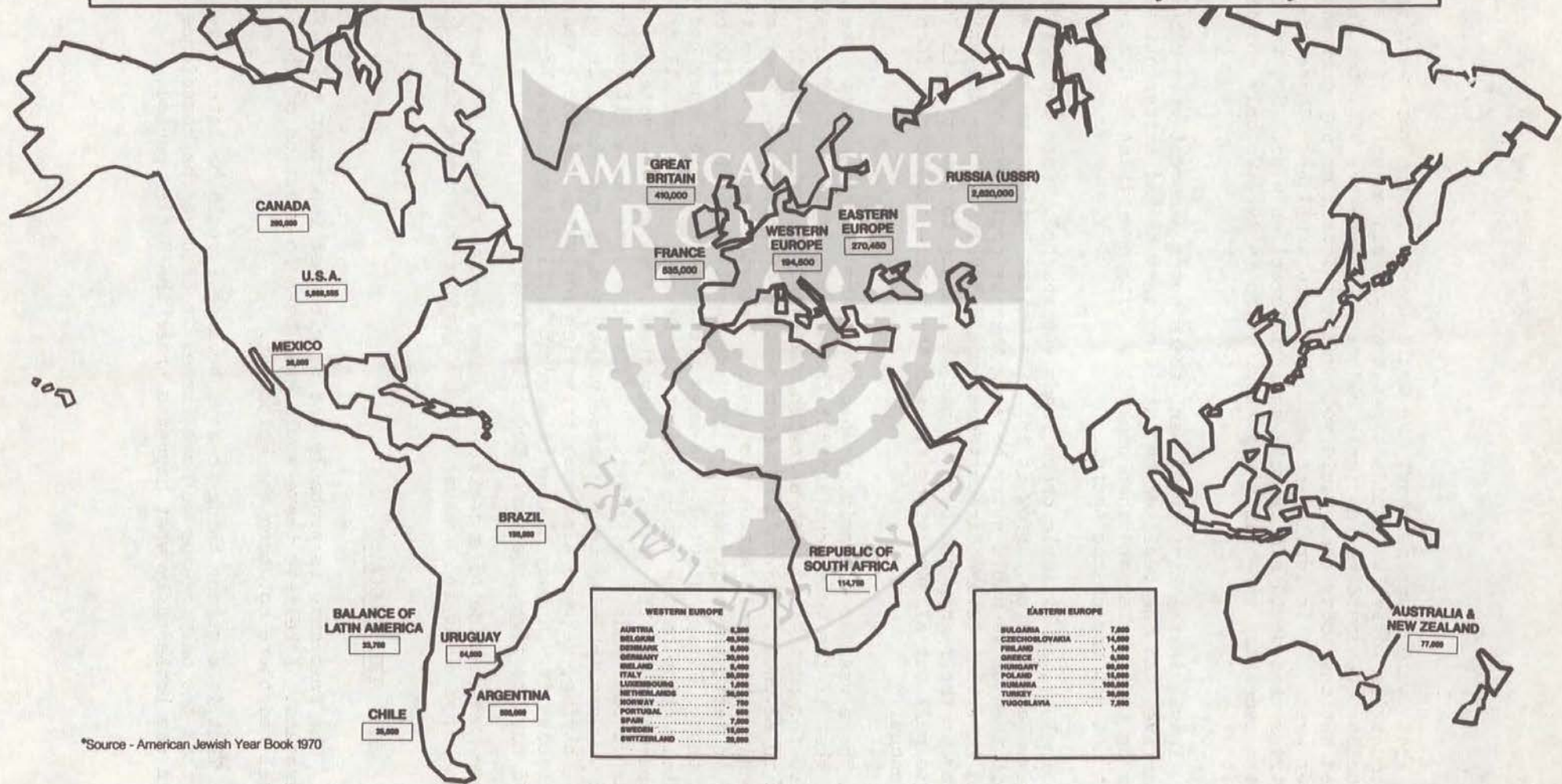
(Note: An outline of a lecture on other Jewish communities in the world-- not delivered because of time limitations can be found in the appendix.)

IV. THE HOLOCAUST

The Holocaust is probably the single most important thing for you to understand. I believe there would have been no creation of the State of Israel had there not been the Holocaust.

That is a strong thing to say, because I could be interpreted as saying that the only reason we have Israel is because the conscience of the world was bothered by what happened under the Hitler period.

WORLD JEWISH POPULATION—13,875,000



WESTERN EUROPE

Austria	6,200
Belgium	40,000
Denmark	6,000
Germany	20,000
Ireland	5,000
Italy	50,000
Luxembourg	1,000
Netherlands	26,000
Norway	700
Portugal	600
Spain	7,000
Sweden	15,000
Switzerland	20,000

EASTERN EUROPE

Bulgaria	7,000
Czechoslovakia	14,000
Finland	1,000
Greece	5,000
Hungary	80,000
Poland	15,000
Rumania	180,000
Turkey	20,000
Yugoslavia	7,000

*Source - American Jewish Year Book 1970

I wish that were true. The conscience of the world was not bothered at all during the Hitler period. The Jews burned and died while the rest of the world turned its back. Except for an organized few, there was general indifference to the murder.

The relationship between Holocaust and Statehood is this: because the murder occurred, the Jewish people themselves understood that they had reached a climactic moment in history which they had better seize or it might never come again. The Jewish people, itself, realized it had better put forth its maximum effort or it would then die.

The Holocaust gave us the knowledge and the understanding that we had better make our maximum effort for survival right then or we might never be alive to make it again. The murder was a signal to us that we were weak and vulnerable and that no one would ever rise to defend us.

The very indifference of the rest of the world was a terrible shock of warning to us. What the murder did was tell us that we had better make our bid for national independence and freedom now or we might never be able to. A super human act of strength was required to overcome the weakness of our position.

There are some people who theorize that because the Jews were treated so badly, therefore the western conscience operated and in compensation offered the Jews a chance to have their own country. I do not accept that theory. I don't believe that anybody has ever given us anything. I do not have a persecution complex nor do I feel that my back is against the wall. I do not feel that everybody is out to cut my throat. All I do know is that there have been many, many episodes throughout history in which they have cut my throat. All I know is that if I am going to defend myself, I am the one who is going to have to do it; nobody else is ever going to bat for me, and I have no reason to believe that anybody ever will. I am not paranoid about it, that is simply the way I read my own history. And therefore, I believe that when a historic moment has come in which we stand before an obvious crossroad, the Jewish people must always determine to expend every ounce of national will, unequivocally, without holding back. Otherwise, we might lose the once-in-two millenia opportunity. The Holocaust told us clearly we had better create a State--for we were otherwise defenseless and vulnerable. Every conceivable effort had to be made.

I think, without the Holocaust, we might have kept going to Zionist conferences for another 50 years and we might have kept on making speeches for another 50 years and we might have gone on raising pennies in the blue boxes for another 50 years, and I think we might have gone on dreaming about the great dream of rebuilding for another 50 years, and that would have been it. And whether that would have produced an independent Jewish state, I don't know.

But I do know that with the Holocaust which killed one-third of the Jewish people and left the other two-thirds quite weak, some of us came to an understanding that now was the time to strike and that we might as well throw our dice on the table now, win or lose.

This Holocaust was the most significant thing that ever happened to the Jewish people, in all 4,000 years. We had been murdered before. We had been taken to the rack before, we had been forced to test our loyalty before, but we had never been systematically taken on an assembly line and murdered, man, woman and child, and had flesh turned into fat and hair turned into mattresses, in such a total disregard for humanity by the very mechanization and brutalization of the process.

And pretty soon everybody got used to it and the nice German officers who were doing it went home at the end of every days' hard work at Auschwitz and they played with their children and they played pinochle and they played skat and they listened to the radio and they ate their dinners and they went back to work at eight o'clock the next morning, killing more Jews.

That brutalization of the human being, including the brutalization of the murderer, had never before occurred in any of human history, not just our history, but any human history--no Genghis Khan, no Mongol invasion no Goths and Visigoths, no Huns, nobody, never, in the whole history of the human race, had ever done that, nor had anybody ever had it done to them. It was a phenomenon absolutely unique in quantity and in quality. It had never before occurred, and one can only hope never again repeats itself in human history, if the human being lives for another five million years.

Obviously, then, if it is a historic matter of such magnitude in the development of man as occurs once in ten thousand millenia, like the creation of a star or planet, we who are so close to it cannot possibly understand it. And that is an important thing for me to try to get across to you. We are so close to it and we probe its meaning all the time because it is a horrendous thing. It has so many implications. We try to discover what it means. Does it mean there is no God?

There is a man in England, Maybaum, who wrote a book called, God After Auschwitz. Maybe there isn't any God. Maybe that is what this Holocaust has demonstrated. We don't know. One asks, if there is a God, how could He have let this happen? And another answers, even if there is a God, what does He care about what happens to a few people in a few little towns in Southern Poland?

It raises the question of the evolutionary development of man. Man you know in his present form, as we see him here, this so-called modern human being, is roughly eight or nine thousand years old. That's all. It raises a question of whether man in his present form may be another aberration; namely, an improper turn of the species. We may be a mutant. Our form of man with our type of mind may be doomed to extinction. Auschwitz may prove that the human being that we are today is an imperfect form of the species, a killer animal who will have to be eliminated by nature for the safety of life on the planet.

Did you ever think of that?

It is not as though this species is a million years old and has gone through a lot of evolution and is now a rather perfect creation, where we have ironed out all the bugs. We may be an early model of an automobile with too many bugs in it.

The implications of what Auschwitz means, what this Holocaust means for the human being--not just the Jew--the implications are incredible and we are so close to it that we can't possibly understand all the implications and all the meanings which it signifies.

However, it is our responsibility to try to understand it just because it is the single most important thing, I think, which has ever happened to the Jews and probably to the whole human race. We can only understand it in our own little narrow terms.

There have been hundreds of books written on it, and many are to be recommended. There is one, particularly, called The Holocaust, written by a woman, two years ago which is the clearest, easiest book by which to try to understand the whole thing. I will read you a couple of things she wrote in the preface, so you will get an idea of what kind of book it is.

"In the following account I have tried to write a history by emphasizing the following major elements: The rise of Hitler to power, how he came to power, the creation of a terrorist state, the step by step Nazi program of the destruction, the Jewish struggle to understand its fate, the military and political context of this period, the specific relationships between Germany and the areas it occupied or controlled, and the varied forms of Jewish resistance."

In the very preface, before she starts, she immediately tackles one question which is, to me, one of the most important questions from a personal point of view, which the young generation always asks. The young Jewish boy today wants to know how this thing could ever have happened, not what Hitler tried to do to us, but why did we allow it, and the young boy asks the questions, "Didn't you fight back? Didn't the Jews offer any resistance?"

There is a woman by the name of Hannah Arendt, herself a German Jewess, who has psyched herself into the position of saying that the Jews are as guilty as their murderers because they allowed themselves to be murdered and if they really didn't want to be murdered then they wouldn't have been murdered. You only permit to happen to yourself what you really want to happen to yourself. This is the deep psycho-analytical approach, that nobody can do anything to you that you don't want done; if you really and truly and honest to God want to hate your husband, you will hate him and if you hate him it is because you want to hate him. So the Jews got murdered because they really wanted to get murdered and they co-operated with their murderers. But she has become fashionable in the ranks of many modern psuedo-intellectuals.

The young girl who wrote "The Holocaust", in the preface, before she goes into 700 pages of description, says very simply, "Collective resistance was never possible, By the time the Jews grasped the reality that they were doomed to be killed, no matter what they did, they were isolated, weakened, and abandoned. But they struggled to endure and to create communities of a kind in the Nazi ghettos.

"I have described in my book the resistance in the Warsaw ghetto rather fully, not only because it was the apotheosis of Jewish resistance during the holocaust, but because the factual data for this resistance are the fullest.

"The extermination of two-thirds of Europe's Jews was not inevitable" That is a damning sentence. "It has become fashionable in modern psychology and literature to speak of a landscape of violence in which victims are co-guilty with their persecutors." She is talking about Arendt's theory. "A complicity, it is said, exists between assassin and victim.

"Such a view may provide an interesting tour de force for arm-chair psychologists. But it is a dangerous and irresponsible plaything for the writer of history.

"The Jews of Europe were victims in the old-fashioned sense of a criminal regime in an overwhelmingly unequal contest. The Jews were also victims of an indifferent, not to say, hostile world.

"Before the West was caught in the flames of war there were countless opportunities to save them. None were used. After the war started the opportunities were fewer, but hundreds of thousands could still have been saved. Nevertheless, with few exceptions, the will to rescue them was nonexistent. This moral failure, if we may still use such an old fashioned phrase, still haunts the West."

The rise of Hitler is something which has been written best of all in Shirer's book, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. He documents it very carefully.

Hitler was a German soldier in World War I who couldn't bring himself to believe that the war was lost because of German military inefficiency or because of allied superiority. He believed World War I was lost because Germany was stabbed in the back by her Jews.

Hitler was wounded twice during World War I, once by shellfire, and once almost blinded by gas. He was decorated with the highest Iron Cross, unusual for a private soldier and rose to be a corporal. Hitler was a German militarist, the army was his home, even though he was not a German citizen; he was an Austrian. He remained in the army after World War I. And he remained in a detachment near Munich whose responsibility it was to scrutinize all political organizations that might have Communist leanings.

As early as 1919 and 1920, the shaping of Hitler's mind took place. He developed his hatred for Communism and for Jews.

His anti-Jewish irrational neurosis he picked up in Vienna. In Mein Kampf, he has several paragraphs in which he describes how he can smell Jews; if Jews are anywhere near him he can smell them, they have a strange smell. He tells about queer, shadowy characters who walked on streets in the Jewish sections of Vienna; and about the fear he has of their poisonous influence. With a combination of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism, Hitler's career was launched, from 1920, shortly after World War I. By 1933, he was the master of Germany--in 13 years.

How does an unknown corporal create a political movement, create massive instruments of propaganda, take over a whole nation of 60 or 70 million people, the most educated nation in Europe, the most civilized nation in Europe, with the best toilets in Europe and the best standards of cleanliness, and industrialization and automobiles in Europe and, for that matter, in the world, conquer them in 13 years, and with them start out to conquer the world in the next 12? How did it happen?

It happened because Hitler learned early some simple secrets of how you take control of people. He reveals, in his own book, that he came to three conclusions: No. 1, create a mass organization; No. 2, learn the methods of mass hypnosis and propoganda; No. 3, use brutality and terror.

In Germany it was easy to create a mass organization because there were large numbers of unemployed after World War I, almost hysterical, due to the inflation, when millions and millions of marks were required to buy a loaf of bread. So, it was easy for him to create a mass organization, because he had hundreds of thousands of unemployed whom he could immediately put into his brown shirts and black shirts and pay them money and give them uniforms. Obtaining money was easy, because he got it from industrialists. So he created a mass movement, a mass organization.

If you want to take anything over, if you want to take over 220 million people in the country of America, you need a private army of one million. That is all you need. It's relatively easy!

A second thing he learned was the art of propaganda. You have to brainwash everybody by a whole series of things. The American public today gets brainwashed down to the lowest common denominator by the one mass medium of television. In Hitler's day, there was no TV, but he used the device of mass pageantry.

Speer, the only Nazi who is left alive and who was so close to Hitler, began as an architect, remember. As an architect he understood form and design. Hitler used him to design the great stadium at Nurenberg where the great rallies were held, and Albert Speer the architect, designed outdoor pageants. In his book he confesses now that Germany, in 1933, owned 130 giant anti-aircraft spotlights. There are more than that number in Los Angeles alone.

Take these huge anti-aircraft spotlights; shoot them up in the sky. They give you a half mile, 2,500 feet of height, then bounce back down from the clouds, creating an eerie feeling. Take a phalanx of 10,000 men, make a solid mass of them, leave an aisle one hundred yards wide, the size of a football field, march one man down that aisle, one man carrying one torch. Why it makes everybody feel crazy inside--gigantic, heroic. The sheer drama of the thing, its stagecraft, its witchcraft, its public hypnotism. Public hypnotism on a mass scale. You can hypnotize a quarter of a million people. When he marched down the aisle and then started the hysterical oratory from the platform, and the massed flags, huge flags, 40 feet long, 50 feet long, in strong red and black, behind him, the whole scene was pure magic in its effect.

Think of the impact...Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil. What does that do to people? Hour after hour after hour. It pounds their brains into jelly. They don't think, they just react, like dogs and animals, Pavlovian dogs. The stuff Hitler spoke was mostly garbage. If you read his speeches, the content doesn't mean much. But, it was not the words that counted, it was the atmosphere, it was 5,000 people in the beer hall, it was 10,000 people in the sports palace in Berlin, 150,000 people in the stadium in Nurenburg, whatever was the setting. And the flags and the drums and the torches and the lights and the insane ranting and raving and screaming from the platform. The words didn't make any difference. "Jews, Jews. Versailles, Glory."

The third method he utilized was terror, which was applied indiscriminately. As a matter of fact, use it on your closest friends first. You will scare everybody to death.

His closest friend was a homosexual, Captain Ernst Roehm, whom he shot in 1934 together with a few hundred other brown shirts who were his early companions in arms. It was a small sacrifice.

A dictator using terror demolishes resistance immediately, and seventy million people do what they are told to do. Trade unions can be neutralized, liberals eliminated, free speech crushed, opponents jailed, and the citizenry becomes docile. With good organization every house gets a house leader and every block gets a block leader, and every neighborhood gets a ward leader and every city gets a city leader.

The whole thing is organized down to the cell level and everyone becomes frightened of everyone else, and nobody opens his mouth. This is the environment in which it is possible to take people, de-humanize them, terrorize them, torture them, strip them of their money, their dignity.

Can you imagine a situation in which on every park bench in the city in which you lived, there would be printed by the municipality in big white letters, "No Jews allowed to sit here." Never mind that no Jew would want to sit on a bench in a public park. Every Jew in that town goes into his house and locks the door in fear and terror...and every other citizen in town averts his eyes, in order not to get involved. The population is terrorized.

Another thing to understand is not just that Hitler had learned by the intuition of his genius how to create a mass movement, how to employ the art of propaganda and use of terror, but remember also, there was a long tradition in Germany of hatred against the Jew based upon the German's mystical mind.

There was a philosopher by the name of Fichte, who wrote in the middle of the 18th Century about the decadence of the Jews. There was the well-known German philosopher, Hegel, whom Hitler quoted all the time, who believed in the theory that the state was all-powerful. There was an accepted doctrine in the German mind, that the state was supreme and when the officials of the State said something, they were an unchallengable authority. Officials wore uniforms which gave them additional authority. Anyone in uniform was to be obeyed blindly...the policemen, the conductor on the streetcar, the fireman, the postman and the garbage collector. The uniform caused everyone to bow and to scrape and to accept authority. This came from the Hegelian thesis that the state was all-powerful and the state had the right to dominate every individual.

There was a philosopher by the name of Treitschke who taught the theory that the greatest good for the whole human race was the art of war. The conduct of war was the most noble of all human pursuits and brought out the best in man. They taught this in a deep, heavy philosophical way in German universities. It was read together with Nietzsche, who taught the theory of the super man, that there was a super race. Here was the dangerous combination: the ennobling of war, conducted by the super man, with the right to conduct war on every weakling on earth and conquer him.

Finally, there was an Englishman by the name of William Houston Chamberlain, who married Richard Wagner's daughter (himself a hater of Jews) who was the worst of all. Chamberlain was an unbelievable anti-Semite. One of his long books was written to prove without a shadow of a doubt that Jesus was not a Jew. He couldn't conceive, couldn't concede, that Jesus could be a Jew. Jews were the most hateful people on earth. When Hitler was put in jail at Landsberg after his first putsch in 1925, Chamberlain wrote a poem, an ode in which he called Hitler the god who had been summoned to lead Germany to victory.

So that is how the stage was set--a tremendous philosophical background of anti-semitism, combined with the subservience of the German mind to authority, combined with that authority going berserk and calling for mass murder, combined with control of the mass organs of propaganda to eliminate resistance. That was the combination.

The rest of the world helped him by appeasing. He moved into the Ruhr in 1936. If the French put up a quarter of a battalion of resistance, he would have crumbled. They didn't do it. He moved into Czechoslovakia in 1938. If Chamberlain had broken a leg getting off the airplane and not made the appeasement deal, Hitler wouldn't have moved in. The Czechs had a million men mobilized under arms, ready to fight. The Czechs are a cocky people, but Masaryk had to get on the radio and say to them, "The British and the French have signed away our independence" -- shocking.

So, Hitler's rise to power was based upon the tradition that existed in Germany behind him for 50 years, his own demagogic skill, and the complicity of the world.

Furthermore, the Jewish Communities of the world also did nothing.

In 1933, when Hitler took office, the only person in America who really tried to do anything was Rabbi Stephen Wise, who called for a boycott of German goods, together with mass protests on the streets and meetings in Madison Square Garden and parades. The practical argument he advanced was that a boycott of German goods, might break Germany economically and perhaps Hitler would fall that way. Also, it was a form of protest which would bring constant attention to the world the moral evil of Hitlerism.

It doesn't really matter whether it would have been a successful idea or not; at least it was an effort to do something. All the rest of the Jewish organizations in the United States said no, using all the rationalizations that such tactics would make it worse, would infuriate the Germans, that Nazism would fade and that the Germans are not that bad, and there are plenty of Jews inside Germany who are advising us that we shouldn't protest so loudly.

I think it is correct to indict the leadership of the free Jewish communities of the world for their failure to organize an adequate response, either to try to topple Hitler or to try to organize efforts to rescue the Jews under his control. I am not saying that six million Jews could have been saved even if all the leaders of world Jewry had been united and organized. All I am saying is that more could have been saved than were. That's for sure.

After indicting the Jewish leadership, one has to try to find the words to make a strong enough indictment against the Gentile world. To me, the height of the hypocrisy came at the conference that was called by Roosevelt in 1938. Hitler had been in power for five years. Hitler had damaged the Jews of Germany very hard in those five years. Hundreds of thousands of them had tried to run and couldn't get out because no country in the world would take them in.

My blood boils at the episode of the ships going from Germany, the Bremen Lloyd ships, particularly, the S. S. St. Louis, which left from Bremen with almost a thousand Jews on it looking for a place to go. It wasn't allowed to land in Cuba because the Cuban visas that had been sold to them were false, and then they went from Cuba to Miami and they weren't allowed to land there, and then the ship steamed up the coast off the Carolinas and off the Virginias, and the American Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, refused to listen to pleas of Jewish delegations to let them land, and the ship was sent back to Germany. Terrible. Moral bankruptcy. Shocking indictment of America.

President Roosevelt called a conference at Evian, in the south of France, because the water is good there, in the summer of 1938, to see what could be done to assist refugees.

30 nations accepted the invitation to attend. Its main intention was to establish an Intergovernmental Committee which should be instrumental in assisting the emigration of refugees within the limits of existing immigration laws. God forbid that anyone should suggest liberalizing the laws, or changing them.

The American Joint Distribution Committee was present at that conference making commitments to spend whatever money was required in order to try to get Jews resettled.

The conference ended with the following resolution:

"The Intergovernmental Committee, recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies on migration made by the International Labor Office, shall cooperate fully with these organizations, and the Intergovernmental Committee in London shall consider the ways and means by which the cooperation of the Committee and the Director with these organizations shall be established."

Nobody knows to this day what this means. It simply doesn't have a meaning. It means you let the Director consult with somebody to see if you can cooperate on something. It is pure bureaucratic nonsense-syllables.

The rate of suicides in Germany in the months of September and October of 1938 reached an all-time high, because this abortion of a meeting with its meaningless resolution was the signal to Jews and to the Nazis that no country on earth--and 30 nations were present at that meeting--no country on earth was going to lift one finger to help one Jew.

It was a mockery. It was much worse than if the meeting had never been held. It was a clear tipoff and signal to Hitler, "Go ahead, do what you want with the Jews."

Had the meeting never been held, at least he might have had some doubt in his mind as to how the world would have reacted if he went too far. After the meeting was held he didn't have to worry. He knew how the world would react. He knew he could do whatever he wanted to Jews with impunity.

The book, While Six Million Died, was an indictment of the American initiative in calling this meeting and refusing to push the meeting through to any kind of conclusion. While six million died, the U. S. and the world fiddled.

The war started. It became much harder to do anything then. Rescue operations were more difficult, if not impossible. At last, final doom was sealed. In a villa in a suburb of Berlin called Grossen Wannsee, a conference was called in January, 1942, with Heydrich, Eichmann and 15 other Nazis, in which they used for the first time the phrase, "Final Solution."

The phrase "Final Solution" meant physical extermination. At that conference, it was decided that the physical extermination of every Jew in the world was to be the objective of the Nazi Government. A book has been written that used that phrase, The Final Solution: The Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939 to 1945, by Reitlinger. It is a book which has a lot of charts and tables and statistics, a very specific book. Also, there is another one, The Destruction of the European Jews, by Hilberg, which looks as if it were a statistical text book. These two are the definitive works on the details of the Holocaust.

The final solution meant that, at the height of the war, January '42, with Germany at the height of her power, not yet having come up to the defeat at Stalingrad, which was to take place later on in November, 1942 and seriously weaken Germany--at the height of her power, when she believed she could win the war, she decided she would exterminate all the Jews in the world, using mass production methods. The Nazis tried many experiments first. They used shooting and then did a cost accounting control, and found that the bullets cost about seven cents each which was too expensive, and anyhow don't do enough volume. Then they tried cheaper methods, like gassing in closed trunks, by turning the exhaust pipe inward with a hose, and this was simply the cost of running the engine. But again, not enough people could be exterminated this way. It was a slow, cumbersome method. It meant loading in the center of town, driving 15 or 20 minutes out to the edge of town, where often Jews had to dig pits, opening up the back of the van and pull them out, half alive, half dead, shoveling in the soil and preparing for the next layer.

Then they tried the ghetto method--which was, simply stated, to collect Jews from lots of points, put them together and build a wall around them. Once you had them in the pen, you took them out, a certain number of thousand per day, to a nearby death camp, to kill them.

But that was also too slow. For instance, in the Warsaw ghetto, which was created in October 1940, and into which a half million Jews were put, the work was not finished until Passover of 1943--a long time. This was too long to kill a half million Jews. One would never reach a final solution so slowly.

The Jewish chairman of the ghetto in Warsaw was an engineer by the name of Adam Cherniakow, and when the Nazis gave him the number of how many Jews each day he was supposed to bring to the railroad siding inside the ghetto, which was called in German the "Umschlagplatz," transfer point, he sat at his desk and shot and killed himself. When his body was lifted and drawn back, there was a piece of paper on the desk with the number seven thousand. He was supposed to deliver 7,000 Jews a day to the railroad siding to be shipped out to Treblinka, 70 miles away, for extermination.

After all these trials and error and experimentation with various methods, finally what was arrived at was the scientific and efficient system of killing by Zyklon B gas, which would work in roughly 18 minutes, for groups up to 200 persons. It would take about ten minutes to clean the room out by ventilators, then squads of Jewish prisoners were sent in with long poles with hooks, to hook the bodies out. The bodies were then pushed into the incinerators and burned. The gassing was faster than the burning so only two gas chambers were needed for each 12 ovens.

The Nazis figured out the volume, just as on an assembly line in a factory, and then got it going--really got it going--being whipped all the time, by the bureaucrats, which is what Eichmann said he was. He called himself a bureaucrat, the head of B4B Section in the Gestapo, and said he was only the transportation manager, shunting the trains; making sure so many cans of gas were delivered every day, and so many human beings. When there were truck breakdowns, when the "stupid" army wanted trucks and wanted gasoline, and he wanted trucks to deliver his Zyklon B cans, there was a big bureaucratic fight over who got the trucks and who got the gas.

He sent bitter memos up the line to those above him, complaining, after all, he was only a clerk in this whole procedure, and he couldn't push it any faster. This was his defense, by the way. I was at his trial in Jerusalem in the Jewish Community Center in 1961 the day he walked in, and there was a glass box which was to prevent anybody from shooting him, and behind that box he stood and slowly and carefully and methodically, told his story. And I listened to it, as it went on from day to day, as he described by his bearing and his words how he was nothing but a frustrated clerk.

They reached the height of the mass-murder production methods in 1943 and 1944. All of this, even then, could have been slowed down, if not stopped. There were numerous delegations of Jews who went to Roosevelt to

call for a bombing of Auschwitz and all the other extermination places. What they were begging for at that time was that the Allied Air Force should penetrate deep into Poland and bomb out Auschwitz, which might kill 20,000 or 30,000 Jews who were in the camps at any one moment, but then the camp would be reduced to an inoperative stage forever, because the Germans would never be able to rebuild it. They were so deeply enmeshed in the last phases of the war, they would never be able to get the raw material and manpower together to rebuild the very complex machinery. And the bombing would, therefore, save the lives of--who knew--a million or two or even three million more Jews.

The answer from both British and American headquarters was that Allied bombers couldn't penetrate that deep into Cracow, Poland, where Auschwitz was. But this was untrue, because the bombers were penetrating into Ploesti, Rumania to bomb the oil fields, which was much deeper, further away.

It was simply that nobody wanted to gamble aircraft and pilots and fliers to save Jews. The Allies were perfectly willing to gamble aircraft and fliers to bomb oil fields in Rumania, so Germany shouldn't have oil. And from the 8th Air Force in Italy, those planes came back crippled and shot down, and we lost hundreds of fliers and tons of aircraft, to bomb oil fields in Rumania. Nothing to bomb a German death camp in Cracow.

So, the death factory continued to its inevitable conclusion, to its terrible end.

There was some Jewish resistance. There was resistance in the forest --some Jews who managed to get away from the Nazis went into the forest and fought with partisan groups. There was resistance in the ghettos, in Warsaw, in Vilno, in Kovno. There was resistance in individual cases where Jews were given false identity papers by non-Jewish friends, and then they joined partisan groups and resistance groups. There was as much resistance as they could possibly offer, but they couldn't win--it was an unequal contest.

From the world's leaders, there was little, if any, resistance. The Pope was quiet, and Churchill was quiet and Roosevelt was quiet, and Stalin was quiet. Think about that.

I would like to tell just one story about Poland which took place about a year after the war was over in 1946. Anti-semitism had boiled up again, but in such a way that there was enormous physical violence against Jews, and it took the form of a real pogrom in the streets of all the big cities, where gangs of former Polish AK men (Anders Korps) were taking everybody off street cars, making men drop their trousers to determine who was a Jew, shooting and killing and abducting in automobiles, and then taking and killing out in the woods, outside of town. A fire was burning throughout Poland which culminated on the 4th of July in 1946 in a pogrom in the Town of Kielce, in which 42 Jews were killed, and stacked out like cordwood in the town square, in the same fashion in which they had been a year earlier in Germany, in Buchenwald and all the other camps.

Deliberately, the bodies were laid out that way as a reminder. The Polish antisemites were reminding the few surviving Jews that Hitler's work wasn't finished.

Rabbi Philip Bernstein of Rochester, a most remarkable man, was then Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the Commanding General of the U.S. Army occupying Germany, General Lucius D. Clay. I was his deputy. Bernstein and I went to Poland to see what could be done about this situation. We went with instructions to go first to the American Ambassador, who was living in the Polonia Hotel in one room, with gout, and who said in essence, "Don't bother me with the problems of these Jews."

So we checked him off.

We went next to Cardinal Hlond, of the Catholic Church. His answer was very simple. He said, "These Jews have brought this upon themselves. They brought filthy Communist virus to Poland. All the Communist leaders in Poland are Jews. The righteous Catholic population of Poland is reacting against these Communist Jews, and what they are doing is right."

We checked him off.

We went to the "filthy Communist Jewish leader", a man by the name of Jacob Berman, and explained that the Jews should somehow be enabled to leave Poland, and he said, "No. This is their fatherland. It is their socialist homeland, they have to remain here." And we said we were going to try and get them out, and he said, "If you do, I will see to it that they go out naked and barefoot."

So we checked him off.

We came back to General Clay and said, "The U.S. Army had better prepare for a mass migration of Jews from Poland into Germany, and we had better open up lots of camps to take them in," Because Bernstein and I knew perfectly well that the Haganah, for which I was working but not he, was going to organize a movement to get the Jews out of Poland into Germany, or else they would lose their lives.

The Bricha did open up a rout from Poland to Germany. We took almost all the Jews out of Poland—150,000 of them. Bernstein wrote a memorandum to General Clay to expect 150,000 Jews to come from Poland to Germany, and that is how many were brought. Bernstein flew to Washington to persuade President Truman to give Clay a green light to permit Jews to cross the border, and Truman agreed. Bernstein's work at that period was heroic and crucial.

The tragedy of the whole thing was to go to any American Ambassador and a Polish Cardinal and a Jewish Communist and get the same answer from all of them.

Bernstein later did another beautiful job. By September of 1946 he had an appointment with Pope Pius in Castle Gandolfo, Rome.

He told the story of the July pogrom in Kielce to the Pope, and the Pope opened up windows, long French windows overlooking the slope of a hill. The castle is on the top. There were a lot of children playing on the grass. He said, "These are all Jewish orphans whom I have saved, and they are living on my grounds, my house. So when you talk to me about the fate of the poor Jews, they are all children of God in my sight."

And Bernstein said, "You must write--you must order Hlond to write a pastoral letter to be read in every church in Poland, quoting the old encyclical of 1938, that spiritually, we are Semites."

The Pope before Pacelli had written a bull using that phrase--spiritually, we are all Semites, and therefore, to be an anti-Semite is to be against the spirit of the church.

Pacelli said he would, and he did. He ordered Hlond to say that the People of Poland were not to commit anti-Semitic excesses, after what Hitler had done to the Jews, and as one puts a wet blanket on a fire, so that letter smothered the anti-Semitic excesses, which began to quiet down.

Now I would like to show you some slides which are part of my own personal momentos, taken about 25 years ago. I was in an American infantry division which finished the war down in the south of Bavaria, Germany. I lived there after the war was over for a long time, enrolled in the Haganah, fighting in the Jewish underground but remaining in the American army.

In this set of slides there are some pictures of Berlin; there are some pictures of the Warsaw Ghetto which I took myself; there are some pictures of DP camps which show how Jews lived following the war.

This is a picture of a synagogue in Berlin on Fasanen Strasse. It is the great synagogue where Rabbi Prinz of Newark and Rabbi Nussbaum of Los Angeles were once assistants. This is where Rabbi Leo Beck used to preach. It was the great cathedral synagogue of German Jews, and I want to show you what was done to it on the Kristalnacht of 1938. This picture was taken probably in 1945. It looks like a solid building.

Looking at it from the side, you can see three round domes up on the top. There used to be cupolas on those domes.

Next.

You talk about grass growing in the streets? There was the center aisle. There were the two doors the rabbi and the cantors came out from, both sides. The choir was up there in the loft. That synagogue was left there from 1938 - 1945 as a reminder to the Jews of their fate. That building was eventually torn down and the Jewish Community Center of Berlin was built on the very same spot, paid for by a gift from the city of Berlin of for five million marks.

Next.

15 a That is looking out through Hitler's picture window in his home in Berchtesgarden up on the mountain. That is the view he had.

Next.

16 a There it is looking at the house from the front: It was blackened in bombing raids in April of 1945. The allied bombers tried to catch him up there many times. No one ever did; he was in Berlin. Next: Goering's house next door. Big bomb crater in the front of it; that got a plastering. Goering wasn't there, either.

Next:

19 a
21 a
22 a That is how you try to rebuild life inside the rubble and the ruins. That is what a good part of Europe looked like. Little carpenter shops starting; a man would open up a shop, build little brick walls and close in a few feet and try to get a roof over it.

Next:

18
28
48
58 Warsaw Ghetto. One square mile, not a building standing. Half a million Jews packed in a wall built around it, and those Jews systematically taken out to be destroyed. Every building taken down. One church inside that one square mile, not destroyed. Every building destroyed by demolition dynamite set at the base of it or by point blank artillery and tank fire, Germans coming in street by street. The pile of rubble was about ten feet high. Same church steeple. Most buildings were five, six, seven stories high. Most of them didn't have elevators. When you take a five or six-story building and you dynamite it and break it down, it collapses to about ten feet high of rubble. Those buildings you see out there on the perimeter are outside the ghetto wall, part of the City of Warsaw.

This ghetto was a square mile inside the city, so that everybody in the city knew what was happening inside the ghetto. It was not as though it was removed out in the desert somewhere. It would be as though one took a mile of downtown Los Angeles, put a wall around it, packed every Jew in it and proceeded to kill them all. Everybody else on the outside had to know what was going on.

Next.

78 Main synagogue of Warsaw--one column left.

88 Downtown Warsaw. This is what the German bombing did to it--every building an empty shell.

Next.

98 Main railroad station.

Next.

Very interesting phenomenon--a hole. Inside the ghetto in this pit and pile of rubble where some walls were left standing, Poles would go digging, to see where Jews had hidden their diamonds and their gold. And the stench was unbelievable, because under all these piles were bodies. We think as many as 40 to 50,000 bodies were under the collapsed buildings in the last 20 or 30 days. 10 B

Down in there, the Poles believed that the Jews had hidden their jewels, and in the middle of all the stench and with the decomposing, rotting bodies they burrowed in to get down into the cellars of buildings.

Next.

The rootless, homeless, wandering left-over orphan kids formed into little groups, four boys and a girl--a typical kind of unit. Most of them could not remember where they came from, half of them were out of their minds with fear, half of them out of their minds with anxiety about where their families were, all coming back, poking through the ruins and the rubble, to see if they could find anything of where their original homes were. 11 B

And then, of course, finding nothing and being single and unconnected and with no responsibility, they all filtered westward through Poland, into Germany or Austria, and the Haganah picked them all up and these were the best of the crop that we sent forward on to Palestine through the illegal immigration, which was the next stage.

Next.

On the roads of Poland we were picking up orphan kids, kids of this age, who didn't know either their names or where they came from, or even how old they were in many cases, because they had lived for the past four or five or six years--and you can see many of them are not much older than that--hidden away in closets, in cow sheds, in barns, in hay stacks mostly, with the help of friendly non-Jewish Polish or Hungarian or Austrian peasants. They gathered together, and we formed groups of them, and we dressed them and we got clothes. This is when clothing began to be shipped in from America, when the JDC started something called SOS--Save our Survivors. 12 B

And we began to get loads of clothing in Europe that we dressed them up in, and then we collected them in children's camps--every child there an orphan, and then we would try to get them on a boat and send them on to Palestine. And it was many of these kids that the British caught and stopped as dangerous, illegal immigrants. 13 B

Next.

This is the entrance to the Umschlagplatz in the ghetto--the transfer point, the railroad collecting point, through that brick wall. 14 B

Next.

They were forced through a door here; when they wouldn't go, the Germans just used to shoot indiscriminately, and after they had left, 16 B

they would clean up the 30, 40, 50 bodies of people who had refused to get on the train and who were shot and killed, and that was the refuse that had to be cleaned up every morning after the train took off.

Next.

17 B
That is the railroad shed, the siding. On the left is the wall that surrounded the ghetto. On the right is the rest of the Polish city of Warsaw.

Next.

20 B
There were occasional breaches made in the wall by the Germans in order for them to put up pill boxes with machine guns in them where they could guard the smuggling. Jews tried to get out and smuggle weapons in and the Germans found that they could control that better by setting up an occasional machine gun nest.

Next.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
This is several years later--I went back to Poland many, many, times. Now, I guess this could be in the early 1950's already, and I used to go back to the ghetto area, drawn by a hypnotic kind of fascination, like a snake holds you fascinated, and I saw that the Poles were beginning to rebuild large apartment houses.

22 B
I can't blame them. Their city was destroyed, but they took that mile square of the ghetto and used it for building these new buildings, and I began to be afraid that the memory of that ghetto would be wiped out, and once it was covered over, nobody would ever know that such a thing had ever existed. And that is exactly what has happened by today.

Next.

24 B
This pile of rubble, they couldn't take it away anywhere, so they just built on top of it. And if you look and you see over there on the right, you can see how those buildings, this embankment, this is the rubble of the ghetto compressed down from ten feet worth to five feet worth, but they still couldn't eliminate it. That is our ghetto. They built on top of it.

Next.

27 B
Inside the ghetto area a monument was put up, built by the sculptor Nathan Rappaport, and it was in a broad empty space, but as the buildings began to be built up around it, today, Rappaport's monument designating the Warsaw Ghetto is in the back yard of a decrepit Polish apartment house.

Next.

31 B
The street going down this way happens to have a historic name--Mila Street. On this corner was a building with the number 18; this is 18 Mila Street. 18 Mila Street was the headquarters of the Jewish underground bunker for the underground resistance. The only thing that marks

it is that rough stone up there on top of the pile of rubble. That picture is around ten years old, and I haven't got a clue as to whether it is still there or not. I can't go back to Poland anymore.

Next.

This is the view you have from Mila 18. Lovely modern lighting, broad streets, new Polish buildings. Who ever remembered what took place here?

32 B

Next.

The story of what happened inside the Warsaw Ghetto was written by a school teacher by the name of Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum. This is his picture. He wrote his notes on little, tiny scraps of paper and hid them in two metal cans, and three tin boxes. They were found and dug up, and that's how we know what happened in the Warsaw Ghetto.

33 B

Next.

That's Sam Haber of the JDC. He and I were visiting Poland once, many years ago, and I took these pictures of these types. This is what was left at the tail end of the DP period. The cream and flower of the remnant of Polish Jewry.

34 B

Next.

Beautiful, peaceful Polish countryside. See a train in the background. The train is going to Auschwitz. Those are the freight cars. Those are the tracks. You see the loading platforms on both sides. The Jews were loaded off the train. On the loading platforms the German doctors stood there and pointed with a finger or a riding crop. They looked as the people lined up and they indicated right, left, right, left. Whoever was considered healthy enough to be able to do some work in the camp was gestured to the right. Work in the camp consisted of hauling the bodies out of the gas chamber with hooks, and after two or three months, the people who were doing that were themselves gassed and gotten rid of. All others were sent to the gas chamber, gestured to the left and from that loading platform the people who were assigned to go directly to the gas chamber never so much as entered a barrack. They went from the railroad car to the gas chamber. That was the speed that was required for really efficient extermination.

1c
2c
3c

Next.

At the end of the track there was the entrance to the camp proper. The train made this last ride down empty. There was a round house behind that building. The train turned around and came out empty, and went back for a refill.

4c

Next.

5c
The entrance to the camp had the German words on the top, "Arbeit macht frei." Work will make you free. This was part of the strategy of deception, as though it was an ordinary work camp, and if one worked here he could stay alive and get free some day. There was no intention of getting free. The intention was to burn.

6c
7c
Next. This is the first oven seen upon entering the camp, and that is a pile of human ash on the right. And then a whole series of chimneys...

Next.

8c
10c
The camp was enclosed with barbed wire. It says in German, "High tension electric wire. Danger to life." There was a double barbed wire. This is the interior of the camp. Very few people lived in the camp--some few thousand prisoners, that's all. This was a double row of barbed wire. There was no way of getting through it. Machine gun fire covered anybody who could get through one strand; before he could get through the second, he was cut down in the long lateral trench.

Next.

11c
Block 11 was the death block. Block Smersh. "Smersh" is a Polish word which means death. In this death block is where many of the horrible medical and surgical experiments took place.

Next.

12c
Next to the death block was the extermination wall in which those people who were considered by the Germans to be worthy of an honorable death by shooting were executed instead of being gassed. Favored prisoners, honorable trustees, good boys. It is against that wall that memorials are placed.

Next.

13c
This is a scene of the inside of a barracks, taken with a shaking hand. It shows the sort of platforms like that. Three prisoners to a platform, three tiers high.

Next.

15c
16c
That is the gas room. Those are cans of Zyklon B gas which were put into the ceiling above the gas room.

Next.

There is a permanent exhibit now in the Auschwitz camp, maintained by the Polish Government, in which they were trying to tell their own school children how bad the Nazis had been.

Next.

These are the standard ovens, with steel trolleys for shoving the bodies in. People used to come and bring flowers and put them on there as a tribute to the dead.

17 c
18 c

Next.

This is the back of the ovens, and they had to be cleaned out very often or they would clog up and stop functioning.

19 c

Next.

These are shoes. They had a big pile of shoes. The Germans used to save everything. The bodies were thrown in naked but everything that was on the bodies was saved.

20 c

Next.

Eating utensils. Every prisoner had a spoon, a bowl--a lot of spoons and bowls. Millions.

22 c

Next.

Burlap. Germans made burlap out of human hair. Burlap was a useful cloth. It was sent to the army.

23 c

Next.

Taleisim taken from the prisoners.

24 c

Next

Artificial limbs. Out of millions and millions of people, a few thousand were bound to come with one leg or one arm. Why burn an artificial limb. Just burn the body, and keep the artificial limb for some deserving German soldier who needed it.

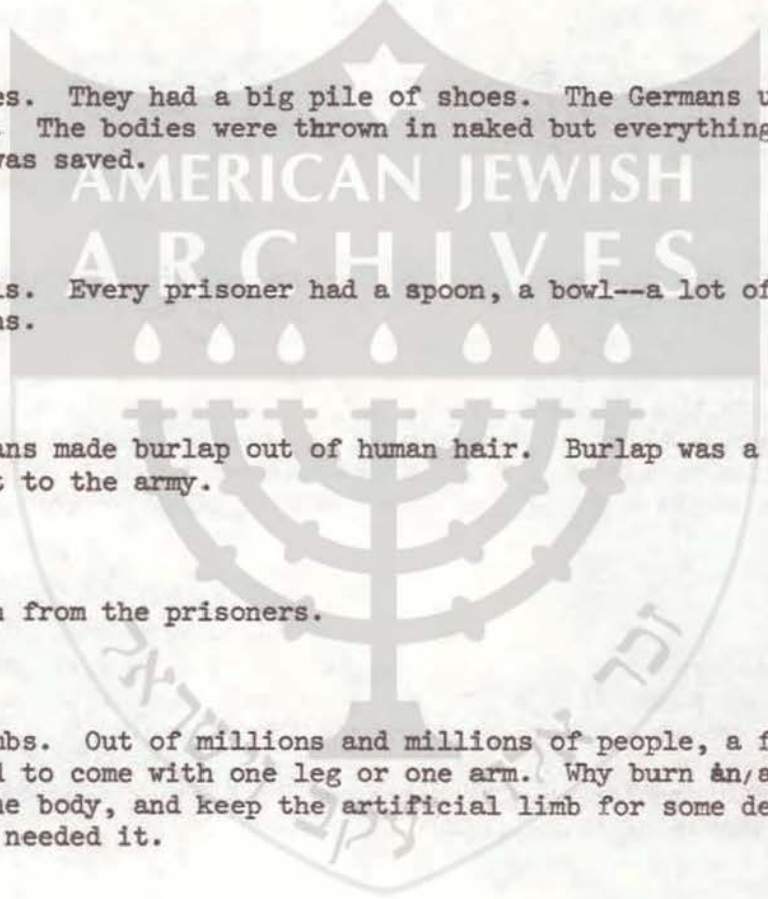
25 c

Next.

This is the outside of the camp, where in the spring of 1945, the Russians came and liberated Auschwitz, and what the Nazis tried to do was blow the camp up in order to destroy the evidence, but they didn't do a very good job. And this is a poor picture which shows how they tried to blow it up but, as you can see from earlier pictures, they didn't blow it all up.

V. POST - HOLOCAUST TO INDEPENDENCE

This is a DP Camp, not a German camp. We are now after the war is over. No one is being gassed any longer, but Jews have no place to go. They wanted to go to Palestine. They couldn't. They are being held. They were held in Europe for three years from 1945 to 1948.



2 3
A DP camp was any collection of buildings that was even slightly usable. Usually we took German Army barracks, or German prisoner of war barracks, and put Jews in, and at the height of this operation we had 68 camps in Germany and Austria with a quarter of a million Jews in them. The purpose was not to collect Jews in camps in Germany, but to get them into these camps so that we could give them food and hope, and then get them out of these camps to Palestine. But we took them in faster than we got them out. In all the three post war years of the Haganah underground operation, we got about 50 or 60 thousand out, and a quarter of a million in. We ran 58 vessels and the British captured almost all of them.

Next.

That is a DP camp. That is a former German army barracks, a terrible building in which the people were penned in. During this period, I first met Neshar. Aryeh Neshar was a DP. He was 24 years old and I was 26. Neshar was a member of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews of Germany. I was an American army officer, secretly in the Palestine Haganah, who was supposed to be helping the DPs. Neshar, because he spoke English, was called the Foreign Minister of the Central Committee.

Neshar used to come to me, as foreign minister, and demand from me, as the Jewish liaison officer with his Central Committee, that I should liberate a hundred gallons of gasoline, six trucks, or a hundred instruments to form a children's orchestra, or, a hundred vials of penicillin which he could sell on the black market to all the soldiers who had VD--you know, all such choice things. Neshar used to come and demand from me, and I used to yell and give him what I could and he used to yell that it wasn't enough, and then we would hug and kiss each other, and we worked together for three years.

Next.

4 9
The children had no toys, they had nothing to play with. The cots on which they slept inside the building were taken outside and used as playthings, while they tried to occupy themselves.

That picture for me, describes the listlessness and the waiting and the hopelessness of the waiting.

Next.

5 9
The young adults were organized in study classes to keep them busy. That is a scene which could come exactly out of the shtetl, wearing the old fashioned Polish cap pushed back on the head, the hand on the brow, the rough wooden table, the few books, not enough for everybody, and occupying themselves with learning while they were in prison. It's so typical.

Next.

5 9
This is another camp which was a former German PW camp. The watchtower up in the background had the machine gun on it.

Next.

This is what Polish and Russian Jews looked like in 1945, immediately after the liberation, waiting in the camps, and I was just making a visit there to see if I could bring some good cheer and other important nonsense, because I didn't come with anything in my pocket. 6 D

I once took Ben Gurion into a DP camp in Germany. The first time I met Ben Gurion was when he recruited me into the Haganah in 1945, in Paris, through his close assistant, Ruth Kluger. In 1946, I took him to a camp in Germany. He stood up on the stage--the camp was called Babenhausen--and spoke in Yiddish: "I come to you with empty pockets. I bring you no certificates of admission to Palestine. I bring you nothing but hope. I bring you nothing but faith. I bring you nothing but our promise that we shall try to bring you to our land."

It was always the same. What else could we do but keep up the faith and keep up the hope and do the best we could on the illegal immigration and on the illegal smuggling of guns which was the best preparation that we could make for the eventual fight for freedom we knew would some day come.

The people waited and had faith and hope, but Pesach came around and they had to make matzos so they baked matzos in the camp.

Next.

A big camp outside of Frankfurt, called Zeilsheim. Big Celebration. Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt came that day to visit. 5,000 Jews in the camp were standing all over the place. A memorial had been built to the dead. She came to that memorial over on the left. We put up a Jewish flag. There was no Jewish state. 9 D

She looked at the flag and said, "What flag is that--what country?"

And we told her, "Our country."

And she said, "I know that. I am a Zionist."

Next.

This is a camp in a place called Bindermichel, in Austria. It was under British jurisdiction, and a big delegation came in Mercedes-Benz cars, British officers, and I went with them to inspect this camp and to see what could be done for these people. The British looked at though they came from the Moon or Mars. The British made believe they were looking at something that they had to investigate. What are these people like and what do they want? As though the British didn't know. 10-13D

Wooden huts; babies kept covered with a blanket, the same blanket she used at night, she used as a cover during the day. Snow. Propaganda. If you can read Yiddish, the first sign says, "We want to work for us ourselves." It sounds stronger in Yiddish. That was to inform the British visiting delegation that they didn't want to stay in these rotten log cabin huts, they wanted to go to Palestine and work for themselves and build their own country. That sentiment was perfectly clear.

Next.

14 D
This was an apartment house near Salzburg which was commandeered from the Germans and the Jews called it "Herzl House." It was a DP camp. A camp was any usable structure.

Next.

15 D
One of the ways out of Germany was across the bridge at Kehl into Strasburg into Alsace-Lorraine and down through France toward the Mediterranean. Another way out was over the Gross Glockner Mountain in the Alps and down on to the Italian side. That is the Gross Glockner.

And down in the valley below a group of German houses that we would take over. That was also a DP camp. We put the people in and walked the people over the mountains, those who could stand it, down to Italy on the other side to Merano and from there we got a train to Milan and then on to Genoa, to a boat, and then, after a couple of days on the boat, picked up by the British.

Next.

16 D
This is that DP camp down in the valley at the base of the mountains, in a town called Saalfelden. The man on the left was an American Army officer, Stanley Nowinsky, now living in Wisconsin, a good Polish Catholic commander of the local constabulary, who turned the other way at ten o'clock or six o'clock or any o'clock necessary, and he opened the road and out went the refugees. One of the great, authentic non-Jewish heroes of the world. Without him we would have had trouble. With him we had an escape route for many thousands of people, and all you can do is praise a guy like that because he understood what the problem was and played the game.

Standing near him is a Jewish Army chaplain by the name of Eugene Cohen, who now is chaplain of the Jewish Synagogue at Kennedy Airport in New York. Cohen used to tell Nowinsky long stories and keep him busy around the warm fire while we were on the road with a convoy.

Next.

17 D
This was the entrance to the camp and this was our Jewish camp policeman. This was a former German prison camp, as you can see from that tower, but this was the exit point to get across the mountain.

Next.

18 D
Down in the town, away from the camp, there was a big congress in 1947, a big meeting of the Jews. We put up the as yet nonexistent Israel flag, and the American flag. This was a big meeting. I took the picture of it outside of the meeting hall, the opera house, in this little house because we used to have these meetings to keep up our spirits all the time.

The purpose of the meetings was morale, and don't worry, and let's hope and pray, and we will get another convoy out, and three years of it, finally worked.

What would happen when the British caught an illegal boat? They took the people to Cyprus. What happened when Cyprus was full? They sent them back to Germany. That is where the British made their error. They sent the Exodus back to Germany, back to Germany. That tore the whole problem wide open.

The whole world public opinion blew up. Everything happened at the same time. That interview with Bevin took place in January 1947. The business with the Exodus took place in July 47. The Exodus was the last ship with which I had anything to do personally.

The boat was a flat-bottomed ferry boat you will recall, the Wallis Warfield. It usually worked across the Chesapeake Bay out of Baltimore. It was bought and sailed across the Atlantic. It almost foundered twice. It had no keel. How do you sail that across the Atlantic? The Reverend John Grauel was a member of the crew. There were 23 young crew members on board. We were told it would carry 4500 people.

We brought 4500 people out of Germany down into the hills behind Marseilles. 45 great big six by six GMC trucks, each one loaded with a hundred people. That damn convoy of trucks stretched two miles. We had no food. We had no sleeping places. The British knew the ship was coming. She was supposed to fuel in Portugal. They scared her off, wouldn't let the Portuguese fuel her. The ship went up to Sweden for fuel.

The ship came down to Marseilles ten days late. We were hanging out in the hills behind Marseilles ten days, with people on the trucks, not much food, scrounging.

When we loaded and put the 4500 people on board that night and she sailed out the British cruiser, the Ajax, was hanging out beyond the three-mile limit waiting for her.

The Ajax had been the pride of the British fleet which, earlier in the war, had sunk the Graf Spee off the coast of Montevideo. The same Ajax was now ready for the Exodus.

The big battle cruiser followed the little ferry boat all the way across the Mediterranean and rammed her just outside the territorial waters of Palestine, and that whole saga you know. There was a fight and the British marines landed and one of the crew members, Bill Bernstein, of Syracuse, was killed in the wheelhouse with a clunk of a baton on his head. We think, we think that the Exodus episode of July, as much as anything else, helped swing the UN vote on the 29th of November.

When the boat was towed into the harbor at Haifa, the people were transferred to three British prison boats. Cyprus was full, and so the British decided to take the passengers back to France, from whence they had embarked.

First, the British tried to get the French to take the people off at the port near Marseilles from which we had sailed, a small place called Port-du-Buc. The French said they couldn't force the people off just because they started from there.

The Jews said, "Hunger strike, we won't get off."

And the British said, "If you won't get off we will take you back to Bergen-Belsen."

And the Jews said, "Take us back to Bergen-Belsen," and that is precisely what happened.

That ship sailed from Marseilles back up through the channel to Bremerhaven and the people were put on prison trains and taken back into camp at Bergen-Belsen.

Of course, that outraged world opinion to such an unbelievable extent that for the first time you began to hear murmurs, in August and September, of the barbarism of treating Jewish people that way.

And all of this was occurring during the preparatory time of the politicking for the vote in the UN, and I must say that the episode of the Exodus was something well managed, from the Jewish point of view. We had wonderful cooperation due to the British stupidity. She could have drawn our fangs. If the British had let the people land in Palestine there would have been no blowup, but by that time they were utterly desperate and utterly out of sorts with this whole thing and were not thinking straight, and were just typically stubborn, and so they helped us, and it got the publicity that was intended, and made the impact that was intended, and it was just another little episode that added another little--brick in this foundation of trying to create world opinion.

The whole thing worked and came to a head, of course, and statehood was achieved by the War of Independence, and not by anything else.

VI. THE FIRST 25 YEARS OF STATEHOOD (The 1972 Lecture)

To have called this Young Leadership Cabinet into being is like having created a son who goes on to assume an independent life of his own. The father dropped the seed - but the son grew and needs the father less and less. I spent ten years creating and trying to shape this movement and now as I get farther and farther away from the day by day running of the UJA and will get still farther and farther away in the immediate years ahead, the thing that will remain as the lasting pleasure and joy in my mind and I think the thing that will remain as a permanent feature in the American Jewish Community, is this movement and its cabinet.

After I will have finished with the UJA and look back to see what was the most important thing I did, I think this Young Leadership movement will turn out to be it. Conversely, since the UJA plays the role it does in the organized American Jewish community, this Young Leadership movement will turn out to be the most important thing happening daily in eighty or a hundred of the biggest cities of this country. There is no other comparable factor. There is nobody else as well-trained, as well-prepared, as well-committed ideologically and intellectually and emotionally as you are. There is no other organization or institution which has done anything like this. There is no other group of individual men who have given as much leadership as you have and you therefore are becoming the motorpower in all these cities, one after the other. I will leave you with a very deep emotional feeling in my heart. Now to the subject matter.

Last year (June 1971) I gave a very long lecture in which one of the topics was simply not covered. Roman Numeral VIII was entitled "CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL" and we had already been running along about ten hours, so we agreed to stop the topic because everybody felt he knew it. An so in the transcript of last year's lecture there is no narrative under that Roman numeral heading. When we got to this year, (1972) Don, or somebody suggested that we spend the entire time filling that one topic. So today's lecture is entitled "The First Twenty-Five Years of the Third Jewish Commonwealth," and that's what we're going to cover. It may be redundant for some people and it may be a revelation to others. Most of you were very, very young when Israel was established twenty-five years ago, and I think lots of things that happened at the beginning of it either were never known to you or were forgotten by you. Since the subject of Israel is probably one of the most important things for you to be completely conversant with, then it would pay to devote this year's entire lecture to that one subject.

In the folder there is an outline of the lecture. There is also the introduction to Ben Gurion's book, his new book which came out last year on his eighty fifth birthday, called "A Personal History." The introduction is entitled "The Unique Character and Mission of the State of Israel". Well, if we understand its unique character and mission then we know why we love it and why we work for it and why we devote ourselves to it. And this old man has the capacity to find the words to describe the germinal and seminal ideas.

"From the moment of their appearance on the stage of history the Jewish people have been more than a political entity. Without grasping their unique spiritual and moral character and historic mission it is impossible to understand the history of the Jewish nation, the ability to maintain its integrity in every era and every place, as a more or less

independent nation in its own land and as wanderers in exile. We must take into account that uniqueness, preserved by stubborn struggle not only in the physical, economic, political, and military areas but - in the spiritual, moral and ideological spheres the Jewish people have always been engaged in this struggle, even as they are today and probably will be to the end of time."

You've heard me say that over and over and over again in words not as good as his. He goes through his introduction talking about how the Jews (look down in the third paragraph) had to fight with Egypt and Babylon - both of them were great powers. He goes on (the top of the next page) to talk about how the Jews fought - with the Greeks - how difficult it was to fight Christianity- Christianity and Rome tried to rule the world and the Jews lost. Rabbi Akiba ended in defeat and the loss of independence. About five hundred years after Bar Kochba's defeat the land of Israel was overrun by the Arabs and you have the whole big Moslem conquest. And then he goes down into the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution, how they also tried to destroy the Jewish spirit of independent existence - and in spite of everything, in spite of everything - after thousands of years of wandering and sufferings all over the world, the Jews have undergone a national renaissance in their homeland. They will not relinquish their profound historic belief in a fusing of national redemption with the redemption of all mankind - and when people accuse Jews of being nationalistic, narrow, chauvinistic, petty, closed-minded, they don't understand that we Jews are at one and the same time a tight nationalistic people and the broadest of all

because we're capable of embracing all of mankind within our consideration. The fact that we fight for our own separate individual national existence doesn't mean that we close our mind and our hearts to any man on earth. We are a living example of universalistic nationalists. Most people think those two terms are mutually exclusive and contradictory and with most other people they are. With us they're not.

In the State of Israel there is no distinction between the Jew and the human being. The moral values of our prophets, truth and justice, human fraternity and compassion are based on our belief that man was created in the image of God, not a white man or a black man or a yellow man but the image of the "father" of all men. Now this is Ben Gurion, the avowed atheist, who's talking; this is the man who has tried for eighty-five years, and successfully most of the time, not to set foot in a synagogue; this is the man who said I'm a Socialist, I'm not religious, such a man is writing these words. This concept is eternal, all-encompassing, having neither beginning nor end, neither body nor form - the story of the creation of man in the image of God is the foundation of the belief in the fraternity and equality of all peoples revealed by the prophets of Israel to all mankind. And then he goes on to talk further about the spirit, but at the same time reminding his reader that one cannot ignore materialism and physical things. Jews have always rejected the supremacy of the body and physical strength but this does not ignore the value of physical power. We would be refuting Jewish history from the time of Moses and Joshua to the days of the Israel defense forces if we dismissed the value of physical prowess. We have to fight for what we are and we have to fight to keep alive, but in the long run, only if we mobilize all our moral strength and intellectual resources will we be able to overcome the enormous obstacles that confront us as we strive to fulfill our national destiny.

"The seeds of nationhood were sown in the fields of Mikveh Israel, Petah Tikvah, Rishon LeZion, Rosh Pina, Zichron Yaacov, and the settlements that come after them. The first immigrants endured the trials and tribulations that always confront pioneers. They fought the forces of nature, the perils of the , hostile neighbors, malaria, the lack of water; the difficulties of putting down roots in a land that is both loved and desolate; of unifying tribes from distant corners of the earth and creating a renewed national entity. We must make similar and even greater efforts now if we are finally to achieve the peace and tranquility we seek."

Ben Gurion says to us, therefore, that there is a unique character and mission to the State of Israel and the people of Israel. I say that only if you accept this as a premise (and if you read and reread and reread this introduction of his so that you come to understand it) will the rest of the lecture make any sense. If you don't accept this then I don't know what you're doing here and I think you're wasting your time.

This lecture begins a few years before the state was established. I decided to pick the event in Cairo at the end of 1944 when the British High Commissioner, Lord Moyne, was assassinated by two young Palestinians who were members of the Stern Gang. They selected him for assassination because he was in their minds the key symbol of British resistance to allowing Jews to emigrate into Israel. Auschwitz was at the height of its production and you cannot imagine how that burned into the soul of people who saw the British navy, which was supposed to be fighting Hitler, nevertheless blockading the Mediterranean and in a sense keeping the Jews in Auschwitz. That was the symbolism of it. Symbolically, when the American Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, would not allow Jews to land in Norfolk, Virginia, but returned the boat to Germany, he also pushed Jews back into Auschwitz. When any country refused to let Jews in, that meant in effect they were pushing them back toward

Auschwitz. The British had been doing that with great diligence and efficiency for five years, from the time they issued the White Paper in 1939. By 1944 the patience of many people had reached its limit and the Stern group marked the British High Commissioner for assassination as part of a policy of terrorism against leading British personalities. The terrorist group could not accept Ben Gurion's dictum that the Jews should fight Hitler in cooperation with the British as though they were not working against us - and that later we would fight the British as though they had not been our ally against Hitler. Ben Gurion reconciled it in his mind - the Stern Gang couldn't and they shot Lord Moyne. Chaim Weizman, who was very pro-British and who had lost a son, Peter, in the Battle of Britain, made a statement that the death of Lord Moyne in Cairo grieved him as much as the death of his own son in battle, which some people said was bending way over backwards and was a very unseemly thing to do. But Weizman really believed it because his loyalty and affection for the British were almost without limit.

In Palestine, then, there began a period called "open season" in which the British police and troops hunted terrorists of all sorts. There were three major groups, of varying sizes and philosophies: The Haganah, The Irgun and The Stern Gang. The Haganah was by far the largest and most respectable. It was the underground army of the establishment, of the Jewish Agency, of the Provisional Jewish Council. It was moderate, it was amenable, one could go in and discuss things with it as the British Secretary, Sir Henry Gurney used to do with Ben Gurion and Sharett. The British would say "Don't you keep your Haganah boys under control?" as though they were talking about a boy's club which had done some mischief and had to be slightly

disciplined. The Irgun was considered a bit tougher, a bit less respectable, a bit more willing to hang British sergeants - but also had some kind of a responsible leadership most of whom are still alive today, Menachem Begin, Yaacov Meridor and many others. The third group, called the Stern Gang was an offshoot of the Irgun but refused to be bound by any limitations or any negotiations or any kind of discussion with the establishment at all. They had a very simple purpose, to harass and kill as many of the British as one could get away with - and that's all there was to that. The Hagana had about twenty-five thousand men registered in it; the Irgun had three to five thousand men registered; the Stern Gang had three hundred men and that's it. How many people do you think the Red Army Front in Japan has? Well they have three less now but it's only a few hundred men who dedicate themselves to this business of physical violence and shooting as the only way out of anything.

When the open season began in Palestine hunting terrorists, the British hunted everybody in all three groups - and then the three groups began to work together and the Irgun and the Stern Gang developed a very close cooperation and they even negotiated with the Hagana, so that there came into existence a united resistance movement in Palestine from November 1945 to August 1946. It lasted for nine months, during which the three coordinated their activities, swarmed over the roads, blew up bridges, escorted illegal immigrants into the country, and raided British Army camps for arms. Their later maneuvers were very classic. A whole truckload or even two, of British soldiers - sorry, whole truckloads of men in British Army uniforms escorting other truckloads of men dressed as Arab prisoners and Jewish terrorist prisoners would drive up to a British Army camp and with appropriate papers and with appropriate documents enter the camp. Then, once the two truckloads of "British Army soldiers" delivering two truckloads of "Arab prisoners" and "Jewish prisoners," were inside the gate of the camp, they would drive to the arsenal. The objective always was to break into the arsenal to get arms and equipment. Suddenly all four truckloads of men in their various disguises would all turn out, of course, to be members of the Jewish underground and they would do their work and they would break in - they would shoot to kill if they were the Sternists - and they would shoot to wound if they were the Hagana - and they would load the trucks and they would try to back out of the camp and race away carrying their own dead and wounded with them. And when they didn't succeed and they left behind any wounded, those wounded were always taken by the British to the prison camp up at Acre and sentenced to be executed. And this of course created further tension inside the country and the petitions would go back and forth from Whitehall to London to Geneva to New York, begging for clemency. This was usually denied, and the British would go through with their executions.

The United Resistance Movement broke up after the King David bombing episode. That explosion took place on the 22nd of July 1946 as a reaction to Black Saturday of the 29th of June 1946 in which twenty-seven hundred leaders of the Jews in Palestine were arrested. On that Shabbat, every leading Israeli political personality who could be found by the British was rounded up in trucks in early raids at his home on dawn of that morning - Shabbat was selected on purpose to find most people home or available. Many of them were put into the prison camp at Latrun - some were sent out of the country to Kenya, to Eritrea. It was a mass round-up in order to break the back of Jewish resistance against the British. Two people were out of the

country and had been sent out of the country just a few days before that because there was word that this raid might take place. These two were Mr. Ben Gurion and Mr. Moshe Sneh, who died recently, who was the leader of the Mosad, the Hagana underground organization. They were both living in the Royale Monceau Hotel in Paris, which just happened to be British headquarters in Paris. They figured that the best place to hide in Paris was in the British headquarters hotel -and they were quite right. The first place I ever met Ben Gurion was in that hotel. The hundreds and hundreds of leaders, led by Sharett- including many of the men who were eventually to sign the Declaration of Independence remained in jail for four months. This episode really shook the whole community of Palestine which could hardly believe that the British would have the nerve to put two thousand seven hundred leaders in jail.

The united resistance movement, the underground movement figured they had to do something in retaliation, in order to shake the British and they decided on the plot of blowing up British headquarters, which was in the south wing of the King David Hotel. All three organizations planned it jointly, no matter what they say today. The thing got out of control. After it was all over, some people said there was no intention of killing so many. I think more than ninety were killed in the explosion, including many Jews. The operation was called "malonchik" which means "little hotel." The stated objective was to destroy the building and its archives without loss of life. To accomplish this they planned to give advance warning followed by sufficient delay to permit evacuation of the hotel. A delay of forty five minutes was suggested but this was objected to because that would allow the British enough time to remove the papers. Finally they agreed on a half an hour. The plan they adopted was to put explosives inside milk cans that porters would bring into the hotel. In order to scatter passer's-by and prevent them from entering the hotel and being killed as innocent victims, a harmless but very noisy smoke bomb was exploded in the street right in front of the hotel as a diversion to keep innocent people from entering. Warning was to be given by telephone to three places: the hotel switchboard, the newspaper Palestine Post switchboard and the French Consulate building which, as you all know, is right near the King David Hotel. On July 22nd at noon the plan was carried out in every detail - the shooting and the bombs and the smoke bomb scared pedestrians away - the street was deserted at twelve. Then the three telephone calls were made. A little after 12:37 a colossal explosion shook all Jerusalem. The entire six story wing of the King David Hotel occupied by the British services was destroyed. For reasons that remain a mystery to this day the hotel was not evacuated. There's no doubt that the phone calls went through. Sir John Shaw, Secretary-General of the Mandatory Government was said to have exclaimed "I'm here to give orders to the Jews, not take orders from them. We shall not evacuate this hotel" no doubt thinking it was a bluff.

The fact of the matter is that when it was over and the British rage knew no bounds, the Hagana demurred said they were sorry and said they really hadn't meant it to be so severe. The other two organizations then dissolved the united resistance movement. From the Fall of 1946 on, the Hagana did not participate in any anti-British terrorism or assassination but confined itself to organizing illegal immigration. This was against British regulations but didn't involve killing any British personnel. The Irgun and the Stern Gang went on with their business.

I think it's important that you should listen to the words of the British Commanding General Barker who issued an order of the day following the bombing - and this also showed some of the British contempt for the Jews and conversely why the Jews became contemptuous of the British. His order of the day, which was written two day after the hotel was blown up, read as follows: "The Jewish community of Palestine cannot be absolved from responsibility. I am determined that they shall suffer punishment and be made aware of the contempt and loathing with which we regard their conduct. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the hypocritical sympathy of their leaders and representative bodies or by their protests that they are in no way responsible for these acts. I have decided that with the effect on receipt of this order you will put out of bounds to all ranks all Jewish establishments, restaurants, shops and private dwellings. No British soldier is to have social intercourse with any Jew. I appreciate that these measures will inflict some hardship on the troops. Yet, I'm certain, that if my reasons are fully explained to them, they will understand their propriety and will be punishing the Jews in a way that that race dislikes as much as any, namely, by striking at their pockets and showing your contempt of them."

This whole background description is important for you in order to understand the mood that was prevailing in 1946, since it was all centered around the one thing which was crucial, and that was: the right to save Jews. By now, 1946, the war in Europe was over and now Jews were not in Auschwitz - those who were alive were simply in D.P. camps in Germany or in Austria or on the Island of Cyprus so why couldn't they come to Palestine now? The refusal of the British to permit immigration made the Jews in Palestine "crazy" with rage and finally it led up, as you know, to the whole question of pressure on the British to turn the Palestine issue over to the United Nations. I told you that story how at the beginning of 1947, Ernest Bevin, who was a terrible anti-Semite, a vulgar man, an ignorant man, in a rage of profanity said that England was not going to get bogged down, she had a hundred thousand troops in India and another hundred thousand in Palestine and the British Empire was bleeding and he was going to get these F..... Jews off his back, and turn the whole bloody problem over to the United Nations.

A committee was appointed by the United Nations called the "UNSCOP" Committee, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine. The 11-nation committee was appointed on the 9th of May, 1947 and made their report on the 1st of September, 1947. In those few months, they went to the D.P. camps in Germany; they came to Palestine; they took hearings. It was during that period of time that the Exodus episode took place. You know that whole story of the DRS on the boat - and the UNSCOP committee saw the inhumanity when the British sent the passengers of the Exodus back to the camp of Bergen-Belsen in Germany.

The delegate from Guatemala, Garcia-Granados, wrote a book called "The Birth of Israel" and he really told how that United Nations Committee functioned. The whole key to the thing is page 47 in his book, which I would like to read to you. "There was a brief silence and I decided to bring up another subject. I said, Sir Henry, (Sir Henry Gurney), what does the Palestine government understand by illegal immigrants? Is such an immigrant one who enters Palestine contrary to the provisions of the British White Paper or is it one who enters Palestine in contravention of the League of Nations Mandate, which I understand is binding upon your government!" In

other words, he was saying to the British High Commissioner, who the hell are you to decide what's an illegal immigrant! You British are supposed to be running this country as a mandate under the League of Nations - in the League of Nations does it say that Jews don't have a right to come in here? No. You British took over the mandate in 1922 from the League of Nations, you only put out your own White Paper here in 1939, you are the ones who are making a definition of what's an illegal immigrant - and this was a very telling point. Sir Henry replied, "Well we control immigration as every other country does." "But, I persisted, the British government holds its mandates from the League of Nations. Now I insist upon knowing are these illegal immigrants persons who have entered in contravention of the mandate? Sir Henry turned in his chair and squinted at me - "The mandate is not a law, he observed icily. One of my colleagues, Sandstrom, a man from a Scandinavian country, intervened, "What do you understand to be illegal immigrants, Sir Henry?" He replied, they are persons who attempt to enter Palestine contrary to the laws of Palestine. I said, Sir Henry, who makes the laws of Palestine the mandate or the British government, the League of Nations or you? And here of course was the whole bone of contention. These laws of Palestine I discovered were not written by the people nor by their elected representatives, they were summarily decreed by the Government of Palestine in accordance with a British order in council - they conferred upon the British High Commissioner the right to make such regulations as seemed expedient to him - they could neither be challenged nor questioned nor taken to any court for stay or appeal - they were as immutable as a decree from Mount Sinai - these decrees were the laws of Palestine and anything contrary to the laws of Palestine was illegal."

Well, in that framework, and by the clever penetrating questions of this Guatemalan, all the members of the United Nations Committee gradually came around and finally when they took their vote on the 1st of September to make their report to the United Nations here's how it came out: seven of them favored partitioning Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab State; three of them opposed it - India, because she always took a piously hypocritical neutral position on everything, Iran, because she practiced the Moslem religion, Yugoslavia, because she had many Moslem citizens in Bosnia-Herzegovina; and one, Australia, abstained from voting. The Australian abstention was really a riot. Everyone tried to persuade the delegate to vote one way or the other and he insisted upon abstaining because he said there was not going to be a unanimous vote and he would be offending someone whichever way he voted, so he was not going to vote at all. If it were unanimous he would vote with the unanimity, either way. (laughter)

They brought their report in to the United Nations on the 1st of September and the United Nations continued to debate it and debate it - and by the end of November, on the 29th, the United Nations came to its vote and that vote is recorded here, thirty-three countries yea, thirteen countries nay and ten abstentions. In last year's lecture, I went into pretty great detail about why each country voted each way, so there's no need to go further into that now.

Immediately, of course, the Arab guerrilla warfare started. They made good their threat.

FRIEDMAN: Yes, the resolution required for passage two thirds of those present and voting--present and voting--abstentions don't wount--so if you had thirty-three for and thirteen against--that was forty-six countries voting, you needed a two-thirds majority of forty-six, which is how much?

ALL: Thirty-one.

FRIEDMAN: And we got thirty-three. We won it by two votes-- and if you don't thing that was close, man--it certainly was a cliff-hanger. Nobody remembers it, but that's why in the long run that vote didn't really mean a damn thing. When somebody gives you something by two votes and your enemies are threatening that they're going to fight you on it the next morning and they do fight you on it the next morning, then you realize that you didn't gain your independence by virtue of what somebody else handed you, but rather on what you accomplished yourself. I'm telling you this because so many people say: well, you Jews were given Palestine by the United Nations. That is a lot of nonsense. After an unbelievable period of months of tense lobbying, we finally won the vote by two tallies--and then started to fight the next morning. So we won Israel not in Flushing Meadows but on the battlefield. All we won at the U.N. was the right to fight.

On the 30th the Arab higher committee declared a general strike all through Palestine and a Jewish bus was attacked. On the 31st an Arab mob sacked the Jewish commercial quarter in Jerusalem while the British police stood by and prevented a Haganah unit from taking up the defense. During the next few days numerous Arab attacks took place in all other parts of the country, particularly around Tel Aviv and Haifa. That guerrilla warfare which started on the 30th of November, 1947, continued all the way through until the 15th of May, 1948, when formal warfare began with regular Arab armies of the neighboring states.

A fascinating episode was taking place simultaneously between Weizmann and Truman. The two met first ten days before the U.N. vote. Weizmann was in the United States helping the Israeli delegation lobby with country after country. Members of the delegation were Shertok (later Sharett), young Abba Eban, and the American Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. They were the people working in the Jewish Agency offices on East 66th Street. The building no longer exists, having been bought by Temple Emanuel and demolished, so the Temple Sunday School building could be constructed. Weizmann met Truman and had a long discussion with him on November 19, 1947 on what was the key question: namely, whether to give away the southern half of the Negev to the Arabs in order to appease them and get them to accept the partition idea. The Arabs warned that if the U.N. voted in favor of partition, they would go to war. The State Department kept telling President Truman that the Jews had to sweeten the pot somehow, to make it acceptable to the Arabs. The whole compromising appeasement approach of the State Department for twenty-five years has been that little Israel should give up even more of her territory in order to try to make the Arabs happy. Of course the best way to make the Arabs happy is to finally give up all of your territory and then you don't give a state and they're really happy. I mean that's the logical conclusion of it. And so right before the vote the State Department was persuading the President, who was known to be friendly to the Jewish position, to make a further effort to concede. Their argument ran: why do the Jews need that bottom half of the Negev and the port of Eilat, it's all so silly, they're not going to develop it--they can't develop what they have now for the next hundred years, so why not chop off part of it, give it to the Arabs, and maybe that will

reduce their resistance? Weizmann succeeded in convincing Truman that the Negev and Eilat were indispensable to Israel's future. Then, Weizmann didn't see Truman again for months.

On the 10th of February, 1948, Weizmann wrote asking to see Truman and he was refused. Truman wrote a very discouraging letter to Weizmann, asking in essence why Weizmann wanted to see him, and saying that he (Truman) couldn't get anywhere with this issue. The Arabs didn't want to accept it, they continued fighting against the idea of a Jewish state and he (Truman) couldn't see any way to solve this thing so there was no point therefore in his seeing Weizmann. Then came that great historic intervention by Eddie Jacobson. Even if you know the story, it's worth listening to again and if you don't know it, you ought to know it.

Eddie Jacobson was Truman's ex-haberdashery partner in Kansas City-- they had gone bankrupt together in 1919. (laughter) Truman was a captain in the artillery in World War I and had come back to Kansas City a demobilized soldier, no money, no nothing--went into business in an Arrow Shirt store with Eddie Jacobson figuring that this nice friendly Jewish merchant would always be able to keep his head above water--but they went bankrupt. Jacobson told Truman to leave the business but not to worry because he would remain, pay off the debts, and redeem their honor. Truman went out, became a country judge and thus started his political career. Over the years, Jacobson paid back every single penny and Truman always felt a tremendous obligation to Jacobson. The friendship which developed between them was based upon that sense of debt and the friendship lasted. Now, in 1948, almost thirty years later, Jacobson was called upon by an intermediary, Frank Goldman, who was national President of the B'Nai B'rith, to do a favor for Weizmann, this tired, sick, half-blind old man whom Truman wouldn't see. Jacobson flew to Washington, walked into the White House and Truman said, "What are you doing here?" And Jacobson said, "I came to have breakfast with you." And Truman said, "Don't talk to me about Weizmann." (laughter) And Jacobson said, "Let's sit down and have breakfast", which they did. When they went later into the office of the Oval Room, Jacobson pitched very hard, very hard for Truman to grant an audience to Weizmann. Truman was adamant, saying in essence that if he saw Weizmann he would also have to see the Arabs: and since Weizmann had nothing to gain from the interview; in the long run, he would be losing, for the Arabs would then win a opportunity, which would otherwise be closed to them. Therefore, it was best to leave it alone.

Finally, Jacobson played the last gambit, the one which has gone down in everyone's book on this subject. On Truman's desk was a small statue, a bust of Andrew Jackson, the significance of which Jacobson knew. He started to talk about Jackson, reminding Truman of his hero-worship for that earlier President. And Truman started to talk about how he admired the strength of Jackson, his perseverance and doggedness, and what kind of a President he had been for America.

And then Jacobson played his final note and said that Weizmann was his hero in exactly the same way that Jackson was to Truman. Just as Truman wouldn't refuse anybody anything that was asked of him on behalf of Jackson, if he were alive today, so Jacobson can't refuse anybody asking on behalf of

Weizmann today. Therefore, he said to Truman, "I'm asking you to see him." And Truman recorded the episode in his memoirs in these words: "Okay, you baldheaded sonofabitch, you win, I'll see him."

The appointment was made and set for the 18th of March when Truman came back from Key West - and the two men had an excellent conference together. The very next day, on the 19th of March, Senator Austin, the head of the American delegation at the U.N., stood up and made a proposal to delay the creation of the State of Israel and to turn it into a Temporary Trusteeship instead. Of course, everybody simply went crazy because having forced the issue up to the point of revolt in November of '47 and now here in March of '48 to be back at square one all over again and begin from the beginning was unbelievably frustrating. If America was changing her position, and not supporting a Jewish state, but instead was going back to some kind of mandatory or trusteeship arrangement, it just looked as though a tremendous defeat had taken place.

This occurred on Friday. Things were quiet Saturday and Sunday. On Monday, Weizmann called Jacobson to urge him to try to get Truman to reverse Austin's position. When Jacobson talked to Truman about it, Truman said that he hadn't known a damned thing about it, the State Department hadn't asked him, Senator Warren Austin hadn't asked him; this was a position they made up by themselves and he hit them very hard and personally whipped them back into line. He announced that the United States' position was to support the U.N. partition proposal which called for an independent Jewish State in Palestine and there was no deviation from that position. Weizmann wrote a beautiful letter to Truman to explain why the trusteeship idea was no good and Truman sent a letter back to Weizmann which was delivered to him the night of the seder. It was a most symbolic historic moment. Weizmann was sitting at a seder and the messenger brought him a letter from Truman saying in essence that Truman was prepared to fight the State Department and go through with partition and an independent state but he wanted Weizman to remain in the United States to help him win that fight, with State Department people and with Congressional people. Weizmann wanted to get back to Palestine because it was getting close to the 14th of May - and Truman said no, don't go back, I need you here - and Weizmann stayed. So, on the 14th of May, 1948, when the State of Israel was declared, Chaim Weizmann wasn't in Palestine and never signed the Declaration of Independence. No space was left on the document for him to sign later. But that is a whole other story, having to do with Ben Gurion's fight with him. Ben Gurion was very glad that he wasn't there and didn't have to sign. There appears to have been a real vendetta between the two men towards the end. Down through the ages it will probably be asked why the signature of Weizmann was missing from the Declaration of Independence.

On the 13th of May, Weizmann sent a letter to Truman asking for recognition for the new state. You should listen to parts of it. The text is contained in a book called "Three Days" by Zeev Sharef, who is today the Minister of Housing in the government. In 1948 he was secretary to the cabinet - and the three days he writes about in the book are May 13th, 14th, and 15th. The whole book is only about those three days and it's really, very, very, interesting reading now in retrospect. Weizman's letter asking for recognition reads as follows: "Dear Mr. President: The unhappy events of the last few months will not I hope obscure the very great contributions that you, Mr. President, have made toward a definitive and just settlement of the long and troublesome Palestine question. The leadership which the American Government took under your inspiration made possible the establishment of a

Jewish State, which I am convinced will contribute markedly toward a solution of world Jewish problems. Tomorrow, midnight, May 15th, the British mandate will be terminated and the provisional government of the Jewish State will assume full responsibility for preserving law and order within the boundaries of the Jewish State, for defending that area against external aggression and for discharging the obligations of the Jewish State in accordance with international law. It is for these reasons that I deeply hope that the United States will promptly recognize the provisional government of the new Jewish state. The world, I think, will regard it as especially appropriate that the greatest living democracy should be the first to welcome the newest into the family of nations." Respectfully yours, Chaim Weizmann.

Weizmann never called it Israel, for he didn't know the name. Nobody knew the name - Ben Gurion was keeping the name to himself and wrote it down in the Declaration of Independence only on the 14th which was the first time that anybody except the typist, saw the document. Incidentally, about the 10th day of May, when the Jewish underground provisional council was preparing first stamps for the country, the stamps were printed with the name "Doar Ivri" ("Hebrew Post") because when they were printing, nobody yet knew the name of the country, so the name of the country isn't on the first nine stamps.

So Weizmann stayed, worked with Truman to the end, helped push the whole project to the end, wrote the latter requesting the recognition, got the answer back eleven minutes after the State of Israel was declared. The Russians followed a few minutes later.

Next comes the Gush Etzion story--a great story, which ended in defeat then, but victory a generation later. South of Jerusalem, on the way to Hebron there were a group of colonies established by religious kibbutznik people, the Gush Etzion bloc of four settlements. They were attacked in January 1948 at the start of guerrilla fighting. A convey of thirty-five men set out on foot from near Jerusalem to try to bring relief to them. The thirty-five young soldiers were all chopped down in ambush and in fighting before they reached Etzion. They became known as the "thirty-five" "Lamed Heh" (in Hebrew) which has come to be synonymous with courage and the effort to bring relief under fire. But they failed and Gush Etzion surrendered on the night of the 13th of May to the Arabs. That defeat soured the taste of the sweet day of independence.

The departure of the last British High Commissioner is a story full of great drama. At precisely eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th of May, General Sir Allan Gordon Cunningham, wearing the full field service uniform and insignia of a general of the British Army with four imposing rows of colored ribbons, came out from the covered portico of Government House on the Hill of Evil Counsel in Jerusalem, trod with a firm stride toward the guard of honor of fifty soldiers who presented arms. The general reviewed the guard, walked to his black limousine, left the grounds. As the car drove on the short journey to Kalandia landing field north of Jerusalem, British planes circled over the column which was escorting him out of the Holy City. At the airfield there was another ceremony. The Air Officer Commanding did the High Commissioner the unusual honor of himself piloting the aircraft to Haifa. At the moment the plane took off into the air toward Ramallah, the Union Jack was lowered from the masthead both at Government House and every other building in Jerusalem, and the banner of the Red Cross was hoisted in its stead. An hour and a half earlier the Union Jack had been hauled down from its flagpole on the King David Hotel. No government remained in Jerusalem.

Sir Allan Cunningham went to Haifa and was received there, spoke briefly and honestly—"If, by our going, we bring eventual good to the people of Palestine, none of us will cavil at our departure". Awaiting him at Haifa was the Jewish mayor, two other communal representatives. A car drove him swiftly in a convoy from the outskirts, into the harbor area. Army Bren gun teams were posted on all the roof tops, motorcycles were out, riders were fore and aft, armed soldiers stood at every street corner, a line of Sherman and Tiger tanks stood lined up at the harbor gates. It was quiet in Jerusalem when the British left and it was quiet in Haifa as well, as if the populace were completely impassive to the fact of departure. Sir Allan reviewed the parade, the troops in Khaki, the contingent of Royal Marines in blue, the Red Berets, then shook hands with the officer commanding, stepped down into his naval launch. As his hand came up in a salute a salvo of guns roared out; then another and another. The motorboat turned toward the larger aircraft carrier HMS Ocean anchored at the breakwater of the harbor. He was due to sail on the cruiser HMS Euralys at midnight for Malta. Until midnight the British mandate would remain in effect and Sir Allan Cunningham would remain on board.

The final details for the Independence ceremony, the flag, the museum, were all very funny, really, because they used the original Tel Aviv Museum on Rothschild Boulevard which, if you know it, is a very small building. There were many people trying to get in, and they had intended to bring a band in to play Hatikvah, but there was not room so they put the band one floor up hoping that the music would be heard coming down the staircase. There was an old man named Schalit who had been secretary to Herzl, who had the flag which had been flown at the first Zionist Congress in 1897--and he wanted fifty-one years later to fly that flag at the reading of the Declaration of Independence, but there was no place in the room to run up a flag. So they did that in a separate ceremony several days later. All of this was, you know, so, typically, so typically Jewish--(all laugh) the room was the wrong size--no music, no flag, everything is wrong, but you go on and you do your bit and there is somehow a certain amount of magic and grandeur in everything that takes place anyhow.

Ben Gurion stood up, read the Declaration of Independence. The proclamation was adopted by acclamation. Then the secretary called the roll call of council members beginning with Ben Gurion, continuing in alphabetical order. There had not been time to inscribe the Declaration on parchment and so the signatures were placed on an empty, separate sheet of parchment to be joined later to the completed text. (laughter, side talk) Well, you know, it's like giving plaques to chairmen and the plaques are never ready so you sign them in blank. Moshe Sharett (at that time, still Shertok) who sat in the middle alongside Ben Gurion, helped to straighten out the parchment when everyone of those called forward found it difficult to sign his name on the slippery surface. There was great applause when he signed last, according to the Hebrew alphabet. As the signing of the document ended, Hatikvah was struck up by the orchestra and the music resounded from above. It seemed as if the heavens had opened and were pouring out a song of joy on the rebirth of the nation. The audience stood motionless, transfixed, listening to the poignant melody coming from "nowhere as it were," and as the violins sobbed away the last note, the chairman declared, "The State of Israel is established. This meeting is ended."

It had taken thirty-two minutes in all to proclaim the independence of a people who for eighteen hundred and eighty-seven years had been under the servitude of other nations, monarchy after monarchy, Roman, Byzantine, the exile of Europe and Asia and Africa, the exile of west and of east. Sharef had a telling vignette. "I waited for the first copies of the official gazette containing the declaration and took two—one of them for Ben Gurion—I wonder who got the other one? When I brought it to him, he asked, 'what's new in the city?' I answered, 'Tel Aviv is rejoicing and gay.' He returned, soberly, 'I feel no gaiety in me, only deep anxiety as on the 29th of November when I was like a mourner at the feast'" (On the 29th of November, 1947, when the U.N. voted, we started to fight the next morning on the 30th. On the 14th of May, 1948, when the state was established, we started to fight the next morning on the 15th) And so Ben Gurion said that he felt like a mourner at the feast. He knew that his declaring of the state didn't mean that we had the state anymore than getting the UN vote meant that we had the state.

Now, I would like you to read the Declaration of Independence. You all have copies in your folder. It is a striking and powerful document. Ben Gurion wrote most of it. Shertok wrote some of it. There was no drafting committee—there was no Constitutional Convention; it was written in two or three days before the event itself. I would like to bring to your attention the paragraph about the Arabs, which I think is important. On the page before the signature, a few paragraphs from the bottom "Even amidst the violent attacks launched against us for months past, we call upon the sons of the Arab people dwelling in Israel to keep the peace and to play their part in building the state on a basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its institutions, provisional and permanent.

We extend the hand of peace and good neighborliness to all the states around us and to their peoples and we call upon them to cooperate in mutual helpfulness with the independent Jewish nation in its land. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution in a concerted effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East."

In other words, at the moment of highest glory and agony, when the Jews were writing their own Declaration of Independence, they put toward the hand of friendship to the Arabs living inside and to the Arab states on the outside and that is an important thing for you never to forget when anybody accuses Jews of being nationalistic or chauvinistic.

Now let us turn to the maps. What was the partition plan? What was theoretically given to Israel? What was she supposed to have? This is it. The Jewish state in part of Palestine is outlined in heavy black. The Negev, which, at first, they wanted to cut off right about in the middle, joins right here at one point, right there at Yad Mordecai. The coastal strip joined at another point here to eastern Galilee which had a lot of Jewish settlements in it. The proposed Jewish state was joined at two points so easily cut, right here and right here. Yet this is what the Jewish leadership accepted. You can imagine how desperate they were to have an independent state that they were willing to accept this kind of idiotic map. Even though this is not viable, they were willing to accept it anyway. The stupidity of the Arab position is that if they had accepted it they could have had an independent Arab state, as was contemplated under the partition, in this whole

section. There was no corridor coming up to Jerusalem. Jerusalem was to be an international area, it was not to be the Jewish capital, so there was no need to link Jerusalem to the Jewish state. This was to have been the independent Arab state, which they rejected. This map shows the whole fallacy of the Fatah guerrilla position which claims that the Palestinians have the right to the territory as a state. They had it, according to the 1947 proposal, and they turned it down, they didn't want it--whereupon the King of Jordan came in and grabbed off as much as he could--and the Jews moved in under fire, grabbed off as much as they could--and so the map at the end of the War of Independence is quite different from the map which was voted on in the United Nations. Had this U.N. map been accepted by the Arabs and had there been no War of Independence, I think the state of Israel would never have survived.

VOICE: Herb, I always wondered what the rationale was for that particular 1947 U.N. map. How did they arrive at the proposed division of the territory?

FRIEDMAN: The coastal area was granted by the United Nations Commission to the Jews because it was full of Jewish settlements and towns. Similarly, the Eastern Galilee area, right to the Lake of Galilee, was full of Jews. Western Galilee, on the other hand, was not allocated to the Jews because there were no Jews living there. By the way, this historical fact is the best answer of all to those people who ask why we put down new settlements today up on the Golan Heights or anyplace in the administered territories. When you settle something you begin to develop squatter's rights, possession is nine-tenths of the law, and years later when some political decision has to be made, it's made upon what are called "fait accompli" facts. Most of the land which the Jews occupied from the beginning, let's say the 1880's, was all purchased land, purchased mostly from absentee Arab landowners living in Beirut, Bagdad, Kuwait, Geneva and Paris.

Now, beside the Coastal Strip and Eastern Galilee, both already heavily settled, the Negev, the third part, was ceded to the Jews for their future, as land for future development. Everyone thought it was wild, untamable desert, so giving it up didn't really mean too much. And since it was admitted that some land was needed for the future it was agreed, after much hesitation, and many efforts to sabotage the decision, to give the Negev to the Jews. That was the rationale.

VOICE: Herb, when did the Arab population pull out, at that point, at that point of independence or...when?

FRIEDMAN: The Arab population started to pull out heavily beginning in April 1948, after the Deir Yassin Episode. May 15th came statehood--start of war--a big flow pulled out in July after the first Jewish victories; then another even bigger flood pulled out in November-December when the Jewish offensive started southward. Most Arabs pulled out, in other words, between April 1948 up to December 1948.

VOICE: Herb, did they pull out because of Deir Yassin, or because of Jewish victories, or was it because the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and other Arab leaders were urging them to leave, so the armies could push the Jews into the sea, and then the civilian Arab s could return to their homes?

FRIEDMAN: We will come to a chapter called "The Arab Refugee Issue", in which I'll give the answer to that. Okay?

VOICE: What was the issue between Weizmann and Ben Gurion?

FRIEDMAN: It had partly to do with personalities, partly with their differing attitudes toward the British and partly with a serious constitutional question. Regarding the latter, the question was: Should the President be strong and the Prime Minister weak or the Prime Minister strong and the President weak? Weizmann's notion was not of a weak ceremonial President who gave medals to Boy Scouts in the garden; but a strong President as in the American concept and practice. Ben Gurion's notion was that the real power of decision-making rested with the Prime Minister, while the President reviewed the troops and received credentials from visiting ambassadors. Ben Gurion thought of England with a ceremonial monarch and a powerful Prime Minister. Weizmann believed that the British could do almost no wrong. Ben Gurion had a different opinion and wasn't willing to cater to the British. Finally, of course, the climactic issue between them came at the Zionist Congress in Basel in 1946 when the war was finished (it was the first Congress I ever attended). Weizmann stood up at the congress and maintained that our policy must be to continue to negotiate with the British, who are still our best friends. The delegates shouted him down, repudiated him, and, as a matter of fact, when he was nominated for another term as president of the World Zionist Organization, they defeated him.

Nobody was elected as president; the post was left open. Ben Gurion led the fight against him, arguing that they could not elect as president a man who said that their tactics and strategy should be to continue to negotiate moderately with the British. Ben Gurion called for a policy of complete opposition to the British. Of course the irony of the whole thing was that the Zionist Congress was held I think, in October of 1946. By January of 1947, three months later, every Zionist leader in that room was in London at a meeting in the Court of St. James, trying to negotiate with the British. (laughter) That's right. But, anyhow, the ideological issues split them. The issue on definition of function later on split them. Personalities split them. Weizmann was a cultured man, an educated English gentleman and never one day of his life walked into a room without a tie on. He probably felt Ben Gurion was a Polish Jew from a small shtetl. Weizmann was also born in Eastern Europe, but you know thirty years of English cultural overlay changes a person. Weizmann lived in Manchester most of his life, was professor of chemistry at the university there--One's origins are sometimes not so important as acquired characteristics and the two men were different, were just simply different.

VOICE: Who gave Ben Gurion the right to name the state by himself?

FRIEDMAN: Oh, I would say by 1948 Ben Gurion was the undisputed and unchallenged and unchallengeable single leader. He would have answered you this way: Israel was the right name because it embraced two thoughts, both land and people. The one word embraces both concepts, and merges them forever. Now we get into the chapter of the War of Independence in 1948-1949. You're all aware of the fact that the Army of Israel and the Government of Israel had no arms and no equipment. In 1945 when the war was over in Europe, Ben Gurion had the prescience and the foresight to realize that independence would come only by fighting for it, no other way. A flow of arms and supplies was developed from the U.S even though there was an embargo, but there was an even bigger effort going on in Europe. He was based in Czechoslovakia and did the first purchases in

Prague in 1946. He did a simply fantastic job against all sorts of odds. Whereas, there was no equipment at the beginning of '48, when the guerrilla war was on and there wasn't really very much equipment by May when the heavy part of the war started, equipment began to arrive in June, July, August, and that's when Israel began to grow stronger. Ehud's work really turned the course of the war.

Military command was in the hands of Yigal Yadin, who was the Chief of Operations and the man on whom Ben Gurion leaned the most. Yadin came to Ben Gurion on the 1st of April 1948 and said in essence: you're going to declare the state on the 15th of May, which is six weeks from now. I'm telling you we should not wait six weeks from now to make certain moves. If we wait until you declare the state before we begin to move, we'll be in a handicapped position. We have to begin to get ourselves into position earlier. The guerrilla fighting was under an Iraqi by the name of Fawzi Bey el Kaukji and he was fighting up in the north. He penetrated as far as Mishmar Ha-emek by March 1948. Yadin wanted to turn and go on the offensive the beginning of April.

What happened on the morning of the 5th of June 1967 wasn't born on that morning. The Hagana philosophy always was: attack, don't defend; attack; attack. By that method you can keep your wars short and that's how you can win them. When you defend, you're in trouble. On the morning of the 1st of April 1948 Ben Gurion was pushed by young Yadin to agree to an attack. They argued for hours, not that Ben Gurion was against, but he said: we'll work with whatever we have.

Yadin wanted to try to do two things: to take control of all the roads, i.e. interior lines of communication in that part of the territory which had been allotted by the United Nations, and which was supposed to become the Jewish State; and secondly, he wanted to take the road up to Jerusalem in case Israel could capture Jerusalem. As part of controlling the roads, he wanted to take Nazareth up here, and Safed, which was even farther north, and the road between them. Ben Gurion finally gave him the permission.

Here are the comparative military strengths of the opposing sides, on the eve of the War of Independence: the Jordan legion had about ten thousand men coming in against Jerusalem from the east; the Syrians and the Iraqis, with another ten thousand men would come into Jordan Valley from the east and north; and the Egyptians were coming up from the south with about thirty thousand men which they had ready to throw into the fight plus of course aircraft, artillery, tanks and a navy. The Hagana had as its only really trained unit, the Palmach group of about twenty-five hundred men, backed up by an additional twenty-five thousand men, untrained completely, new immigrants, new refugees. These were divided into nine brigades: three in the north; two to protect Tel Aviv; one for the defense of Jerusalem; and one to try to take the highway up to Jerusalem.

The story I want to tell you now, of the four howitzers, is a typical story of the argument and the struggle that took place between Yadin and Ben Gurion as to how to utilize the unbelievably meager equipment. At this stage, the Hagana possessed, as heavy artillery, exactly four sixty-five

millimeter howitzers, which had been used by the French Army in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. The Prime Minister was determined that the howitzers be dispatched at once to the Jerusalem corridor. There they would prove invaluable to the Palmach troops, marshalling for the battle of Latrun, the Arab stronghold blocking the passage of convoys on the road. By the way we lost that battle of Latrun in 1948 and never had access to that road up to Jerusalem and had to build the other road all the way around. Yadin insisted just as strenuously that the four guns would be of much less value in the mountains up to Jerusalem. He said, as a military man, that howitzers are no use in mountainous territory, but that he needed them in flat country, up north, to prevent the Syrians and Iraqis from coming in. He wanted the howitzers up there. "There is a lesson for us from the past," Yadin pointed out, asking, "do you remember 1st Kings, Chapter 20, Verse 23?" (laughter) In spite of the gravity of the situation, Ben Gurion could not resist a wry smile. Yadin and his biblical archeology again. "Very well," he sighed, "I'm listening". Yadin continued eagerly. King Ahab, in the 9th Century B.C., faced an invasion in precisely the same spot, the Arameans—we would call them Syrians today for purposes of comparison—came down the same northern mountain road, down in this direction toward the sea. Their goal was to break through into the plains, over here, and conduct a decisive battle there, for they had decided that the God of the Israelites was a mountain-God and that the Israelites couldn't be defeated in the hills but only in the plains. Ahab knew that his best chance of destroying Aramean army was to intercept it just as it left the road and before it deployed in the plains and so he crossed over the plateau with his men and caught the Arameans in their encampment and destroyed them. Well, the Syrians of today could be enticed into the same trap, Yadin reasoned, and with a little firepower could be stopped there, too. Yadin said, "I want the four howitzers for Degania".

Ben Gurion was a better than fair biblical scholar himself, and recalled that story vividly. He admitted the point was well taken, but reminded Yadin that we must defend Jerusalem too—King Ahab never faced that problem. Jerusalem is dying and this may be our last chance to save her. After five hours of arguments, he and Yadin arrived at a compromise. Two of the artillery pieces would be dispatched to the Jerusalem corridor; two would be sent to the advance units at Degania under the command of Moshe Dayan. The decision was reached with little time to spare—Dayan's men succeeded in assembling the antique cannon at the very moment that the first syrian tanks rumbled through the Degania perimeter. There were no aiming lenses on the guns. Under heavy Syrian shelling, the inexperienced Jewish artillerymen fired off a few trial shots, first to the right and then to the left. At last with less than twenty yards of closure left, the final shots struck home, the advanced tanks burst into flames. Had the Syrian commander known that these two obsolete weapons represented the entire arsenal of Jewish fieldguns in Degania, half the Jewish cannonry in all Palestine for that matter, he might well have pressed the attack. But he didn't know—indeed, it is likely that he anticipated an even heavier barrage momentarily. Apparently unnerved by the surprising power of the Jewish defense, he lifted the hatch of his armored car, waved frantically to the tanks behind him, the column of vehicles swung around in its tracks and roared back up the mountain road at full speed—never to return. Yadin's biblical strategy was dramatically vindicated with the exception of one

Kibbutz which fell to a quick Syrian thrust on June the 10th (it was later recaptured) - but the entire eastern Galilee remained firmly in Jewish hands. Now that little story is a good one and not an isolated one. It is typical of the whole problem of no equipment with which to fight on all the fronts at one time.

The "Old City" was lost on the 28th of May. The Latrun Battle was lost, on the 28th of May. The Latrun Battle was lost, in a terrible slaughter. Hundreds of men died, but we couldn't take the Jordanian Police station which commanded the valley, near the monastery. So an alternate road had to be built, to relieve Jerusalem, and the so-called "Burma Road", was started. This "Burma Road" was opened finally on the 9th of June two days before the truce. The United Nations mediators felt that their role was to try to stop the fighting and so they used to be the referees to try to call truces. There were three truces and three reopenings of fire in what we call the War of Independence - from May '48 until January '49. Now the first truce took place on the 11th of June from the 15th of May - so the first period of fighting was almost a month.

Now let me tell you the story of Colonel David Marcus. He was a United States Army Colonel, a West Point regular, a professional who came over with full manual of arms and all the field manuals, and tried to turn the Israel Army into as much of a professional army as he could do within a short period of time. With fighting already started, he had no time to introduce proper training methods. Rather, it was a matter of trying to whip an army into some kind of organizational shape, with platoons, companies and regiments, with some kind of organizational system while the fighting was on. He was the greatest and only professional military expert Israel had from abroad: everything else was "home-grown," Yadin and Dayan and Allon and Laskov and all those young men in their early twenties were all native products of the only non-local training the Hagana had ever gotten, which was under a British General by the name of Wingate, who was later killed in Burma in the last days of World War II. Wingate had come to Palestine with the British Forces, believed in Zionist aspirations for statehood, and gave the underground Hagana squads some simple field commanders' tactics and night-fighting tactics and a few things that he could teach them. But Marcus was a professional West Pointer and he could have been of great assistance in forming and shaping the new army. He arrived and went to work with great zeal.

On the 11th of June, the day that the first truce was to go into effect, just at early dawn, shady light, the night just fading away and the light just beginning, on the road up to Jerusalem, near Castel, just about to break through and relieve Jerusalem, he got up, stepped out of his tent to the latrine with a sheet wrapped around him. The sentry thought he might be an Arab and challenged him sharply. He knew no Hebrew and didn't respond properly. The sentry shot him dead, a few hours before the truce came into effect.

The moral of the story? Learn some Hebrew. Don't wrap yourself up in a sheet, so you don't look like an Arab, and don't go near a nervous sentry.

There is an apochryphal story, which I cannot validate, that the sentry later that day tried to commit suicide because he was in such despair over what he had done. I don't know whether that's true or not. On the 11th of June the first truce went into effect and lasted four weeks, until July 8th. Yadin worked unceasingly to reorganize his army, during the four weeks at his disposal. Officers and non-coms were sent back to camp for intensive refresher courses in tactics and weapons. Twenty-five thousand new recruits were now outfitted in uniforms supplied from abroad--armed with Czech rifles, that was the Avriël group working, and rushed through basic training. At the same time Yadin radically altered the army's organizational structure transforming the nine brigade commands into three front commands. The Israelis soon were better armed, their officers and more than half of their men were now battle-hardened, they were determined now to seize the offensive the moment the truce expired on July 8th.

Yadin laid his plans carefully. In the north the Syrians were to be thrown back across the Jordan River. In the center the Jordan Legion and its Iraqi allies would be driven from their advanced posts of Lydda and Ramle thus opening the Jerusalem Corridor--and that is how it happened. In the ten days of fighting that took place between the 8th and the 18th of July, Lydda and Ramle were captured, both by Dayan. Nazareth was taken, as well as the whole north, and then another truce went into effect. The truces were good for Israel because they gave her a chance to regroup and rearm. On the other hand the truces were bad because the U.N. officials made rules like a football game. When the whistle blows, you stop, and where you are with the ball, that's where you are. Therefore you have to work like hell to get as much as you can get during the fighting period, before the whistle blows again.

At his point, in June and July, after the State of Israel was established, and after the first fighting had started, the old differences and enmities between the three fighting forces had not yet been fully reconciled. These still existed--the Hagana and the Irgun and the Stern Gang, when there was already an independent state fighting a war. Ben Gurion understood instinctively that if he did not make one army out of these separate forces, he might run into a potential civil war. Because the differences were real not only in regard to what tactics to employ against the British four, five years earlier; but there were real differences of a political nature and an economic nature--there were differences of points of view and differences of outlook. Today, twenty-five years later, the Irgun Party represents a sort of right-wing, capitalistic approach. This was already incipient in their point of view twenty-five years ago. They had a different ideological, political, social point of view than did the Hagana men of the Socialist Party. It may be perfectly legitimate to have separate resistance movements in the struggle to establish a state, but once the revolution has succeeded and the state exists, three different kinds of revolutionary movements are no longer needed, or healthy. There must be one government, with one Army loyal to it and all differences must be sublimated and subordinated. Well, that's not easy for Jews to do as you know perfectly well, (laughter) you've all seen the man who can't become the president of his own temple, so he goes out and founds another one.

This is some kind of characteristic of ours. We laugh at it but it is serious. We lost the Battle of Jerusalem in the year 70 not only because the Romans were strong, but because we had the most horrendous internal civil war going on at the same time. Jews destroyed Jewish food inside the City of Jerusalem, with the Romans besieging it from the outside. Well, we are a very passionate people and when somebody gets to hold a point of view, he holds it to the point of almost cutting somebody else's throat. Ben Gurion, rightly, understood that the separate forces had to be merged.

The issue that triggered it all off was the episode of a ship called the Altalena. The Altalena set sail from Italy for the shores of Palestine, some day before Israel was proclaimed. She carried a load of arms on board, purchased in Europe in an illegal arms purchasing program by the Irgun.

On board that ship were hundreds of refugees as well. A showdown took place between Ben Gurion and Menachem Begin, Commander of the Irgun, in which Ben Gurion said "You turn that shipload full of arms over to us, we are now the Jewish State, we now have one army--your Irgun men are part of that army"--and Begin said, "No." Ben Gurion warned that if the shipload of arms was not turned over, he would sink it. He had to be pretty certain of the importance of his decision to sink a boatload of arms when he was struggling for every pistol. But, in his quite correct appraisal of things it was more of a danger to the State of Israel to have a dissonant army with its own arms than fewer arms with which to fight the Arabs.

The refugees were taken off, as the ship went up and down the coast in a rather indecisive way between Atlit and Natanya and down to Tel Aviv for two or three days in which the terribly bitter and difficult negotiating went on. Finally on the 20th of June the ship, lying right off the beach opposite the Dan Hotel for people on Hayarkon Boulevard to watch and see, was fired upon by Ben Gurion's order from the shore. The ship was sunk, and everybody then knew that the State of Israel was really born. Begin deserves a point for the manner in which he accepted surrender and defeat at that moment in history. His role had been difficult--the negotiations protracted and he could have withdrawn into enmity. He didn't and plays an important role in Israel to this day.

At that time, he was negotiating with Ben Gurion's appointee, Israel Galili, who is today Minister in Golda's Cabinet and one whom she trusts implicitly. Begin asked Galili for the new government's promise to reserve twenty percent of the cargo for Irgun units in besieged Jerusalem. This request was only natural since the Irgun was not to be dissolved in the Jerusalem zone and since its units were fighting hard in the defense of the old city. At that moment in the old city they had only one Lewis automatic rifle, a few regular rifles, some Sten guns and they were begging for equipment. After much hesitation, Galili telephoned Begin to say that the Minister of Defense had approved the request. The Minister of Defense of course was Ben Gurion. Two days later, in an abrupt about-face, he told Begin the army would take no part in unloading the arms. How could the Irgun undertake such an operation on a remote beach without pontoons, cranes or machinery? At dusk the Altalena dropped anchor before the Beach of Atlit. Begin was there to greet his friends. The nine hundred passenger, immigrants, disembarked first and the long, slow unloading operation began. It took all night to transfer a third of the cargo to shore. At dawn U.N. observers then

encircled the ship. Soon a number of Hagana units surrounded the beach and sent Begin a ten minute ultimatum. Begin replied that such things could not be settled in ten minutes. Ultimately he gave in, the ships cargo was not unleased, and she pulled away from shore, to sail south toward Tel Aviv, where she met her end a day or two later.

Begin used the full strength of his authority to oppose the reprisals his men wanted to inflict. Because of him and despite this bloody episode the accord with the government became a reality and the Irgun subsequently took part in every battle from Jerusalem to Beersheeba, from Galilee to the Negev. The tragic picture of the burning Altalena has continued to haunt Israel's soul like a warning against the mortal peril of internal division. Twenty years later when Israel's very existence was once again threatened, it was Menachem Begin who took the initiative in proposing a government of national union under the leadership of Eshkol, which became a wall-to-wall coalition of every party, so that the nation went into the terrible trial of May-June 1967 firmly united.

By the end of the second phase of the fight, July 18, the Defense Force of Israel held Ramle and Lydda, had started a road into Jerusalem and had acquired much more of the Western Galilee than had originally been allotted by the U.N. plan. These were all conquests of war--pushing into the center part of the country, moving into the middle, different from that map--opening a whole corridor here--all of this was completed by the end of the second truce.

During the period of this truce, there occurred the messy business of the assassination of Count Bernadotte, the U.N. observer. The whole story is best told by America's first ambassador to Israel, Mr. James McDonald, whose book I recommend you read. This tall, lanky Scotsman was a very, very interesting man, friendly, loved the Jews, respected them, understood them. He had endured painful experiences as League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and had seen the way the rest of the world played games with Jews hounded by Hitler. He chaired the conference at Evian, France in September 1938 when the whole world was called to figure out what to do about Jews who were being persecuted by the Nazis, and the conference was an abortion, it came to no conclusion whatsoever. No country offered to take any Jews and it was a terrible, terrible slap in the face. More significantly, it was an open-ended invitation to Hitler to do what he wanted because it was clear that with thirty-seven countries of the world drinking the waters of Evian for three weeks and nobody lifting one finger, Hitler knew he had a green light. Truman appointed McDonald as the first American Ambassador to Israel and he was there for 1948 and 1949. His book, "My Mission to Israel", describes that first year and a half and tells the full story of the Bernadotte assassination.

Count Foke Bernadotte was a Swede appointed by the U.N. to try to see if he could mediate the fighting and keep the truces longer and the fighting periods shorter. What happened very simply was that he swung over to the Arab position, intellectually. McDonald wrote in a few sentences, as one gentile writing about another gentile, that Bernadotte was working with forces beyond his control whose violence he underestimated. He blundered fatally in suggesting that Jerusalem become an Arab capital. Internationalization of the ancient Jewish capital was bad enough for the Israelis to swallow, but for

Bernadotte to suggest turning it over to Abdullah to make it a Moslem city in Jordan, was so offensive to the Israelis as to be incredible. It destroyed their last hope in him as a mediator. Count Bernadotte, despite high high position and prestige, became almost completely discredited. A group of five or six Stern Gang men chopped him down in Jerusalem on Friday, September 17.

We turn now to the third episode of fighting, the 15th to the 30th of October, called "Operation Ten Plagues." It was to be a breakthrough to the south against the Egyptians. The whole big fight here, under command of Yigal Allon, at a place called Faluja, was in this pocket which is an area on the plain right near where the Heletz oil fields are today, between Ashkelon and Ashdod if you know where that is. The big Taggart fortress was called Iraq Suweidan and the kibbutz opposite was Negba. Thousands of Egyptians were trapped in that pocket. One of the Egyptian officers captured there was Captain Nasser, with whom Allon's driver, a Sergeant Cohen, a Yemenite Jew who spoke Arabic fluently, became very friendly. Sergeant Cohen and Captain Nasser began a friendship then which lasted many, many subsequent years. Many times later when it was suggested that Yigal Allon try to negotiate with Nasser secretly and through intermediaries, he always used to send a message "Sergeant Cohen's friend would like to talk to you."

The third truce took place from the beginning of November through the 21st of December and then Yadin felt that the Israeli forces really had to break down the south and crack the whole Egyptian army for good. He recalled an old Roman road and made the attack on Nitzana which is right down here -- got that far south by January of '49 and that broke the Egyptians. He recalled that road through the desert which was now a cobblestone track. They found it and swung around an Egyptian brigade that was right here and it all finished on the 8th of January 1949. On the 7th of January 1949 the Israelis shot down five British reconnaissance aircraft right opposite the Faluja pocket because they were over Israeli territory and the Israelis didn't recognize them, thought they were Egyptian aircraft -- they were Spitfires.

Following the shooting down of those British aircraft, three weeks later Bevin recognized Israel (laughs) and a lot of people made jokes and said we should have done this earlier. (laughter) He announced that the Jews would be released from Cyprus where the British had been holding them, and he announced that England would recognize Israel.

VOICE: What were the British aircraft doing there?

FRIEDMAN: Reconnaissance.

VOICE: For whom?

FRIEDMAN: For themselves.

VOICE: Where were they based?

FRIEDMAN: They were based in Ismalia, in the Canal Zone; they hadn't yet been thrown out; Egypt had not yet nationalized the Canal.

The armistice talks started on the Island of Rhodes on the 12th of January 1949 and they were concluded one by one, with country after country. Egypt came first because no other Arab country was going to move unless moved. Once Egypt said she would sign an armistice with Israel, everybody else concerned, one by one, Lebanon, Jordan, and Syria, agreed. Iraq refused saying she intended to remain in a state of war with Israel until Israel was destroyed. Iraq today technically has the legal right to claim being in a state of war, because she has never even signed an armistice treaty with Israel.

Now those were armistice treaties; they were not peace treaties. there was a paragraph in each which said that this treaty, which calls for an armistice and a cessation of fire, shall be a prelude to a formal peace treaty. Well, the formal peace treaties were never made -- and so the border lines of early 1949 were called armistice lines. That's all they are; they are not the lines which define the borders of the State of Israel. The State of Israel is in its twenty-fifth year and still does not have borders.



We are operating today on the ceasefire lines of 1967, not anymore the armistice lines of 1949. Until we get a peace treaty with border lines, which may not be for another twenty five years, we will sit with these ceasefire lines, continue to live a normal life of development and wait to see what comes next.

Simultaneous with the armistice talks getting started on the Island of Rhodes, an election was held in Israel in the same month. The first election was held in January of 1949 and a Knesset was elected, only seven months after the Declaration of Independence. This was really pretty fast, considering that the country was in a terrible fight all that time. After the first Knesset was elected, then the United States Government gave de jure recognition and the first loan. Then Israel applied for membership into the United Nations and was admitted on the 14th of May 1949, when she was exactly one year old, as the 59th member state. Today there are in the United Nations one hundred and thirty six states, so Israel as number fifty-nine is a real veteran. This, however, has not yet earned her a seat on the Security Council. (laughter)

Okay, we've finished the first two Roman numerals on the outline, gentlemen. Now, let's take a break for a minute, but not too long, because there are still fifteen topics to go.

FRIEDMAN: The realities are that we're not going to spend eleven hours this year because we didn't program it that way. You've invited Ambassador Rabin tonight and he'll be here and so we can go another two hours if you want, but that's it. So I would like to ask you a question. Let's flip through these topics and see which of them are of more interest to you than others. Since we can't go through everything, let's pick the ones you want me to go through orally and the others you'll do yourself.

FRIEDMAN: All right, look. Irwin may be right, let's do the Arab refugee issue. Between April 1948 at Deir Yassin where two hundred Arabs were killed and December 1948 which was the final Israeli offensive southward, somewhere between five hundred and seven hundred thousand Arabs fled. That's an estimate, nobody knows--and about a hundred and twenty thousand remained. That we do know. That number has grown, by the way, to about three hundred and fifty thousand today.

The approximate list of those who fled is as follows: to the West Bank; a quarter of a million; across the river to Jordan proper, seventy thousand; northward to Lebanon, one hundred thousand; to Syria, seventy five thousand; to Iraq and Egypt, small numbers; into the Gaza Strip, two hundred thousand. That should total about seven hundred thousand Arabs who fled Israel and that number is considered to be very high. It was probably less than that. Israel made an offer to the UN Conciliation Commission, sitting in Lausanne, Switzerland, in April 1949, in an effort to settle the refugee question. Israel offered three things: to put the refugee question as a first item on the peace settlement agenda (which was a concession for Israel because in her

mind this refugee item was not the first item--borders were); to repatriate 100,000 refugees back to Israel, and to offer Israeli citizenship to Gaza Strip inhabitants, if the Strip were incorporated into Israel, or to assist in their resettlement, if it were not. The Arabs refused this offer, and, thus, began the long, painful episode of using the refugees as a political pawn.

Deir Yassin was a village not far from Jerusalem, up in the hills of the Jerusalem corridor. About two hundred Arabs were shot down that afternoon in what Arabs and Christians and El-Fatah called "a massacre". Some say that it was an Irgun retaliation for what happened a month earlier--for a slaughter of Jews in the old city and that the Irgun was going to teach the Arabs a lesson. Others say that it was a unilateral Irgun decision to attack this village, as a warning to the rest of the Arab villages in the Jerusalem hills just to sit tight and not try anything. The Hagana disassociated itself from the attack and said that it would bring to trial the officers guilty of giving the order to shoot the innocent civilians. This is one version of Deir Yassin: an Irgun attack not authorized by the Hagana and later repudiated by the Hagana.

Another version of the slaughter is that it was an error; that it began as an Irgun attack on the village: the women and the children were to have been separated; the men, farmers coming home from the fields in the late afternoon were not to have been molested; that it was an attack whose purpose was to blow up some houses; shoot to kill if resistance was offered by young Arab guerrilla fighters--and that the reason this particular village was selected for the retaliation was because it was a base of Arab guerrilla fighting activity.

The Irgun was entrusted with the responsibility for carrying out the action and they were ordered to attack the town, blow the houses up, kill terrorists and guerrilla fighters, if they could find them, and of course leave women, children and old men alone. The Hagana says the Irgun went beyond its authority. The Irgun's defense of the event is they didn't go beyond their authority at all--that there was an error and misunderstanding in communications between officers and men; that there was a lot of confusion when the shooting started; that old men coming down the road from the fields were not considered to be old men but they were thought to be reinforcements coming in and this could be a perfectly natural error also. The truth of what happened at Deir Yassin I don't think anybody will ever know, but the effect was to start a wave of Arab flight.

The Arab high command under the instruction of Haj Amin, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem used this event as propaganda. They broadcast repeatedly over the radio to the Arabs in all the towns and villages of Israel that now was the time to flee, leave homes, leave villages, since the Jews will make a Deir Yassin in every village in Palestine. The instruction was to go across the border, to safety in Jordan, or Lebanon, and when the war was over then all would be able to go back to their homes. The Grand Mufti utilized Deir Yassin as a propaganda item to provoke large scale Arab exodus.

Why did the Arab broadcasts tell the Arab villagers to leave? Does everyone recall what happened on the roads in France in 1940?

VOICE: They got in the way.

FRIEDMAN: Exactly. Frenchmen fleeing southward, to escape Hitler, clogged the roads when the Nazis moved into France, and the roads south were jammed but unbelievably so, cars and trucks and wagons and horses and baby carriages. The Nazis couldn't penetrate so they started strafing the roads by airplanes, strafing civilians to clear the roads--this is a well-known fact in that war. The Mufti knew this, and said "Keep the roads clear, we have armor, we have armored trucks, we have tanks, the Jews don't have such equipment. The roads are ours, the roads will belong to us, don't clog the roads with refugees, get out of the way, so that our armies can move on the roads. In two weeks it will all be over then you can go back to your villages."

Yes, this process of Arabs fleeing began in very small numbers right after the 29th of November 1947, through the early months of 1948. April '48 is when the flood began. It continued all the way through December. But it had developed momentum before the State of Israel was established, that's the key point. They began to flee before Israel was established. Now you and I are sitting here in retrospect talking about the fact that everybody knew the State of Israel was going to be established on the 15th of May-- but was there any guarantee of that?

VOICE: Herb, what do the people in Israel feel about the killing, the massacre at Deir Yassin?

FRIEDMAN: Then?

VOICE: Then.

FRIEDMAN: Oh, I think, to be perfectly frank about it, the attitude toward it, then, was that it wasn't really terribly crucial. It was a regrettable episode that occurred in war. The country was in a state of very, very high tension. The UN vote had been taken, the Arabs rejected it, the Arabs started warfare and had penetrated into the Upper Galilee as far as the Kibbutzim of Ein Hashafet and Mishmar Ha'Emek. Do any of you know where those Kibbutzim are? They're right here--it isn't very far to get down to the road and here's Netanya. Now, that was the situation in the month of April and if, one day, among a lot of other things that happened, there was an episode up in the hills near Jerusalem, in a village where a bunch of Arabs get shot up, do you think most of the people in the country were going to get frightfully excited about it?

There was Arab retaliation. A few days later, in a section in Jerusalem, called Sheikh Jarrach, through which the road goes up to Mt. Scopus, there was a terrible slaughter. There is a curve in that road, the curve going down and down into a sharp valley and then quickly up, so that any vehicle is very vulnerable on that curve. A convoy of buses and trucks was ambushed by the Arabs, and seventy nine doctors and nurses who were on their way up the hill toward the Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus were all killed.

You want to know what the mood of the country was in April? The guerilla war was heavy: the Arabs were encouraged because the British were taking sides and turning over Taggart fortresses to them: the British were turning over arms to the Arabs: the British were searching Jews, and every Jew caught carrying a pistol could get five or ten years in prison. It was a very bad scene of one-sidedness on the eve of British withdrawal.

So, the population in the country couldn't care very much about one Arab village getting shot up.

Now that's not the issue, though, what the Jews in Israel thought about it. The issue really is that this episode was seized upon and made into one of the strongest points of attack against Israel by pro-Arab apologists. They charge Israel with having committed an immoral act. Had this episode occurred not on the 15th of April, but on the 15th of July, after the State of Israel was established, and during a period of fighting, nobody would have called it an immoral act, but rather an act of war.

FRIEDMAN: Women and children are called acts of war, unfortunately. You see, the trap you get into when you use the term morality as applied to war, is that there is absolutely no equivalent use of language when it comes to war. What makes one kind of war moral and another kind of war immoral? What are you talking about? What are you kidding yourself? Bombing with napalm is immoral but bombing with high explosive is moral? What kind of stupidity is that? War is immoral. After you say that, what other kind of distinction can you make? A certain kind of war is permissible and other kinds of wars aren't permissible? Gas is out? And if someone wants to use gas, it is in. Don't tell me it's out. Nasser used gas in the Yemen. Nothing's out, war's war. You want to call all war immoral? Okay, but I get sick at this sort of distinction between the kind of war which is moral and the kind which is immoral. What kind of supersophistry is that? Somebody called war man's fate--or war may be man's tragedy--or war may be the only way that gets things accomplished--or war may be man's immaturity and we're not going to get out of playing war for thousands of years until we stop being animals. War is man's animalism--say anything you want, I understand all arguments. Or speak to me of pacifism, pure unadulterated pacifism, which ways--come shoot me, I will not shoot back. I can understand that. I won't practice it, but I can understand it. Now once you don't take the pure pacifist position, you do not condemn war nor refuse to condone it under all circumstances whatsoever, even trying to create national independence, then you are legitimatizing the use of war intellectually, morally and psychologically, for certain purposes. Once you are in that position, then it is rather absurd to say you will fight war by certain methods but not by other methods.

Yes. Now the thing we still have to clear up, on this Deir Yassin business is whether you accept the Hagana version of the story, that it really was an Irgun excess and they should never have done it--or whether you accept the Irgun version of the story that it was a confusion of command and that the death toll escalated and they never really had intended it to be that big.

That's probably the best historical judgement and that's the point I wanted to make. Objectively, it was a Jewish attack on an Arab guerrilla base and whether you think it got out of control or not is really kind of irrelevant. Anti-Israeli propagandists seized upon Deir Yassin as an example of Israeli genocide which became the starting point for the Arab refugee story. Without discussing Deir Yassin any further, I am convinced in my own mind that if that event had never even occurred, they would have found some other beginning point for the Arab refugee story. Because the real point about the Arab refugee question is that it has been

the most convenient and easiest issue on which to attack Israel. I suppose there are only two things Israel could have done to satisfy her enemies on this point: either go out of existence or take back the 700,000 refugees. Since Israel was not willing to do either of these she was subject to villification all through the decades on the refugee issue.

VOICE: Can't we say honestly in facing this issue that in every major war situation such as this, there will be displaced persons, and in facing an issue of this type, what is the responsibility of the general world towards people who are displaced and who don't necessarily have to go back to where they came from?

FRIEDMAN: No let me go on and describe further efforts which tried to deal with the problem. The first offer that Israel made in 1949, right at the beginning, is listed there under Point B to settle the refugee question first; to repatriate a hundred thousand right away; and to offer Israeli citizenship to all Gaza Strip inhabitants if the Strip were incorporated in Israel--or to insist in their resettlement if it were not. The Arabs refused this offer. Following that the U.N. Conciliation Commission sent an economic mission in August 1949 to the Arab states to survey their capacity to absorb refugees. Gordon Clapp, Chairman of the TVA, was the chairman of that committee. He worked through August of '49 to February of '50 and finally reported failure by saying that he couldn't persuade the Arabs. Clapp was no particular friend of Israel, but was simply a rational man making an objective report, and he placed the responsibility for failure on the Arab intransigence. Read the words of Terrence Prittie's book.

The Arab leaders repeatedly made it plain that they envisaged the return of the refugees not as loyal citizens of Israel but as a fifth column. The Egyptian Foreign Minister said candidly in a newspaper interview on October 11, 1949: "In demanding the restoration of the refugees to Palestine, the Arabs intend they should return as the masters of the homeland not as slaves. More explicitly, they intend to annihilate the State of Israel." You can say that is wild Arab rhetoric, loud violent exaggeration. Sure, it is, but also indicative of what they think.

The U.N. voted in 1950 to establish the UNRWA (United Nations Refugee Works Administration) with a budget of forty five million dollars to provide employment and relocation. This point is crucial to note, for it represents an admission by the UN that the solution lay in relocation and making useful citizens of the refugees in the surrounding Arab lands. Thus, the United Nations, never notoriously friendly to Israel, came to the conclusion as early as 1950 that the solution from the human point of view was to do vocational training, provide employment, relocate these people in Arab countries where they could rebuild their lives, and voted forty-five million dollars for it. The whole damned thing failed because what happened was that the refugees were not relocated by their own Arab brothers, but were kept in camps and the money was spent on beans and oil and rice in order to

keep them alive—pure relief, instead of rehabilitation and relocation.

A couple of years later, another serious effort was made. This time President Eisenhower's representative Eric Johnston, the man from the movie industry, was sent over in 1952 and 1953 to work over a water agreement on the utilization of the Jordan, Yarmuk and Litani Rivers as between Israel and the three Arab countries, to increase irrigation in the three Arab countries, in order to resettle refugees, on a large scale, about a quarter of a million. Johnston gave more water to the Arabs than to Israel so that they could irrigate more fields, and take in more refugees, and resettle them permanently. He divided the water, 65 per cent to 35 per cent. And for a while they toyed with it but finally rejected it. Johnston was disappointed: "After two years of discussion, technical experts of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria have agreed on every important detail of a unified water plan, but in October of 1955 it was rejected for political reasons at a meeting of The Arab League."

So, the whole Johnston-Eisenhower initiative died down. Now listen to this one. After several years of stalemate, in June of 1959, Dag Hammarskjold, no friend of Israel by a longshot, advised the creation of a UN Fund for Agricultural and Vocational Training Programs to resettle refugees into Arab states, in the amount of \$1,700,000,000. Can you believe that? His report was rejected by the Arabs. In 1961, Israel made another offer involving compensation to Arab refugees, outside of any peace treaty, on two conditions: account must be made of Jewish property confiscated in Arab lands and resettlement of the refugees once and for all. By that date, an interesting historical phenomenon had occurred; namely, five or six hundred thousand Jews had come out of Moslem countries, such as Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Libya, Tripoli, Yemen, Iraq, Syria, replacing the five or six hundred thousand Arabs who had left Palestine. In other words—there had taken place a population exchange and it was now being suggested that there should also be a property exchange. Israel should pay compensation for all of the Arab property they left behind and the Arabs should pay compensation for all the Jewish property that they left behind. The proposal was turned down and that's where the matter stands until today. There was never another serious suggestion from any international body or intermediary.

After the Six Day War, the situation changed because now we are talking about six hundred and fifty thousand Arabs in the West Bank some of whom are Jordanian citizens, some of them Bedouins, some of them Palestinians, some of them former refugees from Haifa or Jaffa. The word "refugee", in its original 1948 sense, loses its connotation. These people are not refugees, but are merged into a large Arab population living in a territory which might yet become an independent country. There are many leaders in Israel who say that the way to solve the West Bank situation is to give to sovereign status. Some suggestions call for letting them have their own country; putting up a few Israeli settlements along the Jordan River here, and a few armed outposts, which we already have to prevent the Jordanian Army from going across; giving them a corridor to the sea if they want; and even letting them call it Palestine if they want, because we will not be using that name. As a matter of fact, gentlemen, there are some people who fear that the Arabs in the West Bank actually will not want that, but believe it or not, these six hundred and fifty thousand people are going to want to become citizens of Israel and our problem will be, do we want them?

The reason this thought occurs is because of the way life has developed in the West Bank. There is no terrorism or apparent support of it. The standard of living has improved immeasurably. In the absence of a political decision as to the disposition of the territory and people, there has come to prevail an economic decision. Arabs go to work every day in Israel--and in Jordan, via the open bridges. This situation, in effect, creates de facto peace.

The Arabs became interested in school for the kids, making a good living, selling the tomatos, buying a new truck, or even a television set. Under the "Open Bridges" policy, any Arab farmer can put his produce on his truck, go to one of the bridges, cross over, and drive straight to Amman, in about one and one half hours, sell his goods, buy whatever he wants, turn around, back across the bridge, and be home by dinner time. Or, he can drive right down to the road, in any direction to any city inside Israel, and sell his produce there. He has an "open bridge" to Jerusalem or Tel Aviv with no formalities whatsoever.

As each year goes on, it becomes easier and simpler and a shorter drive to sell his stuff in Tel Aviv than it is to go to Amman, and he even gets better prices in Israel, depending on market conditions. So, more and more they are choosing voluntarily to do their business with us.

I want to be very clear in what I say. They are accommodating to us, and in some ways, find they like it. When they feel they are ready to have municipal elections, we say sure, go ahead and hold the elections. They saw we did not interfere--in some of the towns the old families got re-elected--and in some a whole new crowd of younger men were put in office. They understood this was a completely free step toward internal autonomy. Besides elections, there is education. All the kids are going to school, which wasn't so before the War of '67. In addition, there are Kupet Holim clinics now all through the area, raising the standards of health almost astronomically.

We are spending fifty, sixty million dollars a year of pure gifts to them paying the salaries of all the school teachers, the firemen, policemen. We have become an almost invisible military force not showing ourselves so as not to give them an oppressed feeling.

Again, I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not saying it is heaven. I am sure that everytime they see a Jewish car go down the road, or a truck with soldiers, some Arabs privately curse. But if you go into the City of Ramalleh as I did a couple of Saturdays ago for lunch and look in amazement at the inventory at the local television shop, and listen to the owner say that he can't get new stock fast enough, then you realize something has happened to stabilize the situation. There is a certain economic level of prosperity which is climbing; a health level going up, an education level going up and no political settlement. So they are getting used to us and whether they love us or not is of less consequence than the fact that they are doing business with us and they are learning Hebrew and the Israeli pound is jingling in their pocket and there are almost no acts of terrorism in or emanating from the Left Bank. So what does it all mean? After five years go by, with no political settlement, and ten years go by with no political settlement, the next election will not be municipal only but they may want a national legislature for all the towns.

We will probably tell them yes, and after they have a national legislature, they may want to form some kind of a national federal government and then will come the question of whether they want to link to us, or to Jordan. I think they may prefer us, and then we will be faced with the very difficult question of what to do with 650,000 Arabs, who will either want to become Israeli citizens--or joined to us in some form of relationship. What does this do to the Jewish nature of Israel? Could they ever outnumber us, and elect an Arab Prime Minister.

VOICE: Are there still refugee camps?

FRIEDMAN: Yes, down near Jericho there are a lot of them still living in camps. I don't really know the answer, statistically, I'm sorry I don't but the answer is yes, there are still refugee camps.

The UN is down in Gaza. There are still four or five camps down in Gaza and we keep trying to move people out of the camps, and get them absorbed by the nearest municipality. By the way, this is also another thing, down there, you see El Arish south of the Gaza Strip. El Arish has thousands of empty houses and we've been trying to persuade the Arabs to move out of the camps and go down there and live in a house. What the hell do they have to live in a camp for!

Hundreds of Arab families are now beginning to move down there, and this will further help to break up the camp complex. Jewish doctors from Tel Hashomer are working for Arabs in the Arab hospital in El Arish and this is bound to reduce enmity and venom or, at least, make life more livable between the two groups. By the way don't you think that Sadat knows it, which is why he keeps saying he has to get back to war. If he doesn't, time and status quo will lead to a consolidation and improvement of the Israel position vis-a-vis Arabs living in the administered territories.

Let's spend sometime now on immigration.

I don't think we have to go through this topic in any detail. You know about the large immigration and the law of return. I just wanted you to know the technicalities. In 1950 the Knesset passed a law of return. In 1952 they passed a law of nationality. And then I put some numbers here on the top of page seven of the outline. Look at what happened immediately after Statehood in 1948: from May 15th to December, seven months, over a hundred thousand people came in--twenty five thousand came from Cyprus and seventy five thousand came from the camps in Germany and Austria. During the next year, 1949, two hundred and forty thousand people came in; in 1950 a hundred and seventy thousand came; and in 1951 a hundred and seventy five thousand arrived. Isn't that unbelievable? Six hundred and eighty four thousand in the first three and a half years, or double the original population.

VOICE: Herb, is that doubling the original Jewish population?

FRIEDMAN: Yes sir. There were six hundred and fifty thousand Jews-- living there at the time of the establishment of the state and by three and a half years later, it was doubled. That's hard to believe, ha? We talked

earlier today about the fact that we might get fifty thousand refugees into Israel this year, or even sixty thousand and we make it such a big deal, big campaign, screaming all over America that Israel is going to take sixty thousand refugees this year. Look at those number, look at them, two hundred and forty thousand in one year, when there wasn't even any food in the country. That was a big deal.

Look under item C there, about housing. It means that by the end of 1951, one hundred and seventy eight thousand dwellings consisting of a hundred and sixty five thousand rooms were completed--still only one room for every four persons. Now by the end of '51 about four hundred thousand had found permanent housing and about two hundred and fifty thousand were still living in ma'abarot, or transit camps. Now just one explanation about the 400,000 who found permanent housing...you don't think we managed to build that many new houses? You know what that is?

VOICE: Arabs

AMERICAN JEWISH

FRIEDMAN: That's right. That's empty Arab housing, most of it, and that's what we're eventually going to have to pay compensation for. I have a very distant cousin, who came from a camp in Germany in 1948, she was a pediatrician, her husband was an engineer, they were two useful people, in their middle twenties. They lived through Hitler, they were in a camp in Germany, they came to Israel right after independence about August or September '48 in one of the first boats. They both went immediately into the army. When the War of Independence was over, they were put into an empty Arab house in Ramle. They lived in that house from 1948 to 1958, ten years. The Arab who owned the house had not left Israel. He simply fled Ramle and was going to get on the road and join the flood going eastward to Jordan, but some good sense overtook him (laughter) and he realized that he was being stampeded. And so he went to an Arab village up near Haifa, and remained on Jewish soil. Every once in a while he used to come down to Ramle to look at his house. There was this strange couple living in there, a young woman pediatrician and a man engineer, European types, working hard, practicing their professions. He used to talk to them about what they were doing to his house. They put in a hot-water heater and they began to put in electrical plugs for a refrigerator and other appliances. He used to yell and they used to tell him not to worry they were making his house more valuable. And if he ever got his house back it would be worth more, or if he didn't get it back physically, but got compensated for it, he would receive more. This Arab knows that the Israel government is running an account on this house, and there is no doubt in his mind that anybody is going to take it from him.

VOICE: Were they paying rent?

FRIEDMAN: Sure, they were paying rent, which went into an escrow account.

VOICE: When will he get it?

FRIEDMAN: No settlement yet. He'll get it.

VOICE: In that escrow account, can the Jewish Agency borrow from that account? (laughter) (back & forth conversation)

FRIEDMAN: No, they paid ten pounds a month.

Now, okay, Section Five. The whole business of putting people on the soil is a terribly important thing for you to understand. I can't go through it in detail. I'll give you some pages to read, but the development of the moshavim and the settlement towns was part of the country's growth. People were beginning to be dispersed in the 1950's to get them out of the cities, to get them out of the camps. And connected with the matter of settling people on farms and villages, was the whole business of getting water to them. Water had to be brought from the north and spread through the country in little capillaries so that agriculture could be expanded and developed. It is a terribly important chapter and I'd love to be able to describe it to you because it's fascinating how one begins with a nine inch pipeline and finishes up with a one hundred and eight inch pipeline in stages of development over a ten-year period. The technology is most impressive, including huge machines from Brown Boveri in Switzerland, the biggest pumps in the world, dug down in a big underground rock chamber at the Northern end of the Lake of Galilee, a fantastic sight for anybody to get down there and take a look at them. How many of you have seen them? Well, think of the hundreds of millions of dollars, millions of man-hours of work, creative ingenuity: and when you think of soil, water, farms food--think also of hundreds of thousands of refugees being transformed in this process from useless people to strong, useful citizens whose lives assume new purpose as they build a nation and themselves. Their story is a vital part of Israel's growth.

Now, we come to the point of German reparations and restitution, which also had an unbelievable impact on Israel's growth. Total dollar amounts were as follows: About sixty million dollars each year for twelve years, from 1952 to 1964, were paid to the Israeli Government. This was paid in the form of goods: oil, steel, copper, railroad locomotives, telephone equipment, and other types of capital equipment.

That came to seven hundred and twenty million. In addition, twelve million a year for those same twelve years was paid to the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against Germany, which was supposed to be distributed to Jews in different parts of the world, who had a right to get some compensation from Germany for having been hurt by the Nazis. That came to one hundred and forty-four million. So the basic agreement was seven hundred and twenty million dollars to Israel plus one hundred and forty-four to the Claims Conference for a total of eight hundred and sixty million dollars. That was one agreement called Reparations, which was concluded at the Hague in 1952.

The second agreement made was called Restitution. Restitution was not to the Israel Government but to individuals. If a person had been incarcerated in a Nazi concentration camp or had been made a slave laborer, or had been tortured or wounded by the Nazis, he could put in a claim for restitution. The restitution paid by the German Government to individuals has so far totalled close to ten billion dollars.

VOICE: Billion?

FRIEDMAN: Billions.

VOICE: (whistling)

FRIEDMAN: Billions.

Any Jew who was qualified put in a claim against the German Government under the Restitution Agreement, providing he could submit his documents. You know the Germans--they are very pedantic, they wanted strict documentary evidence. That was a terrible problem for many people--who had lost every scrap of paper every deed or title to property--even keys to safe deposit boxes. People argued with the German government, hired lawyers in Germany, went themselves to argue further, usually there would be compromise somehow.

VOICE: Are they still going on today?

FRIEDMAN: Yes--but there is not so much left anymore. Most of the claims have already been filed--there are a few claims that still probably haven't been filed but I don't suppose there's very much left to be paid anymore.

VOICE: How did the state of Israel substantiate a legal right for claims for reparations?

FRIEDMAN: The Restitution Agreement with Germany were made not just by the State of Israel alone but together with many world Jewish organizations from many countries and there was a total global agreement. The Israel Government represented itself to the German Government as the successor to heirless property and in the eyes of world public opinion and Jewish public opinion that was an accepted position.

VOICE: What about East Germany?

FRIEDMAN: East Germany refused to pay. Austria refused to pay. Both were asked. West Germany responded very positively. I have no desire to paint West Germany as a country of saints and angels. Ben Gurion has had an interesting attitude on this question. He has said openly and publicly, in one of his very early positions, taken in 1952, that we will be faced with a different generation of Germans who were not responsible for Hitler, and that we must learn to deal with them. His is a perfectly pragmatic position, there's no morality in it at all, I think it's important for you to hear it. Moshe Pearlman has compiled a good book of interviews with Ben Gurion called "Ben Gurion Looks Back" -- and he asked the old leader a question on this subject: "Ben Gurion, could you give us the reasoning behind your revolutionary decision on Israel's policy towards Germany?" And here's the answer: "If you want my overall reason in a single sentence, it was the final injunction of the inarticulate six million, the victims of Nazism, whose very murder was a ringing cry for Israel to rise, to be strong and prosperous, to safeguard her peace and security and so prevent such a disaster from ever again overwhelming the Jewish People. This was my key criterion when I faced the problem of Israel's relations with Germany. In other words, the six million dead make it mandatory that I keep Israel strong and secure and if, in order to keep Israel strong and secure, I make a pact with Germany for this kind of money, that's my reason for doing it."

There are some who were and are very critical, saying that he was taking bloodmoney, and that it was completely immoral even if it helped make Israel strong. I want you to know, by the way that it was an agonizing period in 1952, 1953 and the debate and the discussion was going on all over the Jewish world-should we take the money, is it bloodmoney, are they buying their consciences clear by giving us this money, etc, etc. ? Their motivation could be to replace the six million dead with six billion dollars. Should we let them do it, should we let them buy themselves clean in the eyes of the world? I myself went through this whole inner turmoil at that time, trying to decide what public position to take. I was in Milwaukee, and in going through my files, I found that I had preached a series of sermons at that time, in which I explained why I thought we should take the money and what the difference was between making a material claim against the German Government versus a moral claim. We have no moral claim against the Germans, because they can never make moral retribution for what they did, never. But I felt we had a material claim against them and they could make material retribution. I think there is a world of difference between moral and material. I find now, when I look back at it and see how I analyzed it then, that the logic stands up still twenty years later.

VOICE: Can you put a dollar value on a human life?

FRIEDMAN: No sir, no way. Listen, somebody put a dollar value on my life. The United States Government gave me an insurance policy for ten thousand dollars when I was in the army. They said that's what I was worth, if I got killed. Well, I'm worth a hell of a lot more than that. I think putting a value on a human life is an impossibility. Human life is priceless, priceless. You all know that Midrash which says that if you save the life of one man, it is as though you had saved the universe.

No, this is a material claim which the Jewish world placed against the Germans and they agreed to pay it because they also understood that material-ly they could compensate whereas morally they never could. By the way, you know the whole difficulty of relations with them is as much on their part as on ours. They don't find it easy either. Yet the relations between Germany and Israel and the Jews had developed in a most extraordinary way. Politically, twenty-five years later, they are one of the strongest supporters Israel has: militarily, they are one of the important sources of supply; financially, they continue to loan us money each year with very little difficulty. These reparation agreements came to an end in 1964, 1965, right before the Six Day War. Every year since then they have found a reason to accede to every loan request we've made of them - and we have borrowed from them forty, fifty, even sixty million dollars a year. In addition, they send thousands of German students to Israel every year, thousands, who go mainly to the kibbutzim for many weeks and months doing voluntary work, sort of making a personal effort to achieve retribution for the sins of their fathers.

VOICE: How are they received by the Israelis? Are the Kibbutzniks antagonistic towards these German students?

FRIEDMAN: It all depends on the age - young to young, no problem.

When it comes to old and young it can get sticky. Think of the fifty-five year old member of the kibbutz who had lost family in the Holocaust talking to a nineteen year old German and saying I know you weren't alive then, but what the hell was your father doing? And te- young German talks how he feels ashamed of his father and the conversations go on night after night after night all over Israel in the thousands, as Germans and Jews are groping toward a relationship.

Prime Minister Eshkol once had a terrible scene with Adenauer. Eshkol had a dinner with Adenauer and made some kind of a toast which implied that he couldn't overcome his feelings, he couldn't get himself to forgive Germany. Adenauer refused to drink the toast--even though the dinner was in Eshkol's own house. The old ex-chancellor was almost ninety, and was stiff as hell, and his implication was that he had come to Jerusalem, and was trying to be friends and his hosts had better try to be friends, and he wouldn't accept any toast with a curve in it. (laughter) Eshkol did his best to patch it over but it was a well-known gaffe which was told throughout the diplomatic world. All right, so much for the topic of German reparations.

The whole story of Moshe Sharett, Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Chairman of the Jewish Agency, one of the top most leaders, certainly one of the most brilliant intellectuals of the Jewish renaissance of this century, deserves to be told in adequate detail. Since we have no time for that, let me pass it completely and leave for another time, rather than do it injustice. I knew him well--loved and admired him. Therefore, I wish to respect his memory and reputation.

Now we go to the story of the Sinai Campaign of 1956. The background lies in the following statistic: from 1949, right after the armistice in Rhodes, until 1956, four hundred and thirty-four Israelis were killed by Fedayeen. During this period, there were more than eleven thousand armed clashes, if you can imagine that. Nasser came to power in 1952, and explained his revolutionary theories and objectives in a slim volume entitled "The Philosophy of the Revolution." He spoke openly about how he wanted to control the Arab world, the Moslem world, and three concentric circles of control would have made him one of the most powerful men in the world. He made a deal with the Russians in 1955, (his first arms deal) then became angry and nationalized the Suez Canal after his big fight with Dulles, when Dulles withdrew.

VOICE: Why was that aid withdrawn by Dulles? What precipitated that?

FRIEDMAN: Dulles said he was suffering from "jet lag." (laughter, back and forth conversation) He admitted subsequently, when he saw how violent Nasser's reaction was and how Nasser really went almost crazy and immediately nationalized the whole canal, throwing the French and British out, that he had really pulled a huge error. And he explained that the reason was that he had come off a plane, was terribly tired, hadn't had a night's sleep and let his temper get the best of him, when Nasser bullied and threatened.

That is exactly how things often happen, in high level conversations. When the heads of two governments get together for instance, and they sit

and have a long talk for several hours covering many outstanding subjects between them, how long do you think they spend on any one topic - five minutes? ten minutes? The dialogue is usually very direct. A television writer attempting a humorous sketch would do the scene as approximately as follows, and he wouldn't be far from the truth: Nasser: I want money for a dam. Dulles: What dam? (laughter) Nasser: Aswan. There it is on the map, Aswan. Dulles: Oh, you got a dam down there? Nasser: No, we haven't got a dam: We want a dam. (laughter) Dulles: Oh, you want a dam? How much is that dam going to cost? Nasser: That dam? Four hundred and fifty million dollars. Dulles: Whooo! (laughter) And then Dulles says somebody told me you're flirting with the Russians - and Nasser says, I damn well am. If I don't get the money from you I'm going to get it from them - Dulles says, get it from them, goodbye, where's my hotel? (laughter)

Now you know that's an abbreviated scenario which took about sixty seconds, but if you want to expand that to ten or fifteen minutes you would arrive at the same results, the bottom line would be the same.

Dulles was attempting to punish Nasser. Dulles was a very strict, rigid, Puritanical type of individual, very moralistic, very very anti-Communist and he decided that Nasser was doing an evil thing in flirting with the Russians and he was going to teach Nasser a lesson and he gambled all, it's just as simple as that. When he tried to pressure and withdrew the offer to finance the Aswan Dam, he thought that Nasser would knuckle under but Nasser didn't, and that was the beginning of the break with America. Subsequently, Nasser turned all the way to Russia, and Dulles admitted later that he had made an error.

Now, to return to the main theme. With these stepped up Fedayeen attacks and with the stepped up arming of Egypt with Russian equipment, it became clear that war was drawing near. Israeli policy objectives were set at a cabinet meeting at the beginning of October, 1956 - which outlined three guidelines: destruction of the guerrilla bases in the Sinai, and Gaza strip; crippling the Egyptian offensive capacity, and opening access to the Red Sea by breaking the blockage on Akaba. Just as the Six Day War started when Nasser blockaded Aqaba, so the 1956 War also came about because Nasser blockaded Aqaba. The causes of our wars are always the same and the process of our wars is always the same - they try to block the lungs of Israel from breathing, we must make a quick war, we take territory, then we're asked to withdraw - that's the scenario in all three wars.

Dayan is quoted as having said at that cabinet meeting early in October 1956 that he didn't want to kill a lot of Egyptians, what was the use of killing them; nor was it vital to destroy or take their equipment for they could always get more from Russia; but that Israel's objective should be to defeat them thoroughly, give them such a severe knock on the head as to quiet them down so that they would not attack us for a while. The objective must be the destruction of their formations and bases in the desert, so they could not attack us again for years. It is perfectly clear that if they are not going to make peace, they will always try to attack again, so the most we can buy is a certain number of years of quietness. And that was the objective of the Sinai Campaign - it bought almost ten years of quietness.

Ben Gurion did take counsel with the French and the British in October--remember that whole question of whether there was collusion or not? Well, there was. The campaign was very short. It went from the 29th of October to the 4th of November. By the way, three days later, by the 7th of November, Ben Gurion had agreed to withdraw from the Sinai desert. He didn't hold out very long, did he? Eisenhower really leaned on him very heavily, forcing him, and at the same time promising him an American guarantee that Israel would get free shipping through the Suez Canal, and never again be blockaded in Aquaba, so that we need not worry about being throttled. So Ben Gurion made a decision three days later to withdraw. He didn't actually order the final withdrawal until March, 1957, but the decision was already made.

A very interesting piece of history took place with the UJA Study Mission that year. It happened on the Thursday night of the 25th of October, 1956. The Annual Study Mission was in Israel...

VOICE: Is that The Young Leadership cabinet?

FRIEDMAN: No, there is something else in the UJA besides the Young Leadership. (laughter) Once each year, in October, there is a big Study Mission which goes over, consisting of leaders, campaign chairmen, people who do have influence in their towns, and big givers. In those days the minimum gift was \$10,000. It takes place in October every year because that timing serves best to get the leading gifts to kick off the next year's campaign. So, this mission has naturally always gotten a top reception in Israel. In those days our habit was to have the closing dinner in Jerusalem on a Thursday night, so that people could leave for the U.S. on Friday morning.

So it was well known that our closing dinner was Thursday night and I tell you this because Mr. Ben Gurion arranged his collusion with the British and French accordingly. He knew that he wanted to be at the closing dinner Thursday night, so he arrived back in the country that afternoon with a fever. His departure from Israel a few days earlier was a very closely held secret. No one knew he had been away--certainly no one knew anything serious was imminent. He arrived at the King David Hotel in a literal sweat, he was out of breath from the flight in and from the physical illness and the horrible tension that was secretly building up--and here was this inconvenient but necessary dinner, which he needed at that moment like a hole in the head. And yet he did need it, and wanted it. First of all, it was good cover, a fixed date on his public calendar, so no one would suspect he was out of the country; but more important than that, the Jews of the world were his real allies and he knew it and here was a large symbolic leadership group of allies and he knew that. He took that meeting seriously and he did get back in time for it, on purpose.

By Thursday night no one yet knew what date had been set for D-Day. He had an idea in his head that he was going to have the jump off on Monday night, because Sunday is the fixed day of the cabinet meeting, and he was going to let the cabinet in on the whole secret Sunday morning and call for the jump off on Monday. I don't think there were

two or three people in the whole country who knew that he had picked the date and what the date was. Thursday night he came into the hotel to the closing dinner. All the ladies and gentlemen were fashionably dressed. This was the highlight of the mission. The chairman of the evening was the chairman of the Jewish Agency who at that time was Mr. Shazar, now the President of Israel. He was sitting in the middle of the table by the podium, the General Chairman of the UJA, William Rosenwald, was to his right and Ben Gurion was to his left. I was sitting to the left of Ben Gurion.

Ben Gurion started to eat his soup and said to me that he would like to talk about the condition of reform Judaism in Israel. (laughter) I said to myself that he was looking for some relief, because he had too many things on his mind, and wanted to talk about something as far away as possible from what he was dealing with at the moment. So we talked religion and philosophy through the soup and the chicken. We got to the end of the meal and he kept hurrying the waiters - he was nervous - and then said to Shazar to start the meeting. Shazar got up and began to say the appropriate things - and Ben Gurion was hurrying him - and Shazar was trying to introduce everybody at the front and Ben Gurion continued to hurry him up, really poking him - and finally Ben Gurion was beside himself bursting with impatience and whispered loudly that he wanted to be introduced so that he could start to talk. So Shazar presented: His Excellency, The Prime Minister.

Ben Gurion got up and said: "Ladies and gentlemen, you have come to our country at a very critical time in our history. You go home and do your duty, we will do our duty. Thank you." And then he said to Shazar (sotto voce): "Sing Hatikva." (laughter) Shazar stood up, and he doesn't sing very well, and he started to sing Hatikva, which meant everybody had to stand up and sing Hatikva. And when Hatikva was finished, Ben Gurion walked right out of the room and that was that.

In the lobby, there was pandemonium and consternation (laughter) What is this? - What's going on? - What right does he have to treat us that way? - Whatever was bothering him he didn't have to insult us that way, etc. etc.

And by the next morning, Friday morning, most people got on their planes and left. Later on that afternoon I got a call from Eshkol, who was then Minister of Finance, asking if most of the people were gone and I said most of them were but a few of them were still traveling around the country. He asked me urgently to get them all out. And I remember tracking everyone down, and finding the last fellow on Sunday visiting up at the Technion. It was a Mr. Isaac Shire of Bridgeport, Connecticut. I said Ike get out, out, goodbye, leave the country this afternoon, I'm under orders to tell you to leave the country, right away, now .

So he left. He caught a plane to Istanbul, which is not where he wanted to go, but that's where the plane was going. That Sunday night I reported to Eshkol that all of the UJA delegation had left the country and he then let me in on it. By that time, by Sunday night they had made the decision, the cabinet had been told already Sunday morning. And then it happened at 6 p.m. the next evening, Monday, October 29, 1956.

I stayed in Israel all during the week of the war and when I went back to the United States all I heard from everybody was how historic it had been (laughter) to be at that dinner that night when Ben Gurion had said you go home and do your duty we will do ours. The light went on in everybody's head and they all understood why and they all felt proud of it and they all felt they were partners in a great great historic moment.

The campaign for 1957, which was started immediately thereafter, in November 1956, raised I think almost thirty million dollars more than the campaign the year before, which was like a fifty or sixty percent increase because we were only raising less than sixty million dollars per year in those year. Now look, we have to quit because the chairman is having a fit (laughter) We've gone long overtime.

VOICE: Let me ask one question.

FRIEDMAN: Yeah, man.

VOICE: One question.....I'm not familiar with Number 12 on page 10 - Eshkol's terrible broadcast...

FRIEDMAN: Alright - look - let's finish with that question. It means we will eliminate topics X through XVII. Read the outline. Read the bibliography. That's the best we can do because we've run out of time.

The shortest possible answer about the broadcast was that Eshkol was just all scared and wornout and deattired and was reading a manuscript that he never had seen before. But you must know a lot more about the chronology of those days. The country wasn't clear as to whether they were going to war or not. The country was mobilized; there were a quarter of a million men under arms and the nation was waiting for guidance and it was clear that no help was coming from the outside world - it was clear that Russia was ready for the kill - it was clear that Russia was in right up to the hilt - it was clear that this could be total annihilation and genocide - the Arab broadcasts were saying they would kill every man, woman and child. The nation had responded to the mobilization, businesses were shutdown, the streets were quiet, there were no civilian vehicles for they were also mobilized and down at the front - how else do you transport a quarter of a million men? The cabinet had already taken vote whether to go to war or not, and the vote was nine to nine. This was no decision, so they didn't go.

And at this point the whole country didn't know what to do and was waiting for the Prime Minister to give the word - and the Prime Minister got on the radio and mumbled and mumbled and missed words in the script and didn't say anything substantial. He said, in essence: "we'll wait another few days to see if the Americans will get an international naval force to open up the blockage of Aqaba, and we'll have another meeting of the Chief of Staff and the Cabinet to decide whether to go to war and within a few hours the morale of the country sagged badly. And then boom, (snaps fingers) within the next day or two the decision was made to take Dayan in as the Minister of Defense, and the morale shot up fantastically because that was action. The idea was that Israel would have a government of national unity and Dayan would be in charge of the war and that gave a lift to everybody.

That broadcast was a rough one. Everybody attacked old Eshkol criticized him for being a fumbling-bumbling nice old grandfather and everybody called him weak. Actually, Eshkol was a hawk. In the first vote, nine-to-nine, Eshkol voted for war first; he pushed eight others and couldn't push the rest - Eshkol knew damned well that there had to be war and there was no other way out. Eban knew the same thing. Eban is thought to be an optimist, always painting a rosy picture, but actually he is a political hard-headed realist. He had just come back from seeing Johnson and deGaulle and Wilson and he knew there wasn't much help coming from anybody. To return to Eshkol, as decisive as he was in his head, he didn't come across to the public the day of that broadcast. Physically he was very tired, from lack of sleep for many days: his eyes were hurting him; he had terrible pain and fever; he had no time in advance to read the script, which had been written in bureaucratic gobbledygook; hence said nothing very clearly; he fumbled and stumbled over words, lost his glasses and said out loud, where's the page. In other words, a quarter of a million men, anxious, nervous, sitting next to their tanks out in the Sinai, waiting for the word, listening over little transistors - then saying to themselves, this is our Prime Minister? It was a disaster.

Later on Eshkol laughed at the whole episode, because he knew in his own heart that he was not indecisive and he knew he was not weak, he knew that he pushed it. Then a couple of days later when they took the second cabinet vote - the vote was sixteen-to-two. So Israel went to war.

VOICE: Who were the two?

FRIEDMAN: No way of telling you. (laughter)

That's one of those things which **has never been published** anywhere - never been printed.

VOICE: Has the vote been published, though, the sixteen-to-two?

FRIEDMAN: That's known, that's a fact, as the nine-to-nine was a fact earlier.

So, now let me give you the final word. Remember that a small people, fated always to be a small people, must therefore be one of quality. The essential nature of the character of the Jewish people is to be a people of quality with a sense of purpose and a sense of mission. This sense of destiny must embrace the whole human race, not ourselves alone. This small people, with a very stubborn sense of its uniqueness and therefore the worthwhileness of its survival, will fight to survive both in geography and history, that is in both space and time. We survive in space, in a little geographic area, a land, a country; and we survive in time, in history, over thousands of years. We have survived because we think we have a sense of the worthwhileness of our purpose, which makes our struggle for survival justified in terms of the contribution to our own destiny and to the whole human race.

Now that's our identity. If you search for the meaning of your own identity, that's it: to be a member of a small people, a gifted people, a unique people, operating across geography and history, rooted in one center, dreaming from that center of trying to create a better society on earth for all men. And with that definition of ourselves, with that self-appraisal, with that self-estimate, we go forward against any odds, knowing also the final lesson that the only way we go forward is under the impetus of leaders. Just as we are a small people, so the number of leaders who shall lead us is even smaller.

You men are in that rank of frontline leadership and therefore there's an awful and awesome responsibility upon you. If you choose to accept the role you must act it out properly. Israel is the heart and the soul of the whole Jewish adventure. To the preservation of that Israel you people have chosen to dedicate yourselves. If you've chosen to do it voluntarily, then for God's sake do it well, and pass on to the next generation of leadership with a sense of pride what your own accomplishments have been. The first twenty five years is almost finished--what the next twenty five years will be I think is in your hands much more than it's in mine. Thank you very much. (applause)



VII. SUMMATION: THE TASKS AHEAD

Economic tasks ahead. Until viability without outside help is achieved. I keep reminding myself all the time that the United States was a debtor nation the first 35 years of its existence. After that, the balance turned and she began to earn her own way. But right after the War of 1812, was the first time that America turned the corner.

The social and educational tasks ahead. Until one society is amalgamated, doing away with the dangers of two Israels. You know what I mean by two Israels--the overprivileged and the underprivileged. Ashkenazi and Sephardi

Russian Jewry--that is our main task, to get immigration rights, plus internal survival rights, schools, language, religion.

U.S. Jewry--developing a commitment to Jewish survival through knowing its value, to us and to the world at large.

Free World Jewry--France, England, Canada. They are in the same position we are. They have to develop their own *raison d'etre*, and understand what it is all about and why they should survive.

Latin American Jewry has a very strong survival instinct, but a very problematic future. They face difficulties of internal weakness, lack of personnel, etc., plus external problems of the regimes under which they live.

THE VALUE OF JEWISH SURVIVAL

The value of Jewish survival is something which is very, very important because none of this effort to survive is worth anything unless you are convinced in your own head as to why. Value means why, why it is worthwhile for the Jewish people to survive.

The Jews have created a sense of history. The Jews have created social justice. The Jews have created optimism. Man's condition in this world is one that I call a condition of malaise.

Man, basically, is a pessimistic creature who worries and worries all the time, "Why is he alive? Why is he here? What is he doing? What is he supposed to be doing? What is the meaning of his life?" Man asks himself these questions all the time. That is the nature of man.

He is not a happy-go-lucky fellow. He is a worrisome animal, and the Jews have developed an answer to this, way back at the beginning of their corporate life. They say there is a purpose to life. Life is good,

life is happy, life can be creative. Jews are forward-looking, they are optimistic. This is what has kept them going, kept them up. They are a buoyant people.

Anybody who wants to bother to look at them can copy them and take courage from them. You would be surprised how many people there are in the world today who take a great deal of encouragement from the way the Jews have faced and overcome their problems.

Jewish intellectuality, I think, is unique in medicine, music, mathematics and marketing. I could put down lots of others. You can, if you want to.

I would like to try to give you a very beautiful quotation and close with it.

There was a French Jew by the name of Edmond Fleg. He wrote something for his children in the year 1927. I knew his daughter, Ayala.

"Why I am a Jew."

"I am a Jew because born of Israel and having lost her I have felt her live again in me more living than myself. I am a Jew because, born of Israel and having regained her, I wish her to live after me more living than myself. I am a Jew because the faith of Israel demands of me no abdication of the mind."

Beautiful. Our faith doesn't require you to believe anything absurd...

I am a Jew because the faith of Israel requires of me all the devotion of my heart. I am a Jew because in every place where suffering weeps, the Jew weeps."

This is our humanitarianism, our internationalism, our universalism.

"I am a Jew because at every time when despair cries out, the Jew hopes. I am a Jew because the word of Israel is the oldest and the newest. I am a Jew because the promise of Israel is the universal promise. I am a Jew because for Israel the world is not yet completed. Men are completing it. I am a Jew because, above the nation and Israel, Israel places man."

Much as we love being Jews, we place man as a higher value, humanity.

"I am a Jew because above man Israel places the divine unity and its divinity."

Edmond Fleg wrote this 45 years ago. It is just as valid today as it was then, because the principle of Judaism is eternal. We are a very simple people. We have a few simple things we believe in. We believe the world is improvable, we believe the task of man is to work to improve it, not to accept it at its worst, but to try to make it better. We believe that man is capable of improving it.

We believe that if we improve it for ourselves we will improve it for other people. We believe, therefore, that our survival is important to ourselves and to everybody else who will benefit from us.

We believe that nothing is finished, that the world is still in the process of being finished. We believe that God, Himself, isn't finished.

There is a phrase in the Sidur which Jews read every day, which goes like this: We believe on that day, (that day being some vague time in the far, far Messianic future) God will be one. God, Himself, is not completed yet. His perfection has not been achieved yet. And so this optimism of working for something is what keeps us going.

We don't need much. The little place Israel in which we began is enough to take care of us. We will never be a big people in number, we never were, we never will be. We will always be a great people in quality. We can only become a greater people, not less.

We haven't begun to see the high potential of our creativity. We did a great thing once, we reached a certain peak of creation. We wrote a book. It became the book on which the whole human race has nourished itself up to this point.

It's about time for us to do something great again. We will. And I am so convinced of that that when anybody says to me, "What is the value of Jewish survival?", I say, "It's about time for us to do something again."

We are queer, we are strange, we are mysterious to others around us. Therefore, they will always attack us. We always have to be prepared, therefore, to defend ourselves. Defending ourselves means sometimes physically. It always means intellectually.

Defense. We can't operate without a center. The center is Israel. The stronger we make that, the better all of us out on the periphery will be.

And that's about it.

And if somebody says, "What is the purpose of Jewish survival?" our purpose is to keep ourselves strong at the center, to keep ourselves strong out at the periphery, in order that we can continue to improve the world and ourselves.

Now that either is a very simple statement of belief or a very arrogant statement of belief, but however you look at it, either approvingly, as we do, or disapprovingly as some other people do, who think this is terribly arrogant boastfulness, doesn't really matter.

What matters, simply, is that this is the track we are on and this is our fate and this is our destiny, and because our outstanding quality is our stubbornness, this is the track we are going to stay on. The only one that can take us off the track is us, ourselves.

I would like to finish the way I began, talking about the importance of you people.

Your responsibility lies in making each one make of himself the best possible Jewish leader he can. That is your responsibility. And once you do that, then you will spill over and power will be felt in the community in which you live, and therefore, collectively, in this America. If American Jewry holds strong, since it is numerically the biggest and the richest and the leader of the World Jewry simply by virtue of its size and its power-- then other Jewry in the world will also follow suit.

From little acorns the great oaks grow and you hundred acorns better realize that under your spreading branches everybody else is going to rest and find his ease, and sit under his fig tree and be not afraid. Of if you don't create the trees, the insects will get us all...



NOTES ON THE HOLOCAUST

A Lecture En Route To Matthausen With
A Young Leadership Mission--October 31, 1972

I think that those 15 years (1933-1948) were the most important 15 years in 4,000 years of Jewish history. I think that I know those 4,000 years, I have read probably 100 books about them. I have thought four thousand hours about them. Not the period of Abraham and not the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai and not Joshua beginning the conquest of the Holy Land, and not David and not Saul and not the Romans and not the Babylonians, no other period has been as significant. Nothing that we have passed through in 4,000 years of our corporate history has been as momentous as the 15 years in which two things occurred, two fundamental things, death and birth. Between 1933 and 1945 we almost died, collectively as a people--not just the Six Million, one third of us who were killed,--but another two thirds who weren't killed physically, yet were on the verge of dying spiritually and psychologically. I dare say that had not the birth of Israel occurred three years later the Jewish people all over the rest of the world, the remaining two thirds, would have gone down and down and down in the period of 50 years or a hundred years and they would never have been able to recover from the blow.

Some historian later on in the future would try to figure out what happened to cause the loss of the life instinct of the Jewish people, which had kept them alive through all the persecutions and tortures. Some future historian would say that we lost our instinct to live when we were dealt the worst blow we ever endured. Nobody ever did anything to us as did Hitler. No persecutor, no conqueror, no Russian Czar, nobody ever hurt us that badly, left us feeling like impotents, and with time the two thirds who were alive would have realized that they were guilty of the death of the one third because they had done nothing about it. Never mind trying to blame the outsiders. First you have to blame yourself. The Jewish world did very little, if anything, to try to fight back against Hitler. The knowledge of that would gradually have seeped in, even into the powerful American Jewish community and a guilt feeling would have overtaken them. I think 50 or 100 years might be even too long. The inner disintegration of will would have happened sooner.

So, my thesis about our history is that all Jews would have died psychologically and spiritually, in terms of their will to live, just as surely as some Jews died physically in the gas chambers and ovens.

Thus I call the period of 1933-1945 the period of our death, and then in 1948 there was the absolutely spectacular and glorious moment of birth, and that birth also took place in blood, the way all birth does. It is not possible to be born except through blood. Every human being on earth goes through that experience, traumatically. The blood of the birth of a nation I think washed away some of the sense of impotence and paralysis and certainly gave a whole new ecstasy and brought back into play again a whole Jewish survival instinct, an optimist instinct and belief again in the creative power of new life.

This is just not poetry or mystique which I'm trying to tell you. I am saying something which I think is historically valid. I can't prove it, but if we came back 500 years from now and read about it in a history book, somehow this period would be described as I just have.

APPENDICES



If that is true, then you must realize that you are living through, or you are living on the edge of, the most extraordinary generation in a thousand generations, because although you are not of the period of 1933-1948, many of you were already born then. At least, you are on the fringe of that, and you are still living through the waves and ripples of that very special generation and you are not so very far removed from it. It is not just a question of talking about the same old boring subject of the "Holocaust." I have put that word into quotation marks, because some people say: Oh, my God, I don't want to hear that story all over again; or, my God, I don't want to visit a camp or, what the devil is he digging all that up for. Anybody who talks that way is a traitor to Jewish history. This Hitler period and the effect it had upon us is as important for you to understand as the Israel period and if you don't understand the one you won't understand the other.

This introduction is to justify, if I have to, why I want you to be intimately familiar with the Nazi period.

It began in Vienna and that makes it also particularly poignant that we are at this moment driving through the country where this whole story began. Hitler was born in Austria, lived in Austria, went to Germany when he was 24 years old and died when he was 55 or 56. So that for almost half his life he lived in Austria and that was a very important period in his life.

All of his ideas he got here. I do not want to go into a psycho-analytical story of his background. Yet we should know that he was the third son of the third marriage of his father and that third marriage took place with his father's second cousin. The grandfather first had the name Schickelgruber and Hitler himself said that with that name he never would have come to power. One cannot think of thousands of stormtroopers yelling "Heil Schickelgruber"; it would just have been comical. Then his name at one time was Heidler and he didn't like that, he thought it was too soft sounding. Hitler was shorter, harder, simpler. It became a good sound "Heil Hitler," and this rhythmic thing was fairly important because it had a hypnotic effect. In my opinion one of the aspects of Hitler's success was the mass hypnosis technique which he developed. It's one of the explanations to account for how you can take over a nation of eighty million people--simply hypnotize them.

He left home at an early age, didn't have much respect for his parents, wandered around as a kid and then came into Vienna. He had no profession, but wandered the back streets and lived in hostels. He looked like a dirty miner's kid. He made a kind of a makeshift living as a drawer of pictures and postcards, sold in souvenir shops. He tried to get into the army, but wasn't admitted. He picked up his basic ideas by much reading and by coming into contact with the virulent antisemitism which existed here. The main idea was that there was one Master Race and that all other people were inferior. He couldn't really believe that the Austrian people were the Master Race even though he was an Austrian, so he came to believe that Germany should rule over the whole world with an iron hand. He came to believe that democracy was nonsense. He watched the Austrian parliament in operation, he used to mock it and scorn it and the idea grew within him that parliamentary democracy was not the way to run a country.

When he left Vienna for Germany in 1913, one year before World War I, he was 24 years old. He believed with a burning passion in German nationalism; he had a hatred for democracy; he had a hatred for Marxism; he had a burning hatred for Jews and Judaism that obsessed his life; and a belief that God has chosen Germany to be the Master Race.

Well, that's the whole ideology chained in the mind of a 24 year old boy. Also, with his own genius, he discovered the secrets at that early age of how to control people, and he reached three conclusions which he put into practice later on. Number one, he felt that he would have to create a mass movement to get his ideas into practice. Number two, he would have to learn the art of propaganda, how to control the minds of people in order to create a mass movement, and number three, he would use terror as an instrument to intimidate. As far as that latter fact is concerned, he put that into practice immediately after he was in power. In 1934, the first year he was in office, he executed his best friend Captain Rohm, who had formed the SA battallions for him, with the excuse that the man was a homosexual. But that was not the motivating fact. Hitler's purpose in that cold-blooded purge was to show the whole world that he cared for no one, not even his own best friend, and to instill terror in people's hearts very early in the game. And this was a calculated and deliberate device. He developed a few more guiding principles. Although he was not a religious man and as a matter of fact hated the Church, he decided early in his career not to oppose it, but try to live with it. He certainly did, didn't he? By 1938, he made a concordat with the Pope and effectively neutralized the powerful moral force of the Catholic church. Hitler was never condemned by the Pope. This was part of a clever design.

He also believed he had to win over the support of the heart of the establishment even though he was a revolutionary and intended to overthrow the government. And that's a very clear concept; to overthrow the government with the help of conservative elements in the government and to try to win over the army and big business. He succeeded in both. He enjoyed support from within the establishment at the same time that he tried to overthrow the establishment.

The other principle he discovered very early in his life was the power of oratory and what it could do, because he said over and over again that nothing succeeds like the spoken word. The written word may last, but the spoken word sways men's minds, and you can get them to do anything you want, hypnotize them.

This is the fanatical young man with the ideas formed in his head and the principles formed and a methodology formed. He came to Germany at the age of 24 in 1913, one year before World War I, and found a home in the German army. He had been wandering rootless up to that point and suddenly he became a man with a purpose. He fought hard, achieving something which very few German soldiers ever did; he won the Iron Cross Second Class and the Iron Cross First Class, although he never rose above the rank of Corporal. This was one of the rarest things, for with millions of men in the German Army, there were only a few hundreds of ordinary soldiers, (not counting officers) who had won the Iron Cross First Class. Hitler wore that decoration the rest of his life. That was the little cross you may have remembered

seeing in the photographs, dangling close up to the top of his tunic, almost like a choker around his neck. That was the style in which it was designed and it was the proudest decoration which he ever wore, and he wore it always.

Contrary to Mussolini and many other of the great dictators of his age, Hitler's uniform was not sprinkled with rows and rows of colored ribbons. He was wounded four times between 1914 and 1918. Just a month before the surrender in 1918 he was in hospital, blinded temporarily from poison gas which had wounded him on the battlefield. While in the hospital he learned that Germany had surrendered. He couldn't believe his ears that the great German chosen people, the mighty German army, had actually been defeated on the battle-field by the decadent English and the corrupt French. It was an impossible concept for him to swallow and he immediately looked for a scapegoat and immediately found one. The conviction grew in his mind that there were traitors who had stabbed Germany in the back and that phrase "the stab in the back," became the phrase with which he eventually won over the German masses. He repeated it over and over and over again in the next ten years when he inveighed against the Versailles Treaty and the unfair pressure which the Allies were putting on Germany and that Germany had been defeated not by any weakness of her own, but by an enemy, a secret enemy, an enemy within and that was, of course, the Jews, they had stabbed Germany in the back. So all of his ideas came together in a synthesis--namely, that the German people were still invincible and still powerful and still could destroy and conquer the world and they were not defeated by anybody else, but by the Jews and so his whole ideology became intensive and with this ideology he decided to go into politics.

How did he enter politics? He remained in the army and he volunteered for a regiment in Munich in 1919 when the war was over to act as what was called a "Bildungs-offizier," an education officer which was the polite word for a spy. The German army used to send officers or enlisted men in uniform, to attend meetings of small political parties, which had sprung up in Germany after World War I like mushrooms, to spy on those parties and to report to the army which of those political parties showed any communist leanings. The army couldn't fight England and France anymore, but the army could fight internally against German communists.

In February 1920, Hitler joined a small party himself, whose meeting he had attended as part of his observation duties, when he became attracted by the doctrine of that party, which was called the German Workers Party, and the large number of people in that party was six. He became number seven. Rohm was number five, that's where Hitler met him and became his close friend. He met him in 1920 and shot him in 1934, just to prove that no person is sacred.

A German Beer Hall is a cavernous room or rooms with heavy oak tables and benches on which people sit all round, holding heavy beerateins containing a full quart--and everyone pounding on the tables and beer sloshing all over the place and some people vomiting on the floor, people singing happily and jollily, two thousand people in a room stamping their feet, clanking their pots on the wooden tables, well you can just imagine what that looked like, sounded like, and smelled like. By the way you can absolutely recapture that atmosphere today in many beer cellars in Germany. At a meeting on 24 February, 1920, in the Festsael of the Hofbrauhaus in Munich, in front of a couple of thousand people, Hitler began his career by announcing the 25

points in his program, that we have talked about. He wanted to have a union of all Germanies, a greater Germany, with Jews to be denied citizenship, he wanted to abrogate the Versailles Treaty, he wanted to create a strong central private army. He did it with very inflammatory oratory and he began to introduce already those elements which I call, the elements of hypnosis. He was looking for a symbol, and he found it in the swastika. He was looking for a flag and he found it in the colors of red, black and white-- they are the things which hit the eye easiest. That great big black flat with a great big red circle in it and a white swastika in the middle, and the pageantry which later on overwhelmed the German people, he began to develop that early in the game.

Later on you all have a picture in your mind of what those vast pageants were like. They came to a crescendo every year at the Party Rally, in the stadium at Nuremberg which had room for somewhere between 80 and 100,000 people, or standing out in the field sometimes as many as a quarter of a million people, making his voice sound like a whisper rising to a scream, he turned that crowd in his hand as though it were putty. And those orgies got bigger and bigger and bigger and more and more frequent and they were the bread and circuses which the Romans had discovered were necessary to control the crowds.

Back in the early days he wasn't yet that refined. His real start came when he got 60,000 marks from the army to buy a newspaper "Der Volkischer Beobachter." Once he had a newspaper, he could print his garbage every day and begin to take over the minds of people. He needed more money, and got it from a woman by the name of Helena Bechstein, wife of a piano manufacturer. In the first few early years, 1920, 1921, 1922, Hess, Rosenberg and Goering all came in with him. He had the beginning of his crowd right from the start.

The whole movement came to a head in 1923 when the putsch catapulted Hitler into national prominence in Germany, and I think it's important to tell that story because you wonder how dictators get started, and at exactly what point they could have been stopped. This is a key question. When does a politician whom you don't agree with, whom you sense intuitively is going to take you on a wrong path, when does he get to be dangerous, when do you stop him, when do you know?

That is why there is something constructive in the Hitler lesson. He could have been stopped in 1923 when he attempted his putsch to take over control of the German government, but he wasn't, and ten years later he was the Chancellor. If he had been stopped in 1923 he would never have been in power in 1933, he would have been stopped dead in his tracks, or should have been. And that's the lesson you have to draw out of this story; to know when to stop somebody dead in his tracks even if the way to do it is to shoot him. Listen carefully to that.

November 11th was the date of the signing of the Armistice of World War I and so November 11th was a day of infamy as far as every German patriot was concerned. A beer-hall rally was planned for November 11th, 1923, but it didn't take place on the 11th--it took place on the 8th. Three politicians, who were the leaders of the State of Bavaria, were holding a rally in the Burgerbraukeller, in Munich, which still stands today. There were two or

three thousand people in the beer hall. Hitler marched in, with a pistol in his hand, shot the pistol into the ceiling while one of the politicians was speaking, jumped up on the stage and made an announcement that his SA brownshirt men had surrounded the building, had put a machinegun up in the balcony, had trapped some armed troops outside in the courtyard, and that he, Hitler, and his National Socialist German Workers Party, were taking over the government and they were inviting the three politicians who were up there on the platform to join them, and Hitler was going to take them off the stage and into a small room in the back, and all you nice people should remain here drinking your beer, while we negotiate the formation of a new government and we will return here to the stage in a few minutes.

Gesturing with his pistol, he said to the three fellows, Let's go. It was fact, it was as absurd as it sounds, that two or three thousand solid German burghers remained sitting in the beer hall, ordered more beer, the waitresses in their pretty dirndls kept serving them while the negotiations were going on in the back room. Hitler told these three men that, because they were the leading politicians of Bavaria, he wanted them to join him in the putsch. They refused; he threatened to shoot them; they said shoot; he said I've got four bullets here, three for you and one for me; they said again, go ahead, shoot. And so it was a stalemate.

And then Hitler said, I have got General Ludendorff on my side. Now General Ludendorff was the Godlike mythical hero of World War I, second in command in General Von Hindenberg, who later became the President of Germany, and the name Ludendorff was magic and sure enough a few minutes later Ludendorff walked into the room and ordered the three politicians to join Hitler in his government. Ludendorff said he was going to be the head of the new government, which we will make after this putsch and Hitler said, No you are not, I am. And the struggle for power began in that little tiny room, and Ludendorff capitulated right there. He apparently couldn't stand up against Hitler. So he agreed that Hitler would be the head of the government and he would be the Chief of Staff. The three men still wouldn't give in.

Hitler suddenly got an inspiration. He went out of the room back onto the stage, took the podium and said, The three leaders of Bavaria have agreed to serve with me in a new government. This was the first of the big lies, but he suddenly realized that he did not have to tell the truth. How would those three thousand people know what was happening in the back room? He could just as well say that they had agreed to join as that they were resisting. When the people in the room heard that, they began to clank their beer pots, happily and gladly. They had a new leader, a new government, everything was strong, they felt secure, they started singing songs again and the rally became a huge success.

Hitler left the hall and left that room for a few minutes to go to the nearby barracks of a regiment where a fight had broken out between the German regular army and his men. He was gone for about an hour. When he returned to the hall, the three politicians had scattered, Ludendorff had scattered and the whole thing had fizzled out that night and nothing happened.

Hitler's column crossed and continued to penetrate into the city, gathering more and more people, now there were already thousands. They came down to the town hall, Marianplatz, the center square of Munich. Streicher was on a street corner holding a rally, an anti-semitic rally. When he saw the Hitler parade coming, he disbanded his rally and joined them. That's how Streicher got into the Hitler movement, quite by accident, that morning.

And then they came down the Residenz Strasse into the Odeons Platz in front of the Feldherrnhalle. These places in Munich don't mean anything to you, but the geography is such that they came down a very narrow street where the police had thrown up another blockade and surrounded them with fire, and had the police been a bit more vigorous in the firing at that moment, they would have destroyed the Nazi movement that morning.

Instead what happened was that when the march came up to the police barricade, nobody knows who fired the first shot, but some shots were exchanged. The fire lasted only about 60 seconds, during which 16 people were killed. One of Hitler's early devotees, Max Scheubner-Richter, was marching with his arm linked in Hitler's arm. He was struck by a bullet, was killed and fell, pulling Hitler down with him. Hitler dislocated his left shoulder. Other men were all over the pavement and the street. His bodyguard, Ulrich Graf, flung himself upon Hitler's prone body and absorbed half a dozen bullets which would otherwise have struck the recumbent Fuhrer.

General von Ludendorff, with moustache bristling, wouldn't yield one inch. He remained standing absolutely upright all through the firing walked up to the police captain and surrendered. The captain said, I'm sorry, I must arrest you, general, Ludendorff said, Do your duty sir, and head upright he marched off to oblivion.

Hitler was pulled into a small car in a side-street, driven by a friend of his and taken to the villa of a friend by the name of Putsie Hanfstangel, a young American kid who had just graduated from Harvard, was a piano player, came over to Germany and met this Mrs. Bechstein, who introduced him to Hitler. He became Hitler's patron and he was a rich, spoiled American. Hitler was taken to his villa where he rested up from his street brawl, which should have marked the end of his career, but instead marked the beginning of it.

On November 10th, 1923, Hitler was arrested and a few months later was brought up for trial for attempting to start a riot against his government, was found guilty and was sentenced to jail. He was put in Landsberg Prison. Landsberg is a small town not far from Munich. He stayed in Landsberg for nine months until November 1925, and during the course of those nine months in prison he wrote his book "Mein Kampf."

And that's it. We don't have the time to go through in detail any more of what happened. We can only touch high spots. From 1925 up to 1933 he became more powerful and more powerful, building up his complete organization and taking in Goebbels, who became his propaganda expert. Germany was affected by the world wide depression in 1929 after having gone through an inflation in which one dollar was worth four billion German marks. The wagon on which you carried the money from the bank was worth more than the money. Hitler got support from the army, he got more support from big business and by that time his two private armies the Brown Shirts and the Black Shirts,

had drawn in millions of men, he began to solve the unemployment problem in Germany. Anybody who was unemployed, he took them into his armies, and thus garnered the support of the whole population. In order to do this he had to have money, millions and hundreds of millions, and he got it from big heavy sources and also little people who began to join the party. They paid party dues, one, two, five dollars and by the millions it added up.

I'm not going through all the complications of German politics, what happened with the Weimar Republic and Chancellor Brüning and Chancellor von Papen, etc., etc. Government after government failed and finally the old man, Von Hindenburg, the President of Germany, was forced by Hitler to appoint him Chancellor. Von Hindenburg, up to half an hour before the ceremony, said, I'll never appoint a filthy Austrian corporal to be the leader of Germany. And a half hour later he did. And when the Nazis began marching up and down the street in the center of Berlin, Von Hindenburg looked out the window, (he was 84 years old at that time and senile), and said to an aide who was standing next to him--"Why are all those people right down there marching, I didn't know we had captured so many Russians." In 1933 he still thought he was back in 1918.

Thus Hitler came to power and for the next six years, from 1933 until 1939, when he started World War II, he paralyzed the world. They were afraid of him like a person confronted with a snake. He could still have been stopped during those six years but he wasn't. There was a total failure of nerve plus a blind isolationism. He moved into the Ruhr. France didn't try to stop him in 1936. He passed laws against the Jews in 1934 and 1936, nobody stopped him. He marched into Czechoslovakia in 1938. Chamberlain handed it to him on a platter, at Munich. Nobody stopped him. By the way, Munich is the center of the whole thing and I take groups of students to Munich and spend three or four days there with them and I show them every place. I know where Hitler's house was--it's not marked any more. I take them to the old Bürgerbräukeller, it's not marked anymore. I take them to the room where Chamberlain signed the deal with Hitler, today it's a music conservatory. It's not marked anymore, the tenants don't know it.

Every effort has been made to wipe out the memory of the man, but the memory of the man is stamped on the city. If you know what happened in the city. I take them to the concentration camp, Dachau, just outside Munich. I take them to Hitler's place at Berchtesgaden, which is a few hours down the autobahn from Munich. Munich is the center of it all. And someday maybe you'll organize a trip to Munich.

From 1933 to 1939 he put the finger on the Jews and he put the finger on the world and nobody opposed him and nobody believed him and nobody even worried about him and it was absolutely as I say: the world stood frozen, glaring in fascination at the snake which was about to strike and didn't do anything to take its head off. The world didn't stop him and the German people were with him--so he forged ahead. He dominated his people through fear and terror and giving them what they wanted to hear--that a new Germany would be born, that a new glory would be born that a thousand-year Reich would be born and the Treaty of Versailles would be wiped out and the stain of dishonor would be eliminated. They wanted to hear all this.

I don't have to tell you what he did to the Jews. The camp we are going toward will tell it to you. His method was very simple and can be summed up in four fatal words: isolate, concentrate, segregate and eliminate. The Warsaw Ghetto is an example. First take half a million Jews, isolate them from the rest of the population; concentrate them into a fixed area, one square mile of the middle of the city of downtown Warsaw, from whose buildings everyone else is moved out, Jews are packed in and a wall is built all around. Once the Jews are concentrated then they must be segregated within the Ghetto by being broken down into smaller and smaller units. And finally the elimination takes place, not necessarily in the dwelling area, but in a death factory, built specially for the purpose. For the Warsaw Ghetto Jews it happened to be a place called Treblinka which was 70 miles down the railroad line from Warsaw.

At Treblinka there was a whole assembly line of gas chambers and ovens which were fed by the trains bringing 7,000 or 8,000 people a day from the ghetto. This was about the capacity of what Treblinka could kill. Every slaughter house has its capacity. It can't kill an unlimited number of people per day, because the oven takes a certain number of minutes to burn up the body and the gas takes a certain number of minutes to kill the body and it takes a certain number of minutes to put hooks and poles into the bodies and carry them from one place to another and to clean up the gas rooms which were full of faeces and vomit which the human body evacuates in moments of fear. The word on the outside of the chamber said "Brausebad" which means shower bath, so the people must be seduced into thinking that they are going to take a shower, even to the point that they were handed a small piece of soap as they entered. There is plenty of soap because some of the dead bodies were processed later to manufacture soap. The people could never have been enticed into the shower room if it were fouled with the previous load of dead. And so time had to be spent cleaning it up. Jewish prisoners did the cleaning, and hooked the corpses and shoved them in and out, and extracted the gold work from the teeth and all of that. Everything took time. And then the bodies were shoved into the ovens and the burning took time. You can only kill 7,000 or 8,000 people per day, in a small factory like Treblinka. In a big factory like Auschwitz you can kill 20,000 to 30,000 per day.

Such big numbers are meaningless. Try to understand it in terms of our group. There are 35 or 40 people here on this bus. How long would it take to kill everybody here, take off their clothes, put them in a pile, cut off their hair, and put in a pile, take off their eye glasses and put them in a pile, all these things are usable. The Nazis are thrifty, useful, industrious people. They don't just destroy nice good quantities of goods. Human hair is the best quality to make mattresses out of or to weave into linings of overcoats for the German soldiers. Its cold on the Russian front. There is not too much wool, it's wartime. And so it's really valuable to have all the hair of all those dead Jews. But all this takes processing time. It would take a long time to knock out the forty people in this bus and strip them down.

So the elimination process always was, for the Nazis, a desperate search for faster methods, because they could isolate the Jews and segregate them and concentrate them faster than they could eliminate them. Shooting takes time, and someone must take the Jews out in a truck someplace to a field, dig a trench, kill them, topple the bodies in, throw more dirt on top of them, throw more bodies. Everything takes time. Poor Eichman--no wonder

that he was always so frantic. He had quotas to meet. Eichman was only the expeditor. He didn't ever shoot anybody; he just moved the trains as fast as he could and made sure that the death factories worked as fast as they could be pushed.

Dachau was founded in 1938 and Mattheusen was founded in 1939. But the years from 1933 to 1939 were not, repeat, not the years of mass murder of Jews and if the world had given one damn, there would have been millions of Jews saved in those years. However, no one cared. I want to tell you one story about a conference that was held in a town in France called Evian. Its a beautiful little town which the diplomats selected because they liked the water, and if one has to sit around in a town all through the month of September 1938, in an international refugee conference or 30 nations, to see what could be done about the poor, poor people being persecuted by Hitler, then one might as well sit around in a lovely spa resort. Nobody offered a home, the damned conference was the most filthy, hypocritical, immoral condemnation of western civilized nations that ever took place anywhere and the people who organized the conference, displayed complete moral bankruptcy.

AMERICAN JEWISH

If I were a Jew in Europe in the middle 1930's, I think I would have gone out of my mind in rage and frustration. I wouldn't want anybody to tell me they were sorry for me and wanted to try to do something for me, when they didn't have the damdest intention of doing a thing. Let them tell me to go in the ovens and worry about it myself, then I know at least I am on my own and maybe then I and other Jews would have fought back, better or harder or earlier or more cleverly. Its a terrible business not to know how to handle oneself in time of danger. Some of us who lived through the agony of that period and who remember it, will try as long as we live to transmit to others like you the lesson of watching for danger signals. Of course, the most important thing of all is the fact that the State of Israel is in existence, which is the best guarantee that genocide will never happen again.

Okay, the world didn't give a damn, the Jews in the free countries were paralyzed, didn't know what to do and didn't do anything and the Six Million were destroyed between 1939 and 1945.

When the war was over, there we were, bleeding from all those six million wounds, and shocked, traumatized, on the verge of national and spiritual death. There had been some resistance of course, during this period. There were partisan units, there were uprisings in some of the ghettos; there were efforts of Jews to escape through the sewers of many cities and getting to the woods to continue the struggle from there. There were efforts on the part of a few people to organize some boats to get to Palestine. But the resistance efforts were minor in terms of the big process.

And then came that period from 1945 to 1948 in which, by some instinct, a few people understood that the struggle to be reborn was so crucial that if we didn't succeed, we would be dooming ourselves for ever. And actually there weren't very many people working hard. There were people who called themselves Zionists who had the only true vision and dream, that we Jews needed a state of our own. There was an underground army called the Haganah, of which I had the honor of being a member from 1945 on. There was an illegal immigration movement against the British, which was called the Aliyah Bet for which I worked for two and one-half years from 1945 to mid-1947.

I worked here in Germany and in Austria for two and a half years and we moved people down from this city of Vienna across Salzburg to the city of Munich where we put them in camps on German soil and Austrian soil in the American occupied sections of those two countries. We packed a quarter of a million Jews into these camps and then we took them out of these camps down to the Mediterranean, south to the coast of Italy and France. There we tried to board them on small blockade running ships and we ran 56 vessels. The British caught most of them. We beached some of them on the shores of Palestine, we got a few tens of thousands of people in. The British caught 50,000 or 60,000 and put them in camps on the island of Cyprus.

But the struggle was going on, the fight was going on and the will to live was being reborn and in the camps here this quarter of a million people were beginning to come alive and say, We want a home, give us a home. We want a land, give us Palestine. We want Palestine. And commission after commission came through the camps of Austria and Germany till one could almost puke with rage at the futility of this whole thing and there was nothing for any commission to investigate anymore. The Jews who were living after Hitler had to get off the bloody soil of Europe and nobody wanted them, even after the war was over. So it was clear what had to be done; a country had to be created which would want them and take them. It really was very simple.

We are coming close to Mathausen now, so I will finish by saying that the story of the Holocaust is central to an understanding of the birth and growth of Israel. The two subjects--involving the two most dramatic episodes of our entire history--took place in a very short span of time, and involve you in the most intimate way as the generation touched by destiny to have actually been alive when these events occurred. How spectacular and how obligatory!



OUTLINE OF THE 1971 LECTURE

I. ROOTS OF UNITED STATES JEWISH COMMUNITY

A. Early Beginnings to Revolutionary War

1. Jewish role in Pre-Exploration Period - Lebeson pp. 3-14
2. Columbus Theory - Salvador de Madariaga
3. Jews to Brazil. Lived under benevolent Dutch rule - several hundred.
Then Portugal conquered in 1654. Jews left in fear of Inquisition.

Jewish colonization:	Brazil	1500
	Lima	1533
	Concepcion	1600
	Barbados	1628
	Surinam	1639
	Curacao	1650
	Martinique	1654
	New Amsterdam	1654

4. New Amsterdam - Goodman PP 76-83
23 refugees arrived Sept. 1654 penniless aboard St. Charles from Recife. Stuyvesant didn't want them. Dutch West Indies Co. ordered them admitted.
5. By time of Revolution - Goodman p. 3 - Jews were rare in 13 colonies. Never more than 1000 people among the 3 million inhabitants of colonies. Newport in heyday totalled at most 175. Perhaps N.Y. had as many, or little more. Philadelphia, Charleston and Savanah were smaller. Two large communities (several hundred) were in West Indies - Jamaica and Barbados.

B. German Immigration - 19th Century

1. Brought enlightenment, reform, assimilation, merchandising-

C. Shtetl in Russia and Poland - 19th Century - (all quotations in pages from "Life with People" Zborowski & Herzog)

1. Introduction

Characterized by piety, family life, poverty, emphasis on education.

(Some poor people can't understand relevance of education to their predicament; Jews were like prisoners who learned how to make use of their prison time instead of merely ranting against their fate.)

Sacher - 191

2. Sabbath

3. Market - relations with Goyim - 66-67

4. Study - 72; learning gives prestige - 73.

Emphasis on learning began at Mt. Sinai - and is a continuum without date, or reference to space.

5. Status - learning, wealth, yichus

prosteh and shayneh

marriage - father seeks a learned son-in-law

6. Learning is not simple - teaches deductive logic - 121, 122

7. Whole concept of Rebbeh making miracles, his tzaddikim and Hassidim -

court, dynasty - people bring problems, human and business.

Eating and studying together in the Court.

8. Importance of charity - mitzva - avevreh - 191

tzedeka - 193; zkhus - koved - 195

zkhus adds to yichus; organizations - 203

fund raisers - 208; beggar - 211

9. "LIFE IS WITH PEOPLE" - the community is one family - The shtetl self-governed by men who know and men who give - 214-224

Klal Yisroel - 230

10. Hard work - value of, and necessity of - 240

Vast majority of shtetl population either (1) sell on a very small scale; or (2) engage in skilled trades or;

- (3) serve as strenuous unskilled labor - 243

balagoleh; milkman, forester; peddlars - 252

Almost everyone poor - food simple - 256,7

Value of money - 262 and dreams of it - 263

11. Marriage, children, growing up fast, kosher house.

12. Summary - 409 FF

II. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF U.S. COMMUNITY

- A. Federated concept - Boston - 1895 - First formal organization

- B. Struggle with ideology and direction in local community - hospital; Jewish education (Bureau, parochial, congregational school); aged; blacks; drugs

- C. United on Israel

- D. Future will depend upon own creativity - Lebeson - 507

III. ROOTS OF ISRAELI COMMUNITY

- A. Early Zionist Works - Spurred by European Nationalism

1. Moses Hess - "Rome and Jerusalem" (1862)

Socialist, cosmopolitan, bohemian, finally returned to Judaism.

Impressed by Italian patriot Mazzini. If Italians were entitled to their Risorgimento - why were Jews not entitled as well to their own national awakening and homeland?

If liberation of Rome was an act of historic justice, why not

the liberation of Jerusalem: (Hertzberg - 133)

2. Leo Pinsker - "Auto-Emancipation" (1882)

1881 is great turning point in modern Jewish history. Alex II assassinated, followed by two terrible years of pogroms.

Pinsker defined 3 causes of anti-semitism: The Jews are a "ghost people" unlike any other in the world, and therefore feared as a thing apart; they are everywhere foreigners and nowhere hosts in their own national right; they are in economic competition with every majority within which they live.

There is only one workable solution: find a country of their own where the bulk of Jewry would at last come to rest.

(Hertzberg - 198)

3. Bilu - Lacquer - 3,4

Established Mikveh Israel Agricultural school (1870); and Petach Tikvah (1880)

4. Chovevei Zion (1881)

In 1880 population of Palestine was 35,000 Jews and 110,000 Arabs. First aliyah began in 1881 (following Pobiedonestov)

Second " " " 1904 (following Kishinev)

(Third " " " 1919 (following Balfour Declaration and war)

During period (1919-1948 (Fourth " " " 1924 (following economic restrictions of Polish gov't.)

453,000 Jews entered.

(Fifth " " " 1929 - Hitler

5. Theodore Herzl - "Jewish State" (1896)

Never heard of Pinsker. Came to same conclusion as result of exposure to Dreyfus trial. Thought of Argentine. Episode with Baron de Hirsch. "You are breeding beggars."

- B. First and second Aliyah - to WW I (refer to Soustelle book)
- C. British Mandate Period
- D. Arab riots 1921 and 1936-9
- E. WW II period
- F. 1945-1948
- G. Statehood - three wars

IV. OTHER JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN WORLD

1. Russia - 2-1/2 - 3 million

2. Eastern Europe - almost empty

Poland	5,000
Yugoslavia	6,000
Hungary	80,000
Rumania	100,000

3. Great Britain - 410,000

High rate of intermarriage, in view of "orthodox" establishment.

Religious life stable.

Strong pro-Israel sentiment.

4. France - 550,000

Three waves - old (pre-WW I)

DPs (post-WW II)

North Africans

Pro-Israel, in spite of DeGaulle Attitude

5. Belgium - 40,000

Brussels - 24,000 - highly assimilated

Antwerp - 13,000 - "ghettoized" - no intermarriage,

religious, largest community

center in Europe.

6. Italy - 34,000

Not very active Jewish life

Slow dissolution of community

Milan has day school

7. West Germany - 26,000

Rather strong and vigorous, considering its mixed-up background.

Pro-Israel activity high; also cultural activity

8. Canada - 280,000 - 300,000

Toronto	-	97,000
Montreal	-	110,000
Winnipeg	-	10,000
Vancouver	-	8,000
Ottawa	-	6,000
Balance	-	55,000 scattered

Saul Hayes - "There are more institutes for the study of Jewish literature and there are more religious activities in Canada than in Israel itself." Therefore, there was no threat of assimilation in the foreseeable future.

9. Argentina - 500,000

Buenos Aires - 380,000

Balance scattered in 500 places

High rate of assimilation, intermarriage, non-affiliation with Jewish communal life.

The organized community highly Israel-oriented. Religion plays minor role.

10. Brazil - 170,000

Sao Paulo - 60,000

Rio - 50,000

11. Mexico - 30-40,000
12. Chile - 40,000
13. South Africa - 120,000

Strong organization in every direction; education, Israel, etc.

V. HOLOCAUST (Levin - XV-XVI)

- A. Rise of Hitler - to 1933
- B. Consolidation - to Nurenberg Laws - 1936
- C. Failure of World Jewish Community to Act (S.S. Wise boycott suggestion - 1936)
- D. Failure of World to Act - Evian Conference 1938 (Read resolution)
EVIAN CONFERENCE - summer 1938 - at initiative of FDR - aim of asking for concerted international action on a broader basis. Over 30 nations accepted invitation to attend.

Its main intention was to establish an Intergovernmental Committee which should be instrumental in assisting the emigration of refugees within the limits of existing immigration laws, while emigration and settlement were to be financed by private organizations.

The Conference ended with the following resolution: "The I.G.C., recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies on migration made by the I.L.O., shall cooperate fully with these organizations, and the I.G.C. in London shall consider the means by which the cooperation of the Committee and the Director with these organizations shall be established."

BIG JOKE -

WHILE SIX MILLION DIED

- E. Start of War - 1939
- F. Wannsee Conference - 1942 - Final Solution

G. Ghettos - camps = Death factories 1941-1945

(show slides)

VI. POST-HOLOCAUST AND PRE-STATE

- A. DP camp period
- B. Haganah efforts on illegal immigration
- C. Haganah efforts on illegal arming
- D. Zionist efforts among U.S. Jews and opposition (American Council)
- E. Political efforts at U.N.

VII. STATEHOOD

- A. War of Independence
- B. Emptying European camps & Cyprus
- C. Ingathering - Yemen, Iraq, Morocco, North Africa
- D. Tents to Ma'abarot
- E. Malben
- F. Lachish
- G. War again
- H. More Ingathering
- I. Water pipeline, oil pipeline, industrialization
- J. War again
- K. Spread of education

VIII. TASKS AHEAD IN ISRAEL

- A. Military - Political - more wars until real independence and sovereignty and normal life in the area is achieved.
- B. Economic - until viability without outside help is achieved
(U.S. was debtor nation first 32 years of its existence.)
- C. Social - Educational - until one society is amalgamated, doing away with dangers of two Israels.

IX. TASKS AHEAD IN AND FOR WORLD JEWRY

- A. Russian Jewry - immigration rights plus internal survival rights (schools, language, religion, etc.)
- B. U.S. Jewry - developing a commitment to Jewish survival through knowing its value, to us and to world at large.
- C. Free World Jewry - ditto
- D. Latin American Jewry - fast migration

X. VALUE OF JEWISH SURVIVAL

- A. Jews created sense of history - past, present, future - all serve to give man memory. This is his strongest creative tool, including will and desire to continue.
- B. Jews created social justice - prophetic tradition in Bible - see Vorspan book.
- C. Jewish values are optimistic - forward-looking. This is good for man's malaise.
- D. Jewish intellectuality is unique - in medicine and music, mathematics and marketing.
- E. Quote Fleg in Hertzberg - 480
- F. Close with personal statement.

Outline of the 1972 Presentation

THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF THE THIRD JEWISH COMMONWEALTHI. PRE-STATEA. Armed Resistance

1. Sternists assassinate Lord Moyne in Cairo 6 Nov. 44, as British representative, and for his role in repressing illegal immigration.
 - a. Weizmann announced that the death of the British minister grieved him as deeply as death of his own son in battle.
 - b. "open season" began in Palestine hunting terrorists.
 - c. Irgun & Stern gang worked together - and negotiated with Haganah.
2. United Resistance Movement - Tenuat Ha-Meri - lasted nine months - November 1945 to August, 1946 (Sou: 140-41).
Haganah armed resistance ended on that date - they confined themselves to Aliyah Bet. Other 2 fought on.
3. King David episode - 22 July 1946 - a reaction to Black Saturday 29 June 1946 (Sou: 143-144) 2700 leaders arrested.
4. General Barker's Order of Day (P. 124).

B. Illegal Immigration (Sou: 152)

1. What is illegal immigration? (G: 47)

C. UNSCOP Committee - affected by Exodus episode (S: 14-15)

appointed 9 May 1947

Favor PartitionOpposedAbstain

Canada

India

Australia*

Czechoslovakia

Persia

Guatemala

Yugoslavia

*because there
was no unanimity

Holland

Peru

Sweden

Uruguay

D. UN Vote - 29 Nov. '47

E. Guerrilla War (L: 106-107) (SA: 34-36) (Sou: 189-200)

1. Deir Yassin, Kastel, Jaffa, etc.

F. Weismann-Truman Episode (S: 230-244)

1. W met T on 19 Nov. '47 and persuaded him not to cede Southern half of Negev to Arabs, in order to appease them and get them to accept partition.
2. W wrote 10 Feb. '48 asking to see President again and was refused. T wrote discouragingly (S: 238)
3. Eddie Jacobson intervened.
4. T saw W Thursday 18 March - excellent conference.
5. Next day Friday 19 March, Senator Warren Austin, head of U. S. delegation at UN did about-face, and proposed delaying creation of State and introducing a temporary trusteeship instead.
6. Monday, 22 March, W called Eddie Jacobson, to urge him to keep trying. (S: 234) T knew nothing of Austin proposal
7. On 9 April, W wrote T to explain why trusteeship no good. (S: 242)
8. T sent W message on 23 April, night of Seder, saying he was prepared to fight State Dept., and go through with partition, but wanted Weizmann in U.S. W was due to return because 14 May was coming soon.
9. On 13 May 2 submitted his letter to T asking for recognition (S: 232).

G. Gush Etzion (S: 247-255)

1. Attacked in Jan. '48.
2. The 35 set out from Beth Shemesh on foot - chopped down.
3. Rescue convoy organized end March.
4. Legion crashed through - final surrender 13 May midnight.

H. Last British High Commissioner Leaves (S: 256-267)

I. Final Details of Ceremony, Flag, Museum, etc. (S: 272-289)

1. B.G. foreboding (S: 289)

J. U.S. Recognition - midnight Friday Night - British left (S: 296)

K. Text of Declaration of Independence (D: 51-54)

L. B.G. - Thoughts on Independence Day (Pe: 9-12)

II. STATEHOOD

A. War of Independence

1. 6 April - 11 June

- a. Seize control interior communication; take road to Jerusalem; capture all major towns in Galilee: Castel, Haifa, Safed.
- b. Arab attack would be as follows: Jordan legion (10,000 superbly trained men) vs. Jerusalem; Syrians and Lebanese into Galilee; Syrians and Iraqis (also 10,000 men) into Jordan Valley; Egyptians (30,000 men) from south. About 50,000 men, plus field artillery, tanks, armored cars, Spitfires & Dakotas, navy.
- c. Haganah defense had Palmach -- (only 2,500 trained men) plus 9 brigades - 25,000 mostly un-trained men: 3 to north; 2 to protect Tel Aviv; 1 to Ashdod; 1 to Northern Negev; 1 to defense of Jerusalem; 1 to struggle for highway to Jerusalem.
- d. Story of the four howitzers (Sa 41)
- e. Old City lost: 28 May
- f. Highway - Burma Road - opened 9 June, two days before truce.
- g. Eshkol's role - (P: 132-135)
- h. Colonel Marcus killed at dawn 11 June - day of truce.

2. Truce - 11 June - 8 July

a. Yadin regrouped (Sa - 46)

3. One Army - (L 117; Sou 218-222)

Irgun, Altalena - 20 June

4. Second fight - 8 - 18 July

a. Took Lydda, Ramle, Nazareth, all north

5. Bernadotte episode - Assassinated 14 September (M 67 ff)

6. Third fight 15 - 30 October - Operation Ten Plagues -

break Egyptian line - Gaza to Hebron; Faluja pocket, Nasser;
Beersheba.

7. Third truce, 1 November - 21 December .

8. Old Roman road recalled by Yadin - and prepared for attack on El Auja -
22 December - 8 January.

9. Six thousand dead - one person out of every hundred.

B. British pressure on Israel for withdrawal from Gaza and Sinai - 31 December, 1948

C. Israeli shooting down of five British planes over Sinai, 7 January, 1949.

D. In complete about-face, Bevin announced release of Jews from Cyprus, plus
on 29 January, 1949 British recognition.

E. Armistices

Talks began on Rhodes, 12 January, 1949, concluded with:

Egypt - 24 February

Lebanon - 23 March

Jordan - 3 April

Syria - 29 July

F. First election, January 1949

G. First U.S. \$100 million loan, plus de jure recognition.

H. On 14 May, 1949 - Israel joined UN as 59th State

III. ARAB REFUGEE ISSUE (S 192, 193, 195; P 155-158)

A. Between April (Deit Yassin) and December (final Israeli offensive south) 1948 - between 500 - 700,000 Arabs fled. About 120,000 remained.

Approximate list as follows:

to West Bank	250,000
to Jordan proper	70,000
to Lebanon	100,000
to Syria	75,000
to Iraq	4,000
to Egypt	7,000
to Gaza	<u>200,000</u>
	706,000

B. Israel offer to Conciliation Commission in Lausanne April 1949, which Arabs refused:

1. make refugee question first item on peace settlement agenda.
2. repatriate 100,000 as part of settlement.
3. offer Israeli citizenship to Gaza Strip inhabitants, if Strip were incorporated in Israel; or assist in their resettlement.

C. Conciliation Commission sent economic mission in August 1949 to Arab States to survey capacity to absorb refugees. Gordon Clapp of TVA was Chairman. He reported failure in February 1950 (P. 155)

D. (Lo. 136) Arab leaders repeatedly made it plain that they envisaged the return of the refugees, not as loyal citizens of Israel, but as a fifth column. Egyptian Foreign Minister Salah-e-din said candidly in newspaper El-Misri on 11 October, 1949:

"In demanding the restoration of the refugees to Palestine, the Arabs intend that they should return as the masters of the Homeland, not as slaves. More explicitly, they intend to annihilate the State of Israel."

- E. UN voted to establish UNRWA (Refugee Works Administration) with budget of \$45,000,000 in 1950 to provide employment and relocation. This failed. Money spent on pure relief!
- F. In 1952 and 1953, Eisenhower's representative Eric Johnston tried to work out a Water Agreement on utilization of Jordan, Yarmuk & Litani rivers, as between Israel and Jordan, Syria, Lebanon - to increase immigration in three Arab countries, in order to resettle refugees on large scale - about 250,000. He gave more water to Arab states than to Israel, about 65% to 35% -- and they toyed with it. But rejected it. Johnston was disappointed: "After 2 years of discussion, technical experts of Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria agreed upon every important detail of a unified Jordan plan. But in October 1955 it was rejected for political reasons at a meeting of the Arab League."
- G. In June 1959 Dag Hammarskold advised \$1.7 Billion for agricultural and vocational training programs, to resettle refugees, into Arab states. His report was rejected by the Arabs.
- H. In 1961, Israel made another offer - compensation to Arab refugees, outside of a peace treaty, on two conditions: account must be made of Jewish property confiscated in Arab lands; and resettlement of refugees once and for all. This was turned down.
- I. Matter stands, until today.

LARGE IMMIGRATION - LAW OF RETURN (L. 120-125; Sa 73)

- A. In 1950, Knesset passed Law of Return, which entitled every Jew to settle in Israel unless guilty of offences against Jewish people, or liable to endanger public health or security. This right was granted to every Jew in world. In 1952, the Law of Nationality bestowed full citizenship rights on every immigrant arriving under Law of Return the moment he set foot on Israeli soil.

B. Arrival of Refugees

Cyprus	- 24,000	
Germany & Aust.	75,000	by end 1948
	240,000	1949
	170,000	1950
	<u>175,000</u>	1951

Thus, 684,000 in first 3½ years - or double the original population.

Main Sources

Cyprus	24,000
Germ.&Austria	75,000
Turkey	33,000
Bulgaria	36,000
Yugoslavia	7,000
Yemen	50,000
Poland	40,000
Rumania	88,000
Hungary	32,000
North Africa	90,000
Persia	6,000
Iraq	<u>100,000</u>

581,000

C. In this period 78,000 dwellings, consisting of 165,000 rooms were completed -- still only one room for every four newcomers.

By end of 1951 - about 400,000 had found permanent housing; about 250,000 were living in 123 maabarot and ten camps.

V. PUTTING PEOPLE ON SOIL - Lachish; moshavim; and development towns (P. 142-144; 149)

VI. WATER PROJECTS (P. 150; 187-188)

VII. GERMAN REPARATIONS

- A. B.G.'s reasons (Pg.162)
- B. Facts (P 177-179)
- C. Eshkol recognizes Germany (P 227-228)

VIII. SHARETT

- A. Foreign Minister 1948-1953
- B. Prime Minister: Jan. '54 - Nov '55 - caretaker during B.G. temporary retirement.
- C. Chairman of Jewish Agency
- D. B.G. gives him credit for getting Jewish Brigade formed in 1944.
B.G. was his own F.M. - thus clashes with Sharett were frequent.
B.G.'s bete noire - "Lavon affair" occurred while Sharett was P.M.

IX. SINAI CAMPAIGN OF 1956

- A. Fedayeen attacks - from 1949 (after armistice) until October 1956.
434 killed by fedayeen - and total of 11,650 armed clashes:
- B. Nasser came to power in 1952, wrote "Philosophy of Revolution" listing three objectives: to gain power over all Arab countries; to become head of all Moslem peoples, from Atlantic to Pacific; to become leader of Africa.
- C. In Sept. 1955 Nasser made arms deal with Russia: 150 MIG fighters, 40 Ilyushin bombers, 400 modern tanks, several subs & destroyers.
- D. Blockaded Akaba; nationalized Suez Canal (after becoming angry with Dulles for withdrawing U.S. aid to build Aswan Dam July 1956).
- E. Objectives of campaign set at cabinet meeting 2 October: (D: 166)

"Three major objectives seem to have been defined:

1. Destruction of the guerrilla bases in the Sinai and Gaza Strip.
2. Crippling Egyptian offensive capacities for prolonged period.
3. Gaining free access to the Red Sea via the Gulf of Aquaba.

According to all available sources this was to be done through the total destruction of Egyptian battle formations and supply bases in the Sinai. The physical annihilation of Egyptian troops definitely was not a part of the war objectives.

General Dayan is quoted to have said:

"We did not want to kill a lot of Egyptians. There are 40 million Arabs, so what's the use of killing 5,000, 10,000, 15,000 of them? It was not even vital to destroy or take their equipment. They could always get more from Russia. What mattered was their defeat."

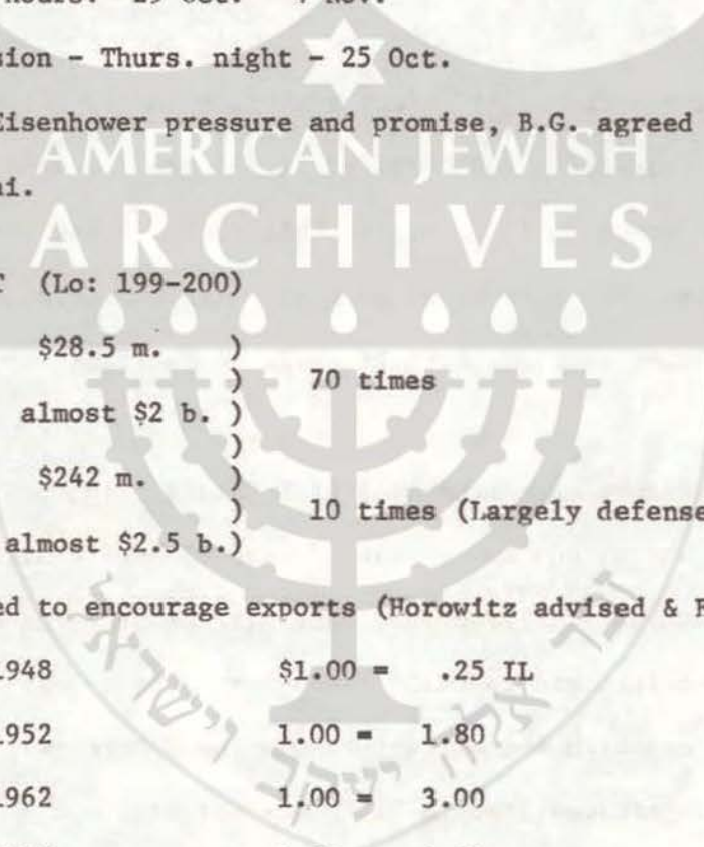
(also quote Pg: 147)

F. B.G. took counsel with French & British in October 1956

G. Campaign took 100 hours: 29 Oct. - 4 Nov.

1. UJA Study Mission - Thurs. night - 25 Oct.

H. By 7 Nov., under Eisenhower pressure and promise, B.G. agreed to withdraw from Sinai.



X. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT (Lo: 199-200)

A. Exports in 1949 -	\$28.5 m.)	
)	70 times
Exports in 1971 -	almost \$2 b.)	
)	
B. Imports in 1949 -	\$242 m.)	
)	10 times (largely defense)
Imports in 1971 -	almost \$2.5 b.)		

C. Devaluations needed to encourage exports (Horowitz advised & Eshkol did most of them)

1948	\$1.00 =	.25 IL
1952	1.00 =	1.80
1962	1.00 =	3.00
1967	1.00 =	3.50
1971	1.00 =	4.20

D. Aircraft and Arms Industry

XI. EICHMANN EPISODE - 1960

A. Captured in Argentina May 1960

B. Trial began April 1961

C. Executed 31 May, 1962

XII. SIX-DAY WAR - JUNE 1967

- (P 246ff) 1) 3 Feb. - Isvestia reported on Israel's preparation for imminent war
- 2) 7 April - Israel attacked Syrian batteries on Golan by air
- 3) 13 May - Russia told Egypt that Israel was mobilizing on Syrian border
- 4) 15 May - Egyptian army began to move into Sinai
- 5) 16 May - Egypt asked for withdrawal of UN force
- 6) 17 May - Eshkol sent one brigade to Sinai
- 7) 18 May - UN observers reported no Israeli troop movements on Syrian border
- 8) 22 May - Egypt blockaded Sharm (P: 253)
- Meaning of Eilat to Israel's economy (P: 254)
- 9) 23 May - E. said in Knesset great powers should react, but said privately the chips were down.
- * 10) 26 May - Nasser and Haykal threatened war (P 256)
- 11) 26-27 May - Israel Cabinet met all night - to discuss U.S. attitude & Military capability. Vote 9 to 9
- * 12) 28 May - Israel all mobilized; Egypt had 7 brigades in Sinai-- Eshkol made terrible broadcast to nation (P 259-260)
- 13) 1 June - National Government formed - Dayan Minister of Defense
- 14) 2 June - Soviet Union warned Israel not to try to open Akaba
- 15) 3 June - Cabinet vote 16 to 2
- 16) 4 June - Iraq joined Arab alliance

(P:263-4) Eshkol not indecisive or compromising.

(P: 264-5) Israel forces vs. Arab forces

(P:265ff) Four phases of war - a) air
b) land, vs. Egypt
c) Jordan-Jerusalem
d) Golan-Syria

(P:269-270) Israel losses vs. Arab losses

XIII. EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

- A. Primary School - 477,684
- B. High Schools - 140,080
- C. Universities - 45,000

XIV. SOCIAL WELFARE PROBLEMS

XV. GOLDA MEIR AND HARD ROAD TO PEACE

XVI. CHALLENGES OF FUTURE

- A. Maintenance of pioneering spirit
- B. Religious reform
- C. Educational expansion
- D. Political reform
- E. De-bureaucratization
- F. Co-existence with large Arab minority
- G. Economic independence

XVII. B.G. INSPIRATIONAL MESSAGE (Pg: 216; 225-6; 230- 232; 241)



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Code Initials - for page references

Sou - Soustelle

D - Davidson

S - Sharef

Pe - Pearlman

P - Prittie

L - Louvish

M - McDonald

Sa - Sacher

G - Granados

Declaration of Independence

In the Land of Israel the Jewish people came into being. In this Land was shaped their spiritual, religious, and national character. Here they lived in sovereign independence. Here they created a culture of national and universal import, and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books.

Exiled by force, still the Jewish people kept faith with their Land in all the countries of their dispersion, steadfast in their prayer and hope to return and here revive their political freedom.

Fired by this attachment of history and tradition, the Jews in every generation strove to renew their roots in the ancient Homeland, and in recent generations they came home in their multitudes.

Veteran pioneers and defenders, and newcomers braving blockade, they made the wilderness bloom, revived their Hebrew tongue, and built villages and towns. They founded a thriving society, master of its own economy and culture, pursuing peace but able to defend itself, bringing the blessing of progress to all the inhabitants of the Land, dedicated to the attainment of sovereign independence.

In 1897 the First Zionist Congress met at the call of Theodor Herzl, seer of the vision of the Jewish State, and gave public voice to the right of the Jewish people to national restoration in their Land.

This right was acknowledged in the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917, and confirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations, which accorded international validity to the historical connection of the Jewish people with the Land of Israel, and to their right to reestablish their National Home.

The holocaust that in our time destroyed millions of Jews in Europe and proved beyond doubt the compelling need to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness and dependence by the renewal of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel, which would open wide the gates of the Homeland to every Jew and endow the Jewish people with the status of a nation with equality of rights within the family of nations.

Despite every hardship, hindrance and peril, the remnant that survived the grim Nazi slaughter in Europe, together with Jews from other countries, pressed on with their exodus to the Land of Israel and continued to assert their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in the Homeland of their people.

In the Second World War the Jewish community in the Land of Israel played its full part in the struggle of the nations championing freedom and peace against the Nazi forces of evil. Its war effort and the lives of its soldiers won it the right to be numbered among the founding peoples of the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in the Land of Israel, and required the inhabitants themselves to take all measures necessary on their part to carry out the resolution. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their own State is irrevocable.

It is the natural right of the Jewish people, like any other people, to control their own destiny in their sovereign State.

Accordingly we, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in the Land of Israel and the Zionist Movement, have assembled on the day of the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine, and, by virtue of our natural and historic right and of the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, do hereby proclaim the establishment of a Jewish State in the Land of Israel—the State of Israel.

We resolve that from the moment the Mandate ends, at midnight on the Sabbath, the sixth of Iyar 5708, the fifteenth day of May 1948, until the establishment of the duly elected authorities of the State in accordance with a Constitution to be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than October 1, 1948, the National Council shall act as the Provisional Council of State, and its executive arm, the National Administration, shall constitute the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, and the name of that State shall be Israel.

The State of Israel will be open to Jewish immigration and the ingathering of exiles. It will devote itself to developing the Land for the good of all its inhabitants.

It will rest upon foundations of liberty, justice, and peace as envisioned by the Prophets of Israel. It will maintain complete equality of social and political rights for all its citizens, without distinction of creed, race, or sex. It will guarantee freedom of religion and conscience, of language, education, and culture. It will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions. It will be loyal to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

The State of Israel will be prepared to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in carrying out the General Assembly resolution of 29 November 1947, and will work for the establishment of the economic union of the whole Land of Israel.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of their State, and to admit the State of Israel into the family of nations.

Even amidst the violent attacks launched against us for months past, we call upon the sons of the Arab people dwelling in Israel to keep the peace and to play their part in building the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its institutions, provisional and permanent.

We extend the hand of peace and good-neighborliness to all the states around us and to their peoples, and we call upon them to cooperate in mutual helpfulness with the independent Jewish nation in its Land. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution in a concerted effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

We call upon the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to join forces with us in immigration and construction, and to be at our right hand in the great endeavor to fulfill the age-old longing for the redemption of Israel.

We trust in the Rock of Israel, we set our hands in witness to this Declaration at this session of the Provisional Council of State, on the soil of the homeland, in the city of Tel Aviv, this Sabbath Eve, the fifth day of Iyar 5708, the fourteenth day of May 1948.

DAVID BEN-GURION

DANIEL AUSTER
 MORDEKHAI BENTOV
 YITZHAK BEN-ZVI
 ELIYAHU BERLIN
 PERETZ BERNSTEIN
 MEIR WILNER-KOVNER
 ZERAH WARHAFTIG
 HERZL VARDI
 RACHEL COHEN
 RABBI KALMAN KAHANA
 SAADIA KOVASHI
 RABBI YITZHAK MEIR LEVIN
 MEIR DAVID LEVINSTEIN
 ZVI LURIA
 GOLDA MYERSON
 NAHUM NIR
 ZVI SEGAL
 RABBI YEHUDA LEIB HACOHN FISHMAN

RABBI WOLF GOLD
 MEIR GRABOVSKY
 YITZHAK GRUENBAUM
 ABRAHAM GRANOVSKY
 ELIYAHU DOBKIN
 DAVID ZVI PINKAS
 AHARON ZISLING
 MOSHE KOLODNY
 ELIEZER KAPLAN
 ABRAHAM KATZNELSON
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 DAVID REMEZ
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 BEHOR SHITREET
 MOSHE SHAPIRA
 MOSHE SHERTOK