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TALK ON ISRAEL - 27 November, 1953

There is a saying in one of the commentaries that the last is the best. The saying is well known to children. They save the good things until the end. In reporting on this trip I have been saving the best to the last as well. Tonight we talk about Israel, after having dealt with North Africa and Germany. This visit to Israel was the third in three years. It provided, therefore, a reasonably accurate basis for judgment, values, comparisons unadulterated by any emotional prejudices but objectively sound, as we saw from year to year what has happened.

I should like to report immediately and distinctly the first and probably the most important of all the conclusions which we reached. That is that there has been a degree and rate of improvement in Israel over the years which is quite beyond the imagination. You simply can not believe it unless you have seen it grow under your eyes in successive stages. The face of the land is different in three short years and was different each year in the process, but was harder to recognize, as it is hard to see a child growing inch by inch and over a span of years. You suddenly realize that you have a growing thing, no longer a crawling infant. And that was the conclusion to which we came after going again the length and breadth of the country; after talking, until we were out of breath, with hundreds of people.

Two years ago and three years ago, the face of the country was covered with tents. There is not a tent to be seen any longer. Two and three years ago the country was covered with aluminum and canvass huts. These are still to be seen in some

small quantities, but there are great stretches of empty huts whose inhabitants have since moved on to permanent and secure houses. The physical transformation was the sharpest as far as we were concerned. There are roads today where none existed, there are villages where none existed, there are full panoplies of merchandise in the store windows where two and three years ago was emptiness. Emptiness in the heart as well as in the show cases.

Today there is clothing, there is food, there are amenities and there are even luxuries. It is true that these things are very expensive. It is equally true that due to a carefully controlled policy of deflation, money is a scarce commodity. So you would say it is hardly very favorable when the shops are full and the pockets are empty, but this is much better than full pockets and nothing to buy. This is better from the economic point of view and better from the point of view of the psychology of the people. In all of these material ways, therefore, we saw with glad hearts, believe me, growth and strengthening and encouraging progress of the country and we were convinced that this was not a superficial or illusory prosperity, in relative terms. This was founded on the basis of hard work. And hard work produces wealth.

The second conclusion to which we came is that the long range future of the country looks better now than it ever has. In order to reach this conclusion, we had to go far and wide across stretches which were unavailable before. In the last 18 months a great and incredible road has been cut through the hills leading down to Sodom and Gemorrah, the places in the Bible which were

blanched, bleak and stricken with God's indignation. I could see why Lot's wife or anyone else's would turn to salt when she looked at that terrain. It is as God forsaken as you could find anywhere. And I can see why nothing ever was rebuilt on that site. Even at Troy, seven cities rose, and even at Carthage, where the Roman sowed with salt there were once again buildings. In Sodom and Gemorrah there has been nothing for thousands of years. 18 months ago this road was cut. It is a very expensive thing. The value of it was questioned. Until it was pointed out that this was a link, an artery, a channel to get down into the vast mineral wealth, which is now known to be in the Dead Sea.

Twenty Billion tons of chemicals have been assayed and appraised. Twenty billion tons of chemical forms the basis for a substantial dollar producing economy. So you spend two or three million dollars on a road, if in turn you will produce twenty or thirty million dollars of chemicals and minerals last year. Seven kilometers from the end of the Dead Sea, the first oil rig went in four weeks ago. They are digging at the rate of 35 feet a day. They are not far down yet. They will go fifteen to twenty thousand feet before they decide whether they hit oil or whether it is a dry hole and to be abandoned. A subsidiary of Ampal has made the first drilling and the name of the well is called "Mazeltov"! If they hit, then you can see what the future economic prospects of the country are. If they do not hit this, there are oil geologists who are optimistic about hitting elsewhere. There is a Mr. Franklin whose relatives reside in our very city of Milwaukee. He , himself, is from Dallas. He is the field geologist

of the Husky Oil Company, Cody, Wyoming. Franklin said that he has four places on his map where he could put an X. He will not tell you where they are. But one of those X's will mark the right spot, he feels.

Without belaboring you with all the details of how much steel Israel will produce with the machinery to be obtained from German Reparations; without burdening you with technical details which I confess I do not often understand completely myself, I can only say that we had the feeling, both on the information that was presented to us and what we saw with our own eyes, that it is no vain slogan to talk of the eventual self-sufficiency of Israel. Just as the present situation looked to us to be considerably improved, so the long range future situation looks, in a sense, if they can ever reach it, even brighter.

These were not conclusion which we wanted to come to and, therefore, reached. These were conclusions which emerged out of a careful look at the facts. It is not all rosy. There is a very serious problem of peace as you know quite well. All of the things happened here, while we were there, and I am not intimately familiar with the reactions here in America to the outbreak of guerrilla warfare again. But I can only say that I was in Berlin the night the raid took place on Kibya and you should have seen the German newspapers. In headlines which were a foot high, it seemed to me, the Berlin papers trumpeted "Kriegsgefahr in Nahost"-- Danger of war in the Middle East"-- "Israel troops swarm over the borders". It looked as if there were a great world war attack in progress. I am not sure why the German papers wrote the story

the same way. Therefore, this situation is not good.

Mr. Shareff, now the acting prime minister, but then the foreign minister, analyzed the problem of war and peace before the Economic Conference in Jerusalem. His line of reasoning was as follows: We want peace very much. It is to our benefit, to the benefit of the Arab, to the benefit of world security. We cannot get peace under the present circumstances for the pure and simple reason that the Arabs have not adjusted themselves to the physical fact of our very presence. Our emergence on the scene as a sovereign power has left them speechless and actionless. There will be no peace until they adjust psychologically to the fact that we are here to stay. They do not believe that Israel is here to stay. They hope for our military defeat or economic collapse or both. They feel that if world war III breaks out, under a great mushroom cloud of world-wide atomic bombing they can go in and wipe us out and nobody will notice what is happening in this tiny corner of the world. If that is true, why make peace?

The second thought they have is that Israel will collapse economically, any moment. Their boycott will hasten that collapse. If that is true, why make peace? With, therefore, these two inhibiting factors plus the basic rankling of the fact that they lost the war of 1948, we have a stalemate at present. We have come to the conclusion that the more we talk about peace, the less chance there is to get it. If the Arabs are operating on the basis of the fact that we need it more than they do; they will wait for us to collapse, and the more we beg for peace, the more they will withhold it.

He continued: Our role, therefore, is clear. We have gone on the record for the United Nations and the United States as well as all the populations of all the Arab world, that we want peace. Having gone on the record, we will not talk about it any longer. But, we will simply assume a pose of keeping very busy, appearing very self-confident, going about our business of expanding and consolidating our state. And, peace will come when the Arabs recognize that we are a permanent fixture on the scene, not before. This is the gist of the thinking of the foreign minister of Israel. I submit that it makes sense.

Now what is the story behind the specific Kibya episode? This unsettled situation, this non-peaceful situation, this active state of war, although undeclared, has been continuing since June of 1950. Since that time there has been a United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission to check border incidents. Between 1950 and 1953, there have been in Israel 421 murdered men, women and children. These murders have occurred in the course of midnight raids, one, two, three at a time. A group of six or eight or twelve men will come across the border from Jordan, will steal some irrigating pipe, will set fire to a barn and kill a few cattle, will shoot and blow up a house and will quickly withdraw within 15 minutes. The Israeli police will follow to the border with police dogs. There they will be confronted by Jordan soldiers who will claim to have seen nothing. The incident is reported to the MAC and that is that. 421 murders caused the blood to boil and it finally boiled over. That is the pure and simple explanation of Kibya.

Two nights before in the village of Yahud, one kilometer across the border, a woman and two children (5 and 3) were lying asleep in a one room tin hut. Two hand-grenades were tossed through the window in the small confines of the ten foot space. What was left was nothing but mangled meat. And, two nights later the Kibya raid took place. The people were not going to be restrained any longer. The big issue at stake is whether this was an attack by official Israeli army troops or whether this was a raid of retaliation by outraged settlers of that border village. There is apparently a difference of opinion.

Mr. Ben Gurion has made his official statement in which he called it ridiculous to charge that these were official troops. He stated that there was not a single army unit absent from its base that night. General Bennike of the United Nations, however, seems to disagree and the vote of censure which was passed the other day by the United Nations indicated that the good general's report was taken as the truth. For the resolution referred to the armed forces of Israel which made the raid. Ben Gurion said that the government did not sent military troops to attack an Arab village. Ben Gurion said that the government did give weapons to frontier settlers to retaliate. There is a difference. There is no question that the equipment which was used in this raid was good equipment. There is also no question that the shedding of innocent blood leaves no one satisfied.

I want you to know what he said on the radio four nights later. "Each one of us grieves the shedding of blood wherever it may occur. No one deploras it more than the government of Israel

if in a reprisal raid on Kibya, innocent blood was spilled. But, all the responsibility rests with the government of Jordan which for years has tolerated acts of murder and killing against the inhabitants of Israel." There is no glee, that fifty odd men, women and children were killed. There is on the other hand no apology that this took place. And, there is the pragmatic fact in the mind of every person in Israel that for four weeks after that raid there was not a single solitary border incident. And women and children slept peacefully in all of the border settlements.

The Mixed Armistice Commission of the United Nations has found Jordan guilty in a hundred fifty nine case of border violations. It has found Israel guilty in twenty five cases. This disproportional balance with no justice being done and with no effort to curb these incidents, let to Kibya. I pray that this shall never be repeated, by I pray, further, that there shall never be a need for men's passions to be aroused by constant murder.

The whole matter of Kibya brought up the question of the military security of the State of Israel. Rest you well with this knowledge. The military situation of Israel is quite precarious and yet there is a tremendous feeling of confidence in the country. We heard a report from one of the officers of the general staff. This report was given in confidence. His figures will not be published anywhere. His report indicated that the G-2 service of the Israel government, the intelligence service, revealed the fact that there were on the border of Israel, 9½ Arab divisions comprising

a total of 145,000 men. Israel is a state of 8,000 square miles the size of Vermont. She has a lineal border of 730 miles. One mile of border for 11 square miles of territory. We have one mile of border for 170 square miles of territory in the U. S. and we do not guard that border. You can see the difference in the problems. Israel knows that the total number of operational aircraft in the hands of all Arab nations is four hundred. These are modern, useable, non-obsolete. The Israel airforce is nowhere near 400 aircraft. The total military budget of all the Arab states, it is said, is 400 million dollars a year. If every person in Israel were to give up every ~~ounce~~ ^{crumb} of bread in his mouth, they could not gather together that kind of money.

And yet, the fact remains, (and here is what I meant by precarious, yet secure,) that there are more people under arms in Israel than there are in all the Arab states put together. You can imagine what it costs. It is fabulous. The armed forces of Israel consists of three elements - the regular army; the reserves, who are soldiers on eleven months leaves (they put in one day a month and one month a year in the army); plus the armed people in the frontier settlements. This situation breaks them financially and raises their morale to an amazing height psychologically. This will go on for many years in my judgment or until such time as the United Nations says to the Arab states that they must sit down and write peace.

What do I mean by telling you that morale is high? We learned it probably best of all from a gasoline station attendant in Haifa, Ludwig Levy formerly of Hamburg. He has been 19 years in Israel.

He leaned his head through the car window, after selling us gasoline, and would not let us go. He gave us a long lecture about how wonderful it was to be able to sell gasoline in a free country, and also made some very telling observations. He said, "Look, you do not know what you have. You live in the most wonderful country in the world." He meant America. "You have freedom till it is running out of your ears and you do not appreciate it. You do not know what it is to live in a free environment and breath freely. You have many rich things, we do not envy you those. Some day we will have good food too. But what we do envy you is your freedom. We will have it the same way. And, we are going to be free, by God." Then he took his head out of the window and said, "And now you can go." This is a demonstration. This is an appreciation of what is valuable in life.

I told you that there was a feeling of discrimination on the part of the Jews in North Africa because of the color business. Many Jews have been leaving, I told you about those who went back to Germany. This question of the returnees was related to the question of morale. How can it be said there is good morale in the country when people are leaving the country? Mr. Ben Gurion, when asked about this, gave a personal story. He said, "Do you know how many people came with me when I came from Poland forty odd years ago? 80 people came, youth burning with idealism, trained in Zionism, Chalutzim and so and so on. You know how many stayed? Two. Myself and Mr. Ben Zwi who is now president of the country. 78 of them went home. Let the people go who do not like it here or cannot adjust. This is not a police state. They can go. It

is not a sign of bad morale if they leave. Because those who stay will build Israel."

And, Goldie Myerson, known to many of you, substantiated this with another very pithy analysis. She was talking about the draining of the swamps of North, which is a ticklish thing. We were there, in the high drama of the night, when the Jordan River was broken through. The water gushed and a few hours later the whole thing was closed down by the U. N. The electric lights of the project were working 24 hours a day, and hundreds of men were fighting time and nature. Not twenty yards across the river were the Syrian soldiers, armed, standing on the other bank looking at us. In describing that situation, she said: "You know, not only are we changing the course of a river, we are changing the course of peoples lives. Because men who came from far off corners of the world, where they know no freedom and felt no security and never had held their heads proud, now are working on the bank of a river within 20 yards of the enemy's guns and they do not flinch. This is pride. This is courage. This is strength. We have changed the course of a people's life." I think she is right. Quite objectively. Because I would not have liked, and I am a free man-- and I know the value of fighting for freedom, I would not have liked to have stood day and night twenty yards away with nothing between him and me except a vague piece of paper which he might be tempted at any moment to ignore.

Let me try to sum it up. There is a certain relationship to America involved here. Mr. Ben Gurion knew it full well. He knew it when American aid was cut off and then was replaced

some days later, but in the interim it was necessary to define the relationship between Israel and America. And the relationship is a clear one. There is great unending gratitude. Gratitude on the part of the government and the people of Israel to the government and people, Jew and non-Jew, of America for the help which we have given. There is on the other hand, the obverse of the coin of gratitude, an awareness that gratitude can never obscure integrity and that one must never compromise with the truth as one sees it. They must pursue their destiny as they see it without fear that someone else may be displeased with them.

And, to illustrate this point, Ben Gurion told a story of Hannah and the Seven Sons. Bow to the emperor because the emperor is God. And son after son refused and was slain. And when the seventh son, the littlest one, came before the throne, the emperor almost begged for his respect, his prestige. All of this was at stake, in front of the little boy and he said, "Your brothers lived. They saw something of life, they died. You have lived not at all. You are young. Why should you die? You say you will not bow. I will throw my golden ring upon the marble floor. You pick it up. And in the course of picking it up and handing it back to me, this shall be your bow." And the boy refused, and was slain also. Mr. Ben Gurion said, "We shall not bow for any ring even of gold." And everybody knew perfectly well what he was referring to.

Relationship with America is important for the future of Israel. It will undoubtedly fluctuate. Let us not be afraid if it alters up and down, one way or another. Israel will follow

the star of her destiny. We as Jews of a different citizenship, of a different land will be loyal primarily to the rules and regulations of the land in which we live, which is America. But, we as Jews have every right in the world to make clear to this land, which commands our first and only loyalty, that there may be facets of the Israel problem which our government does not understand. And this, it seems to me, will be the constant on-going relationship from which no one should shirk or be afraid.

Let me conclude by telling you this.. There is no such thing as an immediate solution to the problems confronting Israel. The immigrants are still not absorbed or integrated completely. The peace has still not been made. The economic self-sufficiency has still not been achieved. The export, import ratio is still six to one. But just as it is true that the problems will be with us for some years, so is it true that Israel is on the way toward a solution. Of this ~~there is~~ no doubt.

Our role, it seems to me, is to understand the travail through which she goes; to stand by her side in an historic partnership which we have welded as has she; to make clear to our government what her problems are; and to stay with her year by year, decade by decade, should it be as long as that, until the great slogan comes to pass. For she is a country based upon Bible and science. The Bible has in it all of the challenge of social justice, purity and decency of the way men should live in organized society. And science has in her hands the tools to make life good and kind and decent and warm. Based upon this concept of social justice and material well being, that land will strive forward to a great destiny.

We as Jews, living abroad from her, can keep our arms linked with her in the warmest kind of understanding and sympathy. We, as Jews, will appreciate that destiny as we watch it unfold, for it shall nourish us some day as we now are nourishing its struggling pioneers. This symbiotic brotherhood, unbreakable, comes down from many millenia of common hope. This partnership will go forward into many millenia in the future in which Israel and America will go side by side as freedom loving, democratic nations with the same objective of world peace. And the two Jewries in these two countries will live side by side as free and equal citizens, proud of the nations whose citizenships they bear and loving each other in a relationship of brotherhood. I pray that this will be the will of God.



Talk in Israel - 27 Nov 53

There is a saying in one of the commentaries That

the last is the best. The saying is well known to children. They save the good things until the end. ~~On this trip~~ ^{In reporting on} ~~which we have been reporting on, we saved~~ the best to the last as well. ^{This trip I have been saving} ~~Tonight we talk about Israel, after having dealt with North Africa & Germany.~~ This visit to Israel was the third in three years. It provided, therefore, a reasonably accurate basis for judgement, values, comparisons unadulterated by any emotional prejudices but objectively sound, as we saw from year to year what has happened.

~~and~~ I should like to report ^{immediately and} ~~very~~ distinctly the first and probably the most important of all the conclusions which we reached. That is that there has been a degree and rate of improvement in ^{Israel over the years} ~~that country~~ which is quite beyond the imagination. You simply ^{can} ~~could~~ not believe it unless you ^{have} ~~had~~ seen it grow under your eyes in successive stages, ~~what has happened in that once barren place.~~ The face of the land is different in three short years and was different each year in the process, but was harder to recognize, as it is hard to see a child growing inch by inch and over a span of years. You suddenly realize that you have a growing thing, no longer a crawling infant. And that was ^{to which} ~~the~~ the conclusion we came after going again the length and breadth of the country; after talking, until we were out of breath, with hundreds of people.
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houses. The physical transformation was the sharpest as far as we were concerned, There ~~were~~^{are} roads ~~where~~^{today} none existed, there ~~were~~^{are} villages where none existed, there ~~were~~^{are} full panoplies of merchandise in the store windows where two and three years ago was emptiness. Emptiness in the heart as well as in the show cases.

Today there is clothing, there is food, there are aminities and there are even luxuries. It is true that these things are very expensive. It is equally true that due to a carefully controlled policy of deflation, money is a scarce commodity. So you would say it is hardly very favorable when the shops are full and the pockets are empty, but this is much better than full pockets ~~with money burning holes in them~~ and nothing to buy. This is better from the economical point of view and better from the point of view of the psychology of the people. In all of these material ways, therefore, we saw with gladsome hearts, believe me, growth and strengthening and encouraging progress of the country and we were convinced that this was not a superficial or illusory prosperity, in relative terms. This was founded on the basis of hard work. And hard work produces wealth.

The second conclusion to which we came is that the long range future of the country looks better now than it ever has. In order to reach this conclusion, we had to go far and wide across stretches which were unavailable before. In the last 18 months a great and incredible road has been cut through the hills leading down to Sodom and Gemorrah, the places in the Bible which were blanched, bleak and stricken with God's indignation. I could see why Lot's wife or anyone else, would turn to salt when she looked

at that terrain. It is as God forsaken as you could find anywhere. And I can see why nothing ever was rebuilt on that site. Even at Troy, seven cities rose, and even at Carthage, where the Roman ^{Sowed} seed with salt there were once again buildings. In Sodom and Gemorrah there has been nothing ^{for thousands of years.} 18 months ago this road was cut. It is a very expensive thing. The value of it was questioned. Until it was pointed out that this was a link, an artery, a channel to get down into the vast mineral wealth, which is now known to be in the Dead Sea.

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~~made it look~~ ^{were} as if there ~~was~~ a great world war attack in progress.
 I am not sure ~~of the motive~~ why the German papers wrote the story
 up that way, but I am told that the American papers wrote the story
 the same way. Therefore, this situation is not good. ^{Mr. Sharrett} ~~Mr. Goret~~,
 now the ^{acting} prime minister, ^{but then} ~~4 weeks ago or three weeks ago~~ the foreign

analyzed the problem of war & peace before the ^{Economic Conference} group in Jerusalem. minister, when he made this analysis, said to us that the attitude ~~his line of reasoning was as follows:~~ toward peace is a very simple one. ~~Get this.~~ We want peace very much. It is to our benefit, to the benefit of the Arab, to the benefit of world security. We cannot get peace under the present circumstances for the pure and simple reason that the Arabs have not adjusted themselves to the physical fact of our very presence. Our ^{emergence} ~~emerging~~ on the scene as a sovereign power has left them speechless and actionless. There will be no peace until they adjust psychologically to the fact that we are here to stay. ~~And, incidentally,~~ the basis of his analysis is predicated upon the fact that the ^{They} ~~Arabs~~ do not believe that Israel is here to stay. ^{They think for our} ~~There are two~~ ^{military ~~defeat~~ or economic collapse or both.} ~~factors:~~ They feel that if world war III breaks out, ~~that~~ under a great mushroom cloud of world-wide atomic bombing they ~~(the~~ ^{us} ~~Arabs)~~ can go in and wipe out the State of Israel and nobody will notice what is happening in ^{this} ~~that~~ tiny corner ^{of the world.} ~~And under those~~ ^{circumstances} they are right. If that is true, why make peace?

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Nations and the United States as well as all the populations of all the Arab world, that we want peace. Having gone on the record, we will not talk about it any longer. But, we will simply assume a pose of keeping very busy, appearing very self-confident, going about our business of expanding and consolidating our state.

And peace will come when the Arabs recognize that we are a permanent fixture on the scene, not before.*

Again whether you agree with this or not, I give you the benefit of his thinking and he is the foreign minister of the country. What led to this Kibja thing, I suppose you are all curious.

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 If Now, what is the story behind the specific Kibja episode?

1 This unsettled situation, this non-peaceful situation, this active state of war, although undeclared, has been continuing since June of 1950. Since ~~which~~ ^{that} time there has been a United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission to check border incidents. ~~In~~ ^{Between} 1950 and 1953, there have been in Israel 421 murdered men, women and children. These murders have occurred in the course of midnight raids, one, two, three at a time. A group of six or eight or twelve men will come across the border from Jordan, will steal some irrigating pipe, will set fire to a barn and kill a few cattle, will shoot and blow up a house and will quickly withdraw within 15 minutes. The Israeli police will follow ~~them~~ to the border with ~~Israeli~~ police dogs. There ^{They will} to be confronted ~~at the border~~ by Jordan soldiers who ^{will claim to} say we have seen nothing. 421 ~~people~~ ^{The incident is reported to the MAC} caused ^{murders} and that is that. the blood to boil and it finally boiled over. That is the pure and simple explanation of Kibja.

Two nights before in the village of ~~Yahud~~ ^{Yahud}, one kilometer across the border, a woman ^{and} two children (5 and 3) were lying

asleep in a one room tin hut. Two hand-grenades were tossed through the window in the small confines of the ten foot space. What was left was nothing but mangled meat. And two nights later the Kibya raid took place. ^{The people} ~~They~~ simply were not going to be restrained any longer. The big issue at stake is whether this was an attack by official Israeli army troops or whether this was a raid of retaliation by outraged settlers of that border village. There is apparently a difference of opinion.

Mr. Ben Gurion has made his official statement in which he called it ridiculous to charge that these were official troops. He stated that there was not a single army unit absent from its base that night. General ^{Bennike} ~~Beneger~~ of the United Nations, however, seems to disagree and the vote of censure which was passed the other day by the United Nations indicated that ~~they took~~ the good general's report. ^{was taken as the truth} For ~~they~~ ^{The resolution} referred to the armed forces of Israel which made the raid. Ben Gurion said that the government did not send military troops to attack an Arab village. Ben Gurion said that the government did give weapons to frontier settlers to retaliate. There is a difference. There is no question that the equipment which was used in this raid was good equipment. There is also no question that the shedding of innocent blood leaves no one satisfied.

I want you to know what he said on the radio four nights later. "Each one of us grieves the shedding of blood wherever it may occur. No one deploras it more than the government of Israel if in a reprisal raid on Kibya, innocent blood was spilled. But, all the responsibility rests with the government of Jordan

which for years has tolerated acts of murder and killing against the inhabitants of Israel". There is no glee, that fifty odd men, women and children were killed. There is on the other hand no apology that this took place. And there is the pragmatic fact in the mind of every person in Israel that for four weeks after that raid there was not a single solitary border incident. And women and children slept peacefully in all of the border settlements.

^{Mixed}
The Armistice Commission of the United Nations has found Jordan guilty in a hundred fifty nine cases of border violations. It has found Israel guilty in twenty five cases. This disproportional balance with no justice being done and with no effort to curb these incidents, led to Kibya. I pray that this shall never be repeated, by I pray, further, that there shall never be a need for men's passions to be aroused by constant murder. So that they dream of repeating it.

The whole matter of Kibya brought up the question of the military security of the State of Israel. Rest you well with this knowledge. ~~That~~ The military situation of Israel is quite precarious and yet there is a tremendous feeling of confidence in the country. We heard a report from one of the officers of the general staff. This report was given in confidence. His figures will not be published anywhere. I shall deny them if I am quoted. His report indicated that the G-2 service of the Israel government, the intelligence service, revealed the fact that there were on the border of Israel, 9½ Arab divisions comprising a total of 145,000 men. Israel is a state of 8,000 square miles the size of Vermont. ~~8,000 square miles.~~ She has a lineal border of 730 miles. One

mile of border for 11 square miles of territory. We have one mile of border for 170 square miles of territory in the U. S. and we do not guard that border. You can see the difference in the problems.

Israel knows that the total number of operational aircraft in the hands of all Arab ^{nations} ~~troops~~ ^{is} represents four hundred. ^{These are} Modern, useable, non-obsolete. The Israel airforce is nowhere near 400 aircraft. The total military budget of all the Arab states, ^{it is said,} ~~we find,~~ is 400 million dollars a year. If every person in Israel were to give up every ounce of bread in his mouth, they could not gather together that kind of money.

And yet, the fact remains, (and here is what I meant by precarious ~~and~~ yet secure,) ^{that} there are more people under arms in Israel than there are in all the Arab states put together. You can imagine what it costs. It is fabulous. The armed forces of Israel consist of ^{three elements -} the regular army; the reserves, who are soldiers on eleven months leaves, ~~that is the way they consider it~~ (they put in one day a month ~~in the army~~ and one month a year in the army); plus the armed people in the frontier settlements. This situation breaks them financially and raises their morale to an amazing height psychologically. This will go on for many years in my judgement or until such time ^{as} ~~when~~ the United Nations says to the Arab states that they ^{must} ~~will~~ sit down and write peace.

What do I mean by telling you that morale is high? We learned it probably best of all from a gasoline station attendant in Haifa, Ludwig Levy, ^{formerly} of Hamburg. ^{He has been} Nineteen years in ^{Israel} the country. ^{He} ~~leaned~~ his head ^{through} ~~in~~ the window, after selling ^{us} gasoline, ^{and} would not let us go. ^{He} ~~and~~ gave us a long lecture about how wonderful it ^{was} ~~is~~ to be able

to sell gasoline in a free country, and also made some very telling observations. He said "Look, you do not know what you ^{have} ~~got~~. You live in the most wonderful country in the world." He meant ^{America} ~~us~~ as ~~Americans~~. "You have ~~got~~ freedom till it is running out of your ears and you do not appreciate it. You do not know what it is to live in a free environment and breath freely. You have many rich things, we do not envy you those. Some day we will have good food too. But what we do envy you is your freedom. We will have it the same way. And we are going to be free, by God." ~~And then~~ he took his head out of the window and said, "And now you can go." This is a demonstration. This is an appreciation of what is valuable in life. ~~This is a desire to have it and this is the kind of man who shall surely get it because his sights are clear. It is not obscure.~~

I told you that there was a feeling of discrimination on the part of the Jews in North Africa because of the color business. Many Jews have been leaving, I told you about those who went back to Germany. This question of the returnees was related to the question of morale. ~~And we asked about it. How can ~~you~~ it be said~~ ^{say} there is good morale in the country when people are leaving the country? ^{when asked about this,} ~~And Mr. Ben Gurion again, that amazing little bantam reester (he is 5 foot 2) he has a shock of white hair which stands around his head when he get excited. He gave a personal story. He said "Do you know how many people came with me when I came from ~~Poland~~ Poland forty ~~some~~ odd years ago? 80 people came, youth burning with idealism, trained in Zionism, Chalutzim and so and so on. You know how many stayed? Two. Myself and Mr. Ben Zwi~~ ^{Zwie} who is now president of the country. 78 of them went home.

Let the people go ^{who} ~~whoever~~ do not like it here or cannot adjust. ^{This} ~~It~~ is not a police state, ^{they} they can go. It is not a sign of bad morale if they leave. Because those who stay will build ^{Israel} ~~it~~."

And, Goldie Myerson, ^{know to} ~~who~~ many of you, ~~know~~, substantiated ^{with another} ~~this in what I call~~ a very pithy, ^{analysis.} ~~pithy~~ sentence. She was talking about the draining of the swamps up North, which is a ticklish thing. We were there, ^{in the} high drama of the night, when the Jordan River was broken through, ^{The water gushed} and a few hours later the whole thing was closed down by the U. N. ~~and~~ The electric lights ^{of the project} ~~were~~ were working 24 hours a day, ^{and hundreds of men were fighting time and nature.} ~~right across~~ ^{across the river and} Not twenty yards ^{are} the Syrian soldiers, armed, standing on the other bank looking at ^{us} you. ~~And it is a funny feeling and~~ ^{In} ~~she said~~ describing that situation, ^{she said:} "You know, not only are we changing the course of a river, we are changing the course of peoples lives, Because men who came from far off corners of the world, where they knew no freedom and felt no security and never had held their heads proud, now are working on the bank of a river within 20 yards of the enemy's guns and they do not flinch. This is pride. This is courage. This is strength. We have changed the course of a peoples life." I think she is right. Quite objectively. Because I would not have liked, and I am a free man-- and I know the value of fighting for freedom, I would not have liked to have stood day and night twenty yards away with nothing between him and me except a vague piece of paper which he might be tempted at any moment to ignore.

Let me try to sum it up.. There is a certain relationship to America involved here. Mr. Ben Gurion knew it full well.

He knew it when American aid was cut off and then was replaced some days later, but in the interim it was necessary to define the relationship between Israel and America. And the relationship is a clear one. There is great unending gratitude. Gratitude on the part of the government and the people of Israel to the government and people, Jew and non-Jew, of America for the help which we have given. There is on the other hand, the obverse of the coin of gratitude, an awareness that gratitude can never obscure integrity and that one must never compromise with the truth as one sees it. They must pursue their destiny as they see it without fear that someone else ^{may} be displeased with them ~~if they think they are right.~~

to illustrate this point, Ben Gurion
 And ~~he~~ told a story, of Hannah and the Seven Sons. Bow to the emperor because the emperor is God. And son after son refused and was slain. And when the seventh son, ^{the} little one, came before the throne, ~~the~~ emperor almost begged for his respect, his prestige. All of this was at stake, in front of the little boy and he said, "Your brothers lived, ^{they} saw something of life, they died. You have lived not at all. ^{you are young.} Why should you die? You say you will not bow. I will throw my golden ring upon the marble floor. You pick it up. And in the course of picking it up and handing it back to me, this shall be your bow." And the boy refused, ^{and was slain also.} ~~and~~
 Mr. Ben Gurion said, "We shall not bow for any ring even of gold." And everybody knew perfectly well what he was referring to. ^{It} Relationship with America is important for the future of Israel. ~~and~~ ^{will undoubtedly} ~~it shall~~ fluctuate. Let us not be afraid if it alters up and down, one way or another. Israel will follow the star of her

destiny. We as Jews of a different citizenship, of a different land will be loyal primarily to the rules and regulations of the land in which we live, which is America. ^{But} We as Jews have every right in the world to make clear to this land, which commands our first and only loyalty, [^] that there may be facets of the Israel problem which our government does not understand. And this, it seems to me, will be the constant on-going relationship from which no one should shirk or be afraid.

Let me conclude by telling you this. There is no such thing as an immediate solution to ^{the} ~~that~~ ^{confronting Israel.} ~~problem.~~ ~~It is undeniably on the way~~ ~~toward a successful culmination but it shall not be completed~~ ~~tomorrow.~~ The immigrants are still not absorbed or integrated completely. The peace has still not been made. The economic self-sufficiency has still not been achieved. The export, import ratio is still six to one. ~~That is way out of balance,~~ ^{just as it is true that the problems will be with us for some years, so is it true that} ~~But~~ ^{Israel} ~~she~~ is on the way toward a solution. Of this there is no doubt.

Our role, it seems to me, is to understand the travail through which she goes; ^{to} stand by her side in an historic partnership which we have welded as has she; to make clear to our government what her problems are; and to stay with her year by year, decade by decade, should it be as long as that, until the great slogan comes to pass. For she is a country based upon Bible and science. The Bible has in it all of the challenge of social justice, purity and decency of the way men should live in organized society. And science has in her hands the tools to make life good and kind and decent and warm.

Based upon this concept of social justice and material well being, that land will strive forward to a great destiny.

We as Jews, living abroad from her, can keep our arms linked with her in the warmest kind of understanding and sympathy. We, as Jews, will appreciate that destiny as we watch it unfold, for it shall nourish us some day as we now are nourishing its struggling pioneers. This symbiotic brotherhood, unbreakable, comes down from many millenia of common hope. This partnership will go forward into many a millenia in the future in which Israel and America will go side by side as freedom loving, democratic nations with the same objectives of world peace. ^{The} And ~~those~~ two Jewries in ~~these~~ two countries will live side by side as free and equal citizens, proud of the nations whose citizenships they bear and loving ^{each other} ~~brother-~~ ^{in a} ~~hood of~~ relationship ^{of brotherhood.} with ~~each other~~. ~~And~~ I pray that this will be the will of God.

Amen