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April 29, 1986

Herbert Friedman Lectures to the Columbus Group

on

MODERN TIMES



I hope there are those two big maps up front, I talked to Bob about it yesterday. One should be a map on Zionism, 1860-1939, the other one should be the map that is entitled "Napoleon and the Jews", and with the use of those two maps and the outline that I sent you and the reading that you did, let's go to Lecture 5 and get back on the history track of modern times, 1800. We are at the French Revolution at 1789. You know, to get back into the history track after all the prager and the theology and the G-d Israel, and after the Boston trip and after -- it seems hard. But just remember that those first four lectures, we took ourselves all the way down through the stechil, and we followed the Jews through, into chasidism and into their life in that internal ghetto and all through all the dangers and the tribulations and the crusades and the Spanish expulsion. We are down now to modern times, which, in a way, might be better known to you and in a real way, might not be better known to you because, it's pretty. To make the slide, make the slide from a confined ghettoized and partially internally satisfied people with that ghetto, our into the big world is a very tough transition and we have paid credibly for it. So that the first step to realize is, that by the end of the seventeenth century, get the dates in your head, don't forget, the Baal Shem Tov was born in 1700, died, I think, in 1760, Hasidism is that 1700's production and by the end of the 1700's you had the American Revolution, in 1776, the French Revolution, 1789, and you are into the modern world. One small transitional group got into the modern world before anybody else, and that is the first item

on the list of tonight's lecture "Modern Times", if you have the sort of table of contents with you, the first item is the Court Jew in Western Europe.

Now, that was a very small sample, and it applied only to the provinces in Germany and Austria, and what it represented was a handful -- and I mean just a few hundred -- scattered over the whole central Europe, Jews who were called in German shshudden, which means, protected Jews, because a prince, duke, barron, even sometimes a bishop, protected them. In order that that Court Jew could serve that nobleman in a financial capacity, that's what they wanted them for.

There were 300 principalities in Western Germany -- what we call today Western Germany -- and in every one of those principalities there were one, two, three, four -- a family of protected Jews. They could live anywhere they wanted, they dressed anyway, they carried money, they carried passes, they could travel, they were not confined, they were kind of an economical and political elite.

They got out into the big world, the dukes liked them, and they began to make things better for the rest of the Jews. It's a small phenomenon, books have been written about them, _____ Fongler wrote a book about them, The Court Jew.

Anyhow, really, the first major Jewish personality who hit the big world outside was Moses Mendelshon, up in Berlin.

Now, that's the famous Mendelshon, the family of music. The bottom line of the whole story is that after it's all over and done with, the four kids of Moses Mendelshon convert to Christianity. But, during his lifetime, he really was the first phenomenon who the Gentiles in all of Europe, Austro-Hungarian empire, France, Italy, Germany, saw as a modern man. He believed very simply that he wanted to try to bring the Jews into the modern world. He did that by making a whole host of friends. The best friend he had was a man by the name of Lessy, a Christian voice in Germany who spoke on behalf of the Jews. Then he wrote his play, "Nathan the Wise", appealing to Christians to treat Jews with justice. I mean, "Nathan the Wise" was the first presentation of a Jew since the shilach play in a totally different way of a kind, temperate, man with a good temper, loving justice, loving the culture of the big world, a wise man. In Lessy, in Mendelshon pushed it, and then Moses Mendelshon got onto the kick which he thought was the solution, and that was that the Jews of Germany must learn to speak German. And his whole analysis was 'language is the key to equality'. Now, you think of that. Language is the key to culture, language is the key to understanding, to intellect, to appreciation of the world. Language is the key to dreams, soaring and ambitions, and to science, and to music. And language -- I mean, what is the essential difference between the man and the animal -- it's only language, there's nothing else. Now, German was not open to most Jews, and Mendelshon tried to figure out how to do it. So, he went right to the one way which was to translate the Torah into German. Because everybody, every reasonably educated Jew

learned Hebrew in Hebrew school and could read some of the Torah in Hebrew. Okay. With that as a base, if you get the Torah in German, then he translates and he learns the German language through the Bible. And that did it. Now, Mendelshon was a very pious Jew.

QUESTION: Wasn't the Hebrew more the language of prayer and study and not the common vernacular, wouldn't it have been more practical to translate it into Yiddish?

ANSWER: No, no, not Yiddish, no. Yiddish was not a language in Germany. Yiddish was a language east of Germany; in Poland, in the Pale settlement, in Lithuania, down into the Ukraine. Yiddish was not a language in the German territory.

QUESTION: What were the German Jews speaking?

ANSWER: What were the German Jews speaking between themselves? The religious Jews who knew Hebrew, spoke Hebrew between themselves and wrote their correspondence in Hebrew. All the correspondence was in Hebrew. Hebrew was learned in the Hebrew school as the language of prayer -- you're right -- but, as the language of reading the Torah, the five books of Moses.

Between themselves, they spoke mostly, let me call it a Patois, because these principalities all had different little dialects. The homogenization of the German language as one high German tongue, didn't take place until later in the 19th century of Bismark.

Germany became Germany only in 1870 -- never forget that. The linking of all the provinces, or the deprovincilization and the nationalization of Germany, or any country, Italy didn't get formed until Gaboldi at the end of the 19th century, in the 1860's and 70's, the same with Germany. So language was a province and it was dialect, and the Jews spoke the dialect of that province in which they lived.

QUESTION: A dialect of German, though?

ANSWER: A dialect of German, yes.

QUESTION: Still, Mendelhson perceived that they didn't have German culture because of some deficiency of the German language?

ANSWER: Yes.

QUESTION: And, I'm just not following you.

ANSWER: Because, I am distinguishing between fragmented German dialects, which didn't unite anybody, verses a nationalized German language which would unite all Jews living in the whole territory of what would become a united Germany.

QUESTION: This is something that all of Germany apparently needed?

ANSWER: Exactly. Mendelhson wasn't interested in doing this

for 30 million Germans, he was doing it for 50 thousand Jews. But it's the net result. Yes, you're right, it's the same process. Both groups needed it and it happened for both groups.

QUESTION: Did he write in a particular dialect?

ANSWER: He didn't choose a dialect. He wrote the translation of the Torah in high German. He knew high German. Mendelshon knew seven or eight languages. Mendelshon said I am going to teach the Jews hochdeutsch -- high German, classical German. I will translate the Torah, five books of Moses, the contents of which they are familiar with in the Hebrew language, which they learned in the Hebrew schools, in the cheder, in the talvatorah, I will translate that book with which they are more, or less, or some, or particularly familiar, and he created a small dictionary to help them, a standardized language. And I think probably, I'm not sure at this point, the Jews as a group probably spoke stadardized high German before most of the general German population did.

At any rate, everybody in the highly religious establishment was criticizing Mendelshon for going off into that German kick because, they said, he is going to turn the Jews against their religion, they won't read Hebrew anymore. And they will read the Torah in German, and so he is making them secular. And so Mendelshon's answer was: no, I am a pious Jew. I remain that way, I have to prod the Jews to get out into the

secular world, but I am not going to make them secular and I am not interested in assimilating them, and he wasn't even thinking of emancipating them. Mendelshon was not thinking about emancipation of Jews from their religion, from their closed culture and from their society. What Mendelshon was thinking about was making them aware of the fact that there is the big world outside. That's really what he was after.

Now, he got swept up in something which became much bigger than himself. And that of course was the general movement of emancipation in Europe that started in France, not Germany. The Jews in France got their citizenship in 1791 by an act of the General Assembly. Now, I don't want to take you through all the complicated details of the French Revolution, but the French Revolution started in 1783.

QUESTION: How many Jews were living in France at that time?

ANSWER: 40,000, of whom 30,000 lived in Alsacelorraine, most of them in the city of Strausborg. In all of France, there were about, at that time, 20 million people, and there were 40 thousand Jews.

The Strassborg Jews was were the whole thing got styarted, in Alsacelorraine, because they were rich, because they had been loaning money to peasants, peasants who couldn't pay

their debts through the years of the French Revolution and the terror. The Jews were foreclosing farms and houses, the peasants were getting sore, the thing got to Napoleon, and Napoleon said I am going to do something about this. The story unfolded in a very interesting way.

Mirabou, liberal, 1787, by the way, interruption. Do you know what started the whole French Revolution? The French Revolution was not against Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette and all that stuff that's in the storybooks, the French Revolution was started by a man by the name of Bolmarchai, who wrote a play called "Figaro", in which he attacked the nobles and he wrote another play, "The Civille Barber" and these are artisans. Figaro is a surgeon, a barber, and the other guy, a barber. The artisan class was against the nobility. The nobility were the bastards. They were the ones oppressing. The king had nothing to do with it. The king didn't get killed until six years later. So, in all of that turmoil, there were two people who were liberal and who said the Jews can help France through this period, we must give them their emancipation. One was the Count Demilabois, in 1787. He wrote a great sentence: "Do you want to make the Jews useful citizens? Useful to France? Banish all distinctions against them. Open to them all avenues of subsistence and livelihood, it will make them better men and they will make France better." Nice quote. The second guy was an Abbé, a priest, Andre Degroir, and he wrote "If the Jew has faults, it is the Christian society which is responsible. In their place, wouldn't we be worse?"

So, you have a mood flowing out of the French Revolution to give rights of man, equal rights, liberté, fraternité, agalite, everybody's equal, the rights of man. The American Revolution in which ther French had a part, as you know, and it was the general wind of liberalism sweeping. Okay. Active citizenship was given to the saphardic Jews way down, way down in the Province, way down there, a handful of them, 7-8 thousands. They accepted citizenship in France, they said we don't want any thing more. Don't help us, don't give us anything. Thank you. Goodbye. And they retreated back down into Avignon, Enime, and Arle, and all the places, Grenold, Malsai, and they never took part, from that time on, in the whole political turmoil up in the north of France. After they got their citizenship, I told you, a year later, in 1791, the general assembly admitted all Jews to the full rights of citizenship and the Jews, of course, jumped in with both feet. They joined in the national guard by the thousands, serving in the French army and in Napoleon's army later. They made big money contributions to the Jacobins and all the other groups in the French Revolution. They occupied public office, they took political front positions, which they'd always been scared to do before. They sent their kids to the public schools. They shifted into businesses and professions facing the French public and serving them. Now, this was not a full-fledged granting of citizenship to them, as they found out later. Because when that scandal busted up in

Alsace, the huge Anti-Semitic outbreak because so many Jews were calling in loans and foreclosing on properties that French peasants couldn't pay off on, and as I said, it got to Napoleon.

Napoleon had, he said, I'll solve this problem in Alsace Lorraine. Now, now, what do you do? Napoleon is after the French Revolution, don't forget. The Revolution really finished in '89 when Louis XVI was killed, Marie Antoinette, after that you have a series of governments being run, you have the terror by Rox Pierre, killing halls, and the thousands of people that Rox Pierre got his in return. And, the French Revolution faded into a kind of government by a directoire of people, and that faded into Napoleon after the battle Yenna in 1805, Napoleon says, what's all this nonsense, I'd better take over France. Running around conquering West Phalia, Prussia, and Russia, and France is in a mess. Now, what he did, he was very clever and he thought very hard about how to stabalize France through religion, which he didn't believe in at all. He was an athiest, but he saw a device by which to stablize France adn yet it meant that he could not discriminate in favor of one religion or the other, he had to go with all three and here's what he did:

First of all, he made a conquordot with the Pope in 1801, making Catholicism the official religion of France. Bingo. Then he had to do something for the Protestants, so he wrote a constitution with them, extending recognition to them as

the "official" religious group.

Now, the third thing is, what does he say about the Jews?

There is a quote from Napoleon: "My policy is to govern man as the great majority of them wish to be governed.

If I were governing Jews, I would rebuild the temple of Solomon."

How do you like that? Now, what he really wanted to do was to lock the Jews into an unequivocal loyalty to the state. And, the way for you to do that was to call the Sanheddrin. Now that is the most remarkable thing that happened because the Sanheddrin hasn't happened for 1,800 years. But the Sanheddrin can't meet before a preliminary body, so here's what he did. He called an assembly of Jewish notables, 112 people. Rabbis, businessmen, financiers, scholars, and they came Hotel deVille, the City Hall, in 1806, five years later. Big honor guard, big parade, band, everything, and then a nasty little anti-Semitite, Maghinbole, made a cold speech to them standing on the steps of the City Hall. And he said, you people are not trustworthy. You got your citizenship in 1791, I am telling you something -- we don't trust you. This is 1806, you are userers, but the emperor Napoleon will offer you a chance to remedy these things and he is going to give you a shot at it, and he has got twelve questions. These twelve questions are what took the Jews out of the deep loyalty of nation, religion, community, Jewish identity, and the answers to those twelve questions, I will give you the bottom line, resulted in

the, the ripping of Jews away from their roots. The bottom line answer to those twelve questions resulted in destroying the Jews as a nation, their sense of nationalism, and their sense of pride in past history, and their sense of destiny in the future, and it turned them into another, simple, religious sect, nothing else. I mean, the most major downgrading you can think of, and yet, they were delirious with joy to have it.

QUESTION: What were the Rothchild family doing around that time? Counting money and buying supplies?

ANSWER: The Rothchild family was, they were doing that, loaning money, buying supplies. They probably funded 25% of Napoleon's conquests for fifteen years.

QUESTION: Then they acquired their wealth, the basic wealth of the Rothchild family, is centered in this area.

ANSWER: Sure, exactly. The other Rothchilds over in England were hunkering down, doing nothing, and later on, in the eighteenth, in the nineteenth century, one of the Lionel Rothchild said, emancipation is a disaster, because we lost, and we became assimilated.

QUESTION: What is corporatism?

ANSWER: The word corporatism refers to, mainly to, guilds, economic guilds. A corporation is the same as a medieval

guild. A corporation of a certain trade or craft, or art is, or profession.

QUESTION: What was the context, it kept being mentioned, what was going on the, larger movement?

ANSWER: Well, the larger movement was an economic shift away from medieval feudal economic forms, into the 19th century industrial forms. You could no longer have corporations or builds that were closed. You had to have an open, capitalist society. So, the destruction of corporatism, or even syndicalism -- a syndicate is a closed group of people in a certain business or profession. The economy, it was the shift through, from feudalism through the industrial revolution, into 19th century capitalism.

Now, look at the twelve questions. I don't know if you have your notebooks, and I don't know if you have the outline I gave you, but I have it in front of me and I am looking at page four of the -- and I want to read you the twelve questions.

Number one: Now, the point is that I want the answers to these questions, boys, and no flubbing around, and I want them fast. Are Jews permitted to have more than one wife? I don't know why the hell he wanted that one, I really don't.

RESPONSE: The answer is yes.

HERB'S RESPONSE: Well, you're not a Moslem.

Does Judaism permit divorce? Here's the kicker. Can Christians and Jews marry? In the eyes of the Jews are the French brothers or strangers? Aha, you see, in others words, are you guys really taking our citizenship but you are going to keep your own little clique and you really don't want to treat us Christians as equals? Five. What behavior does Jewish law prescribe towards Christians? Six. Do Jews born in France consider France their country? Are they willing to defend it and obey its laws? I mean, don't you hear that question today, down at the end of the 20th century, are Jews loyal to the country in which they are citizens? Well, you don't really hear it anymore, I guess it's a dead question, but the echos of it hang in the air. Seven. Who names the Rabbis? Because, you see, from the point of view of the Christian theme, the Rabbis are the leaders of religion. And since the Jews are now agreeing to be only a religion inside France, not a nation of their own, then the Rabbis are the bosses -- who names the Rabbis? Eight. What police jurisdiction do the Rabbis exercise over the Jews? Can you imagine that? Nine, are Jewish electoral forms and policde jurisdictions prescribed by Jewish laws, or merely by custom? In other words, Napoleon's men knew enough to know that there is a difference in Judaism between din and minhag. Law and custom. Ten. Does Jewish law prohibit the Jews from entering the professions? They were already worried that Jews were going to swamp the professions. Eleven. Does Jewish law encourage Jews to practice usury

among their own community? Twelve. Practice usury among the Christians?

Now, this assembly of 112 people came back with their answers in three weeks. Of course, the Jews considered France their country and Frenchmen their brothers. Of course they were willing to defend France to the death. Of course the Rabbis exercised no police jurisdiction, their authority was purely spiritual. Of course the Jews were monogamous. The only tough one was on that question of marriages. Because as much as those 112 people wanted to give Napoleon the answer that he wanted to hear, that they would intermarry and they would be good Frenchmen and it didn't matter if they married Jews or non-Jews, they didn't want to say it, they didn't want to agree to it. They didn't want to get into it. So they sort of slid around it, and here was the answer, the compromised answer that they came up with, which didn't satisfy him, because he kept pressing them on it. The answer was: the Bible forbids marriages between Jews and heathens. But, these French Christians in the 19th century, they're not heathens. So, you may marry them. Now, you know, it's a kind of evasive answer. Anyhow, Napoleon was satisfied. And he said, we are going to have a great big dazzling ceremony. And, he issued a summons a few months later for Sanheddrin and, as I said, the Jews were speechless and the news spread all over Europe. February 4, 1807. The Sanheddrin gathered in Paris. Eighty delegates, 46 of them Rabbis, the Sanheddrin endorsed the answers of that earlier assembly of six months ago. Napoleon was not disappointed. Once again, it was affirmed that the law of Moses and the Rabbis were exclusively

religious and France alone could claim the political allegiance of French Jews. French Jews gave up political allegiance -- political allegiance to what? Jews didn't have any other political state in 1807, they had a political memory of a state that they wanted. Three times a day they prayed for the respiration of the state of well, of Palistine, the memory of the kings and the original independent Jewish state. So, their political allegiance was to a dream, and the hope and the prayer, but it was -- but it was political allegiance. And now they are going to give that up and become only a religion. Okay. That's the crux of the matter. Napoleon secured this endorsement for Jewish political loyalty. A couple of months later the Sanheddrin was adjourned, and the President of that Sanheddrin simply, in one sentence said it all. Ian Fortaggo, a man from Straussberg, "We no longer form a nation within a nation, France is our country. Jews, such today is your status. Your obligations are outlined, your happiness is waiting. You should be thrilled and pleased that you are now nothing but Jews by religion and French by politics, economics, citizenship, nationality, and protection of the great Emperor." There is a quote here, a sentence which is very good from Howard Zachar's book. "The Sanheddrins solemn renunciation of separate Jewish nationhood was truly of watershed importance in the Jewish history. It set the tone for Western Jewish life for a century to come. " When one of Napoleon's commissioners wrote later that the Jews ceased to be a people and remained only a religion, he perceived the Sanheddrin's true significance more accurately than the Jews themselves.

The twelve answers led to this conflict. In Germany, an organization was formed called Deutsche Juden Mosaiche Glouben, which means German Jews of Moscaic Faith. A hundred and fifty years later in the United States an organization was formed called the American Council for Judaism. We are Jews by religion alone. That organization was formed in 1943. Do you know what its purpose was? In the middle of the war, in the middle of the Hitler Holocaust, the purpose of the American Council for Judaism who believed that we are Jews only by religion, was to fight against the establishment of the state of Israel. Against the establishment of the State of Israel, because we have given up being a state people and a nation. We are not a nation, we are not a people with a dream of a nation, we told Napoleon we weren't. And you know who was the leader of the American Council for Judaism in 1943, a man in Philadelphia by the name of Lessing Rosenwald who was the brother of William Rosenwald, who was the head of the UJA. Here you have this conflict between two brothers on thie basic philosophical question which was settled 150 years ago.

QUESTION: Is this a part of Reform Judaism was anti-Zionist from its inception.

ANSWER: Yes, Ellen. Because, we will come to that in a second, but you are quite right. You anticipated it.

The reform of the religion in order to make it more compatible to the modern, assimilated world, and in order to make

it "less Jewish", i.e., less exotic, less Oriental, so you take away all the crazy things. You take away the Hebrew language. That is some Middle-Eastern anacronism. We don't want that -- we are Germans, or we are French, or we are British or we are Italians. You throw away the Hebrew language, you throw away crazy, exotic customs like bar mitzvah.

You never bar mirzvahed in a Reform Temple for damn near a hundred years because it is some Middle Eastern, vestigil anacronism. You throw away all the peculiarities that you don't sit men and women together. You introduce the things that are familiar to the Western world like an organ in your service and a choir and if the choir is consisting of Gentiles who sing Bach, it's better than if they are singing the Trup (Cantilation) of the Torah. So, yes, the religion gets reformed in order to conform to the new concepts that you are a modern religious group and thats all you are and you are not a people. Okay. So, the whole thing got settled down and the French raise was each Jew regards the state as his homeland.

Now, we pay a terrible price for that, we paid a terrible price. In March 1808, Napoleon declared Judaism to be an official religion of France, just as he had earlier done for Protestantism, so now you have Catholisim is the state religion, and Protestantism and Judaism are two equal official religions, and that's the beginning of the whole process by which, today, in the world at large, the Western world, that is, one always talks about the three equal religions. But, how can you talk about equal? You have six hundred

million Catholics, and twelve million Jews in the world, or thirteen million. But you see, psychologically, philosophically, politically, Jews are one of three absolutely equal religions. It has nothing to do with numbers.

Now, when I say that we paid a terrible price for it, the price that we paid is one that we are going through now, and again I am jumping to the bottom, but I will work backwards.

We have spent the last forty years since WWII and since the holocaust how to back away from that position that we submitted to, in the Sanheddrin. We bought it then, and we have spent 170 years, or now, 40 of the last 170 years thinking we have made a mistake, or at least a partial mistake, and the struggle for Jewish identity now is irreversible. Yet, yet, obviously we want our cake and eat it, don't we? So, we are modern citizens of the modern world, there isn't a one of us disloyal to the country in which we lived, a quarter of a million Jews served in the American army in WWII, Korea, everything. Jews do it. And yet, we insist that we do not want to pay the price of potent surrender, total giving up of our identity, we invented and carried out and executed a nationalist movement to recapture our nationalism, having given it up in 1806 and 7.

Meanwhile, let's run through this business of what was taking place in the rest of Europe, because up to now, I have concentrated on France.

You had an emancipation...

QUESTION: Do any historians take the position that the decision of the Sanheddram and the Jews at the time was an error?

ANSWER: No, except one, I'm sorry. There is a historian by the name of Simon Dubnow, who wrote a three-volume history of the Jews. And Simon Dubnow said it's a mistake. We should not have accepted emancipation at the cost of assimilation. We shouldn't have done it. But there were no other historians who second-guessed the situation. Gershom, who wrote the six volumes, didn't. Now, modern historians. You are coming into the 20th century. If you are talking about Louis Finkelstein's book of history, or well, without the names. Yes, all modern historians say -- they understand the temptation -- and that was the word, it was temptation, dammit, and they understand that it was very hard to resist it. But now, in retrospect, we know that we were sliding on very thin ice.

We are safe now, but we could have drowned.

COMMENT: It got us out of the ghetto, I mean, that was a helluva reward.

RESPONSE: Well, I'm not sure, Neil. I mean, maybe we could have gotten out of the ghetto some other way. Because the winds were blowing. I mean, what the hell, we had Humboldt in Germany, we had Metonich in Austria, we even later had, by the end of the nineteenth century, that crazy iron

Chancellor Bismark, who was an anti-Semite, but understood that Jews had to be liberated if a united Germany was going to be born.

So, who knows? Maybe we would've gotten out of the ghetto fifty years later without paying that price? The trick is to know whether we paid a price which will forever be to our detriment. My feeling is no. We did pay a price for 150 years, we lost our sense of a land, we lost our sense of prestige, we lost our sense of self-esteem. We were groveling, we were taking rewards from people. We were kissing behinds we shouldn't have done. We had an inferiority complex. We didn't fight back on the holocaust because of that. We paid a price. On the other hand, it was not a price, an unchangeable one, because we have fought our way out of it. We are strong, proud dignified people, built a country that is now 38 years old, we have it. We have a thrust forward. We have an appreciation of, if you look at the books that are written, Charlie Silverman's book about the Jewish people, and alot of them that we are moving in a healthy direction forward, that the American Jewish community will be strong, that the profits of doom are wrong, that Jewish education is growing, Hebrew education is growing. And so, when you look at it all, the sense of peoplehood has been restored. The sense of nation has been restored, the sense of pride has been restored. So, you know, unbalanced, okay we sweated for 150 years. Have we lost the game? Not at all.

Therefore, the way you look at all major historic sweeps, it may not have been crucial.

QUESTION: Had we not met in a joint general population, what kind of leverage would we have had to gain Israel, and later, its statehood?

ANSWER: Oh, no question about that, Nelson. It is Nelson, isn't it? No question about that. What the hell, no we had to come into the modern world. We had to. We couldn't have had any of these things you just said. Absolutely. We wouldn't have had a professional class, we wouldn't have had kids in college. We wouldn't have had 450,000 -- whatever we've got -- Jewish students in America, 45,000 professors, we wouldn't have had 250 departments of Jewish studies in America. We wouldn't have had anything. We wouldn't have had the state of Israel. We had to come into the modern world. The question is, the price we paid to do so.

Was that too tough a price or a dangerous price of a risky price? It was dangerous, it was risky. It turns out...

QUESTION: I just felt there was the other option to remain like the Jews in Ethiopia or...

ANSWER: No, that isn't a fair comparison. To remain like German Bergers in 1820, 1830, 1850, until Germany developed.

You see, the Russian thing came to an end in 1881 by a different

ending which I'll -- let me get to it. We would -- there are those -- and I am among them -- believe that history would've pulled us out of the ghetto by a variety of other ways, because I see the ways. Because I am not guessing, I am not making it up, I know what happened in every country. The trick is, we got out earlier, and that was better. Time was everything.

Take a quick look at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Jewish -- when Napoleon -- at the end of the Napoleonic Wars -- that was the Congress that settled Ezan, he is off in exile in Elba, and the Congress of Vienna settled it.

The Jewish question was put on the agenda of the Congress of Vienna. For the first time in history an international forum dealt with the Jewish question. Never happened before. By the way, I am interrupting myself. I want to go back, I want to go back to that Napoleon map. I want to make sure that you look at it and read it and understand it carefully because that's the watershed. Let me just do a quick thing there. Way up at the top, you see a little box which says 1805. Napoleon forms a Jewish batallion which fought at Waterloo. Groups, nations, peoples, established their rights by virtue of the arms they bear. And when the Jews bore arms for Napoleon, that liberated them, gave them status.

Go down, to show you what, to show you another teeny angle, which is important, Napoleon was a Zionist. Napoleon was

telling the Jews you are not a nation, you are a religious people, that is the status I am going to grant you. Look at the box, look at the box on the bottom, not on the bottom, over to the right. _____(alot of French)_____ How about that! Bring your flags and re-establish ancient Jerusalem. So here you've got this inner conflict. Okay. That's a very important map and that's any I enlarged it. I got a note from Les one say saying the maps are too small. That's why we've got big maps. At that Congress of Vienna, the famous Humboldt, who was a startling figure in Europe at that time, those expeditions in Latin America, I mean, he was another Darwin, wanted Jewish emancipation, full Jewish emancipation and rights andMechinique the same thing. Humboldt wanted unrestricted equality. Netrinique, speaking for Austria, well, he wasn't quite sure, yeah, they need rights, but we have to be careful about how we grant it.

The Rothchilds, you asked me, they were fighting for political power in provincial governments for Jews, and that's what they did. Now, there was a gap there between 1815 and 1848, in which everything turned reactionary and the great hoax of the Jews began to fall apart, and the Jews weren't getting everything they wanted, and the reactionary people began talking. But, by the time of the Revolution of 1848, things began to turn again, and from 1848 onwards, the movement was up and out and into liberation and the Jews took part in everything and the Jews were completely liberal. Democrat with a small D or a big D, I don't know if there were Republicans then or not, but for 50 years of the second half of the 19th century, there was one Conservative Jew in all :

of Europe, and his name was Disraeli. Everybody else was on the liberal side. By the way, mentioning Disraeli, I wanted to tell you that story of England, because when you talk about disappointment and you talk about granting citizenship and not granting and taking it back and it is with one hand and with the other hand.

In England, Baron Lionel was elected to Parliament six times. Six, at every two years, gets elected to Parliament. If he goes to Parliament, he has to take the oath, the oath of Afturation, which is the oath in which he swears to be a loyal member of Parliament, on the New Testament, and in the name of Jesus the Redeemer. So he won't do it, and he doesn't do it. Six times he doesn't do it, so he doesn't get seated. Now, meanwhile, bills were being brought up in the Parliament to amend that thing, to change it. Ten times the bills were brought in year after year, introducing a year, instead of ending with the words "on the true faith of a Christian", you ended it "on the faith of the Old Testament" or they found some words, and it always got defeated, and so he always refused to take the oath and I admit these words as not binding upon my conscience. Now, Disraeli crossed the aisle, Disraeli, the conserative, voted with the liberals, ten times to get the amendments, and ten times it was vetoed, vetoed, vetoed. As late as 1858, and then, the House of Lords relented and Lionel was seated in the Commons. Ten years later, Gladstone proposed him for the Lords. Victoria refused. And here was the Suez Canal in the British hands because of the Rothchild money. But it took Disraeli to win her heart, meanwhile, Lionel died

and he never got seated, but then she yielded and his son. 1885, can you imagine how late? Lionel's son was seated into the House of Lords. And Lionel spoke at the dedication of a synagogue in 1869, and that's the line I want you to remember. He said "We are emancipated. But if our emancipation should damage our faith, it would be a curse instead of a blessing." So there's there's the dilemma, and there you have it. It was well expressed by a cultured man -- and then, of course, there is something in 1885-1985, you have a hundred years, you've had scores and scores of Jews in the Parliament. Scores of Jews in the Cabinet, four Jews in Thatcher's Cabinet today. So it's absolutely a meaningless phenomenon.

QUESTION: You mentioned between 1815 and 1848, the reactionary movement. Was that in Austria and Prussia, or did it also go to France where Napoleon had started deliberation?

ANSWER: All over Europe. It went through France, it went through Italy, it went back into England, which, as I just told you the English story. All over Europe. I mean, that period, approximately 30 years, was a bad, bad period.

Europe was trying to stabilize itself. European countries were in the throes of being bored, shifted. There was no war, I mean, there was no war from 1815, don't forget it, that was the century of no war, until 1914. One hundred years of peace.

REMARK: Except for Franco Prussia.

REPLY: Oh, little skirmishes, what the hell, that was just a year, 1870-71. Basically, no major world war, no huge conflagrations, assemblages of millions of men, billions of dollars, equipment, supplies.

Europe was relatively quiet, militarily; very busy, economically, growing into capitalism. Very busy, politically, growing into nationalism. Those are the two movements of the 19th century and the Jews took part in both movements, totally and vigorously.

QUESTION: Do you think that if by the luck that Congress was not held in Vienna _____
_____ probably the worst in the country as far as emancipation. Do you think the Jews might have done any better if it had been located in another country?

ANSWER: Possible. It's a good thought. Vienna was a tough place. Vienna is to this day a tough place. Austro-Hungarian empire, well, that doesn't exist, but at that time, it was the strongest reactionary...it was the successor of the Holy Roman Empire.

QUESTION: They never really gave the Jews their emancipation, I mean, the Jews, as far as I knew, still did not have emancipation.

ANSWER: That's correct. Austria's played a hard line all the way...Austria refuses the whole reparations thing that the ...the Germans have paid reparations after the holocaust, the Austrians won't play a nickle. They say they are a victim country of Hitler.

COMMENT: Well, maybe one can, just like their cheap shots, maybe one can take a look at, why with Waldheim.

REPLY: I'm not sure about that Waldheim. (That was Brad, wasn't it?)

COMMENT: It seems like, if you read anything about it, forget what caused that, the Austrians are very arrogant to challenge Waldheim, you are being arrogant.

REPLY: You're trying to tell them how to vote.

COMMENT: Exactly. Whether Waldheim was guilty or not guilty of the accusations.

REPLY: You know something, maybe they were right. I mean, you know, is there a principal which you don't mix into the internal affairs of another country, in their elections? I don't know. Listen, I'm not sure about the Waldheim thing. The thing about the Waldheim thing that gets me...

COMMENT: I think the doctor was the worst of the ...

REPLY: Yes, that is a historic fact, everybody agrees with that. The Waldheim thing is disturbing only because, to me, personally, of Wiesenthal's position. Wiesenthal's an Austrian. Wiesenthal doesn't say anything.

Okay, anyway. I've had long talks by the way, I haven't had time to bring you up to date on everything. I have had long talks with Israel Singer, who is the Director General of the World Jewish Congress, who has been steering this thing, and with Edgar Bronfman, who is the Chairman of the World Jewish Congress, and Bronfman said to Singer GO, tackle the guy. So Singer is doing it. I'm not, I'm not sure how strong the case is.

COMMENT: Why did it take so long to surface? Did this information just come into the possession of the World Jewish Congress?

REPLY: I think the answer to that question is yes, and the reason it just came in is because they went looking for it. It has been there for four years in the U.N. file. It's been there in the U.S. archives. It's in the Austrian and the Yugoslavian archives. So, it's there, and nobody pokes. I think, I think, I'm not sure, in this Jewish organizational world of ours where everybody needs a leg up on somebody else, maybe somebody made a suggestion to the World Jewish Congress, hey, let's tackle this one. And Bingo, they've gotten a lot of publicity as a result.

QUESTION: Because of the election?

ANSWER: Yeah, I think that's how it happened. I think somebody was just sharp and clever. But, as far as being very, very technically legal and correct, I don't know what you are accusing the guy of.

COMMENT: Just lying.

REPLY: Yeah, just lying. Just falsifying his own record that he wrote in two books and several memorandums about his own personal biography. Anyway, we've got to get back.

Another trend started in Eastern Europe. Now, don't forget. All of this emancipation I've been talking about, everything that's on that list, if you look back at that schedule, Court Jews in Western Europe, Moses Mendelshon, Napoleonic Sanheddrin, emancipation in Western Europe, in England, all of that is West. Shift now, shift gears, shift over to Eastern Europe. In Eastern Europe we don't have 40,000 Jews, we don't have 60,000 Jews, you've got a million and a quarter packed in there in that restricted area between Poland and Russia, which is called the Palo Settlement.

QUESTION: This million and a quarter, what percentage would be descent of the Cossarts?

ANSWER: Well, you know, Brad, if you take the previous analysis we made, the great majority. Because, from the

time of the Cossarts in the 8th, 9th, 10th century, we are now up to the 18th century, that is 1,000 years later. I mean, look at the multiplication factor.

If, indeed, we believe that the majority, if we believe that the source, let's use that word, the sourcepoint, of Eastern European Jewry was the Cossart conversion, if we believe that, and that is questionable, you know that, we've been through it all. I've told you about that Arthur Kestler took which is called The Thirteenth Tribe. He believes that the Cossart conversion was the seminal source. Other people don't. But if you accept it, then the answer to your question has to be the majority. If you don't accept it, then you say the Cossarts are a stream that contributed some, but that the majority comes from Babylonia and the East, when the Babylonian epoch ended at around the year 1,000. The Talmud was written there, Saadia Gaon, the Siddur, the Prayer Book. By the year 1,000, the Babylonian Jewry had completed its creativity, the impetus died down, the adrenalin died down, the people began to move toward Europe, upward, northwest. So you had an infiltration from Babylonia. Small stream of conversion from the Cossars. And a small stream coming from West to East after the Crusades in the 12th and 13th century. So that by the 13th, 14th, you had the Acretian from three separate sources of Eastern European Jewry. So you have one main source of the Cossars, but you've got three streams of sources, which I have just delineated. And you're at a million and a quarter, which is , at 1800, now , by a century later, you're at three million, and they lived in that restraicted area and there was no breeze of

liberation blowing from the West. There was nobody offering them citizenship. There was nobody offering them emancipation. Instead, the Czar was offering them 25 year-old conscriptions for 13-year-old kids who were being picked up on the streets by the Czar's officers.

Now, in Eastern Europe, there were also Jews like Moses Mendelsohn, we began with him in Western Europe. There were also Jews who said, hey, our people in Eastern Europe must modernize themselves. They've got to come into contact with the secular world. They cannot remain ghettoized. So, a movement started in Eastern Europe with the very good Hebrew word Haskala. Now, Haskala, you all know the word sechil, sechil means wisdom. Lahaskil means to become wise, to learn. Haskala means knowledge. Particularly with reference to modern Western secular knowledge. Hassidism is what shaped Jews in the Pale of Settlement, in the Southern part. Let me remind you that there was another movement called Mitnagdik movement, that came out of the northern part, the strict rigid intellectuals of Vilna, that's me, remember, I told you, were not Hassidic, were against it. Hassidism was too emotional, too vague, too dancing and singing and not enough book learning. And in the Yeshivot up in the north in Vilna there were the Mitnagdik who were the opponents of Hassidism. But they were the minority. The majority were Hassidic. Into that Matrix, in which the Jews were living, there came a few people to attempt Haskala, or enlightenment or modern culture, whichever way you want to translate it, the aim of which was to create a new Jewish character which could take its place in modern society.

And, the names are important, you don't have to remember them but there was Crochmal and there was David Lutatouv and there was Isaac Ben Evanson and they were all called Maskilime, Haskala, Maskilim is the noun of the progenitores of this movement and the people were pushing it. There was an intellectual aspect to it that they should learn Russian, the same thing as Mendelhsen, the people should learn German, the people have to learn Russian or -- you have got to learn one of the modern languages of the country you live in, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, some language. You see now, here the language was Yiddish, there was, in Eastern Europe, a national language, totally universal, everybody spoke it, and not as in Western Europe. And teh Maskilim were saying, that's fine, Yiddish is fine, but you people must learn a modern European language of the country you live in. The only way to do that is to set up modern schools, you've got to get out of the old Yeshivas and the Cheders and the Talvatorahs.

So, the official Haskala program as outlined in Isaac Baal Evanson's book Thetudah, had five points to it, and some of them were, had to do with learning, and interesting enough, a couple of them had to do with work, because the effort of the Haskala movement was to take the Jew away from being a herring peddler in the ghetto and turn him into an artisan.

QUESTION: Were the Jews in Eastern Europe...in trying to create this movement, were they aware of what Mendelhsen was doing in Western Europe?

ANSWER: Yes sir, yeah. The handful of Maskilin were totally aware of the Western currents. And, in their wisdom, they did not try to duplicate them exactly in Eastern Europe, but to modify them to fit Eastern Europe, but they wanted the same objectives, yes.

Here is the five point program. Number one. Modern schools are to be established for children of both sexes. Bingo. I mean, as early as 1800. Theological seminaries are to be set up in the cities of Warsaw, Vilna, Odessa, and Birdichev. Students are to receive instruction in secular subjects in addition to Jewish studies. So you see there, now, They are trying to get a balance, they are not trying to destroy Jewish identity. They are just trying to add another dimension to it.

Next, that a chief Rabbi and counsel be appointed to have charge of the spiritual life of Russian Jewry. That didn't exist. That is an organizational clause, because a chief Rabbi and a counsel are simply a hint at a building of a structure. You remember the old structure that existed in the beginning of the 16th century called the Council of the Four Lands that we once studied, one time back? That had disappeared. There was that internal mechanism. It lasted about a hundred years and then it fell apart. Now, what they are saying here in the 19th century, these Jews need an organizational structure, never mind there may be the Czar wouldn't let them have it. Never mind that maybe they'd have to fight like hell to get it. The Maskilin

were saying that we need it.

QUESTION: Did that have a political purpose as well?

ANSWER: I don't think so. I think it had an internal control purpose, to set standards for the raising of the Jews into a modern consciousness. I think it was purely internal. I don't think it had any political overtones or ambitions. They couldn't think that far. The political thought came only sixty years later with the growth of the Zionists. And all, by the way, all the political energies of those millions of Eastern Jews went into that one Zionist movement, there was no competition, there was no opposition.

Okay, now, the next point. The official program is that competent preachers be obtained to instruct the people. Now that adds reference to external manners. Dress, garb, spitting, etc. And ethics, ethics. These are now elements that never were in the consciousness of the ghetto. It didn't make no difference what you looked like and what you dressed like and what were manners and, none of that mattered. You were slopping around in mud. There were no sidewalks and there were no streets, and you knew what the fiddler and you knew what the township looked like. And all of a sudden someone was coming by and saying keep your boots clean and wear a scarf around your neck properly and don't spit into the herring barrel. And so they sent competent preachers. They are not talking about pre-Rabbis, they are talking about guides, instructors.

Next point, this is interesting, at least a third of the people be encouraged to engage in agriculture. Bingo, your first move toward economic independence. Never mind the Jews couldn't own land yet. Learn some kind of profession, by which you can make a living.

And the last thing, I don't really understand, but it's cute. That Jews be discouraged from ostentatious display and luxurious living. I don't know who was living that way, but you know, every time we had one rich Jew with a wooden house, and why the hell he should be discouraged from that, I don't know.

QUESTION: Of the million or so Jews living in this area, what percentage of the population...do you have any idea?

COMMENT: Of the total population?

ANSWER: Yes.

ANSWER: Oh, I would say, in the Palo settlement itself, to which they were confined, which is that strip of area running north to south from approximately close to east, what is east Prussia, down to what is today the border of Romania, if you have the map in your hand. I am using today's places. That was a strip of maybe 100 miles wide and 300 miles long. Very few other people except some Polish peasants. Most of it was Jewish ghetto, towns, and stechils, and alot of empty land, which was owned by Polish absentee landlords, who weren't living there, and Jews were managing it for

them. Now that was that strip, but now, that strip was part of Poland on the West and Russia on the east, so I can't answer you as to what the total population of Poland and Russia was at that time, but, take a ballpark figure, it doesn't matter whether its 30 million or 40 million, alot of people on the Russian side, fewer on the Polish side, and this Pala settlement right in the middle. But that had almost nobody else in it, I would say if you got a million and quarter Jews in the Pala. you probably have another half million Polish peasants. Probably the Jews outnumbered anybody else inside the Pala.

Eban has a good sentence which makes the bridge from Haskala this movement, to the most powerful movement of the century which grew up -- the movement of Zionism -- nationalism. Here's your sentence. The Haskala in Russia succeeded in bringing forth a new concept of national Renaissance. It aroused among Russian Jews an aspiration to free inquiry and a love for knowledge. Among religious Jews, it helped to convert objects of mere traditionalism into objects of thought. The Haskala is the key sentence, prepared the way, not only for modern Hebrew literature, but for that modern triumph of the Hebrew spirit, the love of Zion. Haskala laid in the groundwork, actually, for the Zionist movement.

QUESTION: Herb, there is a sentence there, I guess it is critical to the bridge which I think I have missed entirely. Go back up one sentence that says although it may stress general enlightenment, and vague liberalism, it initiated a initiated a stir of specifically Hebrew revival, how did that come about? What was the connection?

ANSWER: Language, language, Hebrew writings, there were dozen of Hebrew journals written, dozens of Hebrew novels written, Acha da Amba essayists began to write in Hebrew, Lillian Bloom began to write in Hebrew. The revival of the Hebrew language, everybody believes, took place in Israel when Ben Yehudah insisted upon speaking nothing but Hebrew. Now, the revival of the Hebrew language took place long before there was anybody in Palestine. It took place in the Palo settlement in this period in the early 1800's. Reviving the language, the tremendous repercussions were the creation of the state of Israel.

QUESTION: When did the first Russian Jews from the Palo start going to Israel, to Palestine?

ANSWER: Do you know what I suggest we do? Let's go to that second map. Go to the second map which says Zionism 1860-1939. I will tell you the answer when. There are about fourteen boxes and they are numbered in sequence. Find box number one which is numbered on the right hand side, the box at the top is number three, in the center, come down to number one, there you've got your first date.

In 1860, you see it there? A conference discusses the possibility of a Jewish home in Palestine. Look at the name of the little town to which that #1 points, you see it, Thorn, in Prussia? That's where it started. Now, #2 is over to the left, move from that town of Thorn to the left you see a town by the name of Frankfurt Oder, 1861, the Zion Society founded. Move upstairs, up above to the top, #3, 1882, You've got a big jump. 1882 Leo Pinska wrote a book called Auto Emancipation urging the Jews to seek a national retreat preferably on the banks of the Jordan. Pinska said simply, hey you people, you want to be a nation? You've got to do it yourself. Nobody's going to give it to you on any silver platter, so he wrote the book Auto Emancipation. #4 is a drop down, under #1, in a little town called Catovitz, 1884, Lovers of Zion movement. Shift way over to the left to Paris. Ten years go by, and that's where the bullseye hits, in the Dreyfuss case in Paris where Theodore Rurchill came from Vienna, and you all know that story too well, no need for me to repeat it to you, and Theodore Rurchill comes to the conclusion -- in the very France in which the Jews said they are not a nation, Theodore Rurchill comes to the conclusion that the Jews had better begin to think of themselves as a nation once more, because the devastating shock of his sitting through that Dreyfuss case, watching that terrible, vicious anti-Semitism, which resulted from it, violent, he says, my G-d, if this can happen in France, which he said, the place that started giving the citizenship, the freedom to the Jews, what the hell, it can happen anywhere.

We'd better get out own country. By the way, in his book which he wrote, the Udenshtadt, he never said anything about Palestine. Rurchill was a totally assimilated Jew. He didn't know nothing about prayers, I mean, knew nothing, nothing. But he was an astute politician and he said hey, it's clear. We'd better have our own country, I don't care where it is. He suggested it in the Gaza Strip, he suggested it in Sinai. He took the suggestion of the British to do it in Uganda, he didn't care. After awhile, he saw that the Russian Jews did care and they wanted only Palestine, so obviously he wasn't going to fight that, that was okay by him. But that started the whole business. Well, from now, the rest of it you know. There have been dozens of Zionists Congresses. You can go over that whole map and see all those boxes. Rurchill tried to get a charter from the Turkish sultan to establish the country, the Turkish sultan wouldn't do it. He tried the kaiser. He had a meeting with the kaiser in the Japa Gate in Jerusalem. The kaiser was sitting up on a horse, Rurchill was standing down below. They talked for an hour, if you believe that, and the kaiser looks down at him and he says no, I won't try to persude the sultan. A couple of years later Rurchill at the age of 44, died of a broken heart. It didn't make any difference. The movement went on. So, the answer to your question is this: If you shift over past the Dreyfuss affair and you go to look at the establishment of the Zionist movement which on that chart is the last item down there, and if you've got those notes which you are following very carefully, then let me take you to page 18 in the notes. Let's get

the names of those books clearly in our minds because that's what started it.

Zionism was a national movement. The Jews captured their sense of nationalism.

1806, Napoleon's Sanhedrin, by 1866 they were back in the swing. Two books were written. In 1862 Calisher wrote a book called Trishat Shion in which he, an Orthodox Jew, quite different from the Orthodox Judaism of today. The Orthodox Jewish Zionists in the 19th century were just brilliant, flexible, lovely, part of the whole stream, they were not negative, apathetic, nit-picking, I mean, the way the whole problem has developed today. Rabbi Tzvi...the very first book ever written on the subject called Longing for Zion, says "rebuilding the ancient soil of Israel is fulfilling the Mosaic promise."

It doesn't matter whether it's true or not, it is going to be true. It is true dreaming. Moses Hess was the next guy to write, and he got charged up by the Italians. And he said, Garibaldi and Machini are building a country here in the 1860's. All these crazy Italian provinces are going to be nationalized into one big country. If these absolutely anarchic, mad, Italians can do it, can't the Jews do it? So he wrote his book called "Rome and Jerusalem". So they are doing it in Rome, we will do it in Jerusalem. And there was a big charge, and it was a real practical example that if the Italians can do it we can do it, and the book had a wide distribution and it gave a push to the idea. Then,

it 20 years, in 1882, Pinsker wrote that book I told you, Auto Emancipation. Now that came out of a very specific situation, and I told you I would get to Russia and what happened there.

1881, Alexander II was assassinated. Alexander II was a liberal king, a liberal Czar. He tried to ameliorate slavery. For Russians, nothing to do with Jews. He tried to reduce the influence of the United Russian Orthodox clergy. He tried to bust up all kinds of negative influences and he was a good man. He got assassinated. Alexander III comes along, and it is a total switch, Alexander III is a tesbah. Alexander III had a Prime Minister by the name of Popiadonisdof. Popiadonisdof was a vicious madman, pre-Hitler type, who had a very clear program as to how to get rid of the Jews. Kill 1/3 of them, you convert 1/3 of them, and you toss out 1/3 of them. These, by the way, are called the 1/3 laws. They are also known as the May laws, because they were promulgated in the month of May 1882, never forget that. And by the way, if you want a watershed year and someone says to you when was the major masive migration of Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States take place, the exact dates are 1881, immediately after the assassination of Alexander II, when you could see the handwriting on the wall. 1881 - 1914, WWI, when ships could no longer sail safely on the Atlantic, but 1881-1914, you are talking about 33 years. In those 33 years, three million Jews came to the United States. An average hundred thousand a year passing through Ellis Island, Castle Garden, and Glaveston and Baltimore, coming in to the United States.

So, 1882, that year that Alexander III came in with the 1/3 laws, the death laws, that's the year Pinsker said Auto Emancipation, let's get the hell out of here and let's make our own country. Now, the figures that you've asked so clearly, three million to the U.S. verses 3,000 to Palestine, seems so totally warped, skewed, and impossible, that nothing could ever come out of the 3,000. And yet, of course, it all came. The seed of nationhood came out of those 3,000. They hungered and they got malaria.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

You've all heard of Isiah Berlin. Isiah Berlin is the great guru at Oxford, once British ambassador to the United States in 1940. He's got a good line. The Jews in Eastern Europe were very secure inside the Palo. They were not worried about emancipation. They were not worried about appeasing the Gentiles, they did not want to look like them, they fought against the Haskala movement, it never became a wide spread movement. And Isiah Berlin said "the problems of the outside world affected the Russian Jews to a far smaller degree within their own vast insulated ghetto. Their imprisonment brought with it one immense advantage. Namely, that the spirit of the inmates remained unbroken, and they were not as powerfully tempted to seek escape by adopting false positions as their socially more exposed brothers. False positions being based on snobbery and the desire to be acceptable to Western Christians. The big solid bulk of the Russian Jews, even though they did not go to Palestine, even though only a tiny handful of the most dedicated, crazy pioneers went, and the three million Russian Jews went to America. The three million Russian Jews were not tempted, they were

not going to assimilate, they were not going to disappear, that they created the state of Israel from America.

Now, the whole Zionist movement started with that tiny group of Russian bilouine...oh house of Jacob, let us go up.

Up, that's aliyah. The first Zionist Congress met in Bazal, in Switzerland, in 1897, and already there were 18 Jewish settlements in Israel and one agricultural school, michre Yisrael. Michre Yisrael is the start of it all.

I want to tell you three sentences. Michre Israel is an agricultural farm village which exists, to this day, near Cholon, south of Tel Aviv. It used to be closer to Jafa. Michre Yisrael was started as an agricultural school by a French Zionist by the name of Charles Netter with twelve French boys, Netter was a Frenchman from Paris, and he brought twelve French Jewish teenagers over, bought a half an acre, and started a farm and agricultural school and out of Jafa one day on a camel came some beduins and they shot the first kid, a twelve-year-old boy.

Mr. Bengurion once said to me, just before he died, he died in 1973, in December, two months after the October war.

Michre Yisrael was started in 1871, 102 years earlier.

He said to me, our war to create the independent Jewish state for the modern Jewish people began in 1871. I said, there was no state, there was no nothing, there was no movement, there were a couple of beluine. He said, creation takes

place in blood. Everybody is born in blood, there is no other way to get born. The blood of that boy started the creation of this state. A hundred and two years. It is not unknown that there have been 100-year wars earlier in history. We're in a hundred year war. So, we started in 1871, we are now in 1973, it goes on. We are winning it. And that is the whole story, 1871, Michra Yisrael. 71, the Dreyfuss thing didn't happen until '87, so that's another fifteen or so years. The people kept coming, one by one, one by one. Hertzll couldn't get anywhere, he couldn't sell the idea to Baron Dirsch, he couldn't sell it to Baron Rothchild. He couldn't sell it to the Czar, he couldn't sell it to the Pope, he couldn't sell it to the Turkish sultan. He couldn't sell it to anybody. And so, he got the idea that he would try and sell it only to the Jews. And Hertzll organized himself with a little tiny secretary of two people and paid for himself all expenses for calling the first Zionist conference in Bazal in 1897.

The first Zionist Congress that I ever went to was in 1946, at the end of the war, there was a Zionist Congress in Bazal. I came down from Germany with twelve chaplains. But that's a whole other. It's the first one I ever went to -- I'll tell you a secret, it's the last one I ever went to.

Anyway, Herzll died. He didn't make a damn bit of difference. Through Herzll the Jewish people overcame its passive role as the endurer, Jews began to shape their own life, take their future into their own hands, Herzll restored them

to strength, courage, and purpose.

Okay, there are a lot of things I left out. I wanted to tell you about the migration to the New World, that's nothing, we can get that in next time. I have a feeling now we are back on the history track, and that is a good feeling. We have four more to go, next time is going to be the whole Palestine thing, from WWI, the peace conference, Woodrow Wilson, down through the Balford Declaration, and we will come right down to WWII, that's next lecture, number six. The one after that is going to be the holocaust. Now, let me tell you very quickly what I want to do about that. You've all heard about this big thick Martin Gilbert book, The Holocaust? Or, if you didn't hear about it, Martin Gilbert has written a book on the holocaust, which I have read. It's, whater, 700 pages. It's the best. It's the best. And we are sending it to all of you, and you will keep it. And you won't have to read it for that assignment, because you can't. But, it's a permanent book for your library. The great books are Davidovitch and Reitlinger and Hilberg, but those are the books of the '60's.

COMMENT: You know, that 9½ epic is coming next week.

RESPONSE: Shoah.

COMMENT: And I think most of us will be seeing it.

RESPONSE: You will be seeing it in two segments?

You realize of course, you realize that you will see nothing in it except the testimony of people alive. It is a spectacular thing. Claude Lantzman did it mostly with money from a guy by the name of Jack Lang who was the French minister of culture in the previous government, a Jew, and almost got no money elsewhere in the world for that. But, it's great.

I am bringing you a film, which I think of all the hundreds of films, the classic. And it is called "Night in Fog". And it is thirty-five minutes, and we are going to show it. I am also going to bring a hundred slides, which I have accumulated in that period, the destruction of Berlin at the end of the war, the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, I will show you what the Warsaw ghetto looked like. The original pictures that I took in Auschwitz. And so, a whole selection.

COMMENT: Are these the pictures that you have taken, Herb?

RESPONSE: Yeah, most of them. I have got about a hundred slides that I have selected out of many many hundred. And I will put them in a drum and I will bring them.

Now, the other thing I wanted to say is that I will be going through all of my notes on the Holocaust, and instead of a reading assignment in Martin Gilbert's book, what I am going to do is get my miscellaneous handwritten notes typed

up in some kind of a folder and I will send you a folder of a dozen pieces. You don't have to read them all. So, a couple of speeches I wrote, an analysis I made on the big thick Sheirer book, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich. Oh, and by the way, we are sending that to you also, in case you don't have it. That's in paperback. I want you to have two basic things, the Sheirer book, which is a classic, it's unchanging, and the Gilbert book, which is the newest and the best of all the thick holocaust books. So, those two are on your shelf. A set of papers from the how come the question of, why wasn't there more resistance, the question of how did Hitler take control of the German mind, how, what was the organization of the party. Interesting bits and pieces, we will type them up neatly and I will send you that folder. That's four weeks from now. The one after that is the long old story of the creation of the state of Israel from birth to present which is 38 years worth. And all the major trends. And the one after that is the last one which is the growth of the American Jewish community, and a little world demography.

So those are the next four lectures. We are teed up, I have got the next one already written, and so I am really looking forward to a good completion on the series.

You've delayed your supper, and so, what I suggested to Bob yesterday when we talked was, you guys start eating and let me talk to you about the overseas trip and you talk to me between bites.

...a group of people in order to analyze the specific security aspects, I am being very exact. I did not want to go into any generalizations about terrorism, or about being deterred from travel by terrorists and we shouldn't give into it, because that is the wrong political stance, nor did I want to get into stuff like we shouldn't go to Spain, because Spain wouldn't give America overflights. None of that geopolitical considerations, that's got nothing to do with us. We are not playing on that level. What I wanted to try to determine for myself, in my best judgement after an awful lot of experience of traveling that I've had for 30 years under all kinds of military and security conditions was whether this trip as as safe as it can reasonably be. Without taking you through all the details, like whether Air Iberia x-rays luggage going into the hold, or whether Air Iberia or Air Morocco carry armed sky marshalls, or all the things I went into. After a pretty good survey I have reached the conclusion that from my point of view, to go. And I reached, and that's my conclusion. So, I said to the people, that's what we decided last Tuesday, and I'll get back to you, because I will be in Columbus next Tuesday, and we will take the temper of the group, and see what they want to do, because basically they are going to make the decision, not me. I am just the manager of this thing and I know now what I want and I have my own security arrangements for Spain, Morocco will be the safest place on earth to be, and Israel is Israel. If you are a British 28-year-old kid, you can get shot at the garden gate, so what are we going to do about that? Okay. The next day, I had a long, lovely call from Les, who, by the way, didn't

know about this meeting I've had and the conclusion I've reached. But he's been worried about it and wondering about it and doesn't know what to do, and we were talking, you know his style. And he said look, I think my bottom line, me personally, my bottom line is that I really don't want to be responsible - and that is the word he used -- for sending this group. I mean, it's not that I am paying for it, but I am the initiator. I am offering it, I am responsible for it. G-d forbid if anything happens to it. It is on my head for the rest of my life, and I don't think I want to be in that position. And, you know his style, he is not blunt, he is not abrasive, he is soft and gentle, but that is the essence of the message. I said, in my soft and gentle way, well I thought we'd go. And he said, we can think it over, can't we? And I said yeah, let me get out to the group next Tuesday. Now, I didn't get to you, but we are discussing it as though I am there. He really is not trying to tell you what to do, but he really feels that the trip should be postponed. Now, in the face of that, and I am not sure what postponed means, and we don't have the time tonight to go into whether we can postpone it into June, June, September, I mean, the next program is geared to start up September 8. That's a fixed date. Obviously, that can be changed to. That is my drawing board date for starting in the five cities. So, I don't know what postponed means, but it can be next year. Next year, I have a trip on the drawing board that I won't tell you about for July '87, it is going to be a knockout. So, I don't know what postponed means. We may pass completely, we may not. In fact, Frank said to me, do you think the group may feel

cheated out of a nice year-end reward that they have earned?
I said now, these are very sophisticated, very intelligent people. We stand as follows. He doesn't want the trip to go. Gordy comes barging in on me and saying, you can't take the damn trip anyway for health reasons, whether you think you're crazy enough to do it anyway. You shouldn't do it for security reasons. And Gordy, "you shouldn't do it because of American geo-political considerations. I would've thought that you would give the terrorists a kick in the behind if you go.

But anyhow, so, the mood at the moment is this. I have a suggestion to make, which is: since the physical danger or risk, not danger, risk, exists mainly in Spain and Morocco as far as aircraft, airports, baggags, bombs, etc. And, conversely, any risk in Israel has nothing to do with those factors, but only with the fact that there are three terrorist groups running around in Jerusalem right now this week shooting aimlessly, a suggestion that could be made is that we go only to Israel, only, and that, and I drew up a suggested group of topics, which I showed to Gordy on Sunday, and he thought they were quite good, and that we go to Israel with that list of toppics which I'll read to you, and we do it for whatever number of days and for which days we can get aircraft, because everything is loaded in El Al, right down into the summer, but we'll get space. For those number of people who want to go, and I know Miriam and Birney were just there, or just going there. They weren't going to Israel with us, because they'd just been there. Maybe

other people have just been there. So, I don't know any details of what we are talking about in terms of number of people, but that whoever would like to make a trip to Israel for the purpose of the following agenda: a. Do our Hartman study. We were going to do three mornings of four hours each, twelve hours, and finish the other two Maimonides letters in the original book, we read one, at the Hartman Institute, and I had Abraham Infeld here, who was the Executive Director, and we talked about the layout, about how many faculty people they would need and how they would break us up into groups. And so, we have a Hartman item on the agenda. b. I would constitute the itinerary, the agenda, the following way: Do the whole West Bank problem, the West Bank problem is the problem of a future state. Partition is what began the whole state of Israel. Partition in the West Bank is going to be the ultimate end. The man who expresses that point of view best is a man by the name of Maron Benvenisty. I thought we'd get ahold of Benvenisty, take him with us for two days, go through the West Bank with him, go through the main roads north/south, and the one road east/west, crisscross it. Go with the maps. Go with the charts. Understand the West Bank problem once and for all with a guide who has a pre-conceived solution with which half of the population agrees and half of the population disagrees and he is the best man you can listen to and you can agree or disagree with him, see it on the ground, listen to the arguments, analyze them and know the subject. The subject is going to remain high up on the agenda of the state of Israel for the next decade. So that

is a West Bank element that we can put in for one, two, three days as much as we want. There is a second element which is the subject of terrorism, and I would organize a seminar at the Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv with General Arinyariv who is the head of that center, who is a world-class figure, as most of you know. and Yariv will set up a day, a yom euun, a study day, as they call it, will take one whole solid day. Having seen the territory in the West Bank, and what motivates this terrorism and analyzing all of the groups and I would urge you, by the way, every single person, to try to get ahold of a copy of today's New York Times, because Tom Friedman has written down for the first time, on a full page, the name of every single terrorist organization and its known leader. That's like a table of contents of a book. And I would bring Tom Friedman in on that day of discussion on terrorism.

So, one subject West Bank, two, subject terrorism. Three subject, this is the final one. The composition of the next Israel government in which the turnover takes place in October, and the terms of the economic solution because the next government is going to rise or fall, not on warranties, not on terrorism and not on the West Bank, and not on nothing, except economics. And Mr. Peres might wind up as the Minister of Finance. And Mr. Peres, I want to hear from him as to his plan for a Middle Eastern marshal plan. Which Reagan is bringing up in Tokyo next week. A 30 billion dollar marshal plan to be focused on solving the problem in the Middle East. Not by war, not by PLO, and not by nothing but by economic growth of the countries involved.

QUESTION: There was a reference made to the Wall Street Journal editorial today, Herb. Did you see it?

ANSWER: No. They did refer to it already? Okay, so it's surfacing already.

I had Lesley met with Peres, we were together a couple days after I got sick. I was smart enough not to know what happened to me. So, Shimon and Les, we talked about that thing, and Shimon was kind of optimistic about it. You've got some good readings from the French, the Germans, and the British. But the heavy dough has got to be poured in by the Germans and the Japanese. So, it is going to come up in Tokyo. And, that's the future. Shultz has got 750 million bucks to hand over to Israel in cash if he thinks that the inflation is really under control. If he thinks that, Israel is willing to bite the bullet, take the unemployment, take all the tough stuff that goes with it and take the damn economy down to some...well, you need those cash injections.

Anyhow, I'm sorry, I'm going into too much detail. There is an agenda of good stuff that could be done in Israel. Those are three heavy topics, and terribly important for all of your understanding of the next long-medium, long-term, not just short term. So West Bank, so terrorism, so economic future and government change are three and Hartman/Maimonides is four. So, if you want to take six days, seven days, eight days.

My suggestion is, ease off on the Spain, I'll back off, Les doesn't want to do it anyway. Ease off on the Spain, Morocco, cancel everything out. Think of whether you want to do an Israel thing all by itself. If not, we postpone that too, nothing is written in stone.

So, look, you guys gotta tell me what you want. It's really your decision and I'm not saying that tongue in cheek. Les and I started from two different positions. By the way, Gordy's position is absolutely no, no, no, no. And then when I got finished and I showed him the draft that I had written of the Israel trip, he said alright, that's great, but you can't go. So I said well, why can't I go? And he said, well, that's got to do with your health. I said, we are talking two months off, come on. So then I talked to them and I said, if I'm not going to go, who is going to lead the group?

QUESTION: Herb, the bottom line. What is the likelihood that you think you'll be able to go?

ANSWER: I wish I knew. I honest-to-G-d wish I knew. We are sitting here on the 29th of April, we are talking about the 29th of June. That is two solid months, that is 60 days. If these doctors don't get me settled in 60 days, I am not going to sit here at this desk, doing the next four lectures this way as well as this went. I think this went okay by the way. But that's not contact between you and me. Contact is eyes and together and...so I have got to get back to you.

COMMENT: Herb, I think that there is a larger feeling to this whole thing. It has to do with the element of this group starting together and this group finishing together. And what you wanted to achieve that we have been successful -- able to achieve. In terms of putting together a group elite, I'm not sure, but bonded, I can vouch for. I think that issue of your health is a non-issue in the sense that we assume you are going to be strong as a bull and would be able to go. But the greater issue, however, is that without going around the room and polling, there is not a unanimous feeling that we should go to Europe of Israel this summer.

I think it makes really no difference whose on which side of the issue, the issue that it is not unanimous. My feeling is that because it is not, that that in itself is reason enough to say that we will defer this trip for another year because I think it is so important to the group that we travel as a group and we can further consolidate that feeling of oneness that is so instrumental. And I don't know if I speak for the group, but what I detect is that is the feeling of the group.

HERB: May I make a suggestion? I think you are at an absolutely crucial point. If the group is divided in its opinion, no trip should take place on a basis of a vote of 6 to 4 or 3 to 8 or 9 to 2 or any kind of divided. This isn't the kind of a matter to where that you take a vote and ^{ten} majority rules because you are absolutely right, this

is a bonded consensus and I think it should be as close as unanimous, without forcing anybody, as possible. If there is a split, if there are differences of opinion, if there are some others who have some fears, if there are some husbands who feel it would be divisive, four guys want to go, three, six guys don't want to go. What the hell, that splits the group apart, which is the opposite of what we've been trying to achieve. In other words, I'm not saying that unanimity is mandatory, but what I am saying is, almost unanimity is preferable. So you make a strong case. I would like to make the following suggestion. Let me go now, you people decide among yourselves. Call me tomorrow, let's decide. That we have to do.

If it's go, I have planning to do. If it's no go, I have no planning, but I have just to dissolve. I don't think we ought to delay, you are there tonight. The next point will be three weeks from now. So if you could, what I would like to suggest you've still got some time, stay together, talk it through, sensibly, the way you just started, reach a decision. Our two choices apparently are, no go at all, or go just Israel. I don't see any other alternatives.

COMMENT: What about doing Hartman to the U.S., coming to Vernont in July anyway.

ANSWER: The answer to that is yes, July, you're right. He is going to Berkeley in August. He will be in Berkeley from August until December. We have got all the time in the world to do Hartman in Columbus.

COMMENT: Herb, the two major points of this summary are security concerns and your ability to function. And be with us.

REPLY: The latter point, I am functioning. If I get knocked out of the box by some surgery it's 10-20 days. I will recover. Then, they might not let me go on the trip. If I were to make an assumption now, I would assume that I can't guarantee going. I will fight him tooth and nail. And you know me, my makeup and my constitution.

COMMENT: The issue is, what we can provide Lesley with comfort because I, I've talked to him and I know how sensitive he is to our health and welfare. And then there is the issue that we talked about before about going as a group or not going as a group.

REPLY: That is very crucial. That is a very strong point. I am not concerned about the security. That is my strange peculiarity. I never have been in my whole life. I am answering Nelson's too, he asked me two questions, the security and my ability to go. The latter I can't predict, it's not in my hands. The former is a point of view.

...he said Bob, what he said to me was God forbid, and I said what are we talking about? It is a twenty million to one shot, a damn lottery.

The thought about just Israel occurred to me after my conversation with him last week. Really, Norman, you can talk to him. Ask him that question, ask him what he thinks about that. If you want it. My point is...

COMMENT: It doesn't matter whether or we are in Spain or we are in Israel, you are scared to death these times.

REPLY: Well then, don't push it. Listen, you guys make your decision.

COMMENT: Do you see any difference in the degree of security in Israel between now and three months ago, four months ago?

REPLY: No, I do not. Those gangs were wandering around three, four months ago. There have been murders in Jerusalem every single day.

HERB: When we are ready to make an independent decision. We'll call you tomorrow.

Palustini 1919-1939

...the guy on his board who was going to give him dough to get him started he predicted at the end of that service he said Stephen, do you remember what you said to the Temple Emanuel On Ami, without me? Great story. He said I can't go with you, I mean, you have done an outrageous thing, you have taken the side of these Communist workers.

He didn't give a damn. DeKalb preaching in Carnegie Hall on Sunday morning until the next 20, nah, 15 years. By 1940, he had a building, because I studied in the building. It was on 68th street between Central Park West and Columbus Avenue. Three thousand seats full to the back. Every Sunday morning. Pass the basket, like in the church.

What did this? How did we get off on this? Take me back, please.

(some unintelligible discussion)

COMMENT: What was the mood in the Lower East Side? That was where most of the Jews were at that time.

REPLY: Rah rah rah rah.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: No, the guy was a guru figure.

Dear Lord Rothschild, I have much pleasure in conveying to

you on behalf of his majesty's government. This letter is only one sentence. So right away, you have the government approval. The following declaration of sympathy and Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the cabinet: "His majesty's government view with favor an establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people".

Nothing is defined. What the hell is the national home, who are the Jewish people. There is no going into the _____, this is the biggest policy.

(an unintelligible comment)

His majesty's government view, they said. Anyone would use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object. The whole G-damn British government is promising to help the Jews facilitate the achievement. Now come the cavaets. It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may bring prejudice, the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jews in Palestine.

So we ain't gonna do anything against the Arabs, and the Drews and the Captic Christians and the Ethiopians, all those civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

COMMENT: ...was the land considered a civil right?

REPLY: No definitions in here, or nothing shall be done which will prejudice the rights or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. So we ain't jeopardizing your rights in England or in France or America, closed quote. And then he said, I shall be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

He wasn't going to write to the Zionist Federation. They were just a bunch of low-down clerk guys, what the hell. But bring this to their attention. Now that was November 2nd. And November 2nd of every year since 1917 has been a holy day and Thoufot Declaration has been celebrated for all this time. At that point, the first thing that the British government did was kick the army in the behind and said go in and beat the Turks and get Jerusalem.

Now, November 2nd was the declaration. The General _____ marched into Jerusalem on the first day of Hanukkah, which is about a month later, because the British just got right to work, that's all there is to it. And they blew the Turks out.

COMMENT: So it's cause and effect. It's because Thoufot that they went in...

REPLY: They hadn't done it before, they hadn't decided. They didn't decide. But they had the army ready.

Now, the Thoufort Declaration really set up the State of Israel in 1917.

COMMENT: Let's back up one second. The British go into Palestine, oust the Turks, the Arabs who were living in Palestine were welcomed the British? Helped the Turks?

REPLY: The Arabs living in Palestine? Stayed home.

COMMENT: Then they didn't care?

REPLY: No, they didn't fight.

COMMENT: Were they happy about the British being in?

COMMENT: They didn't like the Turks, though, did they?

REPLY: Turkish rule was corrupt and oppressive, so why get excited if somebody comes in to throw them out because you figure well, the British will get knocked in their head within a week, or some miracle may happen, the British may take us over, and the Turkish army will get out of here and go back up to Syria.

Palestine at that time was called Southern Syria. It was a province of Syria. So the people in the -- living there, hunkered down at home and waited to see what

happened, that's what people always do. It's not my fight.

(unintelligible question)

REPLY: I don't know what you are trying to say, Brent. The mood of the people is what the people always do, which is stay ducked. If you want to know what the mood of the intellectuals was, you have got to ask that. If you want to know what the mood of the Arab politicians, that level of people has a different mood.

(some unintelligible comments)

REPLY: I would say that the political leaders in Syria up in Damascus were worried and concerned. They begin to try to adopt a policy in which they tried to figure out how to persuade the British to emiliorate their pro-Jewish stand and not forget that there should be a pro-Arab stand. And the politicians in Damascus did that rather well, which you saw in the case of the first British high commissioner who was a Jew, Herbert Samuel, within two years they had him convinced that he should be a little more balanced in regard to the Syrian position and he shouldn't take a pro, 100% Israel position, and though he was a Zionist, even though he voted for the Telfort Declaration in the Cabinet, now that you are the British High Commissioner, you have to be kindof fair and damn if they didn't impact him within two years.

And the pendulum began to swing and he began to show pro-Arab point of view in lots of tiny little episodes. You know, you find a Jew carrying a gun and you bring him up to trial and you can either let him go or not. If you are the high commissioner, you issue an order saying every Jew caught carrying a gun shall serve a mandatory three month sentence in jail. Well, the Arabs liked that. It was the little stuff, not the big stuff.

Now, the main thing is the tug of war that if I think if I were to put the whole period from 1921. Don't forget, you had the ratification process, the Talfort Declaration was issued in 1917, the war didn't end. That Peace Conference was caked in ... the British legally did not get a charter and mandate, that was the word, the Peace Conference signed a mandate, the legal document, only in 1922 in the town of San Remo, in Italy, is where the 1922 conference finally ended, and that is when the papers were written and the British were given a mandate...

COMMENT: That's where the conference was? In San Remo.

REPLY: Yes.

COMMENT: Where is San Remo?

REPLY : It's right on the other side of where the French...

REPLY#2: It's right on the other side of where you're going.

COMMENT: The mandate in 1922 was the area outlined in black? Is that also including the striped portion on the right? Two questions. Is that whole area, was that called Southern Syria? Is that what you were referring to? Second question: Why is it that the Jewish state, and if that was the land set aside by the mandate...

REPLY: The British stole the right half away.

COMMENT: The first question of Southern Syria, the whole area surrounded in black pre 1922?

REPLY: See this black line? The Palestine mandate granted to Britain at the San Remo conference at the region of the Jewish national home. The black line goes from Accaba, down here, up here through _____, has always been the diving line between the Megula and Sinai. Up the coast, beyond the present border, up into the coast of Tire, zooms up the top here and includes Cinatra, the Golan Heights, the British and the line came over to what is today Iraq, which is down here which later became Saudi Arabia, it wasn't yet. That is

the Palestine mandate granted to Britain.

COMMENT: It only says 1920 in that box.

REPLY: Well, the conference at San Remo ended in 1922, it started in 1919. Twenty is wrong on both counts. It's neither the beginning nor the end.

Now, within, remember what the Telford declaration says, create a Jewish homeland within the mandate. So here, this guideline is the approximate boundary of the area in which the Jews hope to set up their national home. It was never defined. They hoped to. Now, what was it? Where is the dotted line? Carefully, watch it. The dotted line goes up here.

COMMENT: Next to the railroad track.

REPLY: Next to it, exactly. There is the railroad track from Mecca up to Damascus. And next to it is the dotted line, _____ is that famous city inside the rock. Did you ever hear of it? You come up here and follow _____, this is the border.

Dotted line, over to here, this was beyond the mandate, but it was a little bit to enclose the Golan Heights then come over to the sea, and this is already up to what is today Lebanon.

(unintelligible question)

REPLY: No, that is the approximate area in which the British agreed to give to the Jews as their homeland within the British mandate.

(another unintelligible question)

REPLY: The map in this discussion, never. There were never border discussions. Political discussions were always general. They never did. This is the declaration.

This was the negotiating position with the British and the Jews today, 60 years later, after this... We have no borders..

COMMENT: The mandate included. What were they going to do with the rest of the area?

REPLY: Read these carefully as we go. Take this next one with the stripes this way, this piece right here all the way over.

Separated from Palestine by Britain in 1921, unilaterally, they didn't discuss it with the Jews. There was a conference in London in 1921 and they said, here's what we think we can do. We will take a hunk off that mandate that we thought we were going to give to you, and we are going to give it to _____.

COMMENT: Herb, that was my question. Was it a pre-conceived plan that said here, we have a mandate, the area, let's go back to 1920, we are at the bargaining table. We are deciding that the mandate ought to be created. Britain says to itself, here's what I am going to do. I will give part of it to the Jews, and I will give part of it, I will create a new area and we will call it something like _____...

REPLY: That's a kind of a scenario. When you say pre-conceived, that sounds like a conspiracy. If this existed in their minds, nobody will know. They begin by saying that we approve the idea of your having a homeland.

COMMENT: They didn't take it away from the Jews, they didn't have the mind to give it to the Jews...

REPLY: Well, they think, listen. When I said there were no map discussions, there always are, some kind of attempt to define general political principles. The Jews had a feeling they were being betrayed. You asked about Nachum Goldman, he was functioning in London, he was not a victor on the United States. There was Beryl Locker, there were a whole lot of his students, smart guys, in the newly-created Jewish agency which the Jews had to create some kind of administrative body for themselves to deal with this great issue, which they did, and they called it the Jewish agency. And there

were smart guys, and they were talking with the British and negotiating all the time and pushing the British and the British policy was listen, come on, San Remo is still going on over there.

And the Jews were nervous and they say, you may be making a deal on the side, are you betraying us? But then nobody said it that way...but among themselves were worried. And if you want to write a novel, if you want to write a documentary, you want to make an interesting movie about what was happening behind the scenes in Whitehall in 1917-22, in that five-year period, it would make a fascinating fictional, I mean you could write a great detective story.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: What partition? There was no ultimate partition plan. Prior to the '47 year-end plan?

They knew in 1921 already they knew they'd been shafted.

COMMENT: But Abdullah, was he thrilled with what he'd been given?

REPLY: Thrilled? What the hell are you giving me all this land and camels, give me some money.

COMMENT: Where I am coming back is to the problems

today in the East and the claim for land.

REPLY: Stick them where you are then, this is what happened then, what happened today.

COMMENT: But Abdullah, was at that time the leader of a nation....

REPLY: Made by the British. He was a Benduin Chieftan that threw them out of the desert. Accepted him? Why not?

(some unintelligible conversation)

REPLY: I will tell you what he said, we'll come down here and read what he said. The British whacked off this piece, that piece, the dotted line, that's what they thought that they would give to the Jews and that's what the Jews thought that they would get. We just cut it off. Of the Jewish part, gave it to Abdullah with the Arab part. This is what's called trans-Jordan, not all of that. This is what the revision is to Megan and Yirgun, and you know what their symbol is. They have a hand held up like this, vertical, with a rifle going through it, horizontal, and the Hebrew words _____ which means only thus, and when you put it right here with the rifle going across takes in the Jewish part and the trans-Jordan part, that's what we want, and that's what they want today.

And _____ wants to this day and Kahane wants to this day. And that is that historic fact of two points of view in Jewish history about what you are willing to settle for. The labor party always was willing to settle for partition and take any hunk you can get, whatever hunk that you can get that's yours, is better than nothing.

And the revisionist Legion group always say we want it all. And that's the tug of war, politically. Inside Israel between those two parties.

Next, the little tiny bit up here on the Golan with the cross-hatching right here, read this, ceded by Britain to the French mandate of Syria in 1923. So the British held on to it, held on to it, and finally in '23, gave it to Syria. So every time the Jews have wanted to get back the Golan Heights, they had to fight for it.

The British conquered Palestine in 1718, occupied Jerusalem in December, 17-- we covered that.

Now, we have to cover the two things down here, so you will understand the Arab position. There was one Arab leader of what is today, Saudi Arabia, what used to be called Hebjac. Mecca, Medina and the whole of what we call the Saudi peninsula, was called the Hebjac. And it was run by an Ania, an Ania was a legitimize

king. And his name was Faisol. There was such name. He was on the throne of the Hebjacs. The British dealt with him and the Jews dealt with him. Now he made a remarkable statement in a meeting he had with Frankfurg, in 1929. We Arabs, now here, Brad, you answer the intellectuals and the _____. We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with deepest sympathy on the Zionist. We will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home. He used the word home. We are working together for a reformed and revised Near East, and our two movements, not country, not nations, there's the Zionist National Movement, there is the Arab National Movement, our two movements complement one another-- the movement is national and not imperialistic. I am not trying to take you over, you are not trying to take me over, each of us are trying to build our own nation. There is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be successful without the other.

Do you want anything better? What do you want?

(some unintelligible conversation)

Our rightful claim? Our rightful claim to what? To Syria?

He didn't think of himself like that, that I am a son of Abraham, I am a cousin of the Jews.

(more unintelligible conversation)

Now, read what Churchill said. Churchill was of course a strong Zionist, but in many ways a compromising fellow. Again, you see we are going through a revisionistic attitude of definition as has now been done about Roosevelt. Everybody always thought Roosevelt was the greatest friend of the Jews, now history is revising itself.

If as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan, if it should happen, a Jewish State, under the protection of the British crown, which might comprise 3-4 millions of Jews. (See, figure in 1920, there wasn't that much, but that's where we are today). (It took a hell of a lot of vision in 1920 to talk about 3-4 million Jews in Palestine, there could have been six million more Jews in the world that could've gone to America.

So when he talks about 3-4 million Jews he is talking about in a Jewish state under the protection of the British crown. An event will have occurred in the history of the world which will from every point of view, be beneficial. He thinks it would be great. And would be especially in harmony with the truest interest of the British empire.

COMMENT: What was his position at that point?

REPLY: The Secretary of the Navy.

So he said, this would be great for Britain. Why would it be great for Britain? If there were 4 million Jews in Palestine under the British crown?

COMMENT: Will it have made their colony strong?

REPLY: The British colony, 3-4 million smart Jews working in the British colony, great for Britain.

That map shows you exactly what the possibilities were. It's very clear. You study it carefully in your small book and the maps around it.

Now what happens after that is what? Exactly what happened? What happened was Herbert Samuel came in, somebody asked me a question about the aliyot. Let's put that on the...look at page six, let's go to it right quickly so you'll know.

(some unintelligible conversation)

Le Shav, the Hebrew word means to sit, to settle. Yi Shuv is a settlement, Mov Shav. Somebody wanted to know the dates and so...I put them in.

Now the first flood, the first aliyah was the end of the 19th century. The second aliyah was the period of WWI

and the second aliyah was the crucial one. The second aliyah was based on a socialist mission. They were all socialists who came on the second aliyah with a determination to change the nature of the parasite ghetto Jew. They were going to turn you into hard-working, good, strong, socialist laborers on the soil. Nothing else counts.

Well, another Russia. Agricultural manual labor. Don't forget the Russian revolution was right then, 1917.

(an unintelligible question)

I thought you meant they came from Russia. Yes, at the time of the Russian revolution. But the effort of these young, idealistic socialists was to say to the Jews, you couldn't own land before, you couldn't be farmers before. You had to be erring peddlers. Now we'll make you farmers. And now you can do it. Now, dammit, get your hands dirty in the soil and do it.

So they emphasized agricultural manual labor and rehabilitation much more important. Before you can change the country you have to change yourself. What do they want to run a roller-skating rink for? What do you want to be a lawyer for? What are investments? A piece of paper. They'll throw it away. What you do with your hands.

(an unintelligible question)

Look at those five things, those were the ideals. You want to have fun and games?

COMMENT: How many made aliyah the second time?

REPLY: The second aliyah in that period? About 8,000.

COMMENT: Because then we start talking about the third and fourth time.

REPLY: Oh, the numbers grow.

Read them, agricultural, manual labor, redemption of the soil. That's rejection of the ghetto, instead you are dealing with redeeming of the soil. Personal salvation, straight backbone, no more bending over and letting some G-ddamn Cossack kick you in the behind or some vulgar Polish peasant spit at you. The beginning of the image of changing the Jew from the backbone concept of you always bend over and he is standing up straight, now look me in the eye boy and I'll fight you.

That transformation of the person is the single most important thing that happened in that second aliyah. ... The transformation of the person, your children, and then you become a different breed. Well, that's what you have in Israel today, you have a different breed. Sixty or a hundred years later you sure do, you have a

really different breed. I'd like to recommend a book if you'd like to see a different breed. It's called hard hat hustler, whatever the name of it is, I am in the middle of reading it now. Zev Chatiz, who used to be the Prime Minister's press secretary... Hard Hats and Hustlers,

COMMENT: That's not it.

REPLY: No, there's two more.

He used to be the press secretary for Begun, so the Times will always print what he wants. He is the kid who came from Pontiac, Michigan, twenty years ago, made aliyah to Israel. He worked his way up, learned Hebrew well, and you know, there was a blind ad in the paper and he applied for it and it turned out Begun's press secretary. So he got the job in '77.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: No, he didn't say that. Three thousand came in the first aliyah. If I mislead you, I apologize. Three thousand came in the Benloine period there of about 20 years, let's say from 1880-1900.

(another unintelligible question)

REPLY: That area? The sand dune was where Tel Aviv

was later established. I don't know. I would have to guess 2,000.

(another unintelligible question)

REPLY: About 8,000 in the second aliyah.

COMMENT: What happens as of 1917, the Thalfort declaration 1920-22, the British mandate. It didn't cause a landslide of people rushing into Palestine?

REPLY: No, absolutely not. Look at the figures in the third aliyah. Come down after those five points.

1914-1925, which is the third aliyah, that's prior to Hitler...

COMMENT: So the first number up above there is titled 1904-1940.

REPLY: Take the _____ stand to the war. Take it to the beginning of the Peace Conference. There is an overlap. Because it is approximate and because it covers different geographic areas. The second aliyah was all Russia/Poland, nothing else. And the third aliyah began to be Russian, Polish, and a little tiny bit of Western Europe beginning to creep in. A little bit of German and a little of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the Balkans. You cannot be geographically, surgically precise

about either numbers or geography.

COMMENT: Herb, wasn't there at this time a whole, the beginnings of change in the ghetto mentality, all of a sudden weren't depressed groups starting to get out?

REPLY: Nothing serious, don't look for anything substantial happening.

COMMENT: I mean, weren't young Jews starting to...

REPLY: Arguing, fighting with their parents, what the hell are you still sitting here for. I am going to walk.

COMMENT: Was that happening, though with the intellectual, with the young kids who were going away to college?

REPLY: What college?

COMMENT: I am talking like Germany...

REPLY: Well, we are talking Russia/Poland now.

COMMENT: Still there were children in Germany that went to University...

REPLY: Okay, so they say you are a jerk, a schmuck, you are crazy, what are you doing...

COMMENT: So that's where it happened, in the intellectual atmosphere...

REPLY: Individuals. Let's not deal with individuals, let's deal with what the mass train of thought was.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: Absolutely. blue/white groups, flags, songs, camping out in the woods, scout movements, huts that they used to go to for Zionist rallies. I mean all of that was going on. Increasing, more more more.

COMMENT: What kind of repercussions were they getting for rallying?

REPLY: Repercussions from whom? Some people agreed, some people didn't agree.

(unintelligible)

REPLY: I don't know what you are driving at.

COMMENT: I am talking about the people, the neighbors.

REPLY: What neighbors, Polish neighbors? It wasn't

their business. I've got a nice rally out in the woods with a Zionist flag, what the hell do I care what the Polish peasants thinks about it?

The Zionist spirit was mounting. And if you look at the figures, tens of thousands, we think the number that came in during the third aliyah was around 30,000 people. You can use that as a ballpark figure.

COMMENT: Can you help me? What was the real agenda with Great Britain, Palestine, Jerusalem?

REPLY: What do you mean, real agenda?

COMMENT: Their real agenda.

REPLY: The British?

COMMENT: Was it the economics, or was it political...

REPLY: The British real agenda was, well I have to get everybody's lists. The British's real agenda was to try to help Jews build a homeland. That was their real agenda, at the start. Those three words describe what happened by the end.

Alturistic to begin with, supportive to begin with, sincere to begin with. The British government fought its way through to a position. The British leadership

fought its way through. The Jewish leadership wanted it 99%, the few anti-Zionist Jews who didn't want it lost the battle, they fell back into the woodwork. And the British appointed as a high commissioner a Jew.

Now think about it in political terms. Has the government of the United States with all its support of Israel ever appointed a Jew as the ambassador to Israel? Never would. Think about that. The answer is no.

(some unintelligible conversation)

...exact speech I made back to you. The British position was altruistic. They wanted to do it. It didn't take them two years before they began to weaken, the bastards. They began to compromise and they began to do a job with the Arabs and they began to do a job against the Jews.

COMMENT: But notwithstanding, I mean, the fact that there is nobody else around close would have taken the position that Great Britain did.

REPLY: I don't know, maybe Iceland would've. Never speculate, Norman, never speculate. I deal with history as it is.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: Cut it out. For a thousand years the British ran an empire. That's what this is. She's so sweet, she looks at these great complicated...this is empire, baby, and here is our hunk of it.

COMMENT: For that reason, because they shared the democratic position it was more likely that they could count on the Jews...

REPLY: They changed their minds awful fast. Why don't you be realistic. Be politically realistic.

(more unintelligible comments)

REPLY: I can't teach you, I can't teach you. You are hopeless. You must stop being idealistic. If you are studying your history you are studying politics. Politics is based on geo-politics.

COMMENT: That's why they abandoned them.

REPLY: That's not why they abandoned them at all.

COMMENT: ...WWI, Churchill on the side of the Germans and the Jews fought against that, and they screwed them about that too.

REPLY: You all are so much smarter than I am because you make so much more complicated explanations than I do.

My explanations are quite simple. They are based upon the principles which are eternal. As far as I can understand them, in politics, which have to do with power, money, the sword, and the long-range ambition.

Now, it was to the clear advantage of England to support the Jewish thrust to nationalism. That would drive the Turks out, and then you are going to deal with the Jews. Now, after a couple of years you find out you are going to have to deal with the Arabs, too. So you are going to have to begin to make payoffs to them because they are making trouble for you. They are starting to riot.

The first riots were in 1921. Why the hell do you think the first compromises were in 1921?

COMMENT: How bad were the riots?

REPLY: Bad enough to compromise, young soldiers get killed.

COMMENT: Was this just a tete a tete? I mean, there wasn't a pogrom where thousands died.

REPLY: No. None of the riots, not in '21, not in '29, not in '33, not in '36, I mean, they are all documented. None of the riots were in major magnitude of death. Always in the scores. Sometimes in the hundreds, but

that was enough to tie down 10,000 troops.

I will not go through the whole story now, but I will ask you to remind me to tell you a story about a conversation I had in the White Hall in London in January of 1947 with Sir Ernest Bevin, Foreign Minister of the British empire.

COMMENT: What were you doing (at the time)?

REPLY: Talking to him. I was a captain in the United States army. I was in uniform. I was sent there under the auspices of General Lucious B. Clay with a letter from Mr. Harry Truman asking the Foreign Secretary of the British empire to agree that the United States army should take 100,000 Jewish D.P.'s out of the camps of Europe and that the United States army would handle the logistics and pay for everything. And that the British empire had to agree to it.

COMMENT: To accept them in Palestine?

REPLY: Well, yeah, to accept them in Palestine. I can't because the vocabulary, I stretched it as far as I could go. It was the most insane wierd conversation I have ever had in my life. A sick serious letter. I mean, this man was the Foreign Minister and I was there with the backing of an American commander...

Now, I told you that the single most worthwhile event which occurred at the end of WWI was the Balfort declaration. The Balfort declaration was fought hard by Jews in England who didn't want it.

COMMENT: Herb, on that point. The rest of the world at that time, if I would have picked up a newspaper the day after the Talfort declaration, did it even make the press?

REPLY: Yes, it was on the front page of the New York Times. It is a major document. President Wilson supported. It couldn't have been done without him. Because the British Prime Minister was having trouble, the Foreign Minister was having trouble and the Jews in England were getting in trouble because they said we don't want it because we don't want a state, because we don't want to have our loyalty to England challenged, and that's all there is to it. And don't do it for us because we don't need it. And those Russian Jews, let them go to America, because what the hell do we care about that, and don't you go create a state, which, in the minds of some Christians, might raise the question of whether we are loyal Englishmen.

It was just as simple as that, and there were Jews by the name of Montague and good Spanish names, and Goldschmidt and the Saphardic Jews who came to England

first. And they said no, we've been here 200 years don't load us with this. And the Balfort declaration had a clause in it saying nothing shall be done to jeopardize the rights of _____. So if you are an English Jew, we are not going to do anything to jeopardize you. Relax. Don't be so nervous. The New York Times used the word nervousness. Don't be nervous.

The Jews in America, they fought against it later on. This was only 1917.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: The leading Jew in the country. The Foreign Minister wrote to the leading Jew, the Foreign Minister doesn't know all these crazy Jewish organizations.

You are thinking in terms of today's organizations. Back then it was all one person. It was Veicksman, it was Lord George, it was Sir Israel Sief, okay?

COMMENT: Herb, can I ask you a question? The rise of nationalism named Jews feel that they had a stake in the country...

REPLY: No, the rise of nationalism increased their appefite and their desire to have their own national state.

COMMENT: It also names the German Jews. Emancipation and the rise of formations in the latter part of the 19th century, was what consolidated Germany, made everyone feel that they had a stake in Germany.

REPLY: No, you are misreading...

COMMENT: There were Jews that supported the German army, they fought in the army in WWI, against Jews, English Jews. They were citizens of Germany...

REPLY: Correct. And they had an organization called...

COMMENT: ...from France, where there was the shock of the...incident, the trial. I can understand that French Jews became more minimal to Zionism.

REPLY: Who said they were?

COMMENT: I understand the English position, because they come from a position of relative comfort and lack of anti-Semitism...

REPLY: The Anti-Zionism of French Jews was stronger any other Jews on the continent of Europe.

COMMENT: Why?

REPLY: Because they had their citizenship for a hundred years. They got it from Napoleon in 1804. A hundred years we are citizens of France. We've had it longer than anybody.

COMMENT: ...the perspective of the pre-Hitler Jews in Germany, France, England...

REPLY: Well, let's get to pre-Hitler, we're not there yet.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

You have to think in terms of the mentality at a given time of a given people. It is different, ten years later, thirty years later, fifty years later. The virulent anti-Zionism of a tiny handful of the most highly placed English Jews did not prevent the Foreign Minister of the government of England offering this letter to Lord Rothschild. He didn't care what Montague said, even though Montague was on the warpath. He cared more about what Rothschild thought and more about what Vickson thought and more about what Lord George wanted, that's all. And more about the fact that President Wilson came in with his support in October.

So on November 2nd they issued a letter inside the British War Cabinet.

COMMENT: What was the story behind Wilson's support?

REPLY: He was _____ in America. Zionist Jews, Stephen Weiss and Company. And they had complete access to him, they were all democrats.

COMMENT: How old was Stephen Weiss?

REPLY: Which time, 1917? Thirty-five. What are you laughing at, Bobby? That's it. That is the name of this ball game of leadership.

Stephen Weiss was the Rabbi of a congregation in Portland, Oregon. That ain't quite the center of America. He came from Portland, Oregon with an invitation to be the Rabbi of the Temple Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue. And the President of Temple Emanu-El on Fifth Avenue was a man by the name of Louis Marshall, who later went on to become the head of the American Jewish Committee, a guru Jew, rich German, Warburg clan. So Weiss goes to be interviewed. Hot endeavor. Weiss goes to be interviewed to be the Rabbi of the Temple. There is a meeting with Louis Marshall and the Board. And there is only one thing on the table, which is, freedom of the pulpit. Salary, nonsense, all that junk. They were arguing about who decides what the Rabbi says, who monitors it, to whom is the Rabbi responsible. What is the line of authority inside the management of the Temple. That is the discussion.

Weiss says, nobody tells me what to say. Marshall says

say it again. Weiss says well, you know, I don't care, I am not trying to interfere with anything. I don't care how you run this place, and what you charge dues or if you've got a leak in the roof, and I am not going to be the only guy running this, we are going to have a couple more people because this is a big congregation and a lot of deaths and a lot of marriages and a lot of births and decisions and bar mitzvahs. And Marshall said what? What is a bar mitzvah? We don't have bar mitzvahs here at Temple Emanu-El.

Oh really? So they are going through this thing, and I am not going to take you through the day of the whole sphinx...but at the end of the day, the decision came down that the ritual committee controls the pulpit. The ritual committee controls the pulpit. So, Weiss said on ami, which means without me. And he walked out. He went back to Portland, and he never he never took the job. He just threw it back in their face, and they were crestfallen.

After that they got a bunch of dummies, puppets. What do you get?

Weiss came back to New York a couple of years later and formed what he called the Free Synagogue and the word Free meant the pulpit was free, nobody controlled it, the pew was free, nobody paid for it, no dues. You can't buy a seat. Everything about it was free, the Free Synagogue.

He tried to find a place to meet. He couldn't find a place to meet. He rented Carnegie Hall, and services were held in Carnegie Hall on Sunday morning. He rented it, because Friday night there were concerts in Carnegie Hall.

COMMENT: What year was that? What point in time?

REPLY: '21. That was the year of the U.S. Steel strike? That was it. Because he stood up in Carnegie Hall and supported the strike. And he had one guy on his side, who was willing to give him dough to start looking in New York for a location to build a synagogue. He said to his wife, his wife was from the Waterman Fountain Pen people.

Louise Waterman Weiss. I am starting a big fire this morning. She said oh, Stephen, I remember so clearly. Three years I sat with that guy. Three years he taught me.

COMMENT: ...Yeshiva?

REPLY: It wasn't called the Yeshiva, it was called the Jewish Institute of Religion was the official name of it.

He ended up starting a fire, he said, what fire, he said I am taking the side of the strikers, I am going against

Judge whatever-his-name-was, who was the Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel, because that is what the Jewish ethic requires me to do. That is justice. Oh dear. So he goes out on the platform, and bingo, blows this Sunday morning service. It is always Monday morning front page, New York Times, always...

The vulgarity was beyond the possibilities of my...the profanity...I just can't use it. The essence of the conversation was, and that is germane to what we are talking about, the size of the riots, irrelevant. What was important was the size of the troops you need, to keep the riots down.

The bottom line of the conversation was no, you can tell General Clay to do the following, and I got an exact anatomical description of what that should be. You can tell the President of the United States we are really not interested in his point of view, we have nothing to do with it. As far as the movement of 100,000 Jews, I couldn't care if they wound up in the ovens. He said that to me straight. In White Hall. And as far as the basic reason for all of this is concerned, it is very simple. Britain has 100,000 troops tied down in India, they want their freedom. Britain has got 100,000 troops tied down in Palestine, and you people with your terrorists and your hanging British sargents and all that, you want your freedom. And I am telling you Britain wants her freedom and to hell with all of

you. I am going to dump you. I am going to dump every G-ddamn, and then off he went into more profanity. I just sat there, and I am going to dump all these problems, and he is going to get rid of all of these problems, and England is bleeding from all of these problems, and we are two years after the war is over and England is the country and the continent suffering the worst, and I am just going to dump everything and to hell with the rest of you. And especially as far as the Jews are concerned, they are the worst trouble-makers in the world and I don't care whom you say that to.

I stood up, I saluted him. I told him that from my point of view the conversation was at an end, obviously from his point of view he was going to continue and do whatever he could do. If he threw it to the United Nations, which is what he said, then maybe he would get out of it, but I told him that I would not repeat his words to General Clay, because I thought they were not civilized. And I hope I never saw him the rest of my life. I walked out.

It was so wierd, he was all wrapped up in a dirty old customongers sweater and dirty golashes on his feet, and he had a little electric heater down there. It was cold, he didn't have fuel. Ten people get killed in a riot, or fifty people, or some Jews kill some Arabs or blow up a truck, or forty doctors get killed in a convoy

which they needed the shaf jacht, the Hadassah Hospital. He keeps 100,000 British troops are locked up. What does that cost him? So that was his calculation. He hates Jews anyway, a poisonous anti-Semite.

So all these riotings in all these twenty years, the Bestfield Commission and the Biel Commission, and on and on and get rid of the problem. At one point Ramsey McDonald said to give the damn thing over to the Arabs and and take care of the whole thing. Weicksman said if you do that I resign and there will be a massive scandal in the Jewish world. So McDonald pulled back and said I won't do it.

Twenty years of this juggling going on. In which, slowly, slowly, the pendulum is going the other way from the early altruistic position to the position of we've got to get the hell out of here, we've just got to get the hell out of here. And that's what they decided to do. They dumped it on the U.N., we did that whole thing with the Exodus, which I told you about in order to push it. And Truman did his fantastic act on Guatamala in the Phillipines. Don't you understand the relationship of the Phillipines to the United States? It goes back to the fact that the Phillipines did the United States an incredible favor in 1947. General Carlos Rombulow, who just died a few months ago at the age of 80-something. We wouldn't have had Israel to day if it hadn't have been for the Phillipines vote and the Guatemala vote.

Garcia Duarnados, a Guatemala guy, also just died.
I mean, these two guys were taken through the wringer
by Truman to such an extent. They would vote no first
turned the rope. We would've won the Gaddamn vote only
by two.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: It was not oil, not relevant. They were pumping not
much in those days. It was not an economic decision
except insofar as England was draining. It was much more
political.

England could not see any future. This fighting would
continue. It was made perfectly clear by the Jews in
that 1946 blow-up of the King David Hotel whether you
were going to cool it, where you were going to be
haaganad or irgun or whatever you were going to be.

England was faced with resistance, and that resistance
was going to mount. They blow up the King David Hotel
because that was British headquarters, so you move, so
they'll blow up the next headquarters. Terrorism
escalates. I mean, why does everybody act so surprised
today?

COMMENT: Herb, if oil wasn't the trump card, why was
it such a cliffhanger? Why, was it the same story for
hundreds and hundreds of years that the rest of the

world just didn't really give a shit about the Jews?

REPLY: No, no, no, this is specific political situation here. The political situation is the Jews want their country. They will get their country by fighting with terrorist tactics against the occupying power. The occupying power is Britain. So we have to get them out. We will get them out by every manner or means. The varying degrees of terrorism used by the ...

COMMENT: That's not my question. My question was if the United Nations. I mean, today we understand that every country virtually loads its pocketbook. But in 1948, why was it such a cliffhanger...

REPLY: For whom?

COMMENT: For Israel, winning only by two votes.

COMMENTOR #2: If oil wasn't the issue, what was?

COMMENTOR #1: Thank you.

REPLY: Anti-Israel independence. Your are being asked in the United Nations to vote on granting the Jews the right to divide Palestine according to this map or another map and you are going to give them a piece of it.

You are corroborating in 1947 in the United Nations what

England did in 1917. Thirty years earlier. That's why I said the beginning of the State of Israel was the Balfort declaration.

Thirty years later the things come up for a different kind of vote in a different kind of forum. But it's the same vote. And the world doesn't agree. They don't like you, they don't want to give you half the country.

(an unintelligible comment)

REPLY: Maybe, or maybe because they see things in it that are disadvantageous. Don't forget as you take the whole...

COMMENT: What was the geo-political perspective at that time...

REPLY: 1947? The geo-political perspective by two votes was okay, let's give the damn Jews their country. They've suffered enough. That is the essence of every argument that voted in favor. The arguments that...

COMMENT: You would think after the Holocaust and the publicity that was with it, that it would be damn near unanimous.

REPLY: Why? Look at the block.

COMMENT: I was just about to say, what was the case made by the opponent.

REPLY: The Communist case? Look at the block. Everything from the U.N. from the beginning was voting by blocks. It hasn't changed.

COMMENT: So Russia wasn't interested?

REPLY: No. There was an Arab block, they certainly weren't interested.

COMMENT: That I can understand.

REPLY: And the Western democratic block, always been the smallest...

COMMENT: So Third-World politics were a factor...

REPLY: Already beginning. Economic factors were the least, almost non-existent. Third World, the Communist World, small democratic Western World.

COMMENT: The Soviets voted for it?

REPLY: The Soviets voted to recognize Israel a year later.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: I don't think so.

Let's get the map and there's the lists. Let's get the Gilbert book and find it. Let's see if we can find it. Here, map 108. Maybe they have the lists. Read that, the United Nations approved -- it was supported by 33 nations, you're right, Neil, 33, including the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., supported by 33 nations.

COMMENT: They needed a 2/3 majority.

REPLY: That's right.

Thirteen nations opposed, 11 abstained, so you had 24 negatives and abstentions...

COMMENT: So it is a little easier to understand.

REPLY: Okay.

COMMENT: In the sense that it was principally Arab bloc...

REPLY: And all the abstentions.

(some various unintelligible comments)

Okay, now, let's go where are we? In the United Nations we can get two votes today, Israel and the United Nations.

We are still down to the third aliyah. Fellows, we have to quit this, or we are not going to get anywhere.

Forth aliyah...

COMMENT: Was that another 30,000?

REPLY: Yes. As a matter of fact, for that Polish thing, you can use forty. And the fifth aliyah, which begins with Hitler, and the Jews of Germany came in, the number that we commonly give to that is about 65,000.

Now, I don't know, add them all up, what do you have? We are talking about, let's say, a 35-year period, roughly speaking. From early 1900 - 1935. What do you have, 150? Call it 150.

When you start to compound that and you have children and so on and so forth, the population of the country at the time of the reading of the Declaration of Independence was 650, in mid-'48.

So you are talking from '35-'48, is another 10-15 years. You had a very large increase, plus, your base of whatever you had when you started the aliyot, could've been as low as 5-10,000. Your big increase had to come from 1935 onward. And that was during the period of the start of WWI.

COMMENT: If you wanted to make a case for G-d, and if G-d, why the Holocaust, it's interesting because without the Holocaust, there would probably not be an Israel as we know it today.

REPLY: And all of the people who disagree with that sentence, excuse me utterly. Elie Wiesel being one, he said you must not make a link between the Holocaust and the creation of the state. By so doing...in the Holocaust. And by so doing you call the six million a price.

The man's philosophical position is that if you make this linkage, you are doing something terribly wrong for the Holocaust, which has to be kept up on a totally different level of comprehension. You have got to try to understand it.

That's his point. There is a great great guru whom I respect as much as I do Wiesel. His name is Professor Pockenheim, originally from Magil, or wherever he came from in Canada, he is in Israel now. He said there is only one way to understand the Holocaust. There is no other way to understand the Holocaust. Namely, it is unbridgeable linkage to the creation of the State of Israel. Otherwise, it doesn't really mean anything. G-d wasn't there,...it is a dreadful, terrible thing to thing that the terrible Holocaust didn't have any meaning.

Well, the greatest meaning that it can have is that it created the State.

So, that's his meaning. I mean, I, in the package, which you will have next week, I give you a half a dozen major opinions. What Pockenein thinks and what Berkowitz thinks. Well, read it all, I did it all for next time.

Now, you wanted the aliyot, so I gave it to you. Arab nationalism we talked about. This Amir Faisal wanted here one large Arab state, large Arab state. He couldn't get it. Do you want to know where the enmity developed between the Arabs and the Jews in regard to their attitude toward a Jewish state, Palestine? Their attitude developed with full enmity when in the Peace Conference they couldn't get one big Arab state. They got rejected, they got ripsawed, they got double-talked, they got refused. Faisal was trying to create one state out of the Hatjas, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, which would include Palestine because that was a part of Syria. He wanted one major Arab state. That would satisfy all the demands of all the Arab nationalist chieftains, religious leaders, moonlabs, amirs, sharibs, and they would have been happy. They would be a great power there and they could have negotiated with France and England.

He came back to the Hatjas terribly bitter, terribly frustrated, and terribly angry. And Faisal said

to the whole world, in essence, what I said in Frankfurt doesn't count, about the screw. And there ain't gonna be any peace and happiness between us and I am going to fight against the establishment of a Jewish state, I am just going to do it. Whereas I would've been happy to live with them in peace before, I am not going to let them have their state and we get nothing.

Now, the fact of the matter is, just to point out a very simple thing, they didnt get one big Arab state, they got 21 Arab states. They have 21. And they got it bigger and faster and richer than we got our one. So what the hell are they complaining for?

COMMENT: Wasn't it really feasible to think in terms of one large Arab state?

REPLY: Sure. If England and France had wanted to give them the governmental thing. I mean, their internal problems would've been their problems.

Okay, now, we have got to come down to those bad 20 years, flip through those pages very quickly. On page 10 here, where it says Jewish/British relations, I told you about Sir Herbert Samuel. Read that paragraph from the bottom, yet from the beginning he also felt the need for some sort of balance with the Arabs, believing that a policy of cautious goodwill toward them would be the best in British interests.

Well, cautious goodwill turned into gradual British rout and after 20 years of that cautious goodwill Sir Allan Cunningham pulled down the British flag, climbed on that little ship out to sea... So cautious goodwill gets you nowhere.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: That's all. Nobody thinks about that. I mean, if you put that back in the newspapers today, in the United States newspapers, everybody in America would be shot.

They developed so far, so fast. The British degeneration of support ended in, again, one of those historic shocks. If they had thought about it, they wouldn't have issued the white paper when they did. The culmination of the British retreat was to issue the white paper. When did they issue the white paper? Two weeks before Hitler invaded Poland.

When the Jews, of all times, need the maximum support, the British issue the white paper saying okay, fellows, you've had it. We are not going to let any more of you into Palestine, we are not going to let you buy any land in Palestine, you can't develop the country. We are not going to let you have any government there; the mandate's over. We are going to create an Arab

government there, and we are going to warn you now.

I mean, my G-d, if you picked the time when you were to do it, would you do it when Hitler is ceiling the gore of Europe on the gassing.

COMMENT: Well, that's retrospective.

REPLY: What retrospect? The war was about to start. Two weeks. They knew it.

COMMENT: They didn't know what was to come.

REPLY: Come on, 1939...

COMMENT: Did we here in the United States know?

(some unintelligible conversation)

REPLY: Pearl Harbor, that's in Treblinka. Okay, Treblinka is 70 miles down the road from Warsaw. Okay? Dachaw is 11 kilometers down the road from Munich and Dachaw was built in 1938. Not 1941.

(more unintelligible conversation)

REPLY: I think he's early. Six years, six million. But the fact of the matter is, symbolically, I don't care whether, well, I shouldn't say I don't care, symbolically,

if one Jew was killed in '39 or '40, what are we talking about?

For Britain to issue the white paper at the same instantaneous moment that the fate of the Jews. And by the way, not just the fate of the Jews, but the whole damn human race, I mean, how many, 50 million people were killed in the war, 20 million Russians alone, why do you think they are so hard-nosed about it? For Britain to have issued that thing at that moment?

Were they thinking about it a year earlier? Of course they were. Could they have done it a year later? Of course they could. But the callousness, or, the deliberateness of it to say hey, boy, somebody in the British government ...

COMMENT: Was it ever brought up in Parliament?

REPLY: There were twenty Jews sitting in Parliament.

COMMENT: So where were they?

REPLY: Fighting like hell against it. The majority of the British Parliament, it was because the government was pushing for it. The government knew the war was starting. The government did not want to have problems

inside Palestine. The government of England has got a mandate, it has got an administration going on. It has got a hundred thousand soldiers inside Palestine. It wants its soldiers out to fight in the war against Hitler. It wants to cut expenses. It doesn't like to administer this nasty, festering fighting anymore.

COMMENT: And yet, several years later...to keep the Germans.

REPLY: So they didn't know it would develop that way.

COMMENT: If they stayed there, it might be a little more prepared for that.

REPLY: By playing war games? 1942, _____, the man who was appointed by Sir Herbert Samuel to be the leader of the Arab community inside Palestine, hoping that that man would pose some kind of moderate peace, instead, he would be the most inflammatory person Samuel could pick. And Samuel picked him in 1921, when he, Samuel, didn't know the internal politicians of the country. He was just too much of a smart-aleck, because somebody said to him, which man has the most influence? And Sir Herbert Samuel said, let's make him the _____.

1942, 21 years later, _____ at a big rally in Berlin, calling upon all the Moslems of the world

to enlist in Hitler's army. He started by forming what he called a Bosnia Brigade. Bosnia was a Baltic country down, somewhere down therein Yugoslavia or Masedonia. Calling upon them to join a Bosnian Brigade of Moslems fighting on Hitler's side, who would join up with the Turks and go in and try to capture Palestine and Egypt in order to hurt the British.

He stayed in Berlin trying to get this done. This is the _____ of Palestine!

COMMENT: 1946 comes around, the British still don't want...after all these Arabs they appointed and trusted and were screwed by, then they turned around and did it again.

REPLY: The British start with good intentions, scare kind of easily, then begin to make wrong political decisions and then wind up in the uneasy position of being strained relations and enemies of their former friends.

That, by the way, is a short description of alot of British history. That is pretty good improvising. Paint themselves into corners. Alright, so now, you read the British white paper you have to know that that is what turned the Jews of the world livid. At that point Dengorian made the statement because he was asked how the hell can we help support the British, how can we raise an army for them? There was a

discussion about whether the Haganash should go in and help the British, and Dengurian said listen, you have to make a clear distinction. He coined a very good sentence, one-liner. We shall fight Hitler as though the British problem didn't exist. And we shall fight the British as though Hitler didn't exist. It wasn't a mistake. That was a beautiful statement. That was Dangurian's statement. That was a perfect statement. That answered everything, that satisfied the mood inside Palestine that the harassment of the British was just going to go on. The Haganash level of harassment was quite different from the Irgun level of harassment, we don't have to get into that.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: No, they are an organization. The three organizations were as follows: Hagana, Mainstream, Moderate, subject to discipline by the civilians, as any army should be. In this case the civilians of the Jewish agency, which was the Jewish government in exile, or underground government.

Manpower ranging from 25-45 thousand. That was a major manpower pool, armed and trained. So-called anti-British terrorist action on the moderate side. Example: steal three British army trucks. Ram them through locked gate of an ammunition depot, roll in to the depot, your men

dressed in British army uniforms, which were stolen, ram open the hangar of the ammunition dump, load your trucks with the three full trucks of ammunition, if somebody gets in the way, shoot them. And roll out. And you have stolen 50 machine guns and 50,000 pounds of ammunition. And hopefully you haven't hurt anybody. Well that's big stuff, I mean, that's what keeps you going fighting. If you can steal guns and ammunition.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

The second organization was the Irgun, A.K.A. ETSEL. The Irguns, the organization of the national fighting men, acronym, ETSEL. Commander, Begun. Armed force, about 3,000 men. More violent, more given to violence. Example, blow up the King David Hotel. William Yellin Friedman, the commander of the Stern gang, which was named after a man Yair Stern, which was killed in an operation, 300 men. Method of operation what you would call today potent terrorism. If you see two British soldiers walking on the road, kidnap them. Hang them upside-down from a tree right then and there. It doesn't matter who they are.

COMMENT: Do you find a definition of terrorism, a distinction, when you talk about the difference of terrorists, you look at the PLO, attacking women, children, and planes, we can support the actions of Jewish liberators, Jewish nationalists, or 1946, because they were attacking the British.

REPLY: You are asking me really how I define terrorism. I don't think the target has anything to do with it. I think the purpose has to do with it. Well, what is the purpose of this act? The purpose of this act, of blowing up this airplane, is to get this government to do something, then I understand its purpose. It doesn't matter a damn whether you kill four people in an airplane or whether you kill four people playing in a park under a tree.

COMMENT: Military targets.

REPLY: Terrorism has political purposes. The more unethical a terrorist is, the more cold-blooded a terrorist is, or the more creative a terrorist is.

Terrorism is an act against some target, usually innocent, usually disconnected, for the purpose of achieving a political objective. And a political objective can vary so wide, from getting some media attention in order to release some friend of yours from prison. What the political purpose of the act is irrelevant and who the victim of the act is irrelevant, in my book. The act is the thing. And you have to stop the act.

COMMENT: So you could support the _____ in an act against the British.

REPLY: No, because I am not a terrorist. I do not believe terrorism is the way I want to achieve my political objective. I join the Hagalat, and I work my political objectives according to those more moderate standards of resistance against the British.

(some unintelligible conversation)

REPLY: We were talking about my definition of what caused the British to leave. And the blowing up, and the methods of the Irgun and the Stern gang were pin-pricks. The methods of the Haganah hurts, because the volume was bigger, the quantity was bigger, the impact was bigger.

It didn't take 100,000 troops to watch 3,000 Irgun guys or 300 Stern guys. It took 100,000 troops to watch 45,000 Haganah guys. So with all the claims about who got the British out, and this is a 30 year, 40 year fight between Bengurian? and Begun . It was a fight between two men who sat in the same Parliament. Don't forget Begun sat in the Parliament for eight consecutive times. Begun was never absent from Parliament. Bengurian in I don't know how many years, never called him by his name. Bengurian referred to him as the member of Parliament sitting next to Mr. Barkan. That's what you call a chap, boy, that's great. Begun saying, my organization got the British out of here. Bengurian would say you've got delusions of grandeur,

what do you think, they paid attention to you? They paid more attention to these Stern gang guys who were these absolute gorilla guys, knocking off some innocent British sargents. They paid more attention to them, because it was more of an outrage that two British sargents were killed, that's what gets in the papers in England. You, Begun, you are nothing. you schmuck.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: I haven't a clue what the budget was, I haven't got a clue as to where it was raised.

COMMENT: What is major, I mean, was it millions of dollars?

REPLY: Do you want to keep 45,000 men under arms? It's millions of dollars. Of course it is.

COMMENT: There were 45,000 under arms, but they all had different kind of guns, and half the time they weren't working, and half the time they weren't together.

REPLY: But everything costs money. I just don't know. There was a national Jewish underground government. It was the Jewish agency. And they had money. They posted taxes on the Jews inside Israel, they raised a little dough, not much, from the Jews outside Israel. They had departments. There was the Department of Defense

Haganah, and there was a commander. And they had a budget and they spent money on arms.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: It is okay to me except to make sure we understand one thing. And I would be happy to do it if we can make a summary to make sure we understand where we are in order to make sure we get set up for next time. Not next time Holocaust, next time.

I tried to put the thing in two pieces. How we got to where we were for, let's call it, the first 60 years, I know it's a very round figure. That will take me from 1900-that will take me from 1880 to 1950, 1048. I want to make sure you understand everything that went into that and I hope you do.

Now you are standing on the threshold of independence. We have to interrupt with the Holocaust because chronologically it occurred. You are standing in 1945, the war is over, the British are still in Palestine. The stage that's next is the three most important, listen carefully, three most important years in the entire 4,000 years in the history of the Jewish people. The next three. 1945-1948.

In 1945, the Jewish people of the world are on the verge of annihilation. The war is over, 1/3 of the Jewish people is physically dead, 2/3 of the Jewish people, physically

paralyzed. Three million in the Soviet Union not moving not doing anything, not able to do anything. Five million, six million in the United States not doing anything. 1945. Didn't do anything during the Holocaust. Yeah, a couple hundred thousand Jewish soldiers fought in the war. If you look at the Jewish people on this globe, 1/3 physically and 2/3 mentally, emotionally, spiritually in a passive state. What is going to happen to the Jewish people?

I mean, if anybody were to stand on May 6, 1945 when the war ended and make a speech about what is going to happen to the Jewish people in the next 100 years, the speech would have to be that by 100 years from now, let's call it three generations, the Jewish people will no longer exist.

In Buenos Aires and Johannesburg and Paris and in Copenhagen and in Dallas and in San Francisco, no Jews will teach his children Jewish pride, no Jew is going to teach his children Jewish language. What are you going to say to your children is the reason they should maintain and continue the survival of the Jewish people? You don't want to survive. You let it all slip. And it will slip to one generation and two and three and in a hundred years from now, what is the reason for anybody calling himself a Jew? Why? For what reason?

I think now about the time of that early flag of the

United States where they show about the snake and the snake is being cut up into pieces. If you cut the tail off the snake and it doesn't stop wiggling... and as long as it is still wiggling, there is still some life in it. Was anything wiggling in '45? That is the key question.

Now, obviously, a miracle took place. But if you don't like miracles, you can say a lot of hard work. In 1948, we were declared a state. How can anybody think of anything more absurd than that or more incredibly brave and courageous and forward-thrusting and optimistic and determined to live and determined to be history and say screw you, Hitler, no posthumous victories to you, and just screw you, Mr. Assimilated Jew. No posthumous victory to your passivism and your lack of courage and belief and self-confidence. And you pick up that torch and you go and you declare an independent state of Israel three years after you are so knocked down in the box that there is no G-damn reason for you to be alive! And that three year jump from absolute death of 1945 to the birth in 1948 is the single most incredible fact in all 4,000 years of history, say I. Much more important than the giving of the 10 commandments.

It would have come or it wouldn't have come. If G-d wants to do it he will do it. It is nothing we did or we didn't do. The fighting of the Babylonians and re-

building the second temple and everything that we think of the glorious parts of our history is all nothing. Compared to this. Had we not made the move, I am convinced that we couldn't have lasted 2-3 generations. No basis for it. Having made the move, we did the single most incredible, dramatical, fantastic, created fact in our or anybody else's history.

You have got to understand that it's only three years, 1945-1948, May to May, the war ended in May, the Declaration of Independence was in May. Thirty-six months. Those thirty-six months are the most super job...

It sounds to me like tension has broken. Two things happened, that's all that occurred. One thing was, the determination to rescue the remnants of Jews on the continent of Europe and to use those Jews to help fight a war of independence. You needed a manpower pool. And you had it, on the continent. But it had to be organized.

And the second thing was, man cannot fight with empty hands, and so you had to organize an arms supply.

With those two things which were going to be very very hard to achieve in the face of the opposition of the world in which you were living in Europe. You had a shot at a fight for independence. No guarantee. But

you were going to take the shot.

Now, that's what happened during those three years. And those were three years in which I worked in Europe. And those were the three years in which I know intimately what happened. And those are the years I would like to try to find the time to transmit to you.

Next week we won't have time to get into a lot of it, we may. Now the next session is the Holocaust session.

COMMENT: Herb, when you were interviewed at The Limited offices, when are we ever going to see that?

REPLY: Well, you can see that, but let's get into that in a minute. We have got a lot of tapes to see. You can see it anytime we set a date to see it. I have got the cassette.

(an unintelligible question)

REPLY: I can do it anytime. Yes, let's get to that in a minute.

I want you to understand that that three year period, we may touch on it somewhat next time, we may not. We'll hold it if we have that retreat in July, if we can do it then. I want to do it because... And some

of it is written into next week's notes, so you will see it them.

1945-1948. The session after the Holocaust, we will pick up '48 to the present. That's a very long one. We have to cover alot of things, or we will leave alot of things out. I have some audio-visual material that I am going to share with you and I want to tell you about. And if you tell me that we ought to veto it because we don't have the time then I won't schlep the stuff.

Next week, for the next session, for the 27th, I was going to do the following: Give you a set of my papers I've done it. Bring a film called Night in Fog. Now, that's a French film. You've seen it.

COMMENT: I thought it was terrible.

REPLY: Well, why shouldn't it be, look at the subject. But it is the finest film on the Holocaust that I know. It is in the French language with subtitles. It is in black and white and _____. It was done by Alan Rene, if anyone knows the name of that guy as the greatest French film producer of... And I am transferring it now from film, I have two of the last remaining films in existence, it is on film. No, we don't need a machine, I am going to transfer it onto the VHS, and

COMMENT: Do you want me to bring my portable? We have a portable?

REPLY: Yeah, we will need it. What is the size of the monitor?

COMMENT: What size do you want?

REPLY: Bring a twenty-five inch.

Gentlemen, your offer on a personal base is lovely. Would you please rent commercially a 25 inch monitor and a VHS. What are you shaking about? Twenty-five? I don't know where you are going to get a bigger one. Come on, you are all really cooperative and friendly and willing to schlep, but why should you?

The meeting has got to be here. Rent a -- ask them if they have one? Whoever is the chariman next week just do me a favor and bring me the largest monitor you can, because the largest screen you look at it on, its better. And if SOS has got some, Monty Sanborne is very cooperative. He will bring something over. This is so good and the food is here. Number two? Have a slide projector here and a screen, I'll bring the drum of slides, and there are slides of various things, the destruction of Berlin, the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto, I have pictures of that of me standing in the

middle of the ghetto. A series of about a hundred slides and maybe we'll show 20-30 or whatever. Forthly I have a portfolio of prints I want to show you done by a man by the name of Hoffman, and that is a whole nother story, but that just takes an easel, so I need an easel.

We need the VHS stuff, we need the slide projector and screen, and we need...we need an easel.

June 10, the forty years of the growth of Israel. I have to show you one film of its start, because it is the transition film from the DP period in Germany, the three years, displaced persons, crossing the mountains, down to the ocean, to get to Palestine. The name of the film is The Illegals. It was written by Meyer Levin. There is only one such film in the world, nobody never made another one. And I finally pesuaded the family to let me have a copy. The only one in existance besides what they've got, their son has it. They let me have a copy. I signed a document that it will never be used for any commercial use and that I could make the prints, video prints, from the film, which are being done right now and I would like to show the film. What the film shows very simply is a group of people coming out of camp, in the Austrian Alps near _____ climbing over mountain called the _____, climbing through the Brenner Pass, then you've seen that film. Now how would you like to walk over the _____ Bluff

Well I did, with a bunch of people. Walked, it's 14,000, well, it's not the sound of music. Pregnant women and babies and it was agony and it's... Well, you could go with 200-300 at a time. It is a great film, you've got to see it. So we'll show it on June 10.

With your permission, because each one of these takes an hour out and that's why I am telling you about this so you can say no.

And then the last one that I have for you is on June 24. The last one where the growth of the American Jewish community. I have a lovely charmer called Hester Street.

I don't know if you've seen Hester Street or not, but it is great. And if you have seen it, we don't have to bother seeing it again. Bring the kids.

So, there we have it. We have got ourselves through the 19th century, we have got ourselves up through the beginning of the 20th century and the building of Palestine and the problems with the British. We have got ourselves into that locked in period of DP's for three years, the Holocaust left over a remnant, that's the whole point. The remnant that the Holocaust left over was the quarter of a million Jews. Those quarter of a million people is important to get them to Palestine. That started the tail of the snake wiggling, and we made it now, 40 years later.

Then we'll shift gears and go over to the United States and see what's happening here, and then we'll leave it. I have slides of Morocco at the tail end of that and we'll get at that some day, if we ever go. And let's talk dates.

COMMENTS: July 11th.

REPLY: Is that it? I will go for that and I will try to see.

(some unintelligible comments)

REPLY: Let me ask you something, are we talking about repositioning Spain/Morocco?

COMMENT: We want the whole nine yards.

REPLY: Well again, is that it? Because I hear rumbling. Let me make these notes. July weekend, 11-12. Somehow or another, for some reason, I like that upper Michigan.

COMMENT: The only problem is it's a nine hour drive.

REPLY: How about a flight? What we are talking about in terms of...budget, so G-damn much less than what we were talking about.

ISRAEL

JUNE 10



SIDE 1

HERB: Ladies and gents, anybody got any other questions?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Whose birthday? Oh, G-d, has he finally reached 50?

COMMENT: Puberty.

HERB: You're damn right, he's too old to be in this room. Billy, you hear that?

COMMENT: Let's sing happy birthday.

(EVERYONE SINGS HAPPY BIRTHDAY)

NORMAN: Thank you, thank you very much.

(NATAN: I AM GOING TO SKIP THE DIALOGUE OF THE BIRTHDAY CAKE-EATING)

HERB: Does anybody have any more questions?

COMMENT: During the whole post-war period, who was giving and why was the U.S. so cooperative?

HERB: The United States Army was the most humanitarian,

helpful, magnificent, supportive of the Jewish DP's that you would ever hope to find in the modern world. Your question is why.

As with everything, it begins with leadership, it begins at the top. The commanding general of the Army of occupation was a man by the name of Lucious Clay, Lucious D. Clay, I don't know if anybody heard the name, General Clay.

Neal asked me a question before which I didn't answer ^{at} ~~at~~ that moment during the film about and I am going to give you an answer right now.

The commanding general is either sympathetic or not. If he is, the _____ is right down the line. That's number one. General Eisenhower, the first Commander of Occupation, only stayed there a few months after the war was over. He went into a DP camp, I was with him when he did, listen to this story, it is terribly important. His Chief of Staff was a General by the name of Walter Biedlschmidt and he walked in with Biedlschmidt and he didn't say a word, he had his arms behind his back and his face didn't show a thing. And he looked at corpses and he looked at them lined up like logs and he looked at Hassid faces and pleading and he looked at sick people and he smelled the stink and he came out of those barracks, he turned to Biedlschmidt and he said

you get lots of brooms, you get lots of mops you get this place cleaned up. This is terrible. Okay? That was as far as his comprehension went. You can't blame the man. That's it. He was thinking of cleanliness.

You know the Germans have a saying Reinikeidt is Gorlikeidt, Cleanliness is Godliness. He felt the same way. Get this cleaned up. Get brooms and mops, get pails and buckets, get fresh water, get soap, clean this up. He didn't say how come, my G-d, isn't it terrible, what the Nazis did. That is how he saw it. But out of that came a very sympathetic line. There was a Major, the highest ranking chaplain at that time was a Major and his name Juda Nadich and he is the Rabbi of the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York to this day, or maybe he is Emeritus by now and Biedelschmidt called Chaplain Nadich and said you have got to help solve the situation of your fellow Jews, you have the full backing of General Eisenhower to do whatever you have to do. So, Eisenhower passed it over to the Chaplain, which is correct Army procedure and promptly left the problem. That is one kind of leadership.

Lucious Clay became the Commander and Lucious Clay said, the first thing I need is an advisor on Jewish Affairs. And he asked the Secretary of War, in the United States, Mr. Robert Patterson, to appoint to him an advisor on Jewish Affairs. Mr. Patterson had the brains to consult

with five American Jewish organizations. I was his Deputy Assistant. He consulted with the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Joint Distribution Committee, whatever, five organizations to nominate and they nominated a man who was a Rabbi up in Rochester New York by the name of Phillip S. Bernstein.

Rabbi Phillip Bernstein had been appointed during the war by the Welfare Board, the Jewish Welfare Board to nominate Rabbis to be chaplains. The Executive Director of the Welfare board and they ultimately recruited 310 Jewish chaplains into the Army/Navy/Air Force.

So Rabbi Bernstein's name was known to the Army and it was known to the major Jewish organizations. So he was nominated he was appointed, he was a civilian, he was given the rank of Major General, a two star General, with all of the pertaining thereto, two cases of whiskey per month in the PX, one chauffeur, one Dodge and the right to appoint one military assistant.

I was in Berlin running the damm brucha. He and I were friends. He said to me, would you come and be my military aide? I said, if the Hagana lets me. Hagana jumped for joy, because as his deputy advisor on Jewish Affairs in uniform and our office was next to General Clay's office in the IG Harpan Headquarters,

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building which was never bombed by the American Army. Because they had that thing pre-picked out as their headquarters. A gorgeous, fantastic building in the middle of Frankfurt and we are up on the fifth floor near General Clay, near Rabbi Bernstein, and here's Chaplain _____. So the two of us are his advisors on Jewish Affairs. I told Bernstein all about the Hagana version. He said from now on, I don't want to hear one damn word about it. You just don't tell me. Which was saying to me look, boy, go do what you want to do, but we have to separate functions here. You can't get me involved in that. If anything happens you are on your own. I have never met you.

COMMENT: Unintelligible

REPLY: Yeah, it happened in the United States unit. He was a civilian wearing civilian clothes, but he has assimilated rank.

The first ~~X~~ thing I did was walk into General Clay's office. I am answering your ~~xxx~~ question. And I said General Clay, as an officer in the United States Army I am responsible to you, I get paid by you, that is my duty. I am a member of the Hagana, I am working on illegal emigration, that is my duty.

COMMENT: You told him?

REPLY: I told him ,straight. Right up front.

I said now look, we are^{either} going to get into a tremendous conflict and all the forces of the underground in Palestine are going to fight with the forces of the American Army for the next three years or however long it takes for us to get a solution. Or we are going to work together. The best way for us to work together is for us to never do anything that is offensive to you or in violation.

The first thing you have to do is understand what this big political conflict is all about. So Rabbi Bernstein would like to invite you and General Wall and General White and the whole top commanding staff G1,2,3,4, and 5 the Quartermaster General and the Judge Advocate General and we'd like to invite you to come to our house because we've got, we live in a house outside of Frankfurt which we took from a helpless wife of Vermark General who was in jail, and we went up and down the street looking for a house to live in that was intact and we see this beautiful place in Baatamborg, up in the Palamus? _____ Mountains about a half hour outside of town. I'm sure it's like Scarsdale or something, or Bexley and this woman was living in it and we said where is your husband and she said I am here with my two daughters, where is your husband? He is in jail. Fine. Take your two daughters and scoot. Then he looked at

me and I looked at him and he said that is a terrible thing to do. We go back and we say, you've got an attic? Yes. You go live in the attic. And we never saw her for a year.

A big beautiful house and come over tonight and we've got two cases of whiskey, and we must have had ten meetings talking Zionism in 1945-46 to the General staff of the United States Army in the friendliest, most magnificent environment you could dream of and built into those X 10 guys, every one of them a ^{Two-Star} ~~2-star~~ General and up, a sympathetic attitude towards people and yet, a hands-off attitude because the United States Army wasn't going to _____. That's all there was to it. You wouldn't expect them to. They would give us 2,000 calories per day for each DP in the camp, sure, what do we care?

Our guys were stealing another few hundred calories a day backing trucks up to an unloading dock in quartermaster warehouses. They were military drivers with military gasoline tickets and walking away sometimes with foolish kind of loot. I told you how we once walked away with I don't know, 10-12 truckloads of canned peaches. So they ate nothing but canned peaches for awhile. The reason was that the top army staff understood on humanitarian basis and on a Jewish Zionist basis.

We needed a country of our own and they agreed with it fully.

COMMENT: Was American Jewry involved at all?

REPLY: Americans were in Germany.

COMMENT: But, politically?

REPLY: I don't know, I wasn't there. I wasn't in America.

COMMENT: I mean, today we have organizers...

REPLY: You are asking what was the condition of the organized American Jewish community in 1945? Paralyzed. There wasn't a hell of a lot going on. The strength of the Federations began to build only after that in the organized community, the large mass organizations, there was nothing there, Congress wasn't a large membership, B'nai B'rith was large membership and they were dealing with howling allies. They weren't even dealing with the Hillel Foundations yet.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: Nah, come on, how many were coming from Europe. There weren't alot of them. 25, how many did you get

in Columbus in 1945? Did you get 25 refugees here?
I doubt it.

COMMENT: Ask Norman, he would know.

REPLY: Ladies and gents, Neil, did I answer your
question about where was I ^AAdministrator?

It was a gorgeous spot to be in, it was exquisite.
I told you about that border crossing point we had
at Clas Hachun. And now we are going to go back to
the agenda. This is the last story.

Every time we had a truck load or a train load
as we saw in that film coming across that particular
border point, there was a very strong ^{Amerigan} constabulary
unit at that point. I used to send a note to General
Bull or General White or General Shivers or whoever the
hell it was who was running the constabulary and I would
say sir, would you please show a film in the barracks
between 12 midnight and 2 a.m. and he knew damn well
what I was saying. Keep the constabulary guys inside,
give me two hours.

In two hours we could get a trainload across or we
could get a truckload across. At two o'clock in the
morning you can let them come out again and then there
is no conflict and nobody saw anybody do anything.

And sure enough every time that would happen the border crossing point would be open and never once in three years did we have a conflict with the Russians. We had it with the Poles, we had it. I said to you bottles of vodka, heavy money changed hands. Americans nothing, nothing.

VARIOUS UNINTELLIGIBLE COMMENTORS

HERB: Okay, back to the lecture.

What I tried to do, what were we talking about?

COMMENT: There is a tornado...warning outside. They have everyone...

HERB: Oh, we have a great building here.

Ladies and gents, I want you to understand that from the time this period ended the state of Israel began to be born. Okay? The British leave on the afternoon of Friday, May 14, 1948. The Yeshud is in very bad shape, the Jewish population in Palestine. Bad shape, bad. There have been seven months of guerilla warfare under this Iraqui general, Bausi Bayer Kahuchi. He got in as far as Dugandia, you know where that is on the map of Israel. That is deep, deep, it wouldn't have taken him longer, very much longer to get down to Haveva, and

he's in the middle of the country. Or to go west and he gets to Haifa in half an hour. They'd come through seven long months of guerilla warfare and it was rugged.

Oh, that's good, thank you. The shape of the country was undetermined. That is the United Nations' partition plan. Do you have any idea what their logic was in drawing it this way? There were two kissing points as they called it, one right here. ~~MM~~ By the way, do you understand what this is? Well, the black is the is to be the Jewish state and the cross-hatching is to be the Arab state.

AT THIS POINT EVERYONE GOES DOWNSTAIRS BECAUSE A TORNADO'S COMING.

(Natan: (joke) At the point where someone announces that everyone has to go downstairs, I hear someone in the background mutter "whoever transcribes this tape is going to have fun".

(Natan: The rest of this side of the tape is blank.)

SIDE B

HERB: The things we have to do tonight include a very very long lecture, which obviously can't go past the time limit, so it is not a long lecture. It is just a lecture covering a hell of a lot of stuff that we are going to have to talk fast about.

Okay, everybody pay attention. Let's get back on the ball here. Fred, eat at the table here boy, do you eat standing up at the dining room? Bring your plate to the table. I have no idea where your colleagues are, but our out of town guests are going to get the impression that we always do things late, typical Jewish time, when the fact of the matter is we don't, not true, not true. Will somebody close the door, please? We won't have to listen to the vacuum clenaer.

We are going to begin this whole episode of Israel's growth over a 38-year period, and we are obviously not going to be able to cover it any more than to shoot the headlines of it. In order to understand how Israel...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Kill the rights, please. I want to show you some slides of the...

Okay, that is the Brantenberg Gate in the middle of the city of Berlin which separates the American sector from the British sector. From the Russian sector, sorry. You go through that gate and you are inside the Russian sector of Berlin. I'd better show you something. Bernie, kick the lights back on.

This map is 45 years old. In fact, it was put out by, you'll see the date if you come up here, July 1944. This edition was prepared for use by the War and Navy Department, not for use or sale or distribution. The National Geographic Society prepared it. It showed how Germany was carved out in 1944, before the war was over. Germany was divided into zones. The Russian Zone, the British Zone, the French got the smallest and the U.S. got the biggest.

Austria was divided up similarly. The American Zone, the U.S. Zone, the French, and the British. Okay, those are the two occupied countries. The Austrians called themselves occupied by the Germans. That's their posture. They never paid a dime in reparations, they are a Western country, and all of this accounts for their attitude today about Waldheim. (unintelligible sentence). This map is their proof of it.

Now, inside the Russian Zone, deep inside the Russian

Zone, in the city of Berlin, you cannot get into the city of Berlin without the permission of the Russians. Today this is called ~~xxx~~ East Germany. And over here, what is the American/British/French zone is West Germany. This is Western Germany and that is Eastern Germany. But then it was Russian and it is today still Russian. And the Russians let you know whether they will take your passport and let you go across borders. and you to to checkpoint Charlie and you submit yourself to the Russians, and you go across the subway at _____ station and you submit yourself to the Russians. That's how you get from anywhere around here into Berlin.

Now the city of Berlin also divided into four zones.

COMMENT: How do you get to Berlin from the U.S. zone? You drive?

HERB: You can, you cross the border here at a place called Helmstedt with a pass and you can drive the autoban right straight into Berlin.

You enter Berlin through the American zone when you come from this direction. But there is a Russian guard there, and he lets you through and then you will be in the American zone. ~~Ins~~ide the city of Berlin, the

Administration of the city was run by a four -power Comandatura, and that is where the phrase 'four men in the jeep' comes from, because each jeep had four guys, one from each of the four powers, and they patrol the city that way.

Now. I started to show you pictures of Berlin. I was stationed in Berlin for a year and a half. I used to go every single night, I told you this, right here to this border-crossing town which is right here, of Stettine. Stettine is in the Polish corridor. All the Jews were brought from the East, Russia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and we had to get them across into the West to the American zone, that's where we set up the camps and that's where we'd feed them and that's where we'd give them medicine and take care of them and the objective was to get down to the sea, right here, Italy or France. And that's where we ran the boats, against the British who tried to stop the boats and you know that whole story.

The big trick ^{is} was to get the people in from the East and you had to get them across this border. That's Poland. This is the Polish corridor. This is Danzig up here, where WWII started, the Stettine border crossing, 150 miles. I was to go out of Berlin at night, dusk, 6 trucks, 12 Palestine brigade soldiers, X bottles of vodka, cartons

of cigarettes for each Jew we'd pick up. Six trucks, 50 Jews on each truck, 300 Jews every night, 300 cartons of cigarettes. A carton of cigarettes, \$150 on the black market, times 300. \$45,000 every night, night after night after night. \$45,000 to pick up 300 people. We bought the cigarettes on the black market and we stole the money.

After awhile, the cigarettes came in here up in Hamburg, in the Port of Hamburg, when the joint finally got into action a year and a half later. ^{We} ~~They~~ were getting shiploads full of cigarettes, freight carloads. But the first year was very tough, very tough. (unintelligible phrase)...until there could be a harbor that we could bring the stuff in, and Hamburg was blocked and Rotterdam was blocked, Riverhaven was the first harbor to open up _____, the Americans opened it up for the U.S. Army supplies, fine, so we rode in on the tail.

We'd go up here at night, load at midnight. Drive back in by dawn, so that is a twelve-hour operation, and you rescue 300 people. Keep going. They add up. 300 people per night times 300 nights, you've got 100,000 people. Exactly what we schlepped through Berlin, 100,000 Jews.

And down here we had a southern route that came in through

Munich, which was right here, and that came wandering through Clocknahor across the check border and back here through Brakaslava on the Hungarian border and back in through Vienna to Salzberg and from Salzberg into Munich and that used to run by train, because we could take more people in by train than we could take by truck, we used to run a train load of a thousand.

I want you to get a conception of this thing, because this is influential in our lives today, but it certainly was influential in our lives then. I want to show you a film when we finish looking at these slides of what Berlin looked like all mashed up, the great Pasanashana Synagogue Leo Beck was the Rabbi and where Mack Nushbaum Los Angeles was the Assistant Rabbi, and Yoahan Prinz in Newark, New Jersey was the Assistant Rabbi these guys are old and retired today, but still alive, no Nushbaum's dead. I will show you a few slides of Berlin. I will ~~xxx~~ show you a few slides of what the DP camp looked like, and that is how the people were living. And then we will go to a film, and the film is called "The Illegals". It is the only film ever made showing how the DP people lived immediately after the war, how they crossed all the borders, and it takes you to an exit point right down here near South Feldon, here's Baatgaatstein, and it came ~~xx~~ on foot over a mountain called the Gross Glacheer, which is 14,000 feet, and I walked up and down, what are you smiling about?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: Yeah, we walk across it, with long lines of people and babies. You'll see.

This film, The illegals, is an old film made by Meyer Levin, the author, in 1946, I ^{think} ~~think~~, and I have had it taken off 16mm film and it is on a VCR tape and we are the only ones that have it and I will ~~W~~ show you now and that is how the state of Israel got started...

Everybody wants to start in 1948, we have got to start in 1945, because without no 1945 there ain't no 1948, despite the fact that alot of people don't agree with that statement. Elie Wiesel is one who doesn't agree with that statement, I told you that. Alot of people don't agree, but you know me. I tell you what I think, and you think what you want to think.

Okay ,Bernie, I have got to ask you to go back to the switch. Now, that is the center, that is the heart of Beilin, the Branden-Berger gate. Next. That little wall is the Berlin Wall, but that is all you see down there at the center of town, because all the tourists come there to look and the Russians don't want to look too mean and so they don't put much barbed wire, it's a little tiny wall....

They conned Kennedy, nobody stopped them in that wall,
this is ~~XX~~ August of 1961. They should have smashed
them flat, the wall should have never been built, but
America was busy with ...

QUESTION: How high is that on the other side...

REPLY: That is the wall at that point. The wall at
other points is twenty feet high...

QUESTION: It almost looks like its taller on the
other side...

REPLY: That is a building.

QUESTION: It's lower on the other side of the wall.

REPLY: I don't know. Next.

That is a British guy and he is looking into the Russian
side.

QUESTION: Herb, what is so significant about Kennedy's
speech there, I guess it was much later.

REPLY: I'll show you...nah, he came back there later on.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: He was identifying. He said America is with you, Germany. America has helped you ~~babuild~~ through the Mar**h**all plant. Mr. Morqanthau was Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury. Morqanthau had a good plan for Germany. He called it, pasteralization, which means, smash the industry flat, tear it into pieces, tear up every line of railroad track, nothing, ~~no~~ steel, no coal, no nothing. Farmland turn Germany into a big farm. He had a beautiful plan.

So President Roosevelt said no the United Nations said no and instead, the argument ~~went~~ ^{went} the other way. I used to sit in on four-power commandatour meetings in Berlin and listen to the ~~Americans~~ ^{me} say, we have to help the Germans increase coal production by 15%, and the Russians would stand up and scream bloody murder and say we want to kill the bastards, what do you mean, increase their coal production. What are we talking about, you want to rebuild them?

So the American ~~sand~~ ^{and} the Russians would fight around the table like this until, and the Americans would always win, except the month the Russian~~s~~ took the Chairmanship, because it was a revolving ~~XXXX~~ Chairmanship. The Russians would begin at midnight, the meeting starts at midnight, break at two o'clock for supper, five o'clock

you get down to business, by this time the Americans had been working since eight o'clock the previous morning, they are wiped out, sitting there, sleeping. The last twenty minutes of the meeting all the resolutions get passed, because the meeting has got to end at eight o'clock in the morning because the Russians have to go home and go to sleep and the Americans go home to get back to the office. So once a month the Russians had a field day out of it. And then the rest of the time the other three allies used to try to mop up the floor with the Russians.

The Cold War was born in Berlin in 1946. Next. That was the Russians War Monument which they put in the American's zone. That's what we need, space, you don't give us enough space. 200 yards from here is the Russian's space zone but we don't have enough room. So the Americans say go ahead and take it.

COMMENT: And they have a ceremony there, I remember when I was there and the Russian soldiers marched...

REPLY: Oh, that is the most important thing, all those flowers, the honor guard marches every day, that's one picture of a Russian soldier representing the 20 million dead which they suffered in the war. Next.

That is the four-power commander building, you

see four flagpoles deep inside the courtyard, that is a gorgeous 18th century Baroque building. Next.

That is the City Hall. From the balcony of that building, you see the four columns over ~~that~~ there that are the front door and the balcony and Kennedy spoke from that balcony. Long before he did, however, I held in that building, the first Passover Seder after the liberation, we had 2,000 Jewish soldiers in that building for Pesach of 1946 and Russians, Americans French and British.

These slides were probably taken in the late '40's, maybe '50's. The cars were about then. All four Generals promised to come and three of them came. Who didn't come? Kapikoff didn't come. I have a big Russian flag up there, I have got an empty seat in the head table for him, I have ~~fer-a--~~ got a Hagada sitting there and a yamulkah, and I have got 500 Russian soldiers in the room and he didn't come.

So I went to see him the next day and I said you promised you would come. Oh, I gave all of them orders to go. I said five hundred were there, he was very ~~emb~~ _____, it was a great seder. Benny Kennedy came and he was there to sanctify the building. Next.

That is the yedek miskil. That is the memorial ~~church~~.

church, it is a great church it is in the middle of Berlin...they built a modern building around it and they kept that old remnant. It is a remnant of their defeat. Next.

That is the rachrar, that is the building that was burned in 1933 when Hitler first came to power, he became Chancellor in January and that was burned in February and he said the Communists set fire to our, that's their Parliament building and he used that as an excuse to wipe out the Communist Party, the labor unions, the intellectuals. By two months later he had the country in his palm.

That is the great, great synagogue of Berlin, you'll see what they did to it. This was done in Kristelnach in 1938 and it stood that way for many many years. I took those pictures probably in 1945-46. Next.

There were three domes, and the Germans moved the domes out. Next.

Talk about grass growing, the Germans said we will kill every Jew, we will destroy every synagogue, grass will grow in their synagogue. So it has been standing from '38 to '45, seven years.

COMMENT: Did anybody clean it up?

REPLY: It doesn't exist anymore. It all came down.

On its very site, the senate of Berlin has spent five million dollars to build the Jewish Community Center of Berlin, on that very same site.

COMMENT: How much were they spending?

REPLY: Five mil.

COMMENT: Unintelligible

REPLY: Of Berlin? 6,000. Next.

You are looking out of the window of Hitler's house in Bertkistaten on top of the mountain, and that is his hill. I used to love to come up there and look out on the great mountains and derive this great spiritual satisfaction of the snow and the mist and the fog. ... That house doesn't exist anymore, of course, it was bombed ^{by} on the afternoon of April 27th, he wasn't there he was in Berlin... Next.

That is looking at it from the ^{outside} ~~outside~~. That is the great picture window, you can see the framework of it. Next.

I think that ^{is} a classy picture. Next.

(unintelligible sentence) That is what a bombed-out city looks like. Next. People living in the middle of that. Next.

Take a look up there in the upper right-hand corner, two walls are sheared off? People are living up there. All you do is you tell your kid not to step too close to the edge. And down below it is all rubble, and you clear away some of the rubble and the streetcars are running. Next.

The next set of pictures, that is the Jew in Europe, all alone, living in a DP ~~camp~~- camp. Now, the DP camp was anything where we had four walls, three walls, two walls, a roof. We collected these people, we carried them in from the East, we gathered them anywhere where there was shelter, we fed them and housed them and nourished them and gave them penicillin and then the wait began and they didn't know where to go, there was no place there they could go back to and there was no place they could go forward to.

We accumulated a quarter of a million people in those camps and they sat there for three years, from 1945-1948. The picture of that one guy walking across that parade ground in what was formerly a German barracks and now we have 2,000 Jews living there, that picture symbolizes for

me the condition of the post-war and pre-Israel displaced person. That man is displaced, has got no where to go on this Earth. Next.

That is a German barracks and there they are hanging around all day. They are eating 2300, 2500 calories, so nobody is starving, but that's it. You have to keep them busy. So you organize a police force on bicycles so we should police the camps and put the kids in the schools and somebody comes from Palestine, the school teacher and you set up classes and you set up an orchestra....next.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: Most of them came from the United States Army, the supplementary rations of 5-600 calories came from the joint, that is the American dough. Teaching personnel came mostly from Palestinians, that is American dough. The UJA, in 1945, when the war was still on, raised 15 million dollars. The UJA in 1946 raised 102 million dollars. And from '46 it went up a little bit and it went up a little bit in '47 and it went up a little bit in '48 and the state of Israel got established in '48 and the campaign reached its absolute maximum, 148 million dollars in 1948, got it? It is a mnemonic device.

And then, the orgasm having been held, 1949 the state of

Israel is established. It's here, so what the hell is all the excitement about? So the campaign drops 225 million. In 1950, the campaign drops to 75 million. In 1950...and the guy who was the head of the UJA, Mr. Henry Montour said to him next year the UJA will be 25 million and after that it's zero so we have to find a new way of financing. So there were 15 or 20 of us who called a meeting in Jerusalem in September of 1950 and I was there to talk about a new way of financing, so what we came up with was let Israel sell a bond and see if the world market would take her bonds or not. And so they were ready to pack in and close up the UJA In September of 1950 and go to a new form of getting money, borrow money through selling bonds and then he goes around the table and as I said there were 15 of us in the room and he said what should we do? And everybody said lets sell bonds, I'll help you sell bonds what the hell are you throwing the baby out with the bathwater?

I don't believe that this UJA is doomed, a couple of ~~yeater~~ years later I ...you open your mouth. So, by that time I was back in Milwaukee, I was the Rabbi, and so I quit ... running the UJA with that in my mind. Next.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: We are going to have to move very fast I am going to have to just give you the headlines.

Seven months guerilla warfare between November 29th, 1947, when the UN voted. You know what the vote was, you know by what majority we won it, you know which two countries were the countries that gave us the majority.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, not Singapore.

COMMENT: (various unintelligible comments)

HERB: No, not Russia, not France, you'll never guess it if you're ~~not~~ guessing. If you don't know if you don't know it.

COMMENT: I read it.

HERB: So you didn't remember it that~~s~~all, you forgot it. That's it, Brad's got one, the Phillipines, and the other, Guatemala.

Guatemala and the Phillipines are the conscience of the world. What a joke. And they gave us the victory vote

and that is because President Truman muscled both countries and it is interesting that the men that put their hands up, a man from Guatemala by the name of Galcia Guenados, who died, about a year ago and a man ~~by the name~~ from the Phillipines by the name of Carlos Romulo who just died a year ago, thank G-d for these two guys and thank G-d for Truman. So we get the crazy G-ddamned vote which gives us permission to do what? If you look carefully at the black they gave us two areas that were connected tenuously at those two points that could be snipped like this.

The fight goes on in a guerilla fashion with the British still in the country between November '47 when the vote took place and the fifteenth of May, which is when the British are supposed to leave, but the fifteenth of May is a Shabbat, so they are not going to leave then, so it is on Friday the 14th of May that the final drama is ~~xxx~~ played out and the Declaration of Independence is read in the Museum of Rothchild Boulevard in Tel Aviv, and it is a dinky little small place and about two hundred people are all that could get in on three stories and there was no place to put the band, so they put the band up on the third floor and ~~xxx~~ nobody could give a cue or a signal so the band started playing Hatikvah before the thing started and Ben Gurion is yelling shut up and it is chaos, typical Jewish chaos. It is disorganized. You think of Philadelphia in the summer of 1776 and that wasn't it on Rothchild

Boulevard in 1948 but nevermind, all that is a formality and maybe isn't too important.

The British flag comes down, Sir Allan Cunningham in crisp whites out in a cruiser in the bay three miles out in ~~terret~~ territorial waters pulls down the British flag and the Jews are on their own, on their own. Next.

A month earlier in April there had been an incredible dreadful fight between the Chief of Staff, Idal Yamin and Mr. Bengurion and I told you that story a long time ago, the fight was all about what to do with the heavy artillery. The great mass of heavy artillery which the Haganah had, because you had to guess which way the right was going to go.

You know that the day after you read your Declaration of Independence, War was going to start, a big war. You have to decide, not guerilla warfare under some Iraqi General, but you are going to get hit by five Arab states, regular armies. Uniforms marching, plenty of ammunition, not guerilla warfare.

How do you want to handle it? The fight between these two men which took place a month earlier as they were making their plans was the ~~disposition~~ disposition of the heavy artillery. The heavy artillery consisted of four,

count them, four seventy-five pounders from the Franco-
Prussian War of 1870, these were French guns. These
French guns were 60 years old and we've got four of
them, where should we put them? And I am not making
this up, this is a totally, absolutely real story.

And Yamin wanted to protect the whole country, so he
said we've got to put the four guns up in the north and
stop them from coming in. Ben-Gurion said no, we are
going to put the four guns up in front of Jerusalem
and prevent the Egyptians from coming in, from the
south. We've got no Jerusalem, we've got no country, that
is our heart, we lose the heart, ^{there} ~~ehre~~ is nothing left.

Yamin said I don't know ~~nothing~~ about heart, all I know
is from the military point of view, we'd better stop
them from the north. Seven hours the argument raged.
The ending of course, should be obvious to every one of
you, typical Jewish compromise, two guns to the north,
and two guns to the front of Jerusalem. Laughable. And
yet they won.

The war took in dead alone, one percent of the population.
One person out of every one hundred, man, woman, and
child, was dead when the war was over. You're talking about
the trauma of the Vietnam War that took 55,000 dead out of
250 million people, and that war threw three presidents

out of office, that was was one of the greatest upheavels this country has had in 200 or 300 years. That war killed students in this very state. I mean, what that war did, it ripped apart American heart, it took American... I don't have to tell you what the Vietnam War did to this country. Fifty-five thousand dead out of 250 million people. I don't know what percentage we are talking about, .0000-something. If you had 1% of the people in this country killed in the Vietnam War it would have been 2½ million people. 2½ million people haven't been killed in all the wars America has fought from the beginning of her existance. Talk about a war in which 1% of the people, men, women and children, 6,000 dead out of a total population of 600,000.

Do you realize what a truma that was? I mean, our state was born in wuch a barrel of blood that it remains in the psychology of every person who lived through it and every immigrant who came in subsequently and heard about it and fought through four more wars.

This last little episode in Lebanon is so stupid, 600 dead, 3½ thousand wounded, many of them for the rest of their/lives disabled. You have to understand it because that's what played such a prominent part in the decisions of today where it is hard for Israel to decide what to do about the West Bank because half the people

in Israel think their security is wrapped up in keeping the West Bank. And the other half of the people don't believe that and the country is split on what to do about what to do about the West Bank because the country is split on the question of its security. This is the greatest single fact, our security, because they still don't have a comfortable feeling that they have conquered all the enemies and their security is guaranteed, they don't have that feeling.

It is going on 40 years now. America fought the British in 1776, America fought the British again in the War of 1812, how many years later is that? Twenty-four and twelve is thirty-six years later. Thirty-six years later America is still not sure she is secure from the British. And only after the War of 1812, that is almost the same period of time, Israel is 38 years old, America was 36 years old when she came out from under her ~~fears~~ fears. Israel is not out from under her fears yet.

To understand the Israel of today you have to comprehend that point. Okay. After that, when the war was over finally and the Armistice Treaty was signed on the Island of Rhodes in the spring of 1947, '49, and Ralph Bunch got the Nobel Peace Prize for engineering those Armistice Treaties, Israel immediately started to build the country.

The building of the country took place for the next twenty years. In the course of the next twenty years there were two major wars and one minor one and in spite of that, in spite of the campaign of 1956, and in spite of the War of 1967, the Six Day War, and the War of Attrition that started in 1968 and went to 1970, in spite of all that the country grew in a totally phenomenal way.

I have written it out here, the growth in the agriculture we don't have time to go through it, but it's all in here. And it is in all the books that you have the reading assignment for the Eban book and the Zachter book.

Agriculture grew from the point where Israel was verging on rations in 1950 and '51, the ration was one egg a week per adults and three eggs a week per children, the only protein the country had was frozen fish that was imported from Norway and it was called filet. So everybody said how would you like your filet? Well done? It is a hunk of frozen Norwegian codfish, that is what the hell it is, and it is 300 grams of it and that's what you've got. And they got plenty eggplants and beets and lots of funny vegetables nobody wanted because nothing good was being grown yet and I'll bet Noam remembers eggplants and fish filet.

From that point to 20 years later where Israel was exporting

and earning good dollars by selling flowers to Holland. I mean, I have to tell you, ... selling flowers to Holland? Selling melons at one English pound each in London? Come on, the pound is four bucks. Israeli melon pulling four bucks in the English market? Incredible.

From beginning with austerity and rationing with not enough food we reach the point where you are earning good dollars, lots of them, out of agriculture and then you switch from agriculture to industry, and you've got a country today which makes the most sophisticated things in the world, laser printing machines, cat-scan machines, way out there in the front gear. Super-sonic jet airplanes, how many countries in the world make them? Four. Israel will be number five to make super-sonic jet. Number five.

So the advances are dramatic, are incredible. Agriculture, industry and then you go into the post-industrial period where Israel is today. Israel jumped the automobile age, she doesn't make automobiles. But she makes 250-mile rockets, and if she wants to make missiles, she'll make missiles. She didn't want to. Most of her energy is going into big discussion now about nuclear power plants and the scientists in the country are split, especially after this Chernobyl thing. The guys in Tel Aviv University gave a speech and said,

can you imagine if we build a nuclear plant somewhere in the area of South Bathsheeba and the thing melts or blows down or some terrorist blows it up, now long do you think it is going to take for the winds to get up to Tel Aviv? Three minutes?

And the other guy comes up with the argument, there are always industrial accidents, we built a water line from the Sea of Gallilee to Elat, men were killed in the building of it, we lost people equipment ~~wa~~ as trenches caved in, we were burying all of the pipes, eight-foot in diameter pipes, you could drive a jeep through the national water line of Israel, the pipe is eight feet in diameter. The manufacturing of that pipe and the welding of pipes, you don't think we have dozens of deaths?

Don't talk to me about industrial accidents. What are we going to do? Oil is cheap now, oil will be expensive again. Coal is expensive now, we buy it from South Africa. If we get in a fight with South Africa, the contract only has 11 years to go. Who will supply us?

The argument rages. All of Israel's energy is going into nuclear, so they are not bothering with other things. You have to have a picture of country that in agriculture,

in industry, in emigration, has done miracles. The country...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, no, I am fine. I am okay. I am just looking for balance, I don't need support.

The country doubled its population in the first twenty months of its life. Do you realize that? And fifteen of those twenty months it was fighting the war of independence. Doubles the damn population while its fighting its war. Ridiculous. And then when you think about it, quadrupled its population, four times its population in the first twenty years of its life. Started out with 600,000 people, at the end of 20 years, 2½ million people. And now, at its 38th year, 3½ million people. And it will get to its 48th year or its 50th year and we will have five million people. As many Jews as in the United States today if we have five million people, I don't know.

You are going to get to the end of the century, 14 years from now and you are going to have the same number of Jews in Israel as you had in the United States. Stop to think of it that way. So where is the center of power of the Jewish people? You have got two centers, you have got two poles, all that in the middle of fighting

war. The war or 1956 was called the Hundred Hours War. That is a good kind of war to fight, 100 hours. The purpose of the war was different for each party that came into it.

The Israelis had a very simple purpose. That wall, Mr. Nassir, who was conducting all the guerilla raids in the Ventain, if you remember that word, raids into Israel, you think terrorism started yeaterday? Terrorism started when Mr. Nassir became the president of Egypt in 1953 after throwing out King Baroque and his pormographic collection. And Baroque went to Switzerland and has had a lovely life since then.

Nassir started nagging, nibbling away at the Jews and Bengurian said the hell with this, let's finish it off. We'll take a quick shot through the canal and show this guy that he'd better leave us alone. So that was the Israeli purpose.

The British had their own purpose when they came into that war. You remember the British and the French were a part of that too? As Israel's allies?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: The United States, sure.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: You were twelve years old? That is a lovely age.

The British come into the thing because they don't like what he is going to do about nationalizing the canal. The French come into the thing because they figure if there is going to be a big blow up and a show down, they at least want to be in on it so that when the dust settles and the political influence is distributed, whichever way the war comes out, Egypt may win, Israel may win, we don't give a damn, we'd better be in on the ground floor because we want a piece of action when it's all over.

So all three countries come in. Then in France there is a big protest, what are you doing, mixing ~~up~~ in that thing and in England Anthony Eden is called some kind of an adventurer and a traitor and so the British and the French retreated out of the war in confusion and also under enormous pressure from Eisenhower, really kicked them in the butt and said what the hell is the matter with you, going in that place with the Israelis? I am going to force them back out of the Sinai, and don't give them legitimacy by letting them call you their allies.

Eisenhower and Dulles rolled Ben-Gurion back (end of tape)

TAPE #2, Side A

HERB: ...but we are now really going to show you, you know, we'll put you in your place. Very well-planned campaign was prepared, coordinated all the Arabs for the first time, and a concept of what they wanted to achieve and Nasser, by now, was the head of Egypt, put it in words very clearly, when we close the straits of Tehran, which they did on the 22nd of May, 1967, and create this blockade, we know that we are threatening the existence of the life of Israel. That is our purpose, we intend to destroy her.

So he set his war objective. And each Arab country did the same. And the attack was coordinated. Except for one thing. They miscalculated as to what Israel's real intention would be. They miscalculated and had no idea that Israel would pre-empt, and that was the brilliance of the solution.

You have no idea how difficult the 2½ weeks were before the war because there was no solution. I told you in this thing that the first vote of the Israel cabinet as to whether to go to war or prepare for war or mobilize for war, in the face of the known Egyptian threat. This was not like the Yom Kippur War, there were no surprises here, no surprise at all. The war

didn't begin until June the fifth. And the first Egyptian move was made on May 22nd. That is a full two weeks earlier. I got a telephone call from Eshkol on May 22nd. He said I have to see you, I said I'll come tomorrow, I'll be there. We didn't question each other -- he was the Prime Minister.

I came on the day next day. I said what's the problem? He said we'll have to go to war. I said yeah, I think so, it is about time. What do you want? And I thought he wanted to talk about money, but he wanted to relieve his mind of something and he said I was shocked. The chief chaplain of the Army, Golan, Rabbi Golan, came to me and asked permission to sanctify a big field in Net Hagan, which later the stadium was built there. And I said why? Because the general staff of the Army has decided that in the face of what the Egyptians have mobilized, which is a thousand tanks, and I told you I saw them the next day, he sent me down to Elavja and in the field glasses, just 3,000 meters away you see then, you could count them, one, two, three, four, there was a thousand of them, and 3,000 meters is not very far, just three kilometers. It is less than two miles.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: The general staff made an appraisal that if they

hit us right and we have not managed somehow or another either to deter them or to blunder them or to hit them first, that the casualties will be, hold your breath, 40,000, and they want to make a cemetery to sanctify a piece of ground for a cemetery for 40,000 casualties.

What are we talking about? That is the destruction of the country. He said I gave them permission but I think they are crazy if they are going to...

Fire Alarm.

Okay, the fact of the matter is...when the cabinet met the next day the vote as to what they should do in the way of preparing for war or going to war or mobilizing was nine to nine. So you don't do anything, do you? You wait for the next meeting.

COMMENT: Why?

REPLY: Why? Confusion on the part of some people, lack of guidance on the part of others. Fear that a mobilization which is a very expensive matter might be a vahala vatala.

COMMENT: ...decided to mobilize? I thought the issue was a pre-emptive strike...

REPLY: Full mobilization brings 400,000 men into uniform

and out of the civilian economy.

COMMENT: You know, my guess would be that the important thing is not that Israel could not make a decision, but that the Arab country didn't strike.

REPLY: They didn't strike because they weren't finished with their preparations yet. Nassir kicked the UN out, they left on the first day.. He blockaded Iran so that there was no shipping up into the port of Alat, he had to let Israel get thirty for oil for a few days. He then was sent abroad to guide and mobilize some support from the Western world and his trip was announced as being of four days duration. He had France, England and the United States and back to Israel in four days.

They wanted to wait and see what the reaction would be to that trip. He came back empty-handed. That is when they were ready to hit. And when he came back empty-handed, that's when the Israel cabinet knew that they had to blank or get off the cot. So the following Sunday, the cabinet meets on Sunday, the vote was 16-2.

COMMENT: To mobilize?

HERB: To go to war, the next morning, Monday morning, June the 5th. And that is when we hit.

COMMENT: What did he ask you for...

HERB: He wanted two things, he wanted two things, the United States government would not sell any weapons to Israel, but the F-84's, which were the main American...

Fire Alarm.

HERB: What was the question?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No. Everybody knew it was clear-cut that they would go to war. The only question is, you have now, by the second week, you have mobilized everybody. Full mobilization took place without the Cabinet or Parliament decision. A military administrative decision.

You've got 400,000 men and women, civilian economy begins to falter within the first 48 hours, still no war, guys standing in uniform next to their tanks. Nobody allowed to go five meters away from his vehicle or his truck or his APC . Cold food, hot sun. Israel in June. You are sitting there, baking under the sun you are waiting, you are waiting, you are waiting.

It was quite clear what the decision had to be, and thank

G-d for Azir Weitzman and Agalar Yavin, because Weitzman had been trained in the Air Force.

The plan, which demobilized all the Arab aircraft and the airfields in the first three hours of Monday morning had been prepared and practiced for years. It wasn't something they invented Monday morning. They knew that the right time to hit was 7:45 in the morning Israeli time, 8:45 in the morning Egyptian time because that is when the traffic jams out of the center of Cairo to the main airfields around Cairo where the stuff is and all the pilots were getting caught and all the guard crews would be caught and that was the right time to hit.

That was done after months of surveying traffic on the ground by Israeli spies inside Egypt. So that this was not something that came just that morning, pull the plans out of the drawer, that's leadership.

The Air Force had told the military industry to invent and create and manufacture something called a skip bomb. The skip bomb is something that you do not drop to make one hole, you drop it this way and it hits the runway and it is like a stone you throw and it skips on the water so you get six or eight digs into the runway out of one bomb. And the Israeli skip bombs are superb and the American skip bombs which they tried to use in the raid on Libya out of two F-111 didn't work.

But in 1986 they are trying to do the same thing that Israel did in 1967, twenty years ago. ~~Acknowledged~~ Technology never advances that much. So Israel had the skip bombs and she had the locations of the air fields and she had the small napalm bombs, which if you hit one airplane that's marked and that airplane explodes and if that's marked close enough to the another airplane, then like a Chinese firecracker it goes right down the line and takes 20 planes out of commission.

And why do the Egyptians keep their planes marked that way? Because there were spies inside the Egyptian Air Force that taught them that that's the way to park their planes. And I could go on and tell you all the secrets, and there are alot, but there are alot more than that, and none of it was improvisation at the last minute. And the damn thing was a spectacular success.

The combination of Yarim's intelligence and Weitzman's skill in training and also, I confess something. For the sake of this I put in here that the third man responsible for this was Robin because he was the Chief of Staff, but he was having trouble during that war. He had a tobacco seizure, he is a very heavy smoker, for two days he was out of commission and it was a tough thing and Weitzman was running the whole Israel Army, not just the Air Force.

And out of that situation developed the non-friendship between the two men, we will just put it that way, non-friendship. Not that they are enemies, it was an embarrassing couple of days.

They came out of that six day war with the whole world applauding them. Not only, previously Eisenhower and Dulles tried to push him back, now the whole world was saying my G-d, you are heroes, the political climate was different, the PR climate was different, the Jews all over the world woke up, the Jews in Russia woke up that was what started them, 1967 war, so by 1970 they were all cranked up and ready to fight their own government and that's when the dissidents came forward and that is when the flood of migrations started. The '67 war was the major turning point for Israel for the good and for the bad.

The problems that we have no almost 20 years later are inherited from the success of what war. Problems we have today are a result of the success of that war that's paradox. That is fact. It came out of the '67 war feeling as though we owned an empire again, because we ran out of Tel Aviv and Jerusalem and we bought all the crap in Evron, in Nautilus and in every Arab town. Some toy trinket, some tea cup that was made in China, some Arab is selling in Hevron for pennies and you bring it home and

you say I bought this in the conquered territories, our new Hitler-land. It was like we used to say in the '73 war that I am going to Africa, you did not say you are going across the Suez Canal to Egypt.

I was with a unit that finished up the '73 war in Suez City. Suez City was smashed flatter than a pancake. I mean, the artillery of the war of attrition in '78, '79, '68, '69, '70 smashed all those Egyptian canal cities flat, Cantara, Sidi Barrani, all of them.

You didn't say you were going over to Suez City, that was too small. I am going to Africa. As if though Israel has conquered Africa. Some kind of crazy gigantism, okay. We have gone between '67 and now with a huge burden of psychological problems and political problems and decision problems that we haven't made about what to do with the West Bank and do we take it or don't we, what do we do if we take it, are we like South Africa, we will keep the Arabs as the blacks, second-class citizens, no vote, no nothing? If you want to keep the land you've got to keep the people

If you are Kahane you say you will kill them or you will drive them across the river, and that is not an objection. If you want to keep the land you've got to keep the people. If you don't want to keep the people

you've got to get rid of the land, you've got no choice, there's no other choice. You can't do what you are doing now very much longer. You've done it for 19 years and you've been an occupying power. Morally, that is no ~~sp~~ position for Jews. And our kids don't like that, and we've got conscientious objectors who won't go in the army anymore. We've never had that.

So your whole moral fiber is under attack. You can't make a decision as to what the hell to do and we are choking on that non-decision every day. But still, life goes on. You've fought another war in between, you've fought two more wars in between, you got hit with the '72 war and you went into the '82 war in Lebanon. So from the time you conquered, your '67 war, you have fought two more than every trombota, you switched governments, had two elections in which the Begun government won, went off on that whole crazy economic tyrade, that caused inflation of a thousand percent from which you are only recovering now because you instituted dragonian methods, you took off the index and people began to suffer and took a 25% cut. ... that's dragonian, that hurts, but that solved the inflation without causing too much unemployment.

It's a lesson for any country that hits that kind of inflation and doesn't know how to handle it and is afraid that if it takes sharp measures like that it will

cause internal turmoil. It didn't happen in Israel, that is going to become a textbook example.

Another way in which the Jews will show the world how to solve a problem. It is such a mixed bag of achievements and problems. We are on the verge of another shift. Not another election, but another shift. There will be a change of Prime Ministership from the labor party to the ~~ligut~~ party, October 10, not far away. Shamir will become the Prime Minister, Peres will become I don't know what. Maybe he wants to be the minister of education, I don't know. He says, I would like to be the ~~minst~~ minister of finance, I will keep this country's finances on an even keel, that is the most important thing ~~n~~ in the world. Maybe he will be a Foreign Minister, which is a non-position in Israel anymore, since Eban. Eban was a Foreign Minister who could talk to anybody in the world with stature and with dignity and be listened to.

Peres can't be that kind of Foreign Minister, and anyway, a ~~Foreign-Minister~~ Prime Minister doesn't let the Foreign Minister have any authority anymore. So I don't know what Peres is going to be. Do you want to say something? What's that?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Never knew they

Now, with this shift of government, Israel is going to have to face this problem of the West Bank. Americans are not ready to take any initiative. You are not going to have an American intervening or shuffling or getting involved in pushing the peace process. They are just going to stay out of it.

Jordan doesn't have any muscle anymore. Anybody. So nobody is going to push the peace process. Just as nature abhors a vacuum. World politics abhors no decisions. No peace could very well equal war. Can it go on with no peace forever?

So the word begins to spread around journalistically at least and you begin to see stories in the newspaper that there is a drift towards war. And then the hunted on the other side says there is no hard evidence, but you don't need hard evidence. You know the hard ware which is in the hands of each side and it is a drift towards war then there doesn't take much to start one.

Once you start it it doesn't take much to escalate it.
So that is where it stands at the moment.

I think you have to look at the years of growth, as being

the major trend in Israeli current history. The major trend is still towards growth, there are more immigrants still to come. There is more land still to be fertilized and to grow things on. There are more inventions still to be made and there are more manufacture still to be achieved and there is more war still to be fought. There will be no change in that pattern. There is another war with Syria to be fought and then there will only be the penultimate war. There may be a war with all _____, all joined together. That is the ultimate war, and those one or two wars will escalate, equipment escalates, casualty rate escalates, economic effect escalates, and if you want to know what the effect of all this is on the American Jewish community, it is like a yo yo. You can get the American Jewish community to some state of mild frenzy during a war, and then in the in-between years there is the usual slump and the usual fight to keep it up and more money is being raised today than there was during the Six Day War, the Yom Kippur War. I think that is fact, I am not sure, Bob can correct us or Alan.

And so you come out of a long twelve-year period, 1973-1985, '86, thirteen years. It takes you thirteen years to come through a trough and you come back up thirteen years later raising the same or more money than you raised thirteen years ago and you are raising more real money? No. Of course you're not. Are you raising 50% less real money? Probably, that's about it in the thirteen years.

Your money or thirteen years ago is probably worth 50% today. What kind of reaction is that on the part of American Jews? Good, bad, medium, normal? Normal. It's the whole record of all that. Feed trough, feed trough. All the businesses, let's raise a million dollars. You will raise a million dollars. It will be a million dollars of 1965 money, so it will be worth $\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars or $\frac{1}{3}$ of a million dollars in purchasing power.

There are two elements, one is the element of sustaining, there is no doubt in my mind about that. The American Jewish community, especially with people like you in every city, will sustain its interest. Israel is as much the religion of the Jewish people today as its own real religion. Sustaining your interest in it, sustaining your interest in that, I am ~~not~~ not worried about that.

The level of sustaining is what I am worried about and that depends on your comprehension of how important you think this whole thing is, that's all. And that's why as people who are trying to understand the meaning of Jewish history, you have got to penetrate very deeply and you have got to get into your minds a decision that you have to make and you have to make others make it and the American Jews have to help Israel make it. And that is the decision about where she wants to go. Because I

think and this is the bottom line ~~in~~ that I want to come to with this whole thing, I think that the problem that's keeping the level of energy and the ~~level~~ of enthusiasm, and that determines the level of energy, I think the problem that's keeping that back is the problem that the American Jew is just as disturbed as the Israeli Jew ~~na~~ and finds it just as hard to find an answer about what to do about the West Bank.

And you listen to Israelis and they are split 50/50 and you listen to American Jews and they are split 50/50, the prevailing sentiment of the Jewish leadership in the United States is go along with the Israeli policy in regard to the West Bank which is occupy it, don't annex it, don't make a decision as to what to ~~do~~ about the Arabs, stall it, somehow or another it is going to get solved and if doesn't get solved and the corruption inside Israel continues to grow, okay?

American Jews back that up if that's what American Jews ...if you are silent, you are giving us in. American Jews are disturbed and have never ~~to~~ come to a conclusion as to what their "rights" are in telling the Israelis what to do. A terrible psychological shortcoming on your part. I am talking to you as leaders. I am telling you if you back off, if you back yourselves off into that corner for another 10 years, for another 20 years, and

you say we have no right to tell them what to do because it's them. We have no right to tell them. The minute you use that vocabulary you are causing separation. The minute you continue to use the word wish as to finding a solution to this terrifying problem we have lived with for almost 20 years, wish that we are a part of the solution. The only way you can afford to think any other way, you are wrong. You will keep this separation and they will base their decision on the basis of their calculations which will ~~compromise-us-all~~ be compromise and stall and stall and compromise that is their psychology because they are convinced that's how they've come through a lot of tough situations and a lot of times they're right, but on this one they are dead wrong.

Keep the image of South Africa in your mind all the time and ask yourself do you want Israel to become a South Africa these are the million and a half people living right next to her. Coming in to her country, going to work there every day. And then you pay them less wages and you treat them exactly as the whites treat the blacks in South Africa. Arabs who are citizens as Israel and carry the same Israeli passport as I do live in cities now where there are no electricity and there are no roads and there are no toilets and they are your own citizens. How are you going to treat the people who are not your citizens?

This is the Jewish position we are talking about. An occupying power, let's face it, ~~that's~~ that's all we are. We won't make a decision, that's what's so bad about it. I don't care if you are an occupying power if you say I have got a million and a half slaves, I am going to exploit the G-ddamn hell out of them, I am going to grow rich on them, you don't say that.

So the non-decision making is part of the trouble in Israel today. Failure to come to grips with it, and your failure to push a ~~dee~~ solution that you believe in. You haven't come to a conclusion in the American Jewish community either. Yeah. So a non-decision on their part backed up by a non-decision on your part in which you keep emotionally involved in this because you love the country like you love your soul. You love the Jewish ~~li~~ people as much as you love your own family.

You love the abstraction of thirteen million Jews and I am not being a sarcastic, you act out your lives that way. The contribution you make of your time, the things you take away from your own family, the amount of money you give, the amount of love and labor you pour in, it's phenomenal, the whole world can't believe it. Every year you repeat this ~~time~~ thing. It is an unending, outpouring of love and concern and a sense of responsibility. But the one thing you don't do, you don't come to the grips with the historic necessity of deciding what kind of an

Israel are you building. You are not going to go to live there, that is perfectly clear. The first 40 years have shown that aliyah is a non-option for the American Jewish community except for the few individual nuts.

So we pass that in the historic point. Maybe 10 years from now, maybe 50 years from now there will be some great American aliyah and the American Jews will move here under whatever circumstances will occur then and Israel will take a different shape for the future, but that is not happening, it is not going to happen in the near future and nobody seems to be talking about it and nobody is asking you to be burdened with a sense of guilt anymore because you are not moving, they couldn't ask that. Some _____ will come and hock at you a little bit but that doesn't mean a damn thing.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Well, we are almost finished. We have quiet now, everybody's gone.

Well, okay, let's go back upstairs, you're right. Let's go back upstairs. Okay, Carol, we will finish upstairs.

(break in tape)

Now we've got questions.

XX COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Good question.

The first thing you have to do is reach a conclusion about your own personal opinion before you can talk about convincing anybody else. You don't need any knowledge, you don't need any more knowledge to convince the whole community of Columbus, then you need to convince yourself.

Let's begin with what you believe. You are asking me what I believe, I will tell you very clearly...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Excuse me. We can't have cross-talk here, it doesn't work.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Well, since we are going to be here all night, we have plenty of time to arrive at a position. Ellen... Ellen, look, I don't know what you were told before Begun or After Begun, what period of years you thought about

this thing, through what emotional ups and downs when people waved the flags of Judea and Samaria in front of you and said this was ours from the time of Abraham and what kind of confusions you go through as you try to make a decision that you say, well, I am not a military expert, Sharon says that if we don't keep the West Bank and keep these settlements, we are dooming Israel to disruption and other generals saying Sharon's a liar, a big fat liar and he has proven it 16 times already and even his beloved Begun, he drove him to sickness and seclusion.

So back and forth go all these confusing arguments, rumors, stories, it's the hardest thing in the world for a person to keep a straight mind and keep walking on a tight rope and not be thrown off by emotional cliches, and just try intellectually, because that is the best piece of apparatus, you've got, your brain, intellectually to try to figure out what seems to make sense to you and take the problems apart piece by piece.

I'll tell you today we were sitting when we were delayed and Nathan and I, who really haven't talked very much, e-~~has~~- he has only come to work a couple of months ago, and he doesn't know very much what I think and I don't really know very much what he thinks and we had an hour and a half when we were delayed in the airport and he

said to me in the most earnest way, regarding this West Bank thing, I have been told or my opinion is or I seem to have the conclusion that a serious security problem is involved and that the real reason that we have to hold on to the West Bank and put settlements in there and so forth and not give it back or not even dream of giving it up is because our security is our most important thing and I don't want them nine miles away from my sister's apartment in Tel Aviv.

Nine miles refers to the narrow waist of Israel Kalkilya to the ocean. Authentic dilemma on the part of an intelligent, educated person.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: We've got the message already.

COMMENT: Various commentors, unintelligible.

HERB: With that as a preface, with that as a preface, the only other recommendation I would make is to take the problem apart piece by piece by piece and let me explain what I mean.

If you think the main aspect of it is the security aspect, then just analyze ~~that~~ that. Bobby is shaking his head, he said that's not it.

BOBBY: Unintelligible.

HERB: You'll get your chance. Okay. This was the essence of my argument with him this afternoon. In my opinion the security problem is pure balogne, pure balogne. Alkilya is nine kilometers away from Hetzliapetula. I couldn't care less. There is no rocket in the world that could fire nine kilometers. If you fire a rocket from Akilya it is going to go ninety kilometers out to sea. What are we talking about?

I am worried about the 150 mile rocket that is in Damascus that is going to hit Hetzliapetula. That's the serious one. The nine miles is nothing. So if you think it's the security problem, take that one apart, use your own logic, read as much as you can, talk to as many people as you can about that aspect of it and nothing else.

Slice it into the narrowest pieces. ~~Don't~~ divisions. Don't try to swallow the whole problem. If you think it's the religious problem that this land starts from the time of Abraham, take and analyze that, cut it apart. Did Abraham really stay there very long? He stayed there long enough to buy a cemetery... and then he beat it to Egypt. He took his wife with him to Egypt. Pharoah liked his wife, he decided to call

his wife his sister so Pharaoh could have her without having alot of hassle such as his head being cut off, go through the religious thing from top to bottom and see if that is compelling enough to have you reach the conclusion that for religious, historical, biblical reasons I have got to keep this piece of land.

Once you reach the conclusion that you've got to keep this piece of land and that satisfies you and emotionally in your heart you feel its right and in your head you feel its right, you have reached the conclusion. Now you have got to take the second step and live with the consequences. You are going to keep the land, remember what I told you, you have got to keep the people. You are not going to set up gas chambers and a crematorium to get rid of a million Arabs. Kahane would, you are not going to. Kahane said he would be, he said the reason for his position is that he has compassion for the Arabs, I have heard him say it, and he is advising them that the best thing to do is for them to get out. The best thing for them to do, his whole approach is the best thing for them to do, he said I am not a racist, I am just a politician who has reached a certain conclusion and I tell them that they are going to have a hell of a trouble if they don't take my advice and get out and go across the river.

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Is he going to put them on trucks and drive them across? No. Is he going to shoot them or burn them off? No. I just want them out. He wants to have the land without

the people. Well, that's just the illusion and stupidity and that is not even worth one word more.

I got your document, you want someone to answer the twenty points that he wrote in that advertising. Any time you want I'll sit down and go over those, I have got them right in the folder here, I just don't have the time to do it tonight.

What I am advising you to do, take a look at that which is the most vexing problem in Israel today, not war or peace, not economy, not social disruption between ashkinard simphardic, not religious civil war that we are on the brink of, none of these other problems comes anywhere near this problem which is the major one because in this problem we have to decide whether Israel is going to remain Jewish or Israel is going to go bi-national.

And the second thing we have to decide is Israel going to be democratic or is Israel going to be some two-bit occupying colonial power which will quickly shrink us to some minor level in the world.

These are the big questions that Israel has to answer. You have to decide them for yourself first and come to your own answers. Do I keep the West Bank or don't I? If I want to keep it, for what reasons? And how do I want to handle the Arab population?

If I don't want to keep it, how do I get out of the bear hug, there's nobody to give it back to. What do I do with it?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, that's second. Well say that is the most important thing. That hasn't happened, and you want to speculate about how to do it when you haven't decided what to do.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Yes, you do. That is the second...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Step by step, I don't know what you mean, positive or negative. The first thing you do is you discuss it in your own community. In the democratic process that you have in your own community.

Some communities reach conclusions faster and some reach them slower and I am usually in favor of faster but I will take slower on this one. By whatever democratic process you work it through in your own community to reach some kind of consensus. If you see that you are dangerously close to splitting your community, you stop. That is the way the

Israeli population has stopped. The Israeli population is 50/50 down the middle, so if anybody tried to force a referendum or a vote or any kind of formal process of saying what do we believe, what should ~~de-w-~~ we do, the country would split in half like a piece of rotten wood and every politician knows it and nobody will urge that course.

I am saying the same thing to you. If you bring up an issue like this to your normal democratic process and reach the highest level of decision making, which is the annual ~~making~~ meeting of your ^Federation in which everybody in the community is a member who pays a buck, I don't know those rules still stands or they don't, that's what they used to be, whatever is similar to that, and if you were to bring it to a vote you would have the largest meeting in your history if that were the public issue. And you saw that you were really bringing the community (end of tape)

(Side B) If that is not to occur, you would bring it through the process to what this community believes and then five people empowered to do so get on an airplane and go into the Prime Minister's office and put your document on the table of what you believe and this is what we, the Jews from Columbus, Ohio believe and Mr. Prime Minister, you can tell us we've got no right, now go into the other question of the right, the right to speak.

And I think if I hear any more of this stuff that we haven't got the right to speak because we don't pay taxes and we don't fight in the Army, bullshit. That is all that is, that is cop out. You ^{have} absolutely every right in the world. This state of Israel belongs to the entire Jewish people. If you don't want to go and live there, that is your choice, it still belongs to you. It belongs to you by an act of Parliament which gives you from 1952 the right to claim citizenship without even going there.

Thousands of Russian Jews claim their Israeli citizenship without ever leaving Russia. It says so in the law of the Parliament. It belongs to you, it is yours. You don't ~~ex-~~ want to express an opinion about it, cop out. But don't tell me you don't have the right to. That's dreadful. That's like, take my money but Jesus, don't get me involved ~~you~~ in your G-damn internal problems. It is your internal problems. No, it is our internal problems. What happens in the state of Israel is going to ~~a~~ffect you and me just as sure as hell as if we were physically there.

^{If} The fate of that place goes up in a blaze of glory, so do we. ^{If} That place goes down into some kind of ~~dir~~ dusty, dirty little Albania, we go down with it. That is not speech making, that is reality. Jewish position in the United States today is incredible. Nowhere in 4,000 years of history have we ever lived in such.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: I hope we have no more messages of good tidings or bad tidings, lock the damn door, we have heard this story four times now. Yes we do indeed. She hasn't eaten anything yet? Carol, eat your supper. Alright, Robbie. The floor boards have gotten interrupted, so I don't know whether you are getting an ^{answer} ~~anser~~ or not.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: Such as what?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

REPLY: Oh, that's not, that's not a serious problem. How many gifts have you held had with held in town?

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Let's talk about the reality of what happens, not theoretical.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: How many, how much dough have you lost to people...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Not potential, you said you've lost money.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, I don't think so. I think it's an honest relationship. I've got to spend 17,500 bucks a year on each one of two _____ and that is an honest relationship between me and them and they couldn't live without that dough and they couldn't be in college.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, I gave birth to them, that is my relationship to them. So my money relationship has got to continue and my money relationship is indispensable and my money relationship is the most unimportant of all my relationships...
~~and-i-believe-American-Jews-are-going~~

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: And I believe American Jews are going to continue to do that. I don't see any danger, I don't see any threat, I don't see any, what Miriam ~~ax~~ calls negative, that is all ~~bae~~ blackmail talk and the G-ddamn Jews of America don't have the guts to carry the blackmail through. They won't do it, they haven't done it.

I used to get letters, in the '56 war I came back from that

four day war and I found a pile of telegrams and letters on my desk this high. The letter from Los Angeles said we owe you a million dollars, we are not going to give it to you because we are not in favor of this war. I sent him back a letter, a telegram that said if you are not ~~gain-~~ in favor of this war, tell the Prime Minister, but as far as the money is concerned, you owe it to me and I will sue you.

It's separating two things.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: You are sending a mission over there with Drager, your new Chairman, in September? One hundred people, he wants to take, or whatever? Fine. Delegate ten out of those one hundred to walk into the Prime Minister's office in September and give him a hit on the head. And if you do it from Columbus on Tuesday and somebody from Cleveland does it on Wednesday and somebody from Pittsburgh does it on Thursday, he ain't dumb, he is going to be getting that message. And if that goes on for a month or two months...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Oh yes, oh yes, and it so happens, this is not Shamir, this is Peres, Peres would like to get rid of it and give it back and half his voters can say they

don't know what to do, but then sudden half the voters in America ~~de~~ come in and say hey, give it back, he ~~can~~ ~~te~~ go to his voters and say, hey, out of the diaspra their opinion is beginning to show differently from our opinion. We have got to pay some attention to what they say too. It depends how he wants to steer it.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, you've got a different situation here, the situation here is again, you are one of his voters even though you don't vote. You vote in a different way.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Sure you will, and he will still get your support in AIPAC and he will still get your support in...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: No, but he needs more than that. If he is getting your financial and political support, but he doesn't have your moral support and ^{you} he doesn't agree with what he's doing then he knows you're split personality and he knows you are an uneasy ally and he knows that doesn't mean your ^e permanent and he

knows he might lose you just like he loses the votes of voters and he gets thrown out of office. He loses you and he gets thrown out of office in a different way. He knows that, he's no dope. You have to buy the premise that you don't yet buy which I am throwing on the table for you tonight. That you are a participant in the decision-making of that country, just as though you lived there and were a voter. You won't buy it maybe because it's a new thought, you won't buy it because maybe it is a little uncomfortable for you, I don't know, might be setting up some bad vibrations inside.

There might be many reasons why you don't buy it, but I am trying to tell you that we are at a crossroads here, and if you, that is, the American Jews, won't get into this process, then what they are going to do is create a slow, but steady, and inevitable split. Not in a bad way, you are going to drift away. You will drift away even continuing to give some dough. You will drift away because you won't give a damn. Robbie, you have been trying to get the floor.

ROBBIE: ...I think it is the most important issue... how do you resolve the right to having the Jewish state and the issue of the democratic process? For instance, I believe we have a right to have a Jewish nation, we

have a right to have Israel ... How do you resolve that question if you open up the democratic process?

HERB: What does that mean?

ROBBIE: Giving everybody the right to vote.

HERB: Everybody being whom?

ROBBIE: I am going under the argument that if you give the land back and allow everybody to be citizens.

HERB: Hold it, hold it. You are going to give the land back, give the West Bank back..

ROBBIE: Yeah, you are going to give the West Bank back...

HERB: Or if you can't find anybody to give it back to, you are just going to walk out of it.

ROBBIE: You are just going to walk away from it.

HERB: Unilateral withdrawal is what Moshe Diam, the "Big Hawk" believed in.

Robbie

~~**COMMENT:**~~ Yeah, you withdraw and leave it to whoever wants it.

HERB: Go ahead.

ROBBIE: I don't have a problem with the security... and I believe the major issue is more of a moral and ethical perspective, not only because that's what I believe...

HERB: Okay.

ROBBIE: The question comes, Herb, after you've done that and you've maintained what we in this country believe is the democratic process, the democratic way of keeping a government going, one person one vote. How do you do that if you give everybody first-class citizenship...

HERB: Are you talking about Arabs in the West Bank?

ROBBIE: Anybody...

HERB: Wait a minute, Robbie, you just said to walk out on it.

ROBBIE: But, let's assume you open up Israel to anybody that wants to come in.

HERB: Good night, Norman.

ROBBIE: Anybody that wants to come in.

HERB: Yeah, right.

COMMENT: That's why I came back.

HERB: No, look, you are mixing two things, you can't.

ROBBIE: Ten years from now you've got whatever the Jewish population is and you want to maintain a Jewish state. At some point there is a vote because there are more non-Jews than Jews and they say we are going to have Israel but it is not going to be a Jewish state.

HERB: Hold the phone, hold the phone, I am really missing you completely. If you walk out on the West Bank, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip have between then one million and three hundred thousand people. You walk out on them.

ROBBIE: Let's assume they want to come to Israel.

HERB: Come into Israel?

ROBBIE: Through the now-condensed borders.

HERB: What do you mean, now condensed? You are walking

out on the West Bank, you are walking out...

ROBBIE: Let's assume we are going back to the pre-1967 war...

HERB: Pick anything you want.

ROBBIE: Okay.

HERB: You are...Israel is withdrawing...

ROBBIE: The day comes, twenty years from now...maintenance of a Jewish state.

HERB: Hold the phone. In the course of the twenty years, those million, three hundred thousand Arabs living there have established some form of self-government. They are governing themselves. I don't care what they are going to call themselves.

ROBBIE: Okay, let's assume we don't give the West Bank back...

HERB: Which way is this guy running? He is a switch-hitter.

ROBBIE: What I am saying is whatever your borders are,

we don't really have a religious state, there are really only two religious states in this world. Pre-determined and constituted as a religious state, the Vatican...

HERB: I don't know what's the other one.

ROBBIE: Israel.

HERB: No.

ROBBIE: You don't consider Israel a religious state?

HERB: I consider Israel today, dangerously veering towards theocracy. I consider Israel today dangerously veering towards a domination by a tiny, fanatical minority of the majority of the population, but there is nothing.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Not because it is a democracy...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Well, what you mean is, because of the freedom with which the government gives to every single person and group to express its opinion, sure, okay. Because of the extraordinary freedom that exists in Israel. But we are getting so confused in so many things that

are happening. Israel is not a theocracy, Israel is not a religious state, nothing in the Const...well, we don't have a Constitution, nothing in the basic laws of the Parliament or in the Declaration of Independence say, the religion of this State...

COMMENT: Nothing in the Constitution says this is a Jewish state?

HERB: No, there is no Constitution. There are ten or eleven basic laws passed by Parliament defining Israel's characteristics, that is like a Constitution but that is not a Constitution, and nowhere does it say, this is a Jewish state, implying...

COMMENT: In the general borders today, what is the Arabs rights?

HERB: Six hundred thousand Arabs are citizens of Israel, carry Israeli...

COMMENT: ... in the same way, there is no discrimination...

HERB: That is correct, and there are four...

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Inside the green line, he said, inside the green line.

ROBBIE: I am talking about inside, to be a member of the Parliament?

HERB: There are four Arab members of the Parliament.

COMMENT: They can be President or Premier of the country?

HERB: Well, if they, if they ever...the answer to your question is, if Arabs had a party big enough to take the majority vote in the election, then by the basic law, the President of Israel would have to ask the leader of that party to form the government and be the Prime Minister.

ROBBIE: Then there would be no threat, whatsoever... three million Arabs living in...

HERB: Of course there were, I don't understand what you are saying... If you walk out of the West Bank, Robbie, if you walk out of the West Bank, wait a minute, we can only speak one at a time, if you walk out of the West Bank and you leave the million, three hundred thousand Arabs behind and you say govern yourselves...

ROBBIE: But if you don't walk out of the West Bank

and you leave them there...

HERB: You can't -- how do you leave them there without walking out? You don't leave them...

ROBBIE: You incorporate them...

HERB: We own them now because we hold the land, so we hold the people.

ROBBIE: And they have full citizenship right now?

HERB: In Israel? No.

ROBBIE: Okay, that's the point, if you take the other position and you don't want them and you do not...

HERB: And you don't...

ROBBIE: ...then you do not want to stay then you really cannot...basically have pulled that democratic ...

HERB: No, you certainly have not. You don't give them the right to vote and therefore you are undemocratic.

VARIOUS UNINTELLIGIBLE COMMENTORS

HERB: You have nobody left to make a decision. So

we will make it...Holly, the way to do this is you and I have to sit down...are you free for breakfast tomorrow morning? Then we will have to talk on the telephone, we will have to resolve it then. We will do a telephone vote and find out if we want to do it. I know you need a decision, I know you do.

COMMENT: No, dear Miriam, it is twenty until ten.

Ladies and gentlemen, let's just end this thing, let's just end it quite properly instead of letting it drift off. I know we have had a most confusing evening and I am like horse with blinders on, Neil. You have got the message of this long lecture, I am sorry I didn't have the chance to go through those maps with you, they are very good but look at them in the Gilbert book. We have one last session, two weeks from today, that is on the American Jewish community and we will be finished two weeks from today. We have an undecided question which we really have to get at. Do we spend any time talking about a date for a postponed trip? That is lurking far in the background. My own feeling in the matter is that is going to gradually disappear because of the community mission which you are planning for September, but we have got to come to grips and face this group's mission or trip. Prior to that we have got to come to grips with whether we want to try to get together once, socially, before the summer evaporates

and we had that weekend of July 11-12, I forget the dates, Holly has tentatively...the weekend retreat thing, I couldn't put together. Klutznick is not arriving back in the states until January 10 -- July 10, I'm sorry. I tried several other large, important people Americans, I couldn't get any of my old friends in Israel, they are all wrapped up in a variety of things, and Natan is tied up and Yarid is running a big conference with the Rand Corporation, so on and so on. And the people I wanted to bring I couldn't get at such short notice and so the idea that I proposed doesn't seem to be viable. A substitute idea was suggested that we go up to Snorton Ridge for one day, and Holly put tentative reservations on for either Friday of that weekend or the Sunday of that weekend.

Do we want to have what amounts to a one-day, social get together, have a barbecue lunch at noon, look at any of the video tapes of the other interviews which you haven't seen, if you want to see -- you saw Rothschild and you saw Weiler. Do you want to see Warburg and do you want to see Fisher, do you want to see Goldman, do you want to see other tapes I have of Golda and Eban and Dian, there are lots of good ones I have which I haven't shown you. Look at a couple of tapes for an hour, talk about our curriculum for next year for an hour, eat a hot dog for an hour, sing Old Ensign for an hour.

COMMENT: Unintelligible.

HERB: Swim in the lake and go in the boat. Do you want to have a one-day retreat? This good lady has made a tentative reservation on her ranch up there. I think what you have got to do is do a telephone poll among yourselves.

COMMENT: It would involve a whole day on Friday or a whole day on Sunday.

HERB: Yeah, before you get up there and before you get back, it's the day. I would come in and I would come in with suggestions for next year's curriculum, and it would give us a chance to talk about it and then we'd say bye bye and we'd see each other again within eight weeks or seven weeks because the year begins on September 8th.

So, do you want to do it, if you do want to do it, someone has got to take the initiative to do the round robin phone calls, good night, Robbie, good night, Marilyn. We don't have enough...what? Yeah, that would be useful, because she's made a million of them.

UNINTELLIGIBLE COMMENTORS

HERB: You must argue this out among yourselves. You must. If you want to put that, Ellen, if you want to

put that on the agenda, Neil, I have to see you and Karen for just one second, please. If you want to put that on the agenda for July 13, absolutely, you will have enough time to handle it. Billy and Bob, even though this was quite an atypical evening, which you are undoubtedly aware...

VARIOUS UNINTELLIGIBLE COMMENTORS

HERB: I don't know what impressions you are walking away with, but you can see this is a feisty bunch of people and you can see they have _____ very well during the course of the year.

