

From the Office of
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REGIONAL MIDEAST 'OPEN SKIES' INSPECTION PROPOSED AS 'PILOT' DISARMAMENT PROJECT

An 'open skies' aerial and ground inspection system in the Middle East was urged by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) in Chicago last night as "a pilot project of inestimable value for the cause of world disarmament."

Addressing the Independence Festival in Chicago Stadium celebrating Israel's 10th Anniversary, Senator Humphrey, chairman of both the Disarmament and Middle East Subcommittees in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, called attention to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's support for a regional disarmament pact in the Middle East and declared that an adequate inspection system in that area "could allay apprehension over the possibility of a surprise attack by one state upon another."

"All of the countries of the Middle East should seriously consider this proposal," Senator Humphrey declared.

"The United States should take the initiative in calling it up for discussion before the United Nations.

"The people of the Middle East, who have already themselves shown their aspirations for peace by accepting new forms of peacekeeping machinery such as the United Nations Emergency Force, could make another significant contribution to world peace if they would be the first to adopt, in their own region, the principle of inspection against surprise attack.

"That many of the Middle Eastern governments favor this principle was demonstrated in 1955 when they supported a United Nations resolution on the open skies plan, and again a week or two ago when they continued their support of the concept in the Arctic debate in the United Nations. These same governments could now assist in reduction of tensions in their own area by agreeing to a pilot inspection system to be conducted by themselves or by outside parties as agreed upon," Senator Humphrey declared.

"Such an inspection system over the border areas of Israel, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia could be a pilot project of inestimable value for the cause of world disarmament.

"The inauguration by the major powers of open skies inspection in such other vital areas as the Arctic or Europe could be a major step toward a relaxation of tension between the two great power blocs. But this far, action has been blocked by Soviet obstruction and the veto."

The answer, Senator Humphrey indicated, may be first proving the effectiveness of aerial and ground inspection as a force for peace and stability "in areas of the world which do not immediately and directly involve the Soviet Union or inspection flights over Soviet Territory."

In order to create a "climate" conducive to such efforts as a regional disarmament pact and establishment of aerial and ground inspection against

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surprise attack, Senator Humphrey called upon "all friendly powers to make an unqualified statement of determination to resist, under the United Nations Charter, any forceful attempt to overthrow the sovereignty or destroy the independence of Israel or its neighbors."

"Such a declaration would introduce an element of stability into the Middle East that would then permit other pacifying factors to exercise a healing influence," Senator Humphrey declared.

"The Middle East needs a period of tranquility--it needs stability of borders, and an opportunity too for the more constructive forces within the area to gain the ascendancy. The Middle East needs economic development. It needs the guiding hand of the United Nations--a hand that insists upon peaceful pursuits and curbs violence and aggression.

"We should make our own aims in the Middle East so clear that everyone will understand that an Arab-Israel peace is a primary objective of United States policy.

"Again and again the statesmen of the world need to remind the peoples of the Middle East that war and violence in that area, as elsewhere, settles nothing, but could well destroy everything. What is needed is patience and a period of stability and tranquility. The people of the world need it. The future hope of the Middle East requires it."

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PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 85th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Tenth Anniversary of Israel—Senate

Wednesday, April 23, 1958

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Temple B'rith Kodesh, Rochester, N. Y., offered the following prayer:

O Thou, watching over Israel, we lift our hearts to Thee, as our fathers did before us, in gratitude and hope. We thank Thee for the heritage of faith that has sustained men and nations, for the light Thou didst shed on their way by Thy revelations of truth, for the ideals that have moved Thy children at their best and to their best.

Standing before Thee at this historic hour in this historic place, our thoughts turn to the ancient people who early found their way to Thee, clinging to Thee with unflagging devotion, bearing witness through the generations to Thy living presence. It was Thy love that sustained them, Thy promise which preserved them through every trial and tribulation, and brought them, creative and faithful, to this momentous hour.

Be with them now as, risen from the ashes of persecution and slaughter, they stand erect, strong and free in their ancestral homeland. They that sowed in tears have come home with joy, bearing their sheaves. Guide Thou their way, that out of Zion shall come forth the law, Thy law of justice for all mankind, and Thy word of light, healing, and hope for all Thy troubled children, from Jerusalem. Help them and their neighbors, who are bound together by their common humanity and need of Thee, to turn their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks, and to learn war no more.

As we pray for the peace of Jerusalem, we thank Thee for this sweet land of liberty which is our home. We thank Thee for its opulent bounties, Thy gift, for its manifold beauties bursting from the earth these lovely spring days, for its inheritance of freedom and its promise of brotherhood. We are grateful for the kinship of spirit which has linked this bastion of democracy in the New World to that beachhead of freedom in the Old World. We are grateful for the aid and understanding here generously given, and for the commitment to the free world there solemnly pledged. Help us to build and strengthen these bridges of mutual aid and shared knowledge,

over which all men may walk toward a brighter day.

Above all, O Father of us all, we pray for peace; for as Thou art one, Thy children are one. No nation is an island unto itself. None can or need profit at the hurt of another. With Thy bounty and their ingenuity, there is enough for all. Help us, then, to seek out our brethren of every creed, color, and clime, to join with them in lifting the burdens, the chains, from men everywhere, and to make Thy gift of life, liberty, and happiness the heritage of all. Amen.

REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNDON B. JOHNSON

OF TEXAS

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the distinguished minority leader [Mr. KNOWLAND], I submit a resolution for which I request immediate consideration. In order to permit other Members to become cosponsors of the resolution, I ask unanimous consent that it be held at the desk until 5 o'clock this afternoon.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Texas? Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, the resolution speaks for itself. It expresses the feelings of the American people who have watched the steady growth of Israel for a decade.

Americans have been deeply impressed by the courage, the tenacity, and the determination with which the Israelis have built their country. It is a heart-warming demonstration of what can be done by determined men and women against great—and sometimes overwhelming—odds.

We wish Israel well. We hope it continues to flourish and prosper in dedication to the ideals of freedom and international cooperation, and that it will serve as a force to contribute to peace in the Middle East and in the world.

Mr. President, I send the resolution to the desk, and ask that it be read.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be read.

The resolution (S. Res. 294), introduced by Mr. JOHNSON of Texas, on behalf of himself, Mr. KNOWLAND, Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. FLANDERS, Mr. IVES, Mr. JAVITS, Mr. BEALL, Mr. PROXMIRE, Mr. DOUGLAS, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, and Mr. NEUBERGER, was read as follows:

Whereas the establishment of Israel as an independent state on May 14, 1948, represented a triumph not only for the Jewish people but also for all men who believe in human freedom, justice, and dignity; and

Whereas during the 10 years of its existence as a sovereign nation, Israel has successfully defended its independence, developed its economy; and

Whereas during such period, Israel has admitted approximately 900,000 Jewish immigrants from displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy; from countries in North Africa and the Middle East; and from other countries throughout the world; and

Whereas by its achievements during the period of its existence as an independent state, Israel has developed democratic institutions in the Near East, and has played a constructive role in the family of nations; and

Whereas the 24th day of April is the 10th anniversary, according to the Hebrew calendar, of the establishment of Israel as an independent state: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the greetings of the Senate of the United States are hereby cordially extended to the State of Israel upon the occasion of the 10th anniversary of its establishment as an independent nation; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Senate is directed to transmit a copy of these resolutions, through the Department of State, to the President of Israel.

REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I desire to join the distinguished majority leader in urging the adoption of the resolution. Israel has played an important part in the family of nations. Israel is an independent nation which has made contributions at the United Nations and elsewhere. I am glad to endorse the resolution and to urge that it be adopted by the Senate.

REMARKS

OF

MON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I, too, would like to join my colleagues in the sponsorship of the resolution and in urging its adoption.

I have spoken many times on this subject on the floor of the Senate.

I desire to make one brief point today, which I believe is vital and important to all of us: In the minds of the harassed and persecuted people who repaired to Israel, there have been hours of great agony and doubt as to the survival and endurance of their state. Now that 10 years have gone by, and now that the State of Israel is more secure, viable, and independent than ever, I think it fair to say that Israel is now established permanently in the firmament of nations.

The session of the Senate today was opened by prayer by the distinguished rabbi who heads the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, which is concerned with the work of those who are interested in Israel. He has spoken with many of us on many other occasions. Echoing his prayer, let me say that I believe we have the right to hope and expect that even those whose hearts are torn with adverse feelings with respect to the establishment of this state, must now recognize that it is fixed in the firmament of nations, to make its contribution as its destiny may allow, and that it should be permitted to do so in peace, for these people, who occupy this small amount of land, have suffered and endured unbelievably for centuries upon centuries. Their sufferings were summed up in the torment of the holocaust which Hitler let loose upon Europe, with the death of six million of their coreligionists in that holocaust.

The world is too prone to forget so deep a tragedy. The very least that men can do—and this includes men of good will who are in the Arab states, which have a tremendous tradition of humanitarianism—is to let Israel at long last enjoy this little bit of peace and security in their own land.

Let me point out that in these 10 years the fears that there would be an overexpansion in Israel, because of the pressure of immigration, have come to naught. There has been no such pressure on the borders of the state. On the contrary, there has been shown a tremendous capability for living within those borders and for absorbing everyone who wished to come to Israel. That capability exists in great enough measure to assure that in the decades ahead there will be no pressure to move out from Israel's borders.

Also, there has been a viability in the Government of Israel. The Arab minority have enjoyed the privilege of first-class citizenship. A standard of living has been established in Israel that is a model and a showcase for the free countries in that area of the world. Israel has been a true ally of every institution of the free world in that part of the globe. Everything that was said by those of us who pleaded for aid for Israel

in the mutual security program in 1951, 1952, and 1953, has come true. Israel has been worth more than her weight in gold in terms of reliability, and of value to the interests of the free nations in a strife-torn part of the world.

I think the Senate has a right to adopt the resolution with a deep confidence that we shall be doing one of the greatest humanitarian acts which mankind has ever known, and also doing an affirmative act in the interest of the free world, and in aiding the national security of our own country.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sermon on the subject Israel Confronts Tomorrow, which was delivered on April 19 by Rabbi Philip Bernstein, chairman of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, who delivered the prayer at the commencement of today's session of the Senate.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISRAEL CONFRONTS TOMORROW, TEXT OF A SERMON DELIVERED ON APRIL 19, 1958, BY RABBI PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN OF TEMPLE B'RITH KODESH, ROCHESTER, N. Y., IN OBSERVANCE OF ISRAEL'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY

The 10th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel is a source of the profoundest gratification to the Jewish people, as well as for me personally. I became a Zionist when as a young boy in Rochester, I joined the first Young Judea Club here. From that day to this I have been deeply involved in the problems, needs, hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people. I winced with every manifestation of anti-Semitism. I suffered personal agonies with every cruelty of nazism. The Zionist answer to the Jewish problem always seemed logical, democratic and necessary. I still hold to that view. To me, Zionism is a word of honor, not of disparagement as some anti-Semites, including Jewish anti-Semites, have attempted to make it. It was the Zionists who steadfastly clung to the idea of rebuilding a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, over every conceivable opposition. They saw it through, they fought it through. They sustained the morale of the world Jewish community both against anti-Semitism and against assimilation. They brought about the renaissance of the Hebrew language. They built Jewish pride and world respect. My Zionism, therefore, has always been and continues to be a badge of honor.

And as I suffered with the sufferings of my people, I have rejoiced in their joys. The establishment of the State of Israel 10 years ago gave me a sense of personal exaltation and fulfillment. I knew the people who were going there, as I knew the people who were the leaders there.

Out of this background of personal experience and deep personal feeling I speak to you tonight about the meaning of the 10th anniversary and I call my message Israel Confronts Tomorrow. I intend to draw a balance sheet of assets and liabilities, of strengths and weaknesses, as the 10-year-old Jewish state faces the future. This will be my philosophy, and also my program.

Let me begin, in the category of assets, with the religious impulse. A miracle has been achieved. This broken decimated people, staggering under the lethal assaults of nazism, rose to its feet, established a state, defended itself against murderous attacks, and made it strong, democratic, free and viable. There is nothing like it in history. And I say to you tonight that it would not have

been possible on a pragmatic basis. Certainly, the establishment of a state solved the individual problems of innumerable Jews who were not wanted where they were and were unwanted elsewhere. But there would not have been this unflagging devotion, this fierce determination, this sacrificial valor without the religious impulse at its heart and center. The most precious associations in Judaism and in Jewish history were with that little strip of land along the Mediterranean. It was promised to the descendants of Abraham. It brought about the emancipation from Egypt and the return to Canaan. It drove David to build Jerusalem and his son to construct the Holy Temple. It was the goal of prophetic thought, the enduring basis for Hebrew prophecy. It was the dream of the exiles who said that their hands would lose their cunning and their tongues cleave to the roofs of their mouths if they forgot Jerusalem. It was the final hope of the Messianic dream for building God's kingdom, not in heaven, but here on earth in Zion, from which would come forth the law, and the word of God from Jerusalem, to teach men to beat their swords into ploughshares and learn war no more.

A second asset is what the Israelis call the philosophy of no alternative. And, of course, they are right. It sounded pretty for some American Jews to proclaim that our persecuted brethren should stay where they were and fight the battle for democracy. It wasn't so hard to say this from the fleshpots of New York or Philadelphia or Rochester. But this made no sense to Jews of Poland who saw their loved ones done to death by pogromists, nor to Jews in Germany, the stones of whose streets cried out with the blood of their slaughtered parents and children. This had little meaning to the Jews of Morocco who had been oppressed for centuries and saw, under even a more enlightened regime, no basic change in their position or any real hope for a better future.

This is not a matter of the past. Khrushchev recently restated his anti-Semitism. I view with profound misgiving the future of those Jews who remain under his domination. There was a very serious trial in Germany during the past week of a high school teacher who said publicly and taught in his classes that Hitler did not kill enough Jews, and who was cheered by the men and kissed by the women even when convicted of violating German law. In the United States there has been the bombing of synagogues and no one can predict the impact on group relations of a deepening recession, which might become a depression.

This does not mean that in every case where Jews are problems they must think immediately of fleeing to Israel. In the United States I believe in light and when necessary, fight, rather than flight. Education can serve and does serve a very useful purpose here. Flagrant anti-Semitism should be resisted. But we are in a singularly fortunate position. Tonight, if I were in Morocco, or even Tunis, or Germany, or Poland, or Russia I wouldn't hesitate a minute about getting out if I could. And for those who would get out Israel remains, as it has been for the past 10 years, the one sure answer.

Thus when an Israeli is confronted with the problem he really has no alternative. When a man knows that he must either resist Nasser or be thrown into the sea, that he must work on the land and the roads or perish, that he must tighten his belt or starve, he has a very powerful motive for working and building and defending himself. And this motive becomes a very important asset.

Another of the major assets is the Jews. I am aware of Jewish faults. One who lives in Jewish life all his life knows what a hu-

man group this is with all its failings and imperfections, but as Dr. Weizmann once said, I love them. Jews are bright and eager and independent. They have more intellectual curiosity, a greater critical faculty, more freedom of the mind per square inch than any group I know. They are sensitive to suffering and injustice. They are capable of combining the purest idealism with the crassest materialism. They produce more violinists, more chess geniuses, more top level physicists than any other group. They can drive you crazy but I love them.

And this is the people that is settling the Jewish state and building it. I have heard Israelis express the wish that God had led Moses in another direction toward a more fertile land, and I have heard Israeli leaders express the wish that God had given them an easier people to deal with, but all these qualities of which I have spoken and many more are now simmering and seething in the pressure cooker that is Israel. To use another simile it's as if suddenly the lid were taken off a boiling pot. All that has been suppressed and repressed in Jews for centuries is now bursting out. Nowhere in the world is there such intense vitality, tremendous creativity as one encounters on every level in Israel. This is a people in a hurry. A sand dune today, a new city tomorrow. A wilderness this month, the next, an oasis. And newspapers and orchestras, physicists and chemists, the fastest commercial airlines in the world. Some of the quickest and best trained jet pilots. The human factor, the Jewish factor, is a tremendous asset in Israel.

This, I must add, is one of their problems. The whole Middle East has been somnolent and backward. Suddenly, into its midst from without has been projected a dynamic western community. It is understandable that this should be regarded with suspicion and with resentment and with envy as both a challenge and a threat.

Even within Israel this constitutes something of a problem. There the 20th and 10th centuries meet, and there have been many tensions in this juxtaposition. But I have the feeling that this too will prove to be an asset. There is cross-fertilization, and all sorts of new and interesting developments are coming out of it. This is another source of vitality and creativity.

The frontier is a hazard turned into an asset. All Israel is a frontier and that is a situation hard to live with. It means that at any moment an enemy can dart across the border, or shoot across the border and kill. You can never relax. I must add immediately that the atmosphere in Israel is not tense. Even during the Sinai campaign, I am told people went about their ordinary business in the ordinary way. But they have had to remain strong and prepared, always ready to defend themselves and to shoot back, if necessary.

On the other hand this very frontier characteristic is a source of strength. Frederick Jackson Turner promulgated a famous theory in which he stated that the frontier was the greatest single influence in shaping American character and history. If true, it also applies in large measure to Israel. The people live a hard, austere life. It keeps them vigorous, alert, vital. Their boys and girls are not softened by luxury as ours are here. They are able to take care of themselves in the emergencies which they take for granted.

This is also true in the economic frontier. In an older society there is a kind of hardening of the arteries. Less experimentation, more acceptance of limitations. But in a new society, the fact that something hasn't been done before is a challenge rather than a handicap. It's a little like the competition between business, those long-established in families for generations with plenty

of deadwood, and a new business being built by a family, perhaps new to the community, in which everybody works his head off and everybody has to produce. Consequently, Israel is producing everything. From copper to phosphates, from transistors to concrete pipes, from fruit to nuts, from the last word in fashions to the newest idea in furniture.

This has been helpful to Israel in its relations with new states. Israel actually has a point 4 program for countries like Burma and Ghana. It is helping them to bring backward countries forward. It is sharing its advances in scientific technology. It is introducing new methods of production and distribution. And this is not only helpful to them but promising for Israel because it is developing friends and trade with the great continents of Asia and Africa, which probably hold the key to the future.

On the subject of economic assets, one must mention German reparations, and having something to do with initiating this program, I take personal satisfaction in its results. In a period of 10 years over \$800 million will go into Israel from Germany, chiefly in the form of efficient German products—housing, machinery, motors, ships, buses, etc. This can never compensate for the slaughtered 6 million Jews nor will it ever free Germany from its moral guilt before the bar of history, but at least it means that the survivors will be aided by these former Jewish assets rather than the murderers.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion in his 10th anniversary message points up another asset. He reminds us that when all nations and the United Nations failed to come to Israel's aid when the Arabs invaded the new state established by the United Nations, the Israelis had one ally and that was the Jews of the world. They sent money and arms and fighters. The Jewish defenders included people who had come from 60 different countries of the world to help the infant state survive. The United Jewish Appeal has represented the most generous giving of any known philanthropy. This does not mean that all giving is generous. There are many Jews who ought to have bad consciences, but the United Jewish Appeal is commonly accepted as a sacred responsibility of the American Jewish community and there is, in many quarters, perhaps most, really sacrificial giving.

The bond drive has proved to be a tremendous asset. The United Jewish Appeal provides for human needs but every penny must be spent on resettlement, medical care, social welfare, etc. How shall the Israeli economy sustain this growing population? This can be done only through large scale economic projects, the deepening of harbors and rivers, hydroelectricification, heavy industry, large housing projects, and this is accomplished through investment in Israel bonds. I urge you, this year particularly, to buy bonds as you have never bought before. That is one way of showing you appreciate the meaning of the 10th anniversary.

Thus far the assets have been essentially Jewish in character. But they go beyond Jewish sources of strength and help. The United States has played a very important, yes, even a crucial role. Every American President since Woodrow Wilson, some before him, displayed sympathy toward Zionist aspirations. United States Congressmen, governors and State legislators, the press and clergy, the rank and file of the American people have displayed good will toward this undertaking of Jews to rehabilitate themselves and to establish through their own efforts a democratic state. President Truman, with whom I will be participating in the 10th anniversary ceremony in Philadelphia at Independence Hall on Thursday,

gave recognition to the State of Israel within minutes of its formation. For this he will always be honored by Jewish history and, I believe, by the human conscience. The United States has been generous with its aid through the years and this year the economic aid and loans will surpass any year since 1949.

America and Israel have much in common. Both were formed by pioneers. Both welcomed peoples from many lands. Both have been democratic, freedom loving, emphasizing individual liberty and dignity. This kinship has reflected itself on the one hand in American sympathy and aid and on the other in Israel's commitment to the West, as the only trustworthy bastion of democracy in that part of the world.

Finally, let me speak of the United Nations as an asset. It was the United Nations which created the State of Israel, that might not otherwise have come into existence. World opinion agreed to the formation of a Third Jewish Commonwealth. The United Nations brought together Russian and American support of the establishment of the Jewish state. The United Nations has officially acted on the assumption that it is committed to the preservation of this state. It has at least taken an official position against aggression toward Israel. It helped bring about the truce in the violence that erupted along Israel's borders. Its troops now keep peace in Gaza and Aqaba and enable the Israeli settlers to relax their vigilance.

The final asset implicit in much of what has already been said, and the result perhaps of all other assets, is Israeli strength. A handful, they successfully resisted the invasion of the armies of 6 Arab countries with a total population of over 40 millions. Through 10 years of unrelenting hostility they have steadily built and defended what they built. When it became clear that Nasser with the aid of Russian arms was in the process of attempting to destroy them, they struck, swiftly and successfully and as a result the Fedayeen raids stopped, there was quiet along the borders, the Gulf of Aqaba is open to Israeli shipping, and the Arab states know they will get badly hurt if they really try to make trouble.

I for one, and I know there are many like me, both in Israel and in the United States, do not exult in this kind of armed strength. I do not want to see any building up of militarism which is a real danger in this situation if the present condition continues for many years. I would like to see Israel concentrate on its peaceful objectives and not have to devote so much of its energy and means to defense. But, ringed round by Arab steel supplied by Russia, they now have no alternative. They must be strong in order to survive, and they are strong. And I must say that I do take real satisfaction from the knowledge that Jews can no longer be killed with impunity. It was 15 years ago tomorrow that that tiny band of pathetic survivors provided the world with an heroic but pathetic example of resistance in the Warsaw ghetto, and what they did was more noteworthy because it was so exceptional. Most Jews went like sheep to the slaughter. It was only 10 years ago that British troops were bashing in the heads of Jews with no other place to go, who were trying to get into Palestine. It was hardly 10 years ago that the Arabs announced that they would drive the Jews into the sea and promised the Arabs living among Jews that if they would join them in the war against the Jews soon they would have their own property and get that of the Jews as well. So without exalting militarism, I, for one, am grateful and proud that Jews in our generation, after all their humiliation and degradation, have shown again they are capable of Maccabean courage and have said to the world, "We, too,

must be treated with dignity and respect."

Would that one could end this address on this note. But a balance sheet requires that we look at the other side of the picture. Once again, we have learned that nothing worth while comes easy. Neither men nor nations achieve emancipation without sacrifice, usually through blood, sweat, and tears.

The major problem continually confronting Israel is Arab hostility. No one really knows how deep rooted nor widespread this is. In the vast illiteracy of the deserts of Saudi Arabia or the upper Nile peasantry of Egypt, perhaps they have never even heard of Israel. The ordinary impoverished Arab probably is much more concerned with his daily bread than with Zionism. But the articulate Arab leadership remains violently hostile. By a strange paradox the spoken hostility is more violent among so-called United States friends in the area than with its problem children. Perhaps just because they feel they may be accused of pro-West and pro-Zionist sympathies, the leaders in Iraq and Jordan have said uglier things about Israel than has Nasser. After one makes due allowance both for Arab hyperboles of speech and for Arab politicians' necessity for saying things in order to survive, the fact still remains that there is no known break in the wall of Arab hostility. What shall be done?

The Huleh drainage issue indicates one problem. Israel has an abundance of water in the north and no water in the south. Therefore, it drains swamps in the north to make land cultivable, and channels the waters to the south that it may become fertile. This does not harm anyone and brings benefits to all. But the Syrians don't like it. They can't use these waters; they don't need them, but they don't want Israel to progress. So they make difficulties and shoot from across the frontiers which are nearby. Israel doesn't want trouble. It needs a period of tranquility, but it cannot permanently hold up progress because of ongoing Arab opposition.

Nasser has become the leader and the symbol of rising Arab nationalism to most of the Arab world. * * * Regardless of credit or blame the fact is that Nasser emerged from this crisis with greater prestige and strength than before. He confiscated the assets of the Suez Canal and holds on to them. He gets Russian aid and uses it for bargaining power with the West. He has taken over Syria and Yemen. His cohorts and supporters are powerful and dangerous in every Arab country.

And now there is a rising sentiment in the West for some rapprochement with Egypt's dictator. He is no trustworthy friend of the West. At the very moment he is negotiating for United States aid, his controlled press and radio have denounced United States leaders as criminals. If we strengthen Nasser we are building up Soviet influence and power in the Middle East. Let him learn the hard way, that Russia does not keep all its promises, that he cannot repudiate his commitments and defy the West and expect it to rescue him from his difficulties.

If we give him this type of aid we will alienate our own tested friends in the Middle East and North Africa, Bourguiba in Tunisia, Chamoun in Lebanon, the majority in Sudan and other Arabs like King Hussein of Jordan, who don't wish to come under his domination or the Russians. In effect we will be saying to them that they made a mistake in trusting us, that they will profit more by resisting us than by joining with us. United States policy should be clear and firm. We should give economic aid for the peoples of the area, not arms. We should be helping our friends, not our enemies. We should commit ourselves to resist aggression.

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Beyond this both Israel and the United States should do all in their power to reach through to the masses in the Arab countries, to show them the way to emancipation and to seek out progressive forces, the potential democratic forces in each land. We should not ally ourselves with decadent, backward feudalism, destined to disintegrate and disappear.

The second major problem that confronts Israel is economic. This need not be so. If the Israelis were to close their borders, they could probably soon be self-sustaining. But they have already taken in over 1 million Jews and many more are yet to come. No one knows when the doors in North Africa will open and close. No one knows when the satellite countries will permit or stop Jewish immigration. No one knows whether or when Russia will allow some of her Jews to depart. But what we do know is that we must be ready and this means preserving and strengthening the institutions of American Jewry such as the United Jewish Appeal and the bond organization, and on the local levels, the welfare fund. It means the ongoing readiness for generous aid. It means substantially increased investments in Israel. It means the increased use of American technology, and Americans ready to contribute their know-how.

The third problem is spiritual. I refer in the first place to the unresolved church-state problem in Israel. * * * Israel did not come into existence to become another Balkan State. Harassed by enemies, it had no alternative but to become strong and to defend itself. But the ultimate purpose of the Jewish commonwealth is spiritual. Israel is intended to be the fulfillment of Hebrew prophecy. It has already redeemed over a million Jews, and that is a heroic achievement, not only of the Jews but of the human spirit. It should lift the hearts of oppressed men everywhere. But we dare hope also for the redemption of their souls. We dare hope for a return to the Torah as the guiding principle of their lives, freely given and accepted, not under compulsion. We dare to hope for new Torah. The Jewish soul has not had its last insight, nor has the Jewish voice spoken its last immemorial word. I hope for light and healing from that sacred soil and I dare hope that Israel may become a bridge between East and West.

This is not a light task, nor for small-minded men. I dare hope that this generation of Jews, aided by friends outside their own group, will have the vision and the courage and the determination and the statesmanship to rise to the challenge, not of this hour but of the centuries.

Thursday, April 17, 1953

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed as a part of my remarks the text of a very unusual, revealing, and interesting interview with Mr. Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel, published in Look magazine for April 15, 1953.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered. (See exhibit A.)

Mr. JAVITS. The significance of the interview, to which I specifically invite the attention of my colleagues, is as follows:

It is now 10 years since Israel gained its independence. Ten years is an adequate proving time. Israel has proved that she is and will continue to be a nation. Therefore, her policies, in view of the fact that she is the most free-world oriented nation in a critically in-

cendary part of the world, are extremely important to us.

What Mr. Ben-Gurion's interview reveals is that Israel understands and is able to put before the world clearly and exactly what she sees her future to be. It is dominated by three characteristics: first, the development of free institutions, free ideas, and higher standards of living. That is the great and hallowed tradition of our own constitutional freedom of government.

Second, no expansion and no aggression against others, with an adequate understanding of the amplitude of room within their own country for looking after the harassed and persecuted Jews who might come from anywhere, to whom Israel's door is always open.

Third, a deep understanding of the fact that they are in the Near East, that they belong there, that they want to be a part of that region, that they want peace and concord and stability with their neighbors, and that under all circumstances they hold out the hand of peaceful cooperation to their neighbors, notwithstanding the fulminations against them.

These are major and significant bases of statecraft. They demonstrate to us why there is such a closeness and affinity of ideals and relations between the people of the United States and the people of Israel.

Mr. President, as we celebrate this 10th anniversary of Israel's statehood and Israel's relations with the United States, I hope very much that many of our colleagues will read with great care this interview.

EXHIBIT A

BEN-GURION TALKS—HE REVEALS FRANKLY WHAT HE THINKS ABOUT NASSER—ABOUT AMERICAN JEWS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL—ABOUT GERMANS, ARABS, WAR, AND PEACE

Israel will be 10 years old next month. Its prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, is 71. Yet the two have much in common. Both are small, cocky, energetic, loaded with brains—and likable. It is hard to imagine the one without the other. The nation is the fulfillment of Ben-Gurion's lifelong dream; and he is, has been, and will probably always be Mr. Israel.

That is why I flew over 13,000 miles to talk with him. We talked for more than 2 hours on February 28 in his unpretentious office in the Defense Ministry at Tel Aviv. As I listened to him, I realized why the Arabs have found him such a formidable opponent. This Polish-born pioneer farmer, combat soldier, classical scholar, and veteran politician is as shrewd as they come—and as hard as a nut. He knows what he wants for Israel. I could understand how an Israeli, after 10 years of independence, would feel good just knowing that "B-G" is still around—and still the boss.

Like Israel, born and weaned in battle, Ben-Gurion can also be brusque. He neither minces nor wastes words. So when I began by explaining that my questions would be pretty rough, he broke in impatiently, "Go ahead, go ahead. Ask me anything you want." Turn the page for the questions and Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's answers.

The last time I was in the Middle East—less than a year ago—I was talking to President [Gamal Abdel] Nasser about the chances of peace in this part of the world. He pointed out that your army invaded

Egypt just a few days after you said you would never start a war. "How can you negotiate with a man like that?" he added. Doesn't Nasser have a good point there? Nasser talks as if he were the one who wants to negotiate. Two years ago, an important intermediary—I can't tell you who—came to me and then went to Nasser in an effort to bring us together. I was willing, but Nasser refused. He even refused to stop the shooting along the border.

Nasser is convinced that you and the French were out to overthrow him. Is that true? We have no treaty with France, and I will not—I cannot—speak for the French. As for us, what would we accomplish by overthrowing him? That would not solve any problems.

Just 3 years ago this morning, you personally ordered a military raid on Gaza in which 38 Egyptians were killed and 33 wounded. C. L. Sulzberger recently wrote in the New York Times that this brutal assault is what caused Nasser to revise his policies and make his arms deal with Russia. Do you agree? Have you heard of the fedayeen? These people, trained and armed by Nasser, were crossing the border, killing our farmers working in their fields, killing our children going to school. There were just three things we could do: We could let them go on killing—but not even Gandhi would have accepted that. We could retaliate in the same way—but why should we kill other innocent people? Or we could destroy the fedayeen bases. This we did—this was the purpose of our action. And we will do it again if the fedayeen resume their raids.

Isn't it true that the fedayeen raids started only after you made your attack on Gaza? No. I was in a border village called Patish where people had been killed. They did not feel safe any more. That was when we decided to take action.

You said recently that you were worried about the new Egypt-Syria and Iraq-Jordan federations because these countries were all aggressive military dictatorships. Yet Israel, a democracy, has been condemned four times in the past 5 years by the U. N. Security Council or General Assembly for military aggression against Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. Don't they—with no such record—have more reason to be worried about Israel? First of all, we are worried because it is obvious Nasser must try to take over Jordan—and perhaps Iraq too. Otherwise, his United Arab Republic is very disunited indeed. This could mean violence or, anyway, trouble. As to the U. N. condemnations, the reason the Arabs have not also been condemned is that one of the big powers has the power of veto. So there are two standards—one for us, one for the Arabs—and we are usually discriminated against. But we are used to it: we are patient. As to their being afraid of us—look at the figures: 40 million against fewer than 2 million; an area 60 times bigger than ours; at least 4 times as many weapons, and of far better quality. Some of them get arms from the greatest power in the East, and some from the greatest power in the West as well. If the Arabs have any self-respect, how can they be afraid of us?

You also said, "If Iraqi troops approach the Jordan River, we will have to reserve our liberty of action." Does this mean you will invade Jordan? I can't say more than that. What we will do depends on circumstances. You don't cross a bridge until you reach it—and I hope we will not reach it.

A Cairo broadcast in Hebrew this month invited Israel to join the United Arab Republic—with full freedom of action in domestic and foreign affairs. Would you consider such an offer? If they mean it seriously, we are willing to consider the offer. In fact, we are trying to find out whether they are serious or not. Personally, I think it was merely propaganda. If they are seri-

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ous, why didn't they also broadcast in Arabic so that their own people would hear it?

Going back to Nasser's complaint, do you now regret launching the Sinai campaign—or would you strike again the way you did if you felt threatened by another military buildup in Egypt? I don't regret it at all. Why should I? I do know there are Americans—some very responsible ones—who now regret their negative attitudes toward us at the time. As to the second part of your question, it is hypothetical, so I would rather not answer it.

But wasn't your Sinai excursion a failure? After all, didn't Nasser come out of it with his prestige intact, and aren't the Arabs more suspicious of you than ever? A failure? Just look at some of the consequences: Until the Sinai campaign, the Arab refugees really believed that they would soon return to Israel and get everything there is in it. But now, I am told by a U. N. refugee administrator, they are disillusioned. They no longer believe what they are told by the Arab leaders. They want to be resettled elsewhere. Second, Egypt, Jordan and Syria had a military alliance aimed at us. It doesn't exist any more. We proved it was just a paper pact. Third—and this is important—they won't be thinking of attacking us for some time at least—unless, of course, they get volunteers from a foreign power. So now we can get on with our work, knowing we are more or less safe. Fourth, we have asserted our right to freedom of navigation, recognized by many maritime powers, and the Gulf of Aqaba is now open. There are many other reasons—such as the disappearance of the fedayeen. These are the main things that made the Sinai campaign worth while.

Do you think the United States has been wrong in sending arms to Iraq, Jordan and Saudi Arabia? You are twice wrong—for sending arms to them and for not sending arms to us.

How do you feel about the Soviet proposal to ban all arms shipments to the Middle East? The trouble with this proposal is that there is no arms balance today. A ban would leave the Arabs with a tremendous superiority. Instead, we would prefer to go further. We would agree to complete disarmament of Israel and all the nations of the Middle East—except for Turkey, which is in a special situation. Do you think we want to go on spending money for arms? We would much rather spend it on education and development. Of course, to make general disarmament effective, we would need a very good system of inspection. But that's up to the Arabs; we are ready to cooperate.

You are spending more than \$100 million a year on defense. Where are you getting your military equipment? People are buying it—where, I can't tell you. I am not doing the buying myself, and my associates are quite secretive. But it is not coming from America, I am sorry to say.

During the past 10 years, Israel has been receiving the equivalent of about \$500,000 a day from American sources. Do you believe our lavish support of Israel has helped or hurt America in the Middle East? What is America's basic interest in the Middle East? It is not oil—you have plenty of oil. It is not exploitation—on the contrary, you want people to prosper so that they will not become victims of subversion. America needs to make this part of the world safe for freedom. To accomplish this, your aid should provide things that people need, not things that dictators need. Here, the Arab governments are all dictatorships, and you give them arms. This does not help the people at all. But your aid to Israel is constructive, and it does help people preserve their freedom and satisfy their economic and cultural needs. Therefore, it conforms to America's basic interest in the Middle East.

If an American Jew refused to contribute to Israel, would you consider him a bad Jew? A good Jew, a bad Jew—these are rather subjective terms. As far as I'm concerned, an American Jew can do what he likes. If he doesn't want to support Israel, that's his business.

Is Judaism a nationality or a religion? Judaism is a peoplehood and a religion. The Jews are one people, with a common historical heritage and, in a way, a common destiny. A Jew is, of course, a citizen of the country where he lives, with all duties and rights of a citizen. The Jewish religion is quite different from Christianity. Christianity has nothing to do with peoplehood. But a religious Jew must believe that God made a covenant with Abraham: "To you and to your descendants I give this country." Moreover, all our religious holidays celebrate events in our history as a people. Doesn't that introduce an element of nationality? I believe there is a certain identity of destiny between all Jews in the world. If a Jew is persecuted in Germany, it affects a Jew in America. If a Jew makes a great scientific discovery, other Jews are proud. That is why, here in Israel, we are trying to make a highly civilized country that will give Jews, wherever they may be, a sense of pride.

In America, Judaism is divided into three large branches—reform, conservative, and orthodox. Why can't a reform or conservative Jew find a temple of his persuasion in Israel? Send me 10,000 reform Jews, and I can promise you they will have their own synagogues and rabbis. Let them try. They will see that we have freedom of religion here.

In 1953, you wrote, "When a Jew in America speaks of 'our government' to his fellow Jews, he usually means the Government of Israel, while the Jewish public in various countries view the Israeli Ambassadors as their own representatives." Do you still believe that American Jews are Israelis first and Americans second? In this quotation, I was merely repeating what some foreign teachers of Hebrew once told me in Jerusalem. I suppose it was natural for them to talk as they did while they were in Israel. But I never said that American Jews are Israelis first or last. Only Jews living in Israel are Israelis. Of course, there is a Jewish community in the world, and it is inevitable that an American Jew should feel a kinship with Israel in the same way that other Americans feel a kinship with the Irish or the Italians or whatever people they are descended from.

Do you still regard the 10 million Jews who live outside Israel as "exiles," and is Israel's primary mission still the "ingathering of the exiles?" Yes, though I would not use the term "exiles." I prefer "diaspora." Of course, I am not so naive as to think that America's 5 million Jews are going to flock over here—though I do wish that more would come, young ones especially. I realize that an American Jew enjoying full equality feels more comfortable where he is—with his car and television set and other things we are short of over here—but I still don't believe it is possible to enjoy a full Jewish life outside Israel. Jews who do not want or need to settle in Israel are probably doing what they believe is best for them; they just don't feel as I do.

What if Russia suddenly permitted its 2,500,000 Jews to emigrate to Israel? Where would you put them? I wish we were faced with that problem. However, even if this happened, I don't think more than half would choose to come. Meanwhile, don't worry—we have plenty of room for them within our present boundaries.

What is the maximum population that Israel can sustain? When that point is

reached, will you stop further immigration? Can you tell me what is America's maximum population? I doubt it. My own feeling is that Israel has room for all the Jews who need to come. That is about 4 million—mostly from Eastern Europe and the Moslem countries. Remember that Belgium, with 9 million souls, is not much bigger than Israel. We can easily double our agricultural production; the sea is also a source of food and raw materials. Industry? We are just getting started. And why should we not become a great maritime power? But our biggest asset is our will—and our initiative, our creative ability and pioneering spirit. We are not inferior to anyone where brains are concerned. So why talk of limits? All I can say is that no decent Jew who wants to come to Israel will ever be turned away.

Israel has received almost \$2 billion in aid since 1948, three quarters of it from the United States. How much more will you need in the next 10 years to stay in business as a nation? That depends entirely on our rate of immigration. If it continues at the present rate of 75,000 a year, we will need help for some time to come.

You get substantial reparations from West Germany. When will you establish diplomatic relations? Whenever Germany is ready. There will be no difficulty here. Some people in Israel oppose it, but they are a minority. Why should we go on hating the Germans—especially the new generation who had nothing to do with the Hitler period?

Do you consider Israel to be a Middle Eastern state or a western beachhead in this area? We are the only real Middle Eastern nation here. Only the Jews speak the same language and practice the same faith as in Biblical times. No other people in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Egypt preserved their national language or culture. The next time you see Nasser, ask him to say something in the Egyptian language.

Let me conclude with a few questions about war and peace. That's what mostly concerns Americans when they think about the Middle East. You said last fall you were ready to sign a treaty of peace and friendship with the Arabs. On what terms? On terms of equality and mutual interest—including full economic, political and cultural cooperation. Our aim is to recreate the prosperity that this area enjoyed in the past. Do you believe that a majority of the Arab leaders are reconciled to the fact that Israel is here to stay? I can't say. I suspect that some of them are, but they don't dare say so.

You have said you will make no preconditions to discussing a settlement with the Arabs. Yet you have also said that the 1947 U. N. partition plan, which you once accepted, can no longer be a basis for discussion. Isn't this a precondition? No. That plan means the partition of Israel. And I will discuss the partition of Israel only if Nasser is willing to discuss the partition of Sinai. I would then tell him he had no legitimate claim on the Sinai peninsula. That's what I mean by terms of equality.

Nasser told me last year that an overall peace settlement would have to take into consideration the right of the Arab refugees to return to their homes. Do you see any room for fruitful negotiation here? If he is willing to talk peace, we are willing to discuss the refugees. And we will make constructive proposals to solve the problem for the good of the refugees.

How can you say that Israel has no room to take back any Arab refugees when you also talk of admitting 4 million Jews? We Jews

are pioneers. The Arabs are not. Can you imagine an Arab going to live in the Negev to do what some of my friends are doing? I know men with university degrees creating settlements out of a wasteland with their hands and muscles and brains. Our people have the urge, the willingness to sacrifice. Such people we have room for. But the Arabs have never done this. On the contrary, they have turned prosperous countries into deserts.

Israelis say they feel threatened by hostile Arab neighbors. The Arabs fear you. So why won't you allow U. N. forces to patrol your side of the border—both as self-protection and as proof to the Arabs that you are not going to attack them? As to self-protection, we'll take care of that ourselves. As to proving our good intentions, let the Arabs test them by offering peace. After all, we are the ones who are always proposing peace. I might add that, if I were an Arab, I would be ashamed to be afraid of Israel.

One of the tragedies here is that there is so little communication between Jews and Arabs. Would you consider an exchange program of, say, students and editors as a means of creating better understanding on both sides? Oh, yes, we would gladly do that. We did have an Egyptian journalist here last year, but his stories were censored when he got home and later prohibited.

As a personal peace gesture, would you consider flying to Cairo to meet with Nasser—if he were agreeable? Or do you share the opinion of those who refer to him as another Hitler? I would definitely go to Cairo, any time he invites me. I really don't know what sort of a man he is, though I suspect his ambition is to be the dominating leader in Africa and the Moslem world. But I have never thought of him as a Hitler; I don't think he would or could do what Hitler did. Therefore, I would not hesitate to negotiate with him as man to man.

REMARKS OF HON. IRVING M. IVES OF NEW YORK

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, the 10th anniversary of the State of Israel is an occasion of rejoicing and rededication. We hail Israel's first decade of progress, her triumphs over adversity, her glowing future prospects. And we join in pledging anew our support, our good will, and our prayers for Israel in the years that lie ahead.

The United States and Israel share an overriding concern for the preservation of peace in the Middle East. They have a mutual aim of defeating the sinister designs of communism in Africa and Asia. More than any other nation, the United States was responsible for the creation of Israel. I feel that I have been privileged to play a part, however small, in the creation and strengthening of the vibrant democracy that is Israel.

Mutual interests link the United States and Israel. Ideals, principles, and a common faith in the dignity of man bind these nations together. Let this 10th anniversary be a moment of rededication to the humanitarian principles which are making Israel great—even as they made the United States a beacon of hope in the world.

REMARKS OF HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS OF ILLINOIS

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I also wish to join my colleagues in expressing congratulations to the State of Israel for the splendid record which it has made in the 10 years of its history, and also to express my hope that the years ahead may be years not only of material prosperity, but of peace and cultural development.

Thursday, May 29, 1958

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of an eloquent address delivered by the Honorable Herbert H. Lehman, our former beloved colleague in the Senate, on the 10th anniversary of the independence of Israel, which he delivered in Chicago Stadium on Sunday, May 11, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HERBERT H. LEHMAN, GENERAL CHAIRMAN, AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ISRAEL'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION AT THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF ISRAEL INDEPENDENCE FESTIVAL, SALUTE TO ISRAEL, CHICAGO STADIUM, CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 11, 1958

It is a privilege to come here on this occasion, to this great interior metropolis of America, and to bring to this city, its people, and this audience, the greetings of the American Committee for the Celebration of Israel's 10th Anniversary.

My memories and impressions of Chicago antedate those of most, if not all, of you here tonight. I started coming to Chicago more than 70 years ago. This is a city with a truly distinctive spirit and meaning. Here I have always felt the throbbing beat of the spirit of our country, the dynamic and creative spirit of progress which is so akin to the spirit of the country whose 10th anniversary we are observing and celebrating tonight.

Ten years ago minus 3 days, according to our modern calendar, a sky-blue flag, emblazoned with the Star of David, was raised over a tiny area of the Middle East to signalize the rebirth of the ancient State of Israel.

The historic significance of this event was partially obscured at the time by the spectacle of war—the apparently unequal conflict between the forces of five Arab States converging to destroy and exterminate the Jews ingathered in this cradleland of Western civilization.

As it turned out, as it had to turn out, the forces of the Arab States, though overwhelming in number, proved insufficient to cope with the lesser Jewish forces who were armed, above all, with faith and purpose, and supported by the conscience of mankind.

Although the sympathetic surge of world support for Israel reflected the moral significance of the birth of the new state, the clash of arms and the crosscurrents arising from conflicting national interests cast disturbing shadows over the revival of this ancient nation in its original place. Yet the moral force of this development could not be denied. It prevailed, and has continued to prevail through the 10 years of spectacular achievement by the modern State of Israel.

What was this moral meaning, as of 1948? It was the meaning of a people dispersed through the centuries, who had continued to turn in memory, prayer, and hope to their promised land—a people who for their culture and faith had endured the persecution of centuries, and yet had outlived their persecutors.

It was the meaning of a people who had recently been subjected to the most brutal attempt at mass extermination in the annals of history.

Six million corpses from the Nazi furnaces and graveyards eloquently supported the petition for a Jewish nation in the Middle East.

In 1948, the world was asked:

Should there not be a refuge for the remainder of this people?

Should there not be a homeland for those hundreds of thousands of uprooted and displaced who had no home?

Should there not be a prospective haven for those in many parts of the world who still lived in the shadow of the ghetto, in the constant fear of pogrom and persecution, who were still subject to the whiplash of discrimination and indignity?

Should there not be a homeplace for this people, of all peoples, who had contributed so much from their spiritual insights to the supreme truths and wisdom of mankind—for this people who asked only the right to lead lives of freedom and creative opportunity in a land of their own, in Israel?

To these questions, the conscience of mankind answered "Yes"; and to this challenge, the people of Israel, assisted and encouraged by men of goodwill throughout the world, responded in the magnificent way which is the object of our celebration here tonight.

Yes, we are gathered here tonight to celebrate the winning of Israel's independence 10 years ago and Israel's achievements during the past 10 years.

But our purpose tonight—the purpose of the American Committee for the Celebration of Israel's 10th Anniversary—is much more than that. It is, above all, to relate the present problems of Israel with the world's problem of peace; and to relate the world's prayers for peace with the cause of justice and freedom—for Israel, for the Arab States, for America, and for all mankind.

I believe that the security of Israel is the security of America.

I believe that the peace of Israel is the peace of the world.

I believe that the welfare and future of the people of Israel is intimately bound up with the welfare and future of the people of the Arab States, and the welfare and future of all the nations of the Middle East is intertwined with the welfare and future of all men and all nations everywhere.

The facts of history and geography have pressed the people of Israel and that of the Arab States into a unity of interest which, in this dangerously shrunken world, must not continue to be denied.

The unbearable penalty of war will be visited upon the world unless this common interest is recognized and fulfilled.

It is clear that neither the Arab peoples nor the people of Israel can be wished out of existence.

It is clear that Israel is a fact of the Middle East—by the will and determination of the people of Israel, supported by the sense of justice of mankind.

No nation or group of nations can set these facts aside or bargain away the fundamental rights—or the territory—of Israel.

The problem is to reconcile all the nations involved to these facts, and to assist in an orderly accommodation to the facts of the present and to the challenge of the future.

The challenge is to provide ways and means of channeling the dynamic spirit of the people of Israel into constructive un-

dertakings which will benefit not only Israel and the Jews who will go to live in Israel, but the entire Middle East.

This is the philosophy of these 10th anniversary celebrations which have been and are being held throughout the length and breadth of America, and indeed, of the world this year.

The experience of Israel during the past decade should be and is the common property of all nations and peoples. That experience extends the frontiers and horizons of mankind in many different directions.

I do not have time tonight to discuss all these directions. I will mention one or two.

Israel has proved that the desert can be made to blossom like a garden. There are vast desert spaces in the world waiting to be conquered by water, seed, and human toil, as Israel has begun to conquer the Negev.

Israel has proved that a tiny country, possessed of, however, few natural resources, can, by the strength of the will and purpose of the people, develop a thriving and dynamic economy sufficient to support the institutions of freedom, democracy, and social justice, which were once thought to be the luxuries of the well-endowed.

Perhaps the most meaningful experience Israel has had, and the most important lesson Israel has taught the world, concerns immigration.

In 10 years, nearly 1 million immigrants have been received in Israel, more than doubling the population which inhabited the land 10 years ago. This, mind you, took place during the first 10 years of the existence of Israel.

Let me compare this to the experience of the United States.

In 1790, 14 years after we declared our independence, our population was almost 4 million. Yet, with our vast land spaces, permanent immigration between 1790 and 1800 amounted to less than 40,000.

During the decade of the greatest immigration into the United States—between 1901 and 1910—8 million aliens entered our country for permanent residence. But in 1910, the population of the United States was 92 million; immigration added less than 10 percent to our population.

During the recent decade, Israel has added more than 100 percent.

The United States provided the world with the first major example, in modern times, of mass immigration and its absorption. This example stirred the imagination of mankind.

Israel has given an example which casts all precedents into the shade. The hundreds of thousands of immigrants who entered Israel have not only been received, but in months rather than generations, have been integrated into the national life. They have been provided with food, shelter, and an opportunity for livelihood. Their sick have been and are being cared for, their children are being schooled, their aged and infirm have been given care and asylum.

For this there is virtually no precedent. It is a brilliant page in the world's annals of humanitarianism. Moreover, Israel considers this policy of welcome to all who need and want to come—regardless of their health, finances, or economic capabilities—the basic policy of the nation. It is part of the purpose and meaning of Israel. Israel received 100,000 new immigrants last year, and is prepared to welcome an equal number this year. To this policy, mankind must pay its highest respects. From this policy, all nations may well learn.

If there were a world prize for humanitarianism, Israel would clearly deserve it.

When I think of this policy and this practice, I find it hard to have patience with those Arab officials who point the finger of condemnation at Israel because of the unfortunate plight of the Arab refugees.

What are the Arab countries doing for these kinsmen who are the tragic victims of the Arab assault on Israel? These Arab refu-

gees could be usefully resettled in Arab lands, and would have, for this purpose, I am sure, the financial assistance of other nations of the world, including Israel.

Yet the Arab Governments have refused to move in this direction. They have done nothing save cultivate hate and hostility among the refugees, and urge them to dream a useless dream of vengeance that cannot be achieved and of a return to a past that is totally gone.

The Arab refugee problem is one of those arising from the errors of the past, which must be resolved by constructive action in the present.

There are other such problems in the Middle East today.

The most obvious of these is the presence of Soviet Russia as a power and influence in this area. It need not have been, but it is. Soviet influence and Soviet designs are today the chief threat to the security of Israel and of the Middle East.

The maneuvers in this region among the great powers, one against the other, menace Israel and menace the peace of the area and of the world.

There is a danger—a critical danger, in my opinion—that in order to win temporary advantage in the contest for the support of the Arab regimes, one or the other of the great powers might entertain the notion of sacrificing Israel, or some part of Israel.

I hope our own Government understands—and conveys to all other governments—that this notion is not only immoral, but impossible.

The people of the world, and particularly the people of Israel, will remember the lesson of Munich.

It is an interesting circumstance that the one unchangeable factor in the Middle East is the western orientation of Israel. This cannot be said of any other nation in the area. This factor arises not from pacts, treaties, or alliances, nor from any special economic or political commitments, but rather because Israel is, itself, a fervent apostle of freedom and democracy. Israel's dedication to freedom is as basic to Israel as its very existence.

This is why Israel, a minuscule country, with a population one-twentieth of the Arab States, and an area one-eighth that of Illinois, is the real pivot of the Middle East. It is so because Israel is the focus of the forces of freedom in the area.

Yet, although Russia continues to encourage hostility to Israel as a cloak for her designs in the Middle East, we of the West are not doing half enough to counter the Russian moves by positively discouraging this hostility.

If we openly embraced Israel as the mainstay of freedom in the Middle East, and tried to press the Arab States into collaboration with Israel, instead of apologizing for Israel and frequently acting as though we were embarrassed by the presence of Israel, we would be serving, I believe, the long-range interests of the Arab peoples, as well as the cause of peace.

In this area today, the Soviet Union is calling the tune. Must we and all the rest of the world continue to dance to it?

I hope that the answer is "No."

I am aware that the problems in the Middle East are thorny and difficult, complicated not only by Soviet influence, but by the antagonism and rivalry among the Arab nations themselves.

Yet I hope that the vicious cycle of moves and counter-moves of a military and political nature, designed to secure temporary power bloc advantage for one side or the other, can be interrupted and broken.

I would like to see our country take the lead in the United Nations, or outside the United Nations, in association with all nations interested in peace, to work for funda-

mental programs in the Middle East that will accrue to the advantage not of any particular power bloc, but of all mankind.

Regional undertakings for the social and economic betterment of all the Middle Eastern peoples provide, in my judgment, a basic approach. The emphasis must be shifted from the differences which divide these peoples to the common interests which should unite them—and I mean all of them, including the people of Israel.

Capital and credit must be provided for programs to raise the living standards of the Middle Eastern peoples, and to make possible individual fulfillment and social justice for all.

Let the Soviet Union be challenged, publicly and persistently, to join with us in such economic undertakings aimed not at securing influence in the area, but at furthering the cause of peace.

Let the Soviet Union be challenged to join with us and other powers in sponsoring a pilot disarmament program in this area. In the Middle East, disarmament can be made effective. Inspection is no great problem.

Pending agreement on such programs designed to relax dangers and tensions, the United States, and the other Western Powers, should reiterate, in unmistakable terms, their guaranty of the security of Israel and of her territorial integrity within her present borders.

This guaranty should also apply to the security and integrity of the neighboring Arab States.

This is the way to make the Eisenhower doctrine meaningful in the Middle East. I firmly believe that during the next 10 years, Israel will continue to make progress.

I firmly believe that in so doing, Israel will contribute to the peace and stability of the Middle East.

I firmly believe that the Arab States will come, sooner or later—and I hope it will be sooner—to accept Israel as a friendly neighbor from whom they can profit much and to whose welfare they can contribute much.

Israel is a nation based on a positive idea—the idea of love and devotion, not only to the State of Israel, but to all mankind.

I believe, with all my heart, that the force of love is stronger than the force of hate. Love renews itself, while hate exhausts itself. The force of love is fertile and productive, while the force of hate is barren and destructive.

The people of Israel have burst the ordinary limits of possibilities in the progress they have made because they are inspired with a sense of mission which extends beyond their own immediate interests.

Tonight, we congratulate Israel on her sense of mission and on the contributions which have come from it during the past 10 years.

We in America need to recapture this sense of mission, too. We have had this sense in the past. Let us conceive it again.

Our mission is to lead the world in ways of peace, justice, security, and freedom.

Our mission is to pierce the curtains of darkness which now press in upon us and to move toward the dawn of a new age of peace, justice, and understanding among ourselves and among all the nations of men.

REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. PROXMIRE

OF WISCONSIN

Mr. PROXMIRE. I am happy to join with my colleagues in honoring Israel on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of its independence. This country's first

decade has been one of unparalleled achievement in human as well as material terms. Dedicated to freedom and democracy in a region of the world that for centuries has known only dictatorship and repression, Israel has shown graphically what a free people can accomplish in the face of enormous natural obstacles and hostile neighbors.

Gathered from all parts of the world, the people of Israel are pioneers in the true sense of the word. Like the early settlers of the West, they are full of courage and determination. They are frontier people, and if the theory of the celebrated University of Wisconsin historian, Frederick Jackson Turner, that our American frontiers have had a major influence on our lives, is correct, then unquestionably the frontiers of Israel have been a major influence in shaping the development of that people.

Israel has rendered a great humanitarian service in providing more than 900,000 homeless men, women, and children from the concentration camps of Europe, and from the ghettos of Africa and Asia, with a chance to regain their self-respect and to live normal productive lives. They have done this at great cost to their national economy and at considerable personal sacrifice, but at the same time they have defended their liberty and strengthened the institutions of democracy.

America can be proud of the financial help it has given Israel during its first decade. America can be proud that it has helped to strengthen this young nation, and it is no exaggeration to say that the friendship of the American people continues to be one of the most important pillars of Israel's strength. The cause of democracy and the free world has gained immeasurably because there is a strong, independent Israel in the Middle East today. In the world conflict between East and West, which is now making the Middle East its battleground, we are fortunate to be able to point to a country where democracy and freedom are proving so successful.

The people of Israel have also demonstrated their ability to defend themselves when their security has been threatened. At the same time they have repeatedly extended the hand of peace to all their neighbors, with a sincerity that cannot be doubted. Israel wants peace. Only this week her Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, in a television interview, offered to disarm his country if his neighbors would do likewise. In its desire for peace and economic development, in its love of freedom and devotion to democracy, in its tradition of humanitarian service and in its provision of homes for the homeless, Israel reflects also the interests of the United States. For our part, we can aid in the achievement of peace in the Middle East by making it clear that we will not tolerate any aggression against Israel. Only when Israel's neighbors understand that it is in their own best interests to cooperate with each other and with Israel for the development of the entire region, will peace come. All our efforts should be devoted toward that goal.

REMARKS OF

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, today marks the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the free State of Israel. Just 10 years ago the community of free peoples was strengthened by the creation of a democratic nation.

In one short decade we have witnessed the remarkable progress of the Israeli state. Its heritage, its culture, its dedication to human freedom and human dignity have enabled it to become a stalwart ally among the free nations of the world.

We in America seek peace and freedom for all men. For this reason the preservation of the free and independent State of Israel has been, and will remain, a fundamental tenet of American foreign policy.

On this 10th anniversary of Israel's restoration, I join the millions of friends of Israel all over the world in paying tribute to the heroic people of this nation—to the progress which they have made in furthering their democratic institutions—and to the ambition which they share with us to achieve dignity and brotherhood for all men.

REMARKS OF

HON. H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, I desire to identify myself fully with the resolution offered by the majority leader, concurred in by the minority leader and other Senators, with respect to the 10th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

Mr. President, tomorrow, April 24, will be the 10th anniversary of the independence of Israel. We, in America, are happy to salute this gallant land on the occasion of the celebration of its first decade as a member of the nations of the world.

Israel's career has been stormy and difficult, but it enters upon its second decade with a vigorous, democratic society, and a developing economy which is expanding both agriculturally and industrially at a healthy rate. The eastern shore of the Mediterranean is beginning to bloom again in a manner not seen for centuries.

It has seemed to me in the second decade of the life of this courageous little country that it can well dedicate itself to the challenge of peace in the area in which it thrives. It can show to the other nations of the area and the free world that the eternal spiritual truths on which its whole history has been founded are the possession not only of Israel alone, but also the possession of the entire world.

Israel and the Middle East area is the birthplace of many of the world's great religions. Leadership in the establishment of these spiritual values could well be the proud objective of these courageous people.

Israel has demonstrated how a sound democracy can thrive in the midst of adversity. We, in America, welcome this opportunity to congratulate it on its 10th birthday. We also take this occasion to renew our determination that we and other nations will continue to search for means of alleviating the tensions and difficulties which confront Israel and the states adjacent to it, to the end that peace and prosperity will be the blessing of every country in the Middle East.

REMARKS OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, today the Senate of the United States is honoring the State of Israel which will celebrate its 10th anniversary tomorrow.

Ten years ago a new nation was formed, the State of Israel, founded on principles similar to those on which our own country was founded.

In 10 short years this vigorous young nation has withstood aggression, turned the desert into fertile farmland, begun an ambitious industrial program, and gained the respect of the world.

Israel has shown the world how a people with ideals based on the principles of freedom, sacrificing mutually, and pulling together, can form a great and free nation.

In these days of man-made satellites circling the earth, of atomic power, of intercontinental missiles, and of talk about interplanetary travel, we are liable to lose sight of the one thing that makes us a strong nation: The determination in our hearts to remain free. It follows, then, that we are a nation where the people govern through free elections. This idea of freedom has become a part of the lives of our people, and for this we are known throughout the world. Thus, our country has been a shelter for the persecuted of the world, a sanctuary where liberty, justice, and equality are the accepted rule. It is significant that these very ideals are those on which the State of Israel was founded. And Israel has grown in stature to a great and respected nation.

As a representative of the people of Maryland, I extend to the people of the State of Israel our sincere congratulations on the 10th anniversary of the founding of their nation.

REMARKS OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

Mr. CASE of New Jersey. Mr. President, 10 years ago the new State of Israel was proclaimed. Minutes after the declaration of a new independent nation, the United States announced formal recognition of its government, the lone democracy in the ancient lands of the Middle East.

The years since then have brought development at a pace unmatched by any other nation in modern times. Cer-

tainly, few have confronted greater difficulties in their initial years. A barren land which would require enormous effort to make productive, the normal sources of food supply largely cut off, a steady influx of immigrants and refugees, most of them with little or no agricultural experience, little industry, hostile neighbors on virtually every side—little wonder that some thought Israel would not long survive. But Israel had one priceless asset—a people firmly determined to build a strong and enduring nation, in which each could make a useful life.

Indeed, the very precariousness of those early years, the hardships and dangers that were a part of daily life, stimulated efforts that were truly prodigious.

In 10 years Israel has come a very long way. Primary emphasis has, of course, been put on the development of agriculture. This has meant investment in irrigation, agricultural equipment, fertilizers, and training programs. Israel is not yet self-sufficient in all foods, but the days of strict rationing, of barely skirting the threat of starvation, are behind, forever behind, we hope. Even though wisdom and necessity dictated giving agricultural development first place, industrial growth has also proceeded at a rapid rate. Over an 8-year period, Israel has managed to achieve a fivefold increase in exports and to meet her financial obligations at home and abroad. Overall imports still exceed exports, but the young economy has demonstrated a vitality and capacity for growth that is from any objective point of view, very remarkable.

In all of this, Israel has been greatly helped by the assistance—technical, financial, and economic—extended by other nations and by millions of individuals, not only in the United States, but all over the world, to whom the establishment of Israel was the triumphant vindication of basic principles of humanity and justice. To see the good use to which outside help has been put, the manifold return it has so quickly brought, provides a rare satisfaction.

Important though outside assistance has been, and will continue to be for some time, the indispensable ingredient in Israel's progress remains her people. Only a people with a high degree of social responsibility, with the ability to organize themselves effectively and make the most of meager resources, could achieve a standard of living which already contrasts so favorably with that of many of her neighbors, including those endowed with great natural resources.

Much of the hardest part is behind them. But new and no less challenging problems lie ahead. Domestically most important is that of helping many of the new immigrants coming from traditional, almost feudal backgrounds of Middle Eastern countries, to take their places in a modern dynamic society shaped by and dedicated to western ideals. I have no fear of the outcome.

A people who have demonstrated the courage and skill which has brought Israel through this first decade cannot fail to meet the new challenges which lie ahead.

REMARKS OF

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, tomorrow, April 24, will mark a memorable occasion—the 10th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. At this time, it would be appropriate to reaffirm our confidence in Israel's future and pleasure in her magnificent achievements. I ask unanimous consent to have a copy of the letter which I sent to Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

HIS EXCELLENCY DAVID BEN-GURION,
Prime Minister of Israel,
Tel Aviv, Israel.

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the State of Israel, I wanted to send you my personal congratulations and warmest good wishes. This is an occasion for rejoicing among friends of Israel all over the world. Probably no nation in history has accomplished so much in so short a time.

This splendid record of achievement and progress is a tribute to the dedication, the sacrifice, and the faith of the people of Israel. Your great leadership during these trying days of Israel's freedom and independence has been a source of inspiration, not only to your own people, but to free men everywhere.

I will long remember our visit about a year ago. I shall be ever grateful to you and your countrymen for the hospitality and friendly welcome that was extended to me and my associates during our visit to Israel. I am sure you know that we were very favorably impressed with the many accomplishments that were so evident everywhere.

Before many months go by, I hope that we may meet again and this time in the United States.

I have deemed it an honor and a privilege to participate in some of the programs and efforts which have been undertaken here in the United States, designed to be of assistance to the people of Israel. Permit me to join my fellow Americans in saluting you and the State of Israel on the occasion of the 10th anniversary. We wish you and your country the blessings of freedom, peace, and continued progress. All of these you richly deserve.

With admiration and best wishes, I remain,
Respectfully yours,
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY.

Wednesday, June 11, 1958

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on May 11, 1958, I had the honor to deliver an address at the celebration in the Chicago Stadium, Chicago, Ill., of Israel's 10th anniversary. My address was entitled "Israel—Bastion of Freedom."

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my talk be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

ISRAEL—BASTION OF FREEDOM
(Address by Senator HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, Democrat, Minnesota, at Independence Festival celebrating Israel's 10th anniversary, Chicago Stadium, Chicago, May 11, 1958)

We are gathered here to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the founding of the State

of Israel. It is appropriate that we do so both by looking back over Israel's challenges and achievements during that decade, and by looking ahead to Israel's future.

The skeptics said there would never be a State of Israel. They have been proved wrong.

They said that Israel, surrounded by a sea of hostile forces, with arid land, depleted resources, and a divergent and impoverished people, could not survive. Again, they were wrong.

Even now, there are a few who say that Israel cannot survive. They, too, are wrong. Israel has confounded the fears of the skeptics, and confirmed the faith of her friends.

Last year at this time I was in Israel. I know, first hand, the determination, the faith, and the courage that have made possible the historic achievements of the last 10 years.

Israel has had more than her share of handicaps and heartaches in these first years of independence. Yes, not one, but a hundred challenges have had to be met and mastered—and all of them at the same time.

Israel has had to establish a modern free government, create a strong defensive force, build an independent economy, and revive and renew a whole culture.

She has succeeded in doing so not by the brutal efficiency of a totalitarian machine, but through a democratic process which has respected, and promoted the rights of the individual.

HUMAN RIGHTS

For instance, today in Israel every child, Arab and Jewish, is entitled to a free education and medical care. Arabs are represented in Israel's parliament, both as members of Jewish parties, and as the representatives of Arab parties. It has always seemed wonderfully symbolic to me that the rights of the Arab minority in Israel have been safeguarded even while the state itself has been under siege from hostile neighbors.

DEFENSE

Yes, on the very day of Israel's birth as a nation, her land frontiers were under attack and her ports were blockaded.

The new state's baptism of fire was costly, but it established her right to live and she lives vigorously. The people of Israel have learned to live dangerously. They have learned to brace themselves for the difficult task of rebuilding their hard-won country, and making it a haven for refugees fleeing from other lands. Today Israel stands as the most powerful nation in the Middle East, exclusive of Turkey—a strong ally, without a formal treaty of alliance.

REFUGEES

In the past 10 years, Israel has performed the monumental task of receiving, rehabilitating, and resettling more than 900,000 immigrants—from displaced persons camps in Germany, Austria, Italy, from countries in North Africa and the Middle East, from behind the Iron Curtain, as well as from other parts of the world. Today the Jewish population numbers almost 2 million. Month after month, Israel continues to receive the homeless and persecuted in truly staggering numbers.

It is to Israel's everlasting credit that every one of the hundreds of thousands who came to make a new home—and a new life—each was and is provided with enough to get started on the road to self-sufficiency.

The new immigrants are not only provided with the basic necessities of life upon their arrival, but are integrated into the community. Many are retrained for jobs in industry. An even larger number are moved to agricultural settlements. But all are given work—yes, gainful work—designed to provide not only an income, but to enrich and develop the State of Israel. Israel

has proved to the world that immigration is an asset, both in wealth and power. Israel has made the principle of the dignity of the individual a reality in the Middle East.

This magnificent achievement has always seemed to me an eloquent answer and object lesson for those in this country who set themselves so rigidly against liberalization of our own unfair and outmoded immigration laws.

FOOD

Because of the primary problem of feeding people, agriculture has held top priority in Israel's development program since the first year of statehood. At the beginning, much of the food had to be imported. Today, Israel can raise all the food she needs to feed her people, except for wheat, edible oils, and meat. She has begun to export vegetables, citrus fruits, and other foodstuffs to Europe. Our food surpluses can be used to fill the gap—to balance the food requirements.

Yes; American food can be a positive force in our foreign policy. It can be the life-saving ingredient of a political and economic policy designed to assist newborn nations. The shortage of food is a common denominator throughout many areas of the world. Therefore, our abundance of food is an asset. This asset, wisely used, can create new friendships and contribute to the building of peace and freedom. No American should ever say that our surplus of food is a problem. It is, indeed, rather a privilege and one to be shared generously and constructively.

Some of the latest, most advanced farming techniques are now being used by Israel's farmers. Agricultural and mining settlements have sprung up in wastes that had been desolate and uninhabited for centuries. About 500 new agricultural settlements have been established.

The next great planned development for Israel is the conquering of the Negev, the great desert in the southern areas of Israel. The Negev possesses a tremendous challenge to the determination, imagination, and technical competence of the Israelis. The Government of Israel and its people are determined that the Negev shall be made fruitful. The land is rich and fertile if the blessing of nourishing water can be brought to it. Water can be made available—the land is there to be tilled and planted. Thousands of people await the opportunity to build new homes in freedom and security in this great expanse of Israeli territory. To develop the Negev, however, will call for great investments of capital, labor, engineering, and planning.

Prime Minister Ben-Gurion told me that the Negev will be developed. This was not just an idle promise; it was a declaration of purpose. It will be developed, because Israel needs it. It is, in truth, Israel's underdeveloped area that awaits the magic touch of modern science and technology, inspired by the strength and determination of a people who refuse to incorporate in their vocabulary the word "impossible."

INDUSTRY

We know that the country's industrial progress has also been phenomenal. A look at the production and export figures tells the story.

Israel's industry represents an investment of more than \$700 million. Old, established plants have been expanded and reequipped and new ones have been built. Through self-sacrifice, careful planning, loans, and reparations, Israel has greatly enlarged her productive capacity. The most modern kind of machinery capable of producing high quality products, is now being used.

New roads and harbors have been built, railways have been extended and modernized, and new power stations and telephone installations are in use—progress—growth everywhere.

FRONTIER

All this creativity, all this activity, and all this faith are reminiscent of our country in its early pioneer days. All Israel is a frontier, still highly vulnerable to attack. Just as our own ancestors did not have time to be afraid, so now Israel finds this frontier life a source of strength. The hard, austere life of the people makes them alert, ready for emergencies, but meanwhile carrying on the normal, everyday business of living. Yes, frontier Americans once had to improvise in the face of seemingly insurmountable problems. Like them, the Israelis today are inventive, daring, resourceful, and never take no for an answer.

Here again Prime Minister Ben-Gurion has declared the policy and philosophy of the State of Israel when he said: "First, define your objective; declare your need, say what you want. Then, and only then consider the obstacles. But even then the obstacles must be subordinated to the objective. Never must the objective be renounced in favor of the obstacles."

In other words, the people of Israel just refuse to be licked—they will not take no for an answer. I like that kind of spirit.

WORLD ROLE

Not only has Israel made giant strides in developing her own resources in 10 short years, but she has also steadily solidified her position among the family of nations. She has formulated 17 trade agreements and has established diplomatic relations with 50 countries, 11 of them in Africa and Asia. In fact, Israel has her own point 4 program for Burma and Ghana.

Israel is a living example to all underdeveloped countries of what determination and energy can accomplish. Israel's very existence is a major stumbling block to the Communist penetration of the Middle East and Africa. Hard-pressed herself, Israel is offering a helping and sympathetic hand to others—and all the time providing a living example that democracy works in practice—even in times of trial and difficulty.

Israel's youth, Israel's stability, and Israel's achievements are inspiring other new states in Asia and Africa to develop greater confidence in their ability to improve their own economies and societies. She leads by example and by doing.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The real measure of the spirit and purpose of Israel and her people is to be found in the emphasis placed upon health, education, and welfare. This is within the great Jewish tradition of the highest respect for individual dignity and the belief in the brotherhood of man. Modern Israel is setting an example in these important areas of human endeavor that serve to challenge new nation states throughout the world.

The people and Government of Israel do not merely pay lip service to human dignity and welfare. They act to protect and insure it. With thousands of immigrants, many uneducated and untrained, sick and weary, the State of Israel has launched a program of education, health, and welfare that encompasses every citizen and every area. In the field of education, Israel today is known for its great technical schools, its research laboratories, and the great Hebrew University. In the field of health, the new Hadassah hospital and clinic is one of the finest medical institutions in the world.

Yes, Israel places a high priority upon health and education for the people. Every citizen is entitled by right of law to complete health and hospital protection and care. Every child is given the opportunity of education. Every family can look forward to occupancy of modern housing.

These great accomplishments in the field of health, education, and welfare serve not only to strengthen Israel, but by precept and

example, inspire others in the Middle East and in Asia and Africa to do likewise. This emphasis upon people, progress, and freedom serves to enhance the possibilities of peace. A people engaged in developing a country, in expanding opportunities are always making a distinct contribution to peace and justice.

CULTURE

Finally, even while being preoccupied with the problems of survival, Israel has created a rich mosaic of culture. Even more remarkable is the penetration of that culture to every stratum of the population.

Out of a longing for peace has come a thirst for music, art, and literature. After one decade, Israel possesses the places to house her cultural activities—the museums, concert halls, theaters, cinemas, libraries, and universities. These are the mere physical repositories—the roots of Jewish culture are ancient and deep.

One of the world's great military men, Moshe Dayan, formerly Chief of the Army, not long ago relinquished his command to continue his study of humanities at Hebrew University. The most revered people in Jewish society have traditionally been scholars and teachers. So it is no wonder that the country's educational standards are very high.

THE FUTURE

Rarely, if ever before, has so much been accomplished in so short a time. But Israel has not yet reached the goals she seeks and wants. As Israel faces her second decade, the determination of her people was recently expressed by Premier Ben Gurion, that sturdy 20th century pioneer of pioneers:

"Israel is determined to strengthen her military preparedness and persevere in her work of rebuilding and redemption; to bring in Jews from the lands of oppression and misery; to conquer the desert and make it flourish by the power of science and pioneering spirit; and to transform the country into a bastion of democracy, liberty, and universal cultural values based on the teaching of Israel's prophets and the achievements of modern science."

We in American can be proud of the role our country and our people have played in Israel's first 10 years. But there is more that we must do. We must continue to provide aid and assistance to help Israel develop her economy and extend her trade. We must resist diplomatic maneuvers to undermine Israel's hard won stability. We should make our aims in the Middle East so clear that everyone will understand that an Arab-Israel peace is a primary objective of United States policy. Israel will not be sacrificed.

While this is our primary objective, there are other measures that should be adopted as soon as possible to alleviate the tension on the borders with the Arab countries. What is needed, above all, is for all friendly powers to make an unqualified statement of determination to resist, under the United Nations Charter, any forceful attempt to overthrow the sovereignty or destroy the independence of Israel or its neighbors.

Such a declaration would introduce an element of stability into the Middle East that would then permit other pacifying factors to exercise a healing influence.

A number of important peacekeeping devices have already been established in the Middle East to help calm relations between the Arabs and the Israelis. The armistice committees, the demilitarized zones, and the United Nations Emergency Force, are some of the chief measures that have been accepted by the countries in the area in an effort to halt bloodshed and restore tranquility. Thanks to the cooperation of the Israelis and their neighbors with United Nations

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peace machinery, quiet now reigns in the Middle Eastern region.

Yet, old hostilities and ancient fears still remain. An arms buildup relentlessly continues, and a final peace settlement does not appear to have approached any nearer than it ever was. There is still a latent danger that shots might again ring out across the sensitive Israeli-Arab borders. President Truman spoke of this.

We should continue to search for better methods to calm Middle Eastern fears and to promote a lasting settlement. One such method was suggested last month by Ben-Gurion of Israel. He announced that Israel would welcome an open-skies, aerial and ground inspection system in the Middle East, that could allay apprehension over the possibility of a surprise attack by one state upon another.

All of the countries of the Middle East should seriously consider this proposal.

The United States should take the initiative in calling it up for discussion before the United Nations.

Such an inspection system over the border areas of Israel, the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Saudi Arabia could be a pilot project of inestimable value for the cause of world disarmament.

The inauguration by the major powers of "open skies inspection" in such vital areas as the Arctic or Europe could be a major step toward a relaxation of tension between the two great power blocs. But thus far action has been blocked by Soviet obstruction and the veto.

The people of the Middle East, who have already shown their aspirations for peace by accepting new forms of peacekeeping machinery such as the United Nations Emergency Force, could make another significant contribution to world peace, if they would be the first to adopt, in their own region, the principle of inspection against surprise attack. That many of the Middle Eastern governments favor this principle was demonstrated in 1955 when they supported a United Nations resolution on the "open skies plan" and again a week or two ago when they continued their support of the concept in the Arctic debate in the United Nations. These same governments could now assist in reduction of tensions in their own area by agreeing to a "pilot inspection system" to be conducted by themselves or by outside parties as agreed upon.

But what the Middle East should aim at above all else, is a lasting settlement of the state of war which still exists between Israel and the Arab states, and a return of the area to a normally peaceful condition. With such a settlement the burden of arms now weighing heavily on Jew and Arab alike could be lightened and more resources could be devoted to the betterment of life for all.

The Middle East needs a period of tranquility—it needs stability of borders and an opportunity, too, for the more constructive forces within the area to gain the ascendancy. The Middle East needs economic development—regional economic development.

It needs the guiding hand of the United Nations—a hand that insists upon peaceful pursuits and curbs violence and aggression. The Middle East needs Israel with her modern science and technology, with her genius at government and social organization. Israel needs her neighbors.

Again and again, the statesmen of the world need to remind the peoples of the Middle East that war and violence in that area, as elsewhere, settles nothing but could well destroy everything. A war in the Middle East can spread to the Middle West. What is needed is patience and a period of stability

and tranquility. The people of the world need it. The future hope of the Middle East requires it.

In the crowded years since 1948, the sacrifices and achievements of Israel have been etched deeply and unforgettably in the story of civilization.

We commemorate these achievements today. Israel's success is highest testimony of all to the dedication and energy of her people. More than anything else, it is proof that the will to live and create can survive all the handicaps of history and can triumph through tears.

REMARKS

OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, several years ago my wife and I rode along a wilderness path high above the rushing Lochsa Fork of the Clearwater River in Idaho. We were following the westbound trail of the first Americans to cross the continent, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. We were only 150 years behind them. Our vast country was crossed for the first time but a century and a half ago. America is that new.

New nations still rise, new national histories still have their beginnings, as the 2½ billion of us who share the earth seek for workable institutions in which to govern ourselves and live according to our diverse cultures and in peace with our neighbors. This century will be marked, in the long sweep of human history, as one in which the drive for nationhood reached its climax, and in which more peoples assumed that status than at any other time.

Today we herald a nation whose modern history commenced only a decade ago—the Republic of Israel. To the youngsters in Israel—and to young men and women studying history in schools in Indonesia, Ghana, Sudan, Tunisia, and all the other new nations—the United States today must appear as one of the oldest, most permanent of States in the world—powerful, almost lavishly rich, and correspondingly conservative; a bit tired and, alas, leary of new ideas. For these nations stand today where we stood 150 years ago, on the threshold of national history, impatiently contemplating such vast established empires as those of Great Britain and France.

Yet Israel's case is different, and it is unique. Located in the very cradle of western history, it represents to its people, not the opening of a virgin continent but the renaissance of a national community whose origins antedate European history, even those of Greece and Rome.

The pioneers and settlers of the modern Israel did not vanquish physical elements—the heat and cold, the floods and the drought, the wilderness of an unexplored continent. In a century when man has long mastered his physical environment, their struggle was against human obstacles—against prejudice and poverty, against ignorance and intoler-

ance, against hate and organized, inhuman cruelty unmatched in modern history.

Mr. President, in the history of this small, new nation that won its independence and sovereignty just 10 years ago, in the lives of the few hundred thousand men and women of our generation who now seek to maintain a community of freedom and democracy in a narrow strip on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, there is sharply focused much of the record of our century. That record—with its unprecedented extremes of triumphs and tragedies, of heights of civilization and depths of barbarism, of enlightenment and fanaticism, of nationalism and internationalism, of generosity and destruction—is uniquely reflected in the record of the people of Israel, as in a many-faceted mirror. It is good to have this occasion, on Israel's 10th anniversary, to contemplate that record, for it holds many lessons to remind us of the times in which we have lived and now live today.

Israel today stands as testimony to the tragic failures of modern civilization, and to its unending struggle for ultimate triumph over those failures.

As an independent, national refuge for hundreds of thousands of men and women from all over Europe, Israel testifies to the failure of the 19th-century gospel of inevitable human progress, to the tragic reversal of its hopes for a cosmopolitan community in which men of any race, religion, or origin could live as individuals, in freedom and equality. It testifies to the defeat of rationalism by conscious irrationalism; to the deliberate, senseless brutality of Russian pogroms; and to the racist fanaticism of Nazi extermination camps.

Many thousands have recently fled to Israel from homes in Africa and the Near East that they had occupied for generations.

But if Israel was born from the failure of men of different religions to live together in peaceful and free communities, it also represents great triumphs of leadership, of dedication, of self-sacrifice for the ideal that there might be established—on the site of its most ancient roots—a new community in which such life could flourish in peace and in freedom.

Israel today reflects the faith in nationalism and in national self-determination that found its most idealistic apostle in Woodrow Wilson. Israel also reflects the new internationalism, the faith in organized international search for solutions to hard problems, that is represented in the United Nations. It is nationalism—the conflicting national interests and aspirations of Israel and its neighbors in the Near East—that gives these countries their dynamic drives today; and it is also nationalism that creates and maintains the crises that retard and threaten forever to destroy the opportunities for peaceful progress in that region. Internationally, probably no other area in the world has been so directly and consistently a challenge to

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the peacemaking abilities and effectiveness of the United Nations—from the first postwar crisis in Iran to the invasion of Suez.

After 10 years, Israel still represents an outstanding test to the United Nations, to the United States, to the other western democracies from which it draws its ideals of justice and liberty, and to itself.

Fundamental is the problem of Israel's situation among hostile neighbors, whose governments face almost insoluble difficulties of their own, and which include the critical human issue of the former Arab inhabitants of Palestine. This situation was summarized with his customary eloquence by former Prime Minister Winston Churchill, himself one of the chief actors in the drama of this century, in his article which was published in *Look* magazine of April 29. He wrote:

The ineffective violence of the birth of the State of Israel has sharpened the difficulties of the Middle East ever since. I look with admiration on the work done there in building up a nation, reclaiming the desert and receiving so many unfortunates from Jewish communities all over the world. But the outlook is somber. The position of the hundreds of thousands of Arabs driven from their homes and existing precariously in the no-man's land created around Israel's frontiers is cruel and dangerous. The frontiers of Israel flicker with murder and armed raids. The more farsighted Arab leaders cannot voice counsels of moderation without being howled down and threatened with assassination. It is a bleak and threatening scene of violence and folly.

But Mr. Churchill then continued, with vigor and with high hopes:

One thing is clear. Both honor and wisdom demand that the State of Israel should be preserved, and that this brave, dynamic, and complex race should be allowed to live in peace with its neighbors. They can bring to the area an invaluable contribution of scientific knowledge, industriousness, and productivity. They must be given an opportunity of doing so in the interest of the whole Middle East.

To this opportunity, Mr. President, the West can contribute much. The United States, in particular, has a long tradition of friendship and generosity toward newly independent nations, in which we take much pride—just as the young United States a century and a half ago relied upon and enjoyed the friendship of leaders in the Old World who admired our embarking on an independent venture in liberty and democracy. Private generosity of friends of Israel in the United States has already contributed largely to Israel's struggle with its difficult economic and social problems during its 10-year history. Let us hope that, with the help of wise policies by ourselves and the rest of the free world, Israel's greater problems of national existence will also move toward a solution that will permit the next decade of Israel's history to be remembered as a period of peace and progress, in accommodation with its neighbors, toward a better way of life for its people and those with whom it shares the lands and rivers of the Near East.

Mr. President, on April 17, 1958, it was my privilege to appear on the program of the annual banquet of the America-Israel Society where I presented to the youth of Israel a complete set of Landmark books for children—books which emphasize the great historic achievements and landmarks of the United States.

As a part of that program, a most moving and able address was delivered by Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture. He described his own extensive journey to the Republic of Israel, last year. Mr. Benson's speech made a profound impact on the large audience in attendance at the banquet of the America-Israel Society—a banquet presided over by Governor Theodore R. McKeldin, of the State of Maryland. I believe, and request unanimous consent for that purpose, that the text of the address by the Secretary of Agriculture should be included in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* at the conclusion of these brief remarks of my own, heralding the 10th anniversary of Israel as a nation.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE EZRA TAFT BENSON BEFORE THE AMERICA-ISRAEL SOCIETY, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 17, 1958

It is a signal honor and a distinct pleasure to be with you at this fifth national dinner of the America-Israel Society, observing the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Israel as an independent nation.

The society is rendering distinguished service in bringing together true fellowship through the exchange of ideas and through actions of mutual interest to the United States and Israel. This makes possible improved understanding and good will between these two countries. I like the aims, ideals, and purposes of this society—the increased cultural understanding between these two Republics. Both nations are fortunate that there is such an organization functioning—and with such a vital interest. I am pleased to participate with you in this undertaking.

I have long had a deep and sincere interest in the lands of the Near East of which the new nation of Israel is a part. But not until recently did I have the opportunity of observing at first hand something of Israel, its people and particularly its agriculture. I count myself fortunate to have had such an opportunity.

My particular interest in Israel goes back a long way—back, in fact to the days of my youth. We know that the Scriptures contain a number of predictions by the holy prophets that in time there would be a gathering together of the scattered remnants of Judah. I have long known of God's covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob that their lands would be for them and their seed an everlasting inheritance. These things have been among my basic religious beliefs.

As early as 1841 one of the leaders of the church of which I am a member—Elder Orson Hyde—traveled to Palestine for the express purpose of dedicating and consecrating that land for the gathering together of the Jewish people. In that year, before there were any transcontinental railroads, before there was electric light, or the gasoline engine, the lands of which the new nation of Israel is a part were solemnly dedicated for that which has been and is coming to pass. On the Mount of Olives and on the top of Mount Zion in

Jerusalem where now stands the tomb of King David and other monuments dear to the memory of Jews, Moslems, and Christians alike, Elder Hyde offered dedicatory prayers and then erected crude stone monuments as symbolic of the dedication. And so—the development of the new nation of Israel more than a 100 years later was of no real surprise to me—rather, it has been and continues to be, in my view, the fulfillment of prophecy.

Last fall during a trip abroad in the interest of American agricultural trade I had, with members of my staff, a brief but very rewarding visit to Israel. I observed many great changes in that area of the world. It is abundantly evident that Israel is making outstanding progress in developing the country and lifting the living standards of its people through vigorous and imaginative development of its agricultural and industrial potentials through the democratic processes. In truth, Israel is engaged in lifting itself by what one might call "Operation Bootstrap." The desert is blossoming as the rose.

During my relatively short visit I met hundreds of people, government officials, farmers, business and trade people, and leaders in the professions.

We found in talking with them that Israel aspires to become a major factor in industry and commerce in that part of the world. But her leaders and people are not overlooking the importance of agriculture. In an economy where great advancements are being made, I believe the greatest advancement of all is in the field of agriculture. They are looking to agriculture as a source not only of economic strength but also of spiritual strength.

Israeli farmers with the wise help of their Government are accomplishing great things with modern methods and techniques in that Old World setting.

With government leaders as hosts we saw much of the country. We drove by automobile into rural and urban areas, and I was taken in a small plane for a low-level aerial inspection of much of the country, including all of the principal agricultural areas.

I was greatly impressed by the work being done in reforesting hills denuded and eroded over the centuries by removal of trees and overgrazing and then left open to the winds and the elements. It was a joy to see olive trees and citrus groves on the lower hillsides and in the valleys.

We were privileged to visit one of Israel's 230 rural cooperative villages near Jerusalem. This cooperative, or communal village, we were told, was typical of the others in Israel. This particular settlement of about 50 families appeared to be thriving, with neat homes, modern conveniences, and healthy looking residents. The village maintained a fairly large dairy operation, a substantial poultry enterprise, a fruit orchard, and other projects in what appeared to be a well-balanced, modern farm operation.

Lack of plentiful water resources is a great obstacle to both agriculture and industrial development in Israel just as it is in many sections of our own country. But it poses a much greater problem in that smaller area.

It has been pointed out to me that there is in operation the informational media guaranty program under which America and Israel are establishing closer ties in the cultural field as the result of the Katzen mission. Under this program are several agricultural projects including a program of scientific research and development in the desalting of water. This project could help produce very valuable results, not only to Israel, but to many other countries where water for agricultural purposes is scarce.

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In the short time that Israel has existed as a state there has been a tremendous development in changing her agricultural productivity from dryland farming to irrigated farming. Today, Israel has about a million acres under cultivation, of which about one-fourth is irrigated.

I recall the promise of Isaiah that "in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert. And the parched ground shall become a pool and the thirsty land springs of water."

In recent years Israel has made substantial gains in crop yields and total agricultural output. Yet the country still produces only about two-thirds of its food needs on a value basis, and only about one-half of its needs on a nutritional basis. It is deficient in the production of such products as wheat, feed grains, sugar, edible oils, meat, and dairy products. The United States has surpluses of most of these items and they have been made available to Israel in fairly large volumes under authority of the Agricultural Trade and Development Act, commonly known as the Public Law 480 program. Under this act we can sell surplus agricultural commodities to other countries and be paid in their local currencies. The act also permits donations to needy peoples.

Since the beginning of that program in 1955, the United States has sold to Israel, for Israeli pounds, agricultural commodities with an export market value of over \$87 million, including more than 300,000 tons of wheat and flour, more than 400,000 tons of feed grains, almost 20,000 bales of cotton, 60 million pounds of dairy products, more than 30 million pounds of fats and oils, and a number of other products.

In addition are our exports of agricultural products to Israel for dollars. During the past 2 years the sales for dollars amounted to about \$28 million.

In addition, since 1953 the people of the United States have donated a total of 52.5 million pounds of food valued at \$24.4 million to voluntary agencies for distribution to the needy of Israel.

We are happy that we are able to share our bountiful supply of food commodities with our friends throughout the world. Never in history has a nation been more generous in making its food supply available to the needy than has the United States during the last 5 years. It is heart warming to see the constructive use of the foods furnished, as I did on my trip to Asia and Europe last fall.

Through determination and unrelenting labor, and under some great difficulties, the people of Israel are accomplishing big things. I was told that Israel has many forward-looking plans for further developing and supplementing her water resources and that remarkable progress in this already has been made.

There have been many pains and problems in developing that rapidly growing nation. But the evidence is clear that the leaders are sincerely earnest and purposeful in their efforts to better the lot of their people.

Seeing the advances that have taken place in recent years was impressive. A visit to that modern and bustling city of Tel Aviv on the Mediterranean gave me a feeling of being in one of the progressive and prosperous cities of this country. One feels the confidence and unbounded energy that are in the Israeli people. There is a strong determination to carry on, to succeed in the face of great obstacles. The fact that this new republic in the Middle East is celebrating its 10th anniversary is testimony to that confidence and of the energy, the intelligence, and resourcefulness of its citizens and friends.

The problems, experiences, and the heritage of the founders of this new Nation of Israel bring to my mind the great efforts, the sacrifices, and the success of the pioneers of our own great land who, more than 100 years ago, settled the intermountain West which I call home. Those pioneers were strong, courageous, and religious people. Strengthened by their faith in the Almighty they sought and found cherished freedom. Through faith, frugality, honest toil, and inspired leadership they succeeded in their goal. History records that even the climate in that land was tempered for their sakes and the humble, untiring efforts made the "desert to blossom as the rose."

That was one outstanding page of history: the development of the modern nation of Israel is another. Man can learn much from the costly yet priceless lessons of the past, and those who cannot learn from the past are poor stewards of the future.

The history of the western pioneers contains many accounts of trying hardships. But always there was a spirit of independence, optimism, encouragement, and gratitude for the blessings they received.

The experiences of people who go through great hardships to establish new homes, new surroundings, and new lives provide many lessons of courage, self-reliance, faith, endurance, and independence even to the people who follow them. All generations and all people have equal need of these virtues. All too often in my capacity as Secretary of Agriculture have I observed philosophies and forces which tend to indicate the desire for shackling of man's liberties and the restriction of his freedom. Too frequently there are pressures for government benefits to replace the fruits of individual or group initiative and resourcefulness. Had the Founding Fathers of this Nation, or of other nations such as Israel, lived by such a philosophy those nations would not have grown and progressed as they have.

Yes, these lessons of history stand as illustrations and as guideposts to help us safely chart our course for the future. Our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, has said: "Our resources are too many, our principles too dynamic, our purposes too worthy, and the issues too immense for us to entertain doubt or fear." This might well be considered to apply more than to the United States.

There are other examples that have been so vividly given to us, in the lives and efforts of those who have done so much to establish and maintain responsible nations. We should observe such wise counsel as this:

Every right implies a responsibility, every opportunity an obligation, every possession a duty; that government is the servant of the people, not their master; that one cannot build character and courage by taking away man's initiative and independence.

A lesson that should be learned by all is that you cannot help men permanently by doing for them what they could do and should do for themselves.

These are standards that are true today and have been true always, because truth never changes.

All over the free world people are concerned with standards—and goals. Chief among these are the goals of peace and an improved standard of living. Friendship and cooperation are vital to both of these highly desirable goals. Agriculture is contributing greatly to an improved standard of living for many people. By that it is contributing to more peaceful attitudes and conditions.

I firmly believe that friendship and cooperation between nations will prevail if there is understanding and perseverance. For progress comes to those who persevere, with a deep faith in the ability of mankind under

God to create a better future. Let this be our goal.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the resolution offered by the Senator from Texas [Mr. JOHNSON].

The resolution (S. Res. 294) was agreed to.

(The following statements were made between April 22 and May 14, 1958.)

REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

Tuesday, April 22, 1958

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, the 10th anniversary of the independence of Israel is being celebrated in every part of the world where freemen adhere to the ideals of peace, freedom and justice.

No nation in all world history has ever equaled the progress achieved by the State of Israel in so brief a period of national independence.

In 10 years the heroic struggle and sacrifice of her courageous people have built a stronghold of freedom and advancing civilization in the Holy Land.

The magnificent gains they have made in economic and cultural development have won the respect and admiration of all the free world. We can look with complete confidence to even greater achievement in the future.

We can be proud that Americans of every faith have aided in this inspiring advance in world progress. We can be proud to recall that the United States Government recognized the brave new nation on the day it was established.

Mr. President, I am happy to join in tribute to the Republic of Israel and to send them renewed assurance of American friendship.

It is my sincere hope that this historic anniversary may bring nearer to fulfillment the aspirations of the people of Israel for stability, security and peace.

REMARKS

OF

HON. GORDON ALLOTT

OF COLORADO

Thursday, April 24, 1958

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, I should like to join the Senators who on yesterday expressed, here on the floor, their admiration for the astounding progress exemplified on this 10th anniversary of Israel. It is, to my way of thinking, an example of the same pioneer spirit and determination which marked the settlement of our American frontier.

In the field of agriculture alone, the people of this striving young nation have reached the point where 60 to 65 percent of local food consumption is produced within Israeli borders. This has been done despite the fact that only 1

out of every 5 settlers coming to the new land could be considered a farmer or someone versed in even the basic rudiments of agriculture.

Moreover, under the stimulus of a vigorous governmental program, 470 agricultural villages have been established. Indeed, in the Negev area, 75 new settlements were created where none existed before. Visitors returning to this most ancient area of the world are astounded by a desert which has virtually bloomed under the determined hands of these people. If statistics are any sign of progress, I point to these: The cultivated area has been doubled in 10 years; production is nearly tripled; irrigated lands, a paramount factor in this arid land, have nearly quadrupled; and water usage for agriculture has likewise quadrupled.

At the time of Israel's establishment, organized industry was practically nonexistent there. Today, their industrial output includes steel, copper, electrical appliances, diesel engines, and light tools, among others. Thirty-five merchant vessels, with 12 more to be added by the end of this year, have helped exports bound upward threefold. At the same time, imports have nearly doubled, making Israel a steady market for world trade.

Much like our own, Israel's population is a polyglot of many nationalities fused into a tight band of determination.

I am pleased to salute the Israeli nation on this, their 10th anniversary; and I wish them every new success as they proceed on a course which is an astounding parallel to that which brought this Nation into being, a course based upon individual initiative and national integrity.

Mr. President, I wish to thank the distinguished senior Senator from New York for having been so kind as to yield to me, in order that I might submit this matter.

Mr. IVES. I have been very glad to yield to the Senator from Colorado. I am in full sympathy with the statement he has made.

REMARKS

OF

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

Thursday, April 24, 1958

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, 10 years ago the United States played an important role in the establishment of one of the newest members of the community of nations, the State of Israel. Its birth was fraught with hardship, its infancy beset with enemies who would have destroyed this promising offspring before it had an opportunity to reach its full maturity. We can be very gratified to review the growth of Israel since 1948 and note the really remarkable progress that has occurred and the current prospects for further development.

In many ways the history of the Israeli people parallels the experience of early

settlers of North America. Persecuted for centuries, suffering from unspeakable torture and privation in lands that they had come to think of as their homes, and desperate for opportunity to utilize their own talents and imagination to improve their lot, Jews all over the world looked upon Israel as a haven from their oppressors and a place to start life anew. They gathered to the shores of Israel by the hundreds of thousands asking nothing more than the privilege of working under conditions of freedom and respect for their individuality.

On the 10th anniversary of the establishment of Israel, we might ask whether their dreams were realized. And the only possible answer to the question is in the affirmative. Israel is firmly established in the traditions of the Western democracies, with the adoption of parliamentary institutions, protection against arbitrary use of governmental authority, and respect for the deepest private convictions of the individual. The creation of a democratic state in that area of the world is noteworthy in itself when one considers the arbitrary and despotic rule of some of its neighbors, who now want to stamp out this thriving country.

Along with the creation of democratic political institutions, the Israeli people have labored against seemingly insurmountable obstacles to develop a viable economy. Here again the progress has been outstanding. Notwithstanding large yearly additions to the population there has been a steady rise in the standard of living. From 1950 to 1956 the national income rose 87 percent with an average annual rise of 11 percent. The per capita national income was 30 percent higher in 1956 than in 1950. While necessarily directing much of their available capital into enterprises leading to economic expansion, Israel has dedicated itself to providing a standard of living which will allow the enjoyment of such civilized pursuits as education, leisure time activity, and cultural development.

There are other indications of economic progress. Agricultural acreage has been more than doubled, and agricultural production nearly trebled. Minerals, particularly oil, are being exploited and these have contributed heavily to progress in other areas of the economy. New industries have been founded including steel, rubber products, electrical appliances and automobile assembly. During the years 1953 to 1956 industrial output experienced an annual growth rate of better than 10 percent, a truly remarkable rate of expansion.

Still the threat of hostility between Israel and its neighbors lingers on. The struggle between East and West further endangers her existence. For this reason Israel finds it necessary to maintain herself in a high degree of armed readiness. It is my sincere hope that suitable means can be found to resolve these international problems. Not only will the Israeli people benefit, but the entire world will be blessed as both Israel and the Arabs contribute energies to the

betterment of man, instead of a perpetual state of armed readiness.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD an article entitled "Israel Survives Years of Travail," written by Drew Pearson, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 24, 1958.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISRAEL SURVIVES YEARS OF TRAVAIL

(By Drew Pearson)

This week marks the 10th anniversary of a little country founded in tears and built in travail—Israel. Twenty-four hours after it declared its independence seven Arab nations attacked on three sides. King Farouk of Egypt was so sure of marching into its biggest city that he had a stamp printed featuring his picture. Underneath was the word "Tel Aviv."

Farouk and the Egyptian army never got to Tel Aviv. The Israeli army 8 years later would have got to Cairo had Mr. Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles not intervened.

The fiery determination that stopped seven Arab countries in 1948 and which routed the Russian-armed, vastly superior Egyptian army in 1956 is the secret of Israel. It's a nation built on the suffering of the exiled tribes of Israel, built in the dream, nurtured during 20 centuries, that someday the Jews would come back, to a home of their own, built as a living memorial to the 6 million Jews burned in the gas chambers of Hitler.

All this behind the dedication, the determination, the pioneering spirit that has made Israel.

You have to go there to understand it. You have to see the bulldozers pushing rocks, rocks eroded since the days of Abraham, millions of rocks pushed aside so that crops can be raised in little patches of clean soil underneath. Or boys and men and women painfully picking up the rocks and putting them on stone fences to line the little patches of soil being cultivated to feed the sons of Abraham.

THIS IS ISRAEL

And you have to see the trees—millions of trees—imported from similar climates in Australia, contributed by Jews from all over the world, carefully planted along the road-sides and the highways.

You have to see the irrigation works, the Yarkon project, no bigger at its headwaters than Rock Creek which ambles through Washington; one-fourth the size of the Schuylkill which runs through Philadelphia; one thousandth the volume of the Hudson as it flows past Manhattan. Yet the headwaters of the Yarkon, every drop of water cherished like gold, spreads out over the plain of Sharon and makes the Negev Desert bloom 50 miles away.

Or you have to see the farm settlements: Refugees from Hitler living next to refugees from Nasser, along with refugees from Poland or from Algeria or Yemen. At first they have only one bond in common, their religion. They speak no common language, have been separated by the centuries. But they learn Hebrew and their children learn to know each other and to marry each other, and soon out of a melting pot of diverse nationalities has grown a close-knit, cooperating, thriving community. This is how Israel has grown.

Or you have to see the children—buoyant, beautiful children, as radiant and healthy as any in the United States; or the old people as they go down to bathe in the warm Mediterranean; the Moslems at their

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prayers; the Christians as they worship in the cathedrals of Jerusalem and Nazareth; the schools, the universities, the camels and the caravan, and the new railroad cars contributed by West Germany as a token of penitence for the soap factories of Hitler.

Or you have to see the hospitals, where men like Dr. Haim Sheba pioneer new Near East medicine; where Arabs are given the same treatment as Jews; and where Egyptian wounded taken in Sinai, were nursed back to life. You have to know that doctors from Israel, though overworked, have been loaned to the new African Republic of Ghana and to the new Republic of Burma; and that the scientific discoveries for eradicating flies, mosquitoes, Near Eastern diseases have been made available to the Arab States.

DANGER OF WAR

On one side of Israel lap the blue waters of the Mediterranean, warm and friendly. On the other three sides are deserts and mountain ranges from which peer Arab guards, ever on watch, ever posing the possibility of border raids. Beyond them several million more Arabs vow vengeance, await the day when they can do what King Farouk and Colonel Nasser failed to do—conquer Israel.

So Israel on her 10th anniversary faces a greater crisis than ever—not immediate, but eventual.

From the Near East last September I reported the Kremlin timetable. It was: Unite Egypt and Syria; subvert Saudi Arabia and Jordan; overrun Lebanon; bring all the Arab States with their 70 percent of the world's oil reserves under Moscow and Nasser. That timetable is running on schedule. Egypt and Syria are joined. A new ruler has virtually taken over Saudi Arabia, pro-Nasser riots are disrupting Lebanon.

All the problems of the Near and Middle East are tied up together. They cannot be solved separately.

This is the most complicated problem facing the free world. It's a problem which carries the greatest potentiality for war. Yet there are some solutions, as this column will endeavor to point out in the near future.

REMARKS

OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

Thursday, April 24, 1958

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, the other day, when the Senate had before it the resolution honoring Israel on its 10th anniversary, I was prepared to say a few words. However, I had a conflicting engagement, which prevented my being recognized at that time.

Probably it was a good thing that I was not, because today I read in the New York Times what I consider to be one of the finest editorials in relation to that lighthouse on the shore of the Mediterranean. I wish to read a few sentences from the editorial, because it speaks with dramatic certainty and with a purity of English which I think is quite remarkable.

Conceived in idealism and born in fire, Israel has already accomplished the impossible.

Yes, it has accomplished the impossible. It has made the desert bloom like a rose. It has taken the sand heaps of

that section of the world and has transformed them into areas of fine trees and fine crops. But, more than that, there has been implanted in that place the force of character and courage in arms and the determination to survive on the part of a people which, through the centuries, has demonstrated determination, courage, and, what is more important, great spiritual values.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. WILEY. I have not finished.

Mr. GOLDWATER. I was afraid the Senator might be finished. I suggest that he read more of the article, so that we may all enjoy it.

Mr. WILEY. Some of what I was saying was my own language. I thank the Senator, however, for the implied compliment.

The article I have been referring to speaks in wonderful terms of the people of Israel and their determination to live as a nation. Among other things, the editorial states:

They could not perform the miracles they have performed without help, nor without paying a fearful price. The help has come mainly from the United States, and it will be needed for a long time to come.

In surmounting difficulties, weathering storms, and seeking to exist, Israel has built itself into a great nation having sterling character.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed at this point in the RECORD the editorial entitled "Israel's Tenth," published in the New York Times of April 24, 1958.

REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

Friday, April 25, 1958

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel was celebrated, according to news accounts yesterday, by parades and dancing in the streets. This exuberance is a profound manifestation of vigor and zest for freedom, as well as joyous gratitude and warranted pride stirred by amazing progress achieved in a short span of time, against obstacles, both cruel and prodigious.

The celebration in this young democracy is full of deep and far-reaching significance. Completion of a decade of existence as a nation, especially a decade filled with extraordinary trials and tensions, gives the free world reason to join in the rejoicing. For Israel is living proof that devotion to principles of self-determination, justice, equity, and independence can carry a determined, devoted people through challenges and tests which others without faith and confidence could not surmount.

The material and physical accomplishments of the Israeli people alone are impressive. But the loyalty they have demonstrated to truly democratic ideals

entitles them to the respect as well as the congratulations of all nations which share those ideals. Israel has won an honored place in the family of nations as the only true democracy in the Middle East. Israel has demonstrated character by resisting temptations and blandishments, pressures and intimidation, to defy communism, and to stand firmly with the cause of freedom.

During the first decade, the present-day Israelis have effected a rebirth of a civilization which antedates that of every existing 20th century state. The Republic of Israel is heartening proof that oppression and brutality, misery and misfortune cannot erase from man's heart and soul the aspirations and the self-respect which had brought a high state of culture and order into being 20 centuries ago.

The people of the United States commend the Israelis for their sacrifices and their labors. We salute their progressive, enlightened methods which have developed industries and agriculture to a surprising level of efficiency and productivity. We admire their persistence which has blended refugees and castaways into a homogeneous society. We applaud their adherence to the democratic form of government and their assumption of international obligations and responsibilities.

The United States has endeavored earnestly and faithfully to aid and assist Israel in its trying first decade. Our people have felt privileged to lend material and financial help, in solving pressing and immediate problems of existence. Through a variety of programs, we have sought to give encouragement and inspiration and assurance. As a moving force behind the creation of the Republic of Israel, the United States has a duty which regardless of creeds and partisan feelings it must and is eager to carry out.

The sentiments and attitude of our people toward this 10-year-old state probably are best described in the words of Winston Churchill, already cited to this Senate. With characteristic precision and perspicacity, Churchill eloquently spoke for the United States when he stated:

Both honor and wisdom demand that the State of Israel should be preserved and that this brave, dynamic, and complex race should be allowed to live in peace with its neighbors. They can bring to the area an invaluable contribution of scientific knowledge, industriousness, and productivity. They must be given an opportunity of doing so in the interest of the whole Middle East.

The 10-year history of Israel is heartening to mankind. The record of the Republic already justifies the hope which surrounded its establishment a decade ago. The achievements of the Israelis warrant the statement of Mr. Churchill that they must, they shall, be allowed to live in peace and harmony, to contribute to the progress of the entire world, and to reinvigorate the faith which flourished in the Middle East long, long centuries ago.

The people of Israel have stolidly endured and triumphed through a decade of trial by fire and pain. May their torch of freedom burn more brightly in the decades and centuries ahead.

REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY

OF MASSACHUSETTS

Friday, April 25, 1958

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, the history of Israel reaches back 3,000 years, yet Israel is one of the new nations of the world. I think the re-creation of Israel, after a long period when its citizens were in exile throughout the world, is easily one of the most dramatic stories in history. The courage and devotion with which its citizens have defended their independence during the past decade is heartening to the friends of freedom everywhere. The strong friendship which has existed between Israel and the United States since the days of Israel's rebirth has served as a source of support to us in our efforts to protect the interests of the free world everywhere.

I wish to extend my congratulations, along with those of many other Members of the Senate, to the people of Israel and to wish them many years of success, as well as to express the hope that the relations between Israel and the United States will continue to be in close harmony with mutual devotion to the principles of freedom.

REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

Saturday, April 26, 1958

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, on Wednesday of this week the Senate adopted a resolution in commemoration of Israel's 10th anniversary. I was away from the Senate on official business that day, but at this time I commend the resolution. I also wish to add my name to the list of Americans who look with pride and warm friendship on the independent State of Israel.

As the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS] so ably pointed out on Wednesday, Israel has been "worth more than her weight in gold in terms of reliability, and of value to the interests of free nations in a strife-torn area of the world."

As the Senator from New York also mentioned, everything which was said by those of us who pleaded for aid to Israel in the Mutual Security program in 1951, 1952, and 1953 has come true.

Ten years ago the independent State of Israel was born. Shortly after Prime Minister Ben-Gurion proclaimed Israel's independence, the armies of five Arab States invaded Israel.

At that time the State had 650,000 Jewish inhabitants, while the invading countries had a combined population of more than 30 million. The Arab armies were defeated and expelled, the area of Israel was increased, and the new Jerusalem again became the capital of Israel as in the days of King David.

But one of Israel's most distinctive features, brought out by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, is that during the past

decade—during Israel's first 10 years—it has trebled its population. At the end of 1957, Israel had a population of 1,976,471.

If I am not mistaken, the United States did not treble its own population until 35 years had passed since its war of independence. About a million immigrants from 97 different countries came to Israel during its first decade.

I am happy and honored to join in congratulating Israel on this 10th anniversary, and I join in hopes and prayers that she will remain a bulwark against all forms of aggression and tyranny for many more years to come.

REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

Saturday, April 26, 1958

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, upon behalf of the people of my State, I join with my colleagues in extending congratulations and good wishes to the people and to the Government of Israel at this time of the celebration of the 10th anniversary of their independence.

In a single decade Israel has become a nation and the home of 2 million people. They are a free and independent people who have come from many countries in the world and who have held their purpose and faith through every difficulty. Through their industry, Israel has become a force in the economy of the Middle East, and, with larger meaning, Israel stands today as a sovereign nation of true freedom and democracy in that region and in the world.

I know of the warm feeling the Jewish people of Kentucky and of the Nation hold for Israel. It is shared by their fellow countrymen all over our Nation. We are proud that an ancient faith has been realized. We hope for Israel and its people the attainment of the true peace they seek.

REMARKS OF

HON. THOS. E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

Saturday, April 26, 1958

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered before the B'nai Israel Congregation, Washington, D. C., Friday evening, April 25, 1958, at a service commemorating the 10th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A GREAT MOMENT IN HISTORY

(Address by Senator THOS. E. MARTIN, of Iowa, before the B'nai Israel Congregation, Washington, D. C., April 25, 1958)

It is indeed an honor and a privilege, ladies and gentlemen, to be invited to ad-

dress the B'nai Israel Congregation on such an occasion as the 10th anniversary of the establishment of a new nation in which you have such a vital interest. Many of you, I am sure, have relatives or dear friends in Israel. Many of you have toiled and sacrificed to help Israel become an established sovereign state and win acceptance as a full-fledged member of the community of nations. And I am sure that in expressing my own personal best wishes and hopes for the continued growth and development of Israel as a full-fledged nation, I am bespeaking the thoughts firmly fixed in the minds of all of you.

There is much justification, ladies and gentlemen, for comparing Israel's first decade of existence with the early days of our own United States of America. Both achieved their independence by struggle, by a pioneering determination to maintain that independence and freedom, by what a great wartime leader described graphically as "blood, sweat, and tears." It was exactly because of these common facets of origination, I am sure, that the United States so promptly reached out a helping hand 10 years ago, to give a lift to the then brandnew nation of Israel, and has kept that hand busy with various forms of aid and assistance during the subsequent decade.

I personally visited the Holy Land in 1945, before it became the sovereign nation of Israel. Then, as a member of the Military Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives, on an inspection tour of United States military installations, I made a special trip to what is now Israel. While in Tel Aviv I was impressed, during my too-brief stay, by the newness and cleanliness of that city, and by the energy and industry of the Jewish people who already were building it up in anticipation of the independence which they felt certain they would soon win. So, while I have never visited the independent nation of Israel, I have seen its lands and I have seen the devotion and energy of the people who now proudly call themselves Israelis.

My point in mentioning this is that even having visited the land, I still find it difficult to conjure in my own mind a mental image of the trials and tribulations and hardships which the Israeli people must have encountered in setting up their new nation, and in trying to create in it a stable government and a stable economy. The necessity for simultaneously defending its territory against incursion from neighboring countries most assuredly has not simplified those problems.

But if I have such difficulties, I know it is infinitely more difficult for those millions of Americans who never have had an opportunity to visit any part of Israel, to picture to themselves the proud struggle and fight of that country's people to solidify their independence and to improve their national status. I think perhaps that is one reason why our American policies to help Israel arouse some opposition within our own country. We know, from reading our own history books, that we needed help from other countries to win our battle for independence, and then to solidify our independent status. We should know that if we desire to see an independent Israel, as I am sure the preponderant majority of us do, we must, as an established leader of nations, give it an occasional helping hand.

There is another point of valid comparison between the United States and Israel. We Americans proudly call our country the melting pot of all nations. Our people have come from all parts of the world; perhaps not those of us who today are Americans, but certainly our ancestors did in years gone by. But if the United States has merited the "melting-pot" description, as it assuredly has, Israel assuredly merits the same descrip-

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tion. Some of its people arrived originally as refugees from the barbaric terrorism of Hitlerism or of communism. Others came from other parts of Europe, from Africa, from the Middle East, from the United States and other parts of the Western Hemisphere. On a percentage basis, this migration has boosted Israel's population more in its 10 years of existence than any other comparable population growth in any nation in history.

When Israel became an independent nation on May 14, 1948, it had a population of 650,000. Today its population is slightly more than 2 million. Considering the barren, desolate character of its land at the start, it is truly amazing that Israel has been able to absorb this 200-percent growth in the relatively brief span of 10 years. And this in a land comprising slightly over 8,000 largely arid square miles—roughly the area of our State of Massachusetts, and about one-seventh the area of my own State of Iowa, which has a population of a little under 3 million people.

Against this background, and particularly in view of the important sums Israel has been compelled to spend to maintain her military defenses, it is to be expected that she would be experiencing economic difficulties. The surprising thing probably is that she is making such major strides toward a stable and self-sufficient economy. Israel still is existing to a major degree on goods and materials from other countries, but her own domestic production is increasing markedly and her exports are becoming an important factor in paying for the goods imported from other countries. Her exports in 1957, for instance, had a total value of \$135 million, of which \$20 million worth came to the United States. The figures may seem small by comparison with overall world trade figures; but they are very significant in the light of the fact that during the first few years of Israel's existence, her exports were almost nonexistent. She had nothing to export then; everything she could produce went to the use of her own people, and brandnew industries and trades had to be established to produce enough extra goods so that measurable quantities could be shipped abroad.

The country still has a long way to go but it is making important strides. Her \$135 million of exports last year were only about one-third of the \$404 million worth of materials she imported; but it was more than twice the \$59 million value of her exports only 4 years earlier, in 1953. Also significant is the fact that Israel now is able to make a serious bid for many facets of our own American markets, having sent \$20 million worth of goods to this country last year. There is good reason to believe that this figure will increase substantially this year.

Israel has boosted its agricultural production several times by irrigating what used to be desert wastelands and by introducing modern concepts of farming. It has introduced industry to its urban centers in the form of hundreds of small factories and plants producing a broad gamut of goods, outstripping its Arab neighbors in becoming the industrial center of the Middle East. Its production of electrical energy, for example, has more than quadrupled since 1949. All of this, of course, is why Israel's exports are becoming an important factor in her economy.

Israel's troubles and difficulties would have been bad enough, if they had involved only the economic problems created by establishing 2 million people in a land which previously had barely supported only a few hundred thousand. But these, as we all know, were only a small part of her troubles. Superimposed on top of them was the problem of defending Israel itself against a ring of bitterly and openly hostile enemies who were admittedly bent on

stamping out the new nation's existence; who sought to conquer it militarily, and, by refusing to have any trade or other relations, to kill it economically.

It was this violent antagonism of the Arab countries which not only threatened the very existence of Israel from the outset, but made things so extremely difficult for the free world nations, including the United States, which had sponsored Israel's freedom and were trying to help it gain international acceptance as an established sovereign state. For us, it created the problem of preventing a new and struggling nation from being overrun, but without alienating the Arab nations to the point where they would fall into the Communist camp by default. Blind and unreasoning hatred, such as was felt by some of the Arab countries, is difficult if not impossible to reason with; despite all our efforts that part of the Arab world which follows the dictatorial prejudices and vagaries of Egypt's Gamal Nasser still is as blindly unreasoning in its hatred for Israel as ever, and by now has fallen under Communist influence, although maintaining a pretense of independence.

The violence and terrorism which has been such an integral part of the growth of Israel as a nation is, of course, nothing new to the Jewish people. Violence and terrorism have been part of their history through the centuries, even to modern times; thousands upon thousands of present Israelis who have fought or aided innumerable battles in defense of their new homeland in the past 10 years were brought up in the tradition of Polish ghettos, of pogroms, of fiendish Nazi tortures. Establishment of a Jewish state in the Holy Land long had been a dream of millions of Zionists around the world who hoped to escape such violence; but the opposition was strong, the path toward its creation was studded with obstacles. Not until that historic day in May of 1948 was the dream of a Jewish state to become reality—and then it was a reality in which violence still could not be avoided.

In the April 1958, issue of the Hadassah Newsletter, is an interesting article by Cecil Roth, noted educator and historian and reader in Jewish studies at England's Oxford University, entitled "The State and World Jewry." One point made by Mr. Roth struck me particularly as most pertinent.

Before 1948, the article noted, there was a worldwide acceptance of the concept of a Jew as, and I quote Mr. Roth's article, "intellectual, but unable to do things with his hands, unless it were with a needle; incapable of hard physical labor; and generally timid, unmilitary, and unsoldierlike." But in 1948, with the birth of the new nation, and I quote Mr. Roth again, "suddenly a new Jew forced himself on the attention of the western world; no less intellectual, perhaps, than before, but capable of and delighting in physical labor of the most exacting sort, and at the same time showing himself a superb fighting man." His characterization of the new Jew is so true. Only persons "capable of and delighting in physical labor of the most exacting sort" could have stuck it out in the nation and survived its initial years; any persons lacking those qualifications would have failed to survive, or would have tossed in the towel and migrated on to other lands. For it was in Israel, an era of toil and physical labor—hard, uncompromising, sweat-producing physical labor of the most exacting sort. As for the fighting qualities of the Israeli people, no one any longer can doubt them in the least. Whenever any nation with a population of only 2 million persons of all ages and conditions, can hold at bay and instill deathly fear in a surrounding ring of antagonistic neighbors whose populations total many, many times that number, none can doubt the fighting qualities and love of homeland of the 2 mil-

lion. And it should be noted that Israel's heaviest defensive fighting occurred during its first year of being, when its population totalled less than 1 million people, not the 2 million of today, which makes the accomplishment even more notable.

There are those who decry these military accomplishments of the fledgling State of Israel, on grounds they demonstrate its aggressive nature. This argument I cannot accept. Had Israel not been willing to take up the gauntlet thrown down by its neighbors, and defend its people and its land against open hostility, I am confident there would have been no Israel today. There have been occasions when, I think, all of us would admit that the attitude of the Government of Israel has bordered on the truculent, perhaps on the obdurate. But I wonder what any American would have done under comparable circumstances. Again, it is difficult for persons living in this country to conceive of the difficult situation of those living in Israel. But if I may be permitted a flight of fancy, just suppose that Canada and Mexico were bigger, and more powerful on paper, at least, than the United States, and suppose that, in this imaginary case, Canada and Mexico openly proclaimed their hatred for the United States, and made known their intention of destroying the United States. Such a circumstance, of course, is sheer fantasy, and could never happen other than in a fanciful, hypothetical case. But hypothetical as it may be, if such a thing were to happen, I am sure we in the United States would become fully as truculent and obdurate in our attitude toward our neighbors, as Israel is today toward its neighbors.

The 5,000 Israelis who gave their lives in fighting to defend their new homeland during its first year of existence were imbued with the same love of country and deep desire for independent freedom as were our own American forefathers who gave their lives to prevent another foreign power from reestablishing its dominion over our American lands. It is that same love of country and yearning for independent freedom, that has caused leaders of the Israel Government to maintain an always-prepared, ready-for anything attitude toward its Arab neighbors.

Israel, of course, has had its hotheads and its terrorists, such as those who a few days after the country had attained its independence, slew the United Nations mediator for Palestine, Count Folke Bernadotte; but those hotheads and terrorists are only a small minority, and their extravagances are as distasteful to the responsible leaders of Israel as they are to the rest of the peace-loving world. And those leaders, I am sure, desire peace and amity with their fellowman as earnestly and as deeply as do we who are convinced that the most effective way to maintain peace in this troubled world is to keep ourselves armed and strong enough to fight off any communist aggression.

No discussion of Israel and its first 10 years would be complete without at least a word of tribute to the dogged determination, the perseverance, and the indomitable courage of the valiant leaders who helped to bring about its establishment as a nation and who have played major parts in steering it through the hazardous path of its first decade. Foremost in the public eye, undoubtedly, was the gallant Chaim Weizmann, the Russian-born British research chemist who as early as 1917 was instrumental in persuading the British Government to proclaim the famous Balfour Declaration, setting forth that country's objective of having Palestine established as a national home for the Jewish people, and who lived not only to see his dream of an Israel nation become reality but to become its first President. Nor can any historian overlook the scholarly, venerable David Ben-Gurion, who like Weiz-

mann was born in Russia but as a young man migrated directly to Palestine—the Ben-Gurion, now 71, who as Prime Minister, has charted Israel's course ever since it became a nation, save for one brief period of retirement. There are many others who also should be mentioned, for their contributions both before and since Israel's establishment. Most of you perhaps are more familiar with their names and their achievements than I; suffice it to say that without their contributions, Israel today might not be.

Israel is highly deserving of the good will and support our country has extended, and of the encouragement it has received from our people. I am sure the preponderant majority of Americans would join me in predicting, for Israel, a bright and permanent future and the early attainment of its goal of a real position of power and influence in the family of nations.

REMARKS OF

HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA

OF NEBRASKA

Thursday, May 1, 1958

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on Sunday, April 27, the Federation of Jewish Societies of Omaha commemorated the 10th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

It was a notable occasion, attended by approximately 500 people, fully one-third of whom were leading citizens other than members of the Jewish community.

Under the able chairmanship and leadership of David Blacker an outstanding program was presented following the banquet.

Highlighting the evening was an address by Phil Klutznick, of Park Forest, Ill., president of B'nai Brith, and a former United States alternate delegate to the United Nations.

Mr. Klutznick is one of the creators and builders of Park Forest, Ill., now a community of some 35,000 inhabitants. More recently he has taken the lead in the proposed preplanned community to be built on the site of the Biblical city of Ashdod on the Mediterranean Sea. It is an ambitious plan, embracing not only a second seaport for Israel, but a city which is designed for an ultimate population of from 125,000 to 135,000 inhabitants. It is being planned for the foreseeable needs of the next 25 years in terms of sites and locations for residences, industry, commerce, parks, resort area, utilities of all kinds, markets, transportation, and so on.

I take pride in the fact that Mr. Klutznick and I were classmates at the Creighton University Law School from which both of us were graduated. For years both he and I engaged in the general practice of law in Omaha with our respective law firms.

The substance, the spirit, and the inspiring presentation of his speech made all of his numerous friends in the audience very happy at the proven achievements of Phil Klutznick as a student and advocate of freedom, humanitarianism, and democracy at its best.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the RECORD the text of Mr. Klutznick's address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, PRESIDENT, B'NAI B'RITH, ISRAEL 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION, OMAHA, NEBR., APRIL 27, 1958

We are here to mark the 10th year of the founding of a democracy. We are here as Americans—some of us Jews, some of other religious persuasions—to recognize and help celebrate the drama and the destiny of the State of Israel, a land 7,000 miles away. Yet, a land very close to us in many ways.

We share an exalted moment consecrated to the triumph of a people's redemption. We do so in a spirit untrammelled by any false dichotomy, and united by a passion for justice and ethics in human behavior.

We are assembled for a special purpose—and yet, perhaps, not as special as appears at first glance. For the significance of our celebration tonight is more than the birthday of Israel's independence. Its meaning is rooted in the universality of certain historic truths.

One of the great fallacies in a discussion of Israel is to regard her as a case of special pleading. That this concept has gained currency is understandable. Surely the catastrophe which overtook the Jewish community of Europe—the slaughter of 6 million—was a crime almost beyond human comprehension.

The idea that for this reason alone, Israel must be protected and nourished is a self-conscious and defensive attitude, and a conclusion restrictively narrow. The case for Israel is not unique. It cannot be and it must not be separated from the struggle of democratic forces everywhere to make real the freedom which men seek. This is its true place in the perspective of the mid-20th century. It occurs to me that this indivisible fraternity of freedom places in bold relief the very goal which Americans and certainly American Jewry have set for themselves and have pursued these many years. Our deep affection for our own Nation is enhanced by our understanding and devotion to our Jewish heritage—a heritage which holds high the inviolability of man's right to be free, and in that freedom to chart his destiny.

It is in this spirit that we gather to celebrate Israel's 10th birthday. It is good that we do so in Omaha. I have a wanderer's gratitude for the boon of revisiting surroundings and recapturing friendships of my earlier years. There is vivid in my memory the vigorous days of three decades ago when rebirth for Israel was a challenging prospect illuminated only by hope and faith, and when many of us in Omaha labored for its fulfillment. Set athwart the bountiful plains of the Midwest, Omaha stands as product and symbol of a venturesome and explorative America in the early decades of our own nationhood. This is a community rooted in the pioneer's search for the elemental truths of dignity and freedom, and in his love for God's good soil. It is both understandable and wholesome that this tradition of the American Midwest finds its close kinship with the dedicated people of Israel.

Israel is the creature of human tenacity. The agonies and ordeals that have beset her small band of unconquerable people on their march to nationhood have few parallels in contemporary history. Israel was born in strife and bloodshed. Since her momentous independence day, her history has been a story of crisis heaped upon crisis. Her existence has been challenged by armed belligerency, her survival by the crushing vise of economic boycott. The remarkable strength of her human resources has been constantly diverted from the economic and social growth she so desperately needs in order to bolster her security. To add to

these oppressive complications, the fate of Israel has been stirred since her birth in a caldron of bubbling international politics. She has indeed tasted the toil and trouble of this bitter brew.

Because of all this there are some who say: What hope for Israel? What chance is there for a people who are often called upon to toll with rifles slung across their shoulders? Whose tiny domain is ringed by enemies sworn to destroy them? What future is there for a speck of a nation forced to spend much more than it earns—a nation sustaining itself by gifts and loans?

These are men of little faith. They confuse the facts when they use slide rules and mathematics to measure human values. In the turbulence of recent years there were moments when, in the quiet of my own reflections, I conjured the vision of an Israel once here, gone again. This is intolerable and unthinkable. It would spread an indelible blot on the free world and make wretched the honor of our generation. To Jewry throughout the world it would be a horrifying experience which, piled upon the tortures of recent generations, would threaten to destroy the very heart of a people.

I am under no illusions. On her 10th anniversary the path of Israel's future is pitted with troubles. The anxieties of a divided world are visited upon her. But I state this simple conviction: In spite of toil and trouble Israel is here to stay.

She will persist in her imperishable destiny as a lusty, thriving member in the family of free nations. She will persist because free people, as we Americans, cannot tolerate the destruction of a democratic people seeking for themselves what we sought and found for ourselves.

If I speak out of hope and sentiment, and a cherished notion that the Biblical prophecy of my people was fulfilled that glorious day 10 years ago, I am nonetheless supported, not by sentiment, but by history.

A few generations ago another nation was founded as an experiment in democracy. She was born in calumny and disrepute. For years her survival was in doubt. There were critics then, too. They spoke disapprovingly of the fact that she was poverty stricken, supporting herself by loans from foreign nations. They said that this new country—the United States of America—could not endure.

The political parallels between the first decade of our Nation and that of Israel tell me that the doubters who question Israel's future share the same blind spot which distorted the view of their forebears during our Revolutionary era. They fail to grasp the quality of the pioneering spirit which erupts to give birth to a democratic way of life. They do not perceive the quality of Israel's people, whose high spirit of adventure, rooted in concepts of human freedom, are this century's counterpart of the pioneers who pushed the frontiers of our own Nation westward.

There is a parallel of purpose—and of faith, toil and blood—that characterizes Israel's creation and that of our own land. There is, in both human dramas, the similarity of men driven by insecurity and persecution, and yet attracted by the frontiers of a new civilization. In each case men uprooted themselves from all parts of the world to realize an ideal. In each case there were pioneers who conquered and reclaimed God's earth from primeval devastation or human neglect. In each case they liberated themselves by bitter struggle from the shackles of colonialism. In each case they established a government which ruled by the consent of the governed, and they defended it against adversity and peril until it achieved its place of recognition in the international family of nations.

This reality stirs the American mind to our historical traditions. For it seems to me that each succeeding generation of Americans has had its rendezvous with the history that created us. We remember too, that the founders of our Nation might have failed in their creation of the American dream had they been forced to stand alone in defense of their convictions. The sanctified idealism that provoked the rebellious courage of Bunker Hill and Valley Forge might easily have foundered on a sea of unrealized hopes save for the timely aid of warmhearted and freedom-minded friends, most notably the people of France.

This history has been a motivating force for succeeding generations of Americans. Our international relations have been characterized by our desire to help others secure for themselves the blessings of freedom that are now ours. In the Monroe Doctrine, which strengthened the struggle for freedom of Spain's American colonies, in our military campaigns to secure for Cuba her right to be free and independent, in the open door policy to liberate China from economic exploitation, in Woodrow Wilson's 14 points, in our willingness to hasten self-government for the Philippines, in our Marshall plan and in our foreign aid and point 4 programs to bolster the economies of free nations, and latterly, in the Truman and Eisenhower doctrines, in all of these we find the thread of remembrance that has given us our character as a Nation and a people.

This, in my judgment, explains why, against the dictates of military wisdom and in the face of adverse political pressure, our country could not help but be midwife at the birth of the State of Israel.

I venture to guess that a generation from now, an historian, examining the political cross-currents that led to the creation of Israeli statehood and the achievements of her first decade, will conclude that the friendship of the American people was the indispensable and most abundant source of Israel's strength outside her borders. If our historian is perceptive, he will also find the reason why. There is a simple answer—an answer that has been with us longer than our Republic. It is the spirit that was cradled in our formative days of the 1760's and 1770's. It is the credo which, through all these years, has molded our national character. That spirit has so colored American life and American thought that we would have had to turn on our history, and deny our character as a Nation, to have invoked a negative unconcern against another people seeking no more for themselves than the freedom and security we have for ourselves. It could not have been otherwise—and America still is America.

I am somewhat confounded by those who denounce Israel's right to exist by interpreting her statehood as a kind of treacherous achievement of power politics at the expense of other Middle Eastern groups. These critics bring to mind the story of the man who was newly naturalized as an American citizen. When he had completed his oath, the officiating judge asked him: "Have you any comment?"

"Indeed I have, your honor," the new citizen replied. "This is a great country—except there are too many aliens in it."

Is Israel's independence an act alien to modern Middle East history? Did she insert herself as a volatile force in an area of political stability? Her borders embrace 8,045 square miles; her population is nearly 2 million—about one-half have arrived since 1948 as immigrants from Europe and North Africa and as evitees from Arab lands.

Jordan has three-fourths the population of Israel, but she has four times the land area to accommodate them. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan became an independent

monarchy in 1946—some 2 years before Israel's independence.

Jordan's future may be related to her federation with Iraq. You can fit all of Israel into the land area of Iraq 20 times over. The population ratio, by comparison is 3½ to 1. Iraq was a British mandate until 1932.

Lebanon is half the size of Israel; her population is a half-million smaller. Lebanon was a French mandate carved out of Syria in 1920. This was a case of partition created largely by religious differences. Lebanon became an independent republic in 1944—only 4 years before Israel.

Saudi Arabia has 4 times more inhabitants than Israel—but her land area is 110 times larger. She was founded as a monarchy in—and here we go 'way back—1926.

The United Arab Republic is 10 years younger than Israel. Since her character is still largely undefined, let us consider the statistics of her partner states. Syria is nine times the size of Israel; her population is only twice as large. Syria was set up as a French mandate after World War I—even as Palestine was ruled by the British. Syria was proclaimed independent in 1943, which made her 5 years older than Israel as a politically independent nation.

Egypt was the oldest in independence among the major Arab nations. Her population is 12 times greater than Israel's, her land area 48 times greater. When Israel was established 10 years ago, Egypt had been a constitutional monarchy 26 years old. When Egypt became a republic—Israel was already 3 years old.

When one speaks of land areas there is always an apologist to say, "But so much of Arab land is desert." No less true of Israel and she seeks and succeeds in its reclamation.

It is not merely Israel who is the Johnny-come-lately, but the whole Middle East is a Johnny-come-lately in terms of political independence. If we are to consider matters realistically, Johnny really hasn't arrived yet. For the Middle East cannot be truly independent as a political force until it establishes itself as an economic force. To quote Dr. Max Lerner: "Independence is liberty—plus groceries."

The misfortune of the past 10 years is that it has produced both a tragedy and a paradox in the Middle East. The tragedy lies in the pattern of intransigent behavior which has made of modern Israel, not the catalyst for a productive, viable Middle East that her capabilities suggest, but the rallying point for a stubborn Arab hostility. This nurtured hostility is so pervading in character that it has sucked dry the high promise of industrialization, increased education and sanitation and similar dimensions of progress for all the peoples of the Middle East. The effect has been to produce a vacuum—which an alert and predatory Soviet Union has tried desperately, and somewhat successfully, to fill.

The paradox is that the free West, and not the least our own Government, on the one hand is aware of Israel's vibrant qualities and, on the other, is not unmindful of Soviet aspirations to thwart them. Yet we too often seem to occupy ourselves with a diplomacy of doubt—inconsistent with our own purposes.

I have had enough of a taste of Government service to recognize the luxury of critical appraisal when it is uncomplicated by any commitments of responsibility. It is much less taxing, believe me, for private citizens such as you and I to define the issues and suggest what should, and should not, be done. The functions of the President and Secretary of State make their roles exceedingly more difficult. We express hope; they must formulate decisions which are necessarily far-reaching in their significance

and serve to make history. Sympathetically recognizing this, I am nonetheless persuaded that the decade of turbulent events in the Middle East, and their accumulated indecisiveness, suggest there is still very much need for the free West—and, again, not the least our own Government—to formulate a manageable and marketable diplomacy that will more clearly distinguish friend from assailant, that will help cope with tensions by rooting out their cause, and that will serve best our collective self-interests.

The swift pace of changing events forbids us to be dogmatic about policies; we must be dogmatic about principles. If there is need for fluidity in our negotiations, there is a corresponding need for firmness in our objectives. And finally, there is no intrinsic evil in buying expediency—provided we do not shortchange ourselves out of long-range goals or barter away our former courage by failing for example to affirm for the United States the doctrine of free navigation for the ships of all flags through the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba. There was morality and vigor in Mr. Dulles' action. Our Government sustained the doctrine with resolute firmness. This forthrightness in adherence to honorable international tenet has already demonstrated the effectiveness of living by moral principle.

I would urge that the same quality of initiative and decision be observed by our Government with respect to the pernicious and impudent boycott which the Arab League states have instituted, not against Israel which is reprehensible in itself but against American citizens and business firms—and, in one particularly obscene instance, against American servicemen—on specious religious grounds. Here is an act of intimidation against the people of the United States that would collapse under the weight of its dreary insolence if the Government of the United States, responsive to our national dignity and to the need for protecting the equal rights of all American citizens, would substitute a resolute constancy for capitulation in keeping with the resolution of the United States Senate.

Should we hesitate to speak loudly for American dignity out of fear that Israel, a companion to western aspirations of peace and of freedom for the world might gain some benefit thereby, to the annoyance of her enemies? Where is the morality in that? Our own history has proved that considerations of morality and ethics are not unwholesome to political behavior. Unfortunately in international diplomacy as elsewhere in life there are slaves to false expediency who act as if the spiritual values must be ignored because they somehow complicate matters. The wonderful thing about morality, as someone has said, is that it is a sure thing—as sure as mathematics.

A rather successful diplomat named Disraeli once explained his simple formula for diplomacy. He said, "The secret of success is constancy to purpose." I'm inclined to believe that Israel's ability to survive is a practical expression of this principle. Certainly there has been "constancy to purpose" in Israel's efforts to negotiate a peace settlement with the Arab States. I am encouraged—and not at all surprised—by Mr. Ben-Gurion's recent declaration of willingness to journey to Cairo and hash out problems with President Nasser, if such an invitation is made to him in good conscience. Meanwhile, there has also been a "constancy of purpose" in the efforts of Arab leaders to thwart any possibilities of peace negotiations in order to feast on the fruits of appeasement which we, the free West, appear to offer them by our own lack of constancy and the purposelessness it creates.

In view of past performances—the character of their inconsistencies and the con-

flict in their achievements—the time has come, it seems to me, to shore up our tactics of diplomacy. We cannot deny to ourselves that the State of Israel is a product of our own making, that the legality of her nationhood springs from the resolves of the international community as they were balloted in the General Assembly of the United Nations more than 10 years ago. If we mean it when we say that the survival of Israel is an integral part of American foreign policy, let us back up our words and do openly, and with full heart, those things which will help Israel not only to survive, but to become viable and truly independent.

This does not mean that we should do less for those Arab States which are prepared to accept our concepts of peace, justice and mutual understanding. Nor does this mean that I blindly believe it an easy course to pursue. It does mean that in our diplomacy we should cease trying to be something we are not. America believes in fair play, justice and peace at all times not just when it is convenient.

The Middle East needs Israel. By Middle East standards—in fact, by any standards—Israel is a miracle of industrialization and agrarian ingenuity, of sanitation, of education, of modernization that can match the needs and complexities of the 20th century. Her prospects are for greater growth within her own present borders. Thus, Israel must serve her usefulness to the Middle East as the fulcrum for that tremendous push toward economic expansion that awaits this long-neglected area.

This is not a one-way street. Conversely, Israel needs prosperous neighbors. It is true that Israel is a westernized nation which has cast her lot with the anti-Soviet bloc. But it is basic that she cannot separate herself from her environment, that her own political and economic growth are inextricably bound with the growth of her neighbors.

Must this hope for a productive Middle East be denied because of hostility between Arab and Jew? I honestly think not. Friendship between Arab and Jew is not only desirable; it is both logical and historic. Arab and Jew are Semites, a fact that is of great social and political significance in the Middle East. There is an older and more honorable history of friendship and mutual benefit from collaboration than the contemporary history of dispute and separatism.

If firmer steps are not taken, in and out of the United Nations, to halt the economic boycott and acts of belligerency directed against Israel, and to strengthen the genuine forces of democracy and Western freedom in the Middle East to insulate that vital area from further Soviet trespasses, then the tensions of the past decade will persist—and the dilemma of the Middle East with them.

We have plenty of time to negotiate. But we have no time to try to carry water on both shoulders.

In our first decade as an experiment in democracy the United States was confronted with a vital question. The issue was not what her duty was to the rest of the world but whether the rest of the world would let her live. The same burning question now confronts Israel at the completion of her first decade. It is a challenge to our own Nation which for historic and natural reasons found aid, sympathy and strength among freedom lovers abroad in our own struggle for liberation. Israel asks no more.

Perhaps these have been much too solemn words to usher in a birthday. But we must be realists in this solemn era of history. We celebrate the 10th anniversary of modern Israel with a recognition of the past, its agonies and its glories; with a review of the

present, its travails and its challenges; and with high promise for the future, a promise born of hope and conviction that, having survived the intolerable demands of the past, Israel's succeeding birthdays will come in brighter days of less tension and turmoil.

Here, in this secure and friendly community of Omaha, a monument to the progress of pioneers, we are inspired to send to our friends of freedom 7,000 miles away a message of solidarity. We utter our belief in the inevitability of a better world imbued with the principles of peace and brotherhood, in which the joys of liberty, tranquility and human dignity will be shared by all.

Blessed was the day 10 years ago.
Blessed be the morrow that it may bring complete fulfillment of the promise of that day.

REMARKS OF HON. JAMES E. MURRAY OF MONTANA

Tuesday, May 6, 1958

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, Israel has been celebrating its 10th anniversary as an independent nation, and the whole world has been stirred by the almost miraculous progress it has been making since it declared itself independent.

Since 1948, Israel has made impressive progress. Its population has tripled to over 2 million through immigration from 70 nations. Industry has zoomed from almost nothing to an annual output of more than \$750 million.

Her actions and her conduct as a member of the United Nations, and her willingness to cooperate in relieving the tension in the Middle East, have been further evidence of her desire not only to provide security for the people of the State of Israel, but to serve as an integral part in helping to bring peace to the people of the world as a whole.

People of good will are looking forward with continued hope for the further growth of Israel and for its help in maintaining democratic principles of the free world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD at this point in my remarks an editorial from the New York Times of April 24, 1958, describing the dramatic story of Israel's progress as a free nation.

Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent to have printed in the body of the RECORD a stirring story of Israel's fight for freedom, written by Drew Pearson and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of April 24, 1958.

There being no objection, the editorial and news article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 24, 1958]

ISRAEL'S TENTH

From the hills of Galilee to the sands of Aqaba, from the waters of the Dead Sea to the shores of the Mediterranean, a myriad of blue-and-white flags will be flying proudly today in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the independence of the State of Israel.

Conceived in idealism and born in fire, Israel has already accomplished the impossible. It has established itself as a free democracy on an ancient, rocky soil that had not known freedom for centuries. It

has grown in strength and security though surrounded by hostile neighbors. It has created a new kind of civilization at this traditional crossroads of old civilizations. It has done so through the unconquerable strength of a pioneer spirit welling up from 2,000 years of tragic history.

The force of character, the courage in arms, the determination to survive, the will to create, that have marked the first decade of this extraordinary state combine to give assurance of its future. Militarily undefensible, economically unviable, politically impossible, it has yet managed to defend itself, to develop its economy, to establish its institutions. It has thrown open its doors to Jewish victims of oppression throughout the world, giving a new sense of dignity to those denied this basic human right in the countries from which they came. The men and women who have built the State of Israel in these first 10 crucial years have plowed the soil, have planted forests, have created industries, have brought water to the desert, have constructed homes and towns and cities, have deepened ports, have opened mines; and in doing all this and more they have not failed to give attention to the most important factor of all in their national development: the education of their youth and the fusion of many kinds of people with diverse backgrounds into a vigorous and, eventually, a common culture.

They could not perform the miracles they have performed without help, nor without paying a fearful price. The help has come mainly from the United States, and it will be needed for a long time to come. The price has been the unwavering enmity of the Arab world, which failed in its attempt to throttle Israel at the start and which has not yet become openly reconciled to the fact that Israel is here to stay. The Arabs' reiterated hostility and refusal for 10 years to make peace gives Israel good reason for her constant posture of military readiness; but Israel herself has sometimes in the past seemed too quick on the trigger in an explosive situation that could engulf the globe.

The continuing state of tension between Israel and the Arab countries is obviously one of the most dangerous elements in the world today; and, by any objective appraisal of this situation, it makes no sense. If the Arab states would recognize the realities and negotiate a peace, and if in turn Israel would be willing to make concessions toward that end, the moral, political and economic benefits to all the people of the area would be beyond calculation. David Ben-Gurion, Israel's messianic Prime Minister, has told Parliament in his latest message that "we must make untiring and incessant efforts to find a way to the hearts of the peoples who are still hostile to us and bring about peace between the Jewish people and their Arab neighbors." The achievement of this goal must be the deepest hope of all of Israel's friends throughout the free world who are congratulating her on this, her 10th anniversary.

REMARKS OF HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE OF MAINE

Monday, May 12, 1958

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, all Americans join in extending best wishes to the people of Israel on the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Israel.

I ask unanimous consent that a copy of a message which I sent to the salute

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to Israel dinner in Portland, Maine, last evening, together with a copy of the address delivered by Senator CASE of New Jersey at Israel's 10th anniversary celebration here in Washington last evening, may be printed in the body of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the message and address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR PAYNE'S MESSAGE TO THE SALUTE TO ISRAEL DINNER IN PORTLAND, MAINE, ON SUNDAY, MAY 11, 1958

Ten years ago, after generations of effort and hope, the new State of Israel was proclaimed. Since then, few nations have confronted more difficult and trying conditions. Meager resources, barren and eroded land, only the barest beginnings of industry and, above all, open enmity across the boundaries have presented to Israel what to many other peoples of less courage would amount to insurmountable obstacles. With dedication, perseverance, and untold efforts, however, Israel has built for itself a firm and lasting position in the community of free nations.

From a land of 650,000 people in 1948, Israel now is a home for almost 2 million. From the very first day of its status as a fully recognized state, Israel has opened its doors to boatloads of weary survivors of war's ravages, refugees seeking a long-sought haven from persecution and inhumanity. Others came to share in the adventure of building a new nation. In each case there came to Israel the talent and human resources which have created the modern Israel of today and will continue to build the progressive Israel of the future.

This year the people of Israel are observing the 10th anniversary of their great nation. They can look back on a decade which has witnessed greater challenges than any single nation has probably ever faced in our times. To feed its people, Israel has had to develop an agricultural program to transform parts of a desert into a garden. In order to provide other necessities of life, Israel has had to develop industry and to transform itself from a completely agrarian community to what is now the most industrialized economy in the entire Middle East. Over \$300 million have been invested in industry, and the value of industrial production amounted to \$700 million in 1956, increasing by as much as 45 percent in 2 years. Other accomplishments in education, health, science, housing, transportation, and communications have been equally as successful. All these challenges have been and are continuing to be met despite severe border tensions which have necessitated the maintenance of a defense program of great proportions for purposes of self-preservation. This strength has guaranteed the survival of the democratic ideals which Israel represents in the Middle East.

The accomplishments of the past decade are a dramatic demonstration that should give heart to every underdeveloped nation which has the will and the self-discipline to carry through effective programs of economic development. Important though outside assistance has been and must continue to be for some time, the major ingredient in Israel's achievements has been her people. The entire world can look to them for inspiration as we attempt to solve our complex problems. Their initiative, courage, and industry have already written 10 years of history which will be recorded in the annals of human progress as among the most productive ever before experienced by a community of peoples. These 10 years, however, represent only the beginning of a future which will undoubtedly witness ever greater contributions.

REMARKS PREPARED BY SENATOR CLIFFORD P. CASE, OF NEW JERSEY, AT ISRAEL'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION SUNDAY EVENING, MAY 11, AT CONSTITUTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Surely, the story of Israel's birth and growth is one of the most thrilling of our time.

Ten years ago, in the ancient lands of the Middle East, the new State of Israel was proclaimed. Few new nations ever confronted more difficult conditions. Surrounded and greatly outnumbered by hostile neighbors, the newborn state faced an uncertain future. Natural resources were conspicuously lacking, and only enormous effort could make the desert productive. Dependence on outside sources for much of her food, Israel was cut off from normal channels of supply. Meanwhile, the population was daily being swelled by a stream of immigrants and refugees. Most of them were destitute and virtually all lacked the agricultural experience so vital for Israel's future.

But all of the handicaps, meager resources, barren and eroded land, only the barest beginnings of industry, open enmity across the boundaries—were more than offset by one priceless asset. Israel's people were dedicated to the building of a strong and enduring nation in which each could make a useful life. The precariousness of these early years, the hardships and dangers that were a part of daily life only deepened their determination to succeed.

For us, living amongst all the comforts and gadgets for which America is famous, it is difficult really to appreciate the starkness of life in those early years. A comparison of then and now provides, however, an illuminating contrast.

In May, 1948, the population of Israel totaled in all 650,000 persons. Today, it has grown to almost 2 million people, a tripling of population in a single decade.

The very first day of the new nation saw boatloads of weary survivors of detention camps arrive at their long-sought haven. They were the first of a continuing influx from many lands. Most, especially in the early years, were European survivors of the infamous campaign of extermination waged by the Nazis. As the decade wore on, more and more Jews seized the first opportunity to escape from oppressive measures in eastern European and in the Arab nations, most recently in Egypt. Others came to share in the adventure of building a new nation. Each group brought with it special problems of language, housing, employment, and absorption in the economic, social and political life.

The overall dimensions of the problem have been truly staggering. It is as if the United States were asked to absorb 10 million new citizens every year for 10 years.

By ready improvisation, while longer term solutions were being worked out, and aided by the unfailing generosity of Jews everywhere, the new State of Israel somehow managed to provide shelter and care for all. Able-bodied newcomers were given training and placed in settlements or development areas where they could become self-sustaining members of the community. Altogether, since 1949, some 470 villages and rural settlements were established to accommodate these new citizens who were soon contributing their share to the steady progress of the economy.

I know of no finer tribute to the character of the new State and its people than this effort to carry out to the fullest the declaration contained in the proclamation of independence:

"The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the ingathering of the exiles; (and) will foster the development of

the country for the benefit of all inhabitants."

Agricultural development has had, of course, first priority in building the new State. And Israel's achievement in this field is, so far as I know, unprecedented, and one from which many other nations can benefit.

In this first decade the area of land under cultivation has more than doubled and production has risen to the point where well over half of the country's food needs are now met by its own farmers. The days of strict rationing, of barely skirting the threat of starvation, are behind—forever behind, we hope. Indeed, we are told that by 1960 the Government expects to reach complete agricultural self-sufficiency. Behind this growth lies an intensive program of water development to provide the irrigation that is absolutely essential in so much of the country.

The projects undertaken and planned under this program stir the imagination. Approximately one-half of the annual development budget is devoted to water development. The aim is to provide 2.4 billion cubic meters of water a year for agricultural use—enough to irrigate more than 1 million acres of land and support 4 million people. The plan is well on its way to achievement, the first of the two pipelines to the Negev being already in operation and a second scheduled for completion this year.

Water from the hills of Galilee and the Kishon River will soon add their nourishment to the Jezreel Valley and the plain north of Haifa.

Already a major land reclamation and water conservation project in the Lake Huleh area has been completed, making 15,000 acres of what was once swamp available for farming.

In the face of the demonstrated benefits of such developments, it is sad indeed that the Jordan Valley development program has been unable to get underway. Proposed by the United States, the program would divide the waters of the Jordan River between Israel, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, and would provide for storage and regulated use of the river flow for irrigation and power development in all four countries. That it has not been possible to secure Syrian agreement to the plan is especially regrettable in view of the undoubted, and much needed, benefits that country, like the others, would receive. One wonders how long the leaders of that country can persist in denying their poverty-stricken people the opportunity to improve their standard of living which the development program would mean.

Although Israel has of necessity given first place to agricultural development, industrial development has been no less spectacular. What was an almost completely agrarian community in 1948 is now the most industrialized economy in the Middle East. Where in 1948 exports were negligible, today Israel's crops and products sold abroad bring in well over \$100 million a year. More than \$300 million, the greater part from foreign sources, have been invested in industry, and the value of industrial production jumped to \$700 million in 1956—a 45 percent increase in 2 years.

Supporting and making possible the growth of industry is the complex structure of a modern economy—roads, power, transportation, and port facilities, physical plant, and an increasing variety of goods and services.

Although Israel still has an unfavorable balance of trade, she has, with the assistance of foreign loans and grants, the sale of bonds and other external sources of income, managed to meet her financial obligation and to achieve a steady rise in national income. Her economy has demonstrated a

vitality and capacity for growth that is solidly reassuring for the future.

These are only some of the accomplishments of the first decade. There are many more—in education, in health, in science, in housing, in transport, and communication. And all of them have been achieved despite recurring border tension and clashes and while maintaining a defense program built around an army that is generally regarded as one of the finest fighting forces in the world.

In all of this, Israel has been greatly helped by the assistance—technical, financial, and economic—extended by other nations and by millions of individuals not only in the United States, but all over the world, to whom the establishment of Israel was the triumphant vindication of basic principles of humanity and justice. To see the good use to which outside help has been put, the manifold return it has so quickly brought, provides a rare satisfaction.

Important though outside assistance has been, and will continue to be for some time, the indispensable ingredient in Israel's progress remains her people. Only a people with a high degree of social responsibility, with the ability to organize themselves effectively and make the most of meager resources, could achieve a standard of living which already contrasts so favorably with that of many of her neighbors, including those endowed with great natural resources.

These accomplishments are a dramatic demonstration that should give heart to every underdeveloped nation which has the will and the self-discipline to carry through an effective program of economic development.

It is an encouraging augury that other newly established nations in Asia and Africa are now turning to Israel for technical assistance of various kinds. It is also encouraging to note the expansion of trade relations between Israel and these and other nations.

For more than material accomplishments and economic benefits are involved. The proclamation of independence promised that its government "will be based on the principles of liberty, justice, and peace as conceived by the prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion, race, or sex; will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, education, and culture; will safeguard the holy places of all religions; and will loyally uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter."

So long as these words hold true, democracy has an outpost whose example may yet prove more compelling than all the feudal traditions which hold the Middle East generally in sway—an outpost on whom the whole free world can rely.

REMARKS
OF
HON. PAT McNAMARA
OF MICHIGAN

Monday, May 12, 1958

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, in recent days, many Members of the Senate have joined in commemorating the 10th anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel.

This is, indeed, a significant occasion. In 1948, there were many who were certain that the fledgling nation would not survive to receive honors on its 10th birthday.

There were many times during this decade when the existence of Israel was threatened, and even today there are

those who would like to banish Israel from the map.

But the people of that valiant country have demonstrated that determination and the desire for freedom can overcome any obstacles.

Recently Hon. Philip A. Hart, Lieutenant Governor of Michigan, spoke at Detroit's celebration of Israel's 10th anniversary. His remarks were given in his capacity as acting Governor.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of his remarks be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE PHILIP A. HART, ACTING GOVERNOR, STATE OF MICHIGAN, AT DETROIT'S CELEBRATION OF ISRAEL'S 10TH ANNIVERSARY, APRIL 27, 1958

There are many reasons for the warm interest and affinity which millions of Americans feel for the democratic State of Israel. There are, of course, thousands of Americans who have close relatives in Israel, and millions of Jews and Christians who feel a strong religious tie with the Holy Land. But even beyond those obvious and strong links, Americans and their Israeli friends have many added sound reasons for their friendship and for the cooperation which we all hope will continue to grow between Israel and America.

(a) Both Israel and America are melting pots drawing upon the strengths of many nationalities. Like the United States, Israel has drawn the largest group of its immigrants from Europe, but others have come from throughout Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere. So the internationalism which characterizes the outlook of both Israelis and Americans has its roots in personal experience with people from the far corners of the world.

(b) Both Israel and the United States were born in battle—and having fought hard for freedom and self-government, value them highly. Our common political ideals have a religious basis—the Judeo-Christian conviction that human personality is the supreme value. The Mideast conflict is between those who believe in the power of freedom and prophecy and those who don't.

(c) Third, I would mention the spirit of neighborliness and of cooperation toward great goals, which has characterized the people of Israel and the people of our own country. The present-day cooperative farms in Israel—the kibbutzim and the others—have their parallel in the barn raisings and the corn huskings and the town halls of our American tradition. I think we Americans share with the Israelis a youthful spirit, a kind of divine discontent—an impatience to move on to better things. This spirit of progress is nowhere better exemplified than in the trade-union movements of our two countries—among the most democratic and the most effective in the world, and forever seeking ways of improving the lot of the working people who have made our two countries what they are.

For all these reasons, them and many more, Americans applaud the great strides Israel has made in these first 10 years. I won't make any attempt to summarize that progress, for I know our able speaker, Yohanan Meroz will get the facts right. I simply want to say that for a country about one-seventh the size of Michigan, I think Israel's progress is—to use a misused word—amazing. More than doubling its population in a decade was certainly unprecedented, but nearly doubling the per capita income during those 10 years is an achievement

ment of utmost significance in this 20th century of worldwide rising expectations.

All too often, I think when we Americans think or speak of our relations with other countries, we tend to concentrate on what we think we can do for them. That's necessary, of course, but in the case of Israel there's an imperative lesson we can learn. Despite the fact that Israel is in constant, immediate danger from without, the whole range of educational and social welfare programs in Israel have been receiving the unstinting support of the Israeli Government. The success of those programs contributes importantly to the willingness of the people of Israel to defend their country. Yet here in this country we hear suggestions that despite our country's unequalled wealth we somehow can't afford both an adequate defense and scientific effort and a realistic program to deal with our educational, health, and welfare needs. We should learn from Israel that what's spent on education, health, and welfare strengthens a democratic society every bit as much as what's spent on missiles and munitions.

And finally, I hope that we Americans will have the good sense to develop a working partnership with Israel in promoting rising standards of living throughout Asia and Africa. Israel is in a potentially effective position to serve as a bridge between the highly complex and developed economies of the West and the underdeveloped economies of the Asian and African countries. When Asian and African leaders visit the United States and other western nations, they're apt to find our economies too advanced and complex to have much immediate bearing on their own problems. Western progress needs translating into terms which will be meaningful in Asia and Africa, and Israel can help us do the job. It's encouraging to read that Israel is already expanding its trade and diplomatic ties with other newly independent nations in Asia and Africa, and is now running its own point 4 program of technical aid to Burma and to Ghana, in west Africa.

Specifically, in the Middle East, I believe the United States and Israel should advocate

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cate a Middle Eastern Development Authority which might build up the possibilities of peace by combatting poverty and hopelessness. When the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, spoke in the United Nations last year, on the Sinai withdrawal, she turned to the Arab delegates present and asked:

"Can we, from now on—all of us—turn a new leaf, and instead of fighting with each other, can we all, united, fight poverty and disease and illiteracy? Is it possible for us to put all our efforts and all our energy into one single purpose, the betterment and progress and development of all our lands and all our peoples?"

Let us pray that Mrs. Meir's question will yet be answered in the affirmative—and let us do all we can to make it so.

REMARKS
OF
HON. STYLES BRIDGES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
Wednesday, May 14, 1958

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial which was published in one of New Hampshire's leading daily newspapers, the Concord Daily Monitor, on Saturday, April 26. This fine editorial, entitled "Israel's 10 Years," relates to the 10th anniversary of the State of Israel.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ISRAEL'S 10 YEARS

A tiny new state entered the family of sovereign nations in the spring of 1948 in the midst of crashing turmoil and beleaguering by hostile armies. Since that time Israel has had to fight for survival from the moment of its birth.

In spite of tremendous handicaps, Israel not only has survived through the decade just past, but it has steadily gained in economic and industrial strength, in its population and in its cultural and military resources. For centuries a cherished dream has been a Jewish homeland. In a measure almost beyond belief, courage and resourcefulness have made this dream a reality.

Israel has had more than its share of travail. To build a refuge for immigrants, to maintain a firm economic status and to hold off antagonistic neighbors who would throttle the nation, if they could, has been a tremendous task.

A cardinal tenet of Israeli policy has been peaceful relations with its neighbors. The Israel Government has never stopped trying to negotiate a peace settlement with the Arab States because they know cooperation between them and the Arabs would be the best thing for everyone in the Middle East. But if their offers of amity continue to be repulsed, they will not give up what they have.

The conflict between the Arabs and Israel is of long standing. It started from the moment the United Nations endorsed an independent Israeli State in Palestine, together with a separate Arab State. The Arabs refused to accept the United Nations decree, and they set out to nullify it with arms before the Israelis could form the state allowed them by the United Nations partition plan. Arab armies spilled into Palestine from all directions in a frantic effort to drive the Israeli defenders into the sea.

That these and subsequent attacks have been repulsed is a tribute to the ability of Israel to hold its own against repeated raids across its boundary. There is still an armed truce facing Israel. There is still the haunting problem of what to do with Arab refugees.

Looking back, Israel can point to progress under great stress. Looking ahead, Israel can be hopeful that tensions will ease, that the economic situation will be even brighter and that it will be able to maintain its position as a stronghold of democracy in the Middle East.



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