

C-7413 to C-7414 Transcriptions

Friedman, Herbert A. "A Half-Century of Fire and Glory, Part 4:

The Growth of Israel." 6 July 1989.

Herbert A. Friedman:

...one did. I know it [sighs], and we won't do it again this way ever. As a matter of fact, planning next July, uh, in Israel, um, I'm gonna have to um, do two back to back. Gotta bring the new cities, separately, from the older cities. And here...

Male audience member:

Talk to Alvin about Bloomington...

Herbert A. Friedman:

I will.

Male audience member:

It has the facilities, and it's kind of the setting that you like to usually put things in...

Herbert A. Friedman:

Yeah, the setting is terribly crucial. It's very, very important.

**Audience members:**

[Speaking together]

**Male audience member:**

Yeah it's a very nice, it's a beautiful campus, uh, there are some facilities there, but it's not, you know, there's not the distractions that one might not, that might get in the...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well there are no distractions anywhere, where we go. None.

**Male audience member:**

Well, look at Bloomington.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay, great. Uh...

**Male audience member:**

...back to Harrison House...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We're gonna go back to Harrison house, that's easy, that's easy. And that might be...

**Male audience member:**

Where's that? [1:00]

**Female audience member:**

That's in Lake Forest, Illinois...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Definitely would go back to Harrison House. It was really a good facility. Okay, um...let me get my glasses, so I can read [laughs]. Boy it's tough to get old. Damn it! [laughs] 'Come on, I'm 71, what do you want?

**Female audience member:**

...you're doing great.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I think so, too [laughs; audience laughter]. Okay...take this thing...let me borrow your uh, pencil, Tom. Thanks. Uh, Alan Brown, I saw him some place. Steve Scheidler is here. Jeff Newman is someplace. No, I don't see him. [2:00] Mark Weiner.

**Mark Weiner:**

'Morning.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, there you are, Weiner. Why-ner or Wee-ner, I never did get it straight?

**Mark Weiner:**

Wee-ner.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Wee-ner.

**Male audience member:**

Depends on the mood.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Change the spelling, buddy. W-I-E-N-E-R is Vee-nehr, Vee-nehr. Vee-nehr schnitzel, is spelled W-I-E-N-E-R...

**Mark Weiner:**

[indistinct] talk to my dad.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay [laughs]. Elliot Cohn, I saw Elliot someplace. Gail Greenspan, no. Paul Elkin? Right. Jordan Ross? Don't know who he is.

**Male audience member:**

He's a husband of a...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I love the way..."he's a husband"

**Female audience member:**

Leslie Koppelman...[indistinct] make it easy.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Leslie Koppelman's husband. Alright. Roberto? Where's Roberto? There you are. Amy Weiss?

**Male audience member:**

She did not come.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

She didn't come. Larry Cohen is here, Meryl Cohen is here. Carlos?

**Male audience member:**

Carlos is sick.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

There's Carlos; yeah he's sick.

**Male audience member:**

You feeling any better, Carlos?

**Carlos:**

I couldn't miss this opportunity... [3:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Charlotte. Ben Marks didn't come, did he?

**Audience members:**

No. No.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay. And the Gabovitches? There we are. Sorry, I don't know why they write it this way. They get David Gabovitch, Nonnie Gabovitch...and they leave off the Vonnegut, yeah...Well, that's...

**Male audience member:**

You don't have me on there...but I'm on there somewhere...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Alright, okay. And Don Katz [writing with pencil]. Great, so that's the...that, this is, I do this so I don't get flunked by my staff.

[Audience members conversing indistinctly]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Would you, uh, pass this around, this is an extra piece of paper I wanted [4:00] to give to everybody for today.

[Audience members conversing indistinctly]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

At the um, at the risk of repeating what several of you have heard, let me just do it very quickly, in order to uh, clue you in to the architecture of this week, uh, my architecture. Uh, the title of the theme for the week is "Half a century of fire and glory." Half a century. Uh, and I wanted to give you the major things that have happened. The half-century that I'm talking about begins when?

**Male audience member:**

1932

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

'33. [writing with marker]. '33, who came into power?

**Several audience members:**



Roosevelt. Roosevelt and Hitler.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Roosevelt and Hitler. Alright, you guys know it, so shut up! [audience laughter]. [laughs] Never saw such devils! [5:00] You're the guys who sneak the exams out! In New York State, that regents' exam went, was on the street, you know, twelve hundred bucks a copy the kids were paying for. Can you believe that?

[audience members conversing indistinctly]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Stole it! Where do you think they got it? Mugging. Hitting everybody on the head. What happens in Brooklyn? Or Times Square, or anyplace around New York.

The major items in this period, this uh, 1933 to 1980- wherever we are now, '89, forty- five- fifty-five years. Um, made up the five lectures that I planned and prepared for this week. The first lecture, of course, was on the Holocaust. Okay, that's logical in terms of that timing. That's the fire. The Holocaust finished when?

**Audience members:**

'45.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

'45. Okay. [6:00] The next lecture was on the most crucial three years, which was '45 to...

**Audience members:**

'48.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

'48, exactly [writing with marker]. Now in these three years, I just want you to reflect for a minute, and I don't wanna go back and give that lecture again this morning. We haven't got time. [clears throat] You know I'm a historian. You know that that's my specialty. You know that that's how I think, in long historic sweeps. And looking at 3,750 years of Jewish history, that's what we're talking about, Abraham was 1,750 BC, and come all the way down to today, plus 2,000 more, 3,750 years is how long the Jewish, the Hebrew people, is in existence. So, don't say 5,000 years. That's all cock-eyed, that's exaggeration. [7:00] 4,000 years is close in enough. In all the

4,000 years of our history, this three year period, during your lifetime maybe, or close to it, you were born a little, just a little after it, but so you live in the shadow of it, are the most important three years. More important than the forty years in the desert; more important than the three months of the giving of the Torah in Mt. Sinai...Never did we come closer to death and being wiped out. Never did we try to rebuild our, our political independence by our own power. All previous episodes, after the first temple, after the second temple, was done by all kinds of queer people. I mean, who was King Herod? King Herod was a half a Jew! He wasn't even...I mean he was a, he was hated by the Jews. [8:00] We almost died. We came back into life. Never happened before.

And that's why I call these the most fateful years. And then the next one after that was all about the wars [writing with marker], and I began that one, I slid back in time. When did the war for the independence of the J- of the, of the modern Jew, in the modern homeland...I'm using careful words, 'cause in...[indistinct voice from audience] When?

**Male audience member:**

'29?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No.

**Male audience member:**

'22? Somewhere in there...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No.

**Male audience member:**

The war, you mean...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

18 [writing with marker] '71. Nope, not first Aliyah. First Aliyah was 1903. 1871, a Frenchman, [9:00] a French Jew by the name of Charles Netter, came to Palestine with twelve young boys, bar mitzvah age, to teach them to be farmers, and it was called Mikveh, Mikveh, Mik-veh, not a mikva that you, uh, take a bath in, Mikveh Yisrael [writing with marker], and it was a farm settlement right outside of what is today Jaffa. The, Tel Aviv didn't exist. And, an Arab came out of Jaffa on a camel, a

Bedouin, saw these kids, was smart enough to understand that here were the Jews beginning to replant themselves, and he shot the first kid. So, the first casualty in the modern rebuilding of Palestine was 1871, [10:00] in Mikveh Yisrael. Okay? And so we are today, what? 19, 19 uh '89. So, 1871, is how long? One hundred and eighteen years. Hundred and eighteen years, this fight's been going on! You never think of it in those terms. It's the only way to think of it. Was there ever before in history a hundred years war?

**Male audience member:**

Many times...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, sure! The French and the English in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a da da da da. So the Arabs have in their minds, "this is a hundred years war, so what's the rush?" Was there ever a two hundred years war?

**Male audience member:**

The crusades went on for two hundred...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Shhhhhh! [laughs]

**Male audience member:**

I didn't hear that here...somewhere else.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Oh, okay. Alright. Two hundred years were the crusades. The Arabs believe that, the way they say, the key word is [11:00] 'only.' It *only* took them two hundred years to send the Christians back to Europe. Seven crusades, seven popes, all the kings! Who, who was the final, the king who lost the final battle? [indistinct response] Who?

**Male audience member:**

Godfrey de Bouillon.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, he was only one of the generals. Who was the king? The king was Richard the Lionhearted. Godfrey de Bouillon was under him. Right. King, the famous King Richard the Lionhearted.

He gets sent back to England with his tail between his legs. Who kicked him in the ass?

**Male audience member:**

Saladin.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Saladin, exactly. You go over into east Jerusalem today, you go to Salah ad-Din Street, they call it *Salah ad-Din*, and we call it in English Saladin. Eh, you know, from their point of view, [12:00] what's the big rush to make peace with the Jews? What the hell's the hurry? Gotta know what goes on in the mind of the enemy. And the enemy knows what goes on in your mind, especially after yesterday's meeting, you know! Where Shamir gets painted into even more hardline corner than he had before! If that was possible!

**Carlos:**

[indistinct]...because it technically appeared a compromise...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Not at all! Whole...the whole venture is destroyed, as of last night. We're back into, I mean I, I see now the intifada, boom, escalating. They're gonna start blowing up bridges; they're gonna start blowing up power plants.

**Carlos:**

Why don't they start [indistinct] Shamir the compromise...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No way! Carlos, you are so sweet. You are just too nice, that's all. [laughs][13:00] Come on, come on, come on, come on. War's war. And we declared war last, the government of Israel declared war last night, and don't think they don't know it. So, but they said, "Okay [mumbles] keep on fighting, if we're only going a hundred eighteen years. We got time." So that was this: all the wars are one war. Eh, Six Day War, Yom Kippur War, 1948, or 19, 1982, Lebanon. Remember all the dates, and you think they're all separate wars...it's one war. Continuous, consecutive interludes...Heh, Israel's forty years old and doesn't have a border! We got ceasefire lines; we got armistice lines; we got red lines, we got green lines! We got all kind of lines. We don't have a border. The country has no borders yet!



Bloody country hasn't settled down [14:00] to know where it is, 'cause it's always war, war, war and the lines change! So, listen, all I can tell you is, the Arabs uh, have patience. You guys have to have patience.

**Male audience member:**

That's the, that's the problem of our...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, sure it's the problem.

**Male audience member:**

That is...I once got up early in a hotel, and watched Arabs clear a field. Okay? And they went, they picked up a rock and they sat down, they sat down!

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, it's okay, take a rest...

**Male audience member:**

Take a rest! Then one of the group got up and went and picked up another rock, they brought it and they set it down...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeeeahhh [laughs]

**Male audience member:**

There was no hurry...and it's, the guy with the biggest patience is gonna win. And that's a problem for us.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That's what I saw during the war. See this is why I keep saying, they got patience and if we haven't got it, we're gonna lose. I saw the way the Russians...I'll tell you, two minute digression... [15:00] I lived, uh lived in Berlin during the, after the war, as you know, in the Haganah, that whole operation, I told that whole story, uh, last time....And, uh, the administration of Berlin was under the four powers, four Allies: French, British, Americans, Russian. Okay? And the chairmanship changed, once every month, and when the Russians would come into power, uh into the chair, their tactic was very simple. They called a meeting for midnight; meeting starts at midnight. 'Cause all the Americans and the French and the British, you know, they go off, uh they, they're finished in

their offices six, seven o'clock, they go have dinner, big dinner, lot of beer, lot of [mumbles]. They, then they gotta kill time, around ten o'clock they go to a movie, and twelve o'clock they come to the meeting, they're half zonked. [16:00] Okay? Okay. Russians would got with the meeting from twelve to about four AM, then take a break for *zakuska* and vodka, you know the hors d'oeuvres, the Russian style, big table full of stuff, crabs' legs and caviar. And uh, and the western allies are now totally groggy, and they're all looking at the clock 'cause they gotta be in their offices eight o'clock, see? And the Russians are quiet, and calm, and patient, and the agenda keeps dragging on, and it's eight in the morning, and it's nine in the morning, and it's ten in the morning, and the phones are ringing like hell, 'cause sitting around this table are all the ranking generals, and their people are screaming for 'em, back in their offices. And so finally, they begin to drift out, and they leave the table, and they go. And then, when about two of them are gone, and there's one of them left, [17:00] so the Russians and one western Ally, it doesn't matter who it is, the British guy's still there, bingo! The last two, three items on the agenda are the heavy ones!

**Female audience member:**

Just like a Federation...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

And there's no way in the world that you're gonna lick 'em, 'cause they got control of the clock, and they got control of the agenda, and you are out of the game, you're not a player anymore. Patience! Then they were patient for the next three months, while the British and the Americans and the French ran the agenda their way, and the Russians would always stall on anything that was serious, they would veto it, lay it over till next month, lay it over till month, till they got back in the chair. We don't know how to do that. We don't do that. We're gonna lose if we don't know how to do that.

Okay, so that was the third lecture for the week, [18:00] and the fourth one is today, which is the, now we're away from the fire side, the fire is over and we're moving to the glory. It is the growth of Israel [writing with marker], which is what we're gonna do today, and the growth of the US Jewish community, which we're gonna do tomorrow. So that's the five, ta ta ta ta ta, and that's how I built the week's lectures, and so you, now you know where we stand, uh, in the architecture. Uh, what I

passed out here simply was, uh, in order to update your knowledge of Israel, which is pretty good, based upon your really deep commitment for Israel, which I know you all have, but knowledge is, is necessary to support commitment, so I don't know how much reading you've done in the last few years. I've made you a list of the best books [19:00] that have come out in the last four or five years, and I wanted you to have it, and we three-hole punched, so you put it in your notebook, but don't leave it buried in your notebook. Pick out a few of these, and I'll tell you very quickly what they are. Sacker's book is the best history book, it's heavy, it's small print, you gotta read it slowly and carefully, but it's the best straight history without any uh, editorial comment. He doesn't uh, he's just telling you the facts, ma'am. What of it?

**Male audience member:**

Is this same one you used [unclear]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, yeah he's the big...You guys didn't like him, because you thought he was too dull.

**Male audience member:**

But we love his books.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Aha!

**Male audience member:**

He is the best writer...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yes he is! And I was embarrassed, but I did my job, he and I have been friends for thirty years, and when I called him up, and I said, "Ah, Howard!" And I'm, "Howard!" He said, "Come one, what d'you got trouble with me?" I mean, he's smart. So, uh, so he backed off, [20:00] he made it easy for me...

**Male audience member:**

'Cause he knew it, he wanted to back off himself, you gave the way out...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Maybe, may- okay, maybe. Alright, so, get the, Volume 2 of Sacker's book. *The Land of Israel* is uh, a religious approach. Larry Hoffman, I don't know if any of you have had him...

**Male audience member:**

...from HUC?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, that's Larry Hoffman, and uh, his book is, in the religious sources of Judaism, what do they think, why is the Holy Land so important? *Collusion Across the Jordan* is a revisionist history book, um, in the sense that the thesis is that Mr. Ben-Gurion and King Abdullah, the present king's grandfather, who was assassinated in 1951, that King Abdullah and Mr. Ben-Gurion were trying to make a deal [21:00] between themselves to run uh, the whole land of Palestine, including the part over the Jordan River, that's the West Bank plus the East Bank, and keep all the other Arabs out, all the other Arab leaders, and they almost made a deal, but then Abdullah got killed in '51, and they were meeting secretly for two, three years, and if they could have made that deal, it would have been great. History would have changed; the war would have been

ended, right away, nipped in the bud, three years after it started.

Um, Benny Morris's book, *The Birth of Palestinian Refugee Problem*, um, kills the myth that the Arabs ran away in 1948 because their leaders were broadcasting [22:00] to them that they should leave, not interfere with the Arab armies, then after the Arab armies finished wiping up the Jews, then they could all come back home. That's the way the myth is told, of how they refugee problem was created, and they, living out in all parts of the world, Palestinians, several millions of them by now, always are saying "We want to go back, because we came from Haifa, and we were told we could return to Haifa." Um, uh, Benny Morris says it wasn't altogether that way. He can't find any records of any Arab broadcasts being made, telling them to get out of the way. But he's got plenty of records of Haganah commanders giving 'em a good kick in the ass and telling 'em, "hey, on the road, beat it, go, go, go, or we'll shoot you all." So, this is, uh, you know, by now, forty years later, documents are released, are rev- are, you know, come out of um, [23:00] secrecy. Thirty years, forty years, you have to bring all documents out, and uh, you're gonna begin to see more books like that written. But it's interesting. How much of it is actually



accurate and truthful? Enough of it so we have to take another look at this whole Arab refugee problem. We Jews are not 100% innocent as we have been portraying ourselves up to now. Let's just put it that way.

Uh, Conor Cruise O'Brien, you know is that Eng- uh Irish uh professor, uh who wrote a book called *The Siege*, and he also has the mentality of the the long war. Uh, is Palestine, Israel, is under siege. And he is very friendly and sympathetic, and he is typical of the best uh, academic and uh, true Christian friendship for Jews and Israel [24:00], so it's a very favorable book and it's all pro. Um, and uh, you know, you, you can skim it, and you'll get the sense of it.

Uh, Peter Gross's book, uh, shows what the middle class average American thinks of Israel, and the bottom line on that one is that Israel in the mind of America comes out with high marks, big plus. Americans understand Israel, they like it, they, those who are intellectuals, know the common roots of the Bible, the Biblical roots of American democracy, um, you know, uh...The whole American, the whole colonies of Massachusetts and New England uh, from...What?

**Male audience member:**

...it was a, it was a, uh, model for them uh...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, it was a model. I mean, you should go through uh the, the six new England states, and see how many cities are called Canaan [25:00], and New Canaan, and Bethlehem, and a ta ta ta ta, and if you look at the names of all of those earlier Puritans, its Nathaniel and Eliezer and Ebenezer and I mean it sounds like it's all Jews...were populating New England. Well, they were, they took Biblical names. Okay.

Uh, Hershel Shanks' book *Recent Archaeology*, that's a technical thing for people who like to know about archaeology. It gives the digs of the last few, few years, and there are some big sensational ones.

Um, Mendes-Flohr is a professor of history at the Hebrew University, and he wrote this book on Martin Buber, and Martin Buber believed very simply that this uh...he took the phrase from Chaim Weizmann, "it's one land [26:00] for two peoples." And there's no doubt it. I mean, Abraham had two sons, Isaac and Ishmael, and Isaac is the father of the Jews, and Ishmael is the father of the Arabs.

**Male audience member:**

But he was a conqueror.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Who, Ishmael?

**Male audience member:**

No, Abraham.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Abraham. [Indistinct comment from audience member] Well I, that's a different story, so that's why leave Abraham out. He came in, he conquered, okay, he made it, fine. Now his sons gave...

**Male audience member:**

The reason why I say that is that's the counter argument to the Arab's saying we Jews are the colonizers. Their father was a colonizer. Abraham was a colonizer...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, but Abraham was a Hebrew, so we can't avoid responsibility

**Male audience member:**

...but his kids...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

So, his two kids...and he favored one over the other. Isaac the son from his wife Sarah, and Ishmael the son from his concubine Hagar, [27:00] and when Sarah laid the law down, and she says, "Look, boy, you choose! You damn well I'm not gonna let this arrangement go on anymore. Get rid of her and get rid of her kid!" And Abraham caved in, and it bothered him, it hurt him, if you read the story in the Bible. And he worried about it, and he at least he gave her a canteen of water, you know, so uh she wouldn't die of thirst, um...And, but, but from the Arab point of view, it's two peoples, and from very many, uh, Jewish leaders, in modern times, begin with Weizmann and Martin Buber and, uh...well, I won't name names, a whole bunch of 'em, Ben-Gurion himself, uh, every time there was a meeting, anywhere, down through the years of the '20s and the '30s of a commission that came to Palestine to investigate, the Peel Commission, the Morrison Grady Commission the Unskap[?] commission, [28:00] every couple years, uh, somebody would go up in heat and create

another commission and they'd come back and go over the same ground and they'd take the same testimony from the same people...This Zionist line, Weizmann on down, from Herzl on down, believed in a piece of the cake is better than none; we must have our independence, we must have our own sovereignty, and if it means sharing the land, we gotta share the land, and uh, uh, down to Abba Eban who wrote the number, uh Resolution 242 in the United Nations, forty years ago, he said if we had tried to grab off total sovereignty of the, of the land, and total sovereignty of the administration, we never would have gotten that resolution passed. We had to be willing to share the land, and share the, uh the, the uh autonomy. [29:00] So that's one Zionist line, and it always believed in sha- in partition, partition, partition.

The other Zionist line, from Jabotinsky on down, says, no, hell with it, we want it all. All or nothing! And their symbol was, they took, they had a fist holding a gun, a rifle, going across like this. One end of the rifle is in the Mediterranean, one end of the rifle is in Amman, see, and the Hebrew slogan, the logo under the rifle says "*rak kakh*", which means "only thus" - not *koakh - kakh*, which means "thusly." "Only this," we want it all, take the gun, get it all! Right straight across.

So, okay. Uh, they lost out until now, recently, with uh, Begin and Shamir coming in, but for the first thirty-nine years, thirty-five years [30:00] of the country, the Labor Party, which represented the, the, the compromisers and the partitionists, uh, were the dominant Jewish party. Okay, it has shifted, and Israel has gone right-wing, like uh, many countries in the world, so we have to see how it's going to play out. Right-wing isn't gonna serve us, unless we are willing to commit a, or not commit, to conduct, a Holocaust-type war against the Arabs.

Um, anyway, that phrase, "a land of two peoples," "one land for two people," I think that's a book worth reading. Uh, Ben-Gurion, that's a new biography of him, by Shabtai Teveth, who's a, uh, a good journalist. It's a thick book; it's worth it. *The Bah Kokhba Syndrome*, by Harkabi, is one in which he uh talks about what's wrong [31:00] with Masada. The whole Masada idea is so crazy! We make it into some heroic thing, but it's a mass suicide! What the hell are we talking about? Is that so terribly brave? Is that so terribly heroic? Okay, maybe, at that moment, that was the, the only out that they saw. I'm not arguing about that, but to have that become a model, that's the thing I'm arguing about. This mystique about the "Masada shall never fall again!" Well, "Masada won't fall again" means "we'll never let

the Romans conquer us." That's okay by me, too! So if "Masada shall not fall" means "we are gonna fight to the end, to the last man"...But you see, they didn't fight to the last man; they committed suicide to the last man, but they didn't fight! I mean, if they took a hundred, a thousand Romans down with them... [32:00] Almost a thousand people committed suicide, so if they took a thousand Romans down with them, fine! That's fighting to the last man, you lose. That I can understand. Anyhow, okay, he writes this uh, *Bar Kokhba Syndrome* book, and he wrote the other book, *Israel's Fateful Hour*, and there he says very simply...[camera shutter snaps] Don't you want any pictures of them! That's a hell of a lot more important. Them, not me! Take the view from...may I say, from this side, get their faces...

**Photographer:**

They told me to get you

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No! That's not important; they're important.

**Photographer:**

But you're backlit...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Oh, I'll get out of the way...

**Photographer:**

Plus it's really bad lighting...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yes it is [laughs]. [Indistinct comments]. Ah, let her try, I know, I, I direct everybody.

**Photographer:**

Here we go.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

There we go. [Camera shutter snaps]. Great, thank you.

**Photographer:**

You're welcome. Thank you! [door closes]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**



I cannot seem to get into the head of anybody [33:00] who takes pictures, or the video, that the important thing is the student body. And it always comes out cockeyed. You're not present; it's as though it's not here, you weren't here. It's just as though I'm talking to the...

**Female audience member:**

You're talking to yourself...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

...moon! [Laughter] Okay, uh...Harkabi uh, takes the same line as the one up above, the book up above, uh, what's his name's book, uh Martin Buber. Harkabi says, we're killing ourselves by this present position, by our failure to compromise we, and being a stubborn and rigid and inflexible and right-wing as we are, we're destroying ourselves, we're demoralizing our soldiers, we're cheapening our reputation in the whole world...He goes down the whole; we're violating our own Jewish ethics. I mean, it's really, it's a real indictment. And you know who Harkabi is?

**Male audience member:**

...that's a major change from his position. I was his research, research assistant at Hebrew University [34:00] in '68, '69, and his position was drastically opposed...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Absolutely, different from what it is now, 180 degrees! You remember last year at Caesarea, you heard uh, Ezer Weizmann? Ezer Weizmann was Israel's number one hawk! He smashed the Arabs to bits those first three hours on the morning of the Six Day War. He planned the whole attack, preemptive attack! And now he's Israel's number one hawk- uh dove! Same with Harkabi. Harkabi was director of military intelligence, he was Yariv's predecessor, and now he's a professor at the university, and whereas thirty years ago you had to fight for your life to exist, today we are a big power and we don't have to have the paranoia of being, of feeling like a small power. And when you're a big power, you can afford [35:00] to be generous, and we do not act generously.

**Male audience member:**

That's the opposite view from Sharon. Sharon says we are a big power [indistinct], but therefore we don't have to be polite, we have to conquer even more.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That's right, smash the, yeah, step up, put out boot on their necks, and uh, smash them even further. Big powers that act like that, my dear boy, pass off the stage of history...

Uh, Asher Arian is a professor of political science at the Tel Aviv University, and his book is a highly technical book on politics in Israel; hard reading, but worth it.

Benvenisti you heard last year. Benvenisti's book on *Conflicts and Contradictions* simply says that we are in a moral dilemma, we are not living according to our moral standards, we are living in a contradiction. [36:00]

Perlmutter teaches at the American University, in Washington, DC, and he says Israel is a partitioned state, why don't we face it? We are a partitioned state. The West Bank is partitioned off, by the green line. Now, we don't try to annex it, we don't try to conquer it militarily, but it's a partition, so why the hell don't we recognize that it's a partition and face it. The consequences of facing it, um, are very simple, and

I have my own theory, which he concurs with, and which uh, uh, Moshe Dayan, before he died, finally concurred with. And my own uh recipe for how to solve this thing is very simple... [37:00] [turns sheet of paper; writing with marker] Bingo! Is that clear?

**Male audience member:**

Wasn't that an option that was studied by the Jaffa Institute? I know they've just come out...I've not read all of the...but they looked at different scenarios as to how to solve the problem, including mass expulsion and uh, continuous presence... [38:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Right.

**Male audience member:**

I know that that their ultimate recommendation was that of withdrawal and demilitarization, but I thought that they were looking for a more of a phased, uh...are you recommending that Israel just say, in one week...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Tomorrow morning!

**Male audience member:**

...we're leaving!

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah!

**Male audience member:**

Okay Nablus, uh, you know?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Collect your own garbage, pay your...

**Male audience member:**

I didn't think that was quite their idea though...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Uh, no, they're, they're a bit more cautious than I am; they should be. Uh...but whether you face it over thirty days or

six months, I mean I got no objection to that, I don't agree with them about a five year phase thing...

**Male audience member:**

It was five or ten years, I thought...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah. That, so I don't agree with that. Uh, but they're, but we're on the same track. We could pull out tomorrow morning, on one condition, that this territory remains demilitarized, we're gonna keep our radar stations up on a high ridge of the hills that, [39:00] running north and south, and I mean, you know, the ridge of the hills, I wanna go back to these maps in a minutes...Nablus is up here, Hebron is down here...Running north and south, there's a ridge, goes right down the middle of the West Bank. We got about four major radar installations up on the top of the ridge. How are you prevented from carrying a gun onto an airplane? [Audience comment] You pass through a metal detector. We got four big metal detectors up here! Any tanks wanna come in, we can detect 'em; any aircraft on any fields over there, over here in Egypt, start up a jet engine, we pick it up on our radar. Okay? That's all we need. We don't need

anything else. We withdraw; stipulation is that the territory remains demilitarized, [40:00] violation of that stipulation means we go back in in fifteen minutes, smash you up, and you've had it. World public opinion is on our side, we save a lot of money, we save a lot of lives, of our own, we save a lot of, our, we keep the moral high ground, not where we are today...I mean, there's every advantage in it, and nothing on the downside that I can see! I keep saying it, and I keep asking people to show me what the downside it...

**Carlos:**

I can give you one.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

One! Let me hear it.

**Carlos:**

Germany we did the same thing, and Japan we did the same thing. Forty years ago we had unilateral surrender, unconditional surrender, which Israel never did, we occupied Japan [indistinct] today, we occupied Germany. Forty years later, a movement starts for the reunification of Germany, which

is getting more ground, saying that the United States and Soviet Union do not have any longer the right [41:00] to keep it demilitarized...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What, what, what, what, what?!

**Carlos:**

The United States and Soviet Union do not...if building up and making the argument...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We never demilitarized Germany!

**Carlos:**

Japan; we demilitarized Japan. Japan is demilitarized; they can only have a certain amount of weapons, a certain type of...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

And we keep pushing them to have more weapons, to take off some of the burden from us!



**Carlos:**

Right. So in that, I mean Japan is building, the feeling, the anti-American feeling of trying to get rid of American bases, quote unquote, so it's...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

But they don't do it!

**Carlos:**

But it, but, but, but if the only...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Carlos, forty years is one hell of a long time! Germany and Japan, Germany and Japan are allies of America today! We have troops there not to occupy them, we have troops there because we want to keep troops there...

**Carlos:**

They became part of the Western...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Sure! Exactly.

**Carlos:**

We made them part of the Western...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Halavai...the Arabs should become part of the Israel Alliance...

**Carlos:**

But I'm saying, even if they become part [42:00] of the, that alliance...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah...

**Carlos:**

...in forty to fifty years, the untouched Israel is occupying the bases...even if we pay rent on the bases...even if we lease the bases...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What do we need the bases for?

**Carlos:**

Well we have those mountains, on top, where we have the radar. We need those bases.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Those, that's not bases. You got fifty mechanics up there to keep oiling and greasing the, the installations. The only thing we need is to keep those installations. Then we don't need any men, we don't need any uh, creating a psychology of antagonism...

**Carlos:**

We did that in Lebanon. Unilateral withdrawal, we kept the security zone...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[Laughs] Three...we sur-...we, heh, we occupied Lebanon for three years till it was no longer comfortable for us to occupy it. We pulled out.

**Male audience member:**

There was a vacuum...

**Carlos:**

And you're saying exactly the same thing, we occupied the West Bank for twenty years, I think it's uncomfortable for us to keep occupying it, so we withdraw...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

But don't you understand, the objective that we had in Lebanon was the crazy objection, [43:00] objective, of trying to create a Christian government there. Three years we tried...

**Male audience member:**

Uh it was also to prevent the terrorists from sending the rockets...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Oh, bullshit!

**Male audience member:**

...which killed...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Cut it out!

**Male audience member:**

...fifteen people a year!

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Cut it out! That's the slogan. That's the uh, operation for the...

**Male audience member:**

Well they only, but they killed six hundred Israelis to prevent the killing of uh, of fifteen uh, civilians...

**Male audience member:**

I don't know...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

It was Sharon faking out Begin, and faking out the Knesset by saying that we would withdraw, uh, we would go in only up to forty kilometers.

**Male audience member:**

He had no intention of stopping though...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Of course he didn't! That's why I'm saying he faked 'em out, and that's why Begin later on was so uh, disillusioned with him, and disgusted with him, and then, and then Begin went into retirement actually because of that.

**Male audience member:**

But even if you took the first scenario that it was there to clear out the terrorists, it was a ridiculous...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Let's not pass judgment on that. We're trying to understand, if we [44:00] went in and spent the dough, and spent the lives, and spent the time, three years we occupied the country...He is challenging, why did we pull out, because it was uncomfortable, we didn't have the nerve to stay there. And I'm saying, that the objective was different. We tried to manipulate the future control of Lebanon so that the Arabs would be reduced to a minority under the Christians. We could not succeed in

doing that. We should have known... Nobody could succeed in doing that! The French couldn't succeed, and they pulled out. The American Marines couldn't succeed, and they pulled out. So we should try it and waste three years of time and money? Finally, it came to an understanding we should pull out also, nobody can do it. So, we pulled out. Okay? I mean, Sharon was repudiated, and the army generals, the sensible ones, finally had their way, [45:00] and we, we pulled out.

**Carlos:**

Let me ask you one question. You mean unilateral withdrawal from the Israeli point of view would be back to the '67 borders?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay...

**Carlos:**

Among the most, uh, even liberal, moderate, Arabs, they are talking about 242, and 338, under the bounds of 181...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

They're not talking about anything. They want everything back. They'll talk about whatever they think we'll buy. We are standing on 242 'cause we have nothing else to stand on! Always the talk is minor modifications of the Six Day, uh, uh, uh line.

**Carlos:**

I heard the debate, which I had to tape, between Sa'ib and Friedlander. Sa'ib is as moderate as he can be from the Palestinian position, and Friedlander is as moderate as he can be from the Israeli position. [46:00] And Sa'ib was talking a about 181, [indistinct] Resolution 242 speaks about withdrawal occupied territories. Occupied territories includes the territories that [indistinct] in the war of independence. So at the end of the tape, it was so sad, Friedlander asking Sa'ib, eh actually David Ellison from, eh, you know,...by the end of the tape, Friedlander asks Sa'ib, pleads with Sa'ib, "Sa'ib, you must help me. Because what you are saying is really giving into the extreme right wing of Israel, of saying they want the destruction of [indistinct] in stages, and if the gap between you, one of the most moderate Palestinians, and the gap between me, is so abysmal, how can I sell the most moderate Palestinian position into a, uh, [indistinct]." And it was, was



heartbreaking to hear him, Friedlander plead with Sa'ib to help him [indistinct]... [47:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

But what is the, what are we talking about? What is the result?

**Carlos:**

Hmmm? The result is a question, is my question, I agree with your plan, if I were to have an answer that unilateral withdrawal accompanied [indistinct], let them have some army, let them fight the terrorists, let them fight [indistinct], let them fight...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

The cops need pistols to keep law and order...

**Carlos:**

...when a unilateral withdrawal will allow us to keep our military...[End Side A; gap in recording]...but also, I also...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We need to get permission from them to keep out deterrent capabilities?

**Carlos:**

But I also understand that our deterrent capabilities did not work, because deterrent, just upon the premise that you're dissuade your enemies from attacking...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No! Missile exchange is all that that deterrence refers to. You can't deter your enemy from throwing stones at you by missiles...

**Carlos:**

If war breaks out, [48:00] deterrent failed. Deterrent is for the purpose of avoiding war.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah- you're too technical, uh, Carlos...

**Carlos:**

The reason why I'm being technical, is precisely because of the use of deterrence capability for the past forty years did not work, because we've either had five wars in the forty years...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What are you talking, what do you mean it didn't work?

**Carlos:**

Israel stayed alive but the deterrent...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well that's the point! What the hell is deterrence all about? Deterrence is...

**Carlos:**

[indistinct]...deterrence is the ability to dissuade the other guy from attacking you...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

And if you can't do that, then you have to win the next battle. Deterrence is simply an effort to avoid a battle, but if

it comes you gotta be able to win it. So your strength can never be allowed to erode! Your strength is your shield.

**Carlos:**

And with unilateral withdrawal, like Israel already has unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No! They're not similar!

**Male audience member:**

Why not?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We invaded, and that was our option; [49:00] and we withdrew, and that was our option.

**Male audience member:**

Go beyond, go beyond withdrawal. There was a power vacuum that was building, by the Syrians. Now what tells you that that wouldn't happen...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What do the Syrians have to do with us? The Syrians were there before we invaded, the Syrians are there after we left...The Syrians are trying to take control of Jordan, of Lebanon...

[several audience members at one]

**Male audience member:**

...we're gonna prevent 'em from filling the vacuum. You're not allowed, not allowed to fill the vacuum!

**Female audience member:**

How?

**Male audience member:**

How? You've got the radar installations! The moment they come across the River...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What does...don't you under- Does everybody understand what demilitarization means? Can you think in your mind that af-

after forty years in Korea, North Korea, South Korea, there is a demilitarized zone, and for forty years, soldiers of both sides are sitting there in that shed on that border, of the parallel, the thirty-some- I think it...

**Audience members:**

38<sup>th</sup>.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

...and it's demilitarized [50:00] for a certain number of miles on both sides, and there are no weapons in there, and there's no fighting, and there's no shooting, and you're sitting there for forty years, twiddling your thumbs! Okay? A demilitarized zone, DMZ, is what the West Bank must become. No weapons may be introduced into the area. We are withdrawing our weapons; we are leaving our radar stations...

**Carlos:**

....their pride will be satisfied by knowing that...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Their what?

**Carlos:**

Their pride.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I don't give a goddamn about their pride! What do I care about their pride?! This is, all these questions are always asked as though we have to beg, we are weak, we are the inferior one, we gotta keep them satisfied. To hell with that! What I'm trying to avoid is for us, one fine day, to wake up and decide to make some huge fatal error, and I see two. One would be to annex the territory by law. And one fine day the government of Israel's gonna do that, [51:00] and God help us when that happens, 'cause then we are suddenly going to lose the whole Jewish nature of the State of Israel. The other danger is that we won't annex them by law, we'll go in with a major Lebanese-type invasion, and say, "we've had it. We've lost our patience, and enough is enough, and if they're gonna start blowing up bridges and blowing up power plants, and that's escalating beyond throwing stones, then we're gonna smash the hell out of 'em, that's all. Destroy two, three cities, take off Nablus, take of Hebron, fifty thousand people, hundred thousand people,

kill 'em in a war, finished!" Second type of terrible mistake that we would make. Now that's what I want to try to avoid. And to try to avoid that, I want to disengage from this problem, and I want to know, all the time, [52:00] show me what the downside is?

**Male audience member:**

And don't we also have to have, man the border, as well? The Jordan River border...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Nonsense!

**Carlos:**

Okay, let me give you another scenario...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Jordan River border is nothing. We got nine kib-...

**Male audience member:**

I don't understand what your option is...



**Carlos:**

What my option is?

**Male audience member:**

Yeah.

**Carlos:**

...I say what my fear is..

**Male audience member:**

No, no, I mean, you're...

**Carlos:**

...what my fears are, because what I try to resolve is, my fears, and therefore my options [indistinct] from that. Let's assume that Israel [indistinct] war, let's assume [indistinct]...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I didn't say a state! I don't know if they're gonna make a state! Haven't got a clue! They've got a hell of a long way to

make an agreement among themselves before they ever get to a state.

**Carlos:**

What is to prevent the Palestinians come inside Israel, including the northern part [unclear] where the Palestinians are the majority, to start a secessionist movement, like in Ireland, proclaiming that they want to go back to the borders of 181...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[53:00] Would they wanna fight for the next three hundred years? That's how long the Irish secession movement has gone one...

**Carlos:**

...another intifada, but within the lands of Israel completely to [indistinct] borders. You have a war...

**Male audience member:**

Why is that gonna...

**Carlos:**

No...[indistinct] a civil war...

**Male audience member:**

A civil war?! Why does it matter where the border is on the West Bank?

**Carlos:**

Why does it matter? Because let's assume that when they went back [indistinct]...an independent state, and Yasser Arafat [indistinct]...federation with Jordan, in which case the independence of...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Carlos, if we have a civil war on the part of Israeli Arab citizens, up in the Galilee, or anywhere in the Shfela, wherever it is, doesn't matter where, you got three quarters of a million Israeli Arab citizens, three quarters of a million, okay. If we have a civil war, we will beat the pants off of them...And they will bring in help from the outside, like in America, the South brought in help from England, and ta ta ta ta ta [54:00], and the civil war will be tragic and will be terrible, it, the State

of- the security of the State of Israel will not be jeopardized,  
we will not lose that war.

**Carlos:**

We are losing the war in the West Bank, but the, outside  
of...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We're not losing a war! There's not war there! It's a pain  
in the ass, little, niggling, damned thing, and we're getting  
nowhere with it, and it's draining us, and we're losing the  
moral ground.

**Carlos:**

What will happen if you unilaterally demilitarized with the  
settlements in the West Bank and Galilee?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I'm not sur- I don't underst- I'm not sure I...

**Carlos:**

Jewish settlements.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

With the settlements? Very simple! You wanna stay there? You stay there. You don't wanna stay there? Fine, sell your house, you'll make a lot of profit. The Arabs will buy 'em up tomorrow morning. What we did, and when we pulled out of Yamit in, uh, in, it was the most stupid thing in the world! They had- Egypt would have bought it for God's sake! Why did we have to blow it up?

**Male audience member:**

Sharon wanted...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Nnn, insanity! Got seventy thousand people living there, you [55:00] got a certain amount of real estate, it's worth a certain amount of money, if you wanna stay, the uh Israel government will give you guns in your house, every settler has 'em...You wanna fight it out, fight it out. You uh, you, you, some fine night somebody's gonna come and firebomb your house and kill you and your kids, that's your risk. We, the government of Israel will try by every way possible to try to convince

whatever Arab administration develops inside that West Bank to, to try to keep peace and law and order.

**Carlos:**

I asked Yariv yesterday about the Jewish settlements in the Sinai, because they Sinai Peninsula is today the first legally agreed upon...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

The first legally agreed upon...

**Carlos:**

...zone free of Jews. I asked Yariv whether the issue of the settlements remaining there would be Jews remaining there as Egyptian citizens, as Egyptian citizens [indistinct]. [56:00] And the answer was, yes, and Egypt absolutely refused it, no Jews in the Sinai.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, I think that that's, if if that's what they want, then that's what they want.

**Carlos:**

...[indistinct] because that is now the blueprint of the West Bank.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Not at all. There's no state! There's no state in the West Bank, yet. It could be, in the future, that if there's a state in the West Bank, that state will say, "we want to have a homogeneous population, no Jews allowed." That state will then be taken to the World Court, at The Hague, for violating the basic assumption, the Treaty of the Rights of Man. And that state will try to expunge all the Jews from its state, and it'll go on, it'll go on, it'll go on, I don't care how long it drags on in the World Court. All I care about it, some craziness of a slaughter or a pogrom on those seventy thousand Jews. And should it ever develop into that [57:00], uh, uh phase, then the government of Israel goes in and protects those seventy thousand Jews in that state, the way the government of Israel should go into the Argentine if it has to, and the way the government of Israel should go to Iceland, if there are some Jews there in trouble. What are we talking about? You cannot control what's gonna happen for the next hundred years! Go step by step by step

by step, and you know there's no way in the world you're gonna be able to anticipate every move that's gonna take place and what your counter move is gonna be.

**Carlos:**

The issue was [indistinct] with Yariv, yesterday in the session, unilateral withdrawal from the Gaza only...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Gaza Strip? There are very settlements down there...

**Carlos:**

Yeah, [indistinct]...which is a smaller, eh, piece of the cake than what you're saying needs unilateral withdrawal from all the occupied territories. His answer was absolutely not, because even though he wants to give it back, but not give back unilaterally [58:00] because that is the Arab's mentality, will be understood as an absolute sign of weakness, which is going to damage forever Israel's deterrent capability. And that comes from a military guy like Yariv, that it has a very, eh...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**



Who's a real good friend of mine for thirty year, and I like him and I respect him, and I think he's nuts! Because he thinks in five and ten year terms, and I am willing to think in fifty and hundred year terms, but I want some steps taken tomorrow morning. So, I think about tomorrow morning, and I think about fifty years from tomorrow morning, and as far as being taken as a sign of weakness, would you turn to your notes, please, called "Building and Strengthening the State." "Building and Strengthening the State." Do you have those notes?

**Female audience member:**

We didn't get anything.

**Audience members [several together]:**

No.

**Male audience member:**

We just had the readings. [59:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, but look, no readings under this...open up under that section, whatever the section is called. In your notebook it's different from mine. No reading...Look under your...

[several audience members together, indistinct]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Look under your tab, under the tab...

**Male audience member:**

There's nothing in there.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Alright, then I'm gonna read, have to read my notes to you, and I'll have, and I will give you...My notes consist of one, two...

**Male audience member:**

What page is it on?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

There's no page. It's under these, uh, it's under lecture four, "Building the State," "Building the State." What have you got? Mine? This is why notebook's different from yours. That's all you got? No readings, right?

**Male audience member:**

No readings, and under my tab...there's, there's nothing.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Alright. I will get you these three pages, and I'm sorry that I, that, that there was some goof up. Listen carefully. This is a lecture on Building [1:00:00] and Strengthening the State, and I have nine headings, would you mind writing down the nine headings. Number one: military machines. Number one, Carlos: military machine. Number two: ingathering of immigrants...Number three: agricultural self-sufficiency...Number four: high-tech industrialization... [1:01:00] Number five: higher education...Number six: art and culture...Number seven: economics...Number eight: social welfare...And number nine: major problems today.

Now under those nine headings, I was, uh, I am going to, what, we got about forty-five, fifty minutes left, I'm gonna try

to give you a picture of the building and the strengthening of the state, [1:02:00] building and strengthening of the state. That's what all these nine topics add up to, over a forty year period.

I would like to, uh, under topic one, answering your question, Carlos, about Yariv's uh, uh comment that it, that any action on our part will be interpreted as a sign of weakness. [indistinct comment by Carlos]. Yeah. I would like us to stop, please, talking about weakness. And I'm gonna talk to Yariv about whether he really, truly believes that. I'm gonna talk to him right now at lunch. [Indistinct audience question] Sure! Welcome. Under military machine...

**Carlos:**

Actually, I have a great idea. Friday, there is a radio show that I usually make, from National Public Radio, and I asked Yariv whether he wants to be on the show, takes my place, um, [1:03:00] and you might ask him...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

The answer's no. I won't debate with him publically on your television show. I'll debate with him privately. Um, under

military machine, uh, I would like you to have, I've made, make the following observations. Number one: Israel has the largest army in the world, proportionate to its population. Bingo! Tell me talking weak. Number two: not on a proportional, on an absolute basis, Israel has the, is the fourth strongest military power in the world.

**Audience question:**

What are the other three?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

America, Russia, China, Israel. Now that's a hell of a league to play in, isn't it? It's a joke! It's absurd, when you think of how much of our energy and wealth [1:04:00] and, eh have gone into this. America, Russia, China, Israel! And I mean, absolutely, not proportionately. I mean Israel has a bigger air force than France or England! Israel's got more tanks than NATO!

**Carlos:**

But Israel [unclear] for more tanks than NATO.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Carlos! [laughs] Will you, will you, will you just agree with me that we should remove the adjective weak from in front of Israel? That's all I'm pleading for. [audience laughter]

**Male audience member:**

We wanna get, we wanna get past number two! [audience laughter]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[Laughs] And yet the, having said those things under this military item, I want to be sure that you understand one thing. With all of that power, Israel is neither a militaristic state, [1:05:00] nor is it a dictatorship state, nor is it run by colonels, civilians run it. Former chiefs of staff, chief of staff, highest soldier in the country, serve as civilian ministers in the cabinet, under a civilian prime minister. [indistinct] all of them, all of them, it doesn't matter who they were, how many chiefs of staff. Bar-Lev is the minister of police, and Rabin is the minister of defense, and what's his name, uh, uh, the guy who was the minister of health, um, you know...ach! Okay, I'll think of it in a minute.

Uh, next let's go to the ingathering of immigrants. Uh, Israel has taken in almost two million people [1:06:00] since her founding. The population of Israel today is 3.7 million Jews, and she started with six hundred thousand, .6, and today she's got 3.7. So, of those, almost two million were immigrants who came in, and the rest are natural birth. Israel also has .7...non-Jews, who are citizens. Muslims, Christians. The population of Israel, therefore is...

Male audience member:

4.4.

Herbert A. Friedman:

4.4 million citizens.

Male audience member:

What are the exact numbers, in the West Bank, of uh, [1:07:00] in Gaza, of Arabs [unclear]...?

Herbert A. Friedman:

In the West Bank, population of Arabs is about eight hundred thousand, and in Gaza the population of Arabs is about

four hundred, four-fifty maybe, combination is 1.2, one and a quarter million.

**Male audience member:**

And there's about eighty thousand uh, Jews in the West Bank now?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Seventy thousand settlers...

**Male audience member:**

...counted in Israel, they should have...

**Male audience member:**

But they're...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, but he wanted to know how many are living in the West Bank. Seventy thousand settlers living the West, in the West Bank, and almost not settlers living down in the Gaza Strip, probably about three thousand, on uh some kibbutzim.



**Male audience member:**

[indistinct comment][1:08:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

...is referring to, Israel has built housing for Arab, uh refugees, inside the camps in the West Bank.

**Male audience mere:**

I'm talking United Nations uh vetoed that...but they couldn't do it...

**Male audience member:**

...Geneva Protocol...

**Male audience member:**

...take them out of the refugee camps and put them into decent housing...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

So, the ingathering of immigrants, uh, just make a side note for yourself, is based on, the moral principle of it, is Deuteronomy Chapter 30, verses 1 through 3. If anybody's got a

Bible, uh here, an English Bible, who can read it, if not read it when you get home. And the process over a forty year period of taking that number of people in has gone all the way from bringing them in and putting them in tents, [1:09:00] and then moved to something called ma'abarot. Anybody remember that word?

**Male audience member:**

Settlement, temporary huts.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[writing with marker] *Ma-a-barot*, it's from the Hebrew word *abara*, which means to cross over, it's a crossing over, a transition period, the ma'abarot were little concrete huts. They were four-hund- forty-two square meters. Forty-two square meters is 420 square feet. Okay, what's the size of your living room?

**Male audience member:**

This is about four hundred square feet...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, okay, this is four hundred square feet. Now that was, if it's a family of two, four, six, eight, ten, doesn't matter

how many. Everybody got forty-two square meters, toilet in the corner, kitchen sink in the corner, beds on the floor, whatever [1:10:00] you could fit in you fit in. And everybody thought it was heaven, because it wasn't a tent, and it wasn't muddy in the winter in the rain, and it wasn't freezing cold. Eh, forty two square meters. And today you, uh, you are up as a, the lowest government standard, the lowest government standard is seventy-eight square meters, so you're almost double, so that's progress, and it'll keep going that way. And with all the bitching, and all the griping, and all the complaining, I mean this is just a total, incredible, social progress. And there's no place else in the world where it's ever happened, where it's *happened*, or continues to happen. You got twenty five black countries in Africa that are independent, and they threw away their rulers of the French, or the Belgians, or the Dutch, or the, whoever it was, and uh, and they can't, they can't make anything go after twenty, thirty years, they still can't get themselves organized. [1:11:00] And I'm not saying that they should be anywhere near as advanced as where, as the State of Israel should be, 'cause there was forty years of development before there ever was a state in Israel, but I am expecting some kind of progr- human progress. Instead what you got is, one

colonel shoots another colonel and then the widow goes to run to see what's in the Swiss bank, and uh, it's a, you know, it's corruption, and it's pathetic; and the people suffer. I mean, I don't like a lot of things that go on in Israel, whose citizenship I hold, never forget that. Every time you hear me talking about Israel, you just remember something. I got that passport in my pocket. So, uh, I'm as entitled as anybody to talk about it. But with all the griping I have about the things that haven't been done right, I mean that's a miracle! That's a bloody, human miracle, two million people! Not a nation on Earth can boast of that. [01:12:00] So, where credit is due, let's uh, let's give it.

Agricultural self-sufficiency. There are probably only two things in Israel that have to be imported, in the way of food. One's wheat and one's beef, and you can't grow either in any kind of quantity to feed your whole population, 'cause you just haven't got the land to do it with. It's just a matter of, of a physical shortage of, for, for wheat you need a lot of land, and for beef you need a lot of land. So those two things are still imported, but everything else, the country's completely self-sufficient.

**Male audience member:**

Actually only 6% of Israel's population is now engaged...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

...in agriculture...

**Male audience member:**

...in the state is 2%, when forty years ago it was about 43%.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Correct, correct. It shows real good growth. Uh...and any, many agricultural products, Israel has a surplus, and exports, and makes dollars on, including sending flowers to Holland. [1:13:00] I mean, you know [laughs], that's really something isn't it?

**Male audience member:**

Tulips...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Sending tulips, even better. Sending, sending tulips, though...

**Male audience member:**

...major factories were in the *mikvah*..

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah. Uh, okay, next item about high-tech industrialization. You have to think of Israel in a certain way. Israel skipped the automobile age. Didn't try to manufacture automobiles. Tried to assemble automobiles, and didn't do, and didn't do very well on it. Chrysler was the biggest one, and they used to, I knew a guy who was the head of the Chrysler Company, Joe Buxenbaum, um, and they used to import big wooden crate, that had all the parts, and up in, Upper Nazareth, he built a big plant for assembling, and he made some dough for himself, and the people who worked for him made some money, but you know, it just never took off to any quantity, [1:14:00] and finally they gave it all up. The army tried to manufacture a car, because it was using automobiles in large quantities, and uh, that was the fiberglass one, and...

**Male audience member:**

Sussita?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Sussita, *sus*- coming from *sus*, "horse", the Hebrew word for horse is *sus*, so you call a car Sussita, so what d'you got, two horsepower, four horsepower? Didn't work. [indistinct audience comment] Yeah....okay. Now, skipping the automobile age, what do you go to?

**Male audience member:**

But that was the right decision, though...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Sure it was the decision, sure it was!

**Male audience member:**

...compete with the Japanese...

**Male audience member** [Carlos?]:

No, no, no, because cars, you never acquire the know-how, you're always dependent on the new [indistinct]...so most of the

Third World countries like Latin America [indistinct] car industry, are dependent on the [1:15:00] United States...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, Israel jumped from the automobile age, and went into very high tech, including, you know, such things as, the most elaborate example of course was uh the Lavi, the supersonic jet fighter. How many countries in the world do you think make supersonic, not subsonic, jet fighter aircraft?

**Male audience member:**

Four. Sweden...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, Sweden, yes; America; Russia, yes; uh, France, yes...

**Male audience member:**

And Britain...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

And Britain...



**Male audience member:**

And Israel.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Stop. So there's five. Again, you talk about what kind of league Israel is playing in.

**Male audience member:**

Soon will be the Japanese.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Soon, but not yet. Not yet. And what happened was that that Lavi is making Israel the fifth country in the world to produce supersonic jet fighters, all the technology there, all the production line there! They produced models in production, then came, hit that financial stumbling block and that huge debate that took place, [1:16:00] lasting over a year, uh, and finally the decision was made, give it up, because uh, it would just drain the, the bankrupt the country, but more important, drain the military establishment of everything else that it needed, so you would have all your eggs in one basket. And interestingly

enough, the guy who fought the hardest against it, was a fellow in the Pentagon, Assistant Secretary of Defense, whose name was Dov Zakheim, who wore a *kippah* and speaks fluent Hebrew. And this American Assistant Secretary of Defense was in Israel fighting his guts out to convince them that he's not anti-Israel, he's not anti-Semitic, but he says, "you guys are killing yourself."

Male audience member:

...anti-bankruptcy...

Herbert A. Friedman:

"You're ki- yeah, I'm anti-bankruptcy," he says. [1:17:00] You have to try to realize that even though, you have to try to realize that you can buy what you want in America forever, even though that might cripple you in terms of that clause in the contract about third-country resales, that you can't sell any of the things that you buy in America, that have American motors, engines in them, to third countries, without American approval. So, you're looking down the road, later on, twenty, thirty years, when American F15s or 16s get to be obsolescent, and you will wanna sell 'em, to make some dough out of 'em, at least

recapture something, and you might not get American approval to do it, depending upon whom you wanted to sell 'em to. So that's the only option you're giving up. You just have to keep buying American, that's all. And in the long run, it's better for you and cheaper for you, and F15s and 16s have got [1:18:00] a life clear into the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They're fifteen, twenty years of good work- uh working life ahead of 'em, so don't worry and stop the Lavi. So they stopped the Lavi.

But you see, the fact that Israeli industry was capable of reaching that level, is a clear indication of what the future's gonna be. Israel developed a, a, a colored laser printers, for color printing, and the first eh, and each machine, they're quite large, cost five million bucks, and the first customer was Time Magazine. Nothing like that machine being manufactured in America. Time Magazine buys from Elscint one, and then they bought two, and by now they've bought eight, and they put 'em in their printing plants around the world. I mean, you know, we say American industry, uh, has lost out to the Japanese in so many ways. [1:19:00] American high-tech industry lost out to Israel. Magnetic Resonance Imaging machines, in the medical field; CAT scan machines, the first CAT scan machines came out of Israel, and then General Electric copied the Israeli models. [Indistinct

audience comment]. So you see, you got an incredible, you got an incredible future ahead in electronics, and optics, and plastics, and medical instruments, and military instruments, and, and, uh, you know, all the time that you're fighting, arguing about how to fight with the Arabs, and how to take in your immigrants, and how to run your government with a twenty thousand prime ministers, each one trying to have his own idea...I mean, in the middle of it all, there's an absolutely crazy development going on in scientific and [1:20:00] high-tech industry, which ultimately can make Israel exactly like Switzerland. How many people do you think are, uh, is the population of Switzerland? Seven million. When will Israel hit seven million? By the middle of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Male audience member:**

Or if we annex the West Bank we could get there a lot quicker.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[Laughs; audience laughter] Thank you for that! Um...

**Male audience member:**

How many languages [indistinct]?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Three, three, three. French, German, and Italian, are three official languages. Israel now has three practical languages, they're not all official: English, Hebrew, and Arabic. Two are official, Hebrew and Arabic, and [mumbles] English will someday also probably become an official language. Israel has a future like Switzerland, in quantity and in quality. Switzerland hasn't fought a major war in over two hundred years! [1:21:00] But Switzerland has permanent, uh, military mobilization of its reserves, and the Israeli system is copied after the Swiss system. So, the Swiss keep their powder dry, and they don't need any deterrent, they need the capacity to win, and I don't know, uh, I would recommend to you a, a, very charming, interesting book...now I gotta be sure I get the name of it right...it's something like *Place de la Concorde*, uh, written by a guy I think his name is John McPhee, and it's the story of how Switzerland has uh, created the defenses for her country, all of which are buried, in the mountains, and underground. Huge airplane repair factories, underground. Huge tank installations inside mountains, especially on the curve of a road, [1:22:00]

you've got some enemy coming at you, the road curves, his tanks have gotta slow down, the side of your mountain slides open like James Bond, pow pow pow pow pow, and you've got 'em smashed around that curve, mountain closes [laughs]; you're waiting for the next duck to come down the road. Unbelievable! All true.

Um, okay. That's high-tech. Number five: higher education. I would just like you to know, Israel has, uh, six uh universities, one research institute, Weizmann Institute, that's not a university...Total now, creeping up real close to a hundred thousand students in the total of all these universities.

**Male audience member:**

Uh six thousand and twenty-nine [?] [1:23:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[chuckles] Yeah, that's right. Now, if you take a look at the population of the country, which is one way of measuring it, in the United States, the students going to institutions of higher learning, and this includes two years, the American figure includes two-year junior colleges, and Israel doesn't have any of those, so the total American figure is close to

eleven million persons, or four percent of the population. In Israel, without two-year junior colleges, the total is close to one hundred thousand, which is uh, almost three percent of your population.

**Male audience member** [Carlos?]:

Actually [indistinct]...the highest in the world. The number of students in Israel going to institutions of higher education is the highest in the world in terms of [unclear] population...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No.

**Male audience member:**

And Israel also is the second in the world after Switzerland in the amount of money devoted to research and development... [1:24:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That may be, I don't know that figure, but, but Israel is, is a point be- one percentage point behind the United States.

Four percent of the students, uh, four percent of the population of the United States goes, is in institutions of higher learning, and three percent of Israeli population. Well, that's pretty damn good. America's uh, two hundred, three hundred years old, and Israel's forty. Okay.

**Male audience member:**

Does that exclude [unclear]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, that's not higher education. I mean, that's higher Jewish education, but we're talking secular education. Uh, six was art and culture. I don't uh, have to go into that, you, I mean you know, museums and symphony orchestras, and theaters, and sports uh, organizations, and ta ta ta. Art and culture are flourishing well. Book stores and book printing and... [1:25:00]

Uh, let me give you some figures on economics. And I'll put 'em on the board it may be easier to see 'em. [turns paper] Ta ta ta ta, I'm gonna give you comparison figures [writing with marker] 1948, and 1988, so that's a year ago, but that's close enough. Exports... 28.5 million, M is million. In 1988, 12.5



billion, B is billion. [1:26:00] The 28 million dollars' worth of exports...

**Male audience member:**

What was that?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What?

**Male audience member:**

What was that?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What, what was it? What do you think? [indistinct response from audience member] No. That was number two. [indistinct comment from audience member]. No.

**Male audience member:**

Forty-eight.

**Male audience member:**

Are you asking what...[unclear]

**Female audience member:**

Forty-eight?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

False teeth. False teeth. Yeah. '48, German, uh, it was a German product, that German uh, scientists brought into Israel, and what do you, what do you make false teeth out of? It's like plastics, you make it out of sand, and quartz, and mica, and uh, raw materials that you have, and that's what porcelain is. What's porcelain?

**Male audience member:**

Glass, it's basically glass...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Ah, okay. Glass is sand! So, they, they were, they made a lot of false teeth, and there was a good German patent, and a good Ger- and with, with markets available to them in Europe. Talking about in the '20s and '30s, early '30s.

**Male audience member:**

Did the owners have Fixodent?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

What?

**Male audience member:**

Fixodent. [1:27:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Fixodent! Yeah. And oranges was number two, exactly. Okay, imports [writing with marker]...four hundred mil, that was mostly food and weapons, and in uh, in '88 it was sixteen bil.

**Male audience member:**

Too much.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, you said it. [writing with marker]. Annual budget...annual budget. '48, there was none. Nobody had made up a budget. Um, in '88, the figure is never precise 'cause there are always supplementary things, so the way it's recorded is, somewhere between 17 to 20 bil. [1:28:00]

**Male audience member:**

Similar to the amount of imports.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Eh, no, here's the figure to which to compare it, the GNP [writing with marker]. The GNP, there was none. Here, it was 20 to 22 bil. So you're GNP and your annual budget were very close, and that's bad, that's not a good, uh, your GNP's got to be way more than your annual budget. [Indistinct audience comment]. Right. [Indistinct audience comment]. [Friedman laughs; audience laughter].

And the last way, thing I wanna give you, is your external debt. External debt! Never mind what you owe internally to your people in your own local currency. What do you owe outside, in dollars? [1:29:00] Um, and here, it was nothing, and here it's 24 bil. So that, you owe more than your annual GNP.

**Male audience member:**

How much of that is uh [indistinct]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Mo- well most of it is long term debt. And the, and the government keeps trying to recycle it and refinance it all the time to push it over to long term debt. And the government is getting some help inside of the United States Congress in terms also of refinancing with lower interest rates, because a lot of the debt was taken at 11, 12, 13%, and you can cut it back now to 9, 10 maybe, and there's one, and uh...there's one guy who tried to, his damndest to get a bill through uh, flattening out the Israel debt at a flat 5%, for every penny Israel owes, forever. [1:30:00] And that was Senator Inouye, and he, he almost made it, and he didn't, because everybody started screaming, "Come on, we can't give Israel that kind of a break, where, look at what our budget is now, we're way the hell behind, uh, we can't throw that kind of money around," uh, so, so...What's happening now is, there's nothing as dramatic as that on the floor of the Congress, uh, across the board 5%, but low, item by item, item by item, they're refinancing every one of the long term debts and trying to reduce- listen, all you gotta do on 24 billion is knock it down by one point, and look what you've made! Two points, three points, look what you've made! Um, I would say that, um, Israel bond portion of that, psssh phew, about a third, I would, like about 8. 7, 8,

something like that, [1:31:00] uh...And that's uh, you know, way back at the beginning, those bonds were uh, most of 'em were 4%, uh but not anymore. Now they're paying two points above prime for a lot of money.

**Male audience member:**

What, um...There's an annual contribution made by the United States government of 3.5 billion...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, 3.

**Male audience member:**

3 billion, and uh, then there's also the, you know, kinda of, UJA, or World Jewry contribution numbers that [indistinct]...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, because that's not debt. Contributions...

**Male audience member:**

I understand, but it's, to a certain degree, some of these numbers are ameliorated by some of the contributions, money flowing into Israel.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, but it's, it's, by, a really...

**Male audience member:**

Not that you wanna live on it forever...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

And, what it is, it's that little supplementary bit that enables you to do a few luxury things, [1:32:00] actually. In, oh, next item, social welfare. Social welfare, under those items, there are four basic things. There's health insurance...there's unemployment insurance...there's social security...I call it social security, it's a complicated pension system...

**Male audience member:**

*Bitokh lumy...*

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

*Bitokh lumy*, exactly. And the fourth one is subsidized education... Now those four items fluctuate wildly in each annual budget, um, depending upon how the infighting comes out between Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Immigration, and so on. [1:33:00] And all the social welfare items always take a licking, they're always on the bottom of the totem pole, and so they're always subject to the discretionary income of what the government can get out of the Jewish Agency, and that depends on what you put into the Jewish Agency, and that's a variable.

**Male audience member:**

How much of the social welfare budget is taken up by the, by the Jewish Agency, typically? Isn't that, a greater portion of it?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Sure it is. The greater portion of it has to come out of what, out, what they call this discretionary income, 'cause they, they can't predict it, it's not dependent on taxes, it's dependent on the way the campaigns go in the world. And they, by



the way, by the way, they add all the campaigns together. Uh, if the UJA dumps in three-fifty, it's three-fifty. If the Hadassah dumps in twelve, it's twelve. If the ORT dumps in eighteen, it's eighteen. Everything that comes in from all sources... [1:34:00] if the American Friends of the Hebrew University dumps in six, it's six. They don't care, add up, they don't care where it goes to, but what's the total that comes in, and that total gets applied to the total social welfare budget. That's the way it works, in mind of the Israeli controller. Which is, that's sensible. So the, the, the amount of contributed income that comes into the country, is somewhere in the range of a half a billion dollars. Sometimes it's uh, uh, up as high as 600 million...Um, because, you see, the UJA, let's say, can report a figure that last year they raise 725, but bingo, half of that stays behind in the...

**Female audience member:**

More and more is staying behind, and less and less is going...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

I'm not familiar much, I'm not as familiar, obviously, as I used to be, I don't know about those proportions. Are the allocations...

Female audience member:

The allocations are [End Side B; gap in recording].

[1:35:00]

Female audience member:

...staying in the States...

Herbert A. Friedman:

No. What?

Male audience member:

...in some cities it's still up...

Male audience member:

Yeah, Indianapolis.

Male audience member:

Indianapolis is still above.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Still above?

**Female audience member:**

...in the aggregate it's down...

**Male audience member:**

Bigger cities it's, in the bigger cities it's below, and in the smaller cities it's above.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, that's not, that's not, that's not fair. That's not the way it was intended to be. I don't think that's the way the donors want it, necessarily.

**Male audience member:**

Well 50/50 is a figure we've always lived with.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well 50 figure, 50 figure, 50/50 is a generalized figure. I wanna tell you something. In 1950-something, I was ready to

break with Chicago and launch a separate campaign in the city of Chicago, 'cause the damn thing got down to about 30%, it was 70/30 or something like that.

**Audience members [several together]:**

70 what?

70...

Remained...?

...overseas...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. [1:36:00] And I went, uh, it's all ancient history, and the, anybody who isn't from Chicago couldn't care less. Uh...but it's typical of what was going on in in many cities. Uh, I went to a meeting uh in the Covenant Club, which doesn't exist anymore. Yeah, and in the Covenant Club, that was the Club formed by the Russian and Polish Jews when the German Jews of the Standard Club wouldn't let 'em in, see. So they formed their own club. Now, the Standard Club is full of Russian and Polish Jews, and you don't need a Covenant Club so it folded, it doesn't, it's not in existence anymore. [Indistinct audience comment] [Friedman laughing] That's right!

So anyway, anyway, I went to a meeting at the covenant club, and I listened to all the crying and the whi- and the wailing on the part of these Russian and Polish Jews who were complaining that Israel is being chopped to pieces and Israel is being stolen, the money's being stolen from them, they're not getting their fair share [1:37:00], and blah blah blah. So I got the picture of the complaint from the one side, then I went to a meeting at the Standard Club and I listened to the other side, explaining to me very carefully that, uh, the Michael Reese Hospital prevents anti-Semitism and all of those things have to be kept up because uh, we have to protect our status at home, and uh, the American Jewish Committee is more important than the Zionist Organization...So I listened to all that stuff on that side, and then I gotta decide what the hell to do, 'cause I'm running the UJA, and I decide that I wanna have two separate campaigns in Chicago, and I'll take my chances! 'Cause I can't do worse than I'm doing now! [audience laughter] And there's only one way for me to go, and that's up!

**Male audience member:**

I do want to say one thing. We do pay, though, when we make our allegations...

[several indistinct comments together]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

[Laughs] Okay, now it's on a monthly basis. It never was.  
[1:38:00] Alright, so the, now I'm trying to think of the name of the fellow who was the executive director...uh, Goldsmith. There was a man by the name of Sam, Samuel Goldsmith, he was the executive director, and he was a lot older than I was, 'cause I was just a, a kid when I took that, took that job over, and uh, I get into a hassle with Sam Goldsmith, see, and I say to him, "Listen, my dear sir, I respect your position, I'm not out to try to destroy Chicago. I am out to build Israel. And that's my mandate, and you got your mandate, so you do what you have to do, and I'm gonna do what I have to do, and I'm gonna build a separate campaign. And I will not allow the Federation of Chicago to have the franchise to raise money for the UJA. I'm gonna raise it for myself." He says, "You're gonna have to build up a whole apparatus!" I said, [1:39:00] "That's right." "You're gonna have to find your own lay leaders!" I said, "They're gonna be easy. I'm gonna pick 'em up easy. I'll get 'em right from the top. I'll get Pritzker and I'll get oh, Colonel Henry, and I'll

get Klutznik, and I'll get 'em, and I won't get Rublov, you'll keep Rublov. And we'll divide the forces! And I know who the hell's gonna go, and whom I, whom I'm never gonna be able to get. But out of whatever forces I can get, I know I'm gonna get more money for Israel than you're ready to give me now." Well it was a standoff. And then don't think I didn't have pressure on me, 'cause I didn't ask anybody in the UJA [audience laughter]. [Indistinct audience comment] [Friedman laughs]. Now, who said that? [indistinct audience comment]

**Male audience member:**

Remember, her power and confidence need to be [unclear word], right?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That's correct, that's correct. I heard that, I heard that line. So we had a real standoff. [1:40:00] I had a lot of guys, uh, in the UJA putting the heat on me, 'cause what they could see was, okay, supposing you're right in Chicago, but if you start this damn thing it's gonna go like a revolution, and then you're gonna go pick on the next town. And I said, "that's right, the next one I'm ready to pick on is LA, 'cause they're

creeping down to that 30% mark." And I said, "listen, I'm not trying take on everybody in America, but there have to be one or two models where we hold the line, where we do not appease, and we do not compromise, and we try to fight it through, and then what's gonna happen is, we won't have to fight in every other city. There'll be a kind of a red line, and if any community approaches that red line, then they know that they're getting into the danger zone. Um, so, Chicago surrendered; took about a year. [1:41:00] And then I used to go to the meetings every year, and we inched it way back up to almost 60%. I mean, it was a real, almost 180 degree turn around. Now you're telling me it's deteriorating?

**Audience members:**

48.

48.

48.

**Female audience member:**

Which was a fight, 'cause it'd gone down to about 47, 46...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**



Good for you. Then kick it back up.

**Female audience member:**

...so we got it back up to 48.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay. Okay. Uh, but that's where, in terms of the Israeli proposition, um, the contributed money helps relieve the social welfare. Alright, the next item I had here was, uh, the last one, number nine, was 'major problems in Israel today,' and I have five of them. I have five of them, and I'd just like to read 'em off, so you can make A B C D, under point nine.

A)[enunciating each word] Qualitative military [1:42:00] advantage slowly eroding...One, because of escalating costs; and two, because of Arab progress being made. That big gap of advantage that we used to have is closing, closing, closing.

B) Don't forget the major heading, these are the major problems as I see them today. B) Political paralysis...because of electoral system...and these coalition arrangements.

[1:43:00]

C) Right-wing nationalism...that's the next one. A major problem; it's holding up peace talks, and it's getting us deeper

into the settlement bit, and pretty soon it won't be 70,000 settlers, it'll be 100,000 settlers, which is what they're counting on, the right wing guys, but that makes peace talks all the more problematic. So, that's that problem. It's a, it's a drifting problem, it's drifting more and more to the right.

D) Right-wing religious extremism...and, I wanna add one more word: [1:44:00] triumphalism. 'Cause they think they're on the road to big victory...And, you know, that kind of right-wing religious triumphalism could lead to a civil war type of mentality; it can lead to turning off diaspora Jews; it can lead to deterring immigration; it can just lead to a lot of things. It's a major problem! And they're convinced, the black hats are convinced, that the wave of the future is theirs, and all you liberal Jews are, uh, you know, namby-pamby...

**Carlos:**

Can we call this Khomeinism?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That was what?

**Carlos:**

Can we call this like Khomeinism?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Oh, it's got all the elements in it of Khomeini-ism, sure it does. I mean, not as bad as that, but it's got all the same elements, and who knows if it could get, get worse. I mean, it will get worse! [1:45:00] You see, I'm hoping it'll get so much wor- bad, worse, that then the rest of the Jewish world will revolt against it, not by a civil war but by just painting 'em into a corner, and really then...they will realize they've painted themselves into a corner. Now if that's where they wanna be, fine that's, that's okay, but then, then they will not affect the major trends in Jewish life, because they will be like a sect. And we had it before, we had the Karaites, and we had the Samaritans, and we had the- which? [indistinct audience comment] Who?

**Male audience member:**

...Pharisees...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, no, no, they were not a, they were, they were mainstream!

**Audience members:**

Yeah...

Mainstream...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

They were mainstream. [indistinct audience question] No, but you had the Frankists in the medieval period, and the Shabataen, Shabbateans, Shabbetai Tzvi...we had, in Jewish history, sects, and I think they whole black hat thing, the, the the, [1:46:00] Lubavitch Hasidim and uh the Gerrer Rebbe, and all of these 18<sup>th</sup> century Polish dynasties are all bound to fade, reduce themselves, um...either in Brooklyn, or in Monsey, New Jersey. I mean, they retreat into little pockets, and that's okay. They're, that, that, they're entitled to it!

**Male audience member:**

And isn't it much of their political power a direct result of the political system in Israel, in terms of the need to form the coalition government and give them much more recognition...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, yeah, absolutely, absolutely. It's a good observation.

**Male audience member:**

...the situation of the Ethiopian Jews [indistinct]...American Jews thought, "how wonderful, we're saving Jews," and they make such a big deal over religious issues...

**Male audience members:**

But, you know that the Lubavitch also raises money from mainstream Judaism. It does not raise money from, from itself...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, so when mainstream Judaism realizes that they are, [1:47:00] out of either sentimental reasons or superstitious reasons, or whatever the hell reasons, really uh, giving money to where they don't believe, something into- in which they don't believe, they'll quit!

**Male audience member:**

Would you in that, as a number two, political paralysis, separation of church and state?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well no, that's under, that doesn't paralyze...uh, it's the, it's the electoral system which gives, which permits the coalition arrangements.

**Male audience member:**

But that's what [indistinct]...we could see the integration of church and state a major, major issue that Israel has to confront. You know it's...[indistinct]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, I would put that under the right-wing religious extremism. You see, once you change the electoral system, and you change the voting by which parties get seats in the parliament, yes, you'll cut them off at their knees...

**Male audience member:**

What is the possibility...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

It's also what? [1:48:00]

**Male audience member:**

What is the passivity of a constitution [unclear]?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, I don't know about the possibility of a constitution, but I do think that by the time the next general election is held, which is '92, that you will have seen pass through the parliament some reform election bills, I really believe it. I think the momentum is there. The effort that started last year, to get a constitution, may not result in a constitution, but I think it is going to result, at least, in one of the elements in the constitution, which is electoral reform. And if you get that, you got the major one. Then the next one you can get after that is religious parties being, being knocked out, because what you will do, see I would, I am pushing for them to accept the German system. The German system is, minimum 5% [1:49:00] of the vote before you can have even one seat in the parliament, and if you have below 5% of the vote then you're out of the box, that's

all. I mean, you had a democratic chance, you came in with a party, with candidates, you tried, you spent money, you put up posters, you neh you deh, and you couldn't make even 5%. So, you have no right to try to be a tail to wag the dog, which is what it is now, 'cause now they're no limitation. You can come in, um, Mr. Kahana, uh, is a one-man party. He, he took 26,000 votes! 26,000 votes is the minimum to get into parliament. [indistinct audience comment] Yeah! That's the whole, that's the whole issue! That's the whole thing at stake. Now, my guess is that they're gonna come up with a combination, because like everything else in life, it's a compromise, [1:50:00] especially Jews. And I think the way it's gonna look, something like this. [clears throat]. Um...if you have 120 seats in the parliament, and I think probably they'll do something like this. 60 of the seats will be elected by uh, direct repre- uh election for an area, a constituency. Okay? Eh, you'll draw a map, you know, um, Snowmass and Carbondale and Aspen become the 63<sup>rd</sup> Congressional District, you know, and then you can have two parties, three parties, four parties, everybody will put up a man, and one of them will win. Alright? Sixty of the seats will be on the basis of direct constituent elections. Sixty of the seats will be on the basis of party lists. [1:51:00] So the voter will have two



ballots. One ballot he will vote for a candidate from the constituency from his district. One he will vote the national party of his choice, and help his party get more votes, and the parties then will divide up 60 seats, according to the proportion of the vote that they won. With the minimum floor...

**Male audience member:**

No less than 5%.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

...that you must have 5% of the total vote. Now my guess is that it'll shape up something like that, 'cause I can see the way the bills are going into committee and come out to the floor for one reading, and they don't pass a first reading, they go back to the committee, and the shaping and shaping. And this one fellow, one minister, uh, he happens to be a minister of economics but he took this on, a guy by the name of Gad Yaacobi, and Gad Yaacobi is pushing like mad, and he's willing to make all kind of compromises, and he's [1:52:00] negotiating now, and it's only uh the middle of '89, and he's got that next election in his mind as a target date. So in the course of the next year or two I really believe a, some form of a version of a, a

different system is gonna come in. Now, um...[indistinct audience comment] What?

**Male audience member:**

What do you see the major stumbling blocks, beyond that, to come up with a constitution?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Oh no, I think it...

**Male audience member:**

Integration of church and state...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, I think, no...Look, look, I think, eh, I think, issue by issue wh- as, the...well, let me put it the other way. I think, um, a constitution will come in Israel. The only argument against it is that the British have ruled their country for a thousand years without a constitution and it hasn't been so bad. That's the only argument!

**Male audience member:**

The other one would be that, [distant, indistinct]...

[1:53:00]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Are not very...?

**Male audience member:**

[indistinct]...institutions that [indistinct] most of the Jews...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That's not much of an argument, that's not much of an argument. You could say, "well, we have to wait a hundred years to see if more Jews will come here, then we'll have a constitution." What guarantee you gonna have that there will be more...The growth in Israel is gonna come through natural increments of births over deaths. You're gonna get a plus factor every year, more births than deaths, and slowly your population will grow. I do not see you Jews in America moving in any large quantity. I do see more and more of you should move over for one year, try it; three years, try it. I think you should put you kids in school over there for two years or four years. I think

you have to spread the knowledge of the Hebrew language. I mean, my family is a model of it. We lived there for eight years.

[1:54:00] My kids went from grade 1 to grade 10 in Israeli public schools, and uh, when those two boys, it's so funny, you know, usually parents like to talk a language that the kids won't understand, so the two boys talk Hebrew, forgetting that the mama and the papa also understand, see? So it was so cute, one is 25 and one is 23 and they stand there and talk in the corner, they talk in Hebrew to themselves, and I say, "What's the matter with you guys? Learn Chinese!" [laughs] Uh, every Jewish family oughta have that experience. You're soaked up, you're soaked up in it! Um...but I do, still do not see a major population growth coming from a free, affluent America. So, the argument about not having a constitution because all the Jews don't live there, all the Jews [1:55:00] ain't ever gonna live there! And so they'll come to grips with it, and they'll get a constitution, I'm really convinced of it. There's gotta be a breakthrough on one front, and I think the one front is electoral reform; that's a good front for a breakthrough. Then the next one is your church and state, is a good one. Then, meanwhile then we'll get some women's rights, 'cause my God, I mean out of 120 seats in the parliament you got about three

women! And you got nobody in the cabinet, not a single woman in the cabinet, not a single...There's one woman on the high, on the high court...

**Male audience member:**

We had a prime minister, though.

**Male audience member:**

Yes.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yeah, you had a prime minister. She was not a woman! [laughter] Tough as n- Ben-Gurion used to say, "She's the strongest man in my cabinet." Tough old lady, boy!

**Male audience member:**

But there's only been three in the history of the world, alright?

**Male audience member:**

Gandhi...

**Male audience member:**

Thatcher...

**Female audience member:**

That woman in, uh, Pakistan...

**Male audience member:**

Pakistan...

**Male audience member:**

Oh yeah, yeah, uh Benazir, uh...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

So, uh, the last one I just want you to know, that I put down under major problems [1:56:00] of Israel today is the deterioration of the support of the universities. Major, major problem. It came out of the, uh, out of a bad motive. When the Labor Party was thrown out and the Likud Party came in, that was in 1977, I think, was Begin's first election, um, uh, a mood of populism developed. You know what populism is? Populism is a phrase to describe a frame of mind in which the government in power appeases the main majority of the population.

**Male audience member:**

The *sans-culottes*...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

*Sans-culottes*, okay, *sans-culottes*. Um, and that means, "who goes to universities? [1:57:00] Some snob goes to university!" Snobbism is connected with higher education; ordinary man doesn't think in terms of sending his kids to a university! Farmer, a factory worker! *Sans-culotte* means in French, without cu- without uh, well [indistinct audience comment]...No, no, no, no...what was the sign, what kind of clothes did the aristocrats wear? They wore knickers, knee breeches, and silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles, but the trousers were made out of silk and they came to an end right below your knee. Okay? And that was called *culottes*, that type of trouser. The ordinary working guy, who couldn't afford to wear trousers like that, wore the cheap, working mans, long pants down to the floor. He was *sans-culottes*, without *culottes* [1:58:00], he couldn't afford to wear *culottes*. He wore long pants.

**Carlos:**

In Argentine, when Perón came to power, he called the *descamisados*...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

*Descamisados*, no shirt, right. No silk shirt. Anyway, uh, in beginning in 1977, the government stopped uh, uh, uh, not stopped, slowed down the amount of money it was spending on universities, which was also all contributed money. Cut, cut, cut, cut, cut...Means you're cutting the subsidy to higher education, and this has caused a serious brain drain in the country, and a serious...Because uh, the good professors, they leave! And a serious drain of knowledge. Only now, in '89, 9, this year, there's beginning to be a slight turn around. In the course of the twelve years [1:59:00], from '77 to now, the government has cut the subsidies for higher education by just about 100%. I mean, if they were giving one dollar, they're now giving 50 cents, a half a dollar...I call that a 100% cut. Now they're just beginning to turn it back around again.

Um, I went to a lot of trouble to bring these maps here, and I just wanna point them out to you, and we go very quickly. This is the first plan for the partition of Israel, in the



United Nations. Israel was joined at two points that could be cut. One was here, and one was here. And then you would have three different parts, this one is, uh, Eastern Galilee, the coastal plain, and the Negev. Thank goodness, this was rejected by direct intervention of President Truman [2:00:00], who called the American delegate to the UN, Warren Austin, and said, "the plan to remove the Negev from Israel, I don't know how come you voted for it," he did, "but it's directly against my orders. You will restore the Negev to Israel. And, secondly, then I will allow you to vote for this partition plan. Um, and let's see what happens." And of course what happened was, the Jews accepted it and the Arabs rejected it. Okay.

Give me a hand and let's take this one off, please. Okay, so this was the '47, now, it'll fold whichever way is easier. Okay, this was, uh, then the Arabs rejected it, so the war started, the frontiers of the State of Israel from '49 to '67, and [2:01:00] by the end of uh the war, in '67, all this cross-hatching, that was what was added. You remember, all this was supposed to be Arab, this now became Jewish. This part here thickened out, more of it became Jewish. This part here, more of it became Jewish. So there was only, the narrow connecting point

was right here at Ashdod, uh, but then we took big parts here, of the Negev, and um...

**Male audience member:**

But that wasn't that part, that part there was already Jewish [indistinct audience comments]

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

This, what, yes, yes, this was. But we lost it, in the war of '46, uh, in the war of '48, and we took it back in '67, and...[indistinct] territory beyond the United Nations line conquered by Israel [2:02:00] '48, '49, we took it in '48, '49, I'm sorry. I'm sorry, I'm sorry.

**Male audience member:**

But we were supposed to get it all.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

We were supposed to get it all.

**Male audience member:**

Well that's not what that map says.

**Male audience member:**

Is that what that...on the first cross-hatched area...[Herbert A. **Friedman**: This one?]. . .there, it says that is what was proposed in November of '47 but rejected. So, what they're saying is that...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

All of this...

**Male audience member:**

...this was proposed but this was not, but this was taken [Herbert A. **Friedman**: Right] by Israel in '48 and '49.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Okay.

**Male audience member:**

Well I think those lines overlap...

**Male audience member:**

That's possible...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Now look, do me a favor, take this, take this one off, and there are two more that I want to put up very quickly, and then you'll get the whole picture. Alright, now where is number, this is number nine, this goes up next.

**Female audience member:**

This one does?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Yup. Okay [2:03:00] ...now here, this shows...this has the, these are the '67 conquests, what Israel conquered in the '67 war. The black is Israeli territory from '49 up to the 4<sup>th</sup> of June, that was before the Six Day War started, and the hatching is as a result of the Six Day War. Okay? So, of course, the main hatching is, Sinai, the whole thing, and the Sinai is four times bigger than the, than the original State of Israel, and the hatching is all the West Bank, and the hatching is up here on the Golan [taps on board], and that is what Israel looked like after the Six Day War. [2:04:00] Okay? And then, we can just put up right on top of that, this one...

**Male audience member:**

Herb, with that comment, do you support the, uh, giving back the Golan?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Uh...I think we need that, until we get peace with Syria. And, uh, if we, if we get peace with Syria then it doesn't make a difference. But uh, it's a small hunk of territory, it's not uh, controversial as the rest of the West Bank is; it does no harm to any Arabs. I mean there's nothing, we're, we're not...there's no moral uh, deterioration in occupying it; there's no physical danger, we don't keep any troops up there, the intifada doesn't uh, affect up there. Mostly it's Druze up there, who are...

**Male audience member:**

Don't you think that [unclear] does not resume an alliance with the Druze [2:05:00] inside Lebanon, that the Druze outrage against Israel force...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That the Druze what?

**Male audience member:**

Outrage...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No, there's not, nah...No, they don't represent a problem. Um, uh they don't love us, but they don't hate us.

**Male audience member:**

And they don't love the Arabs either.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

That's correct, that's correct. It's neutral. This one shows the '73 war, and that was a big baby. And, uh, try to make some sense out of the major, take a look at these black lines: Soviet military aid by air and sea, total value three and a half billion dollars to Egypt and Syria. So the Russians threw three and a half billion dollars' worth of uh, stuff at Egypt and Syria. This came into Syria. They landed up here at Latakia, [2:06:00] that was the main port, and this came down into Egypt, through Alexandria, that was the main port.

This arrow shows United States military aid, by air, there was nothing by sea, value 2.2 billion dollars, 2.2 billion compared to three and a half that the Russians threw in. America threw in much less. But that all came in by air, and it all came in, uh, beginning only at the ninth day of the war, when we were out of all heavy ammunition. Uh we were out of 175s, 155s, 105s, I mean the heavy stuff was all gone. And we were 150 planes down and a thousand tanks down, and uh, Golda was just out of her mind, and on the ninth day of the war, she called Dinitz and she said, "I'm coming over, and I'm gonna tell Nixon [2:07:00], uh, just exactly what I think, and if I can't get that satisfaction from him, I'm going on public television in the United States and I'm gonna say that America broke her word, and uh, uh because we were promised resupply, and I'm going on the attack." In the middle of the war, ninth day of the war, she's coming over to America to give Nixon hell!

**Male audience member:**

Did, did, did you, did you hear that, was General Brown, George Brown, the one who was considered to be an anti-Semite, who on his own started the airlift, going around Kissinger's back...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No. You don't go around anybody's back. I mean you're talking about a...

**Male audience member:**

But it was he, he pushed it, more than, Kissinger was trying to bury it, and, and, Brown...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Well, nobody knows who was trying to bury it. The upshot of the thing was that Nixon said, "Uh, listen, for God's sake, don't come over. I mean stay there, fight the war!" He didn't wanna, he didn't wanna get in a hassle with her! Um, "And I'll find out what happened about this resupply 'cause I did promise it." [2:08:00] And he called in Kissinger and he called in Schlesinger, who was the minister of defense, uh, secretary of war. And he said this uh famous sentence..."Which one of you two Jews is holding up the resupply of Israel?" Heh, Kissinger, Schlesinger. And both of 'em, [mumbles], they got very embarrassed and each one starts to blame the other. He says, Schlesinger says, "well you told me to stall." I mean, you can



believe that Kissinger would have said that. And Kissinger says, "well, I didn't tell you to stall! I mean, you know damn well that they had to get that resupply at a certain point. You're the Secretary of War! Aren't you on top of what's happening to that war every hour? Don't you know when they gotta have it?" And he's in, Nixon's listening to this thing, and uh, and uh, he said, "listen, cut all this out. I want those C-5As to go out of Langley Field, Virginia, starting this afternoon, and I want you loa- I want them loaded, and I want that stuff going [2:09:00] in a steady stream, 'cause one goddamn thing, I don't want Israel to lose the war because America broke her word!"

Okay. Well, then the problem began of these huge flow of aircraft have gotta go over, and they cannot make it nonstop. If you, I mean a big C-5A Galaxy, uh, which is loaded inside with tanks and heavy pallets of big shells, um, uh, nobody, nobody would offer landing rights for refueling. England said no, France said no, Spain said no. America has four bases in Spain. Germany said no. America's got six airbases in Germany. Nobody would let a plane land, nobody wanted to offend the Arabs. So where do you think, uh... [2:10:00]

**Female audience member:**

Portugal?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Who?

**Female audience member:**

Portugal?

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

Portugal. Big powerful democracy of Portugal, offered the Azores. Planes landed in the Azores, refueled, went on to Palestine, uh, to Israel, landed at Ben-Gurion airport, the trucks were all waiting there. The stuff was never inventoried, the stuff was never, nothing...I mean, off the plane, onto the truck, and up to the front!

**Male audience member:**

But some of them landed in the Sinai...

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

There was no field in the Sinai...

**Male audience member:**

...some of them landed on the highway, going up to Haifa.

**Herbert A. Friedman:**

No! Big aircraft can't do that.

**Male audience member:**

...some places on the highway where...

**Male audience member:**

Yeah, that's where, that's where the Israeli...

END OF AUDIO FILE [02:10:44]