C-7415 to C-7416 Transcriptions

Friedman, Herbert A. "A Half Century of Fire and Glory, Part 5: American Jews." 7 July 1989.

Herbert A. Friedman: Um, I also will make a present to you of a few copies of a bibliography I drew up for yesterday's class, which has nothing to do with you, uh, about um, new books on Israel that have come out in the last four or five years that will help, if you look at them, get you up to snuff, uh, and I don't know whether you've read anything, serious book about Israel in the last three or four years, or not. But I got, one, two, three, four, five...Who would like a copy of this two-page bibliography? It's entitled "Newer Books on Israel." [Indistinct audience comments]. You have it from yesterday. I have four more...Get these out of the way

M: Did you see Conor Cruise O'Brien's [1:00] uh review of Tom Friedman's book?

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, yeah, yeah. He didn't think much of it...And I don't know why.

M: At least they, at least they picked somebody who was knowledgeable to do the review.

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs]

M: Has the book come out?

M: Yeah it just came out.

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<u>M:</u> It was in the *Wall Street Journal*, about two weeks ago, three weeks ago...

M: He's gonna be at our book fair...

Herbert A. Friedman: Tom Friedman?

M: Mhmmm.

Herbert A. Friedman: I think he's very...

Lisa: If you only had time to read one, which one would you read?

Herbert A. Friedman: I don't remember... Ask me afterwards,
Lisa. I'll look back at it, I don't have it in front of me now.

Lisa: Oh.

M: We heard him in Israel actually...

M: Friedman? AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, we...

M: I heard him in Washington...

Herbert A. Friedman: Bob Wurtheimer. Gail?

Gail: I'm here.

Herbert A. Friedman: Where? There you are. Ron Katz? There you
are. Jack Levine I see. Susan?

Suzanne: Suzanne.

Herbert A. Friedman: Suzanne, sorry. Alan Brown I saw, there he is. Lisa's down there. [2:00] Ray Lavan. Lori Lavan. Paul Churner's here. Bill Goldberg's here. Jeff Newman?

M: I took his place.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Lana? Did I see Lana Smith? Rat- Mark
Rattner's here. Nancy...

M: She's got [unclear]

Herbert A. Friedman: Wow, hope it's okay. Steve Schwartz? Terry Schwartz? Alan Kluger? Okay.

F: Change of curriculum.

Herbert A. Friedman: Change of curriculum, that's right, flexible. Uh [laughs], there's a rule! If you're not gonna come, you gotta tell somebody in the secretariat, "I don't wanna hear that guy anymore, I'm getting out of his class, I'm going to

somebody else's class." Perfectly legitimate, but you got to inform, got to inform.

F: We do it now in retrospect?

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Eh, no, don't bother. Don't
bother. [3:00] Eh, otherwise it's what he call in Hebrew
hefkerut. Hefker, you know what hefker means?

M: Up for grabs. A R C - S

Herbert A. Friedman: Hefker means "chaotic," means "anarchic."

Eh, if that's up for grabs, okay. You can't live, uh be, uh you should not live anarchically. You signed up for something, you wanna change your mind, that's okay. Change your mind, let them know, they'll cross you off one man's list, put you on another man's list. That's systematic. That's call, eh, that's called being a yekke. [Indistinct audience comment] Um, yeah, right.

Now here's what we're gonna do, today is the last of a series of five lectures, uh, which were called "A Half Century of Fire and Glory," and the fire begins at the beginning of that half-century, in the 1930s, with the Holocaust, and then it go,

went, it went on uh through the three [4:00] uh crucial years of 1945 to 1948. Those three years are three most important years in all of Jewish history. I mean all, four thousand years worth, all! Never had three years like that, going from the Holocaust to the founding of the State.

 $\underline{\mathbf{M:}}$ I miss that class.

Herbert A. Friedman: You missed it? Well, you shouldn't have missed it. [laughs] [Indistinct comments from audience] Um, and then the third one was uh "the Wars of Israel are One War," and that was all based upon the simple premise that um we started fighting, in the up building of modern Israel in 1871. 1871 there was an agricultural village established called Mikveh Yisrael, and the first [5:00] kid was killed there by a Bedouin who came out of Jaffa and shot him, and that Bedouin was smart 'cause he understood that the Jews were arriving, and he tried his best to stop it. Eh, he couldn't, but he killed a kid, and uh that was like shooting a warning shot across the bow: we're gonna fight you guys. Well, 1989, so that's why I say its 118 years, and all the wars that have been going on, since then, and they're not done obviously, and there are more wars to go, and

the Arabs are not in a hurry...Uh, what is the longest war that the Arabs ever fought?

M: Independence war?

F: War of attrition...

M: I was here on Tuesday, it's not fair...

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Herbert A. Friedman: Not fair, you shut up [laughs]. [6:00] The Arabs fought the Christians didn't they? Right...How long'd it take 'em to fight the Christians?

F: Long time.

Herbert A. Friedman: Two hundred years. How many popes, anybody know? How many kings of Europe, how much gold, how many horses, how much armor, how many big fortresses did they build all over Palestine? You saw one at Caesarea. Didn't take very long, from an Arab point of view. It only took 'em two hundred years to kick 'em in the ass and send 'em back to Europe. Okay. So what's the rush to make peace with the Jews? Especially if the way the

Jews are talking today, they don't wanna make peace with you. No rush. [clicks tongue] Two hundred years? Still got a long time to go. [7:00] So, we'll drive a few more busses over the cliff. I mean, you heard what happened yesterday.

M: No.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes or no?

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Audience members: No... Not heard...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, well, I didn't see the paper today yet, but the story that I got out of it, from somebody on the phone, was that an Arab um on a bus from Tel Aviv, going to Jerusalem, regular bus, all day long they go every fifteen minutes. Um, you know when you're coming up toward Jerusalem, and on the left side that's the village of Abu Ghosh, that Arab village, and there's that whole Yeshiva complex up on the hill on the left called Telz-Stone, named after some guy in Cleveland, uh you know, eh, uh, [indistinct] Stone. Well right at that point, on the right side of the road, there's a deep ravine that goes down, down, down. Arab got the wheel...an Arab

on the bus, as a passenger, got the wheel away from the drive, [8:00] big fight over the wheel, wrenching, [grumbles], and over the cliff goes the bus, boom, down about five hundred feet, and uh the last figure I heard was fourteen killed, and like...What does today's paper say?

M: Fourteen killed.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay, and wounded?

F: Seven, five to seven...

 $\underline{\text{M:}}$ There were forty-three on the bus.

Herbert A. Friedman: Alright, so fourteen killed, and thirty...

M: Twenty-seven injured, two unaccounted for.

Herbert A. Friedman: Alright, so, anybody who listens to me hears me say, over and over and over again, that the intifada will continue to escalate and escalate, and like any people that feels it's under occupation by some enemy occupier increases its

resistance and its acts of sabotage, and you gotta look forward to Arabs blowing up bridges and blowing up power plants and knocking a bus off a road, and a lot of busses off roads. [9:00]

I mean, just, put your mind back...I don't wanna make a comparison to the Nazis, but that's the most recent...Forget Nazis, Germans. The German army occupied Norway for four years, how did the Norwegians act? They made life hell for 'em! They kept, act, sabotage, sabotage, sabotage, every damn thing they could think of to sabotage, to make life miserable for the Germans... Same thing in Belgium, same thing in Holland, same thing in France. The whole Maquis underground in France against the Germans for four years. What, what makes us think we're gonna be immune to it? So they start out with sticks and stones! So now they'll throw busses over the edge, and next time uh they'll blow up uh critical installations. What d'you blow up? You blow up a radio station, you blow up a television station, you blow up a newspaper, you blow up a bridge...I mean, it's totally inevitable!

Okay, so the war's going on, [10:00] so that was the lecture on, all the wars are really just one war, and we got to, we got to be patient, 'cause they're patient. They believe time's on their side and they'll knock us out of the box, and

they'll send us back to Europe where we belong. We don't belong in their territory, that's what they say. "You European, Ashkenazic Jews, you had a bad time under Hitler, so you get up in heat and you want your own country. Well that's tough, you can't take ours! Go, go. America likes you? Take a piece of New Mexico from America. You wanna have a country? The British once were ready to give you Uganda. Go take Uganda! What the hell you have to come here and stick your nose in... This is our country!" That's their point of view. Our point of view has to be, we'll fight the bastards to the end. Or our point of view has to be, we'll settle, we'll compromise, and that was always [11:00] the mainline Zionist point of view, not the revisionist Zionist point of view. The mainline Chaim Weizmann, Theodore Herzl, Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion, Abba Eban, down the line, all the decades, has always been half a cake's better than none, half a loaf. We need our independence. We gotta, we'll, we'll carve out our, a piece. It's one land that has two peoples in it. And that goes back to the beginning! I mean Abraham had two sons, what were their names?

Ms: Jacob and Esau?

Herbert A. Friedman: Isaac...no!

 $\underline{\mathtt{M:}}$...Ishmael...

Herbert A. Friedman: Ishmael, and Isaac. Isaac and Ishmael.

Isaac became the father of the Hebrew people. Ishmael became the father of the Arab people. What do Arabs and Jews call each other today?

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M: Cousins.

Herbert A. Friedman: Cousins. Really, it's half-brothers, but they, [12:00] they say cousins. And when it's nice, happy conversation it's cousin, it's a friendly cousin. And when it's not so nice it's [affects gruff voice] "Heh heh, you're my cousin, heh heh, I'll cut your goddamn throat." So, you know, you can have any definition of cousin that you want! And, um...

M: Can't pick your relatives.

Herbert A. Friedman: Can't pick your relatives, exactly. So it's either gonna, it's, it's one land with two peoples. Can't avoid

it. So you gotta decide, you wanna fight it out, or you wanna settle it? And we have always said we want to settle it, but saying is different form doing. So, we're not really doing very much at this point, and the whole people of Israel is split in half. Uh, inside Israel you got 60% of the people who say let's make a territorial compromise with them. American Jewry, you got your hawks and your doves. [13:00] I hear, you know I hear these violent conversations in uh Des Moines, Iowa, "I don't wanna give up one inch!" Well, that's fine, that's okay. What that means...You wanna keep fighting, so we better give you a gun.

Alright. So that's, uh, one, all the wars are one war. That was the third lecture. The fourth one was, oh, "The Building and the Strengthening of Israel" over the past forty years. What an absolutely incredible, remarkable thing, has occurred, all the high-tech industry, and all the universities, and all the uh growth of the GNP. We went through all that, and I put all the figures on the board. So, you see, the "Half a Century of Fire and Glory," so, we're coming to the end now, and that's where the glory is, in the growth of Israel [14:00] and the way it's developed so beautifully, and the last lecture which is today is on the growth of the American Jewish community and what a

beautiful picture that is, and where we stand today, at this moment, and what we have to do. So that's today.

Let me make sure you understand the beginnings, which is why I put these maps up. The United States started with the landing at uh, of the pilgrims, the Puritans, at Plymouth Rock, in Massachusetts, uh, in what year?

M: 1492?

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Herbert A. Friedman:
No!

F: That's when Columbus sailed the ocean blue...

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs]

Audience members: Sixteen hundreds... 1620.

Herbert A. Friedman: 1620's right. Who said it? Thank you. 1620.
When did the first Jews land here?

F: Pretty soon after.

Herbert A. Friedman: Come on, can't you read?!

<u>M:</u> 1654.

Herbert A. Friedman: 1654! [15:00] 1620, 1654. Thirty-four years after the first white men are here in settlement form, English Puritans settlers, only thirty-four years later, the first handful of Jews there. In other words we were here from the beginning. We have settled over three hundred years in this country. A very important thing to know! Now where did we come from? Where did those first Jews come from? Those first Jews...Forget Columbus, okay. That's 1492, a number of historians believe that Columbus was of Jewish origin, possibly a Marrano, or a secret Jew. Five of his crew, as well as his interpreter, were known to be Jews. That's a fact. The theory about Columbus himself being a Jew, let me give you the name of a book, or the name of the auth- the name of the book is Christopher Columbus the author is [writing with marker] Salvador [16:00] de Madariaga, University of Madrid. It's in paperback. Get it. It's a, it's called Christopher Columbus, and it's written by Professor Salvador de Madariaga, he's now Jewish, and he gives your full, four hundred pages of evidence

about Columbus being a Jew. It's worth a, for a paperback book for five bucks, eight bucks, whatever it is, it's work having on your shelf, and read one chapter and you get the feeling of it.

M: If that is true, then how come that hasn't pushed in the history books?

Herbert A. Friedman: It is push- well, well, history books!

Depends on who you're talking about. People...that's not

Christian! People who are of higher intellectual level all know

it. So when you say pushed in the history books, what for the

eighth grade kids? Seventh grade kids, third grade kids in

school? Who's gonna bother? [clears throat] Teachers write

books, [17:00] and publishers publish books, to sell 'em, make

money. And the competition, if you knew what goes on in the

school system, the competition for which books are gonna be

used, 'cause you're talking about, in the millions, it's very

heavy dough, and the, the way, and history books are po- have to

be popular for a school board to decide to use 'em. Let's not go

into the whole thing. In the third grade, the kids are not gonna

learn that Columbus was a Jew, but sophomore's in college oughta

learn it. Sophomore's in college in America are all idiots, uh,

'cause what they're thinking about is a few other things. The gonads are working [audience laughter], and uh, the, the football games are working...

M: That's true in eighth grade, too.

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Yeah, that's right. Uh, so by the time you get to know this, you're a graduate student in uh Duke, and oh, then you read Madariaga's book and you say, "Hey, geez, that's interesting," [18:00] and you're old enough to understand it. Did I give you and answer? [Laughs] Sure, yeah, okay.

Um...Forget about 1492. Come down here to Latin America, right here, there was, the old name of this city was Recife, Recife, R E C I F E, Recife in Brazil. [Taps maps] Brazil. Now, what happened? Who had Brazil first?

M: The Portuguese.

Herbert A. Friedman: First.

Audience members: Spanish. Spanish.

Herbert A. Friedman: The Dutch!

Audience members: Oh...

<u>Herbert A. Friedman:</u> What was the biggest power in the 16^{th} cenin the 15, uh 1600s?

M: The...Dutch.

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Herbert A. Friedman: Dutch!

M: ...big mercantile...

Herbert A. Friedman: Who took the power away from the Dutch finally, and ruled the oceans of the world?

Ms: British... [19:00]

Herbert A. Friedman: When? Well, if you don't know the date, by what event? The Spanish Armada. The Spanish Armada, put the British up on top, the British beat Spain, Spain goes off the stage of history, Britain comes on the stage of history, who

beats the British in the 1600...Spanish Armada was when? 1555. 1555, the British take over. By a hundred years later, in the 1600s, the Dutch have taken over. You gotta know European history! Jews are part of world history. The Dutch took over, and when these Jews left Europe, under Spain, was the Inquisition, it was tough, they were thrown out in what year?

Audience members: 1492.

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Herbert A. Friedman: Right. So call that in round numbers 1500. During the 1500s the Jews were looking for refuge everywhere.

[20:00] Okay. They came to a hospitable, Dutch controlled, South American coast. When the Dutch lost out to the Portuguese, the Portuguese are like the Spanish, the Portuguese bring in the Inquisition here once more. Then the Jews have to beat it again. This was first Dutch, this coast, then it became Portuguese.

When it became Portuguese, the Jews go wandering again, to get away from the Inquisition, and they go north, and they come up here, to where?

M: Curacao?

M: New Amsterdam.

Herbert A. Friedman: Dutch! Once again, they go looking for the
Dutch, who are their most comfortable, uh partner, or uh,
sovereignty under...Who takes care of Israel's interests in
Moscow today?

Audience members: The Dutch.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: The Dutch. I mean, it's all natural, logical, consistent. Of all the countries on the face of this earth, Israel trusts the Dutch, [21:00] and the Dutch sit there in their embassy in Moscow handing out the visas to Russian Jews to get 'em out of Russia. No papers, no receipts, no nothing. The drawer is full of cash, and the Dutch officials open the drawer, hand the cash to the Jews, and they move. Costs a lot of dough to get out of Russia. We put the dough there, and we trust the Dutch to administer it.

So they come up here to New Amsterdam. New Amsterdam. That was the name of New York. York is what kind of a name?

Audience members: English. British.

Herbert A. Friedman: So, when the British threw out the Dutch, they changed the name of the town, but I think New Amsterdam is a classier name, I wish that were its name today. Uh...[laughs] Anyway, you got it. [22:00] [Indistinct audience comment]. Here it was, look at this thing down here. The Jews of Brazil fled, after the reconquest of the Brazil by the Portuguese in 1654, 1654. So they come up to New Amsterdam, they're on a ship. How many of them are there? Twenty-one. And a little dinky, tiny, ship, and it's cold up there, way up nrth, compared to down there, and it's in the winter, and who is the governor of New Amsterdam?

Audience members: Peter Stuyvesant.

Herbert A. Friedman: Right, I don't know why you all know that, but you all always do. [laughs] Somehow or other, this story of peg-leg Pete got...

F: There used to be a children's book [Friedman laughs]...[unclear] New York. Did anyone ever read that, This is New York? I remember Peter Stuyvesant from that...

Herbert A. Friedman: Alright. So what did Peter Stuyvesant say, even though he was Dutch?

M: He wrote back to the Dutch and said, "Can I throw these people out?"

Herbert A. Friedman: No, he didn't. He didn't ask. He just said, "No dice. [23:00] You don't land." And they said, "Come on! We are gonna write to the board of directors of the Dutch West Indies Company (parenthesis: on which board there are seven Jews, close parenthesis) [laughs] and we're gonna, we're gonna ask the board, uh, back, in Amsterdam, eh for permission to land." He said, "You're welcome, stay on your damn boat." And they stayed on the boat all winter in the harbor, 'cause it takes a month and a half for a letter to get across, for a letter to get back, so it was a long tough winter. And in the spring the letter came back from the Dutch West Indies Company to Peter Stuyvesant, instructing him to allow them to land, and of course giving him control over the local conditions of their landing. So, he gives, uh, conditions, which is: You shall not be allowed to bear arms; you shall not be allowed to, uh, be a

public burden, [24:00] you must take care of your own. That principle of Jews taking care of their own was put down in writing by Peter Stuyvesant, so they don't become a public, a burden on public welfare! That's been the Jewish tradition from the beginning. He knew it. Eh, you shall not have a cemetery uh to bury your dead. I don't know what they were supposed to do, throw 'em in the ocean. And so he had a lot of stuff...And, you shall not become part of the militia to defend the settlement. In other words, you don't have equal rights with every citizen. The right of every citizen is a duty to protect his town. No, you may not share in that.

Uh? So it was a tough beginning. Um, but never mind. Uh, we made it. I mean, you know...we got, eh, uh Melvin Douglas, and Eddie Cantor, and look at us, Sam Goldwin, look at all the people we have, we have other the three hundred years. [25:00]

Um, so that's the beginning of it all. Now, the in between is, yes, as they came up from South America, and as they came over from Europe after Columbus in all the many ships which the Spanish and the British sent, they landed, they settled all the way through the Caribbean. And you had very early settlements in all of these, in Martinique, in the Barbados, in Curacao, in, in Kingston, uh, uh, whatchamacallit, the Bahamas, all the way

through the place. What's called here Hispaniola, that's, half of it is Haiti and the other half is the Dominican Republic. Uh, et cetera.

So that's the beginning. Alright, now, I gave you five chapters to read in the book, uh, uh of called Heaven and Hope, how many of you had a chance to read some of it at least? Okay.

[26:00] Um...I'm gonna put an outline here on the board, uh, just of the...'cause we can't possibly cover it all. I'm gonna put an outline of the chapters. Chapter 11, [writing with marker] is entitled "Dusk to Darkness." We're talking about the American Jewish community, and that covers a period of time from 1930 to 1945. Now look at the dates, and look at the title, and you tell me what that uh, what that would have covered. What does it mean "dusk to darkness"? What was happening in 1930?

Audience members: The rise of Hitler. Depression...

Herbert A. Friedman: Depression is one thing.

M: Rise of Hitler.

Herbert A. Friedman: Rise of Hitler. [27:00]

M: And the Holocaust, which was the darkest...

Herbert A. Friedman: Not yet, 1930. Look at that, look at that, darkness at the end, was 1945. Okay. What else was going on in America? Depression.

M: Father Coughlin.

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Herbert A. Friedman: Father Coughlin! Anybody remember that name? A priest from Detroit, broadcasting every Sunday, on the radio, against the Jews; kill the Jews; the Jews are our...He was paraphrasing Hitler, he had, he had the Jews in the country really scared. Father Coughlin, rise of anti-Semitism, lot of people were listening to him. Go ahead, what else?

F: Ford

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

F: I said you had Henry Ford and...

Herbert A. Friedman: Henry Ford.

F: ...Joe Kennedy...

M: Charles Lindbergh.

Herbert A. Friedman: Joe Kennedy. Charles Lindbergh.

M: ...what America First that...

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Herbert A. Friedman: America First. I mean, if we, we don't have to go anymore. [28:00] You see the trend. I mean, the Jews of the United States were really scared out of their wits at that period. They, they, uh, they couldn't any more focus on what to do about the Holocaust, they were scared about themselves.

That's the excuse that they make, that is made in their name, for their inactivity during that period. Is it legit? Yeah, it's legit. Um, one thing also that you forgot, that didn't get listed here, the problems in Palestine. Palestine didn't look like a very secure place. What was happening in these years in Palestine?

M: Massacre in Hebron.

Herbert A. Friedman: Massacre in Hebron was 1929. Uh, the riots of 1936, the British Peel Commission of 1939, the white paper forbidding Jews to enter. Uh, '39, the year the war started, [29:00] the British issued a white paper, uh, cutting off immigration and cutting of land purchases. Couldn't buy, Jews weren't allowed to buy land, Jews are not allowed to come in except on certificates, fifteen hundred a month, a month, fifteen hundred. Eighteen thousand people a year can come in, and you got hundreds of thousands of people, uh Jews in Europe looking for refuge. Tough period!

So, we're beginning from kind of behind the goal line here, talking about the growth of the American Jewish community.

Compare the American Jewish community today with uh sixty years ago. It's night and day! Okay. The next chapter was Chapter 12, in his book, and it's called [writing with marker]

"Tercentenary: 1654-1954." [30:00] Three hundred years, three hundred years, of Jewish life. This is what Jewish life looked like up to 1945. What did it look like by the time of, by 1954 in America, when that event was celebrated? What was the, what

was the highlight point of that celebration? He tells you, if you remember, in, in, uh...The highlight...Well, don't bother...

M: The President came to talk to us.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's correct. The President of the United States came to the final, culminating, great banquet that had a couple thousand people. Who was the President in '54?

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Audience members: Eisenhower.

Herbert A. Friedman: Eisenhower.

F: Came to what banquet? I'm sorry...

Herbert A. Friedman: The closing banquet of the tercentenary celebration. It's held in some big hotel in New York, and there were a couple thousand people, and the President comes, and he said one very famous sentence. [31:00] He said, "Thank you for the honor you give me in allowing me to share your celebration with you." And he really felt honored. He really felt kinda overawed, that of all the people. They could have invited the

Prime Minister of Israel to come to that closing banquet. They could have invited all Nobel Prize, Jewish Nobel Prize winners, I mean, hell, they could have done anything they wanted. Three hundred anniversary celebration. There's...probably nowhere ever back in Jewish history...I mean, do you think there was a three hundredth celebration in Babylonia after the Jews were there for the first three hundred years? Or was there after they were the first three hundred years in Spain? Do you think there was a celebration? Or in Poland, or any place?

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M: Yeah, they have pogrom in Poland, so...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, right. That was a good celebration. So, here in America is the first time in all of Jewish history that you've lived three hundred years in a country and nobody chopped your head off! [32:00] Incredible! So he said, "This is a great honor, and you've invited me to share it with you, and I thank you for it." And he said it in his typical simple, humble, quiet, way.

Well, what was the, what was, what was it like, there in the tercentenary year, 1954? Who wants to give me some notes of what you think um...Jewish condition in America was at that point?

M: [inaudible] was up but McCarthy was around.

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] You said, McCarthy was around.
McCarthy was the senator from what state?

Audience members: Wisconsin. Wisconsin.

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Herbert A. Friedman: Wisconsin. Where's Milwaukee?

Ms: In Wisconsin.

Herbert A. Friedman: I was the rabbi in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in nineteen hundred and fifty-two, fifty-two! Mr. McCarthy's running for reelection. So I take him on, [mumbles] what else would I do?! [chuckles] [33:00] So, so it starts. Milwaukee Journal, front page, every Saturday morning. "What 'the rabbi,'" after a while they stopped using my name, "the rabbi, " "what the rabbi said about McCarthy," see.

M: You're writing a new mission on how you were just rabbi.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, right, exactly. "Rabbi calls McCarthy stormtrooper." I called him a fascist, stormtrooper. Then I had to figure, what am I gonna say next week? [audience laughter] Um, "Rabbi says McCarthy does not use rubber truncheons like the Nazis did, he uses true American slippery elm club." Yeah. Every which way I could think of, of slamming that guy, I did. There was one other fellow who helped me; was an editor, not Jewish, of the Madison Capital Times newspaper, and uh, he and I circulated a petition throughout the state of Colorado, [34:00] um, uh state of Wisconsin, um, getting signatures of voters against McCarty, a protest petition, and we got a hundred thousand names, a big roll. And one day, uh three guys walk in the temple, I mean here I'm the rabbi of Temple Emanuel. So what am I doin', doin' all this stuff, which is another chapter, uh I'll tell you in a minute. And they say, uh "We're from the sheriff's office in Ozaukee County, and we came here to requisition that, uh, roll that you got, with signatures. I said, "Yeah, you got a court order?" "We're from the sheriff's office, we told ya!" I say, "You got a court order?" Silence. I say, "Now, you do me a favor. This conversation is over. You get

the hell out of here. Next time you come in here, you come in with some legal right to do so [35:00] or you call me up, you ask me for an appointment, you tell me what you wanna talk to me about, and I'll decide if we're gonna make an appointment or not. Out!" These three guys looked at each other, and I could see what's going through their heads, right at that second, you know. What they're thinking is, "Shall we beat the guy to pieces, or shall we leave?" And I could feel it! And I'm thinking to myself, Oh boy! Okay, they left.

Uh, the next day, we took that roll out of the state of Wisconsin, we put it in a vault in Continental Bank in Chicago, so that they couldn't have any jurisdiction to get it, no court order was gonna help anymore. And we continued to beat away him, and we wounded him. And we really did, I mean, he won the election, but we hurt him really very badly because that television commentator that was alive then in those days, um... [36:00]

Audience members: Murrow...

Herbert A. Friedman: Murrow! Edward R. Murrow, that's right, uh, took him on. He heard what we had done, he came talked to us

about it, and uh then he said, "I'll take him on." And then he did, and then the, the army had the hearings that were televised, and there was an army appointed prosecutor by the name of Welch and, uh, that, that was all downhill for McCarthy after that.

Meanwhile, while all this is goin' on, president of the temple is having these fits, uh, with me, uh about, "You know, you, religion shouldn't mix with politics." I said, "Hey, you wanna read Isaiah? Come on. Read the Bible. Don't tell me about religion and politics. Uh, you know anything about the Jewish prophets?" et cetera. So he says, "Don't bother me with that stuff, we're losing members right and left." And I said, "Well, don't bother me with that stuff. You give me a list every month [37:00] of the number of members we lost who don't agree with what I'm doing, and how much dough, I mean what their dues were, so how much dough are we losing in the temple... I mean, I'm going to continue to work in the free realm of bringing Jewish ethics against Jew- uh, uh evil. And that senator's evil. But I have no right to cause you in the temple to lose money, no right to do that. You just tell me how much dough we lost this month, I'll replace it. How 'bout that? I don't care about the names, you don't have to reveal the names to me. We lost six members

this month, it was three thousand bucks worth of dues that we lost, and I will go out and I will get three thousands dollars' worth of more members, and you shut up." [audience laughter] "Don't bother me anymore. Just give me numbers every month, that's all." [laughs] So you know, I say to myself, "The guys gonna fire me, and that's fine." 'Cause I never had a contract. [38:00] I don't have a contract to this day. I don't believe in contracts. You gotta have freedom. So I said, he'll fire me, fire me, what the hell. I'll go move to Madison, and I'll continue to work, and then I'll figure out how to feed my wife and kids. It's not his problem, it's my problem. And I lived all my life that way. Freedom. You have to say what you believe. You have to do what you believe. That's the automatic mark of a leader. And you take risks, you take risks. No doubt about it. And I mean heavy, dough, money risks. But your independence gives you the freedom to pursue the truth as you see it.

Now how in the hell did we get off on that? Oh! Oh, from 16...1952, yes, right. Uh, okay. So that's the tercentenary and the celebration, uh, uh grew. What else was happening in those years, [39:00] 1954, what else was going on?

F: The baby boom.

Herbert A. Friedman: The baby boom. That was the, the period of the great, the period of the building of the great temples of America. Everybody was building a five million dollar temple or synagogue, you know in the '50s. It was booming. Religious life was booming...

M: Suburbia...

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

M: Suburbia.

Herbert A. Friedman: Suburbia. Uh, Jews were moving up the economic ladder. They were scattering, they were decentralizing, you had to build community centers out in the suburbs, satellite centers, to begin to take care of people. In the 1950s, how many chairs of Jewish studies were there at American universities?

M: Two.

Herbert A. Friedman: Two. Exactly. Where were they?

M: Columbia was one...

F: Harvard...

M: Harvard the other?

Herbert A. Friedman: Right. Two chairs of Jewish studies,
Harvard and Columbia, [40:00] in the whole United States of
America. How many are there today?

M: Four in Chicago.

M: Probably two hundred.

Herbert A. Friedman: How 'bout trying three, four hundred. How 'bout trying two hundred departments of Jewish studies, and the department has got more than one chair. I mean, the proliferation is totally unbelievable, from the '50s here to the end of the '80s, in thirty-five years, call it a third of a century! Short time! I mean, it's just bursting with activity!

Who wants to name me the names of five authors in the '50s, the

'60s, the '70s? What...Five, big, famous authors, what names come to your mind?

M: Herman Wouk.

Herbert A. Friedman: Herman, uh, Wouk

M: Steinbeck.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Who?

M: Steinbeck.

Herbert A. Friedman: Wasn't Jewish.

M: Saul Bellow.

Herbert A. Friedman: Bellow.

Audience members: Leon Uris. Uris...

Herbert A. Friedman: Uris.

F: Roth.

[several voices together, indistinct]

Herbert A. Friedman: Who?

M: Henry.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Henry. [41:00] Singer, somebody said?

F: Miller.

Herbert A. Friedman: Miller. [inaudible audience responses] You got it. I mean, the list could go on and on and on and on, Chaim Potok, somebody said. Okay. What you had, then, is a very substantial growth of major, um, uh, cultural, religious, and social, cultural, religious, and social. Social, suburbs, centers, de- um, moving out. That's economic growth.

Okay, the next major chapter in uh, what's his name's book, Karp's book, Chapter 13 [writing with marker] was entitled "Zionism: 1945 and Forward." [42:00] Okay? What would you say

was the attitude of the American, the American Jewish community toward Zionism in, let's go back here, to the 1920s, 1930s?

M: Against it.

Herbert A. Friedman: Basically, against it. Basically. What was the year that Chaim Weizmann and Albert Einstein came to the United States to try to start a consciousness raising about Zionism, here in the United States? What year did they come? The famous photograph showing both of them on the deck of a ship.

F: '51?

Herbert A. Friedman: '51?

M: No, must have been '20s or '30s. '33 or..

Herbert A. Friedman: Not the '30s.

Audience members: '20s? '20?

Herbert A. Friedman: [writing with marker] [43:00] 1921. There
was the two judges of the Supreme Court...

Audience members: Brandeis...

Herbert A. Friedman: And...?

Audience members: Frankfurter.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Frankfurter. Both of whom were strong
Zionists. Frankfurter was trying to negotiate with King Saud,
not the one of Saudi Arabia. Kind Saud was the desert Bedouin
tribe that was the ancestors of uh present day King Hussein, of
Jordan. Uh, who was the forerunner... You gotta know one great
name in the Zionist movement, who was he forerunner before 1921.
When was the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland?

M: 1896?

Herbert A. Friedman: 1897. [writing with marker] 1897, that was after the Dreyfuss, uh, whole case. Uh, that was the First Zionist Congress. The Second Zionist Congress I think was 1899,

I'm not sure about that, but I think that as it, or '90. [44:00] And there was one American there, and he was the leader of the American Zionist movement for a long time. Stephen...?

Audience members: Wise... Wise...

Herbert A. Friedman: Wise. [writing with marker]. Stephen Wise. Rabbi Stephen Wise. Born in Budapest, came to America as a very young man, founded a rabbinical school, among many other things that he did, where I had to honor of going, and he taught me, and I spent three years sitting at his feet, and just about everything I learned in terms of my ideological conclusions that I believe in came from that period in his school. And Wise was getting very old, after a while. Wise promoted Weizmann, and Wise got Einstein into the Zionist movement. Many, many years later on, [45:00] Ben-Gurion went to see Einstein to ask him to be the president of Israel, he went to Princeton to see him, they had a historic meeting. And, uh, Einstein said no. He said, "I can't, I can't be the president of a country. I wear an old sweater and I smoke an old smelly pipe, and I can't put on a high hat, and I can't be a president of a country. I can't do it! I will help..." And he gave his name, he helped...I, I saw

him once in my life, uh when I asked him if he would make a radio broadcast for the UJA, and he said, "Certainly!" He was a good Jew! He was a believing Jew, not God, he...He said, "I am not sure about God, I just don't know. I think probably there is a God. I don't think God would take chances like throwing the dice. Uh, I think, so there's gotta be a God with some kind of plan for the universe. But I'm not sure!" [46:00] Well, okay, it sounds like all the rest of us, doesn't it? Um, a good Jew, warm hearted, believed in Israel, Zionist, believed in Jewish communities, raised money. Wonderful. So Wise was the forerunner, Weizmann and Einstein were the international flagbearers of the movement, but the majority of the Jews in America in the '20s were scared, and what were they scared of? What was the one thing about Zionist that frightened them?

M: Dual loyalty.

Herbert A. Friedman: Dual loyalty. Are you sure, is everybody sure he understands what that phrase means? Any problem with it? Okay. Reason I'm saying it is, dual loyalty will continue, did continue, to plague Jews for the next forty or fifty years.

Doesn't exist anymore. Anybody here, [47:00] anybody here, have

any qualms inside of himself about his loy- loyalty or his love or his belief in Israel, and, versus his belief and loyalty in America, to America? Anybody here guilty, or susceptible...No, let me use...Is there anybody here afflicted with the disease of dual loyalty? Anybody here feel dual loyalty? Okay, we got one.

F: All of us...

M: I think it still exists. It's not, I think...

ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: You think it still exists?

M: I think the question comes up, I think the question came up through the Pollard affair. I think the question has...[End Side A; gap in recording]

M: ...that, that's what was thrown at us, was dual loyalty.

Herbert A. Friedman: You know the position I took on the AWACS thing? A senator, uh, a, a congressmen who's a really, really good, really good, [48:00] uh, friend of mine, by the name of Jack Kemp, asked me to come and talk to a Republican caucus of

congressmen and senators, uh and I was living in Israel at that time, and I happened to be in the states and so I came down there, and he had about twenty-two of them in the dining room in the Senate, and um, the guy who was the head of AI- AIPAC, and uh tell me his name, the one before Tom Dine...

F: Morrie Amitay.

Herbert A. Friedman: Amitay, Amitay, yeah, was sitting there, and uh, my presentation was very simple and very straightforward. "United States strategic considerations have to be parallel with Israeli security considerations. Any time that those two things diverge, then you are senators and congressmen of the United States, [49:00] and you have to put America's strategic considerations first. If these two things do not diverge in your mind, but converge, and they are together, then America's strategic needs and Israel's security needs can be handled by one decision. If there's anybody among you who feels that American strategic needs require you to see five AWACS aircraft to Saudi Arabia, I am one Israeli citizen who tells you go ahead and do it. But you have to awful sure that you're right." Pause. ""Ask me any questions." Then we had a big

question period. I said, "Has Israel asked you to sell AWACS to Israel? [50:00] Answer's no. So Saudi Arabia has asked you, Israel hasn't asked you. How many of thing that Is- that America's strategic requirements demand that you sell those planes?" A few hands went up, not too many. I said, "Now let's get down to brass tacks. How many of you feel that selling the AWACS to Saudi Arabia is for economic reasons, having to do with, not strategic? Or public relations reasons? Or any other set of reasons? Now all those other reasons are not good enough to outweigh Israel's security needs. Security needs are stronger than all those other things." On and on they went, and I finally came to the bottom line, and I said, "Well if I were you, if, since there's doubt and indecision [51:00]...I wouldn't sell AWACS to uh Saudi Arabia, and I wouldn't sell F-15s to Israel. By not selling F-15s to Israel, then you make your public relations points with the Arabs, and you don't get them pissed off, and you don't have oil problems, uh, so I'd balance it that way. Don't sell either type of airplane to either nation at this moment. And don't let the Jews of this country bulldoze you." They looked at me, see, you know by now that's typical Friedman! They don't know that. Uh, they look at me, "Jesus, this sounds very statesmanlike," which it really was. 'Cause I'm absolutely

convinced that the Jews of this country were insane to put themselves on the line in that AWACS fight, [52:00] and you lost it! And you lost the next one, 'cause you were fighting about sel- not selling F-15s to, to uh Saudi Arabia, because by the next time around, I was pushing like mad to sell the F-15s to Israel, and therefore I knew that they were gonna sell 'em to Saudi Arabia. So don't try to block it, and don't suffer another defeat. They all were trying to block them, just make sure we get 'em. And we got two, three times as many, as they sold to Saudi Arabia. When the American Jewish community, under the pressure of fanaticism, doesn't use its brain and doesn't know when to back off and pass, 'cause there's always gonna be a next time, then the American Jewish community might be accused of dual loyalty, because in this case [53:00] dual loyalty means blind obedience to what the Israelis want. And AIPAC is guilty of blind obedience to what...Now, let me just put in one sentence about my track record with AIPAC. The man who founded AIPAC was a man by the name of Isaiah Kenen, K E N E N, nicknamed "Si" Kenen. Okay. I met Si Kenen first in 1947, in Germany, when he came there to visit a DP camp, with a delegation of people, and Si Kenen and I were close friends ever since. When he founded AIPAC, sometime in the early '50s, I

forget what year, middle '50s, he asked me to help him, which I did, and there was a small board accumulated, and the first operating budget of AIPAC was \$30,000. [54:00] Then he came to me, said, "Hey, I really, we, we gotta move, we gotta move." Uh, it was after the '56 war, now I remember. He said, "We gotta begin to do a much deeper job than we're doing." I said, "Fine, what d'you want?" He said, "You've just created this Young Leadership Cabinet, uh, can you turn it loose, uh, on the matter of raising dough for AIPAC." I said sure. And within a couple of years, we had kicked it up into the seven figure range...And I turned the whole Young Leadership Cabinet loose on it, in '60 and '61, '62. So by the time we got to the, to the Six Day War, the machinery of AIPAC was well built, well-funded, good, big staff in place, good connections all around the country already.

So, I'm not against AIPAC. I'm one of the two or three original founders of the damn thing! [55:00] But all I say is that in its latter years it has grown totally blind in regard to taking its instructions from Israel without thinking twice about maybe question, maybe question, maybe come up with some kind of clever tactic, which I had tried to do then. Stall on the F-15s, push for the F-15s at a different point. That's what I would urge you to do, that's what a leader does. Now, let me close

that by asking you a question. Were the charges of dual loyalty that you heard...and by the way give me a time frame, when were you hearing them?

M: The time that I can think about is A- is AWACS, that people were being questioned. People who were against the AWACS sale, Jews were being charge with dual loyalty.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. A DEVISION OKAY.

M: 1982 for sure, remember...

Herbert A. Friedman: '82? [56:00]

M: Specifically because George Bush was the speaker at the uh Washington conference, UJA Younger Leadership Conference, and that's what the subject...He made a statement that, you know, "I recognize that there isn't any dual loyalty, you're Americans, you have a right to petition the government," all that...um...

Herbert A. Friedman: Did he use the phrase?

M: Sure, I mean I didn't...

Herbert A. Friedman: Did he use the phrase?

M: Um...He may have.

Herbert A. Friedman: May have.

M: I remember his very specific, very specifically, that was really the...

Herbert A. Friedman: Memory is tough, I do appreciate that. Um, not sure he would have used, I'm not sure he would...You were sensitive that that's, to the fact that that's what he was saying. I doubt if he used the phrase.

M: Fine.

Herbert A. Friedman: It's like calling a black man a nigger.

People don't say that. They may think it, but they don't say it.

Uh...

M: That was the subject, I'm just reconfirming the...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah. Well, alright. So, um, uh, '82.

Anything since then? Any episodes anybody knows? [57:00]

Secondly, how widespread do you think it was? How, what was your feeling? Anybody say it to you on the street in Chicago?

M: No, it's something that's said in a Washington...

AMERICAN IEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Washington. Any, anything appear in, uh, in the Trib, in Chicago, in print? Any hints, any suggestions? No. I don't think so, either. I think, uh, the American air is clear on that subject. And I think Jews pretty much have a feeling that the American air is clear. I think, under pressure, when the air isn't clear, when there's a lot of uh static in the air, over some war, or some, uh, particular problem, it might surface. I am surprised it doesn't surface one hell of a lot more! 'Cause the fact of the matter is that our loyalty toward Israel, and our actions on behalf of Israel are so strong, [58:00] so blatant, so massive, that I'm surprised that there isn't a steady, constant backlash. I mean, I think it's an enormous tribute to the Jews of America. What are all those two

hundred fifty million goyim afraid to open their mouths at a handful of Jews!? Why don't we get it? Why don't we hear more? We really don't. And I think it's because it doesn't exist in their minds. I tell what I think it does exist in their minds.

A) The Jews are different. The Jews have got some set of culture and values of their own that they cherish. The Jews always fight for each other, they're a closed clan. And, uh, then that results in one of two attitudes. "Geez, I take my hat off to 'em." Or the other attitude is one of, [59:00] "Look, you can't crack in. I mean, uh, they're uh, they're, it's a closed, mafia kind of thing, and uh, um, I don't know, I don't think I wanna tangle with 'em." See.

Audience member: It's family.

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

Audience member: It's family

Herbert A. Friedman: It's family, it's family.

M: Perhaps you have that in not only Israel but Soviet Jewry...

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, that, okay. There's a long list of things, you know...Are Jew, all Jews, so hot about those black Jews in Ethiopia? I mean, what is this? They're white people! Why are they [indistinct] all hot and bothered about the black people?! Sure, the whole agenda of Jewish concerns, but it's all lumped together under the fact that we're a separate culture with a separate set of values and a separate set of beliefs, and um, and we go to church on a different day, and uh, there's double parking permitted on the streets because it's Yom Kippur today. What the hell is Yom Kippur? Uh, you know...[indistinct audience comment] What? [1:00:00]

M: She said, "Double parking?" I said, "Yeah, Temple Emanuel."

[laughter]

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Yeah, the cops don't tag you, in New York. I don't know about anyplace else. All the no parking signs here don't apply, you may park, 'cause the Jews are out in force! Uh, so, okay. So, they can either be very envious of us...I am amazed that the atmosphere is as tolerant and understanding as it is. And I think it's really a tremendous

tribute, both to the Jews and their acculturation into the society in America, and it's a tremendous tribute to the non-Jews, who have gotten so much poison out of their systems.

'Cause they all came from other countries, a hundred years ago, two hundred years ago. They came from Germany, they came from Poland, they came from Sweden. I mean, who's an American, for God's sake? And they could have brought...not could have. They did [1:01:00] bring with them from their countries of origin all the baggage! And yet here in America, it got cleansed out of the system, to a very great extent.

M: I thought it was interesting, in discussing Tuesday's scenario with the ASP, that there wasn't more thinking about the history of America, that we'd gone through the Father Coughlin episodes and that type of thing, and these things came and went, and, and, what you have is more of American values and respect for other people's beliefs. You go through a trend and then it pulls back towards the center. I think the history of the country's very reassuring.

Herbert A. Friedman: Absolutely. I'm a very funny guy. That whole ASP thing leaves me pretty cold. I couldn't write that

scenario, Nathan wrote it. Um, 'cause he and I have this constant intellectual discussion, he says, "Your head is in the sand!" [1:02:00] I said, "I don't really believe that anti-Semitism is much of a problem in America!" I really, honest to God, don't. I'm not gonna get scared if the ATO publishes a report that there were 367 episodes of somebody threw a paint can at the door of a synagogue or knocked over a tombstone. I...doesn't mean anything to me. Hey, if I saw, at that parade in Skokie, whenever it was, some years ago, that the governor of the state of Illinois marched at the head of that Nazi parade, and that there was the National Guard out in uniform waving the American flags as part of that parade, and if they read a message from the President of the United States at that parade, I would say to myself, 'Fellas get the guns out.' In other words, if you pu- have the imprimatur of the state, at any level, local, [1:03:00] statewide, national- nationwide, if you gt the approval of the state behind an act of clear anti-Semitic intention, then you got a problem, and you know you got a problem, and you better deal with it very, very, very fast.

M: Is there, primarily an significant...

Herbert A. Friedman: Insignificant. In my book, me,
insignificant.

M: So maybe Louisiana's like another world...

Herbert A. Friedman: No! [indistinct]

Audience members: ...gonna run for Congress... he might win...

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: He'll run for Congress, and he might win. Fine! And you got, and you have 435 congressmen in that room, and one hundred senators in the other room! So if he's there, one about 435, and let him try his damnedest. The first time that he holds a caucus with ten other congressmen and the Speaker of the House comes to that caucus, then I would call for a hundred thousand Jews [1:04:00] to march on Washington. Right then, not anoth- wouldn't wait another day! The Jews gotta put up a demonstration of strong opposition to it. But meanwhile, forget it. He'll talk to the converted, he'll talk to the people who believe the way he talks. And I'm not gonna get in heat about it, or lose any sleep. I've told you the point at which I would lose sleep. And if I really thought that he was

accumulating danger, and to put it to the Hitler analogy, Hitler tried his putsch in nineteen hundred and twenty-three, twentythree. He was the chancellor by 1933, only took ten years. '23, what'd he have? He had a ragtag bunch of World War I veterans, poor starving bastards, torn uniforms, not much food. He was feeding them a few pfennigs a day to buy beer [1:05:00] and hotdog and cigarettes, and he had about two thousand men with him, uh, and they came out of this beer hall, and they came down the street to the bridge across the Isar River, I know exactly where it is, and there were twelve cops strung across the bridge. And the sergeant who was in charge says, "You got two thousand guys behind you," and they had one truck with a machine gun mounted on top of the cab. And the sergeant says, "Have you got a permit for this parade? You're making a parade and you're entering into the city limits." So Hitler pointed up to the machine gun, he says, "That's my permit. Get out of the way." Okay, now there you have the stage set. One shot, poong, from that sergeant, and fifty million people would be alive today. There'd be no World War II. [1:06:00] Okay? Sergeant was not a leader, he was a manager. Doesn't shoot, gets on his uh motorcycle, runs into town to the city hall to see what to do about giving a permit to this bunch of people, or refusing a

permit, or gimme more cops, or something. So, boooom, these guys barrel in. By the time they got a mile and a half deeper into town, at the residenzstrasse where there was another narrow street with a throat, there were two hundred cops strung across the throat of that street, and that's where the shooting did take place, and the police shot and shot. And that's whre a man by the name of Horst Wessel got shot, and later on he was made a martyr in the Horst-Wessel-Lied, the song. "Blood spurting from," uh, "Jewish blood spurting from our knives!" [1:07:00] is the Horst-Wessel- named after this guy.

A dozen people were killed. Hitler was arm in arm with a Doctor Scheubner, who was his medical man, and um, when the shooting started, Scheubner pulled Hitler down to the sidewalk, wrenched his uh, wrenched his shoulder, or Hitler would have gotten shot. There was a guy from Harvard by the name of Hanfstaengl, Putzi Hanfstaengl, who was uh, [laughs] great name, friend of Hitler's, who had a little Volkswagen parked in a little teeny side street and grabs Hitler, puts him in the Volkswagen, takes him down to his villa on the Starnberger See, which is a couple hours south of uh Munich. And the cops saw it, and they tracked the license plate, and they came and arrested Hitler two days later, down there, put him jail, in a Landsberg

Prison, where he wrote his book, Mein Kampf. The cops didn't shoot at the first bridge. The cops did shoot an hour later by the time they got down deeper into town. [1:08:00] When do you shoot? When do you shoot, Mr. Duke? That's all you gotta figure out. And you gotta have that feeling, when it's wrong to do it and when it's right to do it. But people don't think in those terms. Somebody's gotta think in those terms.

So, let's go back. I mean we get away, always...You tempt me, and we go way off on these stories. Um, dual loyalty, dual loyalty is something of which I am amazed that we don't get accused of much more often. And, uh, I uh, when I said I don't think it's in the air, you quite rightly pointed out to me that it is in the air. And there are undoubtedly moments when it surfaces, but uh it's not something that I think the Jews of this country, by and large, are very uh concerned with. Let me ask you a question: Do you think that this fear [1:09:00] of dual loyalty holds very many Jews back? Let's say, if there's gonna be a big parade on behalf of Soviet Jewry and you're gonna fly the flag of Israel, and the Israel Consul General in Chicago is gonna come out and sit in the bleachers, so you're identified with Israel, fighting on behalf of Soviet Jews...Do you think that, when you go to ask people to join that parade or some

school to send all their kids uh...Do you think that there are very many people hold back because of a fear of being accused of dual loyalty?

M: No.

M: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: No? Yes? You think there are people who'd hold back. Yes? Two yesses. Well, let me see a show of hands. How many people thing yes, and how many people think no? First all the nos. One...one, two, three, four, five, six, seven...How many people think yes? One, two, three, four... [1:10:00]

M: Most people, the vast majority [unclear] say no. There may be...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, we're talking vast majority. Seven to four is still a closer call that I thought would exist.

M: Herb, 'cause I think it's, it's that we, you know, we know the universe we know, which is...

Herbert A. Friedman: Chicago.

M: ...large. No, no, I meant, the organized world, the affiliated world, or the identifying world. We know that world well, but there are a lot of people who would even go to synagogue on the High Holiday's, but wouldn't want to do anything in public. You know...

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Because of fear.

M: That's got nothing to do with loyalty.

M: Well, they've internalized their own reasons for why they won't...

M: Take it a step further. I think that, you get to the next circle of Jews out there, beyond the ones that even go once or twice a year to synagogue, but the next circle out there, that they think that identifying at a Yom Ha'azmaut uh celebration is being too religious, and too Jewish, and they don't wanna be involved with anything public along those lines either...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, well that's another, eh, that's
another motive altogether. I understand. [1:11:00]

M: I'm saying people have internalized their own reasons for being assimilated or not out there, and they stay that way.

We're not reaching everybody by any stretch...

Herbert A. Friedman: I'm trying to find...I know we're not reaching everybody. I'm trying to focus on whether the dual loyalty fear is still operative in a large number of Jews. And, seven to four would mean that the answer to my question, large number of Jews is, what's four sevenths, it's almost fifty percent. You're telling me that almost fifty percent of the Jews of this country are operating under the...

M: Four elevenths.

Herbert A. Friedman: Of, oh I'm sorry. Four elevenths.

M: One third.

Herbert A. Friedman: One third. One third of the Jews of this country are operating under the impact of, of, somewhere in the back of their heads, a fear of being accused of dual loyalty.

M: I don't know if it would be dual loyalty. I think there is a concern among several Americans of, of being Jew at home and only an American on the street. Is that a dual loyal- [1:12:00] I don't know if that's properly defined...

AMERICAN JEWISH

M: Fear of anti-Semitism...

M: Yeah.

M: They're not being secure in their Jewishness.

M: Not so much a dual loyalty.

Herbert A. Friedman: Are one third of the Jews of America not secure in their Jewishness?

<u>Audience members:</u> Sure. Wouldn't surprise me. Ask for a vote on..

Herbert A. Friedman: Whoa, whoa, whoa. I, I touched some kind of button here. One at a time. One, are one third of the Jews of this country not secure in their Jewish- I mean I'm taking uh Gary's formulation. It's a good a formulation as any. Go ahead.

M: Uh, couple of different thoughts. When we took the vote, I didn't think we were talking about the majority of Jews, but whether there were some Jews, so...

Herbert A. Friedman: No, I've extrapolated.

M: Yeah, well I don't know...

Herbert A. Friedman: Four-sevenths!

M: ...four-sevenths. Uh, but I think there's a couple of other factors that go to this public demonstration of, of things I've talked to people. For example, going back, from, from the '60s, uh when the FBI was out taking pictures of any kind of rally, [1:13:00] making dossiers and things like that, I've heard people say they're uncomfortable about any kind of public, semi-

political demonstration. Um, so I, I don't know if it's all religious factors that, that would lead...Plus, just, you know, people have become less committal, they don't want to be out committing to much of anything in public.

Herbert A. Friedman: Have to, we have to try to isolate it down. We have to try to focus it. It's like we're trying to make an autopsy on something, and we're looking at every single point to look for a certain disease, the disease is called fear as a result of uh dual loyalty that somebody might accuse you of, so you don't wanna be accused of it, you wanna be thought of only as a good American, and because of that fear, you pull back and you don't act freely and openly [1:14:00] according to you heart, Jewish heart's desires. If you don't have those desires, if you're a totally assimilated Jew, forget it, not talking about that guy. See what I mean? Okay.

M: What was the ship that as fired on by the Israelis? Was that the *Pueblo* incident?

M: Liberty.

Herbert A. Friedman: The Liberty. In the Yom Ki-...

M: That was an event that triggered the cerebral thought process of dual loyalty. Where do I stand on it? Maybe it might have been in the best interest of the Israelis, maybe they had a good reason to do it, but as an American, hey, I felt badly that this action was taken, [Friedman: Mhmm.] and I feel very vulnerable. As far as public displays or parades, that doesn't faze me, that's ok, but this is something which is so much more...because today everybody demonstrates!

Herbert A. Friedman: Did anybody speak to you about that? Did any non-Jewish friend, or neighbor, or business associate, anybody...

M: Yes. They said, "What of those damn Israeli, those Israelis doing? They're supposed to be loving, peaceful people, and they're involved in all these wars, it's another warlike action." [1:15:00]

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, well, forg- forget about 'all these
wars.' You're gonna not, uh, unless you got a lot of patience,

you're not gonna explain oh about a hundred years' worth of wars, but uh take the one thing: "what are these Israelis doing?" Even in the middle of a war, with all the pressure on 'em, they shouldn't shoot at an American ship!

M: Correct.

M: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Have you heard that?

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: That way, that directly? Okay. Often?

M: No, it was a singular incident.

Herbert A. Friedman: Singular incident. Lot of viciousness behind it, or was it more curiosity? You gotta try to, get the nuances, what are we talking about here. Would you feel, did you feel it was vicious? Did you feel it was, it had the tones of an attack in it, of criticism?

M: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Um, and how did you answer it?

M: I said, "If the Israelis did it, with their type of intelligence, [1:16:00] there had to have been good reason. They might have been jamming their signals, or whatever, but the Israelis just don't kill people indiscriminately. Life is too precious."

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: What was the good reason, by the way?

M: Weren't the monitoring uh Israel, Israel's...

Herbert A. Friedman: The ship was right off the coast...

M: It was a spy ship.

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, monitoring. Use the "monitoring." It was a very, very highly technical American intelligence gathering vessel, that had the capacity to intercept all telephone conversations, radio conversations, Chaim in one tank talking to Shmerel in the other tank is picked up on the

Liberty. I mean, everything that's in the air gets picked up. That thing was bristling with all antennae. I mean, it was a very, very...You know when you say a spy ship, it sounds like some James Bond, dinky thing. Hell, it was the most elaborate, technically advanced, information gathering vessel. [1:17:00] Pilots talking to each other in the air, you can intercept that. I mean you intercept everything. Okay? And she's hanging offshore, uh, just about off the southern end of the Gaza Strip, uh, just a few miles off shore. And the Israeli pilots see it, and they report in, and uh, uh, the, went right smack up to the, to the, to, chief of staff, right, right to the top of the general stop, and he reported it to the prime minister. Um, and what do we do about it? And the decision was ask the American vessel to leave the area. We just can't have that damn ship sitting there, it's going to inhibit, uh, all communication. The vessel was asked to leave the area.

Now there are two versions of the story. One version is that the message was received [1:18:00] by the vessel and rejected. The second version is, the captain of the vessel said he never got the message, it was garbled. Okay, there really is no way, there was no way then, there's certainly no way now, twenty whatever it is years, eighteen years later, to know which

is the true version. The fact is, the vessel didn't leave the area. Once the vessel ref- did not move, or refused to move, whichever, you know, um, then the order was given to take it out, knock it out. Just as simple as that. And they knocked it out, caused a lot of loss of life and wounded, uh, tremendous, I mean multi tens of millions of dollars' worth of damage. Um, and, um, it's been pretty promptly forgotten. The episode is taught at the command and staff college at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to all American officers; it's taught at Annapolis to all naval officers. [1:19:00]

M: In what context do they teach it?

Herbert A. Friedman: They teach it as a problem in which a local commander of the ship has to decide whether it's in American interests to stay there or not to stay there, and the basic decision is the captain should have gotten the hell out. No American interests were at stake. Now, the captain's, comp- uh, uh, contention is, how did he know what was gonna be the next message he was gonna pick up? Maybe the next message that he was gonna pick up was between the Egyptians and the Russians to send some uh aircraft in. He said, "How do you I know what I'm gonna

pick up?! I felt it was in the interests of the, of America for me to stay there."

M: Was there was there on a government issue...

M: But he must have been following orders...

M: He had to be there...

AMERICAN JEWISH

M: Yeah, of course...

Herbert A. Friedman: He was sent there, of course.

M: ...be general order he was following.

<u>Herbert A. Friedman:</u> Well, he asked for, from, for uh instruction from 6^{th} Fleet headquarters in Naples.

M: ...they take forever...

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, it's not that they take forever,
[1:20:00] but uh, um, uh, once again, the implication that he

gave in his testimony was that he was told by 6^{th} Fleet to stay there.

M: But they denied that.

Herbert A. Friedman: And then they denied...eh, you know.
Exactly, exactly.

M: Of course, he could have steamed away and, and...

Herbert A. Friedman: He could have gone fifty miles away, could
have gone hundred...

M: ...gone back if they told him to go back.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's right. He could have gone fifty miles back, he could have pulled a hundred miles back, uh, he still would have picked up damn near everything. At any rate, war is war! And all kinds of things are gonna happen. Let's not get off the track, it's a very tempting thing. There is one, there's one episode that has occurred recently as a result of it, and I don't remember in what town, I'm sorry. Um, in some

town somewhere, they wanted to dedicate a public library and call the library the Liberty Library...

M: It was north of Milwaukee. That's where you used to be.

Herbert A. Friedman: It's what?

M: It was north of Milwaukee, where you use to be.

AMERICAN IEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: North of Milwaukee!? [laughs]. Really? Well
that's a co- [1:21:00]

 $\underline{\text{M:}}$...small suburb...

Herbert A. Friedman: Well that's a coincidence.

M: You wouldn't even know a name...

M: You'd be...Try me.

M: I don't know, I don't remember. It was a small suburb north of Milwaukee.

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, I didn't, I didn't, I couldn't remember, and that's too much of a coincidence. Anyhow, there's a group of people there, and they're all steamed up uh because they want to name it the Liberty Library, Liberty Memorial Library, and there are Jews, uh in or near that town, who say, that's, don't do it, that's an insult. That will perpetuate the memory of something that can breed anti-Semitism. Because if you tell your kids every time they say, 'What's, why, who...What's this all about, why is this called the Liberty Memorial?' Then you tell once again, nice innocent farm children, um, all about how the Jews bombed an American ship. [laughs] So, the Jews don't want it, these people say we owe to the memory of the two hundred sailors, or whatever, who got killed there. [1:22:00] And I never did hear any more about how the thing ended. Did you?

M: No.

Herbert A. Friedman: Who would like to take the responsibility of tracking it down and finding out what, where that issue stands now? How did it get resolved?

M: I'll call Bonnie.

Herbert A. Friedman: Who's Bonnie?

M: Bonnie Sumner, from Milwaukee!

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh, come on! She won't know. Or if she does...

M: She's got contacts!

Herbert A. Friedman: Good. Then...

M: Gelman is here. I'll bet you he knows.

Herbert A. Friedman: Who?

M: Larry Gelman.

Herbert A. Friedman: Larry? Alright. Look, uh, do me a
favor...call...

M: You just wanna call Bonnie. [laughter]

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Call...Hey Jack, you're a
newspaper, you're, you're a newspaper man. Whom should he call
in Chicago or, or Milwaukee?

<u>Jack:</u> We had something in the paper on it a few weeks ago, or whenever it...

ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: You did, really?

<u>Jack:</u> Yeah. And I'll call the office and pull it, this afternoon.

Herbert A. Friedman: Alright.

M: Thanks, Jack.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's fine. [laughs] Thanks, Jack.

M: Thanks a lot, right?

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, you pulled it, you got him off the
hot seat.

Jack: You can still call Bonnie, though.

F: Maybe call...

Herbert A. Friedman: Uh, ladies and gentleman, we got thirty
minutes. No more stories! [1:23:00]

Audience: Aww!

Herbert A. Friedman: Chapter 14.

F: Take that...[unclear]

Herbert A. Friedman: Take that what?

F: Take the bets...

M: [Indistinct]...'cause it's real rural up there.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, take some bets, you're right, you're right, Lisa. If I wrote down all these stories, in my life, I bet you I'd have a book.

M: There's one question, Chapter 13, about a Herb Friedman becoming the head, head of the UJA. Maybe you wanna expand on that a little...

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, that happened in that period too, right. Chapter 14 is called "Changes and Challenges" [writing with marker]...Now what we're, where we are here, you see, we're in the 1960s and 1970s. What were the major changes and challenges that you would tick off, [1:24:00] quick, one, two, three, four...

F: Six Day War.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay, war in Israel, continued war in Israel. I gotta get you to start thinking of continued war.

Never mind Six Day War, Yom Kippur War...Continued war, another

war in Israel. You, think of the United States Jewish community, that's where we are.

F: Uh, Civil Rights Movement.

Herbert A. Friedman: Civil Rights Movement.

M: Vietnam.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: Vietnam.

M: First shipment of arms to Israel.

Herbert A. Friedman: Shipment of arms to Israel. You're still
not into the gu-...

M: Assimilation!

Herbert A. Friedman: Can't you people get into the guts of the American Jewish community? That's what...

M: Assimilation.

Herbert A. Friedman: Assimilation.

M: Decline of Jewish day schools, uh...

Herbert A. Friedman: Decline of day schools? No, growth of day
schools.

M: Decline of Jewish education in general.

ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: Decline of quality of Jewish education. No decline of quantity. Increase of quantity! [1:25:00] More mediocre schools! More quantity...

M: [Indistinct]...all schools or after schools?

Herbert A. Friedman: All kinds: congregational schools in the afternoon, Talmud Torahs, two days a week, uh, day schools, um, more schools in quantity, no growth in quality.

F: Um, how 'bout something about, um, the fact that much of the, of the challenge to establishment, Columbia, Kansas, anti-, the student stuff, where Jewish people were involved in that?

Herbert A. Friedman: Stick with Jewish stuff here, look...

M: There was a Bar Mitzvah...

Herbert A. Friedman: All that we've heard so far...I've heard the word assimilation, growth of assimilation [writing with marker]. I've heard the word growth of schools, growth.

M: [Indistinct] Brandeis...

Herbert A. Friedman: Brandeis University, exactly. [1:26:00]

F: How about renewed pride in uh Israel?

M: That took place in '61, with the Bar Mitzvah celebration. They tried to tie the two together.

Herbert A. Friedman: '61, '67, this was, this was the period of increased pride in Israel. That's a legitimate topic.

M: Pride in being Jewish, too. They kinda go together.

Herbert A. Friedman: This was the period of the great organizations growing their strength: American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Conference, Conference of Presidents, uh, Conference—Council of Federations. All the organizations grew, in these two decades, strong, internal growth. Federation particularly. It's included under here, but it was the major organization that grew. [writing with marker] 'Federations'...Very important thing [1:27:00] happened in this period, from a Jewish point of view. Women in leadership. [writing with marker]. Women in leadership. Breaking of the mold of the old Jewish, uh, pattern of women are inferior and women can't...Women rabbis, women presidents of federations, women on boards of all organizations. I mean, major!

M: Do you really think that started then?

Herbert A. Friedman: Do I think it what?

M: Started in the '60s and '70s?

Herbert A. Friedman: `70s, certainly, yes.

M: I mean, I'm just seeing it happening now.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay, uh, you may be retarded in your, in your area...I don't mean you. You had the first president of a major federation in America was Mrs. Barbie Weinberg in Los Angeles, was in the early '70s. President of the federation in Los Angeles, second biggest Jewish uh city in the country.

[1:28:00] Uh, you had, um, uh, by the early, by the end of the '70s, you had Mrs. Cardon, uh, Shoshana, who has come up through the ranks and now it, I don't know what she is, it's like musical chairs, when you...[indistinct audience comments].

Soviet Jewry, okay. And the one, the job she had before that...Council of Federation, right. Have you had a woman president of the Federation in Chicago yet? No. Will you have a woman Federation president within the next five years?

M: Yes. Maybe.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes? Maybe? Ten, ten years?

F: You'll have one...

M: We have two big positions in Chicago, the president and campaign chairman, er...

Herbert A. Friedman: Right, campaign chairman...

M: ...and we just had our second, we just, have our second woman taking over as campaign chairman. We had one...

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh! See...

M: ...by now...And that's...about as powerful as uh, [1:29:00] as uh president.

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh but then the next step is inevitable.

Yeah. Alright. Um, so all of this, were the changes and the challenges, and all of this, the net result, the net result of all of this is big plusses, big plusses, plus, plus...Community

getting stronger and stronger and stronger. And all the other things that are under assimilation, which is intermarriage, and all of that, um, more intermarriage, which means more conversions, 'cause half your intermarriages result in a non-Jewish partner converting and coming in. Conversion is a way to avoid loss. Fighting against conversion, by the Orthodox, is a refusal to try to make up gains. All the...let me put it the other way. You can talk about, [1:30:00] and moan and cry and weep, about the terrible losses that occur as a result of intermarriage, and you can say, "That's a minus! What the hell you got all these plusses up there for, Friedman, it's a minus! Intermarriage is terrible." But the compensation factor againabout intermarriage is that it results in some plusses of conversion, so we don't have a net minus.

M: I'll give you another minus from that period, is ZPG.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Okay.

M: Zero population growth.

Herbert A. Friedman: Zero population growth.

M: We bought into it, and nobody else did.

M: No, no, no, that's not true. The...everyone in the economic class that we're in bought into it...that's the difference.

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh! See, it's not a Jewish phenomenon. It's a socioeconomic phenomenon, uh, you gotta make 250,000 dollars a year 'cause you got two houses and two cars and two mortgages, so you don't want any more than two kids.

M: School tuition...

Herbert A. Friedman: Mmmm, [1:31:00] two, two, two, two, two
fifty! That's what it adds up to. [audience laughter]

F: Two wives...

Herbert A. Friedman: Two wives! Okay, yeah! The large number of you has two wives.

M: Does that include a mistress? [Friedman laughs]

M: Oh, geez!

F: Honey?

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, that's only one. One wife, and one
mistress!

F: Excuse me, I didn't... CAN JEVISTI

Herbert A. Friedman: That's one, one plus one equals two.

M: Nice color, Ray.

F: It matches your shirt and your book!

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Oh, wow!

M: Now we know where the cut off...

Herbert A. Friedman: Never saw him like that, huh? [Laughs]

Herbert A. Friedman: Last item. Last item. Chapter 15.

[shuffling paper; writing with marker]. 'Survival in a [1:32:00]

Free Society.' [clears throat]. Who will try to concentrate into one sentence, or one phrase, one phrase, the problem that we face now, in the '80s, in the '90s, and the next century, of this question of survival in a free society?

AMERICAN IEWISH

Jack: I will. The problem of dealing with...of having a Judaism when you don't have other people forcing you to have it,
[1:33:00] and forcing you identify as Jews, forcing you to be
Jews, but looking at the strength of, um, I always say it, uh,
the strength of Judaism, from the positives, the traditions and
elsewhere, not always having to realize your Judiasm because of
the negatives, the anti-Semitism, and the, the wars, and the
negatives of uh our Jewish experience.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Of course that's it, and that's well said, and nicely spoken, Jack, and it's a whole paragraph, and I can't fit it on that page. I'm looking for the...

M: Buzzwords.

Herbert A. Friedman: I'll edit it, I'll edit it. Yeah, I like that, wise guy, you edit it, I'll just speak it on you... [laughs]. Supposing you had to condense into a headline, kiddo?

Lisa: I would say, uh, remaining Jewish in a secular world.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Remaining, remaining is a static, and passive word. Remaining means, [1:34:00] you're not advancing, you're not progressing. It's a stabilizing word, and a slipping backward word. So with your permission, Lisa, you're not guilty of that. Change remaining, it's not rem-

Lisa: Okay [unclear]...change the verb, you mean?

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah! It's gerund, it's not a verb...

Lisa: Uh, revitalizing Judaism in a secular world...

Herbert A. Friedman: It's also a gerund. She likes gerunds. Uh, revitalizing? That gives the implication that it's dead.

Lisa: Yeah, okay.

F: Practicing...

Herbert A. Friedman: I'm not trying to...I'm...I'm not trying
nitpick grammar. Hey, let's make that clear...

Lisa: I play with words all the time.

ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: I'm not nitpicking grammar. I am trying to get a slogan for you, into your heads. A short thing...

Lisa: How 'bout succumbing to a secular world?

Herbert A. Friedman: Succumbing!? [laughs]

Lisa: I play with words all the time, I cross one out...and I cross [unclear]

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, alright, cross those out, kiddo.

Lisa: Okay.

Herbert A. Friedman: You, you, give me, give me the positive
stuff, yes.

M: How 'bout adaptation to modernity?

Herbert A. Friedman: Adaptation to modernity. [1:35:00] That's
so academic. You've been hanging around with too many
professors. [laughs]

M: Building Judaism in a secular society?

Herbert A. Friedman: "Building" is a good, positive word.
Building.

M: Nourishing.

[End Side B; gap in recording]

Herbert A. Friedman: That's an even more positive word. It's fun
to create.

F: How 'bout nourishing?

Herbert A. Friedman: 'Nourishing' is a, is a stable word.
Nourish? I don't want just to nourish. I want to grow.

M: Growing.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Um...Let's try to...

Ma Hou bout Mouriah armonar /

M: How 'bout 'Jewish synergy.'

Herbert A. Friedman: How 'bout...How...Let me, let me ask you what you think of this. [writing with marker]. What's the one word that we hear all the time, the one word you hear all the time, [1:36:00] about why you have to help Israel, why you have to help Russian Jews, why you...[unclear response from audience]. That's a slogan.

M: Commitment?

Herbert A. Friedman: Commitment is wh- is what we need...

M: Survival.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's the word. That's the buzzword that you people have used. I hear it every Montag and Donnerstag. Uh, gotta survive, the Jews have to survive, we have to guarantee the survival of the Jewish people, we gotta work for the...

M: You're hanging on by your fingernails.

ARCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: Right, right, right, right. Now, that's
okay, I don't mind it. But I wanna get past it! I wanna past it,
it isn't enough, according to your long paragraph, over there.
So, we have gotta move from! from [writing with marker]
survivalism, that's the hang up, that's where we are now. And
it's not bad; I am not against it! But I wanna get beyond it.
So, it's from survivalism to, what? Now give me the other word.

M: Vibrancy. Growth.

Herbert A. Friedman: Vibrancy, growth... [1:37:00] There's one
word.

M: You want it start with an S?

Herbert A. Friedman: I want, no, we're not gonna play guessing
games with it...

M: How many syllables?

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, right.

M: Sounds like...

Herbert A. Friedman: Um, I wanna get a word which has in it elements that will enable us to go beyond survi- mere survivalism. I don't think we're gonna have to worry much in America about survivalism, and after a while Israel won't have to worry about it either. I mean, we'll get past all the wars.

M: Success?

Herbert A. Friedman: No. Success is simply a kind of a
thermometer, a, a test of...

F: [inaudible]

M: Dominance.

Herbert A. Friedman: Dominance?! No.

M: You, you must have to a Jewish country...

AMERICAN JEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: No. I gave you the hint. It's up here.

F: Creativity?

Herbert A. Friedman: From survivalism to creativity [writing with marker]. That's it. [1:38:00] We have to move into the phase of creativity. Creativity means a whole lot of things. It refers to everything. Creativity means we have to create a better school system than we have, we have to create a better culture than we have. All you Jews have got to be much more culturally adapted to Judaism, because we gotta produce some more, some writers. We haven't had a Martin Buber, or a Franz Rosenzweig, or a Hermann Cohen, or a Heschel, or a Kaplan, in

fifty years! Yes, Wiesel is good; yes I, uh, Singer uh deserves a Nobel Prize. Those are novelists, and I'm not against them.

They're good! They all add to the tapestry of life.

M: They're not from America.

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

M: They're no recent. They're not from America.

AKCHIVES

Herbert A. Friedman: Correct.

F: We have you.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah? I'm a, I'm a, a, a small act of creativity, [1:39:00] and I am like a little bit of yeast that you put in the dough and that makes the bread rise. Sure. I stimulate thinking, and I stimulate growth, yes. Um, but I'm not a great scholar, and I'm not capable of writing a great book like uh, like uh Mordecai Kaplan. Um, my energy is, my creative energy, which is strong, is verbal, is uh, is charismatic in the

sense that I push with a personality, uh, but I'm not leaving a book behind. So, I'm not good enough.

M: Well you should write one.

Herbert A. Friedman: Well I don't know if I could write one. I can write a book of stories. I can write all these stories of this whole century...

AMERICAN JEWISH

M: ...do it so well...

M: [inaudible] would help you write it.

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Uh, yeah?

M: In a session before this, with Professor Rosenthal, we were talking about Jewish writers, and it seems that all the Jewish writers we were talking about are from the generation of the '50s, is when they appeared, and they appeared with major bodies of work. And I asked who are today's writers, [1:40:00] and it didn't sound like there were...He said there are a lot of young writers who are coming out whose work is ahead of them, and, and

typically the young writer comes out with their big work up front, and and, what I think it really says is, is, we're lacking that right now.

Herbert A. Friedman: Correct. We absolutely are. So what I wanna do, what I wanna do is this. I would like you to take [unclear audience comment]...I would like you to take that chapter that I gave you from Neus- from Neusner on the third, uh, third generation... If you see that, that chapter that he wrote, chapter 14 in his latest book...You know who he is? Jacob Neusner is a professor at Brown University. Uh, and he's a great maverick, he's a great producer of books, he's done twenty or thirty books, he knocks 'em out like, you know, over a weekend, and um, uh, he's written books on how to read the Talmud [1:41:00] and how to read the Mishnah, so he's, he's solid. Neusner was brought up in Hartford, Connecticut, as a third generation Jews whose parents, who grandparents were immigrants, whose parents were born in American and never taught, told him what it was to be Jewish, and he and his friends at university...This whole essay is autobiographical and very worthwhile reading. I want to get you to the last page 'cause we

only have ten minutes. Turn to...would you turn to page, uh, 192?

Paul: Herb...I want to make a stab at something I asked before, the one sentence, even though you have your sentence, which is, 'being Jewish where there are no internal or external requirements to be so.'

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah. That's it. It's being Jewish when you don't have to, the pressure's off, there's no pressure. No pressure, externally on you [1:42:00] from the outside; there's no particularly neurotic pressure on you from the inside.

Paul: Or in the community.

Herbert A. Friedman: Or inside the community. You feel comfortably American, you don't, eh you feel comfortably Jewish. You have dual image crisis, you have no identity problem crisis; you're nothing...You're comfortable American Jew, no pressures on you, and in, within that framework, to try to be, now, what? Do as much...What did you say, doing, or acting...?

Paul: I just said "being Jewish."

Herbert A. Friedman: Being. Being. Okay. So, being is an unconscious act. You breathe without thinking about it. It's unconscious. Mechanism breathes and breathes and breathes and you stay alive, and you don't think about it. The only ones who think about it are the people who have asthma problems, emphysema, where breathing is tough, [1:43:00] and their whole life is concentrated on how the hell they'll get the next breath. God help those peop- poor people. But the rest of you? Do you think, even up at this, eighty-five hundred feet, where breathing is no necessarily as easy...You don't think about it, you're just breathing. It's unconscious. Being is unconscious. I am! Cogito ergo sum, I think therefore I am, the old Latin phrase. So, with no pressure, I simply be Jewish, I live Jewishly. Okay, now the only problem with that, Paul, is that that doesn't have in it the irritation that makes a pearl inside of an oyster. That little grain of sand has got to get irritated and irritated and irritated till it grows into a pearl. I don't see any irritation, that is stimulation, provocation, inside of the word being. [1:44:00]

Paul: Committing to Judaism without an internal or external...

Herbert A. Friedman: Committing, I don't see it either. I need that irritating word. I want an irritating word. I want a creating word. Hey, what does it take to create?

M: Revolution.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, revolution nothing! If you read Pirkei Avot, it tells you that what it takes is one stinking little drop inside of one stinking little egg, and you've got creation. And that's what, in Pirkei Avot, in Chapter 5, that's what a drop of semen is called, a 'stinking little drop.'

M: A fetid drop.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's what?

M: A fetid drop.

Herbert A. Friedman: A fetid drop! That's, and that creates. Uh,
would you turn to page 192...and start reading, out loud. I just

wanna hears us read those next two pages and that's the whole thing. The paragraph, uh, on the side. Who wants to start?

Anywhere.

Audience members: The new war?

Herbert A. Friedman: The new war.

M: "The new war is to shape an idea, not a shared consensus, [1:45:00] but a consensus worth sharing. There is simply no corpus of intellectually consec-

Herbert A. Friedman: Consequential.

M: "...consequential ideas about what it means to be a Jew, here and now, in this place and in this time, to which Jewry today has access. The ideas the Rabbis preach must come from somewhere. The policies expressed in Federation meetings have to begin with someone. If theology and ideology for contemporary Jewry were merely what people pretend, a conventional apologetic, a ritual of excuses, it might not matter, but ideas to move people..."

Herbert A. Friedman: "Ideas DO move people."

M: "Without ideas, people will not move. They will merely twitch, pretending life."

Herbert A. Friedman: Next.

M: "What people think really matters. It is embarrassing to have to write these words. Yet the words are no longer obvious. They are not obvious to the formers and shapers of Jewry because we, who form the corpus of ideas of theology [1:46:00] and ideology over the last thirty years, behave as if people were secondary and actions primary, and perhaps they were for a time. We did not invite the shapers and movers to our turf. We eagerly invaded theirs. We led them to believe that in their distance from the life of Jewish intellect, from Jewish ideas, in their remove from the soul of Judaism, they could and should do whatever would secure a worthy Jewish present and a viable vision of a Jewish future. They looked to us for ideas, and we talked to them of money and how to spend it."

Herbert A. Friedman: Who's the "us"? "They looked..." Who's
they, and who's us?

M: Leaders.

Herbert A. Friedman: "They" are the shapers and movers. They're the money men. [1:47:00] They're the entrepreneurs. They're the lay leaders out there. "They looked to us." Who are "us"? "Us" are...Us are the thinkers, the intellectuals, the academics, the rabbis. People who like you who are lay leaders turning into thinkers. So "they" looked to "us" for ideas.

F: Is he condemning, he's condemning...he's speaking out against his kind that they didn't work with the leaders...?

Herbert A. Friedman: No, no, no, let's go on. You'll see whom he's speaking against. And "we", the academics, the rabbis, the intellectual lay leaders, the few of us, we talked to them about money and how to spend it, how to raise money and how to allocate money. We should have been talking to them about ideas, that's what he's saying. Go head.

M: "They had power, and we imagined ourselves impotent, so when they invited us to join them, that is exactly what we did, forgetting that if all we had to offer was a pale imitation of the resources they already had, they would not have wanted us or needed to invite us. They did not know how to ask the questions, and we did not hear the question they did not ask. [Friedman laughs], the only question we might have able to answer with some authority. We were too enamored with the trappings, [1:48:00] so we lost our voice. We answered other questions, questions whose answers were already known, questions that mattered but that did not require us to answer them. We behaved like directors of agencies, asked for money, competed for money, and offered nothing of what we knew, pretended to be sophisticated, lost our nerve, our sense of self."

Herbert A. Friedman: Now comes a, the world, the shaking paragraph. We're now, we're reaching the conclusion.

M: "Ideas come first. Vision takes precedence. The educated heart is what creates and shapes our energies to act. Did not the State of Israel begin in the minds of dissatisfied intellectuals? Was it not born as an idea? Was it not shaped by

first class minds? Long before there was a Jewish state, there was the idea of a Jewish state, and there would never have been a Jewish state without that idea, an idea mostly talk, but what a conversation, and what an impact."

F: "So it is with the great movements of every age. They start in our minds not in our bellies. [Unclear word] [1:49:00] the communists and the federations alike, not in our bank accounts, and when intellectuals are responsible for events it is because they develop ideas that are compelling, not because they aspire to positions of power. The seductive attraction of high office perverts the far greater power that intellectuals, who do not deny themselves, might exercise."

M: "So there is the advice. Do not be other than what you are. In this context, let those with ideas remain true to their hearts, their minds, their intellects. We are a people to whom a book is an event, a rare insight, an occasion for celebration. Let me refer back to Abraham Heschel, who in the late 1950s put forth an intellectual heritage still not adequately interpreted or understood. His monumental intellectual achievement of that period received no hearing, either then or later. As I said

earlier, it was during the 1960s that he became a public figure, and gained a vast and impressive hearing, but that was not for [1:50:00] his distinctive intellectual contribution. I cannot blame him, but I think we would be better off today had he pursued in his last years those lines of thought and modes of reflection that in a few brief years yielded Man is Not Alone and God in Search of Man. Heschel's public power was vastly greater in the 1960s than had it had been in the 1950s..."

AMERICAN IEWISH

Herbert A. Friedman: In the '60s, he joined the Civil Rights

Movement, went down to Selma, walked arm in arm with Martin

Luther King, and he was in the front row of public activity and what Neusner is saying here is, he did a hell of a lot better in the '50s when he was writing those books. He was not such a great famous public figure, but he was doing more than in the '60s, when he did become a great public figure.

M: "...But it was a different kind of power, and it yielded different products, and all of them have now evaporated. He represents the curious ambiguities of the third generation, its risky compromise."

F: "The plain fact is that the future of American Jewry
[1:51:00] will not be decided by the synagogues, the
federations, the centers, the day schools, the hospitals, the
American Jewish Committee, and the Anti-Defamation League."

Herbert A. Friedman: Now, listen to the following two sentences.

F: "Nor will it be settled by raising another billion dollars for the State of Israel, nor even the billion dollars for Jewish education and culture. The future of American Jewry will be decided, for better or worse, by the ideas that American Jews have and come to have about their future. It will be settled by what the fourth generation manages to achieve, by way of a set of ideas. We of the third generations built a building, and that was important to do. It is time now to place a foundation under that building. That has yet to be done, and that foundation does not take dollars, it takes work and ideas."

Herbert A. Friedman: And that, ladies and gentlemen, is you. You are the fourth generation; you got an infrastructure of there that's been built by the people ahead of you. What you have to do now is fill in the ideas, [1:52:00] and the words, and the

dreams, and the thoughts to make it rich in creativity, rich in Jewish creativity, cultural, artistic, intellectual, literary, creativity, focused in the schools so the children will be attracted, and that's the future. There's nobody gonna bother you, there's no anti-Semite, there's no nothing, and there's not even much dual loyalty problem. You're free to do what you wanna do. Now, you wanna keep talking about survival, survival, survival, survival, that's fine, go ahead, and you will not be exercising your full potential. Survival is crucial, it's part of it. We're ready for the next step. We're on the threshold of the next generation. [1:53:00] You're gonna, you're gonna go halfway into that next generation. You're gonna live that long. Halfway into that next century, I mean. So you got a lot of time, in which to create. And begin with the school system, 'cause that's the only link you have to guarantee about your kids feeling the same way you do. Get that done! And after you get that done, the world's your oyster. Get richer, get more secure, three homes, three mortgages, three cars, three wives, you know...

M: 350,000 dollars.

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Three-fifty. Uh, you'll do all that. That'll all happen. You make Israel strong, secure, get past, get her past the wars. And, at the same time, you concentrate on building something here, 'cause it's obvious you're not gonna move to Israel in your millions. It's clear as a bell. So at least if you're gonna stay here, you build a great, [1:54:00] creative, Jewish machinery here. Public education for adults, you gotta create what the Germans call volksschule, a folk, a people's high school. Good one! Et cetera, et cetera. And I am convinced you can do it. And I am convinced that all you need is the vision, and you have a right to demand vision from your leaders, your rabbi, your executive director, those two, Jewish civil servants. Your rabbi is a civil servant of the Jewish people. He doesn't know any more about God than you and I do! He's your civil servant. The executive director is your civil servant. And you have the right to demand of those two help for yourself, you're the lay leader, it's like that's the triangle. It's as though the chair's sitting on three stools...the stool is sitting on three legs, [1:55:00] and uh, and uh, there's no limit to what you can do. Nobody can stop you! Or, you're gonna sit around, and you're gonna wear a baseball cap, and you're gonna chew gum, and you're gonna look at the television, and you're gonna be a couch potato! Heh, the choice is yours! I think you got all the stuff in the world to make that $21^{\rm st}$ century a golden age in America. Okay. That's it. [applause] Let's go eat lunch.

END OF AUDIO FILE [1:55:47]