

C-7434 to C-7435 Transcriptions

Wexner Heritage Foundation. Boardroom discussion. 24 June 1996.

[background noise and commotion 0:00 to 6:02]

Herbert A. Friedman: While we're waiting for the guy to bring water and glasses and all that, uh, do yourself and me a favor. Uh, read in the green thing - the [unclear] whatever it's called, the first couple of pages.

[background noise 6:19 to 6:36]

Audience member: Rabbi, do you think there's any way we can get the air conditioning like, cut in half in this room? I'm gonna excuse myself and see if I can ...

Audience member: I was gonna say, turn it up.

[ongoing audience commotion, background noise 6:50 to 8:20]

Herbert A. Friedman: I'm always negligent about and then I get hell from the administrators. Um, uh, we we try to run a very tight ship here. As you know yourself, uh, let's see. Dom. By the way, so that you should know, the composition of this class - two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve, there are two guys missing, one's in the bathroom and one is someplace else. Um, there are four people here from Seattle, there are four people here from San Diego, there are [9:00] three people from

Portland, there's one person from Phoenix, there's one person from Oakland, and there's one person from Los Angeles. Where we are not formally working yet, but the- the individual involved, who is sitting at the end of the table, Rabbi Michael Goldberg who himself teaches a class in the first session that you can attend, uh, is sitting in on this session. The Los - Los Angeles participation uh, in the Wexner Program is uh, under discussion. [audience member clears throat] In '97. Okay. Let me just take the attendance. Don Etsikson, okay. Gene Gaylis, there you are. Michael Goldberg is sitting at the end, Gary Jayberg [10:00] gotcha. Larry Kaplan, gotcha. Moshe Levin - is it, I just used the Israeli pronunciation, Moshe, is that okay? What do you say?

Moshe: Moshe.

Herbert A. Friedman: Moshe. Okay. Gary Levitt, okay. Carey and Sherry Roth. Still sitting together. Okay. Uh, Charles Schiffman, there you are. Paul Schlesinger, you're - right. Cynthia Strong, there you are. Jordana Berman. Every time I say it wrong, correct me. Jordana. 'Cause [**unclear**] I start saying Jordan, that's how it goes in my head. Andy Wasselman. Okay. All right. Uh, I'll just make an assumption that having read all the choices uh, of courses for which you could sign up, that having signed up for this one, you are interested in what the business

of being a communal leader of the highest category, I'm talking about the president of the federation, I'm talking about chairman of the campaign, I'm talking about president of the synagogue, I'm talking about level number one in the community. Which helps shape and determine the nature of the community, the future of it, [12:00] the loss to it by people who wander away from it, or the gain by people whom you may bring in from the outside through inter-marriage, where you gain one of the partners who's not Jewish to begin with, but comes in through your influence one way or another. By conversion, or not by conversion, but that brings their children in. So a vital, vibrant community is an organism, any living organism, it loses some cells, it gains some cells. Now we are in a posture right now of major loss, I mean major! So isn't that we're losing a few cells and we're gaining a few cells, no. So my assumption is that by coming through these five- four days [13:00] you are willing to participate in that whole thought process of what it takes to strengthen the long-range future of the American Jewish community and how to do it. 'Cause you can't just do it by goodwill and good wishes. And you can't do it by compromising. And you can't do it by saying that everything in the community is equal. Pouring energy into an old folk's home is, to some

people, the single most important thing they could. And to other people, they look at it and they say, not cynically or not nastily, but look, we really don't have to worry about that, biology takes care of that, got a hundred and forty people [14:00] sitting in an old folks' home and uh, pretty soon they won't be there and there'll be [unclear] hundred and forty people uh, but that isn't gonna determine anything. Except immediately, to those individuals. Old folks' homes are brand new things in Jewish life, we didn't used to have them, you took care of your old parents at home, whatever the cost was to you. Nervous energy, fighting, all that stuff. Beside material cost. So what I'm trying to do is say there are distinctions and there are priorities and there are things on which you should put your time in if you come to understand that they are the most significant and there are other things which are less important. And you can't do everything. Gotta get that in your head. Not everything is of equal significance, it's just as simple as that. So what we'll try to argue [15:00] out around here is what are the significant things? And you will have your opinion and somebody else will have his opinion and so we'll argue about what are the priorities, but as leaders, you have to do that all the time. And once you make up your own mind as to what the

priorities are, your job then is to convince then everybody else in town [laughs]. Okay.

So I am making the assumption that you were interested enough in this subject to commit yourself to come for four day sin a row, whereas uh, the other things are like a Chinese menu uh, column A, column B, and you can jump from one to another and taste the different- a lot lot of different doctor-teachers, and uh, um, with this, you're focusing on one subject. Uh, so I welcome you, because the whole genesis of the uh, Wexner Heritage Program began from a simple question uh, Mr. Wexner asked me a dozen years ago. And that question was, um, what is the single most important thing I - Mr. Wexner - can do without duplicating something that somebody else is doing to help guarantee the future existence of the American Jewish diaspora? What - what do you advise me to do, what's the single most important thing I could do with my time and my money? So I said the single most important thing is the creation of the human beings who will lead the community. [17:00] Because once those human beings get their ideas fixed, and since the amount of money that's available to do any of the great major ideas, the amount of money available is infinite, there is no limit to it. So it isn't a question of, should you give a few more bucks to

the campaign? That isn't what you should do. He is - he has been, for the last decade, the largest single contributor to the campaign in the whole country. So supposin' you give another couple million dollars, that - that's not worthy of you and as I kept talking to him about the creation of people, were-we got into a long philosophical argument about um, are leaders born - or can leaders be made? [18:00] Shaped, formed. And he kept saying, aw, c'mon, leaders are are are - y'know, born! And I said, yeah well, okay, I don't disagree with that. Y'know, if we wanted to wait for a generation or a century we might uh, turn up a Lincoln or Churchill or somebody. We haven't got that luxury, Leslie! We have to take the ordinary [speaks Hebrew], the ordinary flesh and blood of the ordinary human beings, we have to try to find the best we can among them and shape and shape and mold like a sculptor and and uh, send them out to do their work. Well, he said, now I don't think I agree with you. Parenthesis. Now, like about a decade later, he agrees and he's quite happy with this whole process. Uh, in the course of these - we're in the eleventh year of work and uh, have penetrated now into twenty-five cities and the sum total of all of the alumni plus the current students, currently in years one and two, uh, uh, adds up to almost a thousand human beings across the united

states. Now that's power! Power. If there were a thousand of you in any one city, all you would have to do is crook your finger and you could have whatever you wanted. Nobody could stand up against you, there would be no-no no no matter how conservative or how fearful or uh, how, I don't know what adjectives to use. Your opposition would be [20:00] uh, it couldn't stand up against you. But in every city there are somewhere between twenty and forty of you. Let me tell you something, it only took ten people to make the Russian Revolution in 1917. So remember that. Twenty of you in a given town can also do anything you want. And um, I suppose in the course of this more than a decade, he has uh, probably spent twenty five, thirty million dollars on this project. And uh, he doesn't think that's so tremendous, I mean that's not a lot of money to pour into selected human beings, as each one of you is. So that's the premise on which the whole thing is built, and the thing that I wanted to do here with these few days [21:00] we'll have together is to go into the concept of the practical things that I would like you to focus on.

If you will take the first page, um, I just want you to uh, I just wanna make sure you understand those few points. Now the present situation in US Jewry is that we are going through an

historic crisis. Would you - would somebody care to define what I mean by that? Because what I want to know is whether you comprehend the nature of the crisis. Who wants to take a shot at it? Shoot.

Audience member: Well, we're - we've been so successful, we're assimilating into the population, we have rates of intermarriage that range from thirty percent to eighty-five percent in some of the major cities [22:00] and as you told us last year, there's some demographic projections that say in the middle of next century, there may be only a million Jews in the united states. Even if we just keep turning out two Jewish kids per family-

Herbert A. Friedman: How many?

Audience member: Even if we were to only keep turning out two.

Herbert A. Friedman: We ain't. The - if we were.

Audience member: If we were. Um, we wouldn't keep pace, percentage-wise, with the population.

Herbert A. Friedman: And therefore? What's the conclusion of that process? Where you say down in the middle of the next century.

Audience member: There are less of us to keep the tradition alive, but also in terms of our influence, in terms of the society as a whole, um... we don't - we won't have as many

leadership positions in American society and uh, I just don't think that would bode well for American Judaism.

Herbert A. Friedman: Forget leadership.

Audience member: [inaudible] 'cause the bottom line. We disappear.

Herbert A. Friedman: We disappear.

Audience member: That's eventually, if we keep up [23:00] like-

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, did you say that there are demographic projections about what, fewer than a million?

Audience member: Yeah, you told us that last year.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. Now those projections haven't been changed, so isn't it a question - there wouldn't be enough leaders. There aren't gonna be enough followers! So uh, he- you say that we disappear into gas chambers? No.

Audience member: Into American society.

Herbert A. Friedman: Riiiiight. Quietly. Anesthetized. Nobody'll even notice it. How many Jews are in the United States today, 1996? Does someb-what statistics do you use?

[audience commotion inaudible]

Herbert A. Friedman: How much?

Audience member: Five, five and a half million.

Herbert A. Friedman: Five, five and a half.

Audience member: I think the national population studies says five and a half.

Herbert A. Friedman: Anybody got a different figure?

Audience member: Six.

Herbert A. Friedman: Six. The American Jewish Committee annual yearbook [24:00] which each of you should have in his library year after year after year, comes out once a year, has a - uh uh, what everybody assumes is the most uh, valid statistical charts. There was a figure, 5.98, so that's your six. I'm not a statistician, I hate sociologists, I can't stand percentages. Twenty three point four percent, as you said, intermarriage rate in New York is fifteen percent. Intermarriage in Phoenix or in San Diego is eighty-five percent. So it comes out that-that's the fifty-two percent that got everybody shocked and y'know, how d'you get fifty-two percent? Somebody's gotta be fifteen, somebody's gotta be eighty-five! Okay. I - I don't like all that, I like impressionistic data. And as we go around the country [25:00] as much as we do, we - Nathan, myself, Remy - and the faculty members, there're twenty-five faculty guys, women, and women running around the country all the time. Uh, and they bring back the impressionistic data. My hunch is we're talking something four million, four and a half million. Caring

Jews. I'm not even talking about active. I'm not even talking about members of that many members of synagogues - there aren't - I'm not talking about that many contributors to the community campaign - there aren't! But we use a generic word called 'caring,' or 'self-identifying' so if we have four million self-identifying or four and a half, I mean, there's no point in pinning it down to decimal point - uh uh, Jews now at the end. I have a figure in my own head, when you said the middle of the century. [26:00]

[writing with marker] Why do I pick that number?

Audience member: Four hundred years of American Jewry.

Herbert A. Friedman: Good boy. When did the first ones come?

Audience member: 1654.

Herbert A. Friedman: [writing with marker] How many of 'em came?

Audience member: We disagreed about that last time.

[audience laughs]

Herbert A. Friedman: [laughs] Twenty-one. Twenty-one. You remember very well. [writing with marker] Came up on a ship from Recife in Brazil which - where they were there to begin with because it was a Dutch colony and the Dutch were very good with the Jews and have been ever since. At the time of the um, of the Six Day War, when Abba Eban came to talk to Lyndon Johnson about

what America could do to help Israel fight off this Arab thrust before it started [27:00] and Johnson said, look, I'm up to my you-know-what in uh, in uh, uh, Vietnam, 1967. So I can't help you, not with manpower, not with equipment. But! I can try to organize a naval blockade to help break through the [unclear] canal and the Suez Canal and the Mediterranean so you guys aren't cut off from the rest of the world and uh, don't have air to breathe and Eban said, how long will it take? He said, I don't know! Two, three, four weeks. Uh, and Eban said, forget it. And the conversation was just like - friendly, friendly! But just about half an hour and uh, Eban came back and reported to the cabinet. De Gaulle said, if you guys fire the first shot, you've lost France. And Israel did lose France, France never helped Israel with anything for a long time. England said, we can't help you we're, y'know, we invented the miniskirt, we're mini-power, what can we do. And uh, Johnson said uh, I'll try. And the only country in the entire world which would agree to to a naval blockade together with the United States, on behalf of Israel, was Holland. I mention that story with relationship to the Dutch.

Okay! So the Jews were living in in in Brazil, which was a Dutch colony, and suddenly the Dutch lose to the Portuguese and

Brazil becomes a Portuguese colony and then, they-they bring in the Catholic church and the Inquisition and the whole business! And so the Jews begin to realize that the jig was up. And the first twenty-one of them in a ship called the Saint Catherine sailed north from Recife in Brazil looking for a comfortable Dutch colony in which to settle. So what did they find?

[audience response, unclear]

Herbert A. Friedman: New Amsterdam. Whose name ten years later became New York. But - they they they gravitated toward the Dutch. Okay. Twenty-one of 'em, at the end of four hundred years, longer than the Golden Age in Spain, longer than other places that we revere in our historic memory, half as long as the great Babylonian center that produced the Talmud and the prayer book and all the rest of the stuff. The American diaspora may come to an end, fi what you say - if fewer than a million or if what you say is disappear, then that's what we're looking at. And that's the nature of the crisis. And let me tell you something, I don't care how seriously you wanna try to describe it, you-you will not be exaggerating. One cannot fight against what is an inevitable, self-induced - and that's the clue to the thing, that's what I meant by saying, no you won't put us in a gas oven - we're doing it to ourselves. It's suicide, it's not

genocide! And if you want to take it that seriously, then you have to fight like hell to prevent it from happening. And if you don't wanna take it seriously, then you act like all the committees and all the task forces [laughs] and all the studies and all commissions and all the reports and you write reports and you talk about it and you pity y-yourself and you say, oh isn't' this terrible, but it'll take us another year [31:00] to figure out what to do [mumbles]. And yyou wind up where we are at this moment, with the major organization soft his country, the two biggest umbrella organizations - the UJA and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, tinkering! [raises voice] to make a merger between themselves. To do what!? No action program, no list of priorities of things that must be done. Yes, a list of things that are good if we could only do them. So what're you talking about, you're talking about paralysis at the very top level. That's the nature of the crisis. Now there's only one problem with it. That looks like a long time off [taps board] and can you get excited about something that's gonna happen [32:00] sixty years from now? That's right. That's right. What's the longest war that you know of, in general human history?

Audience member: Hundred Year's War.

Herbert A. Friedman: The Hundred Year's War, between France and England in the fourteenth century, okay. Israel fought a longer one. A hundred and twenty-five year war. Began in 1871 [writing with marker] 1871, finished - we hope - in 1996. Gives you a hundred and twenty-five years. The actual, individual battles in [audience member coughs] inside of that long war, what [33:00] was the length of, the longest length of [audience member coughs] fighting, physical fighting? Fourteen months.

Audience member: The War of Independence, in '48.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, that's the one. It started in May of '48 and by the summer of '49, you had armistice treaties signed on the Island of Rhodes, uh, in the Mediterranean. Ralph Bunch, the uh, African-American who was from the United- the, the director of the United Nations supervised those treaties. All the Arab countries signed, not peace treaties, armistice treaties, stop fighting, except one. One country didn't. Guess which one.

[audience response, **unclear**]

Herbert A. Friedman: Iraq! Right. Right. I mean - that country's consistent, [**inaudible**] no no no [34:00] no way. Um. I'm talking about a sixty-year war. That's what this is all about. Now that

is for the rest of your lifetime. That's about right. I mean, that is - yeah?

Audience member: Doesn't that war have to - that war technically though, have to be waged within the next ten years, and and - significant uh, battles would have to be won, otherwise there wouldn't be enough time left to win the war.

Herbert A. Friedman: You are one hundred percent right. Ten years is too short, but I'll give you twenty, twenty-two, twenty-five. Let's take, let's take one generation. Let's take - you're forty years old, you're gonna live to be a hundred years old, the next sixty years, because y'know that's about right. The medicine being what it is, and if you don't smoke and [mumbles] [35:00] you do your exercise and all that stuff, uh, ninety years old. I mean look, I'm getting close to eighty. That's my age. And ninety year old guys on the obituary page, which I read before I read the front page, you see ninety-one, ninety-two, it's a pleasure for me. Um. And for you guys it's gonna be a hundred, and it's gonna be a hundred and five. It-it will be! So you're gonna be around to see that. And you're gonna remember these few days that we're talking about that. And you're gonna look back from that point to this point and you're gonna say, what di di do during that period? Or what could I

stimulate? What could I inspire? What could I achieve by mobilizing my home community - but of the sixty years, about the next twenty-five [36:00] which is in the period of the greatest power of you, individually, your physical power, your-you're your intellectual power, your financial power. You can create, if you got the willpower, you can create the instruments, the tools, by which that bad, bad future might [audience member coughs] be prevented, ameliorated, eased, maybe even reversed! If you're successful in everything that we know will help to achieve the reversal.

Well okay, the first thing you have to do is understand the crisis. And it's obvious that you do. [37:00] The second thing you have to do is realize that there are four things that I put down here, but there are a couple more that I left out. Oh no, wait a minute. I put down those four and then I [unclear] the campus programs seem to be improving. Edgar Bronfman has put his f-hands to it and uh, what's his name, Richard Joel the new executive director of Hillel and those two guys are [unclear, audience member coughs] gangbusters across the country from campus to campus to campus and Bronfman is raising dough and Hillel is getting stronger in every place and the name Hillel, by the way, is fading out of existence because Hillel was the

original name of B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation. So, B'nai B'rith is uh, is now dead, it's uh - it's alive, technically, and they haven't dissolved the corporation but everybody is ninety-two years old and uh, [38:00] [laughs] they haven't got any money and the-there's no future. And so B'nai B'rith is [audience member clears throat] backing out of it, and what's happening is, uh, at Yale, at Duke, at Princeton, and I think at Stanford, what's - what the Jewish organization on campus is being called is, Center for Jewish Life. And [speaks Hebrew] if that name will spread and that will become the generic name on uh, more and more campuses in America, then the kids - the Jewish kids coming onto that campus know that it's a center for Jewish life in which lots of things can happen, because a center is larger than a, just a Hillel house. Uh, you can study Hebrew, you can study Talmud, you can fight about uh, affirmative action [39:00] uh, you can do - you know, all the things that come out of a sense of Jewish social justice. Uh, they all have a kosher kitchen for people who want that. So, while I made a note here was the campus program seems to be improving. The other items on the list aren't being [unclear] at all. Everybody knows how good a summer camp is and how good a - that eight week influence is on a Jewish kid. Everybody knows it. Don't need any sociological

studies to prove it. The reform movement has how many campus in the whole united states of America? Anybody know the number? Nine. The conservative movement has how many camps in the whole United States?

Audience member: Four or five.

Herbert A. Friedman: Six. If they finish the one in Atlanta. If they don't, it's five. [40:00] Isn't that great? And then if you take the other things, a few young Judea camps of Hadassah, and add the whole thing together, maybe you got maybe you got twenty functioning, well-organized, good curriculum power impact on the kids in the whole country. Now what the hell are we talking about? That's a joke isn't it. I mean - either you're gonna cry about it or you're gonna laugh at it as something stupid. So this is what I mean by saying the things that we have to do, we know, but nothing's been don about any of them except in the last couple of years, uh, the-the campus thing is is - has is beginning to take off. So. Number three -

Audience member: Can I ask a question before number three?

Herbert A. Friedman: Sure.

Audience member: Uh [41:00] could you tell us what the reason is that you omitted any reference in the national goals regarding

uh, concerns for religiosity, spirituality, uh, for - for Jewish people today, young people in particular.

Herbert A. Friedman: The reason for that is that - the reason for my elimination of that is - that [audience member coughs] until the national religious organizations get their own act in order, nobody can do anything for them. Now let me try to explain what that-what I mean by that. The national religious organizations, excuse me, don't have any unity between themselves. I'm talking about the non-orthodox, I should make that clear. The orthodox community is tightly organized, well-organized, and lives behind its own wall. And says, if if there - if the Jewish population of America winds up to be fewer than one million, we will be a third of that, because today they are about a half a million and any diminishment will affect them as well, but okay, they'll come down to three hundred thousand, so they will be a third. And they will retain their own educational institutions, they will send their own yeshiva kids who graduate twelfth grade in a yeshiva day school, all, all one hundred percent go to Israel for grade thirteen and go to yeshiva in Israel, so they have their own Israel experience. It's for one year, minimal, it's not eight week summer experience. And so they say, look, we're okay, you guys are - you don't know what

you're doing [43:00] uh, you're all, uh uh, good, you're all assimilating, uh, so um, that's why I leave them out because by their own definition, they leave themselves out. They now are moving more the right-

Audience member 1: I don't wanna cut you off, but y'know I-I would like to get to point hundred real quickly. And um, what I find very frustrating is that [unclear] making ideological argument for orthodoxy, I'm gonna put that aside completely, but I'm gonna come at it from an utterly pragmatic standpoint. The very items that you point out that are the guts of revival of the non-orthodox Jewish community are intrinsic to the orthodox community.

Herbert A. Friedman: Sure.

Audience member 1: So having said that, why doesn't the non-orthodox community basically say, I'm not gonna become orthodox, I'm not pushing that point, but basically, look to the orthodox community's methodology, if you will, and basically say instead of saying, that's for them, adopt the same methodology, albeit with a different flavor, but the same methodology because it seems to me such an overwhelming amount of energy is just wasted in dialogue when you have a model, albeit slightly different slant, that seemingly works. Um, please address that.

Herbert A. Friedman: I'm all in favor of what you said!

Audience member 2: No no. But even the comment about the orthodox carving out, basically, I look at it from a different perspective. If this works, that drivel doesn't work, do something that works.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah.

Audience member 1: Okay. So I mean, it's a different slant.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, yeah! I quite agree. This is the whole - this is the whole thrust of my, of my effort! We know that these uh, methodologies work.

Audience member 1: Well, but you have the whole non-orthodox community, I'm generalizing obviously, 92% of American Jewry basically beating its lips and doing very little [**unclear**]. Now, but, okay. That's your point? [45:00]

Herbert A. Friedman: So I'm putting the monkey on your back 'cause up to now, nobody has been willing to face up to - to-to step up to the plate and do what they have to do. I had a talk with a guy-

Audience member 1: [interrupts] They won't have the guts to say it! They won't have the guts to say, I'm not orthodox, but what the orthodox do [**unclear**], they just don't have the guts to say it.

[audience member coughs]

Audience member 2: Maybe some of us think that's wrong. First of all, the key ingredient to orthodoxy, why they committed to Jewish education, Israel, summer camp, all-day Jewish living, Hebrew language, is because they believe basically that God commands and demands that.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay.

Audience member 2: That's not a principle in non-orthodox movements.

Herbert A. Friedman: Correct.

Audience member 2: So we cannot adopt that fundamental, basic, uh, underlying reason for doing all the other things. So I don't - therefore it's not transferrable. We have to find other reasons and other motivations for why to be Jewish. Secondly, I don't think that we would be satisfied with orthodox success [46:00] in non-orthodox movements because I believe that for some of us, from our perspective, that's not Jewishly fulfilling. That's Jewish survival, that's keeping 300, 000 or 500, 000, but it's not the kind of Judaism I think that many of us want. We want a Judaism that's more involved with the world, that's concerned at least equally with ethical issues, that has spirituality in its services, not just uh, finishing - knocking

off *Shabbos mincha maariv* [afternoon Shabbat services] and so I think that it's not possible, if I respectfully - I came to listen to you and not myself - but respectfully, I wouldn't agree with the idea that they're doing it right, why don't we just do it without wearing a big black yarmulke? It's - we are really different animals. I think that we can, we can - and maybe this is really what you're saying and I didn't catch it - that what you're saying is that we have to strengthen ourselves, more than strengthen ourselves, revamp ourselves, reimagine ourselves as the - referring to this, to the seminar, [47:00] in these areas of education, Israel, summer experiences and and Hebrew language. But we make a big mistake if we think we can simply adopt it from orthodoxy, y'know, without [speaks Hebrew].

Herbert A. Friedman: Well I thin that we understood that, I think that -

Audience member 1: Yeah, no I disagree with you completely because I'm not saying doing it the same way, I'm not saying um, looking for different aspects but basically saying, the orthodox priority of education and all these other items that are pointed out are not unique, but they're so overwhelmingly disproportionate, not among [recording cuts out]
[recording cuts out 47:32 to 47:39]

Herbert A. Friedman: -your kids, and he said just as clear and easy and simple, sure. I don't buy that argument at all. I know the argument of the, of the conserve- of the, of the assimilated Americanized well-adjusted affluent upper-middle-class American professional uh uh uh, layer, which we have today. No more pants manufacturers. Everybody's professional. Two degrees, some of 'em, many, many of you, three degrees. Um, and you say, and the argument- the main argument - that I've heard I really don't want to have my kids ghettoized. I don't wanna have my kids, I wanna have my kids in the municipal system where they will meet everybody.

Audience member: [inaudible] the real world!

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, the real world! Right, out in the real world, they should meet an African Americans, and Korean Americans, and uh, God knows what, and illegals and legals and [mumbles] ... Um, so, uh, I don't wanna ghettoize my kid. That's - I'm I'm giving you shorthand, as to what I perceive to be the psychological frame of mind. Okay. [49:00] I ask somebody the other day uh, what's the uh, what's the finest private school you have in La Jolla? And the guy says, the La Jolla Country Day School. So I say, fine, that's exactly what I want. I want us to have La Jolla Country Day School types. Columbus Country Day

School. Andover and Exeter, boarding schools if you will. N- if we built anything less than that, we're stupid. And we're shortchanging our kids, and our kids are gonna come back and they're bit us in the tail because that - because the kind of day schools that we've been building up to now are not gonna get the kids into Yale and Harvard! And that's what the parents want. So you have to build a school for them where the curr- where the secular curriculum is as high as you can sh- strive it for it and [50:00] the Jew-Judaic studies curriculum has gotta be as high as you can uh, push it, and that means the kids have to work like hell. In return for which you gotta give 'em four or five ball fields, and you've all the extracurricular activities that go with it, and all the challenging things and you get one of 'em to go up on a space rocket and NASA will take one and then the word'll spread through the - I don't have to go on and take it [unclear]

Audience member: I mean, on premise I agree with you wholeheartedly.

Herbert A. Friedman: Fine! We'll settle the argument.

Audience member: But I think what, if I can -

Herbert A. Friedman: That's the only premise.

Audience member: I think what Moshe was trying to say, correct me if I'm wrong, that the spirituality part of it, you said something about the-y'know, the try to drive-

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah I didn't answer him yet.

Audience member: -but you were saying, the distinction between, y'know, the orthodox model uh, the underlying principle being that God is mandating Torah, perhaps in the reform it's-it's more parents mandating Torah. But the parents have to be [51:00] spiritually connected to Torah themselves, first, in order-

Herbert A. Friedman: [interrupts] That's why you're here.

Audience member: Exactly. Right. But is - is that' the point, I'm trying to make your point for you, I dunno if that was-

Herbert A. Friedman: No, his point was, why aren't the religious organizations drawn into this - why have I not spoken anything about the religious organizations?

Audience member: Whom I think are failing equa-at least as much as the educational institutions, the Israeli...

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, sure they are. Sure they are.

Audience member: And I think they're also essential. I think Judaism without the religious uh, uh, element is uh, is a culture.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, so you heard Nathan last night. You have to try to re-cast uh, the religious element into a framework which will attract people and bring them in uh, c'mon. Let's not kid ourselves, let's talk straight. Uh you got into an average, I belong to the-the best most important biggest, most successful reform congregation in New York [52:00] it's called Shaaray Tefila, it's out on the corner of ninet-seventy-ninth street and second avenue. When the new president of the whole reform movement in America was installed in office, the ceremony was held in that congregation. So I went an di listened to what the guy was going to say, and he said, reform. Torah torah torah. That's gotta be our motto from now on, our people are ignorant. And they gotta learn something. And then, y'know, when I me twit him privately he said, you are dealing with a handful of elite, a thousand people are so carefully chosen, they're not the masses. I got - I gotta think of some way to get at the masses. Because who comes into that nice big important temple on an ordinary Friday night if there're a hundred and fifty people it's a lot. If on Saturday morning, with a bar mitzvah, there're six hundred people because [53:00] four hundred of 'em are from the family and two hundred of 'em are who normally come to shul on Saturday morning. Okay. The-the reform and the conservative

and the reconstructionist, the liberals, they're all in the same boat today, they're dead in the water, they know it! They're struggling to figure out how to draw and how to attract and how to bring people in. I'm gonna get hold of that new president and I'm gonna say instead of your having nine camps in the whole united states of America, I would like to challenge you to build fifty. That means you're gonna have to convince your national board of directors of - that that's important. And if you can't, then y'know, you oughta go become a stockbroker, you're finished, that's all, then you know you can't persuade your own board! If, on the other hand, you can persuade your own board [54:00], the-the building of the summer camps, to me, is a little proof. Then what you gotta do is set up an adult education program, not for selective - like you - but the average board of directors, in an average congregation, has got fifty, sixty people on it. And boy they're really average. Some of them are there for no reason, some of them are there because they gave some dough for something. Some of them are there because somebody pushed 'em onto the board or whatever. You got to educate those fifty or sixty people. Your board. [audience member coughs] If you do that, and if you man-and if you make some kind of educational program mandatory, look at this

program, this is mandatory. This is discipline. This is hard. I take my hat off to you guys. Week, every two weeks, every two weeks, another fifty pages of reading, all the stuff you have to do, that adds a big burden on you, but you do it. Because you understand that there's an objective that you had, you want to inform yourselves better. So if you get your board of every synagogue in America, we're talking about then this would be tens of thousands of people, because you're talking about maybe uh, two thousand congregations with an average board of fifty people is ten thousand. You're already hitting into masses. Then, then, the-then the religious movement would begin to be players in the game. The only players in the game now, and this is unfortunate that the synagogues are not, but they got left out a hundred years ago, when the community system got organized, and I'm gonna talk all about that tomorrow night, uh. Or I'm gonna condemn the tinkering that's taking place and I'm gonna explain what [56:00] an error was made a hundred years ago by not inviting the religious synagogue movement into the community federation movement. But that didn't happen, it was an error or it was an oversight, I dunno what it was! Uh and only now, slowly, is that being repaired. The synagogue world and the federation world are beginning, beginning slowly, to, to, to

approach each other. Okay. That's why I don't have it down here. And the last thing is, someday if somebody'll define to me what the word spirituality means, I will be able to uh, to speak to it more intelligently but right now I have trouble. Sir?

Audience member: Uh, I don't want to define spirituality, but I wanna make a comment on one point that you made in terms of building summer camps, having things available, building high schools, it's not just enough to build it, [57:00] they have to be marketed intelligently because right now, even with the five or six conservative camps we have, we've had terrible experiences with the way they market their Israel program to the kids, they don't know how to do it, they don't know how to attract them, so even if they have the programs, if you build it they will come, if you build it and you market it well, they'll come in droves!

Herbert A. Friedman: Marketing means to me selling. And I think that's a fundamental error, in the whole system, it oughta be free.

Audience member: Oh you still have to market it, even if it's free.

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh, no you don't.

Audience member: Oh, I don't agree.

Audience member: [unclear] I think the point that-that he was makin' earlier, that if the product is so superior, that y'know, it's build a better mousetrap, they'll come to it.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. But five thousand dollar tuitions for day schools, six thousand, seven thousand, that's ridiculous for middle class people [58:00], it's absurd.

Audience member: I gotta comment again! You're a hundred percent right, but you're also missing the mark in my mind with respect to the values of people. Like, I stipulate ethat that's a lot of money, but you know, you go to take San Diego, plenty of people making more than enough money to send their kids to a day school who have consciously said, that's not a priority to me. A four-thousand square foot house and a new Jaguar is more important than a twenty-five hundred square house and an Oldsmobile because that's where my priorities are. So it's not only a financial issue, and I think to some extent it's less a financial issue than it is a priority and intellectual issue.

Audience member: 'Cause they choose La Jolla Country Day, that's not an option? I mean, they go to a private school-

Herbert A. Friedman: They, the people he just talked about.

Audience member: Well, the people-

Herbert A. Friedman: No, no no. people in that financial uh, category, haven't got a problem.

Audience member: Yeah, but they don't have a financial problem, but they have a priority problem.

Herbert A. Friedman: And we'll never crack it, 'cause they're gone! We've lost 'em.

Audience member: No no no no no, if you're gonna try to deal with all this, then you're gonna crack those people, basically getting their [59:00] head straight as to what should be important in their lives. And again this is non-denominational what I'm talking about, don't get off on a red herring. That's not what I'm talking about here, the priority of Jewish education, kids, albeit here, there or somewhere else. They don't put a priority on that- those people that spend to put their dollars in that fashion.

Herbert A. Friedman: I know. I want to try to remove all the excuses. And money is one of the excuses. The other one is Americanization versus ghettoization. Excuse after excuse. Rationalization after rationalization has to be removed. There is - I said to you before - my attitude towards money is that the amount of it available, the Jewish amount available for Jewish causes, is infinite. Infinite. The number of people to go

out and raise that money [1:00:00] is finite. You have a finite number of people chasing an infinite amount of money and that's why we never have enough. But there is a pool of money available in the Jewish communal world, which nobody talks about, nobody thinks about, and certainly nobody invades. And that is all of the endowment funds which exist in all the communities of this country and how much do you think is sitting there?

Audience member: Three billion dollars.

Herbert A. Friedman: Three billion dollars. Most of it gathered in the last twenty-five years. And if we took that three billion dollars and we used it all up tomorrow morning, d'you know that we could have another three billion dollars inside of ten years, it wouldn't take twenty-five? [1:01:00]

Audience member: Rabbi, what's that three billion?

Herbert A. Friedman: Sir?

Audience member: What is that three billion?

Herbert A. Friedman: What do you mean, what is it?

Audience member: Endowment funds.

Audience member: Endowment funds in what- in-

Herbert A. Friedman: America. Jewish communal. Every federation in your city has got one. What's it - what's - what city do you

come from?

Audience member: Phoenix.

Herbert A. Friedman: Phoenix. Okay. Phoenix probably doesn't have very much 'cause your campaign's been slow and flat and difficult to run.

Audience member: But we do have a few million. You're saying the - the endowments in the federations is three billion.

Herbert A. Friedman: Three billion. In the country.

Audience member: Just federations.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's right! I'm not talkin' about what's in individual foundations, [unclear] has got three billion all by himself! Uh, no, communal, community endowment funds.

Audience member: You're not talking about schools, the - the uh-

Audience member: Or supporting foundations, the individual foundations. You're talking about the federations.

Audience member: He's talking about the federation.

Audience member: The communal federation.

Audience member: Okay.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah. Now I want [1:02:00] - today to try to get into all problems. I will explain to you [clears throat] why that is never touched, why that is never invaded, what excuses are given as to why it can't be invaded and that's all a

lot of legal gobbledegook uh and and easily demolished and I shall do so tomorrow. But uh, so let's pass on it right now. That's what I mean by saying the amount of money is infinite. Okay.

Number three says that the lack of these goals is due to a lack of visionary national leadership. And that's why the first item, the very first item in this whole business is - the leader as a visionary. That's what's on the cover. The leader as a politician will describe how you get to be the leader. How do you get to be the leader? I mean, y'know, God appointed Moses. But ever since then, since we Jews apparently like the appointment process, never have had any democratic election-elected leaders, you appoint your leaders. Uh, uh, how do you get there, how do you get to the top? And uh- so you have to learn how to be a politician. Sorry. Can't help it. You don't like it, it sounds dirty, it doesn't have to be. But uh, you gotta develop that political instinct of how to move yourself to the top of the ladder. And third, it says, the poli-the leader as a general. What a general does is uh, strategizes [audience member coughs] [1:04:00] [unclear] How can I attack Germany? Well first ,I, I better wipe out [inaudible] from North Africa. What's North Africa got to do with Germany? Eisenhower's first

battles were in North Africa in 1942! And we didn't get to invade the European mainland until 1944, two years later. So the strategizing of how to reach your goals, you have to start to think in terms which, y'know, unfortunately uh, uh, sound military and your generation uh, has uh, sort of an antipathy uh towards that, and uh, [unclear] experience uh, I'm not criticizing, I'm describing. Uh, but just think of the terminology. Um, what do you call - or, not you, what does the United Jewish Appeal, national campaign, raising seven hundred and fifty million dollars a year, call its leader? The General Chairman. Not just the general, the General Chairman. And there's a significance to it. And the general chairman does what? What does he lead? He leads a campaign to raise the money. The fundraising is called a campaign. Isn't it? Okay, that's a military word. Here's a political word too, you run a campaign to win an election. But it's a word that implies struggle. And then after you have a general chairman and the goal of the campaign is set, then what's the next step that you have to do? You have to appoint some divisional chairman. A trade, an industry, a division, a legal division, [1:06:00] a women's division, what's a division? A division is fifteen thousand men. Well and women today. Women fly combat aircraft, women uh uh

participate in lot of combat operations, fifteen thousand person with a certain number of tanks, those are the big givers ,the heavy hitters. I mean, you take and you commute that vocabulary and that's why I use the term 'a leader has to think in terms of being a general and and create! Create! The strategy by which to achieve the goal, the victory.' Okay. Um, number four, uh the general - the leader, the leader - has to be personally, personally a fundraiser. I'm sorry, you might not like it, you can't leave it to anybody else. That is - you have to delegate it to an awful lot of people, you have to mobilize a hell of a lot of people, to get at that infinite amount of money. But you cannot mobilize anybody else to do anything which you do not do yourself. When I ran the UJA for the whole country for twenty years, I went out and I solicited personally the top dozen gifts. The great names, Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Warburg and Mr. Rosenwald and Mr. John Loeb from the - all the great names of the whole German aristocratic immigration of the middle of the nineteenth century uh, you don't have any of those names, I don't think, in any of the western communities, but you have similar names. And so you, the leader, you have to go out and prove your mettle - and this is the way you set yourself up, as a role model for everybody else - and you work your tail off and

you take your ten or fifteen or twenty top cards for the largest amounts of money, the hardest nuts to crack, the ones who say, hey c'mon, lay off, leave me alone for a while, and you're coming in there to ask for more than you got last year, and you don't stop. And if you do that, yourself, then your troops are gonna have a higher morale and they're gonna do better. So you cannot avoid that role.

And the last thing, if we ever get to it, is - the leader as a manager. And that's the least important. That's the least important because there's a huge difference between [1:09:00] leader and manager. Now you gotta do it. Because the people - I mean you gotta, you gotta keep your fingers on a few important things. Uh, you gotta, you gotta appoint the members to the board. I know you got a nominating committee and you got an executive and blahblahblahblah... never mind all that stuff. Those are all people. You have to put your finger on whom you want to be the next leader of this division or the next chairman of that division uh, so that's uh, I call the managerial role and you do that uh, when - during the least stressful time of the year and you spend the least time on that. But you have to do it. And you have to keep your eye on all the other agencies in town, which are not as critically determinative of the future

but still! They're agencies functioning in town and you have to keep an eye on them. Okay. So if we can get through to all of them [1:10:00], uh, that's the - that's the agenda. Now number five on that introduction sheet is, or number four. All of the leaders know how to do, right now, is tinker. And you will hear a lot about the phrase called 'new entity,' is that phrase beginning to be uh, heard? Beginning to be [unclear]? Uh... you have heard it?

Audience member: No.

Audience member: No.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay. With this huge historic crisis on our hands, and with some known remedies that we'd better get down to a tackle and start to create for ourselves known remedies, known tools, that little short list. What are the leaders in the big organizations doing? They're talking about [1:11:00] making a merger between the UJA and the CJF as though that is gonna help one degree. It's a useless enterprise, that's all they can think of doing. Oh, if we merge then we don't need two big organizations and we'll save a little overhead dough. Yeah you might! Or you might not. What's the difference? You know how organizations proliferate, you merge two into one and you find - you might find bigger costs 'cause you gotta pay off a lot of

severance pay and stuff like that if you wanna fire anybody. So it's all what I call, children in the schoolyard playing with darts and tinkering. And I can't think of anything more annoying. [1:12:00] And so what I visualize is this: if the national leaders in place now, and if the national organizations, however they wanna tinker, they may succeed in the merger, they may not succeed in the merger, some lady from Seattle stood up at a meeting in Washington last month, I didn't -

Audience member: [unclear]

Herbert A. Friedman: Who?

Audience member: Ellen Hellman. Are you talking-

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah yeah yeah yeah yeah! Yeah yeah, right, that was the name. I don't think I [unclear] uh, and she said, listen, I don't know what you guys are talking about. I don't know how to react to this plan you put on the table 'cause nobody told me any of the details of this plan. After two years! Of committees meeting. Nobody knows any of the details, so what the hell is this? This is just kidding around. But they take themselves so seriously. My god. You would think that they're dealing with the fate and future of the planet earth. [1:13:00] Um, whether anything comes of the merger or not, to me, is

really irrelevant. I hope it does not, because I think that it'll just make life easier for too many people and they won't be working as hard. That's what I believe. Uhm. Sir?

Audience member: [unclear] generalize this a little bit more. It seems that in, I'll call them bureaucratic-type organizations, that um, forming committees and doing stuff- it seems that the bureaucracy takes on a life of its own trying to form um, functions for people to do and then report and try to reach consensus and I was- at some point here if you could address kind of the, how you get past all that, what you call tinkering, um, it seems to be a major part of what the federation-

Herbert A. Friedman: You get past all that when you become the president of the founda-of the federation and you cut it with a sword, [makes cutting noises] [1:14:00] And you-

Audience member: Until that day?

Herbert A. Friedman: Well get there fast! Until that-

Audience member: There seems to be a conflict between pol- playing the politics part and getting to the [audience member coughs] [unclear].

Herbert A. Friedman: Sure there is. Sure. I admit it. And I want to talk to you about how you can do that. That's when we hit the one about the, about the leader as a politician. Or the

incipient leader, the leader - the the being born leader, you are in the creative process of being born, you're not there yet. In my inelegant way of using hard words, uh, I say very simply, you people at your age have to make a revolution. Throw the rascals out. That's how it goes in political terms, um, so let's not [1:15:00] be so uh, inelegant. Invade. Invade.

Audience member: And you'll give us tips on how to - politician - generally revolutions don't come from politicians, they come general, they come from the military.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah well when you're the general, you won't have to indulge in in uh, in political maneuvering. You will appoint the [people who are favorable to the ideologies that you're trying to uh, to instigate and who have the power to help you achieve those ideological goals and institutional goals and you won't have to make revolutions .the revolution comes when you, at age forty, have gotta push the sixty and seventy year old people outta the way.

Audience member: How do you do that, though, without alienating those people that are still important? Plus that's a large financial resource for your community and if you - if you push so much that you alienate [1:16:00] wha-what's the risks?

Herbert A. Friedman: What's the risk? Whatever the risk is, it's worth it. You cannot, you cannot make progress without having risk. You wanna make an omelet, you crack the eggs. There's no other way to make an omelet. There's no other way. Now if you're afraid of the risk, you don't do it! Or if you have rationalized the risk so that you think, my god, we might lose more than we'll gain, then your caution has overtaken you and you - and you and you uh, whatchamacallit, you immunize yourself. You isolate yourself. You separate yourself from the other activists who are trying to crack eggs. Um, that's got to be part of your personality. You've gotta be tougher than you are. [1:17:00]

Audience member: The wealth of - the wealth is also gonna be shifting-

Herbert A. Friedman: Hehhhh good for you, yes.

Audience member: -what's the, I mean there's a huge fabulous number, I forget what it is, that is shifting now within the next what, ten years. Those same people that have been in power all these years are also now passing the money along down-

Herbert A. Friedman: -to the next generation.

Audience member: -to the next generation.

Herbert A. Friedman: Do you know that seventy percent of the actual wealth of this country, in terms of not just cash, stocks

and bonds and ownership of industry and and uh ownership of uh international enterprises that are situated abroad but bring in huge wealth? Seventy percent of the wealth of this country is in the hands of women. So does seventy percent of the total proceeds of your campaign come from women?

[audience commotion]

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

Audience member: Thirty percent does.

Herbert A. Friedman: Well thirty is very high, and I congratulate you, because [1:18:00] the national average is twenty percent of the campaign is produced by the women's division and I think that's spectacular because the women's division is treated like some kinda stepchild. Have you had a women's division chairman or president, those two jobs, the two top jobs, in Seattle?

Audience member: [in unison] Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes. In San Diego?

Audience member: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes. In Portland?

Audience member: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes. In Phoenix?

Audience member: Yes.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yes. In uh, Oakland?

Audience member: Yeah.

Herbert A. Friedman: There's one person from Oakland. Andy Wasserman.

Andy: I don't know the answer.

Herbert A. Friedman: You don't know the answer, okay. So, you people in the west uhm, have emancipated yourself. I could run you through big cities in the on the eastern seaboard and in the Midwest where no, no, no [1:19:00] women [mumbles] go ahead, you wanna have a, well let's see, you wanna big gifts dinner at a thousand dollar level, we have a meeting of the uh, uh, plumber's division and it's at a hundred dollar level and we can't change that date, see, so will you and [unclear] try to find another date and they get shuffled around...[audience member coughs] And with all that, they're - they're pulling twenty percent, and if you say you're doing thirty, that's great. And I'm telling you that seventy percent of the dough is in women's hands.

Audience member: The other way around in Portland.

Herbert A. Friedman: Sir?

Audience member: It's the other way around in Portland. The uh, plumber's division would uh, [unclear] the women's division.

[audience laughs]

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay.

Audience member: We'll change our date.

Herbert A. Friedman: All right. Look. Let's, let's the merger - by the way, I-I, flip the page, and there's something up there at the top called daily news [1:20:00] [unclear] uh, how many of you read the JTA, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, that's what those big black initials are on the left side up at the top, daily news bulletin published daily by the Jewish Telegraphic Agency. It's a four-page sheet usually, and it comes out every single day. It's like the AP or the UPI [unclear] - what?

Audience member: They fax it right to you.

Herbert A. Friedman: They fax it to you, sure! It comes in every day. How many people read it? One, two, periodically. Two and a half. Two and three quarters. All right, so two or three people read it. Do me a favor, will ya? I'm sure that your federation takes a subscription, it's a, it's a, expensive, it's seven or eight hundred bucks a year because if you - if y'know, you're talking about three hundred days [1:21:00] a year uh, at two-two three bucks a day, and the faxing costs, it's not cheap. I'm sure your federation uh, uh, has a subscription, I'm sure that your executive director would be very happy to Xerox the copy

that comes in every day on the fax and send it to you if you want it. I urge you please to do that. And it'll take you ten minutes, five, seven, eight minutes, you scan through it, if something bad is happening in Tajikistan you wanna skip that item, skip it. But it covers the whole world and tie rally gets you in on detail and the one that - the article from May 23, which I included in hear for you to read, read it, it tells you about how the tinkering went at the last meeting of the committee in uh, a month ago or so. May 23. And it gives you some idea of why I am so disdainful of the process [1:22:00].

Audience member: It's not available online, I take it? Is it available online? Does anyone know?

Herbert A. Friedman: Nah, I don't know, but I'll tell you what-

Audience member: 'Cause that'd be a sure-

Herbert A. Friedman: I'll tell you what, I'll-

Audience member: Could you find out?

Herbert A. Friedman: Telephone number is 212-643-1890. Call 'em up and ask 'em whether they're online. I just don't know. I get it in the mail, because it comes in New York and they don't fax in New York City uh, they just dump it in mail, so you get it a day later. Um, okay. Now let's get to the ...let's get over to the

[**unclear**]

Audience member: 12:10.

Herbert A. Friedman: Oh boy, wow, where does the [1:23:00] time go. [pages turning] Turn to page five if you would, please. This is the leader as a visionary. Page four? [audience comments **inaudible**] Yeah I know, but I want you to go down to page five where it says, 'an international vision.' I put in two examples, I put in two examples of what I mean, what I define as, vision. Vision. On the largest, broadest scale you can think of, that's what you have to learn how to [1:24:00] do. One is an international vision and one is a local vision a couple pages later. Somebody start reading please, D, an international vision. Begin, vision always begins with a problem that you're trying to solve, okay. What's the problem? Who wants to read? Shoot.

Audience member: [reading] At a position Israel in the Jewish public mind, for all purposes fundraising political support, moral support, explanations to non-Jews, etcetera. An attitude is developing and expressed even by some Israeli politicians that Israeli does not need philanthropy. And does not welcome interference in her internal affairs, religious **unclear**].

Herbert A. Friedman: Do you- do you agree with that? Uh, that that attitude is beginning to develop?

Audience member: Yeah.

Herbert A. Friedman: Okay, go 'head.

Audience member: [reading continues] If Israel has a booming economy and is on the rocky to peace, and if seventy-five percent of the older generation has not even bothered to visit Israel once in the fifty years of its existence, and if the younger generation does not possess the emotional memories connected with Israel's birth and wars, how can a link between Israel and diaspora be retained? And how can Israel be used as an aid in the struggle to retain a strong sense of Jewish identity among rapidly assimilating American Jewish - Jewish..

Herbert A. Friedman: So that's the problem. The problem is there's a drifting apart between Israel - Israel and diaspora Jews, and uh, if that is allowed to continue to happen and we drift further and further apart. What?

Audience member: They'll both suffer.

Herbert A. Friedman: They'll both suffer. She'll suffer and we'll suffer. Because - because then Israel can't be used in our struggle to build a Jewish identity among our kids. Okay. So the- question, if you'll look back at the beginning, how to poss[audience member coughs, **inaudible**] Israel in the Jewish public mind? In other words, how to remove the thought that

Israel's not - uhhh they're safe they've got a good economy, they're past all the wars, they don't need us, their politicians say they don't need us, uh, and anyway, we don't like - the fact that there's not an American type of separation of church and state in Israel so there's no religious pluralism and we don't like that. So okay. That makes for a very bad situation. How do we overcome it? So how can we position Israel in the Jewish public mind? What's the solution to that problem? Somebody start reading.

Audience member: Shift the image of Israel 180 degrees.

Herbert A. Friedman: Shift the image! [1:27:00]

Audience member: [reading] As a weak creature of need to a partner of strength with US Jewry in solving several international Jewish issues.

Herbert A. Friedman: Do you think of Israel as being a potential partner of strength, sharing with American Jewry the solving of certain international Jewish problems? That's an - a hundred and eighty degree switch. Oh, uh, would you give some money please for to help poor Israel absorb the Russian immigrants? But you can't say poor Israel anymore! So to shift the image the other way, and make Israel a partner with the united states in doing some very big strong important things. For example, one.

Audience member: [reading] Joint building of an infrastructure in the former soviet union for the million or more Jews who will remain in Russia, Ukraine, [1:28:00] Belarus, etcetera.

Herbert A. Friedman: Uh, by the way, do you agree with that premise? What are we getting now in the way of immigration from the FSU into Israel?

Audience member: 65, 000 a year.

Herbert A. Friedman: Yeah, she's running between six and seven thousand uh, uh, a month. A- year. No a month, six, seven thousand a month, so she's running seventy, seventy-five thousand a year. Okay, no crisis, no nothing. But steady, steady, steady, coming, coming, coming. And that will gradually dwindle out all the people uh in FSU who want to move out and want to rejoin their relatives. You know it's over a million Russian Jews are now living in Israel. Um, if you go back to the first migration in 1971, in the last twenty-five years, [1:29:00] uh you brought over a million Jews. Okay. It'll continue, it'll continue but the premise is that as it all uh, wanders down to nothing in terms of immigration, what will you be left with in the FSU? And the estimates are somewhere between a million and a million and a half. And it could be that we can

be surprised and a lot more will come out of the woodwork

[recording cuts out 1:29:28]

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C-7435 Transcription

Wexner Heritage Foundation. Boardroom discussion. 24 June 1996.

Audience member: -it's not - [interrupted by other audience members, [unclear] it's not the same as injured, dying Jews laying on the soccer field, which they can clearly see.

Herbert A. Friedman: Well your friend, fi they didn't see it because of that reason, which means vision blindness, then they didn't see it. And that's why they're in a state of paralysis today, they don't know where to go, what to do, so they're tinkering!

Audience member: That they call it the paralysis of analysis.

Herbert A. Friedman: Paralysis of ana- I didn't, they didn't even make any analysis!

Audience member: How old are these people?

Herbert A. Friedman: How what?

Audience member: How old are these people that are sitting there?

Herbert A. Friedman: Average age? Fifty.

Audience member: Is there a difference between [**inaudible**]

Herbert A. Friedman: Right on top of your head, they're ten years older than you are.

Audience member: Is there a difference between the east coast and west coast, attitudes, when it comes to this and that?

Herbert A. Friedman: No, no. No. No. [1:00]

Audience member: People are afraid of change, the age of fifty and uh, perhaps even convince them that they could do it and do it successfully, they'd rather stay with what they're doing now as unsuccessful as it is, at least they know it.

Audience member: They're afraid of the concept, too.

Herbert A. Friedman: That's not a bad uh, uh analysis.

Audience member: Maybe the people that buy into this, buy into this this this crisis - this notion that we have this crisis amongst ourselves right now in those positions. [**unclear**]

Herbert A. Friedman: You're saying maybe they didn't buy into it?

Audience member: Exactly.

Herbert A. Friedman: Y'know, I suppose that was it. I mean, they were sitting there, as the Germans say, 'schtum und dum,' uh, uh, uh, silent and uh, and uh, mute! Um, now maybe I fail. I had hoped, 'cause I know this process so well, I had hoped [2:00] that somebody would say, listen, you've dumped a big one on the table. Give us a little time to think it over, let's - we'll have some talks among ourselves. Come on back in two weeks, let's ask you a lot of questions that we can't think of now at the moment, and let's get over it again. Go over it again. Frankly that's what I hope would come out of the meeting. The fact that that didn't come out meant that in their minds, they just didn't think it was as much of a crisis as I think it is. I can't fathom it any [unclear] [audience member coughing] - they're not evil, they're not bad people.

Audience member: Then perhaps you needed to say that to them, perhaps you needed to say to them, I've done - I've dumped a really big thing on you and I realize you can't just take that all in right away. How about if I come back in two weeks, a

month, whatever it is, have you had a chance to think about it, and uh, and ask some questions and we'll talk about it some more. [3:00]

Herbert A. Friedman: Well, I have my own uh, Machiavellian strategy. [audience laughs] Uh, [audience commotion] [**inaudible**] right then and there that the guy who was then the chairman and the leading people who were on that executive committee were, I wasn't gonna waste my time with ,and wait for anew chairman to come in. And a new chairman has just been appointed. He's a lawyer from Chicago by the name of Richard Wexler. You know him?

Audience member: [**inaudible**]

Herbert A. Friedman: That's the guy. And um, and I'm goin' after him, y'know, in spades. And [**inaudible**] I think -

Audience member: [interrupts] How old is he?

Herbert A. Friedman: What?

Audience member: Pry fifty.

Audience member: How old?

Herbert A. Friedman: Richard's forty-six.

Audience member: Did he go to -

Herbert A. Friedman: Did he what?

Audience member: -he went to USC. I think I went to college with him.

Audience member: Did he go to USC?

Herbert A. Friedman: I dunno. And he called me and he's the one who said to me, how do we position Israel in the next campaign that I have to be the chairman of? [4:00] [ongoing audience background conversation inaudible] These three things that I put here, they came out of a letter that I sent to him. And now he and I are gonna meet and uh, we're gonna start hammering. So y'know, you-you lose one, you gotta win the next one, or pretty soon [laughs] uh, the game's over. Uhhh... see ya tomorrow.

Audience member: Thank you.

Herbert A. Friedman: Just let me ask one question. Do you think that this session was worthwhile?

Audience member: Yes.

Audience member: Very much.

[Audience background noise and conversation, 4:40 to 10:49]

END OF AUDIO FILE [10:49]