

C-7447 Transcription

Friedman, Herbert A. "On Jewish Ethics." [Beersheba, Israel].

Undated.

M1: [00:00] I asked an opportunity to drink in the air and smell the smell and enjoy the flavor of the Biblical countryside through which you are now going. You're going to be able to walk where King David walked for another three or four days. Excuse me, Johnny, sit down. That's the boy. Very unpleasant view. (laughter) Either way --

M2: This is worse! (laughter)

M1: (inaudible)

M2: That's not a --

M1: This is better.

M2: (inaudible)

M1: So, from my point of view, this is a kind of a serious summing up [00:01:00] in which the most important questions ought to be asked, and in which the most important principles should be laid down. I've got one question, I -- let me try to answer it. If anybody has got any others, bring them forward immediately -- that I finish answering this one, and we'll get questions out of the way. Then, we'll try to summarize the important basic principles, which I hope we've learned or which we should believe in.

So, let's do the questions first, as long as it takes, there's 20, 30 minutes. Now, one question that came up was what's the relationship of the Keren Kayemeth, the Jewish National Fund to the Israel government and to the Jewish agency, [00:02:00] which means to the UJA? By the way, I make an assumption -- you all know what the Jewish Agency is? Is there anybody who doesn't? OK. The Keren Kayemeth, Jewish National Fund, was established about 50 years ago -- I'm not sure of the exact date -- at one of the very, very early Zionist congresses. It was established in order to purchase the land in Palestine, plant trees here, prepare ground for agricultural work, which meant clearing off the stones, and build roads to the fields and through the forests. It is an independent organization, [00:03:00] it raises money through a campaign of its own, all over the world. It also receives money from the government. It also receives money from the Jewish Agency, that is UJA. In other words, it receives money from three sources, and it spends that money according to the plans and programs which Israel needs. If the Ministry of Agriculture says, "We have to develop 10,000 more [dotems?] of farmland," the Ministry of Agriculture goes to the Keren Kayemeth and it says, "Here are the 10,000 [dulem?] of land that have to be cleared of rocks. Get your bulldozers out, get your trucks

out there, [00:04:00] get your workers out there. Clear the rocks, prepare this land for agriculture." Which it does. And then, the Ministry of Agriculture will open up 10 farm settlements or 15 farm settlements. The Jewish Agency might say the same thing to the Keren Kayemeth. Jewish Agency says, "We're expecting 30,000 new immigrants next year, 5,000 of them are going on the land as agricultural workers. Better open up five new agricultural villages. Mr. Keren Kayemeth, you'd better go out there and clear off the following land. We want to put in five villages." So, whether the Jewish Agency asks them to do it or the government asks them to do it, the Jewish National Fund does those four jobs -- buying land, which is about finished now, and there's no more to be bought -- planting [00:05:00] trees, preparing soil, and building roads. Does that answer your question?

M2: Well, doesn't it create a lot of problems, having an outside agency owning all the land (inaudible) government owning --

M1: The Jewish National Fund -- you may call an outside agency. But the Jewish National Fund is an organization that was established long before the government. It was established by the Zionist Congress, and it owns the land in the name of the whole Jewish people. Well, the government also

functions in the name of all the Jewish people, so it's the same thing. Doesn't matter if the land is owned by the Jewish National Fund or by the government. In either case, it's publicly owned land. It's not privately owned land. The only privately owned land in this country is about five percent of the [00:06:00] total land in this country.

Privately owned land means you can go and see a nice plot of ground, you can pay \$10,000 for it. If the price goes up, you can sell it for 20,000, the profit is yours as a private land speculator. Well, Israel doesn't want that. So, 95% of the land in this country is owned either by the Jewish National Fund or the government. It doesn't matter which, it's both the same. They're both publicly owned -- public corporations. They're for nobody's private property. So, it really doesn't matter. Does that answer your -- now, are there any other questions?

M3: When we were in -- when we were living (inaudible) stopped at a -- an army training camp, where we were told that program is [00:07:00] 16 and 18-year-olds come through during the summer -- and partly about just the fact -- once a week, even during school, they have some sort of army training. How can Israel talk in the same breath about a generation that they have to bring up to learn how to kill at 16 -- when we talk about all the idealism -- I think we

talked about once, about this country, about how this would be the place where people would be living together -- first, best -- first, you know, I -- is an ideal situation -- the idealism (inaudible) how can we talk about both these things at the same time?

M1: How can you talk about war and peace at the same time?
Mankind's --

M3: Well, just a little -- isn't it a little -- I mean, it seems like you're -- just by pressing the idealism too much, but we're still fighting the sea of -- this country can stay together. [00:08:00]

M1: Well, so that's why you -- I say you have to talk about two things at the same time. Because you have to fight for your life and your security, should you give up your idealism? Or put the question the other way. Because you have great, hopeful ideals, should you ignore preparing for your own security?

M3: No, but it seems to me that these aren't the type of people that would be looking -- this kind of society. And then how -- in other words, I can't see these kids who have learned to do -- who are learning to defend their country this young -- that things can be as good as our ideals would say they can be.

M1: The proof of the pudding is (inaudible) 20 years, the people -- more than 20, before the state was established -- [00:09:00] for 30 years -- for 40 years, you had to have here military organizations to defend Jewish existence. And yet, in the course of these 40 years, have they started to build an idealistic society?

M3: Sure.

M1: Right. So, they have done both. This is what I mean by the proof of the pudding is in the eating. They've had to pay attention to their military defense and fight for their lives against people who have been constantly attacking them. At the same time, they have managed to develop a very idealistic approach toward life. And that's the wonderful miracle of this place. If you said to me the emphasis on militarism here has resulted in a people who are -- like the Germans, purely militaristic, isn't that [00:10:00] a shame? They have not been able to develop an idealistic approach towards society. If that were the case, then I would say to you yes, you're right, it's tough. The Jews here have ceased being idealistic, they are only militaristic. But that isn't the case.

M3: Right.

M1: So, they have managed to do both things at the same time, and they're all looking forward to the day when they can

get peace once and for all, and they can disband this tremendous military establishment. So, you don't have any military tradition here -- let me continue to use Germany. Or let's use England, let's use England. The military tradition in England is very deep. The oldest son in the family always went to the army. The second son always went [00:11:00] to the clergy. The third son always went to the government. The fourth son, usually the (inaudible), took care of the family business. In the English structure of society, if you were the colonel -- you know, Colonel Blimp spent all his life out in India. It's a highly honored military tradition in England or Germany or in many countries. It isn't so here, except out of necessity. Now, unfortunately, all through Jewish history, it's been necessary. You had to have generals like the Maccabees, and you had to have generals like [Varkovka?], and you had to have generals who -- every time Jews tried to live an independent life here, there was always somebody trying to kill them. And so, Jews have always had to do two things [00:12:00] at the same time. Keep a sharp eye open for the rear, whoever was trying to stab a knife in their back, and at the same time, keep a sharp eye looking ahead toward the future, in an idealistic sense. And I don't see any conflict. I think it's a remarkable thing that the country

has been able to do both things simultaneously. I don't know if that answers your question.

M3: Yeah, I think it did.

M1: Any other questions? Well, let's see if we can try, then, to leave the questions and switch over to a kind of a summary of what it is that we tried to do in this trip and what it is that we came to believe in, [00:13:00] and what it is that we learned that can serve us as ideals that we have in our lives that we will work for as Jews regarding Israel for the balance of our lives, where from now on, we will become adult people as we pass out of adolescence and into full adulthood, and as we develop responsibilities. In other words, what do we learn, what do we feel, what do we believe in at age 20 -- I know some are 18 and I know some are 22, but I'm using age 20 as an average mean. What do we believe in now that will serve as ideals to guide us for the next 50 years of our lives? Did we learn anything on this [00:14:00] trip, did we -- and I don't mean where Mount Masada is. Did we learn any ideals? Did we learn any beliefs? Did we learn any basic guiding principles? I wonder who would like to speak? Who would like to try to say what he has come to believe, or what he has come to feel, what -- how he would summarize the important concepts

which we have tried to get across in this mission. Anybody want to take a crack at it? Go ahead.

M4: Well, basically, what I -- the most outstanding thing -- it seems to me that I've gained here is -- looking at the Jewish people more as a people than a religion. And I think that basically, because of the [00:15:00] orientation on the whole trip, we've seen a lot of Jewish survival in the last 30 years. And just the houses, I mean were amazing, I mean, and the development, how one thing followed another. Just successive steps that seem so natural but so incredible. And how this development is something that will keep -- that will buy the Jewish people (inaudible) that's the one all-encompassing thing that I get.

M1: Would you say that you have come to believe that the development of the State of Israel will serve to bind the Jewish people all over the world more closely together for their survival? [00:16:00]

M4: Definitely.

M1: Exactly. Would you say that's a fair sentence to summarize your point of view?

M4: Yes.

M1: How many people would feel that they agree with that?
That's excellent. How many people feel that they would

disagree with that? Who would try another formulation? Who would try another theme to expressing -- yes?

M5: Well, to me, it seems like -- my own, you know, my own feelings about it -- is that I've come to understand my relationship as a Jew with Israel, and how it stands to benefit me -- or not benefit -- so (inaudible) on being (inaudible) and it didn't really -- oh, that was it.

M1: What haven't [00:17:00] you decided yet?

M5: Well, I haven't decided, like I said, if it's going to benefit me or not (inaudible)

M1: If you haven't decided whether it stands to benefit you or not, have you reached a conclusion as to whether it benefits anybody, any Jew?

M5: No, no.

M1: So, you've not reached that conclusion, either. Therefore, you're not sure of the value of the State of Israel. You're not sure. What will it take, either to make you sure one way or the other way?

M5: Well (inaudible) I haven't been able to --

M1: Lot more thought. Do you feel that the experience you've been through here is helpful in any way in trying to reach a conclusion?

M5: Oh, yeah.

M1: Did you think about this question before you came here?

M5: No.

M1: Therefore, the whole value of the trip is that it opened the question up in your mind.

M5: Yeah. [00:18:00]

M1: Therefore, the whole value of the trip is that it begins to make you think for the first time about who you are as a Jew, and what relationship -- is that you have to Israel, if any.

M5: I thought I said that.

M1: All right, I'm just recapping. So, therefore, the value of the trip is that it enabled you to frame the question, at least.

M5: OK (inaudible).

M1: The beginning of wisdom is to know what to ask. Not even knowing what to ask means that one is unaware. Would you therefore say that you were unaware before this trip of the problems of your Jewish identity?

M5: No, I'd say I was not as aware.

M1: You were not as aware, OK. Well, if this trip served to increase your awareness so that you are [00:19:00] now asking this question of yourself, and by asking the question you will force yourself sooner or later to [come to an?] answer, then I would say, pedagogically speaking, from a teaching point of view, that the trip was

tremendously valuable, OK? So, one guy says he has been enabled by this trip, actually, to formulate a conclusion, and state it in a sentence. Another guy says he's not able to formulate any conclusion yet, but the trip had value in at least making him more aware of what to ask, what answers to seek. Those are two very good points. Anybody else want to -- yeah?

M6: I think the -- well, like, I -- on this trip, I learned why Israel -- and the importance of Israel to the Jewish people. But what I think was really great about [00:20:00] the trip was -- well, like, I know many people that have come back from Israel and -- it's just the greatest country in the world, nothing could be wrong here. And, like, we've really learned the problems of the country. And, like, for many of us, compared to our life at home (inaudible) really be a terrible country to live in. And I think that just from seeing the country and not only learning its history and learning the problems of the country, we as Jews, knowing the importance of Israel, are more able to help it in our own way and want to help it. At least I want to help it more now than I did before.

M1: It is a terrible place in which to live, why do you want to help it?

M6: Because I realize the importance of it.

M1: You realize the importance of it, even though it's a terrible place in which to live. (laughter) I'm not being difficult. I'm really trying to [00:21:00] point -- find out if there are any inconsistencies (inaudible).

M6: Well, I want to make -- I also want to make it a better place.

M1: What is there about it that you think is a terrible place?

M6: Well, they have -- well, we all know the problems. (laughter) (inaudible)

M1: Well, no, what you --

M6: (inaudible)

M1: Never mind the problems -- (laughter) well (inaudible)

M6: Well, there are a few, right? (laughter)

M1: (inaudible) Is the fact that the country has those problems, that it has those problems, is that what makes it a terrible place in which to live?

M6: (inaudible) it's the hardest place -- much harder life than what we live at home (inaudible)

M1: Harder life, physically, I see. Because I was going to say, you know, if you talk about the problems that a country has, then you would have to say that the United States [00:22:00] is really a terrible place in which to live right now, because it's got some bitchy problems.

M6: Though I can still talk to my neighbor, because he's -- you know, because he speaks English, while here (laughter) all the immigrants come in -- they have, you know (inaudible) (laughter) many races, you know?

M1: Well, no, are you saying that it's a terrible place to live because there are so many languages that have to be learned here? Or are you saying that it's a terrible place to live because you don't speak the language? (laughter) In other words, I know -- I'm not trying to put you on the spot. I know you like this place, I know you feel deeply about it. I know that you are going to go back and you're going to work like hell to help it in any way you can, I know that. And so, I'm not trying to needle you.

M6: Yes.

M1: But what I'm trying to find out is what you mean when you say it's a terrible place in which to live. If you say it's a country with an enormous [00:23:00] number of problems and, Jesus, I think life here must be very difficult for the people who live here, if that's what you mean by it, well, that I understand. But it didn't come out that way. It sounded (laughs) like something else.

M6: No, that's what (inaudible).

M1: OK.

M7: Well, I know for me, what [Yentoff?] said is that -- it's not a terrible place to live for the people who live here, because it's all they've got. And I think it has to exist, because it -- as an American, I've been very isolated from the problems in which Jews -- I mean, it's just -- it's really pointed out on this trip. And the circuit that we've taken has made a great impression on me, starting off in Germany and then coming here is -- I think it -- I can understand the metamorphosis of the whole country and what it'd mean to a person to be able to come to Israel and be able to live here. But as an American, I wouldn't want to live here, and I think that might be what [00:24:00] Richard had in mind. So, I'm kind of disappointed in myself, because I thought I had a -- more of a -- greater spirit of adventure than what -- (laughter)

M1: What lead you to the conclusion that you wouldn't want to live here?

M7: I don't know, I guess there aren't as many material things with which -- at the moment, because -- well, I'm just visiting, and I'm not living here (inaudible) the point. And the fact that I don't speak the language, and the -- a lot of it. The food and the water in places is alien to me. And I think, like, it's --

M6: Yeah, right, here (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

M7: But (laughter) I guess it's (inaudible) material things which you take for granted in the States are just not here. And I think that if I was living here -- probably become less important. But (inaudible)

M1: So, [00:25:00] therefore you say you thought you were more adventuresome. You discover that you're not quite so adventuresome. You like the soft comforts of home, and you don't like to give them up, and therefore you're not quite so much of a courageous pioneer as you once thought of yourself.

M7: In that respect, that's true. But it hasn't changed my opinion of the State of Israel's importance or its right to exist, or the fact that it's definitely (inaudible) but I don't (inaudible).

M1: What you said is that you see the necessity for its existence.

M7: Yeah.

M1: And you learned that by looking at that German experience where it taught you the fact that, had there been an Israel then, a lot of Jews would have been alive today who aren't. So, Israel is necessary in order to help save Jewish life. Israel has a right to existence. [00:26:00] Israel should exist. You're all for it. But it's not for you, personally.

M7: Right.

M1: OK. This, by the way, is what some people say in the joke -
- is a very good definition of a Zionist. A Zionist is a
guy who gives money -- a Zionist is one guy who gives money
to a second guy, namely an Israeli, to bring in a third
guy, namely a Moroccan or a Tunisian or somebody else, you
see -- a Zionist is a guy who helps to support Israel for
the sake of the third man. A third Jew. The other Jew, the
one who really needs this country to save his life.

M7: Well, I could also point out that -- you know, it's not
totally impossible that I might need it someday, too.

M1: Right, also a very good, historical observation. [00:27:00]
Nobody knows how history will turn, and nobody knows that
the American Jew might not need this 20 years from now.

M7: Exactly.

M1: All right. So, what you're saying is, you understand the
necessity and even the indispensability of the Jewish
people having a place like this. Therefore, you would do
everything to help its existence and to help protect it.
And the only observation you make is that, on a purely
materialistic basis, the standards here are lower than what
you're accustomed to.

M7: Yeah, so one of the reasons it's so easy for me to see the
importance of the country is the fact that being a Jew to
me has always -- it's more -- the religious aspect has

never been very important to me. And one of the objections to the State of Israel has been religious, on religious grounds. And I think the cultural grounds for the Jews, as a people -- that's why I -- [00:28:00] that's why I've always seen myself as a Jew. That's how I've seen myself, and that's why I see why it is there should be a country.

M1: You have objected on religious grounds.

M7: No, I have no objections, because I have -- see, being a Jew to me -- the importance of being a Jew to me has never been religious.

M1: The importance of being a Jew to you has been nationalistically or culturally --

M7: Culturally.

M1: -- traditionally --

M7: Yeah.

M1: So that, since Israel is based on -- is grounded on those foundations, you find it perfectly consistent with what you've believed in as your definition of a Jew. OK, [Faler?], I think I saw your hand up.

M8: You did. (laughter)

M1: They tell me that you're wasting away, that --

M8: In total oblivion.

M1: Total oblivion.

M8: Yeah (inaudible) I tell you, when I was (inaudible) this trip, I was doing two levels. First of all, value of understanding the country, and second of all, [00:29:00] the value of understanding Israel, which -- two different things to me, the country (inaudible) without the people, about two and a half million Jews. Israel is the country with those people. I think we've had a -- as far as -- value's very high, as far as seeing the country and understanding the country (inaudible) I think the trip failed for getting us to really know the people. I think it's a big misconception if anyone can believe that by driving down a street in a bus and pointing out the people or by having planned meetings or dinners with Israelis or anything like that -- I think it's a misconception of anyone to believe that you're really going to get to know people when they're just waiting for you to come (inaudible) I think, personally (inaudible) get to know (inaudible) if I ever wanted to move here, if I ever wanted to help Israel, if I ever felt any identity for this country, I wouldn't feel it with the rocks and trees in the -- Galilee. Now, I might be able to [00:30:00] understand the border problems there, which might in some way change my feelings on many other -- as to why I want to help or not help the people. But without the people, the whole

thing would be totally worthless as far as I was concerned. And I've enjoyed the trip for the most part, but I was disappointed in the fact that -- I think the trip has failed in a more important value, the value of really getting to know people, knowing their life, know why they're like they are on a real first-hand basis. And if there are any changes to next year's (inaudible) then that would be (inaudible).

M1: Well (inaudible) did you want to comment on that?

F: I don't think (inaudible) actually ever get to know people unless you just speak a common language, number one. Number two, unless [00:31:00] you actually live here. You're visiting and traveling, you just can't walk into someone's home and say, "Here I am, tell me about yourself." To know people, you have to live with them, work with them, and be with them. And you have to be able to speak with them. And if you can't, you can't really get to know them. And everyone here is going to be here for a different reason, and take them to different areas for different purposes. And because of that, each one is -- a person that is here is different. So, you may get to know a certain type of Jew in the Galilee -- in a different type of venue and a different type of (inaudible) and so, to get to know (inaudible) you know (inaudible).

M1: (inaudible)

F: (inaudible) impossible -- I don't see how you can possibly do that in a trip (inaudible) trip (inaudible).

M1: You've got one right of rebuttal.

M8: I think that my question, in a sense -- misunderstood.

[00:32:00] I was talking about comparative degrees. I'm not going to set up any absolute level and say get to know the people right here. And I'm going to admit and agree with you that if I spoke Hebrew and if I lived here, I'd definitely get to know the people better than any other way. But I'm saying, you've got to look at it comparatively and say that -- it's a shame I don't speak Hebrew. I would like to learn. But a lot of Israelis do speak English. And I'm not living here. I might someday. And if I do, I'll get to know them better than I could if I didn't. But I'm still saying that I could get to know them a hell of a lot better than I've had the opportunity -- and that's all.

M1: Well, let me comment on that. I don't know what traveling you've ever done abroad, say, to any other countries. If you have, I'd like to know. If you haven't, let me try to explain one thing to you. If you went to visit France

[00:33:00] for three weeks, you would come out saying, "I saw the country, I saw the cities, I saw the cathedrals, I saw the museums, I saw the paintings and the culture. I saw

the sights. But I didn't really get to know the French people." You'd be 100% right. What she's trying to tell you is that anybody who comes to visit another place never can get to know the people, to whatever degree. This degree or this --

M8: I disagree with that. I think that I got to know the people a hell of a lot better when I took off and (inaudible) than I did any other point in this trip. And (inaudible).

M1: Well, if I may be --

M8: (inaudible) to rationalize (inaudible).

M1: Yeah, well, if I may be --

M8: I know I did.

M1: If I may be permitted to say so, I think that if you set such a definition for yourself, that after three days, you know [00:34:00] the people --

M8: Know them better than I (inaudible).

M1: You know them better than if you hadn't spent those three days with them, then I would recommend that you come here next time and spend three days or 13 days or 33 days, and if that will give you the -- only talking to people, if that will give you the feeling that you really know them, and if that will satisfy your standards of what you mean by coming to know the people, then God bless you, do that. I

have to inform you, however, that you're being very superficial.

M8: On what grounds do you make that assumption?

M1: I make the assumption very simply. Very simply. On the basis of three days, you can talk to 10 people or 20 people or 30 people. You can't then allege to me that you know the people.

M8: Oh, now, wait a minute, let's not make ridiculous mockery out of it. You're twisting [00:35:00] my words, and I don't like it.

M1: I'm just taking your words.

M8: You --

M1: I'm not twisting them.

M8: You're taking, though, at the wrong value, the wrong level, and I've tried twice now to set the level that I'd like them to be taken at. I did not say that I got to know the people.

M1: You said you got to know the people better.

M8: Better.

M1: OK.

M8: (inaudible) how they lived, how they were happy the way they lived, that he couldn't understand why he wouldn't be happy if he came here and lived that way, this kind of thing. I didn't get to know 'em as I would like to. I don't

know if you ever do get to know people quite as well or if you can get to know people as well as you would like to get to know them. I'm saying that by living with them and not having planned activities with them, where they have to be on their best behavior or you're expected to be on your -- the whole thing is planned, they're ready, they're waiting to get -- I think that you can get a better idea of this sort of -- it just hits, you know? It's not one of these things where -- that's all I'm saying, that --

M1: Well, I --

M8: That's nothing (inaudible).

M1: I'm not disagreeing with you. I'm saying that if you're satisfied [00:36:00] that after three days loose on the town you knew the people better than not having spent three days loose on the town, and you are satisfied with that degree of knowing the people, and that gives you a greater feeling of satisfaction, then you should not come on this kind of a trip. It's not that this kind of a trip is wrong.

M8: Where's the superficiality?

M1: The superficiality comes in your making the assumption that after visiting with people for three days, you know them better than not knowing them at all. That's --

M8: Well, how is that superficial? What, I mean, you don't agree that you can get to know people better if you live

with them for three days than if you don't live with them at all?

M1: Not at all. I don't agree at all.

M8: You don't agree that you can know them better --

M1: I do not agree at all.

M8: -- if you live with them than if you don't.

M1: I don't agree at all. I think that if -- I think that her point is correct. I think if you want to come and live with them, live with them, after six months, [00:37:00] after a year, you can really say that you know the people. You know their psychology, you know what makes them tick, you know their values, you know their standards. You know what they're striving for. When I say I know the people, I know the French -- the only people that I can say I really know are the Germans, because I lived among the Germans for three years. So, I really think I know them. I know what makes them tick, I know what motivates them, I know how they act, I know how they react. I know what gives them pleasure, I know what gets them angry. All the things, the deep things, not sup-- if I spend three days among German people or three weeks among German people, I would consider my experiences to be very superficial. Now, the point at which I'm not disagreeing with you is, if you say a planned, organized itinerary of a trip [00:38:00] doesn't

give one the opportunity to know the people, I agree. For you to say the trip failed is what I challenge, because the purpose of the trip was to get you to understand how this country got started, how it lives, what its problems are -- and when I say the country, I don't mean the rocks and the stones. I mean the two and a half million people living here whom you will never get to know until you really live among them for a long time. Not knowing the people, all you can know is why the country is in existence, what it means as a Jewish country for Jewish history, whether it serves to help the Jewish [00:39:00] people in their totality survive or not -- these are the big, broad philosophical and historical questions that we've been dealing with. This was the purpose of the trip. The purpose of the trip was, try to understand why Israel is in existence, and then some soft questions, how it came to be, into existence, what threats there are to its existence, what its future might be. And you could say to me those questions, almost, I could study out of books in a library. And I would answer you, then, you're almost right. The one added dimension that occurs from coming to see it on the spot is to translate it from books into actual visual experience. That's the purpose of the trip. So, I don't think [00:40:00] the trip failed in its purpose from what I've

heard up to now. I quite accept your statement, and I don't think there's any way that it can be ever avoided. I quite accept your statement that you don't, in an organized trip like this, come really to understand the people. I will further accept your statement that if you can get three days free, breaking out of the rigid routine, you got a better chance to think you're coming in contact with the people, this matter of degree you're talking about, a better chance. Perfectly OK. Therefore, the only thing I challenge was what I call the superficiality of the comment, that even after three days free, or if we broke you out of the itinerary for 13 days -- I want to be very [00:41:00] precise with you and not let you harbor under any illusion that you know the people. You still wouldn't after 13 days.

M8: OK if I just comment on that?

M1: Sure.

M8: I want to say that, number one, I haven't been disappointed with the trip in general, so don't get me wrong (inaudible)

M1: No, no, no, I understand.

M8: I think that it's dealt with the purposes you've outlined (inaudible)

M1: Right, so we're agreed on that.

M8: And I admit and I agree with you that I cannot get to really know the people. I can at least, though (inaudible) see how they really live and see how they argue with each other better than if I didn't, which to me is getting to know them a little bit better than if I didn't see it.

M1: Agreed. No disagreement.

M8: What I'm saying is -- I'm saying the trip as I experienced it was very worthwhile. I would do it again, but -- and I'm just saying that if it is at all possible in any way, shape, or form whatsoever in the future, [00:42:00] you should keep it (inaudible) as it is, try to arrange more personalization, that's all.

M1: OK.

M7: (inaudible) saw your way through (inaudible).

M1: Very good. (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) So, it is -- on this, there's no disagreement at all. And what we may have to try to do is find more opportunities to break out of an organized program and give you more freedom and put you in touch with Israelis and let you develop your own contacts with them. Somebody else had their hand up, yes?

M9: Well, I think -- agree with Bob, the problem is identity. I know I can't identify with any of the 20 million bodies we saw on the trip. But you can identify with meeting a couple people, even if it's very simple (inaudible) just being

able to -- we heard from you the immigration problems, the problems of the Arabs. But it's another -- you get another point of view by talking to someone your age who is an Israeli, [00:43:00] and talk to a couple Israelis. Agree to the superficial, but it's a start.

M1: Sure.

M9: And it's a way that you can identify -- and I know it can be done, because I happen to have cousins here. I'm lucky, so I (inaudible) and (inaudible) so a lot of the communities that they live in will take a group for a week. And one person's in each family, see how a family lives, and exchanging of ideas, which is -- I found definitely lacking in this trip that you --

M1: That might be a possibility. There's something in the States, you know, called Experiment in International Living. I don't know how many of you are familiar with that. That works on the basis that you just said. You take an American student, and you put him in the home of a French family for a month. My son did that. What home did he wind up in? A very nice home in a very small town in the [00:44:00] Southern part of France. The nearest big city was about 60 miles away, called Grenoble, and that ain't very big. And there he was, for a month, living with a French family down in a small village, and I just wonder

what overview he got of France and the French people, even having spent a month down in that family. I think not very much. Now, all that we're saying is that's better than nothing. OK, that much I certainly agree. Whether it's the best way to utilize your month's time, I don't know.

M9: Well, I know most of us, when we hit Tel Aviv, the slump really started, because you get tired of just traveling on the road, stopping and seeing a wadi here, climbing a mountain [00:45:00] here. You want to meet people. You want to meet people. And, well, this is what I'm saying (inaudible) we met a family in Haifa and a family in Jerusalem, and that was it. We didn't get to meet any other people. If we had met people in different places, maybe for -- spent a week in a family, it would've broken up the trip and given us somewhere to --

M1: Maybe it's something to think about. Possibility. We may find that we can stretch the time. Let me ask a question. You guys are getting back on August the -- whatever it is, 13.

__: Thirteen. (laughter)

M8: At 1:25. (laughter)

M1: What? (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

F: At 1:25. (laughter)

M1: At 1:25.

F: OK.

M8: (inaudible) (laughter)

M1: Could this trip be stretched by one more week?

__: No. (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

M9: I think -- different way. (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)
(laughter)

M1: All right, I don't want to get into a big discussion of the logistics and the [00:46:00] technicalities. If it couldn't be, then we can't add a week by putting you in residence with a family, then it means doing that in the same five weeks in Israel, OK. Yeah?

M10: I don't even think that that's necessary. I think (inaudible) the slump occurred when we got to Tel Aviv and everyone was sick of climbing (inaudible) and I think that that may have a lot to do with it, that after a while, we got a little tired of knowing the historical significance of every rock in the country. And, you know, for a while that's fine and (inaudible) but there must be other problems or something else that we can go on to, you know (inaudible) walk through every wadi in this country and we (inaudible) (laughter) (overlapping dialogue; inaudible)
[00:47:00]

M1: Let's talk -- let them --

M10: You found the time (inaudible) find one here in Jerusalem.

M1: Let's talk about your statement, there must be other problems that we could latch onto.

M10: Other things to --

M1: Other areas. Let me try to find out if you got a good grasp of the major problems in the country. Did you get a good grasp of the military situation?

M10: Yes (inaudible).

M1: I think you did. I just want to make sure. Did you get a good grasp of the immigration situation?

___: Yes.

M1: Did you get a good grasp of the water situation?

M10: (inaudible)

M1: What?

M10: (inaudible)

M1: The best.

M10: (inaudible)

M1: Did you -- (laughter) did you get a good grasp of the absorption situation, the housing and all the problems of the new towns and all -- did you get a good grasp of the Arab problem? [00:48:00]

M10: (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) we could have (overlapping dialogue; inaudible).

M1: Tony, what were you going to say?

M11: You know, we seemed to be (inaudible) skirted around the Arab problems quite a bit. All the other areas -- in immigration (inaudible) seemed to get a first-rate story.

M1: Right.

M11: When it came to Arabs -- we all have no problem with Arabs. It was a (inaudible) but we never (inaudible) never spent a lot of time in an Arab village (inaudible) we had to stay in the bus, couldn't get out.

M1: Well, you understand why.

M11: (inaudible) well, maybe the -- if -- surround us, maybe there would be some danger, but maybe not.

M1: Well --

M11: Maybe you didn't want us talking to them.

M1: No, but are you aware of the fact that Gaza is a situation in which -- it's the only place in Israel, in the big Israel, [00:49:00] the new conquered Israel, where -- have actually been Arab disturbances against the Jewish authorities. Was that explained to you?

M11: There was (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) not fully.

M10: This is (inaudible).

M1: Well, let me take a second, then, because --

M11: No, it's --

M1: -- I think it's important, and I think it's worthwhile, not just to explain later -- now -- weeks later why you

couldn't get off the bus. But I think it's important because it's a problem that's going to continue into the future. Very recently, a few months ago -- no need to go back in history -- there were some guerilla infiltrations of some, it would seem -- right near the Gaza Strip. Some people were killed, Israeli farmers. And the infiltrators came from Gaza. So, the military governor there ordered all [00:50:00] the men into the central town square to conduct an interrogation, to try to find out who were the guilty parties who had come across and killed the Israelis. The men were kept standing in the town square for many, many hours. I think almost a whole day. Their women came and brought them food. But then, in an act of defiance against the Jewish military governor, threw the food on the ground, didn't even give it to their men, and formed a large barricade around the house of the military governor and started to make a demonstration. The women. Well, no Israel military governor is going to take a machine gun and mow down all the women. [00:51:00] And so, they tried for a few hours to calm them down. The next day, the women came out and made a barricade across the road and stopped traffic. Well, once you have that kind of civil disobedience in an occupied zone, then you know you've got trouble on your hands. And from that day, which was, I -- be about three

months ago, the military governor of Gaza knows that he has got a rebellious population on his hands. And so, the screws have tightened a bit, and searches have been made to find arms, and arms have been found. And this makes the military governor even stricter. And there are days when tourist buses and private cars are not even permitted down the Gaza [00:52:00] road if, in the opinion of the military governor, that might provoke demonstrations. That's the explanation of why you were not allowed off the bus in Gaza. But the larger question is, is that a typical -- how is the whole Arab problem being handled in Israel? In Gaza, there are about 350,000 Arabs. Most of them, bitterly hating Israel because most of them feel that for 20 years, they've been kept prisoners there, not allowed to go back to Palestine where they came from and not allowed to go to Egypt, not allowed to go anywhere. Kept in camp. So, the bitterness is severe. Is that typical of the whole Arab situation? And there are [00:53:00] over one million Arabs. Over one million in Israel occupied territory. The answer is no, it's not typical -- 350,000 in Gaza are bitter and they are potentially dangerous, and demonstrations can break out there every day. In the West Bank, you have about 600,000 Arabs. Situation there's quite different. Just as quiet as can be. The Israeli authorities are spending a

tremendous amount of money in the West Bank to provide schooling for Arab children, to provide work for Arab men, to provide education for Arab women. The Israeli authorities permit the Arab farmers to go back and forth into [00:54:00] Jordan, across the bridge, carrying their produce and selling their goods. The standard of living in the West Bank is better a year later than it was before. And this is the successful policy of Mr. Dayan. You've got one problem in Gaza, you do not have a similar problem in the West Bank. Will it be possible to quiet the Gaza thing down? I don't know, I doubt it. Will it be possible for the West Bank situation to go along and develop quite nicely and harmoniously? Yes, I think so. You may not be aware of it, but in the period of time that you have been here, a change has taken place in the attitude of West Bank Arabs toward giving refuge to Fata [00:55:00] raiders. The change is that through Israeli intelligence services, they're beginning to find out now that many of these Fata are gangs that come across -- and don't forget, they come carrying only arms and ammunition. They don't come carrying food. So, they have to live off the native Arabs in the West Bank. That is, they've got to be given food and shelter, and Israeli intelligence is beginning to uncover the fact now that in many places in the West Bank, when the Fata

come across and they come to an Arab house and they ask for food or they ask for shelter, the Arab says, "Look, do me a favor, will you? Go away." Now, he won't turn him into the Israeli police or Israeli army, but what he says to him is, "I can't give you refuge. Go away." Now, that's an indication [00:56:00] that the Israeli policy with these Arabs in the West Bank is beginning to work. And the policy is to try to treat them friendly, treat them as equals, give them every privilege of their own self-government. They have their own mayors, they have their own town councils. Israeli troops in West Bank towns are almost not to be seen. They keep out of the way so as not to inflame the population, and the Arabs there are being given the right of practically complete self-determination, except for one thing. Their political future hasn't been determined. But their personal living conditions, they are not interfered with by the Israelis at all, and that policy is working. It is beginning to develop friendships. And, in short -- or in [00:57:00] long, if I took too long, that's the Arab situation in Israel. The third part of the Arab situation is the Israeli-Arab citizens, about 250,000 of them who never left in 1948 and remained citizens ever since. Their situation also simply keeps improving all the time. The major political problem of what you're going to

do with them is completely unsettled. So long as there's no peace, there will be no change in the status quo. Israel is not going to give the land back to anybody. Therefore, she's -- the Arabs aren't going to be given back to anybody. So, they're going to live where they are, and the trick is to have them live as happily or productively or peacefully as you can, which means you've got to spend money on them, you've got to give them privileges, you've got to make sure there's no unemployment. [00:58:00] You've got to give their mayors the chance to say what they want, and they say anti-Israeli things and you don't arrest them. All this slowly but surely begins to provide a situation of normalcy. Now that is the Arab problem inside Israel. Are there any other questions that anybody wants to ask on that matter? Because that's a terribly important one for you to understand, because that's one that they're going to ask about all the time back home. Yeah?

M12: Can I just add sort of the --

M1: Sure.

M12: When you were discussing the phases of Israel and (inaudible) I think -- well, we spend close to three weeks on immigration, and I think that if we had ended up spending six weeks studying immigration, everyone would have gotten tired of that, [00:59:00] also. And that's why

-- I mean, you know, something like studying archaeology or climbing mountains -- so, a lot of people -- wasn't that interesting to begin with.

M1: You felt there was too much archaeology, too much ancient history.

M12: That's -- well, the climbing -- I mean, it's OK to climb a mountain once, twice, three times, four times. But to say that the only way you can get the feel of the history, get the feel of the people is to go walking through this field, I don't agree with that. And also, the archaeology, I think that after a while, looking at some of the (inaudible) was wasting time.

M1: Well, let's try to understand one thing so that we -- so that we're all talking on the same wavelength. Archaeology refers to what? It refers to how this country began.

[01:00:00] When we were talking at Caesarea on this whole matter (break in audio) King Solomon lived exactly 3,000 years ago, or 2,900 years ago. So, if you go to see one or two of King Solomon's fortresses, which are always on the top of a hill because forts always are -- that's just in the nature of things. You always look for the commanding position on the top of a hill when you build the fortress. If you go up to Megiddo and to [Hatsor?], two places, and you climb both hills and you spend a few hours in the hot

sun looking at the old broken rocks and you listen to somebody tell you that this was once King Solomon's palace or [01:01:00] stable where he kept his horses -- and King Solomon was the first one to have cavalry -- all that that means is that somebody is trying to show you the factual, historical Jewish beginnings of this country, and to keep proving the point over and over again -- now, what you say is, after a while you don't have to prove the point anymore. So, the whole thing is a question of degree as to what constitutes too much? So, you got that one thing to absorb. Now, you come down the centuries of time and you come from King Solomon down to the Crusaders, which is 2,200 years later. And so, somebody takes you to climb another hill, [01:02:00] to look at another castle, and this time it's a Crusader's castle. Why is it important to understand the whole role of the Crusaders? For one very simple reason. The Crusaders tried to live in this country and tried to conquer it, and they got thrown out after 200 years. That was the whole thing, that's -- it was all at [Amanatu?]. Do you know what the Arabs say today? What they say today is, "Ah! Let's not worry about the Jews. I worry about Israel. Took us 200 years, but we finally knocked the Crusaders out of the box. We'll knock the Jews out of the box. Look at the forts that the Crusaders had up on the

tops [01:03:00] of all the important hills. They really dominated this country. And they had tremendous weaponry, and they had tremendous engineering skill, and they built those great arch vaults and huge buildings that lasted now 800 years. Never mind. As powerful as the Crusaders were, we licked 'em. We wedged 'em out. We'll do the same to the Jews." We want you to understand how deeply entrenched the Crusaders were, and in spite of all their efforts, they lost. That's a warning to us. That's a warning to us. It's a warning to us that our efforts have got to be 10 times stronger. We haven't got [01:04:00] this thing in the bag. We haven't got in the bag because we've had it for 20 years. So the whole point of taking you up -- and it's boring to go up on top of a hill and look at that damn powerful Crusaders fortress, which is today nothing but a skeleton, and let it remind you that, as powerful as somebody thinks he is, if he doesn't keep working hard at his own defenses, he can get licked. To me, therefore, you've got to look at ancient ruins, what you call archeological ruins, in order to understand the Jewish origins and beginnings of this country. We went today to look at that pool. That pool was a town in the Bible that Joshua [01:05:00] conquered. Same name, the same town, the same pool, written in the Book of Joshua, probably in the

year 600, which is 2,500 years ago. And there's the damn thing there still today. So, we got to show you that to nail the case down that we were here a long time ago, [and as a right?]. And then we've got to show you the in between Middle Ages ruins to show you the fragility and the impermanence and the ease with which you can get displaced, no matter how strong you are. So, our purpose in showing you these two ancient periods is to draw a lesson for today. It isn't just studying ancient history for the sake of ancient history. There's a moral in it. Now, [01:06:00] that's the reason why it's got to be included, and you don't disagree with that. So, therefore, we'll listen to what you're telling us. You're telling us, "OK, do we have to see every castle?" That's what you're saying. Now, you don't see every castle any more than you see every wadi. (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) (laughs) But --

M12: -- every wadi in Israel. (laughter)

M1: So, if you understand the reasoning behind including these items, then what you can say is, "In our judgment, there was a little too much of these items." OK.

M12: What I don't understand, I don't think, is the reason for walking through all the wadis we walked through, because it's been told to us --

M1: You're talking about the wadis in the Negev?

(overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

M12: All over the whole country. We've been told that this is -- you know, you can see it -- and we were told, you know, that it played a significant role in a [01:07:00] certain period of history in a certain battle or something, but the way that you can really understand it is to walk through it and see how these (inaudible).

M11: Geologically (overlapping dialogue; inaudible).

M1: Well, you know what the effort is? Again, it's not geology. What the hell, no one of us is going to become an expert geologist.

M8: [Oh, are you kidding me?] (inaudible) (laughter)
(overlapping dialogue; inaudible)

M12: [Terra Rosa?].

M8: Terra Rosa (laughter) and all that stuff.

M1: You take [Faler's?] premise about learning the people by some contact with them. You put your feet on the soil of the land, and that's different from riding across its roads on a bus. Symbolically, you entered Jerusalem on foot. I didn't walk very far. I asked somebody, "How far'd you walk?" He said, "400 meters." So, it isn't the question that you marched 100 miles on foot to come to Jerusalem the way many pilgrims used to [01:08:00] do in the days of the Bible three times a year. Not once. I don't know whether

you know that in the holidays of Sukkot and Shavuot and Pesach, three times a year, they were called Pilgrimage Festivals -- that Jews used to come on foot and march up to Jerusalem on foot from (inaudible) 100 miles away in Israel, in Palestine. But you made a symbolic entrance on foot, because when you walk your feet on the soil of the land, you possess it. Now, again, it may have been overly ambitious. Can't walk -- you don't have to walk through every wadi. But walking through the wadis is a symbolic way of saying these dry riverbeds -- when there's water in them, life flourishes in this country. [01:09:00] When they're dry, death occurs. I walk the dry wadi beds, and I see danger. And I wait for the time 'til the wadi beds are filled with water, and I see life. There are no rivers in this country. If there was one great Mississippi River, if there was one great Ohio River, we'd take you to the river and we'd say, "Here's the source of life in the country." Source of life in the country are the wadis. Now, again, you can say, "OK, I learned the lesson once, I learned the lesson twice, I don't have to walk through 10 wadis." You're right. So, we'll soften down on it. But I wanted you to know the reason why it's there in the first place.

[01:10:00]

M12: Can I just add one more thing?

M1: Sure.

M12: I think --

M1: And then somebody else gets to talk.

M12: I think when we were driving -- I guess it was last week on the bus from -- we had a flat tire. I don't know if you heard about it.

M1: Yes.

M12: Well, we were out in the middle of the desert during the half an hour, and after a while, I -- your explanation of the wadis now, you know, makes a lot of sense. I still think it was overdone. But standing out in the desert, where there was nothing around, that had just as much of an impact as walking through these wadis.

M1: I don't know whether you know, maybe you don't, in the original plan that we had made for this, we were going to walk you for two days through the Negev Desert.

(overlapping dialogue; inaudible) (laughter)

M12: I think you should have (inaudible).

M1: What?

M12: (inaudible)

M1: You think we should have?

M12: Without spending a lot of time (inaudible) (laughter)

M1: Probably (inaudible) [01:11:00] problem was not where to take the time from. We could've taken the time (inaudible).

M11: We would have walked to (inaudible).

M1: The problem was shall we put in --

M11: (inaudible)

M1: -- this kind of a very tough kind of --

M11: (inaudible)

M12: Would have lost a lot of good potential Jewish (inaudible).

(laughter)

M1: All right, now let's get back to this matter of potential Jewish leaders.

M12: I should've kept my mouth shut. (laughter)

M1: It just so happens, I wanted to get to that point.

M12: I thought I'd (inaudible)

M1: You fed me my line.

M12: That's -- no question (inaudible)

M1: No, of course, you! (laughter) And the whole question, Baylor, in a nutshell is will you be glad to pay or not? And I'm not being facetious now. Let's open up this whole question of potential leaders. [01:12:00] (pause)
(overlapping dialogue; inaudible) (laughter) Would you agree that Israel is a complicated place with a complicated -- just finished, thanks -- with a complicated number of problems to try to explain to people who live thousands of miles away? Would you agree that that's a premise from which we could legitimately start?

M12: Yes. [01:13:00]

M1: It's not an easy thing to explain. It's a tiny country with a tiny population, with some of the most complicated human problems in the world, at least in terms of the goals that we're trying to strive for. If we were willing to settle -- and leave Israel as a small, little country in the Middle East, backward, unfinished, undeveloped, like Syria or like Kuwait or any other damn country you want to mention, there'd be no difficulty at all. Nobody would have to bother to explain anything. But we've got so many complicated problems here, and we're trying to achieve so much that it is not easy to bring [01:14:00] all of this home to people who haven't set their foot on the soil, haven't -- (laughter)

M12: (inaudible)

M1: No, in military terms, that's called a diversionary tactic. (laughter) (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) now whether we were right or wrong in having too few people for you to meet or too many wadis for you to walk in, get away now from those details and step back, and take an overview look at the whole thing. Overview look. You learned an enormous amount in terms of your Jewish identity and the meaning of Jewish history [01:15:00] and the survival of the Jewish people and the meaning of Israel. What is your obligation

now? Your obligation now is to go back and to try to make that whole series of complicated things clear to people at home. That's your obligation now. Are you willing to assume it? I don't have to take a vote. I feel absolutely confident in my own mind that, while some of you may have legitimate criticisms of this or that part of the program, on the whole I feel it's -- I can legitimately assume that you're going to go back and try to interpret this place [01:16:00] affirmatively. Or you are going to make an affirmative effort to interpret this place and its problems and its meaning to the Jewish people. Is there any reason that I should have for not assuming that? Is there anybody who doesn't agree with that? Then your next step is -- then your next step, after you go to interpret, your next step is to recruit others who will come and follow in your footsteps. And I would like to know if I may have the feeling that when we call you or write to you in the few months ahead to make suggestions for people [01:17:00] whom you would help persuade that it's an important Jewish experience for a young Jewish student to do this -- that you would help us recruit a good group for next year, which we would like to expand in numbers, and have two busloads or three busloads. Let's not go into the business of whether it's good or not, whether it'll be as successful as

one bus, whether we can achieve rapport and friendliness and harmony and -- let's leave that alone. Somebody has got to make a decision about that, fellahs, and I'm making the decision. I believe in my heart and in my mind that we can work as effectively with three busloads as we did with one. Or as ineffectively, depending on how you find it -- (laughter) how you want to add it up. So, we're making a decision, and we're going to go for three buses. Minimum two. [01:18:00] And therefore, to recruit people for it, we're going to need you, because the only one who can explain what this thing is all about is somebody who's been through it. And I'll gamble that when you're talking to somebody about coming on next year's trip, you'll talk to him affirmatively, and you will keep the minor problems in their perspective, where they really belong, as minor problems not affecting the overall major purpose and objective. I'll gamble on that, and I won't ask anybody to sign an assurance for me. I'll take my chances. You are the best recruiting agents we can have, as dissatisfied as you may be with some aspects of the trip. There's [01:19:00] a third thing I'm going to ask of you. First thing is to be interpreters of Israel's problems. The second thing I'm going to ask you to be is recruiters for next year. The third thing that I'm going to ask you to be is leaders,

adult leaders, 10 long years from now, which may seem like a lifetime to you. But I need somebody and Israel needs somebody 30 years of age -- 10 years from now, when you guys are 30 to be her generals, fighting for her on a front 7,000 miles away. Somebody has got to be her soldiers, her advocates, her spokesmen, her devoted [01:20:00] friends until we reach the point -- and we will not reach it in 10 years, gentlemen, believe me -- where her existence is clearly and unequivocally and firmly and finally guaranteed. In spite of what I said before about the Crusaders being unhorsed after 200 years, I think that after 30 or 40 years, the Jews aren't going to be able to be unhorsed. That's the way I read history. We are still in the stage where the victory is not won. We are still in the stage where the struggle is going on. [01:21:00] The tasks that have to be completed could be listed by any one of you. The major task that has to be completed is what? Anybody?

M2: (inaudible)

M1: Security. Life itself. Keep it going. Not to be defeated in war. What's the second major task?

M3: (inaudible)

M1: Increasing the amount of water that's available here.

What's the third major task?

M4: (inaudible)

M1: Absorption of whom?

M5: (inaudible)

M1: Which immigrants?

M6: Jews.

M1: Which Jews? (overlapping dialogue; inaudible) Russia.

(overlapping dialogue; inaudible) (laughter) Oppressed areas, yes. Does anybody [01:22:00] know, by the way, the inventory of Jews in oppressed areas outside of the Soviet Union? What's the number we're talking about? Anybody know? Just keep this in your head. Morocco, 50,000 to go, then we've gotten them all out. Just a footnote, the first time I went to Morocco, 15 years ago, there were 300,000 Jews in Morocco. We're down to the last 50,000 now, thank God. Iran, 80. Tunisia, 15. Algeria, none, it's empty. Libya, none, it's empty. Tripoli, none, [Syraniaka?], none. Egypt, none. Syria, 5,000. Lebanon, few thousand. Iraq, none. [01:23:00] When we say oppressed areas, we mean Jews living in Moslem or Arab countries, where they are in danger. The whole bit -- if you added them all together, we haven't got 200,000 Jews living in Moslem countries anymore. We used to have a million. Now, the other thing that you call oppressed areas are communist countries. So, what do you got? Bulgaria, empty. Yugoslavia, empty. Czechoslovakia,

15,000. Poland, 15, 20,000. Hungary, 80,000. Romania, 100,000. So, you take and add all the communist countries, and again you've got about 200,000. There are 200,000 in the Moslem countries. You've got about 200,000 in the [01:24:00] communist countries. So, your whole thing is only 400,000 more Jews that we have to get out of those two bad areas. All right, so it's 10 years more work. That leaves the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is something where until we know that the patient is dead, we're going to keep trying. And we will never give up hope, and we will never give up faith, and we will never give up efforts, and we will squirm and wiggle and try every damn thing under the sun. And then, one fine day, we may succeed. And we may suddenly get a half a million Jews from Russia coming here. [01:25:00] What do we do then? What do we do then, 10 years from now, we haven't got generals like you fighting this fight in the United States? I haven't said one single word to you and I don't think anybody else has in 35 days about the UJA as a campaign.

M7: (inaudible)

M1: Yeah, I heard about what Teddy said. I would just like to remind you of one thing, the very use of terminology. What is a campaign? A campaign is a military campaign. That's how the word is used. A campaign has to be fought and

[01:26:00] won. You plan a campaign. You launch a campaign. You mount a campaign. You fight a campaign. Campaign's a battle. So, when I say to you we're going to have to have generals 10 years from now to fight this battle, I mean it literally, to conduct this campaign. Ten years from now, I'm going to be a lot older and weaker than I am today. Who the hell's going to sit in my job? Somebody in this room might have to be the chief of staff of the whole bloody thing. That's my job. And who are going to be the major generals and who are going to be the colonels and who are going to be the brigadiers? A campaign needs people, [01:27:00] people who believe in the cause. The whole purpose of this thing was to try to win over your minds and your hearts to believe in the cause, to fight for the cause. We've tried over and over and over again to define the cause. Define it. What is the cause? The survival of Jews and the survival of the whole Jewish people, and using Israel as the best weapon we've got to guarantee that survival. That's the cause. Now, somebody's got to fight for that cause. And I'll be very frank with you. I am under no illusions that all 27 of you are going to become generals in this fight. [01:28:00] There'll be a lot of you, two years from now, won't even remember this. Not a lot. Some. There'll be some more of you five years from now

for whom this will become a very dim memory. There may be one or two of you who 10 years from now are going to be in the front rank of fighting generals. And that's what we're looking for. You try to instill deep beliefs in something. Deep, powerful, fundamental philosophies that will keep a man going for his whole lifetime as a Jew. You try to instill those beliefs, and then you try to get him to act on those beliefs, and do something [01:29:00] about those beliefs. We have to keep replenishing the ranks all the time, because people die. People get old (inaudible) is near. I'll use his name. His grandfather used to be one of the fighters in the ranks. His grandfather's finished as a fighter in the ranks. Too old. He's not dead yet, but he's too old. So, who's going to take up the torch? It's just as simple as that. Now, maybe he will and maybe he hasn't got the human material. Maybe he isn't capable. Maybe he doesn't have the drive, [01:30:00] maybe he doesn't have the power, maybe he doesn't have the ambition, maybe he doesn't have the belief. I don't expect 27 of you to be heroes. What we're looking for is the exceptional, the leader. So, this is a training course, like every army gives training courses to its officers. This is a training course to try to produce leaders. The whole thing, gentlemen, is a very simple question. How deep does the

iron bite into you? How hooked are you? When you hook the fish and the [01:31:00] iron is caught in the mouth -- now, the hard iron here, the sharp, the deathly, is the iron which can cut and kill or the iron which can build and heal. How deep into your soul does this thing go? How deep does it bite, this dream of fighting for the survival of the Jewish people and its central -- Israel. If it doesn't grab you, it doesn't grab you. Then we got no generals from among you. Class flunks and we'll start with another class, try again. My own prediction in the matter -- and that's why this is so absolutely fantastically [01:32:00] critical what we're doing here -- you guys have no idea how critical it is. We're planning the battles of 20 years from now, that's what we're doing. And I believe that among you, there are many, not few, many who will rise to positions of heroic leadership. That's the gamble. And therefore, we may have failed on some of the minor things in planning this training course. The big question is did we fail on the major thing? Or did we succeed on the major thing? That's the big question. I would like to have somebody else [01:33:00] speak now instead of myself anymore. You know what I believe in. You know what I'm trying to do. What I'm interested in is what reactions there are on your part. We started this conversation by somebody stating what he

believed in. Then we got off the track, and we started talking about other things, all equally valuable. But I'd like to get back on the track, similar to the opening statement that we heard, to hear if there are any other statements which can give me any clues as to whether the iron is biting deep in anybody's soul or not. Anybody'd like to say anything? Yeah? [01:34:00]

M13: I mentioned this before and I'll mention again -- today, I were to give \$1,300 to -- any way I wanted to, instead of giving it to Israel, I would give it to somebody in the United States to come here, on this trip, see what I've seen. Because this mission of ours has changed my life drastically. While living in the United States -- and we all know there's a great deal of security for a Jew. And I never knew what persecution was, really. I went to an anti-Semitic high school, but -- they put swastikas on my door, and I thought that was all, you know, a big deal.

[01:35:00] But when I came to Germany and I saw that the Jews were practically totally destroyed, and I saw the concentration camps, and I saw the ghettos, I finally realized what's happened. And I finally realized what real persecution is. And then I look at Israel, and I see what these people have built. These persecuted people have come here and have completely built up a country from

practically dry desert land and have saved the lives of many. So, you know --

M1: Find it interesting that you should have said that, because many times in the young leadership [01:36:00] mission -- now, those are the guys who have already hit the age of 30, where we can't afford to gamble anymore on who might develop into a leader or not. We really have to pick the leaders carefully. Many times, when a guy has said to me, "OK, if you think it's important for me to go on the mission, to train myself to be the leader -- I'm 32 years old. You want me to be the leader in my community. The trip costs 1,800 bucks. Shall I give 1,800 bucks to the campaign or shall I spend it on the trip?" It doesn't take me one second flat to tell him what to do. I say to him, "Spend the money on the trip, and don't give it to the campaign." And my reason is very simple. I'm not a dope, I'm not throwing \$1,800 out of the window without calculating -- my [01:37:00] reason is simple. He will not give \$1,800 that one year. He'll spend it on the trip. But if it works, and if the iron bites him, then he's got 30 years to go. Israel will get that financial support from him doubled and tripled in the years ahead. And therefore, you're so right, John. This is an investment which you make in yourself, for the future. And it's a very well reasoned and a very

logical decision. Of course, what always happens is then that the guy makes the trip, and then after he comes back, he's so thoroughly impressed by everything that he finds another 1,800 bucks and he makes the contribution anyway.

[01:38:00] And I found that to be the experience every single time, because his whole mind is opened up and his whole heart catches on fire.

M14: When we were talking about just one big hook that bites into your soul -- I don't think it's one big hook. I think that the hook is composed of many little barbs.

M1: OK.

M14: Barbs take a long time to be felt (inaudible) I think we're not really going to feel the barbs in this trip for another couple months at least.

M1: Right.

M14: Now maybe we will -- catches fire, in 10 years, they totally feel -- they start coming to the surface. Then we'll know. Then we'll have the result.

M1: Tony, you've opened up something which I wanted to ask each one to do, if you would, please. Two or three months [01:39:00] from now, would you do me a favor and find the time to write down, each one of you -- I don't care if it's one page -- your own feelings -- not a critique of the trip. That we're getting orally and we're getting all your

suggestions, and I don't forget them. What I'd like you to write down is your beliefs, whether any beliefs have come to you out of this trip. What you believe about your identity as Jews, or what you believe about the meaning of Israel as being important to the Jewish people. These few - - they're not very many -- three or four central, fundamental ideas. If you would give me your own beliefs, what conclusions you've come to -- or if you haven't [01:40:00] come to any yet. But as you say, after a few months, the barbs will work -- or, as Neil said, he hasn't come to an answer yet. He needs more time to think about it, but after a few months, you will have thought about it -- you would do me that favor -- and I'm not going to check up on you, I'm not going to write you and say, "Hey, you owe me a letter." We'll leave it to your honor. If you would just write me at the UJA office in New York, 1290 Sixth Avenue, a one page or two -- you can write me 10 pages if you want. Personal letter, which I will keep personal. I will then know how the reaction was setting in two, three months later. [01:41:00] Then all those little barbs have got time to do their work. A very -- I think almost a mystical experience has occurred, whether you guys know it, to many people on this trip. Some guys are talking about coming to school here every year. Two guys are going

to make -- Monday morning, to make a personal affirmation of their identity to the Jewish people. I think bar mitzvahs at the age of 13 are all wet. I think no kid knows what the hell he's doing at the age of 13. Kids all do it, they go through the routine, [01:42:00] or many of them do it (inaudible) but I think what'll happen here Monday morning to a couple of young adults, not kids, is much more meaningful. And I -- as I say, almost mystical in a way. Want you to know that in Jewish tradition, there is no age at which one becomes bar mitzvahed. There's only minimum age. You can't make your statement until you're 13. But you can make it any time thereafter for the rest of your life (inaudible) I know adults of the age of 50 [01:43:00] (inaudible) come to that wall or were drawn to their own synagogues back home. There was once a case in a synagogue in (inaudible) Long Island where a class was organized for bar mitzvah. There were about 10 guys in the class, and they were all 40, 50, 60 years of age. One Saturday morning, 10 of them became bar mitzvahed. And at first, everybody thought it was a joke. Then everybody realized that it was deadly serious. I think this business of you guys thinking of coming back to school here or you guys wanting to reaffirm your identity with the Jewish people, I think anything of that nature is a tremendously significant

thing. A great and important thing to have come out of this trip. [01:44:00] I just want you to know, from my personal point of view, that I'm very pleased and very delighted. I find it to have been something very rare, very wonderful, and it's almost like being a member of a kind of a special club. And I said that some of you may forget it in a few years, or the memory may get dim. But you know, it's like a college reunion, 25 years from now, I'll meet one of you guys, if I'm still alive, and you'll tell me your name and you'll say, "Remember that summer, 1968?" And I'll scratch my bald head, and I'll try to figure out what's he talking about? And, "Oh, yeah!" And then we'll start laughing and joking about the wadis, and we'll start laughing and joking about the damn rocks [01:45:00] and stones. And it will be as though we are members of a little private club, and we had an experience together than nobody else had and nobody else can share in. You know, it's sort of the old school tie thing. You come back to the reunion and you remember who looked silly and who got drunk and who did stupid things. And there's a closeness and a bond that nobody else can share in. But it's important. It's important. And I just want to say that you must always remember, we are a very, very tiny people. Very small, trying to do a very big thing on this Earth. And therefore, each one of us,

[01:46:00] we're all different. Some are cranky and some are easygoing and some are smooth and nice to get along with and some are rebellious and contentious and fractious and -- but we are such a small people that each and every single one of us is a crucially important part of this whole chain. Every one of us. And all a chain -- is no stronger than each individually -- so that you guys are now blooded, as it were. You're blood brothers in a cause that's bigger than all of us put together. And it's something which [01:47:00] puts its mark on you, and which in the years ahead, some of you will live up to very magnificently, and some of you won't do very much about. But if enough of you act very heroically, then we don't have to worry about the future of the Jewish people, and we don't have to worry about the future of Israel. And that's really what this whole thing was all about. Thank you very much. Now, that's about all I have to say. Should have been said maybe Thursday night, at the end. I can't be here then, so my end is Saturday night. You've still got five more days to go. This sounded like the closing speech.

[01:48:00] But it wasn't. You'll get the closing speeches from Sam or Norman or Alfred or yourselves. I would hope you make your own closing speeches. My closing speech was made on a very important day. Couple hours from now, it'll

be sundown. Couple hours from now, it will be the ninth day of Av. Once, on this night, 2,500 years ago, [01:49:00] that temple was destroyed. Once on this night, 1,800 years ago, that temple was destroyed. And once on this night, 500 years ago, Jews were thrown out of Spain. Three great cataclysmic events in the history of the Jewish people, all falling, by coincidence, on the same day, hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years apart in time on the same day. That's tonight. It was always a day marked in Jewish history by tremendous weeping and wailing and mourning and crying, because it marked three huge [01:50:00] defeats. Today in Israel, there's a very peculiar mood surrounding this holiday, because today in Israel, nobody celebrates defeats, and nobody quite knows what the hell to do about this. And some people think that this ought to be abolished as a holiday from the Jewish calendar, 'cause if we wanted to, we could rebuild that temple. And I'm not sure we want to, because we've got a big problem about whether we ought to start animal sacrifices all over again, which used to take place in the temple, and all the other problems connected with it. And so, in all likelihood, there'll be no third temple rebuilt. Calls for a more ancient form. But we no longer -- and you will see the mood there tonight. The mood there tonight will not be one so much [01:51:00]

of weeping and wailing and screaming and crying and tearing of clothes and pouring of ashes on the head. The mood tonight is one of -- slightly perplexed. Nobody quite knows whether to consider this a festival holiday or a [tragic?] holiday. It celebrates a tragedy of the past, but we're in a victorious period now. Think, therefore, only of the past as you go there tonight. Think of the two temples, of which only that one piece of wall is left. Think of the Jews of Spain whose descendants are going to be standing around in front of that wall. Spain is no longer a power in the world, doesn't have -- Ferdinand and Isabella don't mean anything. [01:52:00] Spanish Armada doesn't mean anything. The country today is a fifth-rate power. The Jews who were thrown out of that country are here again today via Morocco, via Tunisia, via Turkey, via Greece, via Holland. Jews who were thrown out of Spain -- and they went to every country in Europe. They're all together, back here now again. So, Spain is nothing, and the Jews are still something. And all of these tremendous historical thoughts should be going through your minds tonight. I believe in remembering the past, because I think it's the clue to the future. But I believe in turning my eyes to the future [01:53:00] and building it with all the strength and power that we possibly can have. And you guys are our strength

and power for the future. You're young enough, you're strong enough, you're bright enough, you live in a land of opportunity and freedom sufficient enough to give you the chance. And all of this imposes upon you the one word which I'm sure you know, noblesse oblige, which means nobility obligates you. If you are of the rank of nobility -- you are young, strong, free, modern, affluent Jews, you are the nobility of the Jewish people. You are therefore obligated to act like nobility [01:54:00] and not like bums and [schlumperers?] and unimportant people. You are not unimportant. Never forget it. So, act up according to your ability and your capacity, and be the kind of heroes -- which the Jewish people has always had to depend upon, and that's how we will always overcome the Tisha B'avs, and they will become less and less important. Think about that as you go there tonight. I'll say goodbye to you. We'll see each other -- pass through New York, if I -- if you ever come to one of the regional conferences of the UJA -- if you write to me, I'll answer you, [01:55:00] so that I (inaudible) promising you, you write me one of those letters that I asked for before, you'll get an answer from me. And we'll leave it at that. Just say (inaudible) and I have a feeling that we'll be meeting again as the years go on in the future. Finished. [01:55:31]

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