



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series F: Life in Israel, 1956-1983.

Box
18

Folder
9

Holocaust material. 1966-1975.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

from Herbert A. Friedman

Talma Gavish
Derech Hayam 25



Mrs. Gavish called to say that she had obtained a copy of the Matthesen speech and thought that it was an answer to the New Left wanted to transcribe it and distribute it to the schools in the Haifa area.

On March 29 we sent her

1. UJA Students Mission address 22.12.71
2. Thoughts on the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt 23 April 1968
3. Why build this wall 24 April 1966

Tel 04: 87131

למחנה
במחנה
היום.

אלה הם

הם יודעים את המצב. הם יודעים.

הם יודעים את המצב, והם יודעים את המצב.

הם.

הם יודעים את המצב, והם יודעים את המצב.

הם יודעים את המצב

הם יודעים את המצב

הם יודעים את המצב

15/4/73

173 MAY -5 1 13

J1778 NYJ739 TMB3501
ILJM CO UWNY 030
TLX NEWYORK 30 04 145P EST

RABBI HERBERT A FRIEDMAN 15 IBN GABIROL STREET
JERUSALEM



MAY 4
CAN YOU SPEAK ON HOLOCAUST TO 150 YOUNG LEADERS IN ESSEX COUNTY
ON MAY 21 22 OR 23
STONE

~~COL 15 4 150 21 22 23~~

offer JUNE 3 4 & 5 instead



F M M A R G M T M I



F M M A R G M T M I

חברי ההנהלה: פרופ' יהודה באואר, שמעון אבידן, ח"כ חייקה גרוסמן, ישראל גוטמן, שלום חולבסקי, מוניו ברנדווין, יהודה טובין, עקיבא ניר, יוסף מאיר, אבא קובנר, רוזקה קורצ'אק, מרדכי רוזמן, משה צ'יזיק.

א.נ.,

הננו פונים אליך לפי המלצות שקבלנו מארצות הברית, ממוסדות המכירים את מפעלנו ויש להם עניין לקרב אליו ולעניין בו אישים יהודיים מחוץ לישראל, שנושא השואה, העמידה והגבורה היהודית במלחמת העולם השנייה, קרוב לליבם. מאז שנות החמישים, הננו עושים במיטב יכולתנו, כדי להפיץ ברבים, את מורשת השואה והגבורה באמצעות; המוזיאון בקיבוץ יד מרדכי, הארכיון בגבעת חביבה, כתב העת "ילקוט מורשת" ימי עיון למובגרים ולצעירים.

מורשה - בית עדות על שם חברנו - מפקד המרד בגיטו וארשה, מרדכי אנילביץ' - הוקמה ע"י אנשי המחנה, לוחמים, פרטיזנים וחוקרים בנושא השואה וההתנגדות היהודית - שבקיבוץ הארצי השומר הצעיר, כיום הזה - משתפים אתנו פעולה אישים מהאוניברסיטאות בישראל; מורים וסטודנטים, חוקרים והיסטוריונים, מחנכים ומורים בבתי-ספר שונים וציבור רחב ומגוון מהעיר ומהתנועה הקיבוצית. הננו רואים חובה לעצמנו, לעניין ולקרב למפעלנו - אישים מארה"ב שהנושאים שאנו עוסקים בהם - הם קודש גם להם ויש להם מגעים עם הקהילות, בחי-הכנסה, הנועות נוער, מורים וסטודנטים באוניברסיטאות וכל ציבור יהודי - מבוגר וצעיר כאחד. כדי לממש את הקשר בינינו ולהעמיד לרשותכם את החומר העשיר והמגוון שהצטבר ומצטבר אצלנו, הננו מציעים לכם את הדברים הבאים:

חתימה על כתב העת "ילקוט מורשת" - המופיע פעמיים בשנה במתכונת של כ-200 עמודים. הננו מצרפים בזה את התוכן - נושאים ורשימת המחברים - של 17 הילקוטים שהופיעו מאז שנת 1963. העיון בחומר זה, יאפשר לכם לקבל מושג רציני למדי מאופיו, תוכנו וחשיבותו של כתב עת זה. הילקוט מופיע עתה ב-4000 עותקים. הוא מומלץ על ידי משרד החינוך והתרבות, המוסדות המוסמכים של צה"ל ורשימת החותמים עליו מעידה על כך שהוא נפוץ בקרב ציבור רחב, מוסדות החינוך התיכון והגבוה, סמינריונים למורים, ספריות אישיות אזרחיות וצבאיות ועוד ועוד. הננו מציעים לכם, לא רק לחתום על הילקוט - אלא גם להזמין את הילקוטים שהופיעו עד עתה. המחיר של החתימה הוא עממי מאוד וזה כדי להקל על הפצתו המירבית. המחיר בארצות הברית הוא 2.50 דולר לילקוט (כולל דמי משלוח)

הזמנת הספרים שהוצאו לאור על ידינו (תוך שיתוף עם "ספריית פועלים") - הננו מצרפים בזה מידע תמציתי על הספרים שהוצאנו לאור עד היום הזה. נראה לנו, שספרים אלה יעשירו כל ספרייה - פרטית, קהילתית, אוניברסיטאית וכ"ה - המרכזת חומר תעודי, מחקרי, עיוני וספרותי בנושא השואה, מהנות ההשמדה, ההתנגדות לכל צורחיה, קורות עמנו במלחמת העול השנייה ובזמן החדש וכל השייך לנושאים אלה.

מוזיאון יד מרדכי - הנמצא בקיבוץ יד מרדכי שעמידת הגבורה שלו במלחמת השיחרור ידועה ברבים והנושא גם את שמו של מרדכי אנילביץ' - פתוח לכל דורש וקבל המבקרים בו מתקרב למליון הראשון. הננו ממלמצים כל כך, שיחידים וקבוצות המבקרים בישראל - יתקשרו עם הנהלת המוזיאון וזה על מנת לארגן את הביקור בו בלווי ובהסברה במסגרת נאותה.

הארכיון בגבעת חביבה - הוא אחד החשובים ביותר וזה בשל החומר העשיר והמגוון המצוי בו. ראוייה לציון במיוחד העובדה, שהארכיון מכיל חומר חשוב ביותר בנושא ההתנגדות, הלחימה, המרד, מלחמת הפרטיזנים וכל גילויי העמידה בימי השואה וההשמדה, הארכיון מומלץ בעיקר בפני חוקרים, היסטוריונים, מורים, סטודנטים וכל אלה אשר יש להם עניין להכיר את ההיעוד ההיסטורי העשיר המצוי בו.

ימי עיון - של "חוג מורשת", מתקיימים 4-5 פעמים בשנה ומרכזים ציבור מעיר ומכפר, מהאוניברסיטאות ומקרבת המורים, אנשי צה"ל וכל אלה שנושא השואה והגבורה וקורות עמנו בזמן החדש-קרוב לליבם. החוג קיים למעלה מ-10 שנים. הננו נכונים להזמין לימי העיון את השוהים בישראל פרק זמן מסויים - ובעיקר בהורף.

אנו פונים אליכם בהצעות אלה תוך תקווה, שתמצאו עניין בהן ותרצו לאמץ לעצמיכם ולמוסדות שאתם קשורים בהם ומועלים בקרבם. נשמח מאוד, להשיב לכל שאלה שהופנה אלינו ולהענות לכל בקשה שהיא בתחום מפעלנו. אנו קיימים - כדי למלא שליחות יהודית בישראל ובתפוצות ישראל בכל אתר ואתר. עבודתנו נעשית בתנאים צנזרים מאוד - אבל נראה לנו שכל מה שבצענו עד עתה, ראוי לחשומת ליבכם ולשיהוף פעולה מצידכם.

הננו מחכים לחשובתך וברצון נענה לכל בקשה מידע נוסף. הכחובת שלנו היא:

"מורשת"

רח' המאספים 9 (או ת.ד. 40009)

תל - אביב.

ברצון נקבל את פנייך בביקורך בישראל.

בברכה ובציפיה לחשובה

הנהלת "מורשת"

We have come to this place filled with the darkness
of destruction seeking to find the light of courage.

1 ~~WHY DO WE COME TO THIS PLACE?~~
We came **BECAUSE OF THE MITZVAH**

"accompanying the dead" אִי אֵילֵּל
which is incumbent upon the entire
Jewish community. The Talmud lists
this (Shabbat 127a) as one of the
10 mitzvot for which a person is
rewarded in this world & the world
to come.

We accompany these dead to their grave
because they went alone - and we
must forever and ever, for all time,
honor them.

~~Story of two deaths - post-73 - was
death by fire in the oven,
death by fire in the tank.~~

But until that day we
shall support ~~that~~ ^{this} well - the
state - this people with all the fierce
~~our~~ power and pride of ^{men} determined
to use ^{their} our money as a strong tool
against tyranny and for freedom

Long live the Jewish people and the Jewish state.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



"WHY BUILD THIS WALL"

Speech at dedication of Wall
to Six Million in Temple Beth Am,
Los Angeles, 24 April 1966

We Jews burned in the heat of a thousand
ovens - and the world was cold. We
gagged in the gas of a thousand chambers-
and the world was silent. A million
bullets thudded into inert flesh until
it was no novelty - and a thousand bull-
dozers heaved the frozen, starved and
mangled bodies into gaping holes in the
exhausted earth. Soil could not shriek
in protest. It could only accept and
swallow the awful refuse. The smoke
dissolved in the sky. The ashes were
scattered on the winds. The bones dis-
appeared - and when the whole hideous
mess was over - mankind was indicted
forever. The mark of Cain was burned

into the brow, not only of jack-booted Nazis who were the active criminals, but of every single human being on earth who had failed to protest.

Nothing like this has ever happened before in the entire recorded history of the human race. { The human animal is a fighting animal - worse than absolutely any other - and the rivers of blood spilt during millenia in wars over land or gold or religion or trade, spilt through torture and inquisition and gladiatorial combat, spilt through hatred and greed and fear and pride, have been far greater than all the rivers of water on all the continents. But, never in all the fantastic episodes which have marked man's incredible eagerness to harm his brother, has there been one to match the murder of the Jews in the mid-20th century. }

Deliberate, calculating, announced long in advance, described in detail, broadcast widely for all to know, and performed in an age when the technical means of communication were such that today's news reached the farthest point on earth by tomorrow, this mass murder was possible not because the victim was willing, but because his neighbor was. The criminal shot in the dead of night - there was no policeman to prevent him - and the neighbors closed their doors and windows in order not to become involved. The victims died - 6 million of them - at the hands of two kinds of murderers, active and passive.

There are some who say that the victims themselves must share in the guilt of the crime, for they did not fight back.

~~Especially~~ ^{today} the young, those born since the holocaust, and the free, those living in Israel and America, have made some savage and biting comments. Asking the question - why did the victims allow themselves to be led like sheep to the ovens? - they imply that there was cowardice or paralysis or some innate weakness. They suggest there was an alternative or a way of escape which the weak-livered Jews of Central Europe were not strong enough or clever enough to employ.

The victims need no defense on this point. It is well known that they fought back in many ghettos - that they joined partisan and resistance groups - that they utilized all sorts of ingenious methods to avoid the enemy. And furthermore, it is historically clear

that the long preparatory years of Nazi propaganda, the ceaseless transports from one area to another, the masquerading of death camps as work camps, the morale-cracking effect of hunger, the separation of families, the herding into ghettos and a hundred other devices all designed to confuse, harass and weaken - resulted in the unarmed civilian Jews being an unequal match for the greedy sadism of the Gestapo and the SS.

This wall is erected to the memory of those victims. What purpose does it serve? Why build it?

First of all, to cause us to remember the crime. Human memory seeks to erase that which is painful. There cannot be an Eichmann trial to remind every new generation. So there must be

symbols, employing poetry, imagery and illusion, to remind us of the harsh reality. This wall is such a symbol. We place it here, right in front of our noses, so that we shall see it as often as possible. It is not put off in some remote park or plaza which might be visited, at best, infrequently. It stands in this sanctuary where multitudes will be confronted by it constantly. We must never allow ourselves to forget the pain and horror it signifies.

Secondly, to cause us to understand the meaning of our existence. We were not accidental victims - but deliberately chosen for the slaughter. Our collective, existential presence in the world is an obstacle to the force of barbarism. So long as we exist, with our moral code and our set of values and our capacity to

give birth to additional religions and our beliefs in justice and righteousness, we are a bone in the throat of all those who seek to organize the world differently. The world could not be dominated by Hitlerian philosophy so long as we existed in it. He understood this and kept on trying to destroy us up to his dying day. If he understood it, we certainly should. The wall will remind us of the ideals which must survive if civilization is to endure.

Third, to cause us to know that our fate is largely in our own hands. Almost no one - with some remarkable exceptions - lifted a finger to help us. We can protect ourselves mainly by ourselves. This is the metaphysical interpretation of the creation of the State of Israel within three short years

after the destruction of European Jewry. It is almost as though history were saying that a sovereign independent Jewish political and military power was necessary in order to ensure that never again would any portion of world Jewry be defenseless. Should some future attack ever again be launched - and should the rest of the world again stand idly by - ^{this} ~~a~~ free and independent Jewish commonwealth would rise as a powerful ally to aid the stricken. The wall reminds us that we must do all possible to keep our destiny in our own hands.

Fourth, to cause us to think always of those who stood silently by, and not to seek vengeance in our hearts against them, but to realize how weak and fragile most men are. The Christian world did not act with Christian love or charity.

The Christian veneer proved to be awfully thin. There are some who say that the Christian religion displayed a terrible bankruptcy and impotence in the years of fearful testing. It was found wanting. But what is the sense of our going forward into the centuries ahead merely hating? Rather must we understand that people are morally weak and thus it is all the more imperative for us to maintain our strength and faith in Judaism's eternal role of civilizing mankind.

Fifth, to cause us to know that there is still a great mystery about God-but that, like Job, we must not be discouraged in the search to understand His relationship to man. Many people will look at this wall and it will turn them into atheists for they will not understand why He was silent at Aushwitz

and all the other places named here. Others will recall that the religious faith of the victims themselves was not disturbed for they went to the flames singing Ani Ma'amin - I believe with perfect faith. The fact is that God is most often hidden from man - and never more so than during this frightful time of murder. Does He exist? Yes? No? Where was He? Was he powerless? The wall will not provide answers - but at least it will remind us to keep asking the questions. Without that, all is certain to be lost.

So, these are some of the purposes to be served by the building of this wall - to remember the crime; to understand our role as the victim; to develop our independent strength; to be tolerant

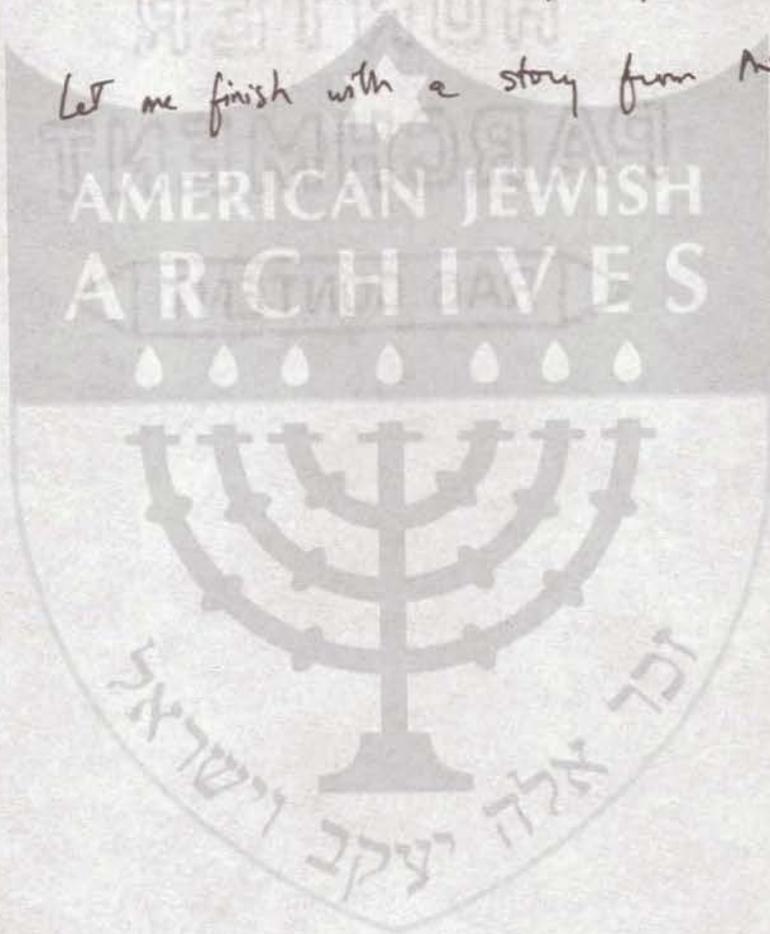
of human weakness; to keep searching for a God to make human life more meaningful.

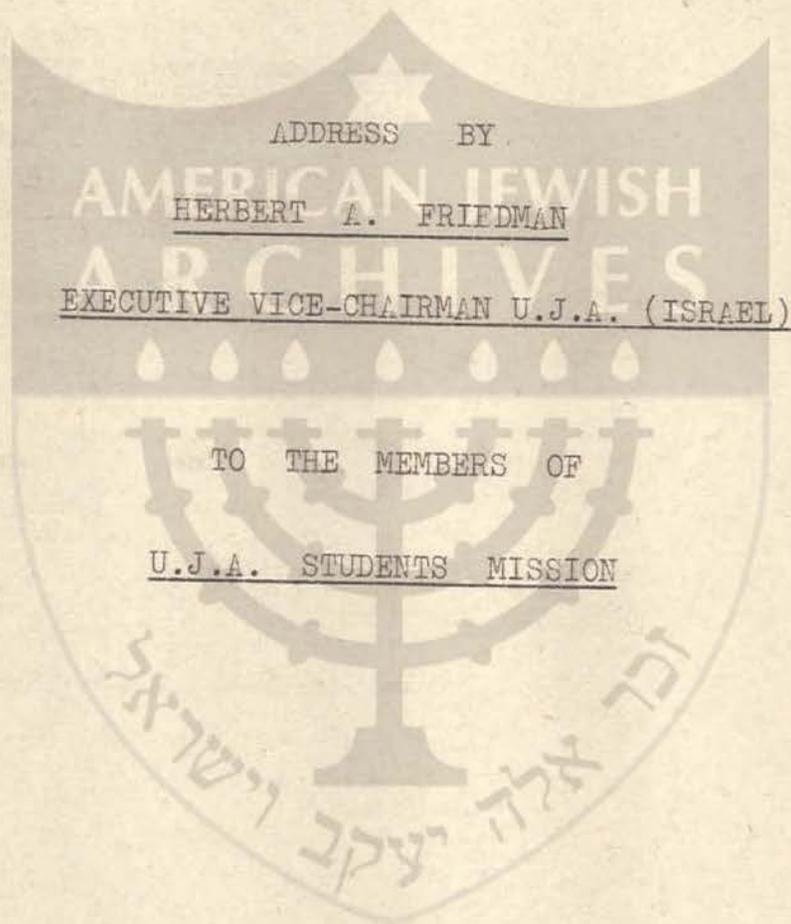
May the men who built this wall accept our gratitude for their wisdom in doing so; may those of us in this generation who actually experienced the searing agony seek most forcefully to record it and interpret it so that its meaning shall never be lost; and may the anonymous millions of the past memorialized here, inspire the unborn millions of the future to live as Jews should, (so that the whole human race can progress to the messianic time when such insane explosions as this will appear to be part of the frenzied infancy of man still not yet in control of himself.)

When the time finally comes that all men will be truly ashamed of what happened in this century - then we will be able to take down this wall for it will have served its purpose.

Let me finish with a story from Me Yom Kippur

em.





22.12.71

C O N F I D E N T I A L
NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

Paul Korda

Last year, just about exactly at this time, I was the representative to this student leadership mission, from Michigan State University, and just as you, we were introduced to the Mission, what it's about, at the International Hotel in New York. We were told about the purpose of UJA and our role in assuring the continuity and the survival of our people. And the person who, in a very forceful and commanding voice that has, over the years, become his trademark, presented the message of the UJA, the message of our people. It was none other than the person that we are very fortunate to have with us today, Mr. Herbert Friedman. He would like me to dispense with all the baloney. Without further ado, then, Mr. Friedman.

Herbert Friedman

I didn't mean to bug Paul. He was doing very well, but suddenly something struck my ear.

This is not a microphone, so it has nothing to do with amplifying volume. It is for a tape recorder. Anybody can't hear just yell or put your hand up. There are no microphones on any of the tables, so when we get to the part of your asking questions, I'll turn this thing around and hope it will catch you, because they want to get everything. So, when you ask questions, talk up and we'll try to catch it instead of bothering to wire up a whole lot of microphones.

Paul had a very nice, formal, elaborate introduction for me prepared, and that is what I was trying to kill, because you don't care nothing about all this biographical data of the last 25 years. It is not important. Just a few facts so that you know who I am and you know into what kind of setting to place me. For 14 years of my life in two separate congregations in Denver, Colorado and in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, I was a practicing rabbi. That's for the guy with whom I was having a conversation about what are the duties of a rabbi. I guess I was no good either on that personal side. I guess I just wasn't. For three years I served in the United States Army in Germany at the time of World War II and for two of those three years, I served in the Haganah, which was the illegal underground organization of the Jews prior to the establishment of the State, in which we were trying to fight for our independence from an underground position. So, I have authentic credentials as a revolutionary.

I worked for eight years in the United States as a volunteer speaker on behalf of the UJA, which meant that while I was a rabbi in those two respective congregations, I used to run around from city to city, making speeches, trying to explain the Jewish position, whether it was in Morocco or in Rumania or Palestine before it was Israel. Years and years and years I kept trying to explain to audiences the need for supporting the survival of the Jewish people

by the one means we had at our disposal, which was money.

Money is power, and don't you ever forget it. And power is what you need to stay alive and don't ever forget that.

Then for 17 years, I was the professional head of the UJA and ran the whole UJA for the whole United States of America. About a half year ago, my family and I moved here to settle here for good which is what I've been wanting to do for a long time anyhow. And now, I can't really say that I am running the whole UJA because most of my staff is still over there in America, and I have to say that even though I retained the same position in the UJA, I don't have the same control of the day by day operations. But what I do have is policy making role and setting general directions and guidelines and doing a whole series of other things. So, we live here now, and we love it very much and every time a group of you come over, I look forward to it with a great deal of anticipation and joy. Because then we can have a real clash of wits and a real contest of will and a real good fight and then we see how many can be converted in the process.

Converted to what? Oh, very simple, very simple. Moshe Dayan gave the answer to that. When somebody said to him in a meeting, What do you want from us? So, he came up quick as a flash, unless he had spent the whole previous night not worrying about the war, but worrying about finding this one sentence, I don't know. But it came out so quickly that I think it had to be spontaneous. He said, What do I want from you. I just want you to feel Jewish, and if you do, then you'll know what to do when any Jews are in trouble. Not a bad answer. Feel Jewish. Which is a kind of short hand way of getting deep into the soul and into the heart and asking for a kind of commitment which is permanent and to the core of your being. It is a simple thing to say I want to convert to the feeling Jewish. But, those words really describe everything. If you achieve that condition, like achieving nirvana, what does Mr. Hara Krishna want you to reach, where does he want you to get to? He wants you to get to nirvana. What the hell is nirvana except a total feeling of total commitment toward a certain point of view.

What we're looking for is a total commitment to the point of view of Jewish survival. We think, if we analyse Jewish history properly that Jewish survival is centered here. Here. So, that is where the sparks will start. Somebody will disagree and we'll get going. But that's good, out of all the controversy will come some movement.

There is never any movement without friction. Car can't move on the ice, can it? Wheels have got to move on a road and there has got to be friction. Friction produces motion. So, I like friction, and I like arguments. I like discussions, but there is only one thing I don't like. Let me warn you in advance. I don't

like argument for the sake of argument that doesn't come to a conclusion, the kind of intellectual jockeying, sparring around, where you show your facility in taking both sides of a question with equal impartiality and displaying a virtuosity to defend either side equally well is something that leaves me cold. I'm too far along for that. Because that is just trickery and cleverness. I'm interested in argument for the sake of reaching a conclusion that either you persuade me or I persuade you and both of us have gained in the argument. Most arguments that kids have are just going around and around in circles and at the end of an hour, so what. That is a painful waste.

OK. So what I'd like to do here today is talk to you a bit about some things which I think are important and then quit that and let you ask questions about things you think are important. I would hope that they would turn out to be the same things. I'd like to take a moment to tell you what room you're in. See that picture? You're in a room which is named after the man who is holding his hand up. He is holding his hand up, taking the oath of office. His name is Chaim Weizman, and the oath of office that he is taking is that of the first President of this State. That occurred in this room, this room is therefore called the Weizman Room. The room looks different than it did in that picture. I think that was more handsome. This is more international, faceless, modern. International meetings are held in this room. That room had character. This room has simply got facilities.

Weizman was taking the oath of office which was being administered to him by a little man with a moustache -- this is being recorded so I can't say what I think he looks like. The first police uniforms of the State are there. The guys are looking very self-conscious in their uniforms. And the fellow with the sort of Charlie Chaplin moustache in the second row, looking over his shoulder, his name was Moshe Sharret. He was for many years Foreign Minister of Israel and also for many years, Prime Minister. He is the only Prime Minister of Israel I see in that picture. Ben Gurion isn't there in the picture. I guess he wasn't there at the ceremony. That's alright, because there was a nice feud between him and Weizman. Ben Gurion never left room on the Declaration of Independence for Weizman to sign his name and Weizman never forgave him for it. These are the little tidbits of history that you have to know about. Weizman was in London when the Declaration was signed and everybody said well, Ben Gurion could have waited a couple of days for Weizman to get here. And Ben Gurion said, I couldn't wait a couple of minutes. That's all there is to it. We had to declare the State of Israel, sign the Declaration and if he wasn't here, he wasn't here. He got to be elected the first President later, so what. So, when he got to be sworn in as the President, he said, well, I guess if Ben Gurion can't come, he can't come. So what. Not that there was any great or tremendous

hatred between them, but you have to understand, and I'm telling you this story for a reason, that these are human beings and not mythological figures. Human beings act like human beings sometimes. So, let's forgive them for their weaknesses.

Ben Gurion isn't in the picture. Eshkol, who was a Prime Minister later, isn't in the picture. Golda, who is the Prime Minister today, isn't in the picture. So, that's why I pointed out Sharret.

That's where you are in this room. This room is located in a building. The building is called the Jewish Agency Building and the Jewish Agency is the name of the organization which existed to take care of this country, before there was a State. It was a State only in the year 1948. What happened in 1947 or 1946, I mean nobody here was born then, so you don't really care, probably. But, something was going on in 1944, 46? Somebody was running this place. Well, the British were running this country and they were running it because they were given charge of it, by the League of Nations after World War I. The British came here about 1920 and they were here until 1948 and they were running it, but they were running it as a mandatory government. Who was really running the affairs of the Jews? There was a shadow underground -- that's not really right, because it wasn't really underground. It was overground. It was known. It was a public body called The Jewish Agency and it consisted of a bunch of guys, they were like the Jewish committee in charge. The British authorities worked with them. The only thing that was underground about them was their army. The army of the Jewish Agency that was underground was called the Haganah.

The rest of the Jewish Agency was above ground. The Jewish Agency worked to represent Jewish interests and the Jewish Agency prepared itself for the day when this country would become independent, that the British would leave, that there would be a free and sovereign Jewish State and somebody would have to rule it and be its government. So, the Jewish Agency was really, for 20 odd years, the shadow government of this country, waiting for the moment when Jewish independence would be achieved.

The Chairman of the Jewish Agency was Mr. Ben Gurion. He then became the Prime Minister of the Government. The Chairman of the Political Committee of the Agency was Mr. Sharret. He then became the Foreign Minister of the government. The Chairman of the Finance Committee was Mr. Kaplan. He then became the Minister of Finance of the government. So, all the guys who held positions in the Jewish Agency, when the British left and the Jewish Agency surfaced and became the government, they switched over from being Jewish Agency officials to government officials.

This building then is the Jewish Agency Building. It was the headquarters of the Jewish State before there ever was a State. The building therefore has an historic significance and this room has very historic significance.

Let me come directly, right now, to one immediate question you could have and say, Well, alright, all that was before the State. Why do you need a Jewish Agency still in existence today, 23 years after the State has been established. Good question, isn't it? Lots of people ask it. And don't really know what the answer is. The answer is this. The Jewish Agency today performs functions which the government cannot do. That is why you still need it. You say what functions? Well, I'll give you two examples. No. 1, it receives all the money that we raise. The money can't go from the UJA in America to the State of Israel. It is illegal to do it that way. The government of the United States doesn't allow it. The government of the United States says you people cannot send your money directly to a foreign government. You're American citizens. You can raise the money if you want, to help Jews if you want. Send it to Israel if you want, but you can't send it directly to the government of Israel or its not tax deductible - there is no permission for tax deduction according to the rules of the United States Treasury. So, the Jewish Agency is the organization that receives the money. That is one purpose and that is why you need the Jewish Agency.

I'll give you a second example. The Jewish Agency handles immigration of Jews from different countries into Israel. Why can't the government do it? Take Morocco. Morocco is a country that is part of the Arab League, and the government of Israel has no Ambassador in Morocco. The Government of Israel can't do any dealings inside Morocco for Moroccan Jews, right? So, the Jewish Agency has a department of immigration. The Jewish Agency is not the government. The Jewish Agency sends some guys into Morocco and works with American organizations that are in Morocco, gets people out, brings them over here, has the money to spend on it. So those two examples give you the function of the Jewish Agency right in a nutshell.

You need an organization that can receive the money and then that can take the money and can spend it on the purpose of getting Jews out of different countries. The government of Israel has no ambassador in Moscow. So, who handles the whole movement of Russian Jews. Inside Russia, the Dutch Embassy does. If you kids ever want to visit Holland, do so, with love and blessings, because Holland is the most wonderful country in terms of its attitude in terms of Jewish problems and Jewish needs and Jewish difficulties. The little tiny Dutch Embassy in Moscow is snowed under with all these Jewish, these Russian Jews who are succeeding in getting out. I'll tell you about that in a minute. O.K. So

they get their papers. The Dutch Embassy processes it. People get on an airplane and they go where? They go to Vienna. Who picks them up in Vienna. The same Jewish Agency. It arranges planes, arranges hostels, a place to sleep overnight. Food, the whole bit. Finally gets them over here.

When you finally get them over here to Israel, then the government finally takes them over. Now, all this is kind of boring, except that it really isn't, because these organizational problems are part of the knowledge which you require in order for you to do your work effectively.

I'd like to go back for a moment to that period that I described as the Haganah period in Germany at the end of World War II. I'd like to tell you a bit about that in order to try to explain to you one very simple thing. What you guys have got to understand is that when you are dealing with the question of life or death for the Jewish people, you are dealing with something which you, and only you and nobody else is ever going to do anything about.

I'm not paranoid. I don't think I look it and I don't think I act it. But after a lot of experience, I've come to one very simple conclusion. When we're in a bind, we get a lot of sympathy and no action. When we're not in a bind, and things are going so-called normally, we don't even get a lot of sympathy. Not that we need it. I don't know how to find the words to make real to you the emotional impact of Hitler and the Holocaust. I'm pretty good with words, but nobody can find the words, not Eli Wiesel who writes them or orators who speak them. I don't think anybody can find the words to describe what it meant to live through those years in Europe, in bitter cold Poland or Russia or Germany and watch, slowly, steadily, systematically, like a factory produces so many cars every day, and every day that so many Jews shall be destroyed. Every day. Every day. And if you don't kill your quota of Jews for that day, then all hell breaks loose, up and down the line of bureaucracy. Himmler starts screaming up at the top line, Not enough Jews were killed this month, and from Himmler down to Eichmann and from Eichmann down to every guy until it reaches the bottom. And it is unbelievable. What are all the bureaucrats excited about in their offices? They're reading reports in the paper, that this month only 100,000 Jews were killed when the quota calls for a million. How in God's name are you going to kill all the Jews if you're going so Goddamned slowly.

Now the factory was at work week after week and month after month and year after year and your fathers and mothers were alive on this earth, even though you weren't. And I was alive on this earth and there was no Jew who was alive on this earth during this period, who can fail to carry with him to the grave, the guilt for the death of his brother and sister about which he did nothing.

It doesn't make any sense to condemn the past generation for doing nothing, because I never believed in crying about spilt milk. There is no point in recriminations about the past. What there is is the point of trying to understand what happened and why it happened so that we can make sure it doesn't happen again. It's very simple.

The Jews of the United States were asleep. Just plain asleep. Some were worried, there were a few leaders, one man by the name of Steven Wise. He was the great voice of conscience of American Jewry. Everytime he wanted to try to propose something, the others on the committee always told him why it wasn't practical, like the Welfare Fund Committee tells you something is a bum idea and it won't work. There is always a guy to say that something is a bum ideal. There are very few guys who produce creative suggestions. He wanted to organize a boycott against Germany in 1933 to break Germany economically. Other Jews said, No, no, don't do that. It will get Hitler sore. As though Hitler wasn't already devoted to the death of the Jews. But you had to be careful not to get the lion more irritated.

American Jews were essentially asleep and impotent. Nobody gave a damn. And I say that is not being paranoid, that is just being a fact. Roosevelt was asked over and over again for permission for the 8th Air Force in Italy to be allowed to go in and bomb Auschwitz. So, the smart-ass answer from the War Department was, Well, if we bomb Auschwitz, then we'll kill all the Jews in it. And the answer was, That's right. 20,000. 30,000. But if you bomb the factory they won't be able to kill a million. Because they'll never be able to get it rebuilt. So, after we answer him that way, he comes back with another answer that it is too far to go, which is a bunch of hogwash, because the 8th Air Force was going all the way deep into the oil fields in Rumania. Which was farther to go than Auschwitz. The death factory went rolling merrily on consuming its quota every day.

Churchill, who called himself a big Zionist, couldn't care less. Jews, Jews? The only Jews in the world who tried to do anything were the Jews living here in Palestine. What they tried to do was form an army to fight under the Jewish flag, with the British Army, against Hitler, so that at least they would have a feeling that they were doing something to lift up their hands to help their fellow Jews who were in camps in Europe. Churchill stalls and stalls year after year after year, before giving permission finally in 1945 the year the war finally ended, he gave permission to have a Jewish brigade, which was attached to the British Army in Italy. Thank you very much.

And our friend the Pope. The Pope sat around in 1938 and made a deal with Hitler. The Pope signed a treaty with Hitler. The

Concordat. Did you know that? And Stalin. Listen, he was very busy trying to liberate all of Europe so that he could later swallow it. No morality there. A first class anti-Semite from Georgia. The same Georgia from which this month a couple of thousand Jews have come to Israel.

No. No. Just listen and learn very carefully from the lessons of history. Nobody, nobody lifts a finger in the clinch. Help yourself or you perish. The lesson is just as simple as that. It is not some new lesson to be learned from World War II experience. That lesson came all the way down from the Crusades and the Auto de Fe of the Inquisition and blah, blah, blah. If you know your Jewish history ... the only trouble is you don't. If you don't know your Jewish history, that is something you have to do. Everybody has got to make a problem for himself in the year ahead. Read one book, not two, or three. One book on Jewish history. Will you? Any one. Sachar, Roth, Dubnow, I don't care. One book on Jewish history. So, when somebody throws a lecture at you and refers to Crusaders and the Inquisition, it will click in your mind and You'll know what he's talking about. Because we'd be here all day if I tried to explain every reference.

This period burned itself into me forever, and I never was the same person thereafter. The war finished in 1945 and I stayed two more years until the middle of 1947, working. And our task in the underground was that we were trying to move Jews across borders, illegally, against all the powers of the world. Who didn't really care much about what happened to Jews. We tried to move them down to the Mediterranean on ships to get them to this country, in that period which you may remember when the British were trying to stop the ships from coming to this country and we were trying to break through the British blockade. Most of the time, we didn't. People got caught. Ships got caught and people got put on Cyprus behind barbed wire. Or the people got sent back to Germany, behind barbed wire.

It was a period when the Jewish people were at its weakest point because we had just lost a third of our members to Hitler. A third of the Jews in the world were killed. And he was well on his way to getting all the rest. At the moment when we were the weakest target, that was the moment when we made the supreme effort to try to win our independence. And if you can understand anything about miracles, you've got to believe that the years 1945-1948 were the years of the greatest miracle that ever took place anytime, anywhere in Jewish history, and I'm not sure, but I don't even include Mt. Sinai in that sentence. Because if we had not been formed as a nation at Sinai, we would have been formed at some other mountain by some other leader at some other time. We were a nation already a long time earlier, under

Abraham. So, the forming of us into a nation, which is what took place at Mt. Sinai, while it was a great and cataclysmic event, transcendental, I think you could argue the case that maybe what happened in 1945-48 was even greater. Because in 1945 we were bleeding, from six million pores. In 1948, we stood up on our feet, and said, We are the Third Jewish Commonwealth, reborn. And we shall live again. The moment we chose to say that was not when we were at our strongest but when we were at our weakest.

If we're living here today 23 years later to tell the tale, it is because there was a miracle involved in the creation. I don't mean a miracle in any kind of supernatural sense. I mean a miracle in a natural sense. We grasped that moment in history and intuitively understood what to do with it. I think the conscience of the world was at stake, partly. Partly, they were embarrassed, Let's use a polite word, at what they had done to us. I think that when the moment came to make retribution, 33 countries in the world voted that we should have the right to have a State of our own, but even so, there were 13 countries that voted no. Their conscience wasn't too active. We made it by a vote of 2. I don't know if you know that. Two. Two. It's ridiculous. We made it, I'm utterly convinced, not because some powers voted in the United Nations, in Flushing Meadows, but we made it because of the persistence, the persistence, and here's the lesson, by which we refused to lie down and die. We were dead, for all intents and purposes. European Jewry was dead, American Jewry was weak and dormant, flaccid and unproductive. What the hell else was there. Russian Jewry was in prison.

We were dead and in 1945 the Jewish people said, No, not dead. We're alive. And to prove it to you, we're going to declare our own State. The creation of the State of Israel was the answer to Hitler. Out of death came life. Out of blood came life. Every person in this room was born in blood. Can't be born without it, not even in a Caesarean. Death means blood. The question is how much? Can you afford to bleed more. And do you maybe bleed yourself to final death. These were the questions in 1948, 1947 and 1946 before that gamble took place, we knew we had only one thing to do and that was to try and save the life of every Jew who Hitler had not destroyed. There was only one way to save them and that was to bring them here. Because, even though this place wasn't a free Jewish land in 1945 or 1946 or 1947, still we knew that we were going to make it that way, one fine day. If we got Jews over here, at least, even though there would still be somebody else running the place, like the British, nevertheless, if the Jews would be here, they would be safe. That was the dream.

So, believing that we would win our independence, and in the meanwhile, prepare for that by getting every Jew we could get over here. And by the way, in the process of getting them over here, we also

created enough rumpus on the Mediterranean Sea to gain ourselves a lot of favourable publicity to push the U.N. vote the way it finally pushed. You know what really finally pushed the U.N. vote in November of 1947? It was an episode with a ship called the "Exodus" in July of 1947, a few months earlier. And the British made a mistake, because when we loaded that ship, and that was the last one that I had anything to do with, in a small French port, near Marseilles, and put 4,500 people on board. She was a flat-bottomed ferry boat that used to sail across the Chesapeake Bay from Wilmington to someplace. Imagine sailing that across the ocean, without a keel. And imagine ripping the guts out, where you put automobiles in the ferry boat and putting in planking. Two toilets, 4,500 people. There were some guys who didn't get a chance to go once in the ten days. No joke. Hungry, vomit, I mean that thing was a mess.

You know what the British sent after her? They sent the biggest battle cruiser they had, the Ajax. The Ajax was the pride of the British fleet. It had sunk the Graf Spee off the coast of Montevideo earlier in the war. The Ajax is out after the Exodus. She was hanging off there and she's waiting and waiting and doesn't touch the ship while she's inside French waters, but after we had this huge, heroic Jewish crew loaded and the ship sailed, the Ajax followed her for 12 days. Off the coast of this country, then Palestine, the Ajax came in with her big steel prow, and she kind of nudged her and she almost split her in half. When the British Marines came down the ropes and boarded and there was a fight and a couple of kids were killed and the D.P.'s we called them in those days, "Displaced persons" if you ever heard that term, fought back with all the cans of kosher corn beef and everything else that they had on board that they threw at the British sailors.

Soon, the Haganah commander of the ship was ordered to surrender, by radio from the shore, and he did, and he dispersed his crew in all the hiding places, down in the bilge and in the false walls and so forth, because when the British captured the ship, we didn't want them to capture the Haganah crew. So, all that what happened is that when they tied the ship up at Haifa harbour and took the people off board and moved them over to three British prison ships, the Exodus remained tied up. About 48 hours later, the boys crept out from in between all the places and jumped overboard and swam ashore and the crew was intact.

The Jews were not taken to the island of Cyprus. That would have been too easy. The Jews were told they were going to be taken back to France from where the ship sent sail. And when they got to France, they refused to get off and they pulled a hunger strike. And the British went up the wall, because they couldn't persuade the French to use force. The French said, Listen, you can't drag the people off by force. So, the British said, OK. Teach them

a lesson once and for all. Back to Germany. Take those ships back up through the Channel, back up to the port of Bremerhaven, take the three shiploads of people back into the concentration camp at Bergen-Belsen.

Now, anybody who puts Jews back into concentration camps at Bergen-Belsen has blown his mind. And that, in the month of August, is when the British lost the ball game, because world public opinion swung against them. September, October, November, the vote came in. O.K. Let the Jews have their own damn State. Of course, they gave us exactly nothing. Because what the Arabs said, was if there is a vote in favour of an independent Jewish State, then we will fire, and the vote took place on the 29th of November and on the morning of the 30th of November, they started firing. Nobody remembers his name anymore, but the Arab guerilla, Fauzi Be-Kaukji Effendi got his armies together and went tromping into Mishmar Ha'Emeq, a kibbutz south-east of Haifa. He got in that far.

The war of guerilla fighting went on from November 1947 until May 15, 1948. May 15, 1948 was a Shabbat. That was the day, by which according to the U.N. vote, the British were to leave. On Shabbat, nothing was going to be done, as far as the Jewish authorities were concerned, so on Friday, May 14, in an Art Museum in Tel Aviv, the members of the Jewish Agency were gathered together Friday afternoon, at 4 o'clock, just before Shabbat, and Ben Gurion, read the Declaration of Independence, proclaimed the name of the State, the shofar was blown, Shabbat fell Friday afternoon, Saturday, the 15th at the stroke of noon, the British High Commissioner, Sir Alex Cunningham, sailed out of the Port of Haifa, on a cutter, for his destroyer. Down came the British flag. He gave his last salute, climbed aboard, turned his back and they sailed to sea. That same day, Shabbat, the 15th of May, the first immigrant refugee ship sailed into the same Haifa harbour with over 5,000 people on board, coming from the camps in Europe, and if you ever want to see dramatized the liberation and the meaning of freedom, what Jews couldn't do the day before, namely, sail into this place freely, without having a British certificate, to permit them to land, the next day they didn't need any certificate to permit them to land. The keys to the door were in our own hands. They landed. Nothing more complicated than that. That's it.

That same Shabbat, not guerilla Arab armies, but regular Arab armies from all the neighbouring states started their invasion and that war went on for months and months and months, until Mr. Ralph Bunche performed his miraculous deed, for which he got the Nobel Peace Prize, of so-called bringing the war to an end, with an armistice treaty.

Do you know the first War of Independence of this country isn't

over yet. All we've got is an armistice from 23 years ago. We haven't got a peacy treaty. We haven't had a peace treaty since. We're just not about to get one. It doesn't look to me as if anybody is going to be willing to sign one. I don't know if we'll have to fight 23 more years to get one. I'm not kidding.

This is what you kids have to understand. What you guys have to understand is that the war for the independence of this country is still being fought. It is not the Sinai campaign of 1956 or the Six Day War of 1967, or the war of attrition of 1970. You can give all different names to it and all different dates to it that you want. A hundred years from now, nobody will remember it. A hundred years from now, you know what this is going to be called? This is going to be called The Period of The Wars of the Jews. It could be a 50 year war, it could be a 30 year war. It is going to be called The Period of The Wars of the Jews, of the winning of independence. And you people are still involved in the middle of the fighting of that war. You do not have yet on your hands an independent, free, peaceful State of Israel. You have a State of Israel which is free from the citizens who live in it, independent as far as taking Jews from the outside. It's free and it's independent, but it is not at peace.

This is not warmongering. This is describing a condition. We have a cease-fire, that has been going on for 14 months. The cease-fire is about to be broken. Fire is about to start again. As fire starts again, we will try to put it out again. You weren't in the country a few days ago, when the Chief of Staff made a very big speech. He said, if Egypt starts to war again, I would like the public to know what our objectives are. Our objectives are to try to regain a state of cease-fire. Did he say our objectives are to conquer Cairo? Did he say our objectives were to conquer Damascus? He said, Our objective is, if they start to fire, our objective is to get back to a condition of cease-fire.

I should like to tell you why and then I'd like to quit and open it up and ask questions. Why is the objective of Israel to return, or to remain in a condition of cease-fire. Because it is the best condition we can have until we have peace and we're not going to have peace for a long time, because peace involves recognition. And no Arab countries are about to recognize us. They didn't vote for our existence 23 years ago and they don't recognize our existence today. As far as they are concerned, they would like to obliterate our existence and wish we weren't here. As far as they're concerned, they have one historical parallel which serves them and that is the Crusades, when they said that the Christians came from Europe. After Richard the Lion-Hearted was an Englishman and who were the other Crusaders? French, German, Austrians, Christians, they came from Europe and they tried to conquer the Holy

Land. Ha. ha. We beat them. How long did it take us? Only 200 years.

King Salah E-Din, Saladin sent Richard the Lion-Hearted home with his tail between his legs. So, what the hell, we've only been fighting the Jews 23 years. They are in no hurry to make peace with us. They have no intention of making peace with us. Our objective therefore, is at least let's not make war. At least nobody gets killed. That's our objective. Our objective is to cease-fire. No fire. No killing.

Then again, you know why? In the 23 years of existence of this country, 10,000 men have given their lives in all the wars and in all the shootings between the wars. Lot of dead. You know what I mean. Let me give an example. America has roughly a population a hundred times the size of Israel. One hundred times the size. If there have been 10,000 dead in Israel, you know what that would have meant in terms of the population, it would have meant a million dead in America. You know there haven't been a million dead in America in all the wars America ever fought in 250 years. Look at Vietnam. Vietnam tore America apart. Remember the arm bands with the numbers on them when it got to be 40,000 - 45,000. 45,000 dead in Vietnam. Shocking. Horrible. Caused one President to lose. Might cause another President to lose. Well, he might be all pulled out by the elections. You kids rocked the American government right to its foundations. Because you protested against a war that took such life. 45,000 dead. World War II, 200,000. What do you think would be the effect in America if there were the equivalent of a million soldiers dead? Well, that is what 10,000 means in this country. It is that much smaller. The same ratio.

No. No. No more dead. No more dead. By next week there may be again more dead, if fire breaks out again. We don't want. There is nothing to gain. We're not trying to go anywhere. Nothing we want. We want to have somebody sign a peace treaty. If they don't want to, we'll live without it. Stop shooting. Why have we learned with such extraordinary skill to shoot back so well? Question ever dawn on anybody? How the hell have we got the best air force in the world? Its not a chauvinistic statement or a jingoistic statement. It is a fact. Why has that fact developed. Why have you got an army here which is considered to be one of the best fighting armies in the world? Because it was built up in order to defend this country against attack. Attack. Attack.

The world was surprised in 1967. You heard the cliche over and over again. Oh, we didn't think Jews could fight that way. Anybody can fight that way when his life is constantly in danger

and he decides finally that he will train himself in order to be able to defend himself. The Hottentots could do it if they had to, if they wanted to.

This country is like a little Sparta, with every citizen trained. I'll tell you something if you know anything about your ancient Greek history. Sparta is no good. No, Sparta is no way for any country to be. Athens. Philosophy, poetry, music, public debating, the greatest skill that developed in Athens, democracy. We have to be both Athens and Sparta at the same time. That is the magic and the miracle and the mystique that is Israel. Israel fights her wars for survival and at the same time, the symphony orchestra is sold out. It plays the same concert nine times in a row, they must be bored to death, but more and more people want tickets, so they play it over and over again, and each time they sell it out, 3000 seats, so 27,000 come to hear the concert. Then they can go and play the second series. More bookshops here per square foot than anyplace on earth. Russian immigrants coming in. The Minister of Finance says if we got no room for them next year, if we can't build enough houses, then I am calling on Israeli citizens to volunteer to take Russians into their own homes. Each one who has a big enough house to take a family in and we promise you, we won't let them stay more than a year. Get those guests out at the end of a year. I mean, this is Athens, and at the same time, if you'd been here yesterday and looked at yesterday's newspaper, you would have seen the three or four leading generals of this country standing on the edge of the Canal, because we expect trouble there any day. That is Sparta. But Athens and Sparta going on absolutely simultaneously. It is the most fantastic creative outburst of optimism and faith and capacity and creativity.

Every single kid who calls himself a Jew should be thrilled to the marrow of his bones that he belongs to this people which is capable of this. This isn't the nothing people, boy. This is the most something people that is. Based purely and simply upon performance. Not boasting. Performance. Jewish kids get thrilled by things. They get thrilled by Dylan because he is the best performer in the business. He thrills you more than some second rate or third rate or fourth rate. The Jews are the greatest creative performers in the world. That thrill goes through a certain number of us, fails to reach a certain number of other kids. It just fails to reach them. They just don't feel that way. The trick is that you kids who are called the leaders in this business, and I don't call you the leaders, because I don't know, but somebody calls you a leader, because you're here. You took up a seat on that marvelous flight and you are taking up a seat in this historic room. You are leaders. It is up to you to get this vibration across. This thrill. The feeling of participation in the magnificent people whose existence stretches back to the beginning of time and whose

far end will stretch, I can assure you, to the farthest end of all recorded human history. And in between, we will continually throw out our Einsteins and our Freuds and our Marxes --- and our Dylans, and that is the job of a creative people. To provide sparks for other people. It is your job as leaders, to keep the message alive of what the purpose is all about. And what Israel has to do with it is being the center of existence of the Jewish people. And what Jewish kids in America or England or Canada or wherever you are, where ever you live, should do about it.

Or, if you don't want to do that as leaders, then just be followers. That's all. Let somebody else tell you what to do. But if you're really leaders, you tell them what to do. Organize them. Don't anybody whine at me. I don't like to hear whiners about they don't listen. Kids don't want to hear the message and kids are turned off and you can't get 30 people to a Hillel meeting and --- I don't want to hear whining. There are 400,000 Jewish kids on American college campuses today and by God, if you can't go out and win the hearts and minds of half of them then you ought to abdicate. Let somebody else be the leader. I think you can. I think you want to. I think that is why you're here. I think what we can do on this trip is give you a little extra ammunition to do your job well as leaders. Leaders who should stir up the rest of the Jewish kids for devotion to the cause of Israel. The people of Israel are Russian Jews. The people of Israel are American Jews. The people of Israel are Israeli Jews. All Jews are Israelis. All Israelis are Jews. We are indistinguishable one from the other. You happen to live in a geographical place called America. I happen to live in a geographical place called Jerusalem. What unites us is much more than what separates us. What separates us is a few thousand miles of geography. That is all. What unites us is a few thousand years of history.

The history that unites us is much stronger than the geography which divides us. Think about it. So, one people united, we can make Israel safe and strong here in the State of the land and we can make the children of Israel safe and strong anyplace they live anywhere on earth. That is what the ball game is all about. Thank you very much.

Now, I talked for an hour, non-stop. That is a long time for anybody to listen. So, if you want to take a stretch, we can, or if you want to start asking questions we can. Or we can do both at the same time. Stretch and who has the first question.

Alright, the first question is, can I explain the relationship between the Jewish Agency and the J.D.C.? The answer is yes.

The Jewish Agency takes care of the immigration of Jews here into Israel, in the settlement and their absorption. Everything inside Israel. The J.D.C. is an organization that was formed 54 years ago. It takes care of Jews outside of Israel as well as inside. The Joint Distribution Committee has a program of around 20 million dollars worth of spending. It spends money on Jews in Morocco, Iran, France, Turkey, sends packages inside the Soviet Union. Rumania, almost 2 million dollars in Rumania for Jews who live there. It also has a program inside Israel, here under a different name called Malben, which spends about six million dollars on the victims of Hitler who are still alive and whom we have to ease gently to the grave.

There are people seventy-eighty years old, broken, many of them. They are what Hitler left. And they are here and they have to be taken care of in a dignified way. So, the Joint Distribution Committee really takes care of Jews in the countries of their residence, plus the one exception of taking care of some Jews here in Israel.

The Jewish Agency has nothing to do with Jewish communities in their countries of residence. It only has to do with immigration, initial and absorption here. Clear distinction. No duplication of money. We take very good care of that. There is never any duplication. You don't have two organizations doing the same job.

Lillian Ancis, Stern College: One thing on a college campus -- is the extent to which the Arabs and the Arab sympathizers have been able to have their propoganda spread. Can you suggest any moves and any financial support that we can get to react to this propoganda. Can you give some suggestions on how to counteract this?

Friedman: The Arab propoganda? I understood you up to that point. At that point, I suddenly lost you. If you talk about Arab propoganda on the campus, and you ask how to combat that, the only answer to propoganda is counter-propoganda. If they bring a good speaker, you bring a good speaker. It isn't a question of just money. It never cost any money to bring a speaker to campus. If you're talking about speakers, or if you're talking about films. None of the things that are usually done by the Arabs require an awful lot of money. It is the availability of people, not money that is important to do the job, that I have found to be true over and over again. I found folks who say to me, I know a state, lots of Arabs at Grinnel College, you know, in Iowa, for instance. We can't get the Jews or the Israeli kids who are here at Grinnel to stand up and give public lectures and answer back the way the Arab students do. OK, I

don't know why, but that may have been a problem on that campus. Personnel is always the question. Not money. The best answer to Arab propoganda is Israeli propoganda.

Now, if you say well, they get a thousand people out to listen to their side of the story. We can get only 50 people out to listen to our side. Tell our side to 50. So, I don't know what the desperation is about that. That is just a matter of programming, good sense, trying to figure out should you answer back the next day, or should you sit a month and bring somebody else to campus. It is a matter of strategy and tactics. I don't know why it should be difficult.

When you got to the second question, of the fact that you think that Arab propoganda acts negatively against a Jewish campaign for raising money for Israel, this I don't understand at all. Because, you are telling me, that some Jewish kids won't give money to the campaign because they were swayed by Arab propoganda? If you are saying that that is so, then you just go one by one to those kids, like we were talking about at the luncheon table today. The best way you make a campaign is by personal visit, and by personal visits, one by one, cover as many visits as you can, try to win them over and you have to answer the arguments of the Arab propogandist. If a kid says to you, I won't give you any money for the campaign because I heard the Arab propogandist say that the Jews want to make war, they want to conquer Cairo, you have to answer that kid, to get his \$10.00. How are you going to answer him? By getting Abba Eban to come and make a speech? No. You make the speech. I'm serious about it. I'm not joking. I always believe, maybe this is the long, old military training of mine, I believe that the commander gets out on the field, does his job with as many troops as he's got behind him to do it with and that means you visit and you see as many people as you can. You get out. You answer back the propoganda as you know best to do and don't look for any miracles.

Now, I'd like to ask you a question. Have you actually, truthfully, seriously, run across kids who said they won't give money because of something that some Arab told them?

Answer inaudible

And did these kids at Brown say where they had run into these kids that refused to give money. Could I ask you for a show of hands on the question? I would like to put the question this way. How many people in this room, on the basis of personal experience, you heard about it at another school, you admit you have no personal experience. That is still second-hand. How many people have had first hand experience with any Jewish kids saying they won't give any money to the campaign because of what they heard from what you

call "Arab propagandists"? Sixteen. So that has to be about a quarter, 25 of you. OK. That is a very damning indictment.

I think the only answer to it is that when you know, or you ask the kid to give money to the campaign and the kid says no, and when you ask why he gives you an Arab argument, then it is your job to nail him right on the spot. And if you can't convince him, then he wins.

Judith Mandelkorn, Ohio State University: I would like to know how dependent the State of Israel is on the funds raised in the United States.

Friedman: The question is, how dependent is Israel on the funds raised by the UJA in the United States. If you saw this morning's newspaper, right on the front page of this morning's newspaper, there was a big article saying that because of a larger aliyah, than was expected, more Jews coming from Russia and because of less money coming from the UJA than was expected, the budget for next year, is completely out of whack. I can't give you a better answer to your question than that. How dependent? Very, very dependent. Very dependent. The treasurer of this country, Mr. Sapir, this morning, in a way it was a terrible attack on the UJA, I think there is going to be a blistering bunch of cables arriving from New York by tomorrow. Of course, he didn't mean it that way, he'll say. He said, you only raised 300 million. You said you were going to raise 400 million. You're a hundred million dollars short. Look at what a hole that leaves us in. Very dependent.

Judy: Well, would you say then, in other words, that Israel could not function as a state, the civil service and everything without this large sum of money from the States?

Friedman: Well, when you say the social services, yes, I would have to agree. Because, you see, so much of the money of the country that it takes from its own citizens by taxes, is going now for the war. The war is consuming so much money in Israel. Again, I'll give you figures. Do you know what GNP means? Gross national product. That is the total value of the economy of the whole country. In America at the height of the Vietnam war about 10% of the gross national product was being devoted to the war. Here in Israel, almost 30% of the GNP goes to war. Do you realize what that means? Unbelievable drain on this economy. So, when she says social services, after you finish paying for the war, there is almost no money left for anything else. And the social services of education, health, welfare, care of the poor, all of those things, all depend upon our money. I would say totally depend. I mean the universities in this country cost about 80 million dollars a year to run. The government used to have the money to give it to them. The government hasn't got the money

because of the war. We're putting the money in. The UJA is. If we didn't, the universities would close down. It couldn't be more simple. Or that much money would have to be taken away from the war. Then you run a danger of risking the security of the country. It is a very tough choice. Our money is indispensable to the social service.

Kim Dramer, Boston University:

Friedman:(repeats question): I think I lost you somewhere in the convolutions of your grammar, but let me ask you if this is the point that you were trying to make. Were you trying to make the point that Jewish, or political organizations on the campus, with lots of Jewish kids in it, SDS, fronted for the Arab propoganda line. They expressed the Arab propoganda line.

Are you saying this, that some Jewish kids are confused, from a political point of view, they want to support, let's say the Young Socialist League, but because the Young Socialist League is anti-Israel, and the Jewish kids are pro-Israel --- are you describing a condition to me where lots of Jewish kids are caught up in a conflict? OK.

All I can answer is this. If a Jewish kid is a member of SDS, let's take that, because that is dead. Anything we say about the dead doesn't count. If a Jewish kid wanted to be a member of the SDS and yet, because of its other position on, let's say Biafra, or any question, he wants to be tied up with the SDS because that is what he believes, that is his image, that is the way he wants to look, but he is conflicted, because the SDS is anti-Israel. So, this poor Jewish kid has lived in conflict for a couple of years. I believe the SDS is dead, so that conflict is solved. But tomorrow something else will pop up. What I'm trying to say to you, I don't know why you're shaking your head, is that in a question of conflict of loyalty on the question of a pro-Israel position, no Jewish kid can exist unless he is completely schizophrenic, inside of any organization that has an anti-Israel position, if he wants to take a pro-Israel stand. He can't. He has either got to give up his pro-Israel position and join the Arabs, or he has, unfortunately, to divorce himself from them and stick with his pro-Israel position, hoping that they'll get some sanity and that he can be reunited with them. There is no other way. For so many years, you kids have tried to walk the tight-rope on this and find a way. Well, time really takes care of it. When I said that the SDS is dead, time took care of that.

Jordan Tannenbaum, Brandeis University: I think there exists a dichotomy between the Israeli Jew and the Diaspora Jew. I think that in spite of the fact that we have a history which unites us, and a geography that divides us, we do have the last 23 years of

a different history. Speaking with kids on campus who have been to Israel, many of them are turned off because they find it so hard to be accepted here. How do you look at this problem?

Friedman: The question had to do with the sociology of the Israeli closed society. A lot of kids who come here to live for six months, or three months, or a year go back home and they are turned off because it is so hard for them to crack into Israeli society. They are 100% right. It is hard to crack in. There isn't any question about it. This is the most introverted, convoluted, closed society I have ever seen in my life. (In a way, that may be one of its strengths, I don't know. I'm not sure.)

They are wrong to be turned off by that fact. They have to be mature enough and intelligent enough to realize that that is the way it is. That is a liability, a disadvantage of this society, and they have to ask themselves the question whether there are enough other advantages to compensate for that, to induce them to come to live here. That was the way we made our own personal decision. Sure, it is a condemnation. This is the hardest society in the world to crack. It has something to do with language, but not altogether, because even though you learn enough Hebrew to go gargling along, you still have to fight the psychological acceptance of the outsider and the insider.

But that shouldn't be enough to turn them off.

Debbi Berman, Oklahoma:

Friedman: She is reporting that there are lots and lots of Arab students at Oklahoma, because of the oil. They come from the Arab countries to study. What she is saying is the best way to combat Arab propoganda is to create Israeli propoganda. This is its own best answer, which is simply what I tried to say before. She is simply saying that it works. If you set up an Israel Week or an Israeli Fair or an Israeli program with a lot of tables around, a lot of booths, people learn things they never knew before. They pick up brochures, they listen to speakers, they see films. They learn things. Most kids, if you want to know, are open minded, and when they listen to another side of the story, they are swayed and they have some facts with which to counter-balance the other impression. The best way to combat propoganda is with counter-propoganda.

Amy Lavin, Ohio State: You can't whitewash the problems of Israel. Some of those we have spoken to have done this. We should admit the problems we have. It sounds fishy to me.

Friedman- She says that you cannot answer propoganda with propoganda, that is by whitewashing the problems that exist in Israel. Propoganda is not whitewashing problems.

She says (I'm speaking for the record) the people they have spoken to so far have denied the problems that exist. Have whitewashed the problems.

Lavin: We asked about Black Panthers. I can't quote exactly because we have not slept in three days. The Minister of Police told us that there are no problems with the Panthers and no juvenile delinquency.

Friedman: Let me try to get to the bottom of what you're saying, Amy. You're saying that the best way to answer propaganda is with counter-propaganda. Counter-propaganda doesn't mean whitewashing. You're wrong about that. Now, hold it. You're mixing up two separate subjects. Let's leave alone the question of propaganda and counter-propaganda. Let's leave alone the question of propaganda and counter-propaganda. Stop. Period. Paragraph. Change the subject.

You have raised a new subject. What you are saying is, I think, in the time you've been here, you've asked somebody some questions about something, and you're gotten what you feel are fishy answers. You referred to two subjects, Black Panthers and juvenile delinquency. I'd like to stop now, and try to find out from you, what did you ask about that and what answer did you get about that. I'll tell you very simply, from me you won't get any kind of whitewashing.

You were with Rosolio last night. OK. Very authoritative and a very knowledgeable man. What did you ask him?

All right now, let's take the two things. As far as the second question is concerned, he ought to know. He is a policeman. He is also a factual man. If he says that the delinquency problem is small, you can believe it. You can take that as gospel truth, because he knows how many kids get arrested and for what offences. It is all on his desk. There is no disputing that. In this country, juvenile delinquency, consists, up to now, mostly of breaking windows, stealing bikes, a tiny bit of stealing automobiles is just beginning now. If a dozen cars get stolen that already gets serious. Almost nothing of crimes of violence, mugging, rape. Almost no drug business. They are very strict on drugs in this country by the way. I should have mentioned it at the beginning. I'd like to say this very straight, simple, no baloney. This is a United Jewish Appeal group. You people are free citizens. I'm not going to tell you what you do in your private life. If you want to smoke, you smoke. But, the following are the conditions that apply to United Jewish Appeal Official Study Missions of Americans in this country:

1. If you are obviously inattentive, because you are obviously spaced-out, you are obviously going to be asked to leave this group. The clue to this sentence is the word "obvious". Anybody sitting there like that, he is going to be invited to go home. H O M E.
2. If you bother anybody else, if you annoy anybody else, you interfere with anybody else, that means you are not just exercising your own personal rights. You are interfering with somebody else's sovereign right. And that is a no-no. You'll be invited to leave.

So, what it all boils down to is, if you want to go to the john between 3 and 4 a.m., that is your private time. Goodbye Charlie. Then if the police get you -- we were talking about police and that is what reminded me, the rules in this country are very strict. Very strict. Let's not get into any arguments about whether they are right or wrong or permissive or not permissive. I'm not interested in any of that. These are their rules and that is what we live by. Four months in the clink and deportation.

We've had some messy experiences in the past. Two summers ago we had a UJA student mission and we were much too permissive and we, that is the people in charge, and we decided the hell with it. We would live by the minimum rules of the country and those are the minimum rules of this country and those are the rules that apply to this Mission.

Now, as far as the Black Panther business. You were getting a different sounding from somebody here who was disagreeing with your analysis of what Rosolio said. Does anybody else want to offer an analysis of what Rosolio said and then I would like to give you my answer to the question and then I would like to give you my answer to the Black Panther problems in this country.

But first, I don't want him to be misquoted or misunderstood by the group. So, did you have something to add to what he said?

Harvey Altman, S.U.N.Y. Buffalo: The Police Commissioner agreed with what Panthers were doing but he had to act against it. I agree with Amy that we have to speak the truth and recognize Israel's faults.

Friedman: Amy, that is all together different from what you said, girl. That is very different from what you said. Now, Harvey, finish up.

Altman: to people in America, what we cannot do is to white-wash the problems. We have to speak the truth about them and

recognize the faults. I think that relates back to what we were talking about earlier. I would like to say something about that.

Friedman- Hold it, if you will and let's get back to that. Let's clean this one up while we're still on it. I don't agree with whitewashing. When the man said that this is a closed society, that is an indictment. I didn't try to defend it, I agreed with it. When you guys get to know me better, you'll know that I talk very straight. Now, here is the Black Panther business as far as I can give it to you, trying to reduce it to a nutshell. Always, when you have a complicated problem, maybe you shouldn't simplify it too much, but let me just try.

First of all, they took the name Black Panther by their own admission, they took that name in order to get newspaper attention. They knew that it was a red flag name. They knew what Black Panther meant in the United States. It meant activist. It meant somebody who is going to get out on the street and run a parade, run a riot, run a demonstration and raise hell. So, they knew that they would get attention. If they called themselves the Association of Sephardic Immigrants of Lower Rehavia who would listen to them?

A sidelight of that whole business about the name is that when it was pointed out to them that the Black Panthers in the United States are anti-semitic and anti-Israel, which they are, from their top leadership down, these kids split and took a different name, Black Panther (Blue and White) in order to make damn sure that everybody in this country knew that they are patriotic Israelis. Kind of cute, I think.

Now, the name was taken for publicity purposes. The objectives were to bring to the attention of the public the conditions of poverty and over-crowded housing in which a large proportion of this population lives, which is true. And they added to it the charge that the poverty stricken and slum-dwelling portion of the population is all Sephardic and therefore discrimination is being practiced. That was their charge. O.K.

You ask, is a large proportion of this country poverty-stricken? Yes. 250,000 people in this country out of the 2½ million people are living below what is called the Social Welfare Department, specifically by a man named Katz, who is the Director of the Social Security Institute what we call in America, Social Security. Katz, a trained social worker defined the poverty line to be \$ 25.00 per person per month. OK. You've got a family with 4 people. Four people are going to live on \$ 100.00 a month. You can't live on \$ 100.00 a month. That is 420 pounds. Your lunch costs 15 pounds. Ten percent of the people in this country are living at that level.

That's not whitewashing or denying anything. That's a fact. You can say 90% of the people have made it. They're above the poverty line, only 10% of the people are below. That's like saying is the glass of milk half empty or half full? I'm giving you the facts. These are the facts. You say you want to be armed by the facts in order to be able to answer.

Number two about overcrowded housing. There are 60,000 families in this country. That is the same 250,000 people. 60,000 families, a quarter of a million people living in overcrowded housing. What is defined as overcrowded housing? When you have a density of more than three persons to a room. In other words, if you have six people in a family, a father, a mother and four kids. They're trying to live in two rooms. The little kitchen doesn't count and the little toilet doesn't count. You've got two rooms and six people trying to live there. Eat, sleep, fornicate, defecate, everything in two rooms. Day and night. Six people on each others heads. All the time. That's overcrowding. And that is going to breed all kinds of things. That's going to cause the kids to runaway from home. That's going to cause the father to run away from home. That's going to send a 16 year old girl out on the street. Prostitution. I don't know why you didn't discuss that with the police. Prostitution is beginning in the city. Not a lot, but it's beginning. It's beginning in those areas where the girls are running out of these overcrowded homes. What have they got to sit in the house for? Where are they going to go? And the best thing, is if you've got to go out on the street, you might as well go out on the street and earn a buck.

They're going over to East Jerusalem and they're offering their services to the Arabs who live in East Jerusalem and to the tourists who find their way to East Jerusalem and that's the place. Don't anybody ask me for a place, a street, a number, an address.

Now, both of these problems of not enough money to live on and overcrowded housing so that the family life is really hell, apply to about 10% of the population, are so far actually true. But where the Panthers come in, they say, And the only people living this way are Sephardic people and therefore because it is all Sephardic people who are poor, that means that there is discrimination in this country against Sephardic people. Then, once they get themselves worked up in a big charge of discrimination, they say, And by the way, why the hell isn't there some general in the Army who is Sephardic. By the way, why the hell isn't there some Minister in the Government who is Sephardic. And by the way, this proves that there is discrimination against the Sephardi. All up and down the line.

Now, that is an argument which is a reductio ad absurdum. The fact of the matter is that there is no discrimination in this country, as you and I understand discrimination, which means on the part of the government or the city authorities. At least, I always understood discrimination to be where there is a law that you couldn't ride in the front of the bus if you were black. After that law got repealed, then there was no discrimination on the part of the municipality. Then there was only discrimination left in the hearts of your fellow bus travellers. But if you wanted to sit in the front seat, you sat in the front seat. You took a chance. Somebody might throw a brick at you. Somebody might make a nasty crack at you, but legally there was no discrimination.

Now, in Israel it is ridiculous to talk about discrimination between Ashkenazi and Sephardi. That is ridiculous. It doesn't exist. It doesn't exist either as government policy or municipal law. Prejudice, undoubtedly exists, in the hearts of the people. I live near a little development town of immigrants called Ora Akiva, a little village, about 8,000 people. Half of them are Moroccans and Tunisians, half of them are Rumanians. I went into a shop in that town the other day to buy a jacket. The store-keeper was a Rumanian. My father-in-law said, Do you go to a synagogue here. He said, Yes. He asked, Do you go to the same synagogue with the Sephardim? And the guy looked at him and said, Are you crazy? So, this Rumanian who has lived in this village for 21 years has prejudice in his heart against his fellow townspeople from Morocco. I'm sure of it. But so what? What are you talking about? Talking about some kind of society in heaven where every man is pure in his heart? No.

People here aren't any saintlier than anyplace else. I use many words to describe them. I call them brave and heroic and creative, but I never called them saintly, did I? They aren't. Don't make the mistake of thinking that they are. But, there is no discrimination in this country. Not by law, not by government decree. There may be prejudice in people's hearts. I tell you what there is in this country, which accounts for why so many of the people living in this over-crowded houses are Moroccans or Iraqis or Yemenites. There is a reason for it.

The reason is not discrimination. The reason is, well, chronology, education, vocational skills, and a little bit of luck all rolled up together. I think the most important of all these is chronology. I'll tell you what I mean by it very simply. A Moroccan who is living today in 1971 in the same house or apartment that the Jewish Agency gave him in 1950, twenty years ago, is living in a rotten, crummy and by now, slummy building. Is every Moroccan who came into this country in 1950 living that way? Hell no. 90% have pulled themselves up by their bootstraps. Whose left behind? Always the weakest. Always the least educated. Always the least

educated. Always the least skilled. Who are the poverty-stricken? Always the handicapped. Always the unskilled, the uneducated, the illiterate.

If every Moroccan who came into this country in 1951, who got that little apartment of 350 square feet, was still living in it, but every Pole, every Russian, every Englishman, were in 700 square feet, then you could say, What the hell is this? This is discrimination. That is not the case. Many people who came in 1951 and got the apartments that were available in 1951 have long since managed to escape from them and get into something bigger.

The people who came in 1971, whether they are Russians, or Moroccans, don't get 350 square feet of space anymore. They get 750 feet of space. It doesn't matter whether they are Sephardic or Ashkenazi. The immigrant of the class of 1971 gets a certain kind of housing and the immigrant of the class of 1951 got a certain kind of housing and each one got what the country could afford to give him at the time.

To me, the most clinching argument of the whole thing is not the Moroccans who came in 1951. Remember I told you about that first ship that came in in May 15, 1948? Where did all those people go? You know where they went? Tents. Not houses, at all. Do you know that we had a year, 1949-50, a quarter of a million people living in tents in the area of what is now the lower slums of the city of Haifa? And who were they? Were they Sephardim? No, they were Ashkenazim. They were Polish and Hungarian and Russian Jews from the camps of Europe. And they went into whatever was available at that time.

Housing in this country, to a very great extent, I say, is a matter of the chronology of when you come. That's what you get. Now, the trick is to climb out of it if you can and who can't climb out of it is the guy who hasn't got the skill to get a better job, hasn't got the education to get the better job, remains a poor struggling devil all his life. By the way, if you think that the whole quarter of a million Jews who were in that condition are Sephardim today, you're wrong. They're not. There are plenty Ashkenazim among them as well. I've seen them.

So, you have to separate the two things. This is what is wrong with the Black Panther business. Their argument that there is poverty in this country is correct. And thank God, that they exploded the way they did and brought it to everybody's attention. Their argument that this poverty is a function of discrimination is wrong. That's all. Those are the two answers to the question. Those are the facts.

Hanna Sanford, Washington University: In terms of the timing, why couldn't people who came earlier be upgraded and get better housing?

Friedman: The question always comes up, why not first in, first out. Why can't the people who come in 1951 be upgraded, moved into the bigger houses that are now available and the people who are coming in 1971 begin at the bottom of the ladder and let them go into the old houses which would be vacated.

It's a purely practical matter. No ideology in it at all. It simply isn't workable. The immigrant coming in 1971, the Moroccan, let's take him. He's living in Casablanca or he's living in Paris. He went from Casablanca five years ago, didn't come here, but went to Paris. The Moroccan who wants to come to Israel today in 1971 won't go into 350 square feet. He won't come. He'll stay where he is. He just won't come. It's a purely practical matter.

A second purely practical matter, the Russians who do want to come very badly, fight their way through the police stations to get out, won't enter. He'll arrive in Israel, he'll make a sit down strike at the airport and he will not enter that apartment of 350 sq. feet. He just won't do it. He'll say, I didn't escape from Russia to come here to have you put me in 350 feet. It's like a prison cell. Word will filter back to Russia, of all the problems here of adjustment and absorption and that will discourage them back there in Russia and we will be working counter to what we're trying to build up. We're trying to build up the morale of the Jews of Russia to tell them we're behind them, to urge them to come.

Now, if we were to do a thing like this, we would be throwing cold water on the very thing we're trying to accomplish.

Hanna Sanford: At the same time, I read recently about Jews in Morocco who are afraid to come to Israel. I must say I find that very distressing.

Friedman- If they say they are afraid to go to Israel because they are afraid of getting poor housing, then they are saying what I just finished saying. If they say they are afraid to go there because they think there is going to be discrimination against them, then the Black Panthers have done them a terrible disservice. That is what is evil about the Black Panthers. They have done a disservice. By a charge of discrimination which is not accurate, they've done a disservice against many of the Sephardim. Yes, it is tragic. It is pathetic. Not tragic. Pathetic, that Jews in Morocco should talk that way. However, let me give you some heart and courage. If the desire to get out is strong enough, it will overcome that slight fear that they have.

Ted Nash, University of Chicago: Will it overcome their fears? I think it was an administrative fault, not the fault of the Panthers.

Friedman: I don't think the Panthers were completely at fault. I just said they did a disservice to a lot of Sephardim.

Let me get this one thing clear. There is never a question of the Jewish Agency or the government, either one making a decision of giving housing in favour of one kind of immigrant versus another kind of immigrant. That would be suicide. That would be just damn bad sense. That would be just stupid, let alone being ideologically indefensible. No, that hasn't occurred. Referring to the question of Tannenbaum, is the Jewish Agency concentrating more now on immigration from the West. Is the Agency discouraging immigration from Sephardic Jewish areas?

No, they are concentrating on it more since the Six Day War, since Jews in America began to wake up and think of the possibility that they might want to come to live here. Before the Six Day War, most Jewish organizations in America wouldn't go near the word aliyah, because they just didn't want to feel that they were violating American loyalty. Example. Hadassah, the strongest Jewish organization of women in the world. Up to five years ago, before the Six Day War, you couldn't get a resolution through at a Hadassah conference calling for mass aliyah of Jews from America to Israel. They wouldn't pass such a resolution. So, the whole idea of American aliyah has come up since the Six Day War, since Jews felt a well-spring of identification and consciousness and stronger feeling and began to volunteer more to come here.

It's not that the Jewish Agency is afraid of the Yellow Peril, that is running around trying to recruit white Jews to counter-balance the Black ones. Come on, you kids are too smart for that. I can't be responsible for everything you read, but I can be responsible for trying to unscramble your brain. It is policy in this country right down the line, everybody, government, Jewish Agency, Histadruth, UJA, any public organization you name. It is policy in this country to encourage the immigration to this country of every Jew in the world, from any place in the world, in any quantity in the world, in which they can all get here. Preferably all Jews from everywhere. That is the policy of this country.

If the day could ever be reached that all 13 million Jews in the world, lived in this one State of Israel, that would end once and for all the question of do you prefer Ashkenazim or Sephardim, because you'd have them all under one roof. That is policy.

Now, obviously, I don't want to get into a whole discussion of, is that good? Is that possible? Come on. That will take us off into different arguments. I'm talking about this matter of, Is anybody trying to whip up some white Jews to counteract the black ones? No. The efforts go on in the most valient way to get every Jew out of Iraq. It is a dangerous operation involving a lot of underground work. The efforts go on to try to get every Jew out of Iran, out of Turkey.

If you stop to think of it, Why is the population of this country probably 60% Sephardic? Stop to think why. Two reasons. Because the greatest effort was involved in emptying out the Moslem countries, because the Jews who lived in Moslem countries were in physical danger there. Isn't that obvious? And the second reason is because those Jews living in those Moslem countries were willing to come. In other words, nobody forced anybody. Nobody is discouraging them. Nobody is encouraging anybody else to counter balance them, or we wouldn't try to keep bringing them in any more. The policy of immigration in this country is open door for every Jew. Equal effort in every country to get everybody out.

If you take a look at what the reservoir of Jew is in the world, I went to Morocco the first time in my life in 1953 -- almost twenty years ago. I was still only a volunteer speaker for the UJA. I wasn't yet the professional head of it. I went the second time in 1955, two years later, when I was already the head of the UJA. In 1953 I came back and I said, There are 400,000 Jews in Morocco. And in 1953 a phrase was coined - I didn't coin it, but a phrase was coined referring to the forgotten million. The forgotten million. Sephardic Jews living in North Africa and Moslem countries were called the forgotten million. I think somebody in the JDC coined the phrase. We were thinking only of Ashkenazi Jews and we shouldn't forget these Jews. After all, who lived in Morocco, Maimonides lived in Morocco. An enormous rich Jewish heritage is involved in those countries. We shouldn't forget that.

From the time when I first went there and there were 400,000 Jews living there -- do you know how many Jews live in Morocco today? 20-30,000. Maybe 40,000, but I don't think so. So, we broke the back of that damn thing, with what kind of effort? And how many years was it illegal? And how many years did we struggle? And I'll never forget all my life, sitting on the Rock of Gibraltar, night after night, when we were trying to open up a route from Casablanca to Tetwan to Tangiers across to Gibraltar and we lost a ship with 60 people. The crying that went on that night. All efforts and all struggles, we emptied out Morocco. We broke our hearts in Algeria. How many times did I go to Algeria and try to beg the Jews of Algeria to come to this country. They didn't.

When the Revolution broke there, the FLN -- they fled, they went to France. In a panic. In disorganization. They lived ten years in the poverty stricken slums of Paris, now eleven years and they should never have done it and they are filtering over here now, making a second move in life, and they wasted ten years of their lives. But it wasn't because we didn't try to persuade them to come here.

Morocco is almost empty. Algeria is empty. Its got 15,000 Jews in it. They had 150,000. Libya is empty. Tripoli is empty. Yemen is empty. Iraq is empty. Iran has got down to the last 80,000. Turkey is down to the last 40,000. The whole Moslem Sephardic world has been plucked up, saved, rescued, by all kinds of ingenious means against all kinds of difficulties in a two-decade long operation. Call that discrimination? And you say now that because these are the kinds of people that we don't want we suddenly must begin to crank the whole mill up, to overwhelm them and change the numbers by getting half a million Russian Jews out? We weren't worried about getting half a million Russian Jews out five years ago or ten years ago and twenty years ago? We didn't pray useless prayers, until suddenly the miracle happened. Is this something that we thought up yesterday? That we'd like to have the Russian Jews now? The policy of this country is bring every Jew here to this country that you can. That is the policy of Zionism. It has nothing to do with trying to balance numbers. And that policy shall continue.

Harris Forbes, Rice University: Is it labour or money that prevents the construction of adequate housing in Israel?

Friedman: Both things. You put your finger on both things, and there is a third, raw materials. Shortage of labour, shortage of money and shortage of raw materials. You are in a constant bind fighting off those three things. Then there is a fourth thing which has to be admitted, and has nothing to do with shortage. It has to do with antiquated methods. This country has old-fashioned rotten methods of building. The first three are true and they are the most important ones -- shortage of money, shortage of labour, shortage of material, but the fourth thing must also be added. Shortage of modern method. Add that one too. And you know, when you could get to lick any combination, if you could lick two out of these four, or three out of the four, you'd certainly have it made.

Bruce Balter, Brooklyn College: I think there is another forgotten area and I've been told not to mention this in many meetings, by other students who say, How can students in Michigan understand problems that are central to where I come from. Number one, on my campus, we don't have to worry. We're very committed, a lot of us, in

making aliyah. We're committed to Israel. And Israel and world Jewry. But Israel to us extends to Jews throughout the world, whether they be in the Soviet Union, Israel, Arab countries, or if they be orthodox Jews and Chasidim beat up in Williamsburg, which a lot of you people never knew about. A lot of people do and don't care about it.

I feel deeply about this. I'm emotional about it because you said in this room, about what went on in my land, and in the sense that politics is played -- I'm not against you. I'm saying I'm on your side and I want you as a Rabbi to explain how, because I'm not interested in how -- understand this, that I represent my college. I still work in Brooklyn college. Now when it comes to giving you advice on how to run campaigns in Israel, then I am a staff member, but as a Jew and a layman, I can speak as a Jewish student. Now, what I'm saying is, You left the United States and you kept not that close a watch. I really wish that you would keep a much closer watch on the Jewish Federation on people and power that you've left behind. Because, (I'm not done yet) they have forgotten the Jewish core in the United States. I'm talking about former concentration camp victims, who live in Williamsburg and let me give you one small example. A man by the name of Spivak lived in New York with his wife, and for the last 20 years, he worked in this candy store and made enough money to move his family to Israel and make aliyah. Two people walked in his candy store and asked him if he had apple pie. He said no. I happen to have Danish. They took out a gun and they killed him and they shot his wife. She is alive now. He's dead, but she lives in constant fear because she is the only witness. All the Jewish politicians and Federation leaders came out and said that this is a terrible thing. Let's donate a motorcycle and give it to the cop on the beat so he can patrol around, but not on foot. That was one day after all the publicity. Then they disappeared. What about the day before and the years before?

These people have no one to protect them at all. Now, a lot of them are making aliyah. They're coming to Israel, a lot of them because of their beliefs which are still living in the days of Poland and Russia -- early 20th century. They started to get a little breakthrough. They have Head Start programs now to teach the young children and assimilate them into American society.

Well, I don't want to assimilate. I wish to be an American, let's say, but not to assimilate so I can become as corrupt as the goyim in the total American structure. I wish to fight anti-semitism, not to totally ingratiate myself and assimilate myself in the United States, but to observe myself in a Jewish tradition of which

I am proud. Now, these people could have so much, by the touch of the telephone of certain people who are in control. What can students do?

You know it is not enough. We go on night patrols in the areas, we protect them. I'll give you one other example. A Chasidic truck driver ran over a young girl in a Puerto Rican neighbourhood. It happens every day. But people in the area decided to pogrom on the Jews. They ran to their little synagogue and they stuck their synagogues and desecrated the one Torah that they have. They can only afford one. And they were mugging and choking everybody on the streets today. You know what the police told them? "Can't you go away for a few days until it blows over?" They can't go anywhere and it isn't funny. That's the whole point. The people live in constant fear and they are Jewish people and they call on Israel and Jews of all the world to answer their call. Feel it in your heart, you can't neglect them.

Friedman : Well, first let me get it clear as to what you're asking. In other words, the passion and the emotion come through, but I ...

Bruce Balter: I understand it, but I'm saying I can't cope. It is very hard to understand, why, when you speak to certain people, it's a very golden thing to buy. I know that in the middle of a riot in Brooklyn College, I was called a Jewish bastard along with about 300 other Jewish students and bashed up against the walls, and we decided to stand and fight the 2,000 kids that were attacking us. When we fought back, the police came on campus and they attacked us because we chose to fight and save our own lives. And Jewish kids were sitting in the street and debating the philosophical reason why we were standing and fighting back. Damn it. No one is going to tell me that I'm a Jew bastard and walk away in good condition.

Now, number two, when the police came, you had Irish and Italian police. You know, what I'm saying. Right here is a great opportunity to kill the Jews. Why is it that Jewish politicians who have various allegiances to the Federation, the Jewish money, the Jewish power in the States, why can't they say, These are Jewish people in trouble. Let's make sure that everything is all right.

Friedman: Bruce. Bruce. Sen. Wait a minute. Don't let the passion and the emotion get in the way of the logic. Are you saying that you know, are you hinting by implication that you know that there are Jewish Federations that turn their backs on this problem.

Bruce : Well, of course I'm saying -- I've seen things like this.

What I'm saying is, like I'm saying to someone like you. Like I listened to what you say, and I want to thank you for the work that you did for my relatives who died in Europe in concentration camps. That's one thing.

Secondly, someone like you I can talk to and say how I feel. Other people, you know in New York. It is very difficult. I'm saying, you know, what can we do? Where I come from it is very hard to get anybody to listen to your problems. Right now our schools have quota systems. They won't higher Jewish faculty. They've done away with night school, which means we have 8,000 religious students who'd rather go to college at night. That means another 2,000 yeshiva students who no longer go to college. They study in the Yeshiva during the day and the only time they can go to college is at night.

Friedman: What about this open admission policy where everybody ...

Bruce: Try to get Jewish students to seek educational opportunity ..

Friedman: Let me just say this to you. I don't think that establishment in American cities, I don't think the Jewish power establishment turns its back on Jewish problems. I really don't think it does. I think there is a certain queasiness in regard to Cahana. I think there is a certain queasiness in regard to the patrols and Crown Heights. But it's not so bad on that because the cops have learned to live with that too. The boys gave it up themselves. The cars - the two-way radio cars. Why did they quit it? No establishment forced them to quit and there was no money question. The regular police are paid for it. They were volunteering for two months, three months, they quit. They were tired.

The establishment, twenty years ago, would turn its back on anything. They were scared stiff. They were scared of being too pro-Jewish. They were scared of talking out. They were scared about what the goyim would say. They were scared.

Bruce: I noticed another thing that American Jewish students, like us, that I came into contact with, they don't want to give money. They say, That's terrible. Our parents did nothing, and now all they can do is give money. Our answer to that, is we don't give money and don't do anything. Money is a dirty word. Money is power. I came to learn that. I wouldn't be doing this job if I didn't feel that it did something.

Friedman: Let me make a suggestion. We've been going now almost two and a half hours. A long time for one session. I'd like to make a suggestion. We've just started. That's right. Now,

what we're going to do is this. I was only scheduled to be with you this one time during the trip. I think it is not enough, huh? What we had better do is set up another session or two. What we might have to do is knock something else out of the box. Let's not do it now. We'll grab a couple more hours. We'll work it out. Steal a couple of hours from something else. Let's not steal a free night. The reason I want to say that is, Bruce, you just opened up something. Let me try to put into perspective what you opened up.

You opened up the question of whether Jewish concern is parochial or universal. Now if Jewish concern is universal, that's what you're saying, it applies to Israel. If I come and tell you a story of Jews in Afghanistan who are in trouble, you say, OK. They're Jews, I'm a Jew. They are my responsibility. I want to help. You're telling me that universality even applies backward into Brooklyn. Usually, we think in terms of Jews in a rich country, America, being concerned about Jews outside of America, someplace else in the world, who have problems. What you're saying now is, you used the phrase, "poor in America". There are poor in America as well. This is a new dimension.

You are trying to awaken an awareness of the fact that Jewish responsibility has got to swing around in a circle backwards to Roxbury, Dorchester, Madipan, if you know the Boston area, and you could name areas in every big city in America. The South Side of Chicago, etc., etc.

I think this is the first question on the agenda, we'll leave it there on the top of the list and we'll take it when we meet together again.

Question :How about getting an extra day in Israel from El Al Airlines? They owe it to us.

Friedman: They damn well do. Sam, let me ask you a question. Look into this. Seats on the plane is one. Wait a minute. May I make a suggestion. I'd like to make a suggestion. If they want, if they want for us to try to get them an extra day, it is none of our business whether that -- if they want the extra day, we've got to bust our backs to try and get it for them, both the seats and the hotel. I would go so far as to say this. What day of the week were they supposed to go out? Supposed to go out on Wednesday. Want to go out on Thursday instead. Don't they have a jumbo out on Thursday? Two days a week the jumbo goes out. Let's not try to solve it now. I wouldn't mind if they would agree, if you had to split them. and as far as the hotel is concerned, it's nothing serious. Where do they end up? In Tel Aviv. Talk to the Shalom Tower right now. See if they can extend you another

day. Get the hotel. Use the hotel room to muscle the plane. Use the hotel room to muscle the plane. Use the plane to muscle the hotel. Play them both and you know we have six or seven days to work on it.

All right. We'll pick a day. When he says nothing to it, that means that he is going to break his neck to try and do it. If he can't it won't be because he didn't try. I believe that he can and we will work on it together and try to get it done.

You guys are going to run into a messy travel pattern in the United States and you know it. You're going to wind up on standby. I'll tell you what. I'm really glad we had this first kind of warm-up session together. I think we'll pick another couple of hours where we can meet together. By that time, you will have had another couple of days experience under your belt. You will have had more experience. You will have had more people who you can misquote. And we'll continue to get at the bottom of these problems. I'm glad to have met you.



Delivered to Executive Committee and Cabinet *F.U.S.A.*
Washington, D. C. - 23 April 1968
On occasion of 25th Anniversary of Warsaw Ghetto Fight

THOUGHTS ON THE WARSAW GHETTO REVOLT

One question always rises to haunt those who try to comprehend the meaning of the murder of six million. The question has many forms. Did the Jews resist? Why didn't they resist? Were they led like sheep to the slaughter? Didn't they understand what was happening? Was there no leadership? Were they essentially weak and cowardly? Were they possessed of a suicide instinct which made the work of their murderers easier?

The questions all suggest that one generalized answer is possible - that if we only search deeply enough into the awful mystery we will discover some over-all explanation to ease somehow the terrible gnawing at the heart which will live forever in the collective Jewish memory.

The truth is that there is no one answer. The event was so monstrous, unprecedented, unexpected, that no one reaction to it was possible at the time and certainly no pre-arranged plan was possible. We have had thousands of years of experience with hatred and attacks and death - but never in our entire history have we faced this situation: where the complete military and police power of a large state was aimed at the destruction of unarmed civilians, whose very knowledge of what was happening to them was masked by deceit (the very gas chambers were masked as showerbaths) and who were left to their fate by the entire civilized world in spite of repeated and loud protest. Never, never had this ever occurred - hence

there was no planned, prepared, deliberated posture of Jewish reply.

The only thing to be said is that in some situations the criminals found it possible to murder with no resistance; and in other places they met with strong heroic opposition, all the more noble because the eventual outcome was foreordained.

It seems to me that the only general historical judgment to be rendered is that the evil force was so huge, so well organized, so swift and brutal, so unopposed by any moral force, that the victim became easy prey, weakened by hunger and disease, buffeted by being constantly transported from one place to another, agonized by being torn away from family and children, tortured and tormented by pain and blood, and finally forgotten in the festering barracks of a hundred camps. To be transformed from these conditions into a final wisp of smoke disappearing skyward was the last and simplest step. I would suggest that we look not into the soul of the victim to see if there was something strange or lacking there. Such metaphysical exercise strains credibility. Rather should we grasp the simple physical realities of superior power crushing a weaker organism with no arms or allies to come to his aid.

In the face of this it is remarkable that there was any resistance at all. Rather than wonder at the lack of it, I marvel instead at every episode - Vilna, Bialystock, Mir, Sobibor, Treblinka and every other - where in the face of absolutely hopeless odds, courage flashed out like fire, and with ridiculously inadequate means often only naked fists or a hand clutching a brick, Jews clawed back at their murderers, to die with honor.

Twenty-five years ago tonight, at 2:30 in the morning, the few hundred ghetto fighters surfaced from their deep bunkers, where they had earlier read the story of freedom in the Passover Haggadah, for this was the Seder night, although there was no matzo or wine, and joined battle with the Nazi troops prowling the broken and burning streets. When the fight started that night the ghetto was inhabited with the last 50,000 Jews, a remnant of the half-million who had been packed in behind the walls 2-1/2 years earlier. When the fight petered out a month later (a longer period, by the way, than the Polish nation fought in 1939 or the French nation fought in 1940), there were no Jews left alive, and not one single solitary building left standing in the mile-square area. A few score went underground through the sewers, came up on the Aryan side through manhole covers, and escaped to the forests. The ghetto smoked and stank and was dead. But because of the fight the imperishable soul of the Jew has lived.

From October 1940, when the Jews were herded into the section chosen for their incarceration and the walls built and sealed, until July 1942, hunger and typhus killed 150,000. But that process was too slow for the Nazis, for there were still over 350,000 left. Extermination would take too many years, at this rate. Deportation to the nearby death camp of Treblinka was decided upon - and on 22 July the order was given to the Jewish Governing Council to deliver 6000 persons per day to the Umschlagplatz, the train station, in the ghetto for shipment. The people were deceived, were told they were being sent for resettlement in work camps in the east, and everyone who volunteered to go was given 3 kilos

of bread and some marmalade. The president of the Jewish Council, Engineer Adam Cherniakow, shot himself that night, sitting at his desk, rather than be responsible for organizing the daily quota. It made no difference. The trains went on all summer. In the week before Rosh Hashanah, from 6 - 11 September, the meticulous record-keeping of the Nazis showed 100,000 Jews killed, 10,000 shot and 90,000 deported. In the period then, from Tisha B'av to Rosh Hashanah, 22 July - 11 September, 300,000 were exterminated. Now the work was going well - for now there were only about 70,000 left.

By this time the Jewish Fighting Organization had come into being. Arguments as to the value of resistance were laid aside. Political differences between organizations were laid aside. The Zionists took the lead, and the others came in - socialists, religionists, free-thinkers - all joined to fight. The first manifesto was issued in January 1943:

"Jews!

The invader has moved on to the second phase of your extermination. Do not resign yourselves to death.

Defend yourselves! Grab an axe, a steel cross-bar, a knife. Barricade yourselves in your homes.

Better to let yourselves be taken this way!

In the struggle there is always a chance of salvation.

Fight!

Jewish Combatant Organization"

The first small revolt took place on 19 January - Jews resisted being taken to the trains, and threw hand grenades at the Germans. They threw boiling water, axes, crowbars, anything they could get their hands on. As the Germans attacked houses, Jews inside sprayed the stairs with petrol and oil, setting fire as the Germans entered. The fight raged - many Germans were killed, many more Jews. This was the beginning of the end.

The resistance was so strong, vigorous and unexpected, that the surprised Germans reacted swiftly. Himmler himself came to Warsaw to find out what was happening, and immediately ordered the SS to destroy the ghetto, appointing General Jurgen Stroop to the task. The Germans actually were afraid that a rising in the ghetto would spark a general revolt in Warsaw and even throughout Poland. Stroop himself testified to this fact at his trial in 1951 (following which he was executed) by saying:

"A revolt would have broken out in the whole of Warsaw which our military and police forces would never have been able to quell."

Mordecai Anielewicz, the young and handsome commander of the fighters, wrote to the Polish government-in-exile in London begging for arms - and in such pitiful quantity. Listen to his letter of 18 March:

"Gentlemen:

The situation is becoming more critical each day...
Within the next few days will start the total extermination of Warsaw Jews...Are we prepared? We are left with about ten bullets, which is disastrous....

"We have given ample proof of our capacity to fight and of our decision to resist. Since January 18 the whole Jewish population in Warsaw has been in a state of continual struggle against the invader....

"Gentlemen, we beg you to take the necessary steps with the military authorities and with the representatives of the government. We beg you to read them this letter and to ask them firmly to send us at least a hundred hand grenades, 50 revolvers, and several thousand bullets of various calibres.

"I am ready to furnish within 2 days the plans of our position, wet with our tears, in an attempt to dispel any doubt as to the need for supplying us with arms."

The answer was a deadly silence. Nobody in London cared. Even nearer, just a few yards beyond the wall, in the city of Warsaw itself, nobody cared. Samuel Sigelblum, a member of the Polish government-in-exile, representing the Jews, did everything in his power to draw attention to the agony of the fighters in the ghetto, but was unable to obtain any reaction. He was beside himself with pain and frustration, and when he realized he had failed, he could no longer live in the comfort of London, but killed himself, in a final effort to shock the conscience of his fellow Poles, and the British and Americans. It was the deliberate act of a strong man. He left this letter:

"With these, my last words, I address myself to you, the Polish Government, the Polish people, the Allied Governments and their peoples, and the conscience of the world.

"News recently received from Poland informs us that the Germans are exterminating with unheard-of savagery the remaining Jews in that country. Behind the walls of the Ghetto is taking place today the last act of tragedy which has no parallel in the history of the human race. The responsibility for this crime - the assassination of the Jewish population in Poland - rests above all on the murderers themselves, but falls indirectly upon the whole human race, on the Allies and their governments, who so far have taken no firm steps to put a stop to these crimes. By their indifference to the killing of millions of hapless men, to the massacre of women and children, these countries have become accomplices of the assassins.

"Furthermore, I must state that the Polish Government, although it has done a great deal to influence world public opinion, has not taken adequate measures to counter this atrocity which is taking place today in Poland.

"I cannot remain silent. I cannot live while the rest of the Jewish people in Poland, whom I represent, continue to be liquidated.

"My companions of the Warsaw Ghetto fell in a last heroic battle with their weapons in their hands. I did not have the honor to die with them but I belong to them and to their common grave.

"Let my death be an energetic cry of protest against the indifference of the world which witnesses the extermination of the Jewish people without taking any steps to prevent it. In our day and age human life is of little value; having failed to achieve success in my life, I hope that my death may jolt the indifference of those who, perhaps even in this extreme moment, could save the Jews who are still alive in Poland."

It did not help. Silence still reigned. The fight went on in the ghetto.

Slowly it came to an end. We have a chronicle written by Zina Lubetkin, who got our through the sewers, describing the last agonizing days. She was in the command bunker deep under the building at 18 Mila St.

"Our friends entrenched themselves at the entrances and waited, their weapons in their hands, for the Germans to come in. The Germans called in and said that no harm would befall those who came out, but not one man came out. Then the Germans began to let gas into the bunker, and the end came for 120 fighters.

"The Germans did not condemn them to a speedy death. They ejected a little gas at a time and stopped. They wanted to destroy the spirit with a slow and painful drawn-out death. Aryeh Vilner was the first to call out to all the fighters, "Come on! Let us kill ourselves, and not fall into

the hands of the Germans!" Then began a wave of suicides. Shooting began within the bunker, the Jewish fighters turning their guns upon themselves. When a gun got jammed its owner begged, implored his comrades to have mercy on him and shoot him. But none of them would dare and harm a friend. Lutek Rothblatt, who was there with his mother and his cousin, shot his mother four times, and she still convulsed, wounded and bleeding. Berl Broido, whose hand was wounded several days before, could not hold his gun. He begged his friends to end his life. Mordechai Anielewicz, who trusted the information that water would overcome the effect of gas, suggested that they try at any rate. Suddenly someone came and said that a passage had been found leading out of the bunker which was hidden from the eyes of the Germans. But only very few succeeded in leaving by this exit. And the rest choked slowly to death.

"In this way was the glory and the strength of the fighting, struggling Jews of Warsaw cut down. One hundred Jewish fighters met their death here. Among them was Mordecai Anielewicz, beloved among all the fighters, the Commander, who was strong of heart and beautiful of body, upon whose lips a smile hovered always, even in times of greatest danger and fear."

"A line of sixty people is marching along the tunnel of the narrow sewer. Our bellies and waists are soaked in the filthy water. The back is bent. A candle is held in each one's hand. So we walk, one after the other. One man does not see the face of another. We walk and plow through the darkness. This is not a dark tunnel but a narrow, stinking crevice. The minutes stretch into hours, every hour is an eternity. We walk this way for several eternities.

"Hunger and thirst have weakened us all, but we had with us also those who had been saved from the destruction of 18 Mila Street, who had not yet fully revived, whose lungs had absorbed poison gas. There were among them such as could not raise their legs and we dragged them, pulled them through the water, supporting them under their arms, carrying them, and we are walking with backs bent or crawling on our knees."

"In the morning, Shlamek and Yrek return from Ghetto, their faces twisted in pain and suffering. They tell us that in the vicinity of the Ghetto the sewer passageways were sealed off and there is no way through. It seems that the Germans caught on to the fact that there was an exodus going on and sealed off all the sewers leading to the Ghetto so that none could come or go. They wandered around the passageways. They looked for other entrances and exits, but in vain. They almost lost their minds in grief and disappointment.

"Hours pass in painful, impatient expectation. We hear German voices breaking through from the street. For a half hour they stand near our hiding place and talk. Who knows, perhaps they

know that we are here. The troubled, storm-tossed soul prays that an end will come, and finished! The force of the soul and the strength of the body are dying. And suddenly, at 10:00 o'clock it happens. Noise breaks out overhead. The sewer is flooded with light such as we have not seen in many days. The cover was lifted from the street and the day came pouring in over our heads. We were certain that the Germans had discovered our hiding place and instinctively everyone ran back into the dark recesses of the tubes. But soon it became clear that they are our friends. Excitedly they cry to us, "Hurry hurry," and they begin to pull us up. At the opening there is a truck. In a matter of seconds all forty of us were aboard and moving. A second truck stood ready to take the remainder.

"Now we saw each other for the first time in many days by the light of day. We looked horrible, filthy, disgusting, faces twisted with pain and suffering, our knees collapsing in weakness. We were terrified; we had lost the shape and form of men. Only the burning eyes bore witness to the fact that we were living people. We stretched out on the floor of the rolling truck so that we should not be seen, everyone holding his weapon. And so the truck rolls, loaded with armed Jewish fighters, in the very midst of Nazi-occupied Warsaw. This happened on May 10, 1943."

On 18 June Stroop received the Iron Cross, First Class for having liquidated the ghetto.

I believe this fight was a great victory - not a defeat. I believe that out of it a new type of Jew was born, capable of creating Israel by fighting for it. I believe that inspiration flows invisibly and that countless thousands of Israeli boys today fight with determination because of the decision made 25 years ago to go down fighting rather than to go down in any other manner. I believe that the last sentence of Anielewicz, written to his friend Antek Zuckerman, on the outside, the sentence chosen to be engraved at the foot of his monument in Yad Mordechai, is the battle cry for the new Jew and has made every victory in Israel possible during these last difficult 20 years.

"Be well, my friend. Perhaps we shall meet again. The main thing is that the dream of my life came true. I was fortunate enough to witness Jewish defense in the ghetto in all its greatness and glory."

In memory of those defenders of our dignity and our honor, and today's defenders as well, who lay young lives on the altar of sacrifice that our ancestral land may be free, we offer our tribute of ancient and sacred words - El Mole Rachamim.

קרן היסוד המגבית המאוחדת לישראל
KEREN HAYESOD • UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL

הלשכה הראשית



יולי/אוגוסט 2010

JERUSALEM

ירושלים

קרן היסוד - המנבית המאוחדת לישראל
KEREN HAYESOD - UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL



הלשכה הראשית ירושלים - מיקוד 91000 CODE - ת.ד. 583 - P.O.B. - טל. 35222 - מברקים : KERYESOD JERUSALEM - CABLES : HEAD OFFICE JERUSALEM

NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION STUDY MISSION

C A N A D A

28. 1.1975 - 5. 2.1975

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

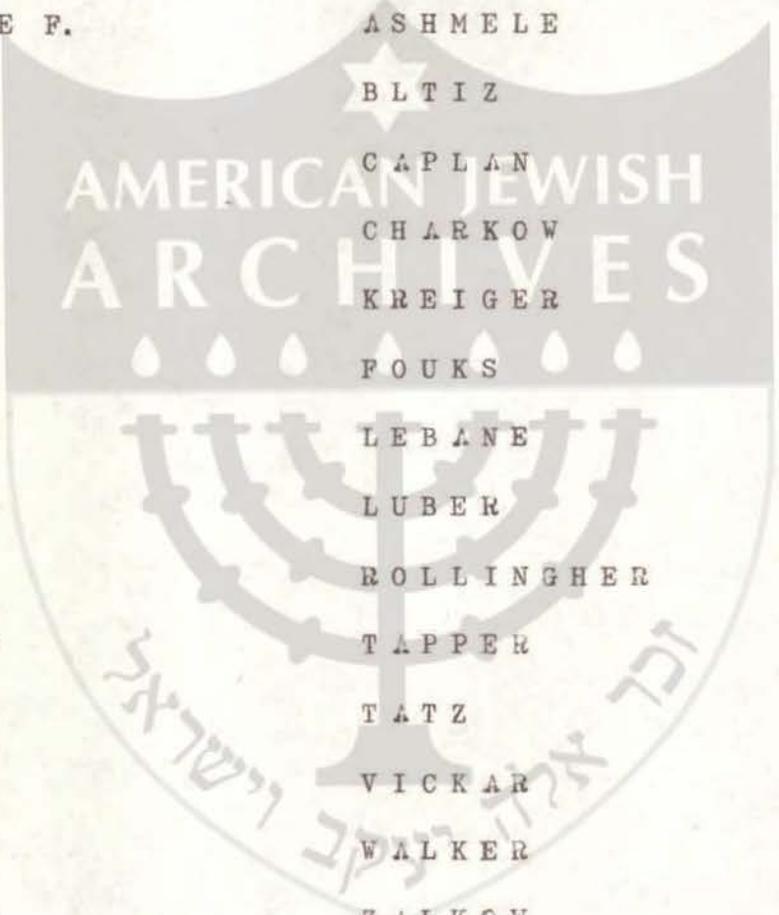


זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

TOUR LEADER: FRANCES BELZBERG

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| BEVERLEE F. | ASHMELE |
| ROSITA | BLITZ |
| SALLY | CAPLAN |
| ELAINE | CHARKOW |
| | KREIGER |
| ANCIE | FOUKS |
| | LEBANE |
| LYNDA | LUBER |
| TULANE | ROLLINGER |
| PHYLLIS | TAPPER |
| GITTEL | TATZ |
| MARION | VICKAR |
| ANNE | WALKER |
| MARCIE | ZALKOW |



NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION STUDY MISSION

28. 1.1975 - 5. 2.1975

TUESDAY JANUARY 28th

2.00 p.m. Arrival at Ben Gurion Airport
LY 500
Welcome and reception by representatives of Keren
Hayesod and U.I.A. of Canada, Inc.
Briefing on itinerary
Transfer to hotel

8.00 p.m. Dinner at the Hilton Hotel
Panel of experts with M^{rs}. SHULA BRODE, Chairman WIZO
Israel Federation and M^{rs}. TAMAR ESHEL, Secretary - General
Pioneer Women in Israel. Co-ordinator M^{rs}. YEHUDIT DORON,
Director of Women's Division - Keren Hayesod, United
Israel Appeal

OVERNIGHT: HILTON HOTEL, TEL AVIV

WEDNESDAY JANUARY 29th

8.00 a.m. Breakfast at Hilton Hotel
Guest of Honour & Speaker - COL. RUTH MUSCAL, Commander of
the Women's Army Division

9.30 a.m. Leave hotel
Proceed to Kfar Yona Absorption Centre

10.15 a.m. Tour of Centre
Meet with new immigrants from the Soviet Union
Lunch

1.00 p.m. Proceed to Army Women's Training Camp

2.30 p.m. Witness passing out parade of Women soldiers
Return to hotel
Afternoon free

8.30 p.m. Dinner at the Hilton Hotel
Guest of Honour and Speaker: MAJOR - GENERAL NACHEMIA KAIN

OVERNIGHT: HILTON HOTEL, TEL AVIV

THURSDAY JANUARY 30

- 8.00 a.m. Leave hotel
Proceed to Maalot - settlement on the Lebanese border
- 10.30 a.m. Visit a WIZO day creche
- 11.00 a.m. Meet with MR. BLI BEN YAACOV, Head of the Local Council
Visit homes, meet with settlers, school principal and social worker
- Lunch en route
- 2.00 p.m. Proceed to "Beit Key" rehabilitation centre in Nahariya
Meet with doctors and army veterans
- Return to Tel Aviv
- 8.30 p.m. Dinner at the Hilton Hotel with MR. SOL. D. GRANER,
Director General UIA of Canada, Inc.

OVERNIGHT: HILTON HOTEL, TEL AVIV

FRIDAY JANUARY 31st

- 8.00 a.m. Leave hotel
Tour of Tel Aviv poverty areas and talk on Social Gap
Proceed to Jerusalem
- 1.00 p.m. Lunch at Beit Shalom with Guest of Honour, MR. MOSHE RIVLIN,
Director-General, Jewish Agency
- 7.00 p.m. Dinner at the King David Hotel
Encounter with Israeli and Canadian Youth
Speaker Dr. MEIR BROUER, Educational Advisor, Mechon Gold
Director - Yeshivat Har Etzion

OVERNIGHT: KING DAVID HOTEL, JERUSALEM

SATURDAY FEBRUARY 1st

- Pilgrimage to Western Wall
Remainder of day at leisure
Cocktail Reception given by MR. & MRS. SOL D. GRANER
at their residence
Evening free

OVERNIGHT: KING DAVID HOTEL, JERUSALEM

SUNDAY FEBRUARY 2nd

- 8.00 a.m. Leave hotel
Survey of Jerusalem
- 11.00 a.m. Proceed to Yad Vashem for Light Kindling Ceremony
Visit the Knesset
- 1.00 p.m. Lunch at the King David Hotel, Guest of Honour and Speaker:
RABBI HERBERT FRIEDMAN, Director of Planning & Development
World Education Centre for Progressive Judaism
Afternoon free
- 8.00 p.m. U.I.A. Dinner at the King David Hotel, Host and Speaker,
MR. EZRA Z. SHAPIRO, World Chairman, Keren Hayesod - United
Israel Appeal. Chairman: DR. SAMUEL HURWICH, Chairman of
the Israel Resident's Committee, U.I.A. - U.J.R.A.

OVERNIGHT: KING DAVID HOTEL, JERUSALEM

MONDAY FEBRUARY 3rd

- 8.00 a.m. Leave hotel
Proceed to Allenby Bridge
- 9.00 a.m. Survey of Bridge
Proceed to Nachal Settlement
Meet with soldiers
Lunch en route
Return to Jerusalem
- 5.00 p.m. Afternoon tea with MRS. LEA RABIN at her residence
Dinner and evening free

OVERNIGHT: KING DAVID HOTEL, JERUSALEM

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 4th

- 6.30 a.m. Leave hotel
Proceed to Jerusalem Airport for flight to Rosh Pina
Continue to Golan Heights
Survey of settlements along the Israel-Syrian Border
Lunch en route

TUESDAY FEBRUARY 4th (cont.)

Visit Kiryet Shmona and meet with MR, RAFI AMRAM,
Director - Beth Edelstein

Survey of town

Return to Jerusalem

Dinner at leisure

Evening - Discussion and feedback

OVERNIGHT: KING DAVID HOTEL, JERUSALEM

WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 5th

AMERICAN JEWISH
DEPARTMENT
ARCHIVES



Christianism falls into apostasy, as during Third Reich (1)

Look up Augustine - City of God - which was written after Rome fell.

Christians worked with "defective tools". They resisted Nazism as citizens, not as Christians. As Christians they believed many things vs. Jews, because they couldn't accept Judaism as a legitimate religion.

A radical reworking of Christian Theology is necessary:

1. to accept the self-definition of Jews and not pass judgment on them
2. to eliminate missionary efforts
3. to accept Israel as a state
4. to accept Judaism and its sacred history as permanent.

Negatives must be changed to affirmatives

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Jewish people is replaced by Christianity | 1. Christians must have interaction with Jews |
| 2. Jews must convert | 2. Judaism is closer to religion than Christianity |
| 3. Jews crucified Christ | 3. Authority to reborn Israel is death to life |
| 4. Scripture closed | 3. |
| 5. Jews degenerate + depleted of spiritual energy. Pharisees were deadly legalistic | 4. Canon uncertain as late as 16 cent. |
| 6. Anterior of persecution was mark of God's displeasure. | 5. First anti-Judaism very alive. Pharisees' vitality kept J. alive. |
| 7. Jews are stubborn minority refusing to assimilate. | 6. Anti-semitism was Christian fault |
| | 7. When Christian church is faithful to its mandate it too is a counter-culture. |

All above negative "facts" are really myths.

Old myths must be cast out by new myths.

Most deadly myth has been the "superseding Theory" - that Jews were finished in sacred history when Christ was born. It is corner-stone of theological anti-semitism.

Toynbee ^{is} ~~was~~ guilty of holding the big myth.
To him Jews must be fossils. (2)

Anti-semitism is a Christian defilement which denies to Judaism a place in history. As such it is blasphemous against God.

→ Theological anti-semitism leads to cultural anti-semitism which leads to political anti-semitism. Murderous anti-semitism was possible only because of cultural & theological anti-semitism which supported it.

Only when Christians take cognizance of Jewish events in their liturgy, will the healing process take place.

The Holocaust & Restoration of Israel are major events in Christian history (death & resurrection)

The Jewish people lives and is being renewed - and Christians must accept this, or Christianity itself will be broken.



The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

THE ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN CHAIR
OF THE HISTORY OF ZIONISM
AND THE NEW YISHUV
AT THE INSTITUTE OF CONTEMPORARY JEWRY

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים

הקתדרה לתולדות הציונות והישוב החדש

ע"ש ישראל גולדשטיין

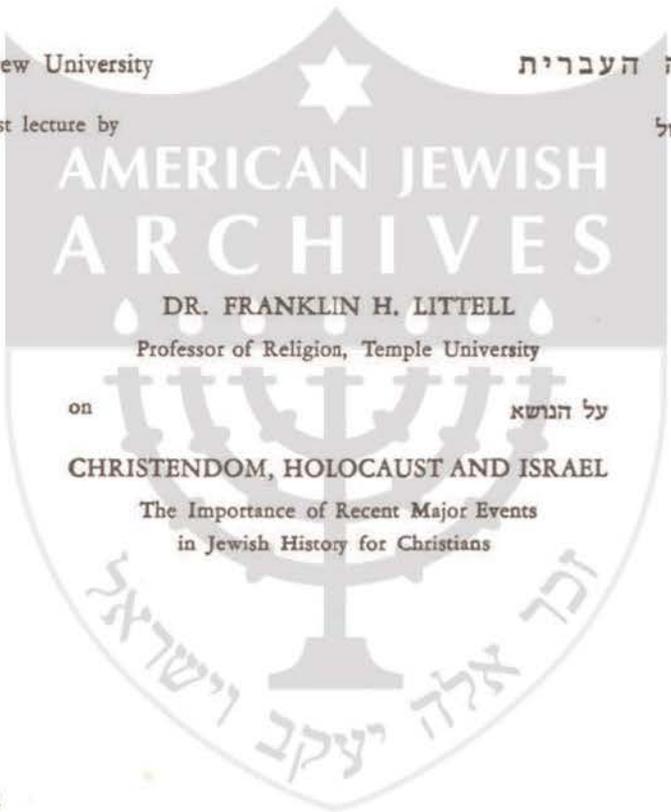
במכון ליהדות זמננו

The President of the Hebrew University

Cordially invites you to a guest lecture by

נשיא האוניברסיטה העברית

מזמין את כבי להרצאת אורח של



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

DR. FRANKLIN H. LITTELL

Professor of Religion, Temple University

on

על הנשא

CHRISTENDOM, HOLOCAUST AND ISRAEL

The Importance of Recent Major Events
in Jewish History for Christians

The lecture will take place on
Tuesday evening, February 27, 1973
at 8.00 p.m. in Canada Hall,
Givat Ram campus

ההרצאה תתקיים ביום ג'
אור לכ"ו אדר א' תשל"ג 27.2.73
בשעה 8.00 בערב באולם קנדה
קרית האוניברסיטה, גבעת רם