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34

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ADDRESS BY

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Chairman, U.J.A.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
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Given at the Opening Dinner of Operation

Israel No. 2.

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15-11

Gordon Zacks: Gentlemen, I know that some of you are not yet done, but it is getting late and we do have a full programme this evening so I am going to begin.

I know that all of you are filled with enthusiasm and excitement. You may not be as well rested as you like, but I am sure that you are filled with an eagerness to begin, and our purpose this night is to make the first step toward that beginning.

In a very real sense, all of you are here because you care as Jews about the destiny of the Jewish people. In a very real sense, we are here because we understood that at this point in the history of the Jewish people we, the Jewish people, had a rendezvous with destiny and with history, and so you are here because you care as Jews about the survival and the destiny of Judaism and of Jews and of the State of Israel, and you realise and you understand that your destiny is inexorably linked with the destiny of the Jewish people and the destiny of the State of Israel.

We are here at a crucial point in the history of the State and at a crucial point in the history of our people, and our purpose in coming is to study and to learn and to understand the nature of the situation, the dimensions of the need, so that out of our concern and out of our caring, and based upon our understanding, we can translate that concern and that understanding into meaningful personal commitments, and that we can respond as Jews who care, as Jews who understand, and we can fulfill our share of our responsibility to the Jewish people, in this hour of its greatest opportunity, and in so doing, set an example and set a pace that will be transmitted back to the communities from which we came and which will set the tone of responsibility for the American Jewish communities in the 1970/1971 campaign.

That is our purpose. That is our mission, and tonight we are going to begin to understand what it is we will do here, and we will begin to understand the dimensions of the situation that causes us to come here.

Before I turn the meeting over to those who have the opportunity to present to you the information about the situation here, I would like to introduce two men whom you will be seeing a great deal of, and have the opportunity to get to know quite well: my two associate chairmen on this mission, Frank Beckerman from Hartford and Malcolm Rosenberg from Peanock. I would also like to introduce Haim Vinitzky -- he is the Director General of the UJA in Israel.



I would like now to introduce a man whom I have known for some ten years. He has been shlepping me in and out of buses more times than I would like to remember. He is the Director of Missions for the UJA in Israel, but much more than that, he is a Jew who cares and who loves and who understands and who devotes and concerns himself with a dedication and a commitment to bringing understanding to us and to those of us who have come before us as to what Israel is all about and what the situation is in Israel, and his sincerity and his commitment rub off on all of us and he becomes our dear friend. He is David Shenhabi.

David Shenhabi is going to outline for us what the schedule and the itinerary will be for the week. Without further ado, let me introduce to you David Shenhabi.

Shenhabi: Thank you, Gordie. I know that you are always kind but I want to make it short because we have two good speakers, so let me quickly introduce the itinerary to you. You are not going to be tourists in this country and I hope you understand that we are not going to give you an easy time. You are going to work very hard - from the early hours until very late - but we are trying to show you the country and the problems as the Chairman told you so that you will go back home and understand our problems.

Tomorrow morning, we are going up north. We will leave Tel Aviv, go to the administered areas, and we are going to Nablus in the direction of the Jordan. Along the Jordan we will visit two Nahal outposts. I am not going to explain to you what Nahal is, you will find it out tomorrow because the guides on the buses will explain - and you will visit two outposts along the Jordan River, defending the country in this direction. From Argaman and Massua along the Jordan, we will drive with the new road in the direction of the Beit Shean Valley. I believe every one of you, during the last three years, heard the daily reports about the Beit Shean Valley and what is going on there. Here we are going to visit strongholds ordered by the army, again defending this difficult border here. After visiting those strongholds, we are going to visit Kibbutzim. You will see here how people live, farmers, in a different way than what they had been used to before the Six Day War. How children are growing, how we have to educate children under fire and from here, after you will visit, after you will learn and study the



problems of security, the way of life of our people, we will continue driving in the direction north, coming along the seashore of the Sea of Galilee, to a kibbutz called Ayelet Hashahar and we will stay overnight at the guesthouse of this kibbutz.

In the late afternoon, when we arrive, we will have a cocktail party, a nice dinner, and we will spend a beautiful evening learning Hebrew songs which you will sing together with us in Ayelet Hashahar.

The next day - Tuesday - you are going further north, up to the Lebanon and Syrian borders, in a corner which you will see what they call "Fatahland", and our first stop will be the settlement of Kiryat Shmoneh, which again was famous in the news when it didn't want to be famous. They have been attacked by Katyushas, by mortars, by artillery from every side, and we will explain it to you. You will see people, meet them and talk to them, and start to understand how a new town with people from some 70 different countries lives, how the people have to live together, how they suffer from different problems - economic problems and others, plus, in the last few years, from a security problem, from outrages from a border which was always quiet from the Lebanese side.

After this we will climb the Golan Heights. We will see the former Syrian defence line. We will study their defence line, but climbing up you will look down and then only you will be amazed at how all our kibbutzim and towns had been living under the guns of the Syrians for 20 years. Driving along the Golan Heights, looking down on the valley, you will see that our people, only after we conquered the Golan Heights, understood how grave was their danger in the last 20 years.

Then we will travel with a completely new road which has only been open for 2 weeks, coming down from the Golan Heights to a kibbutz on the seashore of the Sea of Galilee, Ein Gev, a fishing kibbutz, and we will have lunch there. After lunch, we will return to Tel Aviv by a short cut to Afula. As we arrive in Tel Aviv, between 5.30 and 6.00, according to our itinerary, we will have a classified briefing on defense by the Defense Ministry, on very important matters, and you will go into that briefing straight from the buses, and afterwards you will have the rest of the evening free. You can have dinner in any dining room in the hotel, and you will be free to go out, on the only free evening until Friday.



Next morning, Wednesday, we will leave very early from here by buses to an Air Force base somewhere in the south not far from here - as it is called in the newspapers, "somewhere in the south". We will meet the base commander, and you will see take-offs and landings, you will speak with the pilots and sometimes you will see their baby faces. You will not believe that they are pilots of those monstrous planes that have to do the job.

After that base, studying what we have there, we will fly by plane to the Sinai, and here we will land in the middle of the Sinai and then drive to the Mitla Pass and from there to the Canal. You will visit the strongholds on the Canal. You will meet the soldiers who defend the Suez Canal, you will talk to the officers, you will see what we have done there. We will come back that evening to the hotel and we have dinner together.

Next day is an easier day. We are going up to Jerusalem - easier in mileage but not easier, for during the day we will work hard. We will go to the Western Wall, we will pay our respects there, and from there we will go to the military cemetery, again paying our respects to those who paid with their lives so that this country may one day live in peace - we hope - and from there we will go to Yad Vashem, to the memorial for the Six Million Jews who, before the State was created, already started to pay for the creation of the State of Israel.

We will have lunch and you will listen to a speaker during lunch, in my opinion one of our wonderful speakers, Mr. Gershon Avner, Deputy Director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He will brief you on our foreign affairs problems and in the afternoon we will continue visiting Jerusalem.

Thursday afternoon we come back to Tel Aviv and we'll have dinner with Minister Shimon Peres, a man who always worked behind the scenes before he joined the government as Cabinet Minister. He is a man you will find very interesting. He has two titles. He is Minister of Posts and Transportation. But these are really only titles. He is more interested in working with the Arabs of the Liberated Areas. He believes very much that we will have to live with them that we will have to find a way to live with them. This is for Thursday.



Friday morning we are going to JDC-Malben, where we will see how they are taking care of the aged, and I am not talking of the aged Israelis, but newcomers who are coming into Israel. From there we will go to Absorption Centers and you will study the problems Israel has absorbing the newcomers, and every one brings a new and different problem. You will meet with them, you will be briefed, you will talk with them, and you will find out for yourself what the problems are.

You will be asked if some of you are interested in staying overnight Friday evening in Jerusalem. We have an information desk, you will let us know, and we will make reservations for you, and from one of the Absorption Centers - those that want to and wish to stay overnight in Jerusalem - we will take you up to Jerusalem. Late Saturday afternoon, after sunset, we will bring you back to Tel Aviv.

For those who are not staying over in Jerusalem, we will have a list of all kinds of trips, optional tours for you, for Saturday which you can go on. We will prepare everything for you and you don't have to run and look for guides, trying to make your own itinerary. Ask us and we will help you. In the evening we have the Closing Dinner, and the speaker is Mr. Zelig Chinitz. He will give you a resume to take back home and wrap up everything you saw here. You will ask yourself, how will I tell it all to my friends in the United States? He will tell you. He will help you in 20 minutes, to remember how to deliver it home - what to say and how to say it - you will say it in your words, not his - what you saw, how you feel. And I am sorry to tell you that on the 22nd we will say Shalom, you will go, and we will wait for the next mission.

This is more or less your itinerary. Thank you very much.

Zacks: Thank you David.

I want to tell you that it's absolutely imperative that all of us wear our identification badges at all times while we are on the trips. For security reasons it has been requested that the badges be present with all of our group, always. So I would appreciate your cooperation on that.

You've had a brief understanding of where we are going to go and what we are going to be doing.



As you can see, we have begun the process of understanding and we are now going to have the benefit of the insight and understanding of a man whom I personally have looked for inspiration and for counsel as a leader, and as a friend, for a good number of years. I look upon Herb Friedman as the outstanding Jewish leader of the United States of America, whether lay, or professional.

A man of vision, a man of insight, a man of courage, a man of history, and a man who above all other things has had the chutzpah and the guts to stand up alone and shout what he foresaw in the coming events of the Jewish people, when it was unpleasant and unpopular to say the things that, unfortunately, he accurately predicted.

Above all other things, I think of Rabbi Friedman as a great teacher of the Jewish people. It is my privilege to introduce to you the Executive Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal - Herbert A. Friedman.

Rabbi Friedman: Thank you. Doctor, you asked a question earlier about peace symbols. You can travel this world from top to bottom, and you will never find a country in which people want peace more than the people of this country do. Nor will you find any other country on the face of this earth where the people are able to fight for that peace as well as the people of this country, if and when they have to.

There is no anti-war sentiment in this country. The peace symbols don't mean that....I understand. The general didn't quite get it. He doesn't know what you mean by peace symbols. The peace symbols don't signify an anti-war sentiment. The anti-war sentiment exists in this country, born and bred into every kid who is taught the Jewish meaning of peace, as the greatest desideratum. That's what we want more than ~~anything~~ else. But the kids in this country are also taught that there's only one way to get peace, and if you have to, you fight for it. If you don't have to, you don't fight for it, but there is no Gandhi approach to peace. It doesn't exist in the Jewish tradition. There is pacificism when it's possible, and when it isn't possible there is the highest quality of military integrity and capability. And you fight your way out of a paper bag, you don't pray,



15-11

you don't stop and pray on the bank of the Red Sea, you fight the Egyptians. Nor do you depend upon anybody else to fight your battles for you, because we have learned that bitter lesson a quarter of a century ago.

They cut us to bits and killed a third of us and nobody lifted a finger, so what more proof do we need than that.

So what you have in here is the most exquisite group of fighting generals, a 43 year-old man who is a perfect perfect professional with a sense of humour and great intelligence, as you saw in his speech. Eighteen year-old kids going into the army, and they don't go singing songs. There is no hatred of Arabs in this country. You won't find it. There were no victory parades at the end of the Six Day War. Not one. There is no rejoicing over the slaying of the enemy. But the 18 year-old kids go into the army and fight the fight, and plan like hell what they're going to do when they are 21 and they get out.

And they are just as eager to get out as any other kids anywhere in the world. They go in out of a clean, almost immaculate sense of duty and responsibility, not because they are super-patriotic, but because of other very simple things. The life and security of this country depend on them. This country will fight war after war after war after war in order to survive and this country will win three wars and four and five and six, because this country can only afford to lose one.

And every schoolchild knows it. And that's the whole ball game here.

So these problems of sentiment or emotions or feelings for war or against war don't exist as a reality. Psychologists are not faced with it, there are no draft counsellors here. Those problems don't exist. What exists is what is the best way to do my duty what's the quickest way to do it, what's the cheapest way to do it. What's the cheapest way in blood and in money. And you know in Hebrew these things go together. Its a very interesting thing - if you don't know any other Hebrew in the world, learn two words "Dam" is the word for blood, and "dam" or "dameem" is the word for money. The same word is blood and money. And when he talks about



cheap he uses it in both senses. He wants to fight his war as cheaply as possible in terms of blood, and as cheaply as possible in terms of money. But he knows he has to fight his war. And the whole thing that we have learned is that it's not his war. The grammar is interesting. You used the word "did we make use of the Russian tanks" - who's "we" - a Jew in Phoenix, Arizona, or Tucson, Arizona, is that the same Jew as the one who lives here in Petach Tikva?

That's the phenomenon that has occurred. More and more and more of us begin to speak in terms of the word we. We. We. It's our fight, and the deeper we come to understand that, the better leaders of the American Jewish community we are going to be.

This business of them and us. Their war, we help them. That's getting to be increasingly nonsensical. There is an indivisibility of the Jewish people. You can live in Worcester Mass., or you can live in Rehovot, and you have one fate, one. Because if the Jew loses in Rehovot, you lose in Worcester. There is no question about it. There may be some people to whom that won't apply, there will always be some people who can cut and run. They can live in White Plains, or they can live in Dallas, and they will find a way to wriggle out when the whole Jewish people goes down in some crashing cataclysm. I'm not saying every single Jew is going to get caught in it, but the Jewish people will get caught in it, though some individuals might escape it. There were even some individuals who escaped Hitler.

I'm not speaking about every individual. Permit me the exceptions, when I make a statement that the fate of the totality of us is a universal fate. So we come to say more and more that this is our war. That the success of this venture is our success or our failure. And that's how the people talk, and I rejoice in it. Because as that comes to be more and more a natural state of affairs, then we have less and less of these silly arguments which divide us as to whether "they" are adopting the right strategy. It's as though Jews here were to talk about whether "we" are adopting the right strategy in the United States. These questions become academic.



Our survival becomes common, and what all of us do determines it. Now let me try to tell you in just a few sentences what the problem is here. It isn't just the ceasefire, which may last until the end of January or may not.

I don't think it will. He doesn't think it will. Others think it will. Others think that the Russians and the Egyptians will hold off till the end of January. The technical date is February 5. We are sitting here now, you know, in the middle of November, but the end of January will be here awfully fast. President Sadat says, "Okay this is it, the last time, I renewed it once, I won't renew it again." He really means it. He'll get thrown out if he renews it again without bringing home some political bacon, which is a concession from Israel. And if Israel isn't prepared to make any concession, then no dice.

His army won't let him renew it again, and don't forget it, the army is what runs Egypt today.

Therefore, it is not in my judgment a question of guesswork, will the ceasefire hold or won't it hold. We have to understand two or three simple things.

Number one, the shots are being called by Russia. Just let that fact sink in. Because that's crucial. We are not just fighting Egypt, or other Arabs. We are fighting Russia. If you think that's a crazy or far-fetched statement, you have to understand how this whole thing began.

Sure, Russia resupplied the arms after 1967. But Russia where she is today, began only this year in January. Nasser went to Moscow in January, eleven short months ago, stayed there three weeks, laid out the whole tactical and strategic plan, then Russia took over the air defense of Egypt. And that's it.

Now whatever she does, however far in she goes - somebody asked a question - will she go in further and further - certainly she will. She's in with 15,000 men now, she'll go in with 50,000 if she has to. Russia doesn't make tactical moves and change them, yes one month and no one month later. Russian policies are planned over years and decades.



She wants the Canal. She wants the way to the Indian Ocean. She wants a foothold on the African continent. She wants the oilfields of the Persian Gulf. She wants the soft underbelly of China and India. Doesn't everybody understand what Russia wants?

So what the hell is Israel - some fly in the way. It's not that Russia wants to destroy Israel necessarily. But Russia doesn't care about Israel. Russia has bigger things that she wants and if we are in the way, we're in the way.

Now we are very much in the way, keeping the Canal closed. She wants the Canal open. She has a big base now at Marsa Matruh, between Alexandria and Libya. She's got more fleet in the Mediterranean than the United States has. She wants that fleet down through the Canal and out into the Indian Ocean.

And she'll blast the Canal open if she has to. If Russia says fire, Egypt fires. Russia doesn't even have to ask Egypt. There are 20 missile bases controlled and manned entirely by Russian personnel with no Egyptians around the bases. Twenty of them already. Does Russia have to ask?

And that's Number One. The nature of the enemy. Learn it well, Gentlemen, learn it well.

Number two. Mr. Nixon learned a lesson. That's why we're running the 1971 campaign, because Mr. Nixon learned the lesson. From January, when Nasser went to Moscow, from January to July we pounded him, we pressured him, we begged, we yelled, we pleaded, we were talking at the table here about that letter of the Senators - 72 Senators - many of you guys in the room worked on that thing. Seventy-two Senators wrote that letter to him in which they said "Sell Israel arms" He finally said OK, you can have your shopping list.

You heard the General say, "Never before in 22 years of her life has Israel been able to have access to such magnificent, such new qualitative and quantitative type of equipment." Hawks - those are anti-aircraft missiles - Hawk batteries, Shrikes, sophisticated electronic equipment, tens



of millions of dollars of it, Skyhawks, Phantoms, M-60 tanks, 175mm batteries, the finest artillery in the American arsenal, the biggest. I think you can sum it all up in one sentence: the American arsenal was opened by the President of the United States for the first time.

And the dilemma which exists here in Israel today is, when people in the Pentagon say to Generals like this one, well, we think, if we were running Israel, we think you need 250 Skyhawks. Why don't you buy 250? We think you ought to have a fleet of 100 or 200 Phantoms - why don't you buy 100 or 200 Phantoms? And Israel is in the most unbelievable, ironic situation of having to say, well, let me think about it.

It never happened before. Never. It's absurd. It's weird. Up to now we've gone begging, can we buy 5 more planes, can we buy 2 more planes, can we buy 6 more planes, and we're talking now in terms of 50 or 75 or 125 and we have to say, well, wait a minute, hold the phone, we've got to do a little adding. That's what's going on right now.

So a decision was made to try to shoot for a very big campaign next year, so that while Israel is spending its money on a war we can run the home front. And you guys are in it. American Jews have never tried anything like this before in their entire history. Not when Israel was established 22 years ago, not in the Six Day War, never. And what's being sought of you next year is five hundred million dollars. And what's being sought of Jews in the rest of the world is two hundred million dollars. And what's being sought in the way of loans, in addition to giving, is four hundred more million dollars from Jews by selling the bonds to them. When you buy a bond all you are doing is loaning Israel some money. You get your capital back plus interest.

And the Knesset just three weeks ago passed an authorization bill raising the debt limit just like Congress does, permitting the Treasury of Israel to float another one billion dollars worth of bonds, but over a three year period. They don't intend to sell a billion dollars worth of bonds in one year. They'll spread it. They have the parliamentary authorization for it.



So what's all the sweat. What's the crisis. Everybody says what's the crisis? The crisis is a very simple one, gentlemen, just as simple as can be. It's a crisis of opportunity that never existed before. Do you want to grab it or don't you want to grab it? It's just as simple as that.

Are we going to fight again? The answer is probably yes. What's the best way to try to save the life of a young soldier? It is to give him the best damned equipment you can give him, that's about the best way you can try to help save his life.

If he's going to have to fight again, then by God let him fight well-equipped, not as he's been fighting up till now.

Do you have a problem of morale here? No. It isn't a question of whether we will lose, or whether we win. That question never enters, because there's no option of losing. You don't lose the war, you lose the State. So the morale is high. The willingness to take the casualties is high. You have one problem here, one problem only, a problem of economic exhaustion. The problem of bankruptcy, not military defeat. Bankruptcy comes first, not military defeat. Of course you have the other option. Don't buy the stuff and don't take in so many new immigrants, because that's as costly as can be. Or a combination of both of these things. Buy a little more stuff but cut down on the immigrants. Or take in the immigrants but cut down on buying the stuff. But trying to do both things- it can't be done. And everybody speaks that way very freely.

The Prime Minister came to the United States a few weeks ago, and I travelled around with her and she was saying, very simply, some words that were never used here before. She said, "We can't do it alone." How many of you heard speeches by Israelis in which they have said, "Well, look, if you guys help us, fine, if you don't help us, don't worry, we will take care of it ourselves." That's how the Israelis used to talk for 22 years. They are not talking that way any more.

You heard tonight a proud, fighting general. I don't know if you recall his words. We need your help! Never before has the military and governmental



hierarchy of this country thrown itself into a campaign in the United States or England. Mrs. Meir had a fund raising meeting with sixty Jews in England last week, on her way back home. Those 60 people, who last year had given two million pounds sterling, gave five million pounds sterling. She did not consider it beneath her dignity to go to a meeting to ask for money. Now this mission is the first of a long series of what we hope will be as many as twelve or fifteen missions to Israel spread over the next 60 or 90 days. You are a spearhead group. I want to tell you something. Everybody in any organized position in American Jewish life, every president of a federation, or welfare fund, every executive director of a community is waiting to see the results of what you do on this mission. I don't envy you.

You are very much on the spot. You are very much in that spotlight. Everybody is watching and waiting to see what the figure will be as you people will make your commitments before this week is out. It will effect your communities, but much more than your communities, it will effect- and I am saying this in the full knowledge professionally of the prediction I am making - it will effect the course of the campaign throughout the entire United States.

We will telex the results of this mission to 100 communities in America. You are the first group here, you are the first of the 1971 Operation Israel flights. If you guys come out with the right numbers every community in this country will know that you came and you saw and you were conquered. Which is another way of simply saying that you decided that you were going to be the masters of the situation and you were going to see Israel through, and if you do that, everybody will take courage from it and will do it back home.

I can't impress this upon you enough. There may be an individual or two who, for some family or personal reasons, may not be able to make his commitment before the week is over, and we will respect that, obviously we will. But conversely we also expect you to respect the needs of the situation here in your ability to alter the course of events, and that's what I'm throwing out to you as a challenge. Damn few of us in our lives ever can really say that we have a chance to alter the course of events, and if you were the 15th



mission coming through, I wouldn't say that to you, because as the 15th mission you couldn't alter the course of events any more in the 1971 campaign. By the end of February the 1971 campaign is going to be on the track. Nobody is going to alter it very much one way or the other. It will be going at a certain rate, at a certain tempo, but now you're at the beginning. You can change it. And if the collective result of the figures are such that by the end of the week one hundred percent of you were able to make your commitments, and for such commensurate increases as this situation demands, then what you will do will be to provide a fantastic example from which city after city in this country will take courage.

You all know that the communities of the continent of America have been asked in September for huge quotas. You all know most communities have accepted them. You all know that there is a big difference between the acceptance of a quota and the implementation and the performance of it. And you guys are the first ones on the firing line to perform.

This is a land here of unlimited possibilities. A land of beautiful people. It's a land of fantastic dreams. It's a land of an exquisite vision which the Jewish people carries in its head. It's a land which has had to fight slowly upwards from birth. It was born in blood, as all birth is. So there is nothing unnatural about that. But it has had to fight for life by shedding blood, and it requires the constant transfusion and infusion of new life and new strength and new capacity from the outside. We are not on the outside, we are as much the insiders, as much as if we lived here permanently. These people therefore, this land, this vision, have every right to ask us to give everything we can give. Everything, everything. Unlimited, unlimited.

Not a soul asks you for your life. But you are asked in very unequivocal terms for lots and lots and lots of money. And unashamedly, not a little bit, but a lot. If you gave two hundred and fifty dollars maybe you'd better start thinking about five thousand or ten thousand. And if you gave five thousand or ten thousand maybe you'd better start thinking about twenty five thousand. If you gave twenty five maybe you'd better start thinking about one hundred.



15-11

And if you can't give one hundred maybe you'd better start thinking about ninety. Go from twenty five to one hundred and work down. If you can't give ninety, maybe you can give eighty. Don't go from twenty five and start to work up and say twenty six. It's the wrong approach.

All of this that's demanded of you - it's only money. And after you've given that before the week is over, you have to give one more thing. More important than your money. You have to give your heart and your soul and your head. You have to take your head and have your brain find the words to express the motivation that your heart feels, and you have to convince hundreds and hundreds of others. Because you are few. But every army is a few. By the time we've finished with 15 flights maybe there will be twenty-five hundred, three thousand, thirty five hundred Jews like you who will have been put through this process of commitment. Three thousand, or thirty five hundred have to move five million.

You have enormous responsibility, far above and beyond the money you will give before the week's over. It doesn't do any good just to give money and then walk away from it. You'll give the work which is commensurate with the money. There are three guys here from the town in which I used to live - Westport, Connecticut. The town can do a quarter of a million dollars, can do four hundred thousand, it can do a half a million. I don't think it's ever done more than one hundred thousand dollars. I don't know. I may be wrong about those figures.

But I know if those guys work, not perfunctory work at one or two meetings, at the country club, and then let it go, but knock on every door of every house that sits on two acres of land - my God, there's money. And it can come only from work, no other way, it doesn't fall like manna from heaven. You make your commitments, then you do your work and then you can feel just like that General feels. I know him. He feels good when he looks at you. You should feel good when you look at him. He does his duty, you do your duty. And that mutuality will then create the electricity between us, that welds us together. We'll win this thing gentlemen, there is no question about that.



We will win the establishment, secure and defended permanence of this beautiful place, with these beautiful people. "All that's at stake is two things, how fast, that means how many lives do we save or lose in the process, how fast. And at what price. Every one of you is the master not only of his own fate but of the whole Jewish fate. And that's the whole business.

It will be a busy week. This is the greater Israel whether the name is on the map or not. The old Israel is in dark green, the new Israel is in light green. As the years go on, whatever political arrangements are made, and believe me it will be years, it won't be months. Don't look for anything fast. I am not even sure Jarring is a way towards anything. And Jarring, boom, can disappear in a minute if Egypt says on sentence - "We recognize the State of Israel and we will live in peace with it." Oh you'll have a peace conference so fast it'll make your head swim, and the details will get settled so fast your head will swim.

The greater Israel won't be all of this - some of it will go back. But out of it will come the permanence, the secure borders, and you can help insure that permanence.

The territory is not the issue. The issue is, can we live without anybody trying to kill us in this world? That hasn't been settled yet, so, in this struggle, be with us, don't be impatient. Don't lose heart, don't ask, how long is it taking, don't ask, why is it costing so much, the cost will go up and up, the longer and longer it takes. So be of good courage, be very strong, be very firm, be very optimistic as those of us are who fight hard every day. We'll get it, no question of it. So long as there is a good solidarity, so long as we don't lose our patience, our nerve - more than anything else, our nerve - don't lose our head, don't do anything rash, keep going, we'll have it, and when we do, Gentlemen, let me tell you something, it will not just be the General's victory, it will be yours, too. Never forget it.

We'll meet together on the bus in the morning and we'll travel together, and I'll hop from bus to bus and we'll talk and kibbitz and we'll visit with each other, and our whole lifetime of experience is going to be congealed into 90 hours. You won't believe it. Ninety hours from now you won't feel like the



15-11

same people. It's a short four days. And four days from now you won't recognize yourselves.

So I would like to thank you for coming. You made a hard effort to come a long way at your own expense for a few days to do something very great, and do it well and do it graciously, and do it quickly, and it will be a job very well done and Sunday will be here before you know it. You'll go home almost said to go.

Thank you very much.

