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ADDRESS BY

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE CHAIRMAN (ISRAEL) OF THE U. J. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

to the members of  
OPERATION ISRAEL - MISSION No. 2

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

16.11.71

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Mr. L. Goldman (Chairman):

I can't tell you how many times I've had the honor, the pleasure, of introducing Rabbi Herbert Friedman, Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, to audiences, both in Israel, in the United States, and the best way I can express it to you of what I think of this man, is the fact that I think I have been a Jew all my life, but from the year 1961, when I met Rabbi Friedman, I think I really learned from that time on what it really means to be a Jew.

This man is one of the most remarkable individuals that I have ever met in my life. The charisma, dynamism, the thoughts that he comes up with, the ideas that he comes up with you just don't find people creative like this every day in the week. He's one in I don't know how many millions of people in this world. If I had to chart a group of people of what they meant to me in my lifetime, or what they've meant in my estimation to the State of Israel and to Judaism, at the top of that list would be Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman. Herb.

Rabbi Friedman:

I love him too. It's a mutual admiration society based upon performance. Here's some pills for your bad back. Through the airplane yesterday with the terrible disc problem, bad back, never displayed and never showed it to anybody, did his job and did it well.

We've got about an hour, or an hour and five minutes before you load and go up to Jerusalem. I just came down from Jerusalem, the traffic's heavy, so we'd better wait until the road clears a bit. The timetable will work just right if we leave here at about 9.15.

What I would like to try to do in this period time is three things. I would like to try to explain that map to you. That will cover the itinerary. Number two, I'd like to try to explain the major problems as they exist in Israel today, so that you'll have a framework within which to look at the country and to understand what's going on. And the third thing I'd like to do is to ask you some questions, which I am sure exist in your minds.

How many people are here for the first time, O.K. I see clenched fists going up this way. That's very good too. Very good. That's the spirit we're going to need.

Alright. Then look, let's begin with the first thing. The map. The colors of the map tell the whole story. I'm sorry about this year - I'll do my best to try to swivel. The colors tell the story, and if you look at it very carefully, what is dark green here is Israel before 1967. This is what we call the old Israel, or the Israel behind the green line. If you here the phrase behind the green line, and across the green line, behind is the old Israel, across the green line is after 1967, the occupied or administered territories, and we put them in light green. Old Israel dark, new Israel light. No Sinai Desert, way down near the bottom to Sharm el Sheikh, over here what was called the West Bank, but for which we prefer the old Biblical names of Ephraim and Judah. Up here the Golan, over here the Gaza Strip, which is connected to Sinai. All of that is what we are holding now as part of the enlarged Israel. This is the territory which is under negotiation, if they ever make peace they can get it back. They don't make peace, we're stuck with it. And, with the people in it. In the Gaza Strip we've got 3 hundred and

and something thousand Arabs, in the West Bank area, 650,000 Arabs, we got a million potential new citizens. If we wind up keeping all this territory, God forbid, we are going to keep a million new Arab citizens, God forbid, because 17 years from now at the rate at which they breed and we breed, they'll out number us. And there will be an Arab Prime Minister, or could be. Because by that time I would hope we would have direct elections in this country, and if the Arabs are a majority, they'll vote in a Prime Minister. Wouldn't you? So the territory and the keeping of the territory, is not the obstacle to peace, as you sometimes hear. You sometimes hear it said, why are those damn Jews so inflexible. Why won't they give back the territory, and make peace. The whole burden, of course, of making peace, is on our shoulders, you understand that. And we are the devils, we are the bad boys, we are the ones who won't make peace, because we won't give back the territory.

All the time the question is asked, why won't you be flexible. Why won't you help the Arabs save face. Why don't you come up with some kind of a compromise formula which will enable Sadat to back down and then you'll have peace. Poor Sadat, with his 33 million people, is having trouble making peace with us. And it's expected that we should make the first move, and the first move, apparently, is that we should offer to give back the territory. We're dying to give back the territory, not for any altruistic reasons, but because we don't want the people. It's as simple as that. Can't kill them, we can't drive them out across the borders into Arab countries, which are up here in yellow, in light orange, in yellow, in yellow, all this is Arab. Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. We have five neighbors continuous to us. It has been suggested that we should take a million Arabs. We have the trucks and the aircraft, and the organization, we can do it. Pick up the million Arabs, take them across the borders into the five neighboring countries, and leave them there. One doesn't do that in this world. That's called genocide. We've been through it; we won't do it to anybody else. It's been done to us. So you don't kill them, and you don't drive them out, and so you leave them there, and you've got them. And if you keep the territory, you keep the people, so we say no thank you. Won't you guys please make peace with us so that you can have back the territory and the people.

They won't budge, they won't do the one thing we would like, only one thing. And this is the key to the whole business. We want to be recognized. We want only one thing. We keep saying we want peace, with recognized and guaranteed borders. That that means very simply in non-technical language, non-diplomatic language, means simply this. The Arab states should say to us, we acknowledge your existence, we agree that you have a right to exist. We agree that there can be a Jewish state. We agree that we will recognize you. We agree that this will be your State and let's draw the borders around your State, and say what they are.

You know we are 23 years old, and we have no borders. We never have had. The Independence War that was fought in 1948 ended in an armistice, in 1949, and all there were are armistice lines, which have been violated time and time again, over and over again, and never have been fixed, clear borders to this country. Never. Now that's the clue to the whole business. Because you know what the Arabs say? The Arabs say, there ain't going to be - we just are not about to recognize you. We will continue to try to destroy you. And you know what, we will succeed, and you know why, you aren't going to be any tougher to drive out than the Christians

were. It took only 200 years to drive them out at the time of the Crusades. We got rid of them, didn't we? We will get rid of you too. I'm not making this up. This is their clear logic and their one clear historical example, and analogy from which they derive all their present policy. The Christians came here to try to take this country; the Crusaders fought, they built castles, they lived here, Richard the Lionhearted, you got a dozen big castles left in this country, which you will not have time to see, but you will on your next trip. And the Arabs say, fine, when our great hero Saladin came, he made Richard the Lionhearted look like a punk.

By the way, they have a second reason which is interesting for you people. They say, you know why we beat the Crusaders? The folks back in England and in Germany and France and Austria, they got tired of supporting the Crusader settlements here. So you just wait till the Jews in America and Canada and England and South Africa get tired of supporting the handful of Jews here. They'll fall too, like a ripe plum, from the tree. They believe it. So they watch what you do. They watch the campaign results as carefully as I do. It's a symbol and a sign to them, of the state of morale of your support. They are a little bit discouraged now because your support has been going up, steadily and consistently since the Six Day War, which everybody thought was the great apogée of Jewish commitment. You are now raising more money now, four years later, than then. So this is dealing them a fit. It really is. Nevertheless, they keep plugging away at their Crusader analogy - they keep saying we'll get you yet, so we are not going to recognize you, we are not going to draw any borders. And we say, O.K., we are going to sit on the light green as well as the dark green.

That's why the question of making peace is not dependent upon what we will give back. The question of making peace is dependent upon when they will recognize us. And if they won't, then we'll be sitting on the light green, not for four and a half years, as we are now, but for 24½ years, if we have to. So long as you agree.

Now the flash points on this border business are over here. This is the Canal. From Port Said, up in the Mediterranean, down to Fort Suez here on the Gulf, which goes down out to the Indian Ocean, this is 106 miles, right here. Where we are sitting. On their side they have 100,000 men roughly. Seven brigades. They've got 1,200 artillery pieces roughly. Lined up almost toe cap to hub cap, because this is not 106 miles of land. There are two big lakes here. Great Bitter Lake and Little Bitter Lake. And so a lot of it is waterway. There they have the artillery, it's really lined up very close. In the Russian style, which is how the Russians took Berlin in 1945. They lined up 2,000 artillery pieces, and smashed the heart out of the middle of the city. Hub cap to hub cap, the guns fired. This is what they have on the Canal, Russian style.

They've also got Sam-II's, III's, IV's and VI's. Four types of missiles, all different, all performing different functions, some low-level, some high-level, some mobile, some on trucks, some on fixed concrete pits. They got the greatest concentration of missile defense including the city of Moscow. There's more missile defense here than there is around Moscow. I think the Russians are crazy. But that's their business.

It's a very hard line to penetrate. Opposed to it, we don't have 100,000 troops. We are outmanned roughly 12 to 1. We are outgunned about 25 to 1. We are out-missiled a billion to zero. We don't have any. We have some American Hawk anti-aircraft

missiles, which are short things, and have a very limited purpose, compared to what the Russians have got. So we are in that typical position of having an approximate balance of power. And we'll sit there I'd say 24 years with it if we can, because of the factors that go into it, of enormous courage on the part of the men sitting there, enormous morale on the part of the whole army backing up that handful of men. More enormous morale on the part of the whole civilian population of this country backing up the army, and the final and ultimate morale factor which is the whole Jewish people outside backing up the Jewish people inside.

Those are our layers of defense. We think they are at least as strong as the Russian missiles. There has been a ceasefire on that line for about 16 months now. Do you understand clearly Mr. Sadat's threats? Mr. Sadat says he will make a decision before 1971 is over and he's got about 45 days left, as to whether the future will be war or peace. Alright. By the way, we take him seriously. If he is bluffing, if he is threatening war and has no intention of making it, then he's way out on a limb of his own creation, and he's got to climb down off it somehow, and that's going to be his problem. And if his army chops his own head off, because he fails to perform, and they are restive, they want war, they are much better equipped than they were in 1967. They feel they are at their height of Russian support right now. They are worried that Nixon might chip away at Russian support, if Nixon goes to Russia next year, in '72. The Egyptian Army's point of view is that they want war NOW! And he's talking very nicely because he's promising them war, he is working in an army general's uniform every day, which he hasn't worn in 19 years, and I don't know if it fit him. And he has moved his office from the Presidential Palace to Army H.Q. and that's where he goes to work every morning. That's a posture which they like. Therefore, if all of that's a bluff, and he's not going to resume fire, then he's going to climb down off that limb somehow. That's his problem. Then he decides to go the other way and resume fire, which we are taking as a serious threat, then shortly we'll be back at war again. And you people have to understand that.

When I said to you that I wanted to explain the map, and explain current problems, the first and most important current problem that we have, is the probable or possible resumption of war. We are much much more close to it than any of you dream. Dayan has said over and over again in an effort to try to explain it to the people of this country, I take Sadat seriously at his word. And by the way I think it would be suicide to do anything else, and so there are preparations going on down at the Canal now, build up at the Canal, because the Canal is the point at which we assume it will start. We are not talking about war beginning with the Egyptian airforce coming to try to bomb the Hilton Hotel in Tel Aviv. We are not talking about war beginning by the Russians trying to land 50,000 soldiers on the beach here at Ashdod, or Ashkelon. No. They send the Mig-23's over all the time to photograph, because of that Ashkelon beach with its oil pipeline terminal from Eilat; we have a very lovely pipeline that goes from Eilat up here to Ashkelon. It goes like this - it's an approximate parallel to the Suez Canal. Most of the oil that is not going to Europe through the Suez Canal, is going to Europe through our pipeline. I don't know if anybody knows we have even got one. But it was built within 14 months from when the Six Day War was over. The pipeline was completed, and is now carrying a beautiful load every year, and the ships from Europe come in to Ashkelon, and I am sure that the Egyptians and the Russians would love to bomb it. So why shouldn't they photograph it.

But we don't contemplate that war will begin that way either. We write the scenario this way. That they will try to cross the Canal; in a cross-canal landing they can put tanks and men and try to get a beachhead on our side, which they call their territory, light green, and push us back into the desert. Here in the middle of the desert there are two very important air bases, which used to be theirs, which we now occupy, which give us quick access to Cairo and Alexandria. Here's the famous Mitla Pass going through the desert. They'd love to get us back behind the Mitla Pass so they can get a crack at recapturing these two airports. If they do make the cross-canal landing, the only way that we can resist them effectively, is with aircraft. We don't have enough manpower to push them back. We don't have enough artillery and tanks to push them back. We would like to resist them with aircraft. If we put aircraft in the battle over the Canal we run the risk of those aircraft getting smashed down by the Russian missile defense. And so we have to calculate a certain rate of loss of airplanes. I am not talking about the pilots. I am not talking about crying widows and orphan children of 23-year-old boys. I am talking about loss of aircraft. It's a much more brutal way to look at it. If we lose 10 aircraft to missiles, we would like to think that we can buy 10 more aircraft to replace them because we don't have that many. Our ratio by the way, so that you should understand exactly, in supersonic aircraft we are outnumbered six to one. We can live with three to one, four to one; we've got fewer than a hundred supersonic, they have more than 600. If we lose 10, if we lose 10%, if we lose 10% of the airforce, we lose 20, we lose 20% of the airforce. We had a terrible fight with the American Government now over this business of these planes, because we don't know for sure what we can commit to a possible battle. If we've got no replacements coming in, then we'll go slow on what we'll commit to battle. If we go slow on what we commit and if we fight more cautiously, that's always more dangerous. The whole bloody fight by the way, so that you should know, is, what we are asking the Americans each month is two a month. It's all we can afford, by the way, they cost 6 million bucks apiece. \$12 million a month for two aircraft. And the answer's no. So, O.K., now you have Problem One. Problem One is war, and it preoccupies us, and I told you about the Canal line, because that's the most important line. But come around over here now.

On this yellow side where Jordan is, between the Dead Sea and the Lake of Galilee, the Jordan River comes down. That's the border between us and Jordan. Along that border we have a whole series of two things, or three things really. Nahal outposts, which are manned by young boys and girls, 18 years of age, who man an outpost, but use their time profitably instead of just sitting there and waiting for the enemy to come, they do agricultural farming. Isn't that a nice way to use an army. It's beautiful. It's a typically Jewish creative constructive thing. You put a hundred people, or two hundred kids together, and you form an outpost. There are barracks and there are weapons and there are large lights and projects, there are machine guns and mortars set up, because it's right on the Jordan Border, but the 100 kids are farming every day. And it's usually a rocky, stony place that's selected. They clear the rocks, and they start the little seedlings, and they start the little trees, and yet you know what, after a year or two instead of having soldiers sitting there wasting their time for 2 years, after 2 years you have a new little settlement planted. You know what, we have about 20 of them right now, in this Jordan River Valley. Lovely. You'll see one - you should. It's unique, it's a typically Israeli invention of how to handle the problem of defending yourself, but at the same time build up the country.

The second thing we've got in the Valley are actual forts. These are simply large massive stone structures, underground tunnels, huge sandbags, these are fixed military positions. I don't know if you are going to be able to get into one of these. You won't be able to see much of them, because as you drive along the road, they are there on your right hand side, as you are going north, on your right hand side, facing the Jordanians. From the road, you won't see them. You've got to go down into them. They are underground bunker type things. That's the second thing we've got.

The third thing we've got in the Valley here are kibbutzin. Plain ordinary nice civilian kibbutzin that grow bananas, and dates, and flowers, and melons, and strawberries, all the things that make good money in the European market, if you can get strawberries in England in December, you've got a very good price for them. And all of these kibbutzin in the valley here, the Beit Shean Valley, are below sea-level and it's hot as hell, and the strawberries ripen, and the gladioli ripen, and the melons ripen, and we fly them out by aircraft to the European market. It's a terribly important part of the economy. But they are on the border, so every one of these kibbutzin have got to be filled with trenches, running through the grass lawns, and with underground shelters built for the children, the children sleep underground every day, I think you ought to go and see one of those.

So that's the Jordanian border. We have another problem on the Jordanian border, and that is to receive the Fatah guerillas who come across to surrender to us, because they would prefer to surrender to us - the enemy - instead of surrendering to the King of Jordan whom they call their worst enemy. We've got a very anomalous situation. The King of Jordan, whom we help from time to time, as you may well realize, has trouble with these guerillas, he doesn't like them any better than we do. He had a big civil war to wipe them all out, and he did succeed, thank goodness, to a great extent, and they were surrendering in droves. They came across the border to surrender to us. So you never know what you are going to find some day when you're driving up this road. You may see a bunch of fellows coming across the fields waving white handkerchiefs.

By the way, one time that we did rescue the King of Jordan from the soup was last September a year ago, when the big civil war was on, and from Syria his friendly Arab neighbour, the brigades of tanks came down to invade Jordan, and what we did, at the request of the United States Government, and at the request of the Jordanian Government, was mobilize two brigades of tanks up here on the Golan Heights, and we said to Syria, you'd better not invade Jordan, and told the Russians that we'd put the two brigades up here. We said to the Russians, you'd better tell the Syrians to go back. And for two fateful days everybody held his breath, and then the Syrians pulled back, and we took the two brigades down, and then the King of Jordan wrote us a thank-you note, and the episode was all over.

When we say that we are a force for stabilization and peace in this area, boy we really are. At least we think we are.

Now that brings us up to this border, the Golan, and I don't think you are going all the way up there because I think it's too far to get to. But the Golan is a business, where you see - in the dark green, the old Israel, where all of our



kibbutzin are, the Syrians were sitting up on top of the Golan, there's a topographical distance of about 1800 meters, and they are sitting on the crown, on the top, and we were down in the fishbowl, and they were just plunking us here for 20 years. OK When we conquered the Golan Heights, what we now say is this - we will not allow them any more to bring artillery right to the edge of the crown here to fire down on us. We want to keep the front part of the Golan demilitarized. They can have the back part back if they want. That's what is connected to Syria anyway. They have got to stay far back enough so they can't fire down at us -- that's all.

That's the Golan. That's the border with Jordan. That's the border with Egypt. The last thing is this West Bank area here. We have a policy called "Open Bridges". I don't know if you know about it. There are three or four bridges going across the Jordan River here from the West Bank into the Kingdom of Jordan. Our policy is that if any Arabs who live in the West Bank want to go across to Jordan, they are free to do so, back and forth and back and forth. Go to Jordan -- the Arabs here are farmers -- most of them. Do you want to bring your produce to Jordan and sell it to your fellow Arabs? Drive across the bridge -- go right into Amman, the capital. It's a long one hour drive by truck. Sell your goods. Buy a few explosives. Hide them in your truck. Bring them back across the bridge. Come back into the West Bank. And then try to clobber us with the explosives you buy. We examine all the trucks as they go across the bridge -- we are pretty good in examining them. Sometimes we miss. But we don't close the bridges. You want to go out, go to Amman, take an aeroplane, fly to Cairo, send your son to University, let him pick up anti-Israel poison, come back, fly back to Amman, come back in here, start his agitation -- Open Bridges -- do what you want. You want to go to Amman. Fly down here to Kuwait. Make a billion bucks working in the oilfields. Send the money back to keep the relatives going in the old home country. Open Bridges. The most benevolent policy you ever saw in your life. Everybody thinks we've crazy. Everybody thinks that's no way to occupy territory. We think it is. Because we think that some day they are going to make peace with us. And if they are going to make peace with us, we'd like to convince them now, from the beginning that we can be good neighbours.

We have an army in this West Bank. You'll never see it. It stays out of sight. Just so as not to irritate the civilian population. You're going to drive through the West Bank. You're going to come from Tel Aviv here, through Tulkar<sup>n</sup>, you're going to drive up through Schechen. You're going to drive down a road called Jiftlik right here. You're going through the heart of the West Bank. You look to see if you see an Israeli soldier, policeman, jeep or anything. Look hard. You won't see it, or not very much. Because we try to give the thing the appearance of their territory. They run it. Their mayors administer it. Their schoolteachers -- we pay the teachers -- we pay the salary. The teachers teach. We correct the textbooks. We don't like arithmetic textbooks that say if you have four Jews, and you kill two Jews, how many Jews have you got left? No, we don't like arithmetic to be taught that way. But that's about the only changes we made in the school system. They have got their books. They have got their teachers. They run their show -- we let them have a meeting of all their mayors -- they could plot a revolution for all we care. You know what the statistics show --

farmers on the West Bank last year, when they had their choice for the open bridges, of where to do their business, they came and did 80% of their business in the old green Israel, instead of the old yellow Jordan. We think the open bridges policy pays off.

There are 30,000 Arabs from the West Bank who come to work in the old green Israel every day. And they earn 18 pounds a day which is the basic minimum Histadrut wage, the same as Jewish workers earn. And we think that that's the way to treat people, and we think that's the Jewish moral ethic, and don't you ever forget it, because in the middle of fighting a war, we'd better fight a war according to our own Jewish standards, or if we are not true to ourselves, we'll just become barbarians like everybody else. And you should be very proud the way these standards are being maintained in the face of a bloody military situation.

Well, the only other border that we have is down here at the bottom at Sharm el Sheikh which you can't see on the map, but it's what triggered off the Six Day War to begin with. When Nasser on the 22nd of May, 1967 blockaded Tiran, so that no ships could come in up here to our Port of Eilat, we said - you can't cut us off. If we don't breathe on this lung, we can't get goods in and out, we can't get food and oil and things here, and you can put your 12 submarines right around Haifa here, and you can blockade this port, so if you cut us off from one lung, you cut us off on the other lung, we will suffocate, and we will not suffocate, so we tell you that if you blockade Tiran, it's war.

And that's what it turned out to be three weeks later. Today, Tiran is open. We have a garrison down at Sharm el Sheikh. We've built a road down along this whole coast. If they make peace, and we give back Sinai, what we will say is - we would like to keep a garrison down here at this point, to make sure that this Strait remains open. Do you want to have a mixed garrison of Egyptians and Israeli soldiers. OK by us. We built a road here so that we can have a connection with the old green Israel. You don't want to give us the land connection - give us an air connection. Maybe we can fly from Eilat to supply Sharm. It's not a problem. It's not a problem because we've demonstrated in the 4½ years that we're sitting down here that when we say freedom for shipping, we mean freedom of shipping - for everybody. Next to our port of Eilat, there's the Jordanian port of Aqaba. Ships have to come through Tiran to go to Aqaba. We let all Jordanian ships go through to Aqaba, including ships carrying lovely nice American weapons which are for Jordan. We let them go right through the Straits of Tiran. Freedom of shipping means freedom of shipping. And again people think we're crazy. What the hell. An arms vessel coming through here - we ought to stop it. We don't stop it. And the tanks, the American tanks, that come in, the Pattons and the Shermans, that America gives - not sells - gives to Jordan, we allow through and we escort it and it comes up here very nicely untouched. These are the anomalies of war. But when you try to play it straight and keep it honest, because in the long run honesty is going to protect us better than any other policy.

You've now got the borders straight of our country. You've now got the first problem, I think, clearly in your minds, of what war is all about, and I would just like to state my own personal opinion very clearly, that I think we will be fighting for many, many years in the future. I see no signs whatsoever on anybody's part that anybody wants to recognize us. The most moderate Arab position that I've heard is - OK, you Jews say you want to have a state of your own - fine - not here. Not in the Middle East. Not a bone in our throat. You people suffered under Hitler - that

shocked you. Out of that shock was born with a burning passion your desire for independence and sovereignty so that never again would you be put into an oven. Fine. We understand that. They can put your state someplace in Europe. You are all Europeans. You Jews don't belong here. You come from Germany, Russia, Poland, Austria. They can put your state in Africa - a black panther leader in the United States said nearly two years ago - put your state in Colorado and New Mexico. The black panthers take the side of the Arabs. The whole business of the blacks and the anti-semitism is a whole new queer thing which has been developing in America. And we say -- no thank you. Not in Europe, not in Africa, not in Colorado - it just so happens that we began here. It just so happens we are a bit older than anybody else in this territory. We are crazy -- we want this poor, barren, resourceless, waterless, rocky, stupid, tiny 8,000 miles of square land. That's what we want. Nothing else. Because this is where our fathers were born. And if you say it's sentiment - well OK it's sentiment. We started here 4,000 years ago, we'll die here 40,000 years from now. If you don't understand that, you don't understand anything. And you don't understand the ferocity of the fight. Conversely, if you don't understand that, and if somebody says to you - this struggle is going to go on for 20 years, then you'll say - OK, I'm with it.

I give you no easy peace - I give you a long, hard road to fight. I give you a vision at the end of it. Of a beautiful dream come true, where Jewish creativity will flower and flourish, will throw up a lot of Einsteins, will cure a lot of cancers, will write a lot more music. We'll build a beautiful, moral, ethical society in which every man will be equal, nobody will be hungry. That's a dream - that's the dream that came from the prophets. That's what we'll create here once again. It guarantee it to you, but not without 20, 30 years more fighting. So you have got to decide if you are going to be in this thing for the duration or if you want to quit. If you want to quit, don't come back here for another trip - go to Majorca - go to the South of France. If you come back for a second trip, you're going to be hooked. You are going to be in it for the 20 year fight, I promise you. Because it will grab you and get you inside your heart and inside your soul.

Now, we got a couple of other problems, besides this war business. And the fact that I've gone 45 minutes on this is no indication that if I spend five more minutes on the other thing, that it is only worth five minutes. The other things are equally as important - the other two topics that I want to cover.

You have got an immigration problem in this country, and let me say it in one or two sentences. There is a miracle that occurred in 1971. The Russian renaissance, the rebirth of the spirit of the Jews in Russia fighting their way out of Russia and you are going to go tomorrow to absorption centers up in the north : from this part of the country. You are leaving tomorrow and going up this way to various places up in here. Five different absorption centers and a couple of buses will go to each one, because you can't pile in too many. An absorption center is a place where we put new immigrants so that they can be absorbed into Israel, and they stay in that absorption center for about five or six months during which time they learn Hebrew, and we support them. You pay every penny for the wife and the kids and the man can sit there, learn the language, and then come out of the

absorption center and earn a living for himself. We think that if you support him for five months, and he comes out and he becomes independent and gets on the tax rolls instead of relief rolls, he makes his own living. It's cheaper to support him for five months than for five years. And it's better for him too - it makes him independent. And within a year, if he's making his own living, he'll start contributing tax money to the country. So it's a beautiful system.

You'll talk to Russians. I just want to tell you a very simple thing. Just one fact. Every time you look at a new Russian immigrant you just remember how he got out of Russia. Do you know how he got out of Russia? You apply to the police for an exit permit which means you have got to walk into a police station and stand and look up at the desk sergeant and say - I want to get the hell out of here. You tell me if you don't think that takes an unbelievable amount of courage and heroism. He looks at you and you say - because I don't like it here. And he says - that's treason. And you can get five, ten or more years of jail for that. Or you give him the other reason and you say - I like it here fine - this is a wonderful country. This is a beautiful true socialist peoples democracy, but I am a Jew and my homeland is Israel, and I have some relatives there. One of them died 2,000 years ago and one of them is living today. And I want to go home. And you tell that to the cop, and the cop looks at you and he decides either to put you in jail because you're crazy, or he gives you the form to fill out. You just never forget one thing. Every time you look at a Russian immigrant, you have got to remember every time that he walked into the police station he put his head in the lion's mouth, and asked to get out. Now you just tip your cap to him, because he's an authentic and genuine hero.

Now we would like to give him the kind of reception in this country which he deserves. And we would like to be able to spend more money on taking in these immigrants than we have to spend on the war. Or we would like at least not to have the immigrants spending money handicapped by the war's spending money. I tell you frankly, the war comes first, and immigration comes second. I said the Russian Jews, but it isn't only the Russians who are coming. We'll have 40,000-50,000 people this year and we can foresee this amount every year for the next ten years. With one exception. This amount is an expected annual rate that will clean up all the Jews in communist and Moslem countries, outside of Russia. That annual rate could be disturbed if Russia suddenly decided that she would let out whatever she figures would sink Israel. If she decides that half a million Jews would sink Israel, she might decide to let out half a million in one year. We would take them - I don't know whether that would sink us. We would come to you in the United States and have a campaign for about 1½ billion dollars. If Dallas is raising \$3 million, we would ask for 15-20 million. Presuming Los Angeles is raising \$30 million, we would ask for 100. You would have to get it - go to the banks and get it - borrow it. Because nobody would have the right to refuse to take Jews out of Russia nor would anybody have the right to sink Israel without proper aid from you. So that's a pregnant history which could give birth to anything. Just think about it.

The proper Jewish reaction is "alevai". It should only happen. And right there and then is your acquiescence to the billion dollar campaign, because you would just go out and do it. You just would. (Applause). You don't applaud with your hands unless those hands are slightly tinged with green.

Now the third thing we got is an internal problem that has to do with old immigrants. Immigrants who came here ten and fifteen years ago, and who are living in terrible conditions of poverty. Poverty. Now I want to make this perfectly clear. If anybody says to you that there are no people in Israel living in poverty, they are wrong. We have about 10% of the population of this country, only ten percent, thank God 90% of the people of this country have made it, but we have ten percent of the people in this country living in conditions of poverty and I'll tell you how we define them. One day next week you're going to go to Jerusalem, and it says on your itinerary "View poverty program as though that's like going to the stadium to go to a ball game or something. We're going to try to show you in a few hours one afternoon next week in Jerusalem what people look like when they live in conditions of poverty.

Here's how we define it. \$25 per person per month. That is if you have a family of four persons, man, wife and two kids, and the income of that family is \$100 a month, which in Israeli pounds is 11420, they are hungry. You can't make a family of four go on a \$100 a month - can't do it. We've got about 60,000 families, or a quarter of a million people, or 10% of our population living below the poverty line.

The second criteria that we have is on the overcrowded housing. We call three persons to a room overcrowded. Now let me tell you what Israeli housing is like. You can't count rooms the same way that they are counted in America. You got to take the square footage. An immigrant who came into this country in 1951 20 years ago, got a flat or apartment and had about 350 sq.ft. Now - what's the size of your living room? 15x20, that's 300 square feet. Now in your living room you've got to take a family and we call that two rooms. 350 sq. ft. So it's six persons. Six persons would live, sleep, eat, fornicate, defecate, wash everything, six persons living in your living room, divided by sheets, hanging up, make a partition, whatever you do, it is overcrowded. Six human beings performing all their daily functions. The children trying to study. They haven't even got a table. You can't get six beds in a room like that, so you don't have beds there. In what we call our poverty families there is not a bed for every child. There is not. Usually what's done is mattresses on the floor. So you cover the floor with the mattresses and you can put a lot of people together into kind of a jumble and then you got to scramble for enough blankets to keep warm. In the morning you pick up all the mattresses, stack them against the wall, and then you pull the table into the middle with chairs all around it and you eat.

Now you know, come on, that's as animal-like as you can get almost. Today thank God the standards of the country have gone up and immigrants that are coming in now, we're able to give them around double that. 750 sq. ft. I live with my wife and two kids in 850 sq. ft. That's our apartment in Jerusalem. That's standard for this country. We manage okay. It's cramped. It hasn't got a dresser in the bedroom. It's got a bed, but it's okay. The overcrowded housing is bad for health, it's bad for schooling, the kids can't study, they drop out, they lose interest, they run out on the streets, the juvenile delinquency begins on the streets. We got sections where the prostitution is beginning because the girls of 15 figure that there's an easy way to make a couple more bucks for the family income, and the father winks his eyes and closes his eyes to it, and this is happening and I can show you

the sections in Jerusalem, in Katamon, in Romema and in Musrara where this is beginning to develop already.

It's no good. And in addition to the war, and in addition to the new immigration coming in that we want to receive with loving embrace, we can't forget the old people who came here 20 years ago and who are down on the bottom of the poverty heap. And we have to find some way to divert some resources to them. And we can if more money comes in. And we cannot if more money doesn't come in. Because that's the third item on the priority list.

Now, I haven't gone through the itinerary with you every day, but if you look at it, you will see the security problems you are going to get. You are going to an air base up here in the north tomorrow. You'll see the Phantoms, you'll see why we want them so badly. You won't understand why it costs - O.K. I'll leave it for questions. You'll see why they cost 6 million bucks apiece. You get an air base up here, you'll get the Jordan Border here, you'll get the West Bank. You're going to go through that. You will get the immigration story because you are going to go to an absorption center to see immigrants. You'll get the poverty story, because we are going to give you that in the city of Jerusalem, where the social workers of the city are the most cooperative, and they've arranged the thing for us to see it. You will have to go in small groups. We can't take 400 people to some guy's house, and ask him how much he earns, and when does he eat meat.

I go myself to these things, and I'll tell you something, you begin to ask very very embarrassing questions. I said to one family that I visited, father, mother and ten children and one grandparent, 13 people, were living in three rooms. And the total income from all sources - the guy earned IL 550 a month in a bottling works, bottling orange juice - the mother of ten children, worked four hours a day scrubbing floors in the school and earned IL 200 a month, and the social security gave them IL 170 a month, seventeen pounds a month for each kid. Seventeen pounds and I blow in one meal. Seventeen pounds a whole month is given for each child. You got ten kids, 170 pounds. Total is IL 920 pounds. For 13 people. So I said, do you eat meat? And there was a Yemenite and he said, sure, every Shabbat, proud as hell. Once a week, two chickens are bought, the soup is made, the table is laid, the wine, the kiddush, the candles, Shabbat. It's holy. I said, what do the kids eat every morning. She said they figured the budget out that they can handle buying 4 eggs a day. That's 120 eggs a month. That's ten dozen, that's what they can afford. Four eggs, she makes an omelette in the morning with the four eggs. The five youngest kids divide the omelette. The other kids don't get eggs. They eat cottage cheese or Leban, which is cheaper. You sit there with the family and you go through the little simple daily things one by one like this. You don't make any complicated speeches, what the hell is poverty. You see it. You finish and you ask the guy the question which is the toughest question of all to ask him. Are you bitter, are you sore, are you in a state of rebellion against this country? He looks at me and he says - I would eat bread and water - I am a Jew, here I am independent, this is my country. The wife took me on the side and at the end she said the only problem they have is the 16-year old boy who wanted to go to continue in high school, to study electronics, in this country that means television repairman, where he can make a better living than his father did, and break the poverty cycle, for the second generation. And they couldn't afford to send him. High school is not free here. They can't afford it, so they have to pay tuition and it's 100 pounds a month, so the whole income was IL 920, how do you spend IL 100 sending one kid out of ten to high school.

The kid got in a fight with the father because he didn't understand that the father didn't have the money. For some reason he got the idea that the father didn't want to give him the money. So he takes a knife to the father. The father took the kid and broke his wrist, to get the knife out of his hand. The mother told me this whole story, and then the father breaks down crying - you break your own son's wrist and you sit and you cry.

Then the kid ran away from home and they haven't seen him in half a year and he's wandering around the streets and there's no communication any more, and once in a while the kid comes home and gets a couple of pounds from the mother, and a shirt or something that she gives him, and then she says why don't you talk to your father. And he says I won't talk to my father. You know.

We got to change that and we Jews who believe so much in education, we've got to make sure that every kid gets at least a high school education. And we got to make it possible, either for the family to earn more money, or if that's not possible, because we can't elevate the whole standards of the economy, then what we have to do is something else. We have to build up enough scholarship money to make it possible for every kid from a poverty family to get the lousy hundred pounds a month - a lousy \$25.

And there again, it's a question if we have another six or eight or 12 million bucks, that's about what we figure it would cost, we would do it. So you buy aeroplanes in a month and that costs 12 million dollars, or you educate every poverty stricken high school kid in this country for the same 12 million dollars. But if you've only got one 12 and you haven't got the both twelves, I'm telling you something - we're buying the aeroplanes. Because you have to remember that being comes before well-being. Got to stay alive.

Now, that's about the whole story of Israel today. I took an hour to do it, but I think you were patient and you got the whole story. You have the main context now. You got a dream and a vision, with a present reality tough to go through; we'll make it. It's absolutely solvable, with your continuous backing. I just want to say that I'm pleased and delighted that there are so many of you here for the first time. Because it means that if you see it, and you see it right, if you understand what you are seeing, if you remember what I have said, and if you make a commitment, the commitment will last for a lifetime.

I would like to thank you for coming. I would like to apologize in advance for snafos, a couple occurred last night with rooming problems. There will be a few more along the way. It's a very big group to try to handle. The staff will break their backs trying to make it possible for everything to be smooth for you.

Lou Goldman and Jerry Colburn and the top layer of leadership will really put themselves out. As a matter of fact he did - put himself out of his room last night to make a room for somebody else. Putting himself out in the literal sense. They want this trip to be a success for you. We all do. Desperately. We want you to fall in love with his place, and then also comprehend its problems with your head, not just with your heart. And then nothing can lick us. So my thanks in advance, and my regards and respects to you. My hopes that the trip will be worthwhile, and I see that the hand is up for the first question.

Question:

What pressure can be put on the Government of the United States to supply the needed planes to Israel?

Answer:

There isn't much more that you can do at this point. Ladies and Gentlemen, would you please hold it for a minute, please remain seated. There's no need for you to rush out. We'll leave you plenty of room to get the bathrooms and anything else you have to do. The buses are departing at 9.30 and you'll have plenty of time for your personal needs. You've got to remember that. The logistics of travelling are - there's really nothing more that has to be done. 78 Senators have signed the letter. 78 out of 100 senators. Can't do better than that. Have signed a letter to the President of the United States, telling him that they want him to sell Israel what she needs. All the groundwork's been done. The decision is in Mr. Nixon's hands at this point. There's a tug of war going on between him and Mr. Rogers. Mr. Rogers says no. He thinks we don't need it. He said three days ago that the balance between Israel and Egypt is O.K. We disagree. Mr. Nixon's got to break the log-jam - the only hope we have is that once before about a year and a half ago when this happened, he did break the log-jam affirmatively. So we hope he will again.

Question:

Why do we have people of such mentality in positions of power in the United States. Don't they realize it's in the American interest to support Israel?

Answer:

The concentric circles of power in the United States operate as follows, and I'll be very simplistic about this. The Pentagon is for us. The Senate is for us. The State Department is against us. Now, the decision is always made by the President. Pentagon and Senate for Israel. So two important centers of power are not blind. Executive, White House, most often for us, therefore not blind; State Department, permanently, and I mean permanently, since 1917, 50 years now, permanently against us. They feel there shouldn't be this Jewish State here. They feel that there would be no problems with the Arabs if we didn't exist. We're not about to go away to satisfy Mr. Dulles, or Mr. Rogers, or whoever the Secretary for State is. In any given year it's never been different. So we take it all with a grain of salt, we try to increase our friends in the Pentagon, increase our friends in the Congress, increase our friends in the White House, and fight the State Department all the time. That's the facts of life.

Question: Oil?

Answer:

Yes, Oil. And I never understand this because I just know one thing. When you bring oil up out of the ground, by God you got to sell it, and I don't understand for the life of me this so-called threat of the Arabs, because if they threaten not to sell oil to the West, what would they do with it - drink it? I think it's a bluff. Just plain damn bluff.

Mr. Goldman: You have a fantastic overlay of what the situation is in Israel, in the Middle East, to start you off this morning. The buses are out on the street and we're leaving at 9.30.