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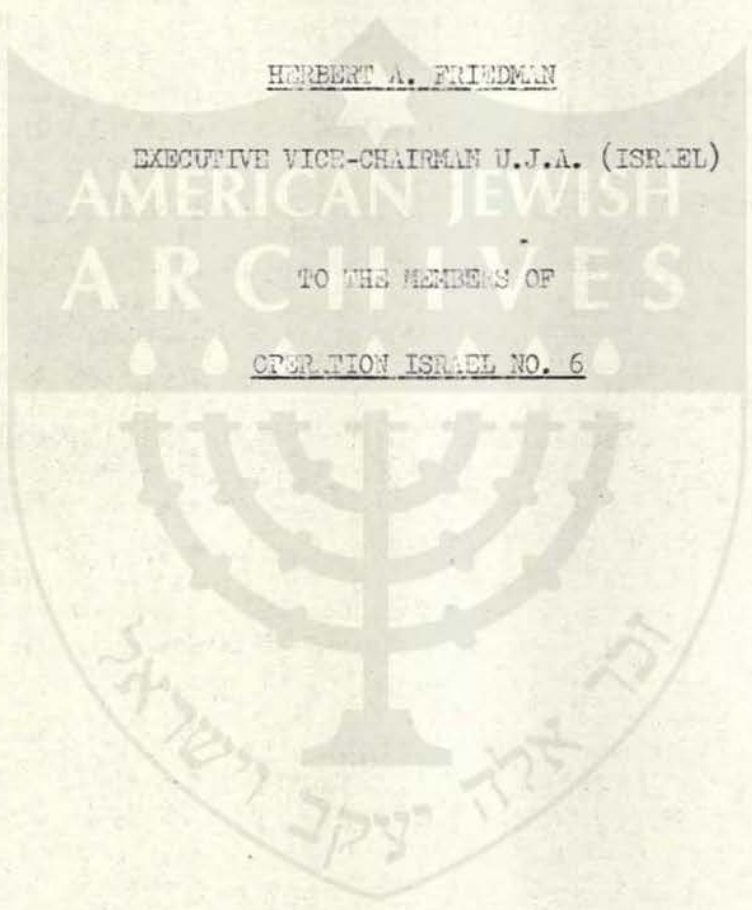
HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE-CHAIRMAN U.J.A. (ISRAEL)

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

TO THE MEMBERS OF

OPERATION ISRAEL NO. 6



11/1/72

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Laurence M. Frank

This mass of Russian immigration is a great human event. It bears witness to the failure of Russian Communism. They have not been able to snuff out the Jewish heritage of the Jewish people since the Bolshevik Revolution. I'd like to now introduce to you certain members of our mission-as I call them out I'd like them to stand up - you don't have to remain standing - and we can hold the applause, if you feel like applauding, until I'm through. First is Don Klein who is the Assistant Executive Vice-Chairman of the National United Jewish Appeal - Don. I have a list of lay-leaders who are our assistant chairmen on this mission since they will be working closely with me and with you in the job we have to do - first, Sidney Feldman of Atlanta, Georgia, who is this year's 1972 chairman - Jerry Dubrof of Atlanta - Harvey Jacobson of Atlanta - Milton Weinstein of Atlanta who incidentally in your introduction Don, you said I was last year's president of Atlanta's Federation now - Joe Rothbard of Indianapolis - Dr. Steven Bailie of Indianapolis - Bob Adler of Chicago - Haskell Gordon and Paul Slater of Worcester and Boston, Massachusetts - Leonard Shane of Orange County, California who this year I understand is launching its first UJA major organized campaign - Mel Exber of Las Vegas - Sol Joffe of Vineland, New Jersey and Joe Kushner of Union County - Jesse Cohen of Pittsburgh - Dr. Stanley Mirsh of Pittsburgh and Henry Elias of Pittsburgh and Israel - he's a new olah - Dr. Bob Friedman of Bridgeport, Connecticut and Lloyd Rossfeld of Portland, Oregon. I trust and hope I haven't left anyone out. In the field staff - I don't know if Haim Vinitzky is with us tonight, but he is the Director General of the United Jewish Appeal - David Shamoni who is the National Mission Director - David will kiss you and yell at you and do everything - almost everything that he can do in 10 days, but he works very hard coordinating the 10 buses and 370 people who have to be fed and he has to be part of everything we do - he does a hell of a good job. Al Miller, who is assistant campaign director of the National United Jewish Appeal and mission leader. The UJA staff is David Backinoff, George Cohen, Murray Kamen, Vladimir Nachimovsky, Sam Paiken, Ed Rubin and Matthew Simon.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we have tonight an outstanding treat, but before we get into that I want to make a few comments. First you know the story of Russian Jewry. Today you visited Yad Vashem, and if any Jew, no matter how many times he comes to Israel or how many times he's been to Israel, when he goes through Yad Vashem, if this doesn't give you chills and sober your reality of what has happened, because this is really all that's left - brick and mortar and a few pictures and a lot of memories - this is all that's left of the 6 million Jews - and a million and a half children. While we were leaving Yad Vashem today, going to the military cemetery - a very co-incidental, frightening and sad thing happened. Some of our people walked right into a burial of the two soldiers that were killed last night in Lebanon - the mother and the father and the family were uncontrollable as you would expect, but if this doesn't interpret right now - I mean whatever we see could at this point be anti-climatic - but if this doesn't interpret to us what our Israelis are doing and in return we are asked to part with a small portion of our treasure - no one in this room who has already given his son for Israel, who died on the Suez Canal, but no one is being asked to give his son or his daughter - just his money. Each of you will be asked to make your 1972 United Jewish Appeal pledge in Israel. Why - I'll tell you why. First of all we know that each of you here are going to make a pledge - you wouldn't be here if you weren't a concerned Jew. Secondly, it is much more meaningful - and where can be a more appropriate place to make your gift than in Israel - to take home to our

communities - to the United States and world Jewry, what you saw and how you reacted accordingly. So you will be asked to make your gift and we are going to ask you to stretch to the heights available. I want you to know that and I think it's appropriate.

Now let me have the pleasure to introduce to you a man who has exemplified American Jewry for 15 years - a man who has worked for tireless years for one cause - the betterment of the Jewish people. I think most of you know Rabbi Friedman. He has moved to Israel since June - all his family here with him of course - he is the Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal in Israel. He has been instrumental in mapping the far-ranging plans of World Jewry's and United States Jewry's responses to the needs of Israel and to the Jews outside of Israel, in such places as behind the Iron Curtain and in poverty areas in South America and in Africa. I can tell you - I can go on and tell you he is a graduate of Yale and he was a Rabbi in Milwaukee and a Rabbi in Denver - many, many things - I think that most of this is quite superfluous. I think the most fitting this is that here is a dedicated, dynamic Jewish leader who has devoted his life to his people - Rabbi Friedman.

Rabbi Friedman

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the lobby a couple of hours ago, Mrs. Rothbard tried to say hello and I was running - I raced right past her and tried to get into a room next door where a group of people from Hartford, Connecticut had finished a 48 hour trip to Israel - they came yesterday morning and they are going home tomorrow morning. They will have been in this country exactly a total of 64 hours. In the course of that time they went down to the Suez Canal, they have seen two ministers of the Government, they have been to an absorption center to meet Russians, they had a discussion with Mr. Evron, the new American deskman of the Foreign Ministry, and what I was racing for was to do the fund-raising, because God forbid they should get on the plane tomorrow morning without that being finished, and they have just come back from Jerusalem, tired - they haven't changed, they are just starting to eat dinner now. I think it's interesting to know that one of the men who gave a million dollars last year spoke and said that he was sorry he couldn't give more than a million one hundred thousand and that the one hundred thousand would have to come from his wife - and he was sure that she would concur. No, she wasn't here with him - he said he would consult her.

And then it went - \$22,000 to \$35,000 - I'm giving you last year's figures and this year's figures - \$50,000 to \$75,000 - \$13,000 to \$20,000 - \$40,000 to \$30,000 - \$10,000 to \$20,000 - \$15,000 to \$20,000 - \$60,000 - \$100,000 - \$25,000 to \$25,000 - with an apology - and last year to make the 25,000 he had doubled from 12,500 to 25,000 and couldn't go anymore. I said I would have to leave them and come here, but I wanted to thank them for what they had done, because what they had done was not just come here to this country to see something in a spectacular way and go back to Hartford, Connecticut, which they kept calling home, and inspire other people. I said that what they had done was to leave behind here for those who live in this country also at least as great a measure of inspiration as they were going to bring to the people back home. That they had given confidence and courage to the people they saw here. I didn't have time to tell them that I had spoken to the Colonel down at the Canal in Hebrew and he said to me - What the hell are these people - a straight honest answer of an old professional soldier

who has got a job to do and sees a bunch of funny-looking tourists come up in a bus - and when I explained to him who they were and what they were and what they were doing, he took his cap off in a symbolic gesture and he said - By God, you know I sit out here at this bloody Canal pushing bulldozers - because right now what we're doing is building big sand embankments to prevent a crossing - I'll come to that in a minute - and I'm pushing sand with bulldozers and I get pretty bored and pretty tired and pretty worried. These guys have made me feel better.

Now that's not sorry - that's simply a fact. You people have come here and you've come here for the sake of achieving understanding, comprehension, increasing commitment - I say increasing because already you all got it to a certain degree - it can only get deeper. So you have all come here for a series of motives of your own, but one of the things that you do without realizing it is that you leave behind a residue which is an addition to the money you give. You leave behind a drop of courage - you leave behind a drop of inspiration - you leave behind another drop of alleviating the loneliness with which this country lives. This country has no ally anywhere on the face of this earth - none - not one. You must understand something. You have to think of it in very stark terms. There are 136 countries in the United Nations. If a Black country goes and gets admitted to the United Nations, it finds 25 other black countries there already. If some tiny little island out in the Pacific Ocean - Tahiti gets membership in the United Nations and it comes there and the people speak French, it finds 50 other countries there speaking its own language - every country on the face of this earth goes into the United Nations and finds another country there of the same colour or the same religion or the same language. There is only one country on the face of this earth where the religion is Jewish and the language is Hebrew and the country is Israel and there isn't another single one in the whole 136. You've got to understand that. Now that's not paranoia - we don't live here with the feeling that we're alone and persecuted and harassed and harrassed - maybe with a very realistic feeling that we are not a member of NATO - there isn't a single country on the face of this earth contractually obligated to come to our assistance - there isn't another country which has our religion or our language or our faith or our background or our tradition. We are totally, absolutely unique - there is only one of us in the entire world.

And what you must also understand is that you are part of it. The land and the nation of Israel does not consist only of the Jews who live in this geographical place. It consists of every single one of you wherever you live and that's what makes it possible and bearable to go through these heavy, torturous years in which the problems pile on the problems and they seem to be never-ending. But what makes it bearable and what makes it possible is the knowledge that we are not facing it alone from within - we are facing it together with you from without and that the Jewish nation consists of 13 million people. 2½ million live here - 5½ million live in the United States - 5 million live in the Soviet Union - that's 11 - a half in England and a half in France - that's 12 and another million scattered - mostly in Latin America. That's the strength we have. It's with that total accent that we face all the problems on this map.

This map is a series of colours in order to make it clear exactly what the problem is. Dark green is what we used to have before the Six Day War. That's old Israel.

All of this is what we wound up with after the War. We have got armistice lines - we've got cease-fire lines. We don't know what the shape of this country is. It has never been legally defined or guaranteed - these borders are the result of war and nothing but war. So at the end of the 1948 and the 1956 war we were dark green. As a result of the 1967 war we are dark green plus light green. The light green is Sinai - the Gaza Strip - West Bank - a hunk of it up here north of Jerusalem - and a hunk south of Jerusalem and the light green is up here at the Golan Heights. All around us is the enemy - yellow - this is Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon. The whole problem of finding peace in this country has eluded us. We are four and a half years after the Six Day War - we don't have peace - we don't have the slightest chance of getting it in my judgement - we're nowhere near it - we're not moving toward it and there is no progress - there is no possibility of any echo from the other side. There are two possible ways to peace - the Jarring talks. I think they are totally paralyzed. The second way of peace is possibly the American initiative. That's paralyzed and the only question is - is it totally paralyzed? It's starting up again now. Mr. Rogers believes he can persuade the Egyptians. He also believes he can persuade the Israelis. The positions are clear.

We are sitting here at the far end of this light green - here's the Suez Canal - it's 106 miles - from here to here - in the 106 miles they are sitting with three lines of troops back toward Cairo. Cairo is about 150 kilometers - 110 miles from here. From the Canal backwards towards Cairo there are three lines of defense in depth on the Russian system, with a half million men in this territory, approximately here. They are sitting with 2,000 guns along the 106 miles - they are sitting with 60 missile sites - six missiles in each site. And reloading possibilities in 18 minutes. They can put 360 missiles in the air and 18 minutes later 360 more. Every missile is six meters long - 20 feet. The airplane can see the missile coming up at him - it's that big - it's like a boxcar. They got too many missiles for our airplanes - we haven't got that many airplanes. They've got 1,300 tanks in the line - they have here, we believe, a force ready to launch a cross Canal landing. Two weeks ago I would have said that the renewal of fire was imminent. Today I would have to say they paused. Sadat said he would fire before the year was over or at least he would decide before the year was over and whether he would renew fire and then he announced that he made his decision and that the decision was for war - that was the only way to get Israel back - and now he says he's not going to announce the date he's going to start the war. Well, that's fine by us. Let him take a little longer to think it over.

He saved face, because he said he was going to make war - if that's enough, it's okay by us. If he decides to cross and if you went to the canal you could see the terrain, he's got 100 meters - 150 in some places - no more - he's got Russian collapsible steel bridges and he's got tanks with tracks on them. We built a whole series of fortresses along here called the Bar Lev Line - the number of troops we have in that line is classified but if I were to tell it to you this whole room would burst out in laughter after you heard what the figures are - you wouldn't believe it, you would think there's some kind of insanity going on here. So from where does the confidence derive. It derives from the fact that if he tries to cross the Canal, we think we can beat him back. If he tries to cross with excessive amount of Russian help, we think we can beat him back. If the Russians are going to try to land troops on our shores at some other

point, up here, we think we're in trouble - but then we think the world's in trouble if the Russians try to do that. If the Russians try to land a quarter million men on our shores, then you got one huge international problem, not just an Israeli problem. We don't think they are trying to do that at all - we think there's no evidence to indicate that they'll do that. We think there's every evidence to indicate, as a matter of fact, that they have not given Sadat the kind of green light that he asked for two months ago. We think that's one of the reasons that he's hesitating. If the Russians are showing some sense, we believe that that's only because they realize how heavily prepared they are.

The American initiative towards peace is to try to persuade us to pull back from the line and permit the Egyptians to cross over as the first step in what's called a partial settlement and that this is a gesture of goodwill and that if we show that gesture of goodwill, then maybe Egypt can be persuaded to make a full-fledged peace with us and then everybody wins. The war would stop and a peace treaty would be signed and that peace treaty would define our borders once and for all and we would have legally defined and secure and recognized borders. Okay.

We have said yes - we will pull back from the Canal - we haven't said to where - we haven't drawn the line. I would like you to know a bit of internal geography. Right here there's a big former Egyptian air base which is now ours - here is a second one and right here is something called the Mitla Pass. We would not like to pull back behind the pass because then we might jeopardize these two bases. They would like us to go all the way back here. We're saying we're willing to go back - we don't say to where. On one condition - that this remains demilitarized and that they don't cross over with any troops - we are perfectly willing to permit the crossing over onto our side of civilian technicians who can repair and dredge out the Canal, make it work, let the ships go through it again, permit the 250 million dollars a year in tolls which the Egyptians can have as far as we're concerned - and this incidentally would open the Canal to the Russian fleet to go zoom right down here to the Red Sea, Indian Ocean, to their allies, to India whose victory over Pakistan they are rejoicing in, because they helped to achieve it. In spite of the fact that this will open up the Canal to Egyptian revenue and the Russian warships, we say - if that's the price of peace, we'll pay it, we'll let them open the Canal, we'll let them bring their technicians on to our side - dredge it, recement the walls, we have only one condition: No Egyptian soldiers in the desert. If we go back it remains empty and demilitarized. They won't accept the condition.

It's on that basis that the talks have stalled - that's what the United States is trying to get started again and you will read in the next two, three, four weeks and this is why I'm taking the time to explain it to you so that you'll understand it - you'll read about the fact that the United States is going to try to continue to put pressure on Israel and persuade Israel to withdraw so that Egypt can make that symbolic crossing and then in turn the United States says they'll press on Egypt to go the whole way and make a peace treaty with Israel. Okay - reads well.

Shall we withdraw? Everybody in the world tells us no. We are in a terrible dilemma. Two boys killed this morning - two boys will get killed tomorrow morning - two boys will be killed next week. You can't know what it means in this country - two pictures in the newspapers with a little black board around

it - only two. Dead. Given their lives young - and we have so few to give - in the 23 years, in the endless wars - we haven't fought three wars, we have fought 23 years of war! This is the Wars of the Jews as Josephus wrote it once in ancient days. Ten thousand have fallen - you wouldn't believe it, would you. Eight hundred in the Six Day War - more than 800 dead since the Six Day War. Do you know what that means. America was torn to pieces by a Revolution on the campuses when the dead in Vietnam reached 30,000 and 40,000 and 45,000 - the kids marched with the armbands and you saw it and a President fell and another President withdrew the American army and the war is winding down, because the young people in America and the clergy in America and everybody else just plain and simply revolted against a war that took 45,000 dead. The population of America is roughly 100 times the population of Israel. If we have lost 10,000 dead here in our wars - multiply that by 100 and you get a million. In American terms, America would have a million dead - thank God America didn't have a million dead in Vietnam plus Korea plus World War II plus World War I. In the 50 years of America's wars they haven't had a million dead.

I tell you this so that you'll understand the angst and the shock in this country when there is one dead - it's a hundred over there - 2 dead - 200 over there. So you say - don't withdraw. And some mother said - okay, can I have peace if I withdraw - and that's the dilemma that grips the people that rule this country and up to now they said, we will take our dead and we won't withdraw, we have no faith, we have no confidence, we are not being given anything. We are being asked to withdraw for nothing - for vague promises - we have had that before - Eisenhower and Dulles did it to us once before - we won't do it again. They promised us in 1957 and 10 years later in 1967 we had to go to war again. And we don't want to go to war again in 1977.

The dilemma is agonizing - the anguish is real. The Prime Minister of this country is 73 years old and a woman and tough as nails and she says - no, no, no, no. And at the same time as she was saying no to the United States of America, she was saying to the same United States, sell us planes, and there were people who said, well, how can you get planes from America if you are going to say no to them. And she said, I'm going to say no on the withdrawal because the morality of it doesn't require us to withdraw and I'm going to say yes I need the planes because I'm outnumbered six to one on supersonic aircraft - the Russians are in here all the way. So far she's won her price, America's capitulated, the President agreed, he understood, he made an announcement that there will be more sales. They'll begin in March - two a month, three a month - nobody knows - the details aren't set - but every airplane is being bought for six million dollars and every payment for every airplane is on delivery. There are no delays. There are no 2% reductions for payment in 10 days - 5% for 30 days - it's cash. This is only one border.

We have another border which you became tragically aware of. The Lebanese border is simply a border of harassment, it's not serious, they can't do anything to us from there. The Golan border - we'd give part of it back in return for a peace treaty, but only part of it, enough of it so that their guns couldn't come to the crown. If you see where the light green divides with the dark green - we call that the crown of the hill - it's 1300 feet above the kibbutzim down in the valley. We want the guns further back so that they can't shell the kibbutzim. That's got to be 20 - 25 kilometers back - we call that the crown, the front part of the Golan. The back part which is

continuous to Damascus they can have, we aren't interested in Damascus, we wouldn't know what to do with it. It's 40 miles down the road from us but nothing in the way - we could have it in two hours - we don't want it at all.

So they can have the back half of the Golan - we want the front part to protect us. There is no inflexibility here on the question of the territories and the return of the territories is not the reason for failure to get peace. This is a P.R. question that people talk about all the time - why is Israel's public relations image so lousy - why is Israel so inflexible - why is Israel so rigid - why doesn't Israel make a compromise - why doesn't Israel make a gesture. You tell me what gesture. No gesture is required. Reality is required. We'll give back the Sinai - we'll give back the back half of the Golan - we'll give back the West Bank if they want it - we think they don't want it. We think Jordan doesn't want it - we think the Arabs in the West Bank don't want to go back - we are kind of embarrassed by something which we seem to sense is happening. You know what - we may wind up with the West Bank because the Arabs may like to be part of Israel. A very interesting phenomenon is developing here. In this part of the West Bank there are 650,000 Arabs who live and they have a free choice of where to do their business - this is the river and they can go anywhere from here - here's Amman - by truck - there are three bridges that go across the Jordan, it's about an hour and a half by truck. They are free to go across the bridges into Jordan, take their produce, sell it in Jordan, come back, bring in some explosives if they can if we don't catch them, bring in the money - they are free to go in and out as they want - it's an open benevolent policy. If you look at the figures from last year - where they had their choice they did about 80% of their business with us - they came this way, they came into the dark green instead of going over to the yellow. They brought their produce into Natanya and into Kfar Saba and into Jerusalem and into Tel Aviv and they bought their toasters and their mixers and their refrigerators and that's good, because their standard of living is beginning to go up, because they are people too and we are going to have to learn to live with them. And they are going to have to learn to live with us. And I have a sneaking suspicion that when it comes time to swap that territory back, they're going to say no. They're going to say they want to stay and we are going to be faced with the choice of do we want 650,000 new Israeli citizens whose religion is Arab Moslem - we have got 350,000 now - so that will give us a million. And at the rate at which they have children compared to the rate at which we have children, 17 years from now they are going to be the majority. And then they might vote an Arab Prime Minister into office - do you think I'm kidding. You come back 17 years from now.

There is something so phenomenal happening in this country in the way of true freedom and true democracy. When there was a meeting the other day - a big ceremony for the changing of the Chiefs of Staff, General Bar-Lev went out and General Elazar came in, and when there was a big beautiful ceremony in the Tel Aviv Museum for the changing of the flags and the changing of the guard - you know who came there - Ja'abari, the Arab Mayor of Hebron, an Arab nationalist. Everybody in the place - there were 2,000 people - were shocked. This was Sheikh Ja'abari's way of making peace. He was invited. Nobody dared to dream he'd ever come - he was there. We invited - he came - that's movement on both sides. Hell, there's no inflexibility here - forget about this whole public relations problem. It doesn't exist. Deal with the problems of reality on the battle here - they exist.

We won't give up for illusions - we will give up for real secure peace. Now I would like to warn you that that's going to take a long time to come and what we need from you is the sustaining power, the strength, the conviction, the belief that even if it takes 23 more years and do you know something, it could - you'll stay with it - you'll stay with it - no summer soldiers - no flighty support - you have got to be in this thing for the long pull. In essence that represents our military problem, except for the last one which is down here at Sharm el Sheikh. This is what triggered off two wars. Any time that anybody tries to close the straits down here - and the Strait is only 400 yards wide, so you can close it with a 50 calibre machine gun if you want to - every time anybody tries to close it down here, we're going to war and you had all just better know it, because when they try to block us here and throw three submarines around the port of Haifa, then we can't breathe on either lung and we're not about to suffocate. Our oil comes in here - and by the way, not just our oil, but oil for a good part of Europe, because you know that this pipeline from Bilat up here to Asqelon serves all of Europe, because the Canal's closed. We have created a by-pass to the Canal, whether anybody is aware of it or not, we have a 48-inch line buried in the Negev going all the way up here - there she runs - and she carries through it millions and millions of tons a year.

Now whether we give it back or whether we don't give it back, we're going to insist upon a presence down here, an Israeli garrison which can be connected to Israel by land and the road is finished from here to here - you can drive it, it's got a few potholes in it, but you can drive it. Or we give back the territory and there's a garrison and we have to supply it by air, but in any case, this is a border of ours which is crucial to us. To maintain this set-up takes almost 30% of the GNP. It takes 20% of the labour force of this country involved in defense. It takes almost all the taxable revenue of this country. I'll give you one figure and won't bother you anymore. Between the cost of the army, security, and the cost of servicing the debts, and if you don't service your debts, you're out of business, you can't borrow any more money, our interest and our principle is 500 million per year and that gets paid first. Between the security and the debt service, we are spending more money than we are taking in in all forms from all sources. So where are the schools and where are the hospitals, where is the police, and where are the firemen and where is the road service and where is the garbage collecting and where's everything that goes on in a country? Where are the universities, where is higher education, where is the research, where is the social welfare for the poor people, where is the housing for immigrants? Because of the war, do we stop all the rest of it? Have we become Sparta so that our existence is for the purpose only of war - obviously not. The purpose for which we fight the war is to keep the country alive, is to take in the Russians who will see tomorrow morning - that's the purpose of this country. Fighting a war is only a means to stay alive - the reason for staying alive is to give life to other Jews. So this in itself is contradictory, to devote all resources to the war and if nothing were left over for anything else, that we would be really defeating ourselves.

Well, the only way to get anything left over for anything else, is to ask you to come in with the kind of massive support that we are now asking you for. And let me tell you again as bluntly as I know how, because I'm not a very

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diplomatic guy, that this is not a matter of charity any longer, and it's not a matter of philanthropy any longer - this is a matter of Jews living in Atlanta or Indianapolis or Pittsburgh paying their Jewish taxes. Everybody in this country pays his Jewish taxes. The taxes are very high and they are now getting high for you too. And there is just no way out of it. The taxes are going up here in 1972 and the taxes are going up in the campaign in 1972.

Tomorrow morning you are going to see a plane coming in early in the morning - a Boeing is coming in from Vienna with 150 Russians on board - you'll see that moment of impact, not just when the wheels touch down, but when the human being touches down. There are two kinds of planes that we worry about all the time. There are Russian Tupolevs up in the air, with air-to-ground missiles of a 200 kilometer range. They stay way out to sea far beyond our radar and shoot into our cities - that's one kind of plane. But we keep our eye on another kind of plane up in the air - not a Russian plane, but a plane bearing Russians and that second kind of plane is just as important to us as that first kind of plane - more important to us - and that moment of touchdown when they come, you have got to realize is the end of a long trail for them and I would just like to say one thing - words really aren't necessary, but you have to know the process by which they get out. Every man and woman and child who will step off that plane tomorrow morning went through his own personal, private hell in order to get out. You know how a Russian Jew gets out. He goes to a police station - that's where you apply for your exit visa. He walks into the police station and looks the desk sergeant straight in the eyes and says, I want out, give me a form to fill out. And the desk sergeant looks at him and says, are you crazy. And the man says, I want out. I want to go home. I'm a Jew. This is not my home. And when he says that, the desk sergeant has got two choices. He can give him the application or he can throw him in jail for treason. And some people get out and some people wind up in jail. You can't believe the courage that's required, and all the rest that goes with it. He gets the application - he doesn't get thrown in jail - he has got to take the application and go to his job and get the foreman to write him a "characteristica" - a recommendation that he can leave the job without interfering with the production line and then he has got to go to school and then his kids get hell in school with the other kids mocking them and sneering at them in the school yard, calling them traitors. And then he has got to get the money.

A man in Russia earns 150 rubles a month, the exit visa costs 900 rubles per person. They haven't got that kind of money - a husband and wife and two kids - he doesn't have 3,600 rubles. It's a socialist economy, he doesn't save his money, he spends his 150 rubles a month on his food and his clothing and his bus tickets and that's it. You get him the money - let me not go into the details of how you do, but you do. There's a place in Moscow to which he goes and he gets cash and there's no checks and there's no paperwork, a man opens the drawer and he takes the cash out and gives him 3,600 rubles and he goes over to the police and he pays and he gets a paper stamp - 400 rubles is for renouncing his Russian citizenship - 500 rubles is for getting the exit visa to get on the plane and go out. The Russians say it's not ransom, it's just administrative overhead costs. They may be right, they run a pretty inefficient shop. Meanwhile, you pay for it.

And he gets on that airplane and he goes over to Vienna and that's where we pick him up - and you pay for that - and when he stands here and he lands tomorrow morning and you look at him and he's going to go into an absorption center and you are going to see one of those absorption centers tomorrow - you paid for that. And before it's all over and done with, without going into any more details, there's only one figure you have to know: To absorb that family into this country and put a roof over their heads and teach the man some Hebrew and give them six months in the absorption center, so that the wife can get used to it and the kids can go to school and create a job for him to go to work at, either retrain him or create a job, economic infrastructure, and put a roof over his head as I said, you have not - some people might think it sounds like a lot of money, I think it sounds like a little money - 35,000 dollars per family. Not spent in one year - it's a matter of two, three years and after you've invested that kind of money in that family, you've made him whole again in his heart and free again in a Jewish land where he wants to be and home and self-supporting, you've given him a job and a house and he's on the way. You give us a million Jews like that. You give us a quarter of a billion families like that at 35,000 dollars a family - 8 billion dollars. It's nothing. You put a million Russian Jews in this country with a half a million American and Canadian Jews, you'll wind up in this country with a population of five or six million people and you don't have to worry about those borders ever, ever, ever, ever.

You know there wasn't anything in the world worse than the Nazis. They occupied Norway - I take Norway because it was a country of 4-5 million people. They sat there four long bloody years, but they didn't destroy Norway. You can't when something gets that big and that strong. Every single year that we can hold on, we get stronger and bigger and harder to break and then we'll reach a point when we'll be impossible to break and that's the value of this game. People say to me, why do you have such a faith and confidence in the future. How the hell can you talk about a half-million soldiers on one side of the line and such a small amount on the other side of the line, and talk so bluntly about the fact that you have confidence in the future. And my answer's so simple I can't understand why everybody doesn't realize it. Every single year we get 100,000 Jews stronger, we are one year older, the GNP grows by another couple of percentage points, we get one year harder to break. And if we can hold out this way for another 10 years, another 20 years, and we will reach the five or six million population, then I don't care who tries to come across the Canal - and at that point you know what, that's when they'll make peace. That's when they'll understand that there's no point in this silly game anymore.

They operate on the premise that they can still destroy us. You know they make the analogy to the Crusaders. They say that the Christians came here in the 12th Century and it took 200 years to knock the Christians out - which they did - Saladin sent Richard the Lionhearted home with his tail between his legs. It took 200 years to fight the Christians, what the hell, we've only been fighting the Jews 23 years, it's nothing. But when they realize that they can't win, they'll make peace.

There are many good qualities among the Arab people - many similar to ours, we are cousins in a way - and when that peace finally comes and we are able to live in harmony together, then the whole struggle will turn out to have been worthwhile. In the process, we will have rescued Russian Jewry as we have rescued Polish and Czechoslovakian and almost all of Rumanian and almost all

of Moroccan and almost all of Tunisian and Iraqi and Iranian and the sons and daughters that come home from the north and south and west just as it said in Isaiah and we go on fighting the wars and saving the children of Israel and the land of Israel gets stronger. Life is a struggle. Do you want it to be easy - it's unnatural. You are born in blood - there's no other way to be born - and some people have to die in blood in order to make a dream come true, but the dream is coming true day by day, year by year. It simply costs more. You are asked to do more. And there are beautiful guys like Larry Frank who sit here and do it - he asked you to do it - and then 370 beautiful people like you go back home and ask 370,000 others to do it. The campaign in 1972 has got to be big - 500 - 600 million Dollars. The Jews in America have got the money - there is no question about it. The economy's tight - there's no question about that either - so what - so in 1973 it won't be. You gamble on futures. Jews are the greatest gamblers in the world. We wouldn't have created this state if we weren't gamblers by instinct. You know it. Have confidence in the future, be aware of the problems of the present, don't blind your eyes to the realities of what's required. Go with the courage and the enthusiasm that has characterized every time we ever started some great historic venture, because we are a people with an eye far out in history - with a big dream that we want to fulfill - and just think that one fine day somebody in this country will discover the cure to cancer and somebody in this country will write another great symphony and somebody in this country will make another great contribution in agriculture and discover some species of weed that can feed hungry men. We live for the dream which motivates the Jews to serve mankind and there's nothing greater and nothing bigger. This transcends any one of us as an individual. So let's put our power in the right place. We've got an instrument - it's the community federation. We've got a national instrument - it's the UJA - a sharp sword to cut through obstacles. It solves most or many of the problems and while we hover constantly on the verge of bankruptcy, we progress and progress and I think it's worth it - don't you.

Laurence Frank

There's very little I or anyone else can say after the message that has been brought to us so brilliantly and simply by Herb Friedman. A few brief and important announcements, then you go to bed. One, tomorrow morning, as Herb said, we will witness 150 Russian Jewish immigrants coming home and when you see it, it is the first time in their lives they have breathed free air or put their foot on free soil - you are going to see all kinds of different reactions. You are going to see the children bewildered and the parents crying and people holding each other and there's nothing wrong to look, because this is what it's all about. The reason we have Israel is for this purpose and you are going to see a lot of tears from people in this room. I have cried every time - the first time I was trying to hold it back, from then on I've been proud - so this is what it's all about and you'll see it tomorrow morning. The flight schedule was changed - not for us - now the flight is coming in at 7.30 - that means we will be awakened at 5.45. We will have breakfast and leave here at 6.45 - 7.00. Now some of you are not getting the telephone call at just 5.45 - some of you it's 5.30 and some 6.00 because we can't call 370 people at 5.45. We knew this flight was coming in but we didn't know when, we didn't put it on

a schedule because we can't predict when the Jews are going to be coming and when the flights are going to be ready, so our full schedule tomorrow is somewhat flexible. You'll have to go with us - there will be some changes - we'll probably see the absorption centers in the afternoon instead of the morning. We still plan to have lunch at JDC Malben.

Ladies and gentlemen, Herb has given us a message which I think should be the theme of our entire 10 days here. Our hallmark will have to be exemplary of UJA, of Jewish participation. Go to bed and I'll see you in a few hours.

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speech file*

A D D R E S S

By

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

MR. HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT, UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

to the

Members of UJA OPERATION ISRAEL 6

27.11.72

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Mr. Herbert Garon

Gentlemen, for those of you who missed the briefing at the Kennedy Airport, you didn't miss so much. My name is Herbert Garon and I'm your tour leader from New Orleans. I'm a non-professional except that I practice law as a profession and I do this for love, and I'm reminded of a story. It seems that in this little village the people were afraid that they would miss the Messiah, so they had this kind of a shlemiel that they hired and they let him sit on a high high tower in the middle of the town and they went about their business and he was going to look out for the Messiah and one day a friend of his came by and said, boychik how do you like your new job? And he said, Well to tell you the truth, it doesn't pay much, but I think it's steady.

As I told those of you who were at the synagogue in Kennedy this is my third trip this year, my 12th, 13th, 14th trip, I never remember how many. So it's not much pay honestly, but I think it's a steady position. We have a briefing session in terms of what's going to happen to us tomorrow and an overview of our entire trip which has been worked out to our very best interests and I'm going to introduce you to the man in a moment who's going to tell us all about that. In the meantime, however, I think that since you all have been able to get acquainted so well on the airplane that you ought to know that some of our lay leaders will be Mort Epstein, who is one of our leaders, Millard Cummins will lead one of the busses. We have Al Stern, all of you know Al or will know Al in a little while. And Alan Bories, Alan is from New Orleans and I'm very proud to introduce him to you. There will be other leaders who will not have the captaincy of the busses because we only have three busses. Louis Cole from Louisville is one of those. And there will be others, and forgive me please if I've missed anyone.

On the professional staff you met Al Gilens. Al is the head professional with our tour. You met Barry. You met Dick Lipschultz, but you did not meet Ed Rubin. He was here all the time. And Ed speaks good Russian so we're going to need him somewhere along the line. If not for that, for many other reasons he's an invaluable aid to any trip.

I saw Mona. Mona Nobil, is she in the room, she is going to be our UJA information gal and you're going to have to ask her a lot of questions, a lot of technical questions and she'll be of vast help to you. Fred Greenberg, his new name is Rafi Bar-Am, is Director of Public Relations of the UJA. Fred will you take a bow please. We had one of our guides here just a moment ago who has stepped out. We have three guides. They are all three very fine guides. One of them is Mike Traub, who has been a friend of mine for a long time. David, I don't think I missed anybody, if I did I'm awfully sorry.

The Director of our mission and the one who is responsible for the kind of quality itinerary that I know you will appreciate, the kind of itinerary that even in Israel for Israelis is not done by a snap of the finger, but done by very hard labor, very hard work much in advance, jockeying around for those opportunities to give us the very best four day trip - when you consider that Monday evening is here, so it's only Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday and Friday, four full days, and we have the very best tour, itinerary that I have seen in any of the missions that I have been on and we owe that thanks to the director, David Shenhabi. David, will you come up and explain the mission and what they're to do and how they're to behave and if they should wear the badges and why they came and why they're going to be good soldiers.

David Shenhabi

Beruchim Habaim, which means in a simple way welcome to Israel. We are really trying in a very short period to show you what Israel is today and the problems of Israel. If you take your itinerary which you have in the files you got a minute ago, you have arrived at Lydda Airport and you have been transferred to the hotel and you have had dinner. The speaker which you will have in just a few minutes is Rabbi Friedman and I believe that you are privileged. Not every mission has that privilege to listen to a speaker as you will listen tonight.

Tomorrow morning, and somebody asked me why we are starting with the Suez Canal and not with something else. In a simple way, we want to kill you immediately. So tomorrow morning we wake you at 5 o'clock. You have breakfast at 5.15 and we are all out at six o'clock. Now, I believe that you understand that whoever is not going to be on the bus at 6 o'clock will be left behind and will tell us nicely shalom, shalom from far away. You cannot catch up with us, not with a private car nor with something else, because we have officers from the army with us. We are going tomorrow through the Gaza Strip in the morning, passing the Rafiach area, coming to El Arish till the Canal. We will visit the Bar Lev line. You will speak to the soldiers. You will have a feeling who is defending this country, young people, strong people. If you are lucky you will listen to shouting from the Egyptian soldiers from the other side of the Canal. I hope we can translate for you. I hope you will not blush at what they will tell you as usual. We drive back to El Arish and we fly from El Arish back to Tel Aviv. It's a tough day, but a day that you will never forget.

Tomorrow evening you have Minister Peled who is the Minister of Absorption and he will tell you exactly what's going on this minute and what is the foresight for immigration and specially from Russia in the next few years and nobody else can tell you better than him, because he is the Minister of Absorption.

The next morning we are leaving for Jerusalem and you are one of the lucky missions. We are not going to push you through Jerusalem quickly, and have the speaker in Tel Aviv. If you look at your itinerary, and I don't want to go into detail of what you're going to see in Jerusalem, but we have enough time really to see Jerusalem, to show you the interesting parts of Jerusalem. The same evening you are privileged again to have dinner in the Knesset and we have there really one of our very good speakers, General Rosolio who is the Commissioner of the Police Force in Israel. After that you are coming back to Tel Aviv.

Thursday, you are leaving for overnight. Your rooms are kept here, you can leave everything in the rooms. You take only overnight bags. You will sleep that night in a kibbutz, in a guest house of a kibbutz. This is the only night that you will have to double-up - this kibbutz doesn't have so many rooms like the Hilton Hotel and we have to double up. We don't have the girls prepared for you, you will have to double up between you.

On the way to the Galilee, you are going to visit an absorption center. Each bus will visit a different absorption center. You will meet with newcomers, some of them here a few days, a week, a month, two and three months, you will speak to them. They will tell you their story. You will ask them questions and you will really have the real true story of what's going on today, especially from Russia with new immigrants. From there you are going to a home for the aged, not a home for the aged like you have them in the United States. It's for newcomers, a different type of newcomers that we have to handle. Again, you meet them, you talk to them, you will be briefed there.

You have lunch in Haifa, and from there you are going to visit one of our air force bases. This is by the way the air force base which last week was in operation against Syria and just to tell you, one of the missions was very lucky to come and visit that air force base the minute that our planes came back from Syria with the victory sign above that airport after they shot down 6 Mig 21's. It was just one week ago.

In the evening you sleep overnight in the kibbutz. Next day as it stands this minute, and I have to say as it stands this minute, you are going to visit the Golan Heights. I say as it stands this minute, we don't know what will happen. Some of our missions came up to the Golan Heights, some of them were waiting at the bottom for an hour, 1½ hours when a battle was going on and we couldn't take them up. But I hope that you can visit there, that we have a quiet week after the lesson that our air force gave them in Syria.

You will visit a stronghold in the first line against Syria. You are going to visit a Thal outfil again which was shelled last week. From there you drive down, have lunch in a kibbutz which was 21 years under fire of Syrian guns, Ein Gev. You will speak to some of the members

of that kibbutz and they will tell you what it means to be under fire for 21 years. And then only after you have been on the Golan Heights, looking down, you will understand why we are not going to give back the Golan Heights, and you are not going to blame us. And we are driving through the city of Beit Shean, it will be explained to you, which is a newcomer town, a development town which was under fire all during the war of attrition. And coming back to the Hilton on Friday evening.

Saturday you are going to have some optional trips which we will still ask you about on the buses. We are going to have three optional trips. One, those who want to go back to Jerusalem and visit more of Jerusalem. Two, those who want to go to Massada to see the excavations, visit and see what's going on there. Three, those who want to visit with Mr. Ben-Gurion in Sde Boker can go and visit Mr. Ben-Gurion. We will ask you on the buses, we will make a list and according to that we will operate.

That evening we have a speaker, it will be a General of the army who will tell you what really is the problem of security today in the country.

It's a tough mission and I hope you understand that you didn't come as tourists to Israel. You came to study, to learn, to go back, to understand for yourself and to be goodwill ambassadors for Israel. So we will push you and we'll work you hard. I hope you understand and excuse us for that.

A few things I want to tell you about the way that we are working. First of all, I see some people without badges. From tomorrow morning nobody will be accepted, nobody will go on a bus, in a meeting, in a place without his badge. This is your passport. You cannot come to the Bar-Lev Line without that, you cannot come to an air force base without that, you cannot come into a dinner or luncheon without that. Please wear that badge. I don't say you have to wear it on the pajamas, but as long as you are awake, wear it.

Now for dressing, it's no formal country, you don't have to have ties, specially not during the days and not in the evenings also. Take wind jackets tomorrow, it might be very windy in the Sinai some days and we are going on buses, we are coming out, we are stopping and so on. In case it's warm, you take off the wind jacket.

We will always leave the wakeup call, you don't have to worry. Don't change them, because it will not help you. They listen to us, so don't think that you can leave it 15 minutes later. Whatever you do, we have a routine of working. Breakfast will be in the same room here.

Cameras, you can take them always, we will tell you when you are not allowed. In general you are allowed to take pictures. Whenever we will be told no, you will know about it. The same with tape recorders. There are some speeches which you will be told not to tape.

I suggest that after our speaker will finish, don't go and look for night-clubs, we have some experience with men's missions. We closed them up for tonight, all of them. Have a good rest and see you tomorrow morning. Have a good trip.

Mr. Herbert Garon

Gentlemen, let me say this to you. I recall vividly a quotation by Robert Kennedy. He said some people believe that no one man, no one woman can do very much against the enormous array of the world's ills and yet he is quoted as saying that some of the greatest movements of the world in thought and in action flows from a single man. I asked you to please be here and not to cop out tonight because you would be missing that kind of a man in Herb Friedman. Herb Friedman is a graduate of Yale University and Hebrew Union College. His title is Executive Vice President of the United Jewish Appeal, in Israel. One of the many many distinguishing things about his career is that in 1945 he was a United States chaplain in Germany and that in that service he led many of the death camp survivors out of those camps. He has been an eloquent spokesman for the Jewish people in the most critical period of our Jewish life and survival. There are so many things that I could say about Herb, because I have been a friend of his over the years and I have been very proud of that friendship, that includes my wife and his and our families.

I want you to know that many of the things we take for granted today were a product of his creative genius. He is an authentic genius of Jewish thought in our time. So many things are proforma today that were the product of his vision and his creativity, of his imagination. Operation Israel is one of a long long list of those kinds of thoughts that came from this one man and in addition to all of that Herb Friedman has been blessed by God with a very silver tongue and a mellifluous voice and so why wait - Herb, the evening is yours.

Herbert A. Friedman

The introduction of the chairman is an indication to you that you have almost no chances of escaping his clutches and before the week is over he'll have you firmly in the palm of his hand which is just where you will want to be by the time the week is over.

The United Jewish Appeal is a very big instrument, it's a huge mechanism. It runs on the motor power of a lot of people. I was honored with the historic opportunity to be its professional executive head, it's chief executive officer for almost 20 years and I accept everything that's said about what one man can do, but still one man is only one man. This whole big machinery operates with the capacity of volunteers of the level of Herb Garon, and if that quality of volunteer officership didn't exist, the UJA wouldn't have amounted to anything, the Jews of the United States would have slid downhill into a vapid kind of meaningless existence, the State of Israel wouldn't be where it is today. This combination of trying to give life and vitality and creative birth to a country here is what has made the American Jewish community strong in its own way so that there is a community of interest here. You are not doing anything for anybody else. You are doing something for yourself, when you decide that it's important to put your time and your effort and your brain and your heart and your money into a comprehension of what this country is all about. We welcome you, we are glad

you're here and that's not a perfunctory statement. We fully expected there would be fewer of you. We expected there would be large last minute cancellations due to the way the newspapers outside of this country describe what happens inside this country.

We thought that you would be afraid. The fact that you are not afraid to come in this period, and you must understand that this is a very critical period, causes us to be very respectfully, thankful to you, and having said that we then say that since you came, and you have put yourself into the same frying pan in which we are, then there is no escaping it and the consequences that flow from it require a certain kind of conduct on your part when you get back home. If you fail to carry out what you should do when you get back home, then you shouldn't have bothered to come at all.

Since you have bothered to come, we have a right to expect a certain consequence from you there. Let me describe exactly what you have come in the middle of. Many people think that we are now in a pre-1967 warm up period. I think that that's an exaggeration, but I think there is some historical truth in it. Last Tuesday, a week ago tomorrow, there was that big confrontation up on the Golan. You don't shoot down six Mig airplanes unless there are ten times that number dogfighting up in the air and that number of aircraft don't get up in the air, unless there has been a decision on somebody's part to try something. 15 tanks were destroyed. The Syrians never deploy that many tanks. They had to deploy scores and scores for us to have picked off 15. It's a lot of tanks - T-54s and T-55s, 40 and 50 ton medium heavies, these were not small reconnaissance tanks rolling around to see what was going on in our lines or in our kibbutzim or in our fortresses. This was an attempted penetration. It was rebuffed very well and very successfully. It was 9 long hours of fighting. You people have entered into a war zone and if you people don't understand it that way, then you fail to understand the first fact of life in this country. This country is in a war. Four frontiers, two of which are reasonably quiet, two of which are reasonably active. Reasonably quiet is the frontier to which you are going tomorrow, the Egyptian frontier. Right now there is a terrible tug of war going on inside the Arab world in which the Syrians and the Kuwaitis and the Libyans and others of the Arab countries are trying to force Egypt out of this lethargy in which she is remaining, passive and inactive, and what the Syrians are saying is, Damn it, when we move up on the Golan front hit them in the back from the Canal side, why the hell are you so quiet. And the Egyptians have their own reasons for being quiet, part of it has to do with the confusion which exists at the very top level in the echelons of the Government and the army. The President of Egypt doesn't know which way to go. In July he threw the Russians out. In November he is begging the Russians to come back. They are exacting prices from him. The price is to fire his Minister of War, and he did it. This caused rumblings all up and down the army. You don't fire the Minister of War and the Commanding General of the War, the same person, just because the Russians say so.

He is having trouble, Mr. Sadat and that's one of the reasons that he's quiet. He keeps promising the Syrians that he feels obligated in a brotherly loving Arab way to come to their aid against the aggressive Israelis, but right now, he's just right now not able to do so temporarily, so please forgive him. And so that's why it's good to go down there while it's quiet, because the Canal front will not remain quiet forever or in my judgement for very much longer. It's been quiet 28 months now. It's the longest period of quiet that this country has had with Egypt in 25 years and it's an unnaturally long period of time already, so go see it while you can see it.

The second frontier, with Jordan, is also quiet. The Jordanian border is quiet because the King of Jordan has no desire to make war. And because, more importantly than his desire, is the fact that he has stamped out the terrorists inside his country, not given them a base from which to operate. They therefore don't operate across the line from the Jordanian side and do terrorist acts against us. We therefore don't have to retaliate back and therefore the Jordan border is quiet. That lesson we have tried to impress upon the Lebanese, our third neighbour up in the north. Six or eight weeks ago, you may recall, we had to go in in a very heavy operation in which we remained in their territory over 48 hours, destroyed many houses which were terrorist bases, tried to keep away from the civilians, tried not to hurt any innocent people, tried not to destroy any civilian installations, but tried to make it perfectly clear to the Government of Lebanon that they shouldn't provide a base on their territory to the terrorists. They should do to the terrorists what Jordan did to the terrorists, drive them away. And then the Lebanese border will be quiet also.

The fourth neighbour, the fourth border is with Syria up in the north east and this happens to be the most inflamed one at the moment. The Syrians refuse to suppress the terrorists. The Syrians continue to give them a base from which to operate and to move across and the Syrians have been told over and over and over again by us that we shall infiltrate, raid, destroy, attack, bomb, obliterate, terrorist bases because we cannot tolerate that kind of operation on our frontier. The Syrians have decided not to do what the Jordanians have done and not to do even what the Lebanese have done. The Syrians have decided to make a very aggressive outward front and that was the cause of last week's flare-up.

Now if you take a look at the whole thing around us, I think that the Egyptian border will remain quiet for a while, although I think the cease-fire will soon be broken. I think the Jordanian border will remain quiet, period. I think the Lebanese border will quieten down and I think they will realize that it is fruitless for them to try to fight with us, that it would be easier for them to fight with a few thousand terrorists and already we have got some indication that the terrorist offices in Beirut are beginning to move to Damascus. The Government is cleaning them out. That's good. And therefore we will remain with Syria as the last intractable one and then I think there will be repeated episodes and as David Shenhabi said, if you are lucky, you

might see something this week and if you are not lucky, you'll go home without seeing any action. I'm not trying to be flippant about it, obviously nobody is going to put you in any position of jeopardy. If there is shelling going on on the Golan Heights, you wait down on the bottom. The roads will be closed anyway.

If it's quiet and the roads are open and you are allowed to go up and something starts while you're up there, we get you down as fast as we can. Two missions of the past two weeks, one a newspapermen's mission, all non-Jewish newspapermen, were up there and they were there when the shelling started and they all wanted to run out of the bus and play the role of war correspondent and we pushed them all in the bus and pulled the bus down off the hill and they were grumbling, and saying, Why didn't you let us watch the fun. Another busload of people, UJA mission members, we got the bus off down there when the shelling started within a matter of five minutes.

AMERICAN JEWISH

All of this is not to play fun and games and all of this is not to make some melodrama. All of this is to explain the fact that 30% of the GNP of this country goes for war. And almost 50% of the budget of this country. And the budgets are coming in for 1973 and Mr. Dayan says to Mr. Sapir, the Minister of Finance, look, here's the budget that I need for the Defense Department. You say you got the money, give me the money. You haven't got the money, don't give me the money. You want to cut down 500 million pounds, cut it down. Tell me how many less tanks to buy, tell me how many less airplanes to buy. I don't want to get into an argument with you, Mr. Secretary of the Treasury. Just tell me what we can afford. I tell you that for the security of the country we need this and this and this and this. You tell me you can't afford it, fine, we won't buy it. But don't ask me to guarantee the security of the country. And Sapir turns around and says to Dayan, How the hell can I argue with you and the defense costs of this country are going up, not down. They are four times today what they were at the Six Day War five and a half years ago. The cost of fighting the Six Day War seems to be a little bit infantile by now, only five and a half years later.

Next point. People keep saying, isn't there any movement toward peace. The answer is no, and you have to just steel yourself in a very hard way, and don't go looking for any miracles. There aren't any, none, none. Mr. Nixon wants very hard to try to get a peace initiative, going before Mr. Brezhnev gets to the United States in May, so that Nixon can say to Brezhnev, okay, look, I managed to get the Israelis and the Egyptians together on this thing and they're moving and maybe they'll get to some kind of settlement and God damn it, don't you mess up the waters now, keep things quiet, you and I, Russia and America, we have got to keep things quiet. He would like to be able to say that, that's his whole approach. So, right after the inauguration in January we know that the pressure is going to start in terms of trying to make what's called a temporary settlement or another word is a partial settlement, and that's going to be to concentrate on just the Suez Canal. Let's not try to settle the whole damn issue, let's just see can we get the Suez Canal opened up. Will you Israelis agree to pull

back a little bit from the Canal? Then the Egyptians can open the waterway and send the shipping through and if you won't pull all the way back the way Egypt wants you to, will you pull part of the way back, so Egypt can have a little face saving, then she'll open the Canal, then she'll be able to make 2-300, by now maybe 350 million dollars worth of income, revenue from the tolls in one year, then she'll get back on her feet a little bit, then she won't need the Russians, then the Russians can stay out and then the whole thing can quiet down.

Okay, we have no objections to his trying, but the Egyptians aren't buying. And we have said time and time and time again that a partial settlement is perfectly okay with us, either on its own or as a prelude to a permanent settlement, but it takes two people to dance and it doesn't mean a damn thing if we keep saying yes, if they keep saying no. We keep saying, no we are not going to pull back without some kind of a settlement. It's out of the question and the Americans understand it and we think they're not going to pressure us unduly on that score. Meanwhile that fact of no peace and no movement toward peace simply means that you've got war in the area, because you don't have a vacuum - either this or this. But you can't go on indefinitely with a no war no peace business.

Okay, the second thing that I'd like you to understand while you're here is the Russian business about immigration and I won't go into too great deal about that, because I'd like you just to ask whatever questions you have in mind. I'll make only one observation. I don't know how sophisticated you are on this matter, what it means to be Jewish inside the Soviet Union and to try to live as Jews there in the face of an aggressive, atheistic, communistic government which has been trying now since 1917, 55 years, trying to break the spirit and break the back of the Jewish community, Jewish religion, Jewish history, Jewish language, Jewish community organization, none of it permitted, everything fought and resisted by the government, the people in the streets and in the shops and in the factories being taught to sneer at anybody who wants to try to retain his Jewish identity when the purpose of the government is to break it.

And if after 55 years of that kind of bombarding, you have Jews there who want to try to live as Jews, it is a miracle. The second miracle is they want to wake up enough to try to resist the government and ask for an exit permit to go out. That's an even bigger miracle, because there you take personal risk in your hands. There you have got to go in to the police and ask for the exit visas.

You know where you get an exit permit in Russia? You get it from the KGB, the Secret Police, not a civilian enterprise. And you just ought to take your hat off to every single Russian Jew you meet in the next week, because he had the guts to do something which I think 95% of the American Jewish community, if the roles were reversed, would not have the guts to do. Challenge me on that statement if you want to, we could have a good debate on it.

I am making the statement in those sharp contrasting terms in order to indicate to you that you are dealing with a group of real heroes. And don't come around telling me you are doing any damn favor to throw a few bucks in the way of some Russian immigrant who needs to get adjusted and to get on his feet. You're not doing any favor at all.

You are doing a human duty with a Jewish sense of responsibility towards an authentic hero, who having fought his way out of a fortress against all odds and at the risk of his life, didn't have the time or the possibility to worry about whether he got any money out with him. He hasn't. He came here emptyhanded. Two suitcases or four or six. He's a Jew, he's now a free man and either you put him on his feet or you don't. If you want to, fine we need your help very badly. We can't do it without you. If you don't want to, then don't, we'll do it anyway, but not as well and at a terrible cost to everybody living here. The only way to do it without your help is to pull down the whole fabric of what's been built in 25 years. And reduce everything down, even jeopardize the security, because if we don't take that Jew in from Russia, then what the hell right have we got to have an independent State of Israel. No right at all.

What was this state founded for? Was it founded so that you could fly an airplane that had a big Jewish star on the tail, founded so that you could go to dinner tomorrow night or the next night with some Minister of the Cabinet, or go to have dinner in the Parliament building, was this State founded so that you could have all those trappings of sovereignty and independence? If you think that this is what this State was founded for, then again you missed the boat completely.

This place was established so that that Jew could get off that airplane from Vienna every single night this month. This month of November is almost at an end and there will be over 3,000 Jews that came into this country from Russia alone in this one month. If somebody says to you what the hell is the State of Israel about, you can give it to them in one sentence: This State of Israel was created so that in November of 1972, 100 Russian Jews a day could step off an airplane and step on the soil of freedom and say, I'm home, free. That's what this State was created for. In order to achieve that you've got to fight a lot of wars and a lot of people are buried, a lot of blood's been spilled. We have to go on fighting wars. We are nowhere near peace yet. Got a miserable uphill fight on the economic side. Frozen out of the Common Market, living way above our means, in my judgement, scrapping like hell to export and export and produce and produce and all of this so that this State can be viable, which means to live in order that those 100 Jews can live who got off the plane tonight and the hundred coming tomorrow and the next day. Until the Russians cut it down to fifty or the Jews push it up to 200. This is going to go one way or the other. They are going to try to close us down and in exact proportion to how they are going to try to close the tap, the pipe is going to burst and burst and more Jews are going to get out. The Russian Jews are in ferment and in revolt. It's going to be very hard to put them back in the cage again, so that this receptacle, this vessel, this

I think that when people attach themselves to a dream, and that's what this country still is, bigger than any individual is, and the dream transcends most of human fragility and the dream becomes something which seems to assume huge proportions, then we look for a meaning in it, and I would like to close by saying to you that I think the meaning of the birth and development and ultimate success, which is not yet guaranteed, of the State of Israel, the meaning of it all, is that it is our answer to Hitler. Out of the death of that awful black period came the life of this place. Had we not as a people tried to create some life out of that death, we also, although physically living, would have died spiritually.

We fought out of the very black pit into a blinding bourse of life, which is what this State is. If we make it go, and we are far from it yet, if we make it go, 25 or 50 years from now, and it is secure and rooted, and it's not fragile, and it's no longer attackable, and its neighbours have to come to terms with its existence, then you and I will be able to look back at it, and say, We answered Hitler as well as we could. We couldn't save the lives of those he burned, but historically we said to him, Jews are never again burnable, that's the real meaning of the life of this place. You are living through the birth period of it, so you have to help it grow strong. Your role is not an insignificant one even though you don't live here. Your role is not peripheral. Your role is germinal. Your role is radical, it goes to the core of the problem.

I would beg you that you perform your role well and that you understand your role in historic terms and you don't fail it. Because if you don't then all will be well. Israel will live and so will you. Thank you very much.

Mr. Garon

Gentlemen, I want you to know that I took a calculated risk of imposing upon this very, very busy man with an arduous schedule and your own fatigue to have you and him come together at this historic moment. I think I did you a great service. I hope I did Herb Friedman and the State of Israel an equal service. I think the hour is late and we ought to close now. Thank you very much for coming.