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Operation Israel Number 9 address. 1 February 1972.

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ADDRESS BY

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE-CHAIRMAN (ISRAEL) OF

THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

to the members of

OPERATION ISRAEL NO.9



1/2/72

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Dr. Sidney M. Edelman - Chairman

Shalom folks. Before our evening dinner speaker, I have a few little announcements and a few very special introductions to make. Just give me a few moments and we'll get this done, not because I want to get over it because the people aren't important - they are important - but I'd like to make a few announcements and I want to introduce a few people too.

I'd like for everyone to know who the professionals are on our mission. By professionals I mean the people who have to help you when you have trouble. And they will help you regardless of what happens. You know, folks, I'm a hell of a leader. I'm not used to keeping lists together. My interest is only in keeping people happy. But I'd like to start off, I'd like to introduce to you two of several of the professionals who will help us on our mission - David Shenhabi, who is the National Mission Director for UJA, who isn't here tonight - he'll be with us later. He has two assistants, Daniella is a very lovely young lady who is an assistant. Now, if you girls have problems, you don't know where to buy presents, if your husbands are giving you any trouble, if you want to meet a nice young cameldriver, you talk to Daniella. She'll arrange for that. And the other handsome young assistant, a male, Milo. And if the men have any problems, if you have trouble with your wives or anything, check with Milo. I'm sure he can talk to your wife.

There are a number of other professionals who aren't with us tonight, but will be with us to help. For example, there's Rafi Bar-Am, who is our Public Relations Director. And, of course, there's Haim Vinitzky, who is in charge of all the total operations. But I would now like to introduce some of the other people. We have two groups of people. The history of UJA is, it's a half professional organization and half a lay organization. And the problem is - who is the lay part and who is the professional part. But we need them both together. And I would like to introduce to you - I want them to stand up - the professional UJA staff who are with us and who will help us when we have problems, not psychological problems, strictly difficult problems like we lost our passport, we don't have a reservation, we lost our wife, etc. I want to introduce first Mr. Peter B. Colwyn who is the Associate National Campaign Director. He is, fortunately for me and for us, our professional Director of our Campaigns. Pete, would you stand up. Pete's from New York. He's a much nicer guy than he looks. Pete's assistant, more or less, not exactly, but sort of, is Bob Herman, who is Director of Cash Collection, Bob works with me. He came here for a vacation for the week, but Bob says he'll help all of us - Bob Herman. Now, there are professional field men, who have been brought over to help you, who work on each of the buses. We have several of the outstanding field representatives of UJA in the United States. We have Morris Diskin or the Colonel - where's the Colonel? - bus No. 4 - he'll help you. Ed Rubin, a close friend from New Jersey, moved to Israel - bus No. 3. Eric Shore - he's my friend - bus No. 6. Maurice Shriqui - Maurice, did all the baggage get through? And we have a nice young handsome field man - Erwin Greenstein - where's Erwin?

These are the fellows that work to help you. All of the guys you folks know and you meet. Now, we have tried to set up lay workers for each bus. These are people who are the same as every one of you. They don't get paid, they have one interest - to make Israel a vision to each of you and to help you folks. I'd like to introduce again our bus captains so you know them - I hope you've met them. Neil Norry, on bus No. 1, who is going to arrive tonight. My co-chairman, Morley Zipursky, on number two. And my landsman from down in Alabama, Julius Goldstein, bus No. 4. And my good

friend from the carpetbaggers up north, Franklin Markavy, from bus No. 3. Now we're getting to my friend who is a representative from the Mafia in Chicago. I hope you don't mind, I'm kidding you - Shirley Tark, from bus No. 5. Shirley, stand up. And another good friend who is mixed-up between the north and the south. I don't know whether we say you all or not - Marvin Colchamiro, from number six - sounds like Spanish, he's a Spaniard - from bus No. 6.

Folks, that's the preliminaries. But I'd like to get on a much more serious vein. I want to talk about our speaker tonight. I have a fancy paper here prepared by the Public Relations Department of the United Jewish Appeal. We have everything, we have professionals that can give you a speech on any subject. But I'd like to speak a little bit off the record. I may make mistakes, but it's the way I feel. Tonight, you folks are fortunate to have a person who will speak to you, a person that I consider is one of the great geniuses in the history of fund-raising and the history of work for Israel and the diaspora, and that is Rabbi Herbert Friedman. Many of you know him. Sit down, Herb, I want to say a few more words. Many of you know this gentleman, but I want you to know in the last 15-20 years he's the man that has been the genius, the sparkplug about many of the things that has brought the fund-raising of the diaspora to its present level. And I start off and say the United States, but I mean the whole rest of the world. He's been the guy who has had the ideas and had the influence to bring the fund-raising in the diaspora to the peak that begins to approach what it should do, what it might do. And this genius is with us tonight and I am thrilled that we have him and you are privileged.

A few mechanical facts. This I can read because I have it written down. Herb Friedman is a graduate of Yale, is a graduate of the Hebrew Union College. He's been a naverick through all the years. He's a rabbi, he's a scholar, he's a worker, he's a fund-raiser, he's a guy that's unpredictable, but unpredictable in terms of vision and with ideas that none of us could even conceive of. Again, a few mechanical facts - Herb was a chaplain, U.S. chaplain in Germany in 1945. He led some of the most important efforts to help the survivors of the death camps. Since 1955, he joined the UJA as Executive Vice-President. He has made UJA what it is today, as a beacon of what people can do for other people in the whole history of the world. He has been the idea, he has served as a focus of this. Herb now is leading and working in Israel for UJA, together with the leaders of the American Jewish community. Herb has been the professional of UJA for years and years and years, for at least 15 years, more or less. Herb, today, is the Executive Vice-Chairman of UJA in Israel with new ideas, new things to make the diaspora even more a partner of Israel and to make Israel even more a partner of the diaspora. I can say no more than we are all privileged to have Rabbi Herb Friedman speak to us, to educate us, to tell us about Israel.

Herbert A. Friedman

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, this is not a mutual admiration society, but simply an effort to describe to you how the UJA works. If I had the opportunity to be the chief Executive officer for a couple of decades, I couldn't have done a thing by myself. The whole apparatus, the whole mechanism, the whole movement works because of the motive power and battery energy supplied by a dozen lay leaders who give enormous amounts of money themselves, who give much more time even than they give money, who sometimes throw their wives into the pot as well, because without their wives behind them, it would be impossible for them to devote that much energy and enthusiasm. And,

really, it's quite remarkable in one sense and quite scary in another sense to picture an organization as vast and as important as this is, with a responsibility as huge as this is, with a historic task to build and uphold a whole nation - and that's the basic duty of the UJA. It's sometimes frightening and, at the same time, challenging to realize that the whole weight of responsibility falls on a dozen shoulders. If your dozen generals are good, then the mobilization of the country is effective. And if your top men falter, then there's fumbling, there's confusion, lack of direction, therefore lack of achievement. And then, failure breeds failure. And then there is loss of confidence and the whole thing begins to go downhill. Conversely, a dozen men have lifted this whole thing up to fantastic heights and have enabled the people of Israel and the State of Israel to rebound historically from the moment of our lowest defeat a quarter of a century ago, to the moment of our potentially highest victory and highest achievement some few years ahead in the future. We're not there yet, but we're getting close to it.

Your Chairman, he jokes and he kids, he's jovial, he's friendly, but underneath it all is a deadly serious earnestness, a purpose to which he's totally committed. There's no quarter. He goes for the jugular vein, he knows exactly what the essence of the matter is, and that's the combination of softness, gentility, intellectuality. He's one of the leading chemists in the United States. Maybe you don't know that, he doesn't boast about it. And yet, underneath it all, there's a hard-driving sense of destiny that pushes him and pushes him and pushes him and, as he pushes himself, he pushes others. This whole thing of saving a people and building a country depends upon no magic, it depends upon willpower, resolution, determination. And when the UJA and Israel are blessed with officers, national officers like that, then we know the thing goes. So that I beg in advance for his indulgence. If, sometimes, you think he's making a bad joke, he's not a comedian, he's a UJA national chairman. On the other hand, if he sometimes makes a good joke, that's an additional attribute to being a strong chairman. And I think you're fortunate to have him, because one thing that he does have, which many of our national chairmen don't, is a sense of the sociability involved in a group like this. After all, this is a confined group. You're going to be eating together and driving together and griping together and sharing emotions together for the next eight or nine days. To some of you it will seem like an eternity. And to some of you it will seem like a second that goes by and it will be a dream and only later on in retrospect will you really be able to evaluate and appreciate it. But one thing is for sure - you'll become closely welded under his leadership. He won't let you be a disparate, cranky, cliquy group. His skill and his talent is to make you all feel wanted, welcome, comfortable - and that's the tone of a good leader. He'll drive you hard; he'll demand from you. But he'll give you, in return, the warmth and the sociability of a friend. And those are the attributes and the talents that you need in order to lead a large movement.

I would like tonight to take this map and to begin to explain the situation in which we are. But in order to do so, or in order to know into what depth to go, I'd like to ask one question: how many of you are here for the first time? Okay, B'reishit, that's the first book in the Bible - we begin from the beginning. We've got three problems here in Israel. One problem is military-political. And for that I'm going to use the map to explain. You will never in a hundred years understand all this jockeying and juggling and all of the diplomatic and political negotiations unless you understand the map. So war and peace, military, diplomatic problems depend upon the map. That's number one that we're going to cover. Number two that we're going to

cover is the whole question of an unbelievable, historic miracle which is occurring right under your eyes. It's just the beginning, the foetus is beginning to grow, the baby hasn't even been born yet. And I'm referring to the immigration of Jews out of the Soviet Union. You are in on the ground floor of one of the major historic movements in Jewish history of the 20th century. And we're going to analyze that and see how it happened, and what it means, and why it happened and where it's going to take us. And the third thing we'll get to which pre-occupies the life of this country and must pre-occupy Jews abroad, and non-Jews as well who are friends of Israel - there are many - is the internal social stresses and strains in this country which occur as a result of the extraordinary pressure of the first two. War and big, heavy immigration - year after year, decade after decade - bring in their wake terrible tensions internally in the structure of the society and the economy. We can sweep those problems under the rug if we want to and ignore them and make believe they don't exist. But on the other hand, if we are here as a study mission, which is what you are, then you should study those problems also. Those are the social welfare problems of Israel or, to put the whole thing in a very simple word, the problems of poverty in this country which embrace a quarter of a million Jews, or 10% of the whole population, and find expression in a little group of people called the Black Panthers who wander around the streets of this country making protests about the fact that their living conditions are bad. And they're right. So, war, immigration, internal social problems - these are the three major themes of the symphony. And, like a good symphony, those themes are interwoven all the time, in and out. You hear them going all the time throughout the symphony.

Let me talk, first of all, about war and peace. If you were to ask me personally my own opinion, non-official, as to whether there is a greater possibility during 1972 for the outbreak of peace or the renewed outbreak of war, I would tell you the latter. I think we have a much greater chance for a renewal of fire than we have for the turning of the cease-fire of today into a good, solid, steady peace treaty. Sadat is going to Moscow tomorrow. He's going to Moscow for a very simple reason; he's going to ask for a green light for the renewal of fire. He went in October; he asked for it then. Israel was very weak then, short of aircraft - we were outnumbered 6 to 1 in supersonic fighter planes. We had fewer than 100. They had more than 600 - Mig 19s, Mig 21s, Mig 23s, Sukhoy 11s, Tupolev 16s - a fantastic array that Russia sends in week after week after week. Over here is the Egyptian port of Alexandria. We watch it on the radar; we know what goes in. If there's one thing Israel has, it's an excellent intelligence system. Our intelligence system is what won the Six Day War - you know perfectly well. In the first three hours on the morning of Monday, June 5th, three hours, the Egyptian airforce was destroyed on the ground. How did we know where to strike? We know where every single airplane was located - that's something. This intelligence system is the thing which we rely upon to prevent us from being surprised and to enable us to know what they are doing. So that when the Russians have been delivering, we know what they have been delivering. And it's not guess-work and it's not propaganda and we don't just issue press releases saying: oh, the Russians are supplying Egypt. We say: two squadrons of Tupolev 16s came in - 24 aircraft; they are based at Cairo West; they are based at Ismailia; we know where they are. And when we pass that information on to the American State Department and to the Pentagon, they then check it out. You know, of course, that once every day there flies over the Canal the satellite Samos with cameras taking pictures. And they are developed the next day in the Pentagon. So that the American spy satellite checks it out and sees that we're right. And, therefore, we're not exaggerating, and we're very cold, very sober. Facts are facts - you can't change them. You shouldn't.

So, when I say we know what's coming in, and when I say we know we were outnumbered six to one on supersonic aircraft, the Americans didn't dispute it. And President Nixon didn't dispute it. But last October he hadn't made his mind up and, in January, he did make his mind up. Sadat went in October to Moscow to get a green light to start fire against us. He didn't get it. He tried again, in December, because he had made the promise that he would open war before December 31st. You remember his statement, his threat - 1971 would be the year of decision and before the year came to an end he would decide whether he would make peace or war with Israel. And then he announced he would make war, not peace. And then, by the end of December the 31st came and went and he didn't open fire. And it was because, again in December, he tried to get a green light from the Russians. And they had told him: you do what you want. But that wasn't the kind of backing he wanted. He wanted an affirmative backing from them. And he's going tomorrow to try to get it again. We don't think they'll give it to him. We think they realize that two things have occurred. Number one - that the Israeli determination, five years almost after the Six Day War, is just as strong as it ever was. We think Russia understands that. We think Russia understands that Israel is stronger today than she was five years ago, because of the support the Israeli population has given when they paid their taxes and they shed their blood and held the line on the Canal. They haven't weakened and Russia understands it. She's very pragmatic; she's very realistic. And the second thing that the Russians have seen is that, while the American position has fluctuated and wavered and sometimes you don't get as quick a response of support from the American Government as you'd like to get, nevertheless, when the chips are down, you get an affirmative response. So that America is still very much behind Israel. Now these two things are impressive to the Russians and the Russians are not about to tell Egypt blithely: okay, go ahead, renew fire, go ahead, we'll back you up, we'll go all the way with you. He wants a commitment all the way. And we think that he won't get it. And we think the most he'll get is again a non-committal statement: you want to open fire, open fire.

The Americans, meanwhile, are working desperately - and we are working with them - in order to try to get two levels of conversation going. One level would be a temporary settlement - that's what we call it - by opening the Suez Canal. The second level is a permanent settlement by taking all the problems of our borders, not just the Suez Canal, and settling all of them. These are the two possibilities - a temporary settlement or permanent settlement. The permanent settlement has got to come through the United Nations' Mr. Jarring. I think that's a dead duck right now. The temporary settlement is what America is pushing, and she says: well, at least if we can get the Suez Canal issue settled as one issue, maybe that will break the logjam and open up the whole thing and we can move toward a permanent settlement. So America is proposing what she calls 'close proximity talks' - that's a very fancy diplomatic word. For Israel, you take the 9th floor in the Waldorf Astoria - Egypt, you take the 10th floor in the Waldorf Astoria. And we'll put Mr. Sisco on an elevator between the 9th and the 10th floor. And these are called 'close proximity talks'. And we'll run up and down the staircase, and you guys never have to see each other face-to-face, but maybe you can hammer out the matter of getting the Suez Canal open at least. And America has great hopes for these 'close proximity talks' and Israel will announce shortly that she is willing to enter into these talks. And, again, if you ask me my personal opinion as to where this whole thing is going, I think it's going no place. But that's for history to show us.

Now let's look at what these borders are all about and what this issue is all about. This map is done in various colors and I asked for it to be made this way so it could be clear. Dark green is the old Israel before the Six Day War. Light green is the part

that was added as a result of the Six Day War. Light green is the whole Sinai desert all the way down here. Sharm el Sheikh is down at the bottom -- this controls the Straits of Tiran. And you come all the way up here to Eilat and this is what started the Six Day War -- when they wanted to close it off down at the bottom here and tried to choke us. So that's called the Sinai desert. This part right up here is the Gaza Strip -- light green. Here's Jerusalem right here -- the big black dot. North of it is a section which in olden days was called Ephraim. South of it is a section which was called Yehuda in the Bible. Today, this north and south part around Jerusalem is all called by the name the West Bank -- we have held that since the war. And up here in light green are the Golan Heights, between us and Syria. These are the four parts -- the Golan, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Desert. All that is post-Six Day War.

Here's the Suez Canal. From Port Said right here down to Port Suez right here is 106 miles. From the Canal here, from Ismailia to Cairo, it's about 75 or 80 miles. In the 106 miles north and south and in the 75 miles east to west, Egypt has got a half million troops. About 120,000 of them are on the line, here at the Canal, where we face each other across 100 yards of water. The number that we have on our side of the line is classified, but I'll simply tell you that I think they have us about 12 to 1. We're not stupid, and we're not blindly egotistical. If we had to put 12 times the number of men in the line, we would. There would be no waiters in this hotel, taxi drivers would come off the street. If a total mobilization took place in this country, we could put under arms, in 48 hours, almost 300,000 men. And if we would have to do it, we would do it. But it would rip the economy of this country to pieces. How many people do you think there are in this country? If you took 300,000 men and put them under arms -- the whole labor force of this country is only 900,000 men -- it would stop the country dead in its tracks. If we tried to have that kind of a total mobilization -- that's what they would like to provoke us into doing. They have 33 million people in Egypt. We have 2 $\frac{1}{2}$. So they can throw 120,000 men into the line. We won't until we have to. And if and when we have to, we will, in 48 hours.

In this line there are 65 missile sites, each missile site with 6 missiles to it. So it's over 350 missiles. A missile, whether it's a Sam 2 or Sam 3, is a very large instrument. It's 20 feet long; it's five feet in diameter. The pilot in the plane can see it coming up at him. That's how large it is. It costs 100,000 dollars. Behind this line there are 23 Egyptian airfields. Four of them are manned by Russians who don't allow any Egyptians on the premises. Russians fly the Mig 23s, and no Egyptians get anywhere near them. And now the question is whether Russia would commit these aircraft to battle, with Russian pilots, and take the chance of Russian pilots being shot down. And the answer is -- they would. And again it's not guesswork on our part because we don't make guesswork; we deal with facts. In April of 1970, four Russian pilots flying Mig 21s were shot down by our Phantoms and the four pilots were killed and the four planes were destroyed. The Russians know it and the Egyptians know it and we know it and the Americans know it and the whole world knows it. Nobody says anything about it. Because Russia isn't going to admit to having lost pilots in aerial combat and we're not interested in forcing confrontation, not at all. But when somebody asked Mrs. Meir what her instructions to the airforce would be if Russians were to fly, her answer is very simple: I will tell our pilots that if something is coming toward them shooting, they shoot back and they don't wait to see who is flying the other airplane. It's the most natural and logical thing in the world.

The whole bone of contention is now whether we give them back the Sinai Desert. The

whole bone of contention is whether we pull back from the line of the Suez. And all of the issues that you are going to see in the months ahead, if these so-called 'close proximity talks' ever get off the ground - and I'm warning you how to read the headlines - is over the question of whether Israel will pull back and allow Egyptian soldiers to cross over the line in order to do what? In order to permit Egyptian technicians to cross over the line and work on dredging out the Canal and opening it for use to shipping. Now the Israeli position is very clear. Israel is perfectly willing for the Canal to be opened up again and for shipping to go through the Canal again and for Egypt to get all the tolls from the shipping which come to about 250 or 300 million dollars a year - let Egypt have it. And for the Russian fleet, which is larger in the Mediterranean than the American fleet is right now, to come through the Canal and go from there over to India and Asia, which is where the Russian fleet was dying to get to during the Pakistan-India war - because Russia supported India and would have loved to have given help. So that everybody on the Egyptian - Russian side wants the Canal open for their own reasons. And from our point of view, we are perfectly willing to say to them: you want the Canal open, for money, for power, for conquest in Asia, you can have the Canal open. It's not worth it for us to spend Jewish lives and a fortune of Jewish money for the next 10 or 20 years to keep the Canal closed from you. If opening the Canal will convince you that we are willing to talk peace, we'll open the Canal. That's what we mean by a partial settlement. Then we'd like you to go the rest of the way and start talking about all the other issues. But we won't open the Canal on one condition. You want to send technicians across, yes. You want to send engineers, cement layers, dredgers, yes. You want to send soldiers across - no. And Egypt says: no soldiers across, no opening of the Canal. And we say: no opening of the Canal, okay. You want the Canal open. We can sit here 20 years with the Canal closed so long as you back it up, so long as you agree with that position - we'll let you have the Canal open, with all the advantages of it to you, but no soldiers. No, we are deadlocked on the matter. And this is one of the items that Sisco, or Rogers, or I don't know whoever, will get in the act with the Egyptians. Nixon is going to go to Moscow in a couple of months. Nixon may try to persuade the Russians to put the pressure on the Egyptians to be reasonable. Nobody knows how the events are going to unfold. If they say they want soldiers across and we say no, then we remain deadlocked. Then fire will resume. Nature abhors a vacuum - the situation isn't going to remain status quo forever. Something will happen.

If they say okay, technicians yes, soldiers no, fine, okay, we'll open the ferry boats, come across. Dayan went so far as to say - Dayan, the super hawk - we would move out of some of our fortifications on this line. We have fortifications which are called by the name Bar Lev Line, they are named after the commanding general who just went out of office, the Chief of Staff for four years, General Haim Bar Lev, and there's an unbelievable set of fortifications here. Some of you have seen them. Dayan said, If your technicians come across and they feel uncomfortable with all these bristling fortifications and with the few Israeli soldiers we have in them, we'll withdraw some of our soldiers back a few kilometers to let your technicians work. But you can't send any soldiers over. In other words, we've gone, we think, pretty far. We think we should not give up the territory, we think we should not pull out of the line until we have some promises that they will make a peace with us. Do you agree with that? How many people agree with that basic position? How many people agree with the basic position in order to get to peace rather than to have a renewal of fire?

Now you are confirming the two basic positions we take. Make every offer. Be flexible. Use your toughest guise to make the offers. Dayan and Golda are making the offers and they're the two toughest ones, but when the chips are down, don't move out unless you get some promise that there will be no further aggression. I think the Egyptians are not ready to make that promise. I think they are not ready to do the simple fundamental thing which is required and that is to recognize that this state exists. I think that's the problem, if you want to know my analysis of it. The problem is they are not yet ready to say that the State of Israel is viable and here to stay and I would like to take a minute to tell you what the historical parallel is that's going on in their minds.

You know what they believe. And they really believe it. The Christians came here once to this country 800 years ago in an effort called the Crusades from Europe and the Moslems defeated them and sent all the Christian kings of Europe including Richard the Lionhearted back with their tail between their legs. The kings of France and England and Germany and Austria and Italy and Spain were all sent back in defeat. The Crusaders were defeated. And it only took two hundred years to do it. So what the hell, these Jews have had a state going for 24 years, what is it, what's the hurry to make peace with them? Fight them for another 24 years and maybe they'll go back to Poland and Russia and America and wherever they belong - they don't belong here. This is the Arab position - this piece of land is ours, it's in the middle of an Arab territory. And we say, Hey look, we were here before you were. Remember Abraham. And the second thing we say is, There's 8,000 lousy square miles - you people have got a 100 million square miles. You have got 14 states. You didn't have one Arab state, the same as we didn't have one Jewish state, as recently as World War I, 50 years ago. In those fifty years we've struggled to build one, you've succeeded in building 14. God bless you, you should have 24, but why can't we have one? What's the matter with you people? And that's the issue on which the argument really rages, not the question shall we pull back five kilometers or 8 kilometers. Let's deal with the gut issue. The gut issue is the survival, the life, the viability of this country. And they are not prepared to accept it yet. And they have got time according to their point of view. So they shouldn't be in any hurry to sign any peace treaties with us.

The whole question is whether the Jews in Israel and the Jews in America are going to get tired or whether they are also not going to be in any hurry and going to hold firm for another generation if you have to. Now as far as the rest of it is concerned, if they offered a genuine peace treaty, they can have the whole Sinai back in five minutes, what do we want it for. I have been over most of this - I have been on the top of Mt. Sinai where Moses allegedly got the ten commandments. It's down here at the bottom of the desert. Right here in the middle there's an old beat up manganese mine that doesn't produce anything. Over here on the edge of the water there are a couple of oil fields, pretty poor grade stuff, it produces about 60 million dollars worth a year. As far as the whole rest of it is concerned, it's worth nothing. Give it back, who has to keep it. We've got to keep a garrison down here at the bottom at Sharm el Sheikh in order to make sure that they don't block us again, that's all. We got a road from Sharm up to Eilat. If they want to take the whole thing back and not give us the road, fine, we'll supply the garrison by air. If they don't want to have us down there alone, we've said we'll keep the garrison mixed with Egyptian and Israeli soldiers. Fair enough. Don't need any U.N. soldiers. Don't need any Canadians, Yugoslavs, Indians - they run away at the first drop of a hat. When Mr. Nasser said go away - boom, the U.N. pulled out in a half an hour. U Thant gave them the order. So that's nonsense. All of Sinai they can have. They want the Gaza Strip - God bless them - goodbye

Charlie, there are 350,000 Arabs in here and we would love for them to take the Gaza Strip back with those Arabs. This is our real fat problem right here. We still have hand grenades and we still have terrorists and we still have killings and murders here. This is a bad place and I have no hesitation to fly you down to the Canal, but I wouldn't dream of sending you into the Gaza Strip. Too risky.

The West Bank - they can have it back. It's got 650,000 Arabs in it. You want to know the problem here on the West Bank. The Arabs who live here don't want to go back and be linked to Jordan again, and you want to know something, Jordan doesn't want them. The Prime Minister said so last week. You want to know something? I think we are going to be stuck with them. I think we are going to be stuck with the territory and the people. I think we're going to wind up with 650,000 new Israeli citizens of Moslem religion and at the rate at which they have children and the rate at which we have children, 15 years from now, they are going to outnumber us. You think of something - you think of the demography of a country, you think of the geopolitics of the future. So it isn't a question that we're being inflexible and we don't want to give the territory back. I'd love to give it back with the people. I think we are going to have trouble getting rid of it.

The Golan Heights - the topography up here is that this height, it's a plateau, it's like a table land and it's about 1800 feet above the valley, this dark green here below. And they were sitting up on the Heights and our kibbutzim were down in the valley and it's like shooting fish in a barrel. Okay. No, we won't give back the Golan Heights so that they can shoot down in the valley again. But what we would do is this, split it with them. They can draw a line north and south like this pointer is, keep their guns to the east of, that is to the right of where I'm holding that pointer. Keep their guns to the back of the Golan Heights, far enough back so they can't shoot down into the kibbutzim anymore. So you know, let them have the back half which is closer to Syria anyway. We're only forty miles from Damascus. People say, Why don't you take Damascus? Well, it's about two hours down the road. It's just real easy. We don't want it. What are you going to do with it? If we're willing to give back half the Golan now, what do we want with more territory. This whole idea about being expansionists is cockeyed. The Egyptian fear is paranoid, it's not based on reality. We don't want any more territory. We don't want this territory. I say all of this in order that you understand the geography. It's not a matter of giving back territory. It's a matter of achieving peace and peace means one thing and this is the main point I want to make and then we're through with it.

Peace is a question of signing a peace treaty with Egypt to define the borders of our country, which after 24 years still don't exist. You know, we're 24 years old and nobody knows what Israel is. We don't have any borders. We got armistice lines, we got cease-fire lines, we got roads and in 1949 with Ralph Bunch, there was a map drawn, but that was only an armistice map. Once and for all we would like to know what is this country and to have Egypt say to this country, Fine, we recognize you. Pull your troops back to such and such a line and this will be the fine of your country. And the first time they say that to us, this will be the borderline of your country and we will recognize this as your border and will sign the map, we'll pull our troops back to that line, like this. That's what they have to say - that's what they're not ready to say. And that's why I make my prediction to you that we have many more years of war and fire ahead of us - many more years, listen to that - before they ever get to the point where they say, Fine, okay. And once they say fine, okay, it's not a

question of their giving up anything, because we don't want to keep anything of theirs, the only thing they have to give up is the dream of destroying us, that they got to give up. And we are going to stay stubborn until they give that up. I don't care what it takes. In blood or treasure. So long, again I repeat, as you are behind us.

Now in the middle of all the war and the peace which is keeping this country close to the edge of bankruptcy and out of a four billion dollar budget for next year, two billion dollars is going to be spent on arms and defense, half the whole country's budget. That would be Dayenu - that would be enough, wouldn't it. Okay. So then we come to the business of Russian immigration, and we could say historically speaking, we can't take the Russians now. We're sorry that the Russian Jews woke up now after 54 years of a communist revolution. We're sorry that the Russian Government decided now after 54 years they would begin to let Jews out. We're sorry, it's the wrong time. Don't come now. We're not through with our war. We could say that. Do we say that? No. Should we say that? No. Should we go down in destruction rather than say that? Yes. Because if we were to say that we would destroy the whole rationale on the basis on which this country was built in the first place. We didn't build this country in the first place to fight wars. The reason for the building of this country was to save people's lives. So whenever they come, whenever you get them, you don't say no, don't come now, it's inconvenient. You say, come brothers, come brothers. And I want to tell you they're coming. This miracle I said, of the Russian renaissance is one of the great miracles of contemporary Jewish history - I believe it - because it's the resurrection of the dead. The Jews in Russia were cut off from us for over a half a century. The Russian Government with all its might and power tried very hard to break the back of the spirit of Jewish existence. The Russian Government has failed with any Jew under the age of 55 who still has any spark of Jewish spirit in him. Old people, 65, 75, were born before the Russian Revolution, they remember they were Jewish, they learned some Jewish history, they learned some prayers, they had a synagogue, they learned some Hebrew. Okay, if they still have a Jewish spirit inside of themselves, understandable. But anybody younger than 55 was born under the communist regime and that regime tried to break the back of a Jewish spirit. So when it hasn't done so, and then tens and tens, now scores of thousands of Russian Jews are registering for immigration. They are protesting, they are striking in the Supreme Soviet Building, they are marching with signs, something unheard of in Russia. Then the people in the Kremlin climb up the wall in rage, in frustration. This is amazing - where is the rebirth of this spirit from - we know where it's from. It came exactly four and a half years ago at the time of the Six Day War. That's when the Jews in the Soviet Union woke up and at that time they began to realize that there was outside of Russia a power, a Jewish power and that's when they began to have a feeling of pride and that compounded with the feeling of anti-semitism that brews deep inside the Russian public - never mind that article 124 in the Russian constitution which says that anti-semitism is illegal - it does say so, yes. So what, you're going to tear out of the heart of the Russian peasant what he feels just by writing an article in the constitution? Of course not. So you have got this combination of native anti-semitism welling up combined with a big new pride welling up and the young Jewish activist 21 years of age in Russia says, the hell with it, I want out. And this shocks the Russian authorities and they don't know what to do with it.

Now at the very same time what you all started to do was make these vast protest movements all over the place. I don't know whether you know it, there will be in the United States on April 30th something called National Solidarity Day, with the Russians. The

organized Jewish community in America on April 30th is trying to get one million signatures on a petition to give Mr. Nixon to take to Moscow to say, Hey boy, let those people go. And you want to know something? There will be a million signatures on that petition. You want to know something? The Jews of America have awakened on this issue, not just the Jews of Russia. And so, if all of this works, you want to know something else? Instead of getting 3,000 Russians a month which is what we're getting now, 3,000 Russian Jews a month. I don't know if anybody knows that - we may get 10,000 if you people are successful in your protest. And we already have some inklings from the Russians that they may be making a decision to open it up wide, let it take its own course and drown Israel with Russian Jews. If they can't lick us on the Canal, they'll lick us with immigration and it's not so farfetched. If they were to let out 10,000 people a month, they could let out 20,000, if they were to let out 20,000 people a month, they could let out 30,000, there's no limit. There are over 5 million Jews in the Soviet Union. Nobody knows how many of them would want to come here. A quarter, a third, a half, who the hell knows? We don't know what the numbers could turn out to be.

AMERICAN JEWISH

We know a very simple thing. It costs about 10,000 dollars for each one. I don't mean ransom or anything like that. To get out of Russia costs about 900 Rubles which is about, devalued American dollar today, it's about 1200 dollars. It costs 1200 dollars to do the paper work. If every single Jew in the United States in addition to what he was giving to the campaign would give 1200 dollars more, he would take out one Jew from Moscow and put him in Vienna. Then from Vienna you got to bring him here and then you start - four Jews make up a family - you got to give him a house, however simple. We call it a flat, an apartment, it's 8-9-10,000 dollars before you can put up those two, three rooms - and you got to give the man a job. So to build a factory and give the man a job is another 8 or 10,000 dollars going into the economic infrastructure of the country. Before you get through to handle a family of three or four people, it's about 30 or 40,000 dollars. That's why we say 10,000 dollars a head roughly speaking, 35,000 dollars for a family. I don't think every Jewish man or woman in the United States, every single one, could afford to give 35,000 dollars. But we might come to a time where if a million Jews are coming out of Russia, a million Jews in the United States are going to have to put up 35,000 dollars apiece to take them. We might have to come to that time, or the alternative would be to bankrupt and sink this country. I'm not kidding you. You're going to see them. You'll go tomorrow to a few absorption centers - we bring them in - we put them in a place called an absorption center. That's a place where we feed them and house them and clothe them and they study the Hebrew language for six months so that they can then go out and earn a living, because what's the sense of bringing in an engineer or a doctor, and they're all highly qualified by the way - they're trained, they're high school and college graduates, almost all of them. The same kind of people you would get out of the United States.

I could take you to a room full of Russian immigrants that looks exactly like you. The same thing. The clothing is a little different. They don't wear wide lapels, they wear thin lapels. Sure, they're a little clumpier, but you know, you look at the people, these are not poor, ragged, torn, hungry, penniless immigrants. These are sophisticated, intelligent, educated people from a western society who didn't leave their country out of poverty or hunger or oppression or torture. They left their country out of a strong desire to live in freedom, because they don't like communism and as Jews you can't do that in Russia. So when that man comes here and he's an architect and he wants to practice his profession, you send him six months into an absorption center, and pay for his food and his lodging and his wife and his kids, then after six

months he gets a few words of Hebrew, then he can go out and make his own living as an architect. But if you just dump him on the street the first week he's here, he becomes a problem rather than a solution to the problem. So you are going to go tomorrow to some of these absorption centers and you will see these new Russian immigrants who have been here one month, two months, three months, you talk to them yourself, you'll get your own impression of what I'm trying to describe to you. And you decide one very simple thing. Do you want these people's lives to be saved? Do you want then to come here to Israel? Do you think that's good for Jews? Do you think it's good for this country to have them? If your answers are in the affirmative, then you got one more question to ask yourself. Are you willing to pay for it? Because I want to be very blunt. There's one thing that we don't need, thank you, we don't need applause. We don't need anybody saying great job, keep it up. No, thank you. That doesn't help. If you agree with what's going on then you have to become part of enabling it to go on. If you don't agree with what's going on, O.K. then, take a powder, say I don't agree. They are not going to feel any sense of responsibility for it, that's all, I have no argument with you, once you decide to check out, but if you don't check out, and you stay with this thing and you are part of it, then you've got to come in with more than tokenism, because we are faced with a massive problem right now.

I would like just to tell you one story about these people and then I'll be through with the whole point. Sitting in my office the other day with a man and a woman, I was talking to them to see whether they would be fit to go to the United States and talk to American communities and explain the story of Russian Jews. It was like pulling teeth to get their story out of them. They were very modest, very reticent, they don't want to reveal their personal details. Here are two simple stories. The woman came from Riga, she looked at me to be about 38. She had learned something of what she called "Yiddishkite", although she couldn't speak any Yiddish language - I tried with her. In 1967 when the war was on and she listened to the stories over the radio about what was happening in Israel, she felt the thrill inside her heart. She then joined what was called an activist group to start protesting against Russia in order to get exit visas for people. She was arrested. She was released. She then told her husband that she was going to apply for an exit visa for herself, and that he had to give her the permission to do so. They don't have something called Women's Liberation, and she wanted him to sign the permission for her, and the whole family, and he refused to sign. And he said he didn't know what she was talking about - the Jewish business - they were Russians, and he is a Jew. But he didn't feel anything. And a Russian, what the hell is this crazy business of going to Israel - NO! - I won't give you permission to go to Israel. She said, I will leave you. He wouldn't believe it. She left him. She took the 9-year-old daughter. I said if your husband wouldn't approve of the application, or wouldn't sign it, how did you get the visa to get out? She said, I picked up my baby and I made noise, and then she went down to the Supreme Soviet Building and she picketed with the baby in her arms, and she yelled that as a Russian mother she had rights, and the Russian Government had no right to deprive her, and she was going to go on a hunger strike with this baby, and she made noise. And finally she said, to get rid of me they threw me out. But they refused to give me an exit visa for my mother. My husband I left behind. My mother I didn't want to leave behind. They made me leave her behind. I want to see my mother. I am praying for the day when I can get a visa to get my mother out.

O.K. is that the story of a hero or not a hero, I don't know. But every Russian that you will talk to if he will tell you the story, has some version like that. And there are 13,000 who came in 1971, and like this and we are expecting 35 or 40,000 in 1972, and it could be 150,000, in 1973 - nobody knows.

By the way, when I say nobody knows, the Russians of course could be teasing the hell out of us. And after giving us 20 or 30 thousand Jews, the other possibility they might do to us one fine morning, cut it. And stop it like you close up a tap. And this would be a kind of way of punishing us, and punishing the Jews inside. We don't know what they are going to do. Which is why we say, while the tap is open and it's running take everybody, pay for what you have to pay for.

O.K. that's the war and peace question, and all our borders, that's the Russian immigration question, and I think we'll leave the third question alone because I think you are tired and it's late, and I've talked over an hour now.

The problem of the poverty and the social welfare things, the difficulties in our society are no different from any large metropolitan city in the United States. When the kids here protest it, and they call themselves the Black Panthers, they were taking a name which they thought would get them attention in the press, and would shock everybody, and of course it did. To have Black Panthers in Israel, running around the streets making protests, and the police have to come and spray them with water cans, with blue ink, and get the kids off the street, this happening in Israel? And they achieved their purpose, they brought their plight to the attention of the whole public and the Government here. By the way, when somebody pointed out to them that Black Panthers in the United States were anti-semitic and anti-Israel, which they are, deep strong black nationalistics in America are on the Arab side, these kids were very surprised, so they changed their name and they called themselves not Black Panthers but parenthesis Blue and White close parenthesis, to make sure that everyone knows that they are patriotic Jews and patriotic Israelis, you see. But still what they are saying is, Hey, look, we are hungry, hey look we're hungry, we're living in lousy slums. Hey look, while you're taking in the Russians don't forget us. We came from Morocco twenty years ago. Don't forget us. And they are right. But you know when you have to figure out where to put the money and how to put the money, the war comes first. And the immigration of new people who you have to save while you can save, that comes second. And taking better care of older people who came 15, 20 years ago, that comes third. That's the bottom of the toten pole, and there's never enough to go around.

And their protest is right. And we have to find ways and means of alleviating their condition somewhat, and on Friday you are going into a little town here, south of Tel Aviv, called Yahud, and you're going to look at some of the poverty problems, and when you are in Yahud, on Friday, you think of what I was telling you here. And you think of how important it is to save a Russian, who you are going to see tomorrow, Wednesday, but not at the expense of that Moroccan, whom you are going to see Friday.

Got to try to do both things. And fight the war, which is the third thing. That's the whole picture, and, by the way, nobody is going to make a different speech to you about Israel for the next ten years. It's going to be the same. It's always the same. We have a tremendous dream, the dream doesn't change. We have a dream of wanting to build a society here, which is worthy of the people out of whose heritage and background and history we come. A very, very old people. Our people has been through the corridors of time and passed across all the continents of this earth. We are among the oldest people on earth, and we have the greatest dream that any people has ever had. The words peace, and brotherhood and love of your fellow man and kindness were all coined by us. And passed on to a daughter religion called Christianity which we hoped would take root in the world and help make people more civilized and

more human. That dream has never gone from out of our heads. That dream exists as a kind of a great golden image where we think of building here in this small tiny place a model society from which we can help blacks and yellows and whites and reds. For out of Zion Shall Go Forth The Law and the Word of the Lord From Jerusalem. "Ki mi Zion tetze Torah" and what it means is very simple. We Jews have a creative instinct. We want to build here a life where children won't be afraid, where some scientists can find the cure to the common cold, and another scientist will find the cure to Cancer. And some poet will write a poem and some musician will write a symphony, and some author will write another bible, and all of it is just aimed at trying to make man more of a civilized human being and the world a better place in which to live, and we really honest to God believe that we have a dream to do it once and it can be done. And this is what has kept us alive. And this is the place to do it.

We started from here four thousand years ago. We'll end here forty millenia into the future. This is the place of our birth, this is the place of our creativity. This is the place in which each one of us is a partner and a resident and a citizen and existentially lives here, whether he lives in Chicago, or Denver or Duluth, or Johannesburg doesn't matter. Every Jew in the world lives here too.

We want to build something here. And we have to fight very hard for the opportunity to do so. It's not easy. So all we are asking from you is if you believe in the dream, if you feel yourself part of it, if you want to stay with the fight, then give us courage, hope, give us the shining eye, give us the gleaming timber in the voice of courage and support, and give us the money, the financial means, give us the moral courage and the backing. And just say, O.K., I'm with the dream too. And if five million Jews in America do that, there is no shadow of a doubt in my mind - none - no matter how hard the way will be in the years ahead, no shadow of a doubt but that we can achieve the dream, and that at the far end of a long, stony path, the light glimmers and beckons, and the golden dream of the Temple on the top of the hill comes true.

I said at the beginning I am not handing you propaganda. I am giving you facts. These are facts also. Don't ever forget it. Isaiah was a fact, and Amos was a fact, and every dreamer in our history and religion was a fact, and you by your conduct, if you are honorable, will also create a fact. You will create a State of Israel free, democratic, viable, which will be the support for the people of Israel all over the world, enabling them also to enjoy that freedom and that dignity which every man on earth wants for himself and for his children.

You can have it -- you can have it. Thank you very much.

Dr. Sidney M. Edelstein

Folks, I think it would be stupid on my part to say anything other than, Herb, we thank you.

When do we start tomorrow to do our job? What time do we get up? What time do we leave? 7.30. Folks, this is the beginning. You have had the message, you've heard Herb, Rabbi Herbert Friedman, tell us what we know is our job, and all I can say is, Godspeed, let's go, and goodnight.