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Newspapermen's Mission speeches. October-November 1972.

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UJA
NEWSPAPERMEN'S MISSION
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*File
Speeches*

Herbert A. Friedman

Mel, thank you very much. He didn't tell you that the interview took place on an airplane while we were flying to a meeting, and it stretched over a couple of days, and I told him that the best way for him to find out whether he wanted to work for this organization was to see the way it worked and he didn't expect he wouldn't get home for a couple of days, but that's what happened and when it was over we decided we wanted him and he decided he wanted us, which was more important.

He is still with it and I to a great extent am not. Let me explain for just a second or two. I live in Israel now. We moved over here - wife and children - left some other children from another wife back in the United States, and they are finishing school at various colleges and universities, and they'll be coming here when they're through with that. The new little ones are in the second and third grades and they go to an elementary school in Jerusalem which is integrated, and no bussing necessary, it's all very small country so everybody walks.

I therefore am far away from the firing line of New York and although I was trained and ordained as a rabbi, I guess I am not a very religious man, the only thing I do pray about every day is that I am glad I am not living in New York.

I can't really describe to you what life is like here, except that it's simply magnificent, it's challenging, it has purpose, it has a sense of direction, it has a

sense of unity, it has a sense of cohesiveness, it has a sense of drama in the grand sense, and drama in the small sense. You try to get the coffee made at 4.30 to give to your guests and when the electricity gets interrupted, as it does, and all the small irritations of life interfere as they do, you deal with the minor crises the way you do with the major ones, and you find at the end of every day that life simply seems to have more meaning.

I lived in Colorado, and I lived in Wisconsin and I lived in Berlin, and I've lived in New York and I've lived in Connecticut, so I've four or five places to measure and I really say, and by the way this is not propaganda because none of you is going to come to live here, so I'm just verbalizing a little autobiography that's all. I really want you to know that you see a happy and satisfied man.

So that Mel and Leon are much more on the firing line of what the UJA is doing in the United States and I sit back here and have the pleasure and the joy of talking to you in a calm ruminating reflecting way, with no pressures.

You are tired, you have had a long trip, and it's the first evening and the jet lag will get you whether you know it or not, you'll be up at 2 o'clock in the morning facing like caged lions because your metabolism and your inside clock will be all off and you won't know what to do, so just read something or drink some mineral water and look out - mineral water - just watched out, you are all here willingly and we want you to go home in good health,

just as you've arrived, so don't do anything, don't eat any crazy falafel and don't - leave the local delicacies to the locals. You stick with the stuff that you know. And keep your stomach in good shape. Ben can handle Los Angeles stuff and Tel Aviv food and nothing upsets him - he's an old soldier.

So with your permission what I'd like to do is simply remain seated, not have any big formality. We are all within eye view of each other. Let me try to tell you a few things simply to set a sort of a stage for you. There is no point in my pouring a lot of facts in on you or a lot of heavy analysis, you are going to get that from a lot of people in the days ahead. Let me try to give you a little flavor and a little mood and also a little of what I think is the real purpose for the existence of this country, and it seems to me that if you begin with that fact then everything else will fall into place and you can decide, as you go along for a couple of weeks, whether the country is matching up to the image that I'm projecting of it to you.

You have to think of this place always in terms of size. It's a very small place. You will crawl over every inch of it, except the far Sinai desert. I looked at your itinerary. You are going to be all up and down it. With time to spare. You must think of us in terms of quality not quantity. That's how I recommend you think about Israel, and that's also by the way how I would recommend you think about the Jewish people. This is a people and a state which has no quantity whatsoever. As a people the Jewish people in the whole world is 13 million, and on the face of this globe right now there are swarming $3\frac{1}{2}$ billion people. We are .04000 something. You wouldn't think so when we show up on the front page

all the time and we wish we were on the back page or we wish we were on no page, but if you look at the way that the Jewish people and its problems always seem to project themselves out into the forefront of human consciousness, you would think that this was some vast enormous people, with some enormous territory, with some enormous presence in the world, which everybody is always concerned about, and talking about, and dealing with. But we are .000000 something. Now I'll tell you a secret. By the end of this century when there are more than 6 billion people swarming on this planet, we will still be 13 million people. We have ZPG, zero population growth. And I think that if you can put it in that kind of perspective you will then seem to begin to get something of the peculiar nature of this people. This is a very peculiar people. And this country is a very peculiar country. Peculiar means unique, unique means only one of a kind, and I guess there really is nothing like us. That has its good side and its bad side. It's very hard for the people who don't - who aren't born and brought up and live within this framework to understand this. We are an anomaly.

We are a historic atavism, we are a paradox, we are a pain in the neck sometimes. We are - I can understand very well why a lot of people hate us. I can understand well why a lot of people love us. We produce lots of doctors, and lots of musicians, and lots of mathematicians and lots of rocket experts, and lots of mudniks. Now that's a hebrew word, or Yiddish word which I won't translate for you now, but you find out the meaning of it before two weeks are over. And then you'll see how I'm putting these people in a juxtaposition.

The second thing I want you to think about in terms of this people and this country which is so small, and has no quantity at all, the second thing I'd like you to think about is this matter of quality. We have concentrated on quality all through the centuries of our existence because it was the only way that we could survive in our style of environment. And the quality expressed itself in a few things. It expressed itself in an emphasis of education and knowledge and learning and these are trademarks of the Jewish people. It expressed itself in an enormous concern for social values, and this is why you always find Jews in the forefront of revolutions. They are always looking for change, they are always looking for improvements, they are always on the liberal side - well O.K. change the word always to most of the time, 95% of the time. And it's not an accident, it's because this is part of the value set of people.

They are looking to improve the quality of the world around them because then that will improve the quality of their own lives. And I'll give you one simple example. This is a very poor country, as you all know. There are no raw materials here, that's part of the lack of quantity - we haven't got a quantity of anything. We haven't got a quantity of water, or iron, or coal or anything. We do have a quantity of one thing - rocks - plenty and lots of rocks. This is a poor country. And yet this poor country has a sense of social improvement inside of itself, and so we've got a foreign aid program going on in 22 countries in Africa and Latin America where we send aid, experts and even a little money to people whom we think

- who ask for it and want it, and we think can benefit from it but if we have learned how to cure malaria or typhoid or yellow fever or anything of those nasty mosquito diseases, and we can show something else how to do it, why shouldn't we.

Some people have said that we have an ulterior motive for this, that if we were sending good nice ^{point} peace corps ^{type} people down to all the black countries of Africa, that we were doing it only to get their votes in the United Nations. Well we sure get a lot of those don't we?

Never mind, Mr. President of Uganda can go off the deep end and do what he does, it doesn't bother us. We think we are on the right track and if we can send nurses, and farmers who can clean out the bush and young army officers who can train people in setting up a kibbutz anything, anything, we got carp ponds in Haiti, do you think anybody likes a dictator, nobody likes a dictator, but what's that got to do with it. The people are poor. They have nothing to eat. If they come to ask us how to grow fish, because fish is a high protein cheap food and the people in Haiti can have a few more calories a day - fine, that's our responsibility.

It's a very high sense of moral responsibility. It's also kind of comical to think of all those people in Haiti eating gefilte fish. But, you know, that's it. That's the way of the world. So I don't want to lay it on too thick or anything, that's not the point. I am just saying that we are driven from the days of the Bible and the Prophets and the whole social imperative, which has propelled us all the time. We are driven by this

compulsion to try to improve the world and help raise the standards of living for everybody and anybody. I was in Leopoldville in the Congo once a few years ago and a great big black cop stopped the car, leaned in the window and said, just what you said: "Shalom!" and you know - a double take. And he said he had gotten his police training up here in Israel and 120 or whatever it is, of the Metropolitan Police Force of Leopoldville in the Congo, now Kinshassa, were trained up here. They keep the traffic going on the main street of town. They have to ^{go somewhere to} learn to be policemen ~~some place~~. *Why not Israel?*

It's all part of the concept of the Jewish people and the purpose and the feeling of the Jewish State. To help create a world of quality and make the world a little better place to live in.

Now, there is another reason for the existence of this country. And it stems from the bad times. We have gone through four thousand years of history, that's Abraham. Abraham was 2,000 B.C. the time of the Hamarabi, dated by tablets written in ~~hyxaglyphyan~~ cuneiform ~~which~~ ~~letters~~. So it's not guesswork. Four thousand years, and in the four thousand years, we've been through a lot - Romans and Babylonians and Assyrians and - but when we talk about the bad time, that was only 25 years ago and everybody in this room was alive. And nobody in this room did anything about it. And everybody in this room is going to go to his own personal grave with a bad conscience - or should.

I am not pointing a finger at 15 people in this room. There are three billion people on the face of this earth.

They didn't do anything either. How is it humanly possible when you and I are civilized people, how is it humanly possible for you and I to go every single day eating our breakfast, or eating our lunch, and going along with our daily affairs, and not bothering to try to do anything about the fact that some place on this earth people were being pushed into ovens and burnt up. And it went on and on and on, and it wasn't one crazy thing like Munich, a couple of hours, some lunatics shoot and kill and it's all over. This went on day and day after day after month after month after year after year and it took a long long time to kill six million people and dispose of all that fat. It takes a long time. And he was able to do it only because the whole world turned it's back.

Now there is nothing comparable to it in all of human recorded history, not Ghengis Khan and not the Mongolians, and no place, nobody, nowhere, no era, no epoch, no religion, no nationality, no continent, nothing. And we hope and pray to God that never again, in another 20 million years of recorded history will anything like that ever be able to happen again. But, you got to realize that it affected us. You just must realize that.

Now it affected us to this point: that this State, this ~~is~~ independent sovereign state represents a very precious instrument - it's a tool and that's how I want you to think about this small place. This small place is a tool in the hands of the Jewish people by which it can do something to rescue other Jews who are in difficulties or have problems or are dissatisfied, or are unsafe or unhappy, or whatever they are, anywhere in the world, and this time there is a solution for their problem, as there was not only 25 years ago.

The real meaning, the deep metaphysical underlying, psychological historical meaning of the State of Israel, is that it is a weapon in the hands of the Jewish people by which we shall see to it that if there are Jews who get into trouble somewhere, they will not have to wind up anywhere on a boat wandering the oceans of this earth looking for a place in which they can put their heads down to rest.

And I use the image of the boat because of those horrible years of 1938 to 1939 when boats were plying the oceans of the world and couldn't set down anywhere, and all wound up back in Hamburg Germany, and all those people went back into the camps, into the ovens. And for a boat to stand off of Norfolk Virginia, or Charlestown, somebody here - or that's close - for a boat to stand off Norfolk and not be allowed to come in to port with one thousand people on board, because Cordell ^{Hull} ~~Hole~~ (phon) said no, one man, the Secretary of State, to have the power in his hands to doom a thousand people to death, that is as bad as Hitler.

No need to pick him out - what did Churchill do, what did Stalin do, what did the Pope do, what did anybody do - nobody did anything.

That's historical period which is bad and we hope it's behind us, and now what we do is - I'll use an example of something that's all over and done with - when I first went to Morocco, ever 20 years ago I found four hundred thousand Jews there living in a country predominantly Moselm, living in caves down in the Sahara Desert, in the belt of the Atlas Mountains, among the

Berbers, living in ghettos in the cities which were horrible, living without protection of citizenship or status of any sort. They were called in arabic ~~vins~~ ^{dhimmi} which means ghosts. Which means non-persons.

S.K. 20 years have gone by. Today if you go to Morocco, I think you can find may be 20 or 25 thousand Jews therre, 375 thousand of them are here. The State is a tool by which their lives have been saved and rehabilitated and resuscitated and rebuilt. Had this state not been in existence they would have continued to have lived in Morocco, and perhaps they would have had riots against them as there were in Lybia and Tripoli, and perhaps not, but with riots or without riots, it makes very little difference. They would have been doomed to a life of second-class slavery and gradual extinction, both physical and spiritual.

Now, what's happened is that the State of Israel serving in that role now during the 25 years of its existence, because you are now on the eve of the 25th Anniversary, the celebrations are all beginning now, in the 25 years of the existence of this country, almost one and one half million Jews, have been taken in from all over Morocco and Rumania and Poland and Algeria and Tunisia and the Yemen, and you know, I don't have to give you the whole list. A million and a half people.

Our lives today might not have otherwise been. Might not. And there again you get the real reason, if anybody says to you why are the Jews so insistent, why were they so insistent on having that country, why are they so proudly

building it and developing it. Why are they willing to fight so damn hard to protect it. Why are they willing to take such unbelievably high taxes. Why are they willing to take such a high rate of casualty every time ^{fire} it reopens again. Why are they willing to endure all this? Well, I can tell you very simply that the average guy on the street here doesn't care about having a state for the trappings and the paraphernalia that the president can ride down the street in ^{a big} ~~his~~ Lincoln with the flag whipping off the fender. They couldn't care less.

You don't build a state for external trappings, you build it for deep deep purpose, and it's the purpose of this country which makes it so utterly unique. And I think that you'll catch the flavor of that. Because you are intelligent people & for whom words is your tool, what you will do is, you will find the words to make comparisons, and you'll start to say, why can't we in the United States have the sense of purpose which exists in Israel? That's the one thing that you are going to find. It's going to stick out every day at you. You'll talk about America being drifting, and alienated and ~~generation~~ generation gaps and fights between youth and elders and the nation losing a sense of destiny and the nation losing the sense of direction, and the nation doesn't know what it wants, why is it that America, the greatest nation on the face of this earth doesn't seem to have a sense of direction, and Israel, one of the tiniest nations on the face of this earth, does seem to have? It's a very very challenging question to put to yourselves. And it's one to watch during the weeks that you are here. Think about it. A lovely article or editorial can come out of that one. At any rate I think you will be thrilled with the sense of purpose that you'll find existing here. It will seem, if

anybody knows Turner's books and the old books about the frontier in America, it would seem as though Israel today is like America ~~in~~ 125 years ago!

Let me just throw that thought into your head, and you just measure it and see if it's valid as the days go by.

O.K. small country, small people, quality, because we haven't got quantity, never will have it. Concentrating therefore on trying to build a model society here, and trying to help improve society in the world outside of it at large, wherever we can. Concentrating on retaining the purpose, the sense of purpose, so that this state will always have a feeling of direction, born in blood, which by the way is a very natural thing. Every person in this room was born in blood, it's the only way to get born. There isn't any other way. And the question is: out of that blood and that pain and that agony, is something going to come and grow? Or is ^{it} going to abort?

Well, 25 years have gone by and I think we can see that something has grown here, something has grown. We have lots and lots of problems. We have a terrible poverty problem. Ten percent of the people in our country, I call poverty-stricken. And you can say, well my God, that's great you've got 90% of the people living above the poverty line, and you've got only 10% living below, that's tremendous progress, compared to lots of countries in the world, China, India, many countries in Latin America. On the other hand the ten percent grieves us. And we work hard and strenuously to try to improve the conditions of those people. It's 50 or 60,000 families. About a quarter

of a million people. 60,000 families times four people, is 250,000 persons. 250,000 persons is about 10% of our population. It's these 60,000 ^{families} persons who are living in conditions of social under-privilege, bad housing, bad jobs, bad income, not enough schooling, all-the multi problem family ^{with} which everybody in any city is familiar and the whole problem of social welfare with billions and billions of dollars in America being spent on it. We have a tiny tiny, almost non-existent ~~as~~ social welfare problem in this country. ~~Program in this country.~~ We don't think that social welfare is the remedy. We think that helping the family lift itself up by its bootstraps is the remedy. Help teach the father a profession. If the father is illiterate, make him learn to read, and write, in some language, so that he can get a better job, a better job means 50 pounds a month more, or a 100 pounds a month more, you know, I love all these very complex definitions of what to do about poverty. You know what to do about poverty, get the guy another 100 pounds a month more. It's so simple. If four hundred pounds a month is poor because you can't eat on it, 500 pounds a month, or 600 pounds a month - you are not poor any more. You can eat, you can buy shoes for your kid. So I love the way everybody in the world spends so much brainpower trying to figure out how to solve the problem of the poor. There is one very simple way, put more money in their hands. Now, give it to them, or teach them how to earn it. Teach them how to learn it, and you do that the hard way for a whole generation, but once it's done, you've licked it, you've licked it for good and we want to lick it for good. And so we are going to work hard at it. And I hope you see something of it. I hope you get involved in these human problems.

The last thing I want to say before opening up for questions is a word or two about our war. Anybody remember reading a book by Josephus called "The Wars of the Jews" way back in the Roman days. O.K. My own personal interpretation of what we are going through now is the wars of the Jews. Today.

Mel referred to the fact that I took this job before the campaign in Sinai in 1956. People have a tendency to think of the war of 1948, which was the war of independence, that was the war that created this country. Then the war of 1956, then the war of 1967 then the war of attrition of 1970, and now the war of terrorism of 1973. I would like to make a suggestion. You must think of this in terms of "the war" of the Jews which is a historical fancy poetic & title, more prosaic - the war to create and achieve the independent existence of this country. It's a war which has taken three definitions. Mr. Ben-Gurion says this war is now going on for 101 years. That the war started in 1871. You are going to see him tomorrow, ask him. Ask him if he thinks that the war for the creation of this country started in 1871. He will jump. Because you will give him a diving board from which to spring off into a very delicious theory of his about the history of this country, and if anybody is challenging enough to ask that question, he'll kiss you, and but then I will warn you about one thing - somebody got's to put a brake on it because it could go on zooming and you'll never get out of there because he just - he is one of the authentic genius figures of the 20th century. Authentic. Genius. And ^{you} he may get dismissed in 20 minutes, or you could be there for four hours. It just depends on how it goes. And if you go off on this thing he is liable to start giving you a history lesson.

The first agricultural farm was started in this country in 1871. The people who came here then knew that the way you had to come to a country was not to make speeches, but to take your shirt off, get sweat on your face, break the rocks, get the malaria, get the diarrhea, die, get the next generation ^{to} pick up the shovel, and may be after a while you could begin to get some good orange trees.

So the first thing that was set in this country was an agricultural school. Nobody ever thinks about Jews as farmers, and they weren't until 100 years ago. But since then they have become very good farmers. Also soldiers - same thing. The image of the Jew was not a soldier. Everybody forgets King David was a warrior king, and so were the Maccabees.

However, in the present day we think Jew ^{means} not soldier, not farmer, ^{but} city man, storekeeper, peddler. It's not so. And the metamorphosis didn't take place yesterday. The metamorphosis began a 100 years ago. Silently. The world was unaware of it. But when that agricultural school was founded by a French Jew in 1871 the Arabs started to shoot and so Ben Gurion says ~~they~~ ^{we} knew then that we were coming in to try to build the country back here in this ancestral homeland, and they started to resist it then. The war started then. Somebody else says, Nah, come on, that's too fanciful, that's going back too far. The war didn't start in 1871. The war really started in 1921 because that's when the British gave their approval and they wrote that declaration - the Balfour Declaration - and they said a beautiful thing - great English classical formulation - one sentence: "His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine, it

being certain that nothing shall be done to jeopardize the rights of people already living there, or Jews living in the world outside." I think it's 92 words. It's one sentence. This was written to Lord Rothschild from Lord Balfour and the Arabs said, oh boy now this looks as though the Jews are coming in here in some kind of quantity, we'd better really get started fighting. So some people think the war started in '21. And when they rioted and they murdered and Hebron - I don't know if you are going to Hebron, but it's a beautiful city. There is a big cave there where Abraham and Isaac and Jacob were all buried, and on the very same spot there is an Arab mosque on top of it, so you know you got this hell of a problem of when do the Jews go there to pray, and when do the Moslems go there to pray and you have to give the two of them rights. By the way if you think that's bad wait till you get to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, in Jerusalem, the place - the most holy place in Christianity, and you got seven or eight Christian sects fighting, and each of them has got the key to the place, as to when the other one is allowed in. Any time anybody get's a good location somebody else wants it. How about that. We had that cave going in Hebron and they came and put the Mosque on it. Well, O.K. But in that City of Hebron, which is so beautiful, in 1921 the Arabs came in - whoosh, boom, slaughtered every single Jew in town. So some people think the war started then. And some people say, oh come on, you can't say that the Arabs' war against the Jews started till you had a Jewish State. So the war didn't really start until 1948. Well look, Ladies and Gentlemen, I think it makes little difference which date you want to choose, and when you want to say the war started- it makes no difference. The real thing that makes a difference is when we got in. That's the real issue.

I would like to give you again what is my own personal reading of history, and with this I am finished, and we can have questions. My own personal reading is that we are - we've got a long long time ahead of us before we will see the end of this war. I view this whole thing as a war in phases, and in varying methodology. You had a guerilla warfare, you had formal warfare, with Arab armies, after the defeat of those armies you had warfare with a huge ally, the Russians, which was called the war of attrition and we took as many casualties in the war of attrition in 1969/70 before the ceasefire, as we did in the Six Day War in 1967. I don't know if anybody realizes that or not, and now it's moved from the war of attrition which failed, as every phase of the war has failed, the guerilla warfare failed, the formal warfare failed, the attrition warfare failed this war of terrorism ~~will~~ fail. It will take its casualties - I mean anybody can mail a letter from any place in the world, and if you ~~mail~~ mail enough of them something's going to get through. And somebody's going to get killed. And whether it's the shot that took place at the Embassy in the Hague yesterday, or tomorrow some - you know - the Israeli Bowling Team will wind up in Hong Kong and somebody will get shot, I mean it's absolutely ~~in~~ inevitable. Just as the hijacking war goes on and on and on until serious efforts are agreed upon by governments to stop it, which hasn't taken place yet.

So you have to anticipate and we do, and keep your cool about it, and after the war of terrorism is over, as sure as you and I are sitting here, another phase will open up because the human mind is ingenious; until they are willing to make peace they are going to make war.

And they are going to make war in whatever form they can concoct it. It's logical, it's natural, we expect it.

There are thousands of Israeli diplomatic personnel around the world, ^{Gen. Abilek} like ~~Roehans(?)~~ who lives in Los Angeles, he is a target. His children are targets. Can you put a Secret Serviceman in - an Israeli Secret Serviceman in every foreign country to protect every diplomat, and his wife and his children? No way.

So, all the men and their wives and their children are targets. And you got a certain number of targets, you are going to have a certain number of casualties. Now, peace will come when only one thing takes place, there is only one pre-condition to peace, only one. Not what piece of territory will we give back - it's all nonsense, we know what we'll give back. They know what we are going to give back. Everybody knows. That's not the obstacle in the way of peace. Nothing is in the way of peace, not territory, not money, not national prestige, nothing except one thing. The pre-requisite to peace is a willingness on the part of the Arab world to acknowledge the existence of the State of Israel and without loving it, maybe even without recognizing it, maybe not even having any relations ^{with} it, if they want to carry it that far, but nevertheless acknowledge its existence and stop trying to eliminate it.

When that occurs you will have peace. We feel, rightly or wrongly, that we have today a de facto situation of peace with Jordan. He doesn't recognize us, we don't have an exchange of ambassadors, he doesn't love us, we don't love him, but you want to know something - there is no

shooting on the border. The Arab farmers who live on the West Bank go across the bridge to the East Bank, they sell their produce to the East Bank and they come back in their trucks the same day, and they drive between Nablus and Amman and back and forth, that's peace. If you can go from San Antonio Texas across the border into Mexico and nobody shoots you, you don't shoot anybody else, I don't give a damn whether Mexico recognizes us or doesn't or we have ambassadors, or we don't, there's not shooting, it's peace.

AMERICAN JEWISH

When they reach that point which is the point ^{YOUR} in/head - a psychological point - then this area will have peace. Conversely so long as the other condition exists where they believe that they will not negotiate with us, they will not talk to us, they will not acknowledge us, they will not agree that we are here to stay. They harbour the thought in their heads that somehow they may by some magic be able to eliminate us, and remove us and sort of block us off the map. Somehow.

Well the perpetuation of that illusion is dangerous. And until that illusion disappears and I think by the way it's going to be a long time, will it be another 25 years, I think so. They carry very much in the forefront of their minds, you know, the analogy of the crusades. You think of the history of the Crusades. The Christians came here from Europe in the 10th Century. All the kings, Richard the Lionheart, and all of them - Austria, Germany, Prussia, France, they were all here. Eight crusades, all the popes, the power of Europe. The Moslems said very simply, we'll get rid of those guys. Take a little time, we'll get rid of

them. And it only took 200 years, it only took 200 years and the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem disappeared. And the great Moslem conqueror, Salhadin won his battles and Palestine was "Christian ^{again} ~~land~~ (?). What's the hurry? Well my god it only took 200 years to get rid of the Crusaders. We've only been after the Jews here 25 years. What's the hurry. What's the rush? What do we have to make peace for? No rush. They'll take heavy casualties, they'll get tired, we'll crack them on the military field - if we can't do that we'll crack them on the political field, we'll give them hell in the United Nations, we'll condemn them, we'll - or if we can't do that we'll crack them on the economic field. They can't hold out for ever. They can't hold out for ever, they'll go bankrupt. So long as that thought prevails in their heads, there's no inclination to make peace. The inclination to make peace will come when you close all other options to them. When the Arabs have no other options except peace, they'll make peace. And I think that's the only way to look at it. That's the realistic way.

They are very nice people. And once they make peace they will be very good neighbours. This is not for publication. I was in Amman Jordan three weeks ago, on a fascinating trip, I was in an Arab country on the night of the Munich murder. It was four weeks ago and a hell of a place to be that night. It was not very comfortable sitting in the lobby of the Philadelphia Hotel in Amman, with a couple of hundred Arabs in a room. And they knew who I was. Well I'll tell you something. I saw that King get on that television in Arabic, which I didn't understand, then in English, and talk about the sick minds of the murderers in Munich, and he gave the

and when that broadcast was over they were crying. And then one by one seven or eight of them came over to me to say: "You know we got rid of our terrorists, and you helped us." They did. You know the whole story of the civil war in Jordan in 1970. They pushed the terrorists out and they knew we were helping them. Lebanon has to do the same. Lebanon is going to take punishment and Lebanon is going to have many such raids as has happened before, until she gets rid of the terrorists off of her soil. And then they'll go on to Syria and then this thing will move into Syria and in half a year from now, and then Syria will have to take the punishment till she gets rid of the terrorists off of her soil, and pretty soon when the terrorists have no place to go any more and nobody will give them a refuge, there won't be any more terrorists.

There aren't any in Jordan any more. We got a long long hard road on our hands, but we can win it. With careful understanding and cooperation. And with an understanding that this is not a quick or easy thing. And this is where we have to talk to our own people, and I think this is the way responsible newspapermen around the world have to look at it. Peace is going to come because there is no other option in this world, believe me. Detente between America and Russia and America and China and East Germany and West Germany and the world, and Hanoi will come to an end soon also, and the world doesn't take kindly any more to large fights that lead to wars. No. And this war has to come to an end too. And will.

I am describing to you simply the process by which it will. The process will be long and difficult, and I

think that you are participating in something of enormous historic importance, and I think you will get a kick out of it and I think this will be fun and I think that for the next 20 years you will be able to understand the events which you - which will appear in your own newspaper, which you will be writing about much better because of the visit that you are making here this time. It's also, in spite of the terrorism, a period of relative quiet and I hope it remains that way and that will make your trip even more enjoyable.

Well I kept saying that was the last thing and that really was the last thing. I just wanted to talk about war and terrorism and peace. And now, I would like to thank you for having come. I mean that. It's not perfunctory. I really would like to thank you for having come. I am sure that there are many members of your families who said to you don't go there. I am sure there are people who said: what do you want to put your neck in the noose for? Or not wanting to sound that extreme people said - would say - well why don't you delay the trip. Go some time in the future. You came at as good a time as any. It won't be any different. So, in the face of possible personal anxiety, you will be very safe, and we hope quite happy and comfortable here, and we are very happy that you have come.

Between Leon and Ben, they'll take very very good care of you. I'll answer whatever questions you have now, but they will keep answering your questions for the next two weeks ahead.

I am sure that it will be a great experience and I just hope that you find time to have some fun because it just

shouldn't be all work and no play. That however is up to you. The only way to do it is to escape from prison, escape from prison. But since your jailers are terribly effective, you'd better find very very good excuses, that's all.

Does anybody have any questions.

Questions

If you run the terrorists out of the adjacent territories, what about Egypt and ~~Syria~~ Libya.

Mr. Friedman

Egypt won't give them much of a foothold, it never has. Libya gets further and further away. You see there's a geographical factor involved.

Question

You would not be particularly concerned if you could drive the terrorists to Libya.

Mr. Friedman

There are 23 chapters of the El Fatah organization in Germany. 23 chapters of them, names and addresses and they are known to the police. So you know, let them function in Germany and we just have to be careful every time we go to Germany.

Question

It doesn't make any difference where the terrorism is based and unless you can think of something more than running them out of Syria and so forth, can you really accomplish your goal?

Mr. Friedman

Yes. Because there are two phases of it. You can't destroy them, so wherever they are they will try to

hurt you and all you can do is protect yourself against them. That's one phase of it. The other phase is not to have them on your immediate border, so that you must always be in conflict with your immediate neighbours. We don't want a conflict with Lebanon. Lebanon stayed out of most of the war over most of the quarter of a century. When we had to go to make a raid into Lebanon to destroy guerilla bases we have to be careful as hell about Lebanese civilians. It's a very complex operation. We take casualties. We take casualties, because we worry about Lebanese civilians, we'd rather not invade Lebanon. We'd rather not go near Syria. We'd rather not cross the Jordanian Border. Now if they are functioning in Germany or in Japan, in the Red Army, or in Chile, if the Communist president of Chile wants to give them refuge, O.K. We are going to have to endure them. They are not going to go out of business, out of existence. And we'll have to endure them and fight against them and defend against them as well as we know how. But if we don't have them right around our borders, then our relations with our neighboring states can get better.

That's what we are interested in.

Question

(inaudible)

Mr. Friedman

No, you are about 20 years behind the times. I don't mean to be sarcastic. It's not - it's no longer so. That's an old cliché that terrorism is bred out of the frustration of the refugee camp people who feel that they were badly done by in 1948 and now they are trying to get back their country through these means.

The Red Army, the three Japanese boys who shot at our airport didn't come out of any refugee Palestine camp. The Bedermeinhof gang in Germany that the Arab kids are in contact with are not out of any Palestine refugee camp. No.

The Palestine Refugee question of the 1943 war is for all intents and purposes solved by the passage of time and events. If you go down to the Allenby Bridge on the West Bank, near Jericho, which was in Arab hands up to 5 years ago, there are large refugee camps. You can see them now. They are all empty. Buildings, the tin huts, the stucco shacks, the pueblos, are empty. There is nobody living in a refugee camp any more. Almost anywhere in the world, except maybe a few up in Syria. In Amman the other when I went there, the two big refugee camps outside - between Amman and Jerash, North, they had the stupidity by the way to put the huge television satellite receiver the thing that costs tens and tens of millions to build, right in front of the squat huts of the refugee camps, the silliest thing I never saw in my life - it didn't make much difference though because almost nobody's living in the buildings. The people are all working. The refugee problem except for Gaza, was solved as the passage of time went on and people went out of these camps and went to work in the normal civilian environment. They harbored in their hearts hatred of Israel, hatred of the Jews. Their leaders kept saying to them we'll get the country back for you. You'll be able to go back to the piece of land that you once had near Haifa. All that's false, and fake and people don't believe it after a while. Because life has its own dynamic, you have children and you want to send them to school, and you got to build a school, and you got to go to work to do it,

and that's what happens. Gaza is the only place where bitterness remained, because the people there were kept in camps by Egypt. We have had Gaza now for five years. What we've done there is broken up about half the camps and we'll break up more.

And when you open up a port and you plant more trees for oranges and you open up a fishing industry and you open up a plastics factory - these are real things that are happening down in the Gaza Strip. People begin to go to work, people don't have that image of - I'm a refugee and I'm going to have to go back to my own home again.

inaudible discussion.

No, the Arab states never did grant them citizenship and as far as Israel is now concerned, they are not citizens of Israel. We have a very very deep internal argument in this country - some people think we should offer it to them - some people think we shouldn't, but I think the prevailing policy, decision is - it would be presumptuous of us to offer it to them until the territory decision is finished. De facto in the West Bank you have 630,000 Arabs who are living with an open border to go to Jordan, with an open border to come to Israel. De facto, 40,000 to 50,000 men - men - per day come into Israel and go to work here and they are earning Israeli standards and taking the money back there and buying television sets with it and thank God for it. De facto, the whole condition of the Arabs in the West Bank today compared to what it was five years ago is infinitely better. You're going to get the whole story from General Gazit who's on your schedule and he's the number one military administrator of the territories.

So we haven't offered them citizenship, no. But without the privilege of voting in any Israeli elections, they are living in an Israeli society with all of the advantages and disadvantages thereof. The refugee problem is something which is - it's many years since I've even heard the word used.

The motivation of the terrorists is to continue the war against Israel. The President of Libya, for instance, said just a week ago, Kadaffi - I don't know why in the Arab world we are not encouraging the terrorists more and more - they are the only ones fighting against Israel to destroy her. Nobody else is fighting against Israel. What the hell's the matter with all you guys? And that's the way he talks. He's 29 years old and he's a violent extremist and he just applauds the terrorists because they are fighting for war which he wishes he could fight. They consider it part of a war.

Ben - If I may add, whenever there is a wave of terrorism, it comes, and you will note it when you think back, it comes at a time when there are favourable developments towards peace. When it begins to look like it is a better atmosphere towards peace, when the Russians left Egypt, when the process, this experience in co-existence goes on with Jordan, the terrorists come up to ~~the~~ disrupt it, because peace under these conditions is not the end result that they wish. Their end result is the elimination of the State of Israel and the establishment of an Arab Palestine. If peace will be done today under the existing conditions, this will not be the result. There will be an existing Israel with some accommodation with the Arabs. They must disturb it.

This is their purpose.

~~Next~~ Inaudible question

Herb Friedman

Well, the underline is under the word permanent. Let me put it this way - any settlement which has been built ~~in~~ across the green line - let's use that technical phrase - are you all familiar with it. The green line is a word which is used to describe the border of Israel prior to the 1967 war. It's not the border of Israel. Israel has no borders. There are no legal borders to this country. There are some armistice lines and there are some U.N. negotiated lines and there are some cease-fire lines. There isn't a border. This country's never had a border drawn for it. And that's why I keep saying the war keeps going on - you have got to get a border drawn sooner or later.

Okay, so we use the green line. Now across the green line we have put down since the Six Day War 49 new settlements - 49. You said - is it presumptuous to put down permanent settlements. It doesn't make much difference whether they're permanent or temporary. If they are across the green line and if in the course of a peace settlement a particular ~~an~~ piece of territory is going to be given back, and there are two settlements or six settlements or eight settlements on that piece of territory, they are going to be given back too. Or destroyed or wiped out or lost - I mean, the investment's gone. So what. The point is that you cannot and you should not stop living. We're in the sixth year since the Six Day War. If for these six years no

- nothing had happened beyond the green line - the condition of the Arabs would have been worse if we had touched them - our own condition would have been worse - life's own momentum goes on. Let's take the most obvious case - it's perfectly clear that if we ever get to any settlement, we will withdraw from part of the Sinai desert - which part, where, where the line will be drawn isn't important - the principle is that part of the Sinai desert or all of it or most of it is going to go back to Egypt. We've got a hell of a lot of stuff that we've invested in that Sinai desert in these six years. Water pipelines crossing the desert, oil pipelines crossing the desert - all kinds of things.

Okay, fine that's all. If a political settlement - correct, propitious, legitimate and sincere political settlement is reached and part of it required that this Y territory go back and there is on this X territory 11 million dollars worth of investment that we've put in there - in settlements to give people work - we'll either lose it or we'll get some of it back or we'll negotiate it or we'll make it part of the total package deal of final ultimate settlement or we'll take a licking on it.

Inaudible discussion

Look, you don't want any - I'm not being coy or cute - but you don't want me to draw the map here of the peace settlement. There aren't going to be any scoops on this trip of what the ultimate peace map is going to look like. What I meant simply is that there have been enough discussions in the public press and Eban has made enough statements and Meir has made enough statements - well,

almost everybody has, as to whether he thinks - is the Gaza Strip negotiable - sure it's negotiable - somebody else says it isn't. Is Jerusalem negotiable - everybody says no. So I take these two examples from which you can get a general feeling. Sinai, Gaza - yes negotiable, no negotiable - well you know inside the ~~gays~~ Cabinet the guys who say yes will argue with the guys who say no and they'll come to an agreement and one will try to persuade the other and always in the process of negotiation you can see that okay this item will go, or part of it will go - but when you hear everybody say Jerusalem is not negotiable, then you know damn well that no matter what the final settlement is going to be, Jerusalem is not going to become a divided city once again.

This is what I meant by saying the general terms are clear - Jerusalem isn't negotiable. You are not going to allow back up there on the Golan Heights Syrian Arab artillery to shoot down on the kibbutzim in the valley. Will we keep the whole Golan Heights or will we keep just part of it to protect it from having guns brought to the crown - who knows - but the principle that you're not going to let the Golan again become a gun platform - that's a clear principle.

The West Bank - who knows. We say all kinds of things about the West Bank. You Arabs want to form your own country there - some people in Israel think the Arabs in the West Bank ought to be given a chance to form their own country - you want to call it Palestine, call it Palestine - we've given up that name. We use Israel. You want to use Palestine, okay. Other people say that's silly. Why don't we just say no. They can't

have their own country on this side of the Jordan. They have got to go and join Trans-Jordan. Well, they say they don't want to. So you know, as time goes on you don't have a two-way hassle here, you got a three-way hassle beginning to develop where the Arabs in the territories themselves have got a point of view as to what they want to do. If you want my completely unofficial guess in the matter - the Arabs on the West Bank are going to lobby like hell to get linked to Israel, because that's what they're going to prefer. We're going to have a problem - and this is really just my own opinion.

AMERICAN JEWISH

We are going to have a problem - not what to do with any settlements that we put on the West Bank up and down the Jordan River - we're going to have a problem of do we want to take the whole thing and bring them in and have that much more land and that many more Arab citizens of Israel - because I think they're going to ask to be annexed.

Question - You talked about Israel as a Jewish state - do you also think it could be a bi-national state which would be the effect of incorporating the Palestinians of the West Bank Arabs into it?

No, I think we're passed the point historically speaking - historically speaking I think we've passed the point of a bi-national state. That idea was mooted 50 years ago. And that was the beginning of the discussion between Felix Frankfurter and King Feisel and there's even correspondence on it. But as in all things in life, history has a way of moving past a certain point in time and I think - I would

say that that's no longer a practical possibility.

Question - Then what does Israel have to offer the Arabs then?

The Arabs in the West Bank - We think we have little to offer them. We really do. It's like two wrestlers are in the ring and one guy would like to break from the other guy, but finds he can't. They are a kind of have us in a bearhug. Very interesting. They like the rise in the standard of living which they are enjoying. They like the improved health and education conditions for their children which they are enjoying - we like that too, that's great. There are no acts of terrorism that emanate out of the West Bank.

Question - inaudible

The Palestinian is going to be our red man - yes, absolutely. Now the only difference is we will not put him on a reservation. We haven't put him anywhere, that's where he was. We haven't put him anywhere - we've taken nothing away from him - nor given him anything - we've neither added nor subtracted - not his venue. The only thing we've done is improved his conditions of living. That's all we've done.

Inaudible question - Can he move any way he wants? Sure. He does. We've got a thing here - I hope you go down to a bridge. You have to go to a bridge and you have to see the way there's two-way traffic across that bridge. An Arab who lives in the city of Nablus or Jenin, any city, can get on a bus, go to the bridge, go across, change to an Arab bus,

go to the city of Amman - there's a large airport there. He can get on an airplane. He can go to Kuwait. He can go to work in the oilfields in Kuwait. He can make a fantastic salary. He can come back after a year with a bundle. He can then take his two sons and take them out of the little village, ~~xxxx~~ a little village in the West Bank, take them across the bridge, put them on an airplane, send them to Cairo - he's got the money to send them to the University of Cairo or to the University of Grenoble or the University of Geneva or to U.C.L.A. and he does that and he can come back home. He goes in and out, back and forth, to an Arab technically enemy country completely free.

He can then come from his village of Jenin into Israel. He can go to Aman - he can put 250 grams of plastic explosive in his pocket, come back across the bridge, take a bus from Jenin down to Tel Aviv, take the plastic, wrap it up in an envelope, throw it into the men's room, get on a bus and go to the nearest movie theatre, the damn thing blows in the men's room and he's free to go back and forth and you have got to catch him. He has total and complete freedom to move inside Israel and to move inside the Arab world and back and forth between both and some people think we are absolutely crazy to have a policy which is that permissive.

And you know whose ~~xxx~~ policy that is - the superhawk Dayan and Dayan says we're not crazy at all. This is the only human way to handle this problem. And I think as time goes on, he's going to be proven to be right and right, more and more right. And ultimately what's going to happen is that in the absence of any formal

DECISION life is going to make its own decisions. And it's beginning to. The people on the West Bank have now come to our Minister of Education for permission to form a university in the West Bank. What ~~does~~^{do} they have to come to us for permission for - they can form a university if they want. They came to us for a very simple reason - you know perfectly well - after they get the university organized, they are going to come in with the first annual budget and we're going to pay for this university.

Inaudible discussion

Well I switch now from becoming the political and military expert and I'll take Mr. Sapir's job. Really I'm not an expert on anything except I just know this country down to my fingertips and please put these questions to the people in every field whom you're going to have a chance to ask technically. I would only respond by saying this. For a long time now, I think probably from the period of the French Revolution which would be 150 - 200 or so years, when the Jews have been emancipated and have come out into the Western world, they have worked with a very very small child per family ratio. Coming out into the western world I think they wanted the benefits of life unburdened by 8, 10, 12 children and so what's happened in Jewish families is that you've got one, two, three - my mother was one of 18 children born of the same mother and father. She had three. So you see how one generation generation snaps the whole thing.

The Jewish family unit is 3.6 persons - I never saw a ^{six-teenths of} ~~sixth~~ of a human being, but that's a statistic - 3.6 - well,

that's small. Deaths equal births. This means zero population growth. Now for the first time we are noticing something in Israel - the statistics of the last few years have indicated a plus factor of approximately 40,000 plus births over deaths in a population of 2½ million. So what's 40,000. We are not growing - neither arithmetically nor geometrically as most of the populations of the world are. And as we are not here in Israel, so we are not in the Soviet Union which has a good chunk of the Jews of the world or the United States. The United States has had 5½ million Jews as a steady solid figure now for the last 30 years. What's happened to the whole population of America in 30 years - 30 years ago America had 150 people. Today America has got 230 million people.

The Jews then were 5½ - the Jews today are 5½ - the Jews 30 years from now are going to be 5½ when the population of America will be I don't know what 400 - 350, whatever it is.

Now you said what's going to happen here in Israel. There will be a growth of population here in Israel that will come as a result of immigration. You see, if you asked me for a prediction I would say that Israel 25 years from now, at the end of the century, will be a country of 6 million. And you say - well, my God, you're not going to grow that much by the growth of your own internal population. If we were to grow at the rate of 40,000 a year for 25 years, that's only a million and I'm projecting more than three million increase. No, it comes from immigration from the outside. And it's too late to go into this and I won't be tempted, but there's the

Soviet Union from which Jews are going to continue to batter their way out, come hell or high water you can mark that one down. I mean once that tap's been turned on, once those Jews there smell that they could get out, they are going to continue to fight their way out. And you can believe we're going to help them.

Then there's the uncertain condition in Latin America. Then there are a variety of other countries, Muslim countries, Iran, Rumania - you don't want me to give you a long list - something like a half to three-quarters of a million total in a whole group of other countries who will be immigrating here over the course of the next quarter of a century. And you notice that I'm not saying anything about countries of peace and affluence such as England, Canada, the United States, if some immigration comes from those countries, and we want it and we hope it will, we expect it, it won't come in numbers of hundreds of thousands, but it'll be a steady constant stream that will come - that adds up too. So we project a population growth internally in Israel, although not a total growth of Jews the number of Jews in the world. So all that will be happening is a redistribution of the Jewish population in the world - a redistribution. A population of six million here will then also lead to a growth in the GNP and a growth in everything and I wouldn't want to predict where we'll be a quarter of a century from now, because that's a huge length of time, huge. Men will be on Mars and who knows what can happen in a small country like this.

Question - Israel has been an expansionist nation to some degree, and doesn't that expansionism cause your neighbours to worry?

I said before that we have no borders. I wish to hell we had so that we could settle once and for all do we expand across our borders. We are like an amoeba - we have moved like this - it's flowed and contracted - if you look at the map that was drawn in 1947 by the United Nations - we flowed over part of that into territory that somebody thought we shouldn't have - we pulled back from territories that the U.S. felt we should have - essentially - essentially we have not moved outside of the territory between the Suez Canal and the Litani River and the Jordan River.

Question - This wasn't in the Mandate?

In the Mandate, it certainly wasn't. And I suspect that again in this amoeba-like flow when we finally wind up somewhere behind some permanent borders, it will also be without the Sinai desert. I'll finish in a minute. It might be, I don't know. It's not a very important issue if you really want to be frank about it.

We have enough desert inside the present lines of Israel or less than the present lines of Israel - I'll go even further - we have enough desert inside of the old green line of 1967 to handle these six million people and room to spare. There's no need to be expansionist, that's the whole thing. I mean logic and logistics are going to make the ultimate decisions with us. There's no damn damned sense in gobbling up a lot more of empty desert. If there were uranium in it, maybe. There's no oil in it - and if there is oil in it, we are not gambling on that. You see, I began, and I'd like to end

the same way, we are really not a major world power and ~~xxxxxxx~~ don't want to be. We really don't. It may be hard for people to believe that. We are a small country. We are always going to be a small country. We need enough room to take care of any Jews who are in trouble. Now if that will go up to six million or go up to seven million, but we've got it. You know that this country in the old green line was 60% desert and only 40% arable. And of the 40% arable we got a lot of empty space. So pressure for expansionism comes when you need room for something. We got plenty. And what we're going to have to do is a very simple thing - we're going to have to make the damn desert ^{habitable} ~~habitable~~ (?) which you can do. You just need two things. You need water and you need power. And we are going to have to get both of those out of atomic energy, because there's no other way to get them. We have no coal and we haven't got enough money to buy oil in that quantity, so we're just going to have to develop nuclear energy and we are - we've got two stations working in the country, one powered by some uranium given by President Eisenhower and one powered by some uranium given by the French and both those stations are working and both of them are developing a whole generation of nuclear scientists and we got this whole project of trying to desalinate salt water which also can only be done by a good amount of nuclear energy. So the things are tied together. And that's how we're going to solve the problem of the desert and that's how we're going to solve the problem of the next few million people over the next few decades.

I think, ladies and gentlemen, you haven't got any idea how much I am enjoying this, I really am - your questions are great and I'm getting a lot of fun out of it and I have no place to go except home to Jerusalem. But I haven't been on an airplane today and he's worried and nervous, and maybe rightly so, there are some are gung ho and want to keep asking questions and there are some who might really want to hit the sack.

Question - I keep hearing you say you want a place that will be secure for Jews who are in trouble - inaudible.

We are trying to serve a function. Where there is no need to serve that function - we don't have to go into the United States and say to Jews - hey, why don't you move over to Israel, because there isn't any trouble in the United States. There are no Jews in the United States who are in trouble to the best of my knowledge.

Question - Mr. Friedman, there's something on my mind as a newspaperman, as a Jew and it worries the daylight out of me - it seems to me that a few short weeks ago we all saw the footprints of another Hitler on our front pages - inaudible.

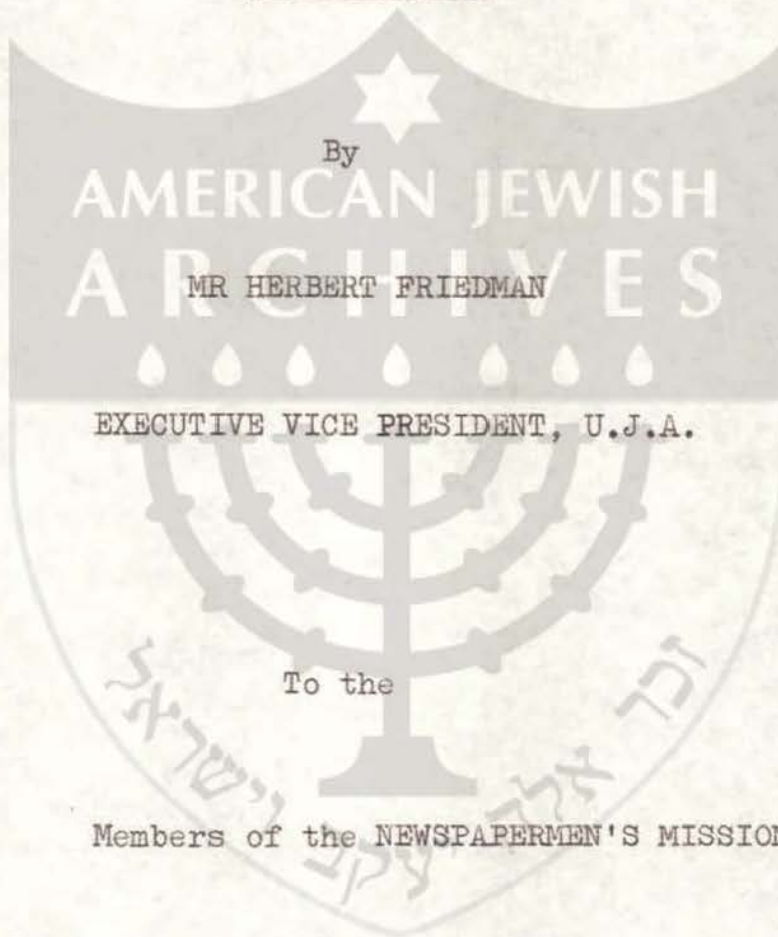
Well, let's put it this way. ^{He} thinks as Hitler thought. That's not guesswork, he said so, he agrees with it. He has no power to do anything about what he believes. He has no power, so far, to do what he believes. He didn't say that he thinks Asians ought to be burned or gassed - he didn't say that. Two things have happened. They may just be gentle, first reactions, but two things have happened which indicate that the world has learned from experience and is not silent. And won't be if he tries

to go further with any real policy of genocide. One thing is that the United States government held back on the grant that was being given to him. The second thing that occurred was that when he started ~~his~~ his crazy war against Tanzania next door and Libya tried to send some supplies down by aircraft, ~~he~~ by Big C 5's (?) Sudan refused to give landing rights and so he got no support from Libya and so that Tanzania war ground to a halt in five days and he got boxed in.

Now on the Asian thing he has given them till November 7th, I think - I forget the exact date, maybe I'm wrong - November 8th - for the expulsion of Asians - 55,000. These 55,000 ~~many~~ people carry British passports. If the British Government doesn't admit 55,000 of her own passport-holders, the British Government which is a kingdom of 50 million people, if they can't find it within their power to admit 55,000 of their own citizens, then I think, just speaking for us, we will tell them what we think of them. We will urge other countries to tell England what ~~it~~ we think of her. We are not going to be able to fight England. All we can do is say - if we were able to take in a million and a half people into a country this size, you can't take in 55,000 people who are your own citizens. You ought to be ashamed of yourself. I think that Mr. Amign will not be able to continue without getting a lot of oprobrium (??) heaped on his head. I think the world isn't going to turn its back on him and just let him do what he wants. No. No. I think the guy will wind up one night with a bullet in his head from one of his own colonels. It's the easiest way to solve these problems.

Okay, let me just say again that I'd like to thank you for being here and I hope the trip turns out to be real good and I'm glad to have spent this first evening with you. I hope it was worthwhile.

A D D R E S S



By

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

MR HERBERT FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, U.J.A.

To the

Members of the NEWSPAPERMEN'S MISSION

15.11.72

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Mr. H. Friedman (Pick-up from table conversation)

... when there is the slightest relaxation of tension you find all kinds of things happening. The stevedores go on strike, the doctors go on strike, the engineers go on strike, and then something will happen, some episode like the Sabena airplane, or the Munich murders or the letter bombs and the population solidifies and morale will shoot way up.

I guess Israel lives on crises and achievements. The other stimuli which exist in this society are much stronger than that. The other stimuli will continue to exist long after peace is achieved.

It's composed of recognition that Israel is an answer to Hitler - what is the possible Jewish refutation to Hitler, if it's not the existence of Israel.

Israel became a state three years after the end of World War II. It was a dream, it was an effort, it was an aspiration. A lot of people were involved in it. During all the years of Hitler's killing of Jews, an impotence was created in which there was no reaction on the part of the Jewish people. A third of the Jews were killed and the remaining two-thirds were paralyzed including the Jews in the United States. Impotent. I am using that word in its deepest connotation. There is nothing worse than a feeling of impotence.

I believe very simply this State was created because it had to be. Had not the Jewish people created the State of Israel when they did, the Jewish people would have died.

Israel is the result of a creative impulse of the Jewish people to re-establish its homeland. The Balfour Declaration was issued in 1917. Why wasn't the State created in 1921? In 1920? I'm talking to you not about historical or factual reasons, I'm talking to you about psychological things. The people of Israel got the license in 1917. Why didn't they create this place until 1948? You can give me all the reasons you want about the objective factor that stood in the way. Those same objective factors stood in the way in 1948.

The British are not a mean people, they were just as confused as hell, and as the British Empire was going down and down all during those years, they were in a turmoil. They took the wrong side. Their understanding of keeping law and order meant: if you had Jews to deal with and you have Arabs to deal with, and Arabs will be more docile because they will accept you as a colonial power, and they outnumbered the Jews and these damn Jews are troublesom and

problematic and difficult, and your job here is the mandatory power -- you are only entrusted by the League of Nations to run a mandate here; the ultimate future disposition of what was going to happen is not for you to decide, because you are just the representative of the League of Nations, keeping law and order -- the best thing to do is cooperate with the Arabs, and keep the Jews in their place.

I don't think that you can call the British bad because they did that. They are not bad people. They were mistaken and were foolish. They made errors in judgement. They went out of here, unfortunately, with their tail between their legs, and they shouldn't have. They deserved better than that. But they went through a bad period of their own because they were being thrown out of India at the same time, don't forget that, and the British Empire was diminishing in power and influence.

So their judgement wasn't very good. But that's a side issue, the British. The real issue is what impulse existed down deep underneath to get this State of Israel created. And one of the impulses that existed was the historical necessity to fight back against Hitler and what he had tried to do to the Jewish people. This was an act of life-creating. You can say, well O.K., what the hell! Why didn't it take place 50 years earlier or 50 years later? My own pet personal thesis, which I think a historian 500 years from now is going to validate, is that the creation of Israel took place when it did exactly when it did, as part of a reaction against the defeat which Hitler had.

I'm saying that the Jewish people with its desire to create its own State, coming out of religious, nationalistic and agricultural motives, has been struggling along from 1917. Had no Hitler come along, they might have continued struggling through the 1930's, and the 1950's and the 1970's and the 1990's. It took something to trigger it off. The Jewish reaction to Hitler was of such a nature as to be a catalyst.

When you stand there and you decide to throw the dice, you are staking everything. When the Jews stood up in 1946, '47, '48 and said, We want a State: this is the moment that we are going to have it, come what may. They were staking everything.

The U.N. didn't give Israel anything. Israel was created not because of a vote in the U.N. What happened was that the U.N. passed a vote on the 29th November, 1947 and said, Fine. We believe that the solution to the problem is cut the place up, cut it in half, partition it. The Jews take one part, the Arabs take one

part. Form yourself two separate states, and that's the way to solve this damn thing. And the Jews said, Fine, although they didn't like the fact that they were getting the smaller area. The Arabs said, No dice, we are going to fight. And they did. They kept their word.

So what did the United Nations give to the State of Israel? Nothing! It gave them a licence to fight. Now, in the fighting of that war you could have lost just as well as won. When you roll those dice and pardon the vulgarity of the expression, you can crap out. You lose the dice. You're done. So, there are very many people who said this is not the time to throw the dice, this is not the time to gamble, we're not strong enough. It took a tremendous amount of courage and guts and foresight and willingness to gamble, and all of that was born out of the fact that if you didn't do it, now, you never know when you would get another historic opportunity, even if you take the gamble. You didn't know how the gamble was going to come out. But you have to take the gamble, or maybe you sit around and wait another 25 years, or another 100 years, who knows? You've been praying for this thing for two thousand years. Praying gets you nowhere. You've got to decide to take some action.

Question

The first point that you made that the Holocaust was vital in the creation of the State of Israel, but did I understand you correctly when you say were it not for Israel, the Jewish people would have died?

Mr. Friedman

Yes I did say that, but what I meant was that were it not for the fact that the Jewish people entered into a creative phase of its national existence, and attempted to come out of the death period of Hitler and enter into the life period of creating this State, were it not for that life seeking effort, I believe that in another 50 years, 100 years, the Jewish people would have died. The one third were dead, were dead physically. The two-thirds who were still alive physically, I think, would have died spiritually, psychologically, emotionally.

What has kept the Jewish people alive throughout all the years? They are the most unique phenomenon on the face of the earth. They really are. I can really understand why nobody understands them. I can really understand why a lot of people hate them. The Jews are

the hardest thing in the world to fathom. And we have to go into history and to try and dig that out.

Question

I don't think that people don't understand Jews. I understand them.

Mr. Friedman

Well you are queer! What can I say to you. Understand in the terms of understanding facts and current events sure, even understand sympathetically. O.K. I am talking really in a Toynbee manner, in these big broad historic sweeps. How does a people live, how does a people die? Toynbee calls the Jews "The dead fossil of ancient Syriac civilization". I think he worked on that phrase maybe 24 years. I think he's wrong about it.

Question

Do you admire Toynbee?

Mr. Friedman

No. I think he's wrong. I think as a historian he's wrong. Anyhow, let's try to explain what I mean. Maybe we're getting in too deeply. There is a life instinct which the Jewish people has which has kept it alive in the face of all opposition. It's a very stubborn people; it has a sense of destiny. It's got a sense of purposiveness about its existence. It has an attitude towards itself that is unique. Should that disappear it would quickly give up the ghost, and in 50 years or a 100 years the thrust which it has maintained to keep itself intact and integral, would diminish; if that thrust would diminish, this people's existence would diminish and slowly it would assimilate itself into the majority population in which it lives.

(Inaudible comment from the floor about first class government)

Mr. Friedman

We are talking about before they established this government. Had they not made this thrust to establish, to re-establish a national identity, what would have happened to them after Hitler dealt them the blow he did? I think they would have crumbled.

Question

What if he had not dealt them the blow?

Mr. Friedman

I am not sure that the State of Israel would have come into existence in 1948. Maybe it would have come into existence in 1968, or '78. It could have been.

Look, you have to understand the Jews in very very long historic terms. O.K. The religious Jews prayed for two thousand years that Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and that the State should be rebuilt, and that the Messiah should come, and we should have again King David as we once had, and they pray and pray and pray. But you don't get a State by that. By prayer. You got to do either some political action, or some military action has to take place or some international action has to take place in order for a state, a sovereign state in a political modern sense, to be re-established.

Question

Israel doesn't have a constitution?

Mr. Friedman

No, neither does England. England has gone since the Magna Carta in the year 1200, it's almost 900 years now without a constitution. Done rather well. There is a very interesting love-hate relationship about England with this country. Let me try to come back and make a couple of basic comments that I wanted to make. We plunged, by the way, into the very deepest philosophical and metaphysical question of all, right at the beginning. The question of life and death and the meaning of it and existence.

Question

Under Hitler one third of the world's Jewish population was killed. Two-thirds died spiritually -

Mr. Friedman

- Would have, might have, could have. I said they were impotent. Yes. There were 18 million Jews living in the world in 1939, it seems like sometimes more than that. You know, let's put certain other facts on the table, and this is what I would like to begin with. I would like to make it clear to you, that the Jewish people is a people of no quantity whatsoever, and the State of Israel is a state of no quantity whatsoever.

The way Jews pop up on the front page of the newspapers and the way the State of Israel pops up on the front page of the newspapers, one would

think that there Israel was as big as some great European state. We got 8,000 square miles of pre-1967 territory here, and three times as much as that of post-1967 territory whose future hasn't been decided. 8,000 square miles is about the size of New Jersey or Rhode Island.

There are living in the world today 13 million Jews. There's been a little tiny come-back since Hitler. 18 million then, 40 years ago, minus 6 would have left us with 12, but there's been a little tiny growth, not much, up to 13 million. Now that's significant because what's happened to the population of the whole world in the last 30 years? You got 13 million Jews on the face of this planet today, which has got 3¼ billion people swarming all over it. By the end of this century you are going to have 6 billion people swarming all over this planet and they'll still be 13 million Jews. We have roughly speaking zero population growth. Zero.

Now what is 13 million people out of 3¼ billion? There is something altogether distorted and cockeyed and crazy about this whole business of Jews and Judaism and Israel, because all we are is like point zero zero zero something, of the population of this world.

(inaudible comment from the floor)

Forget the Arabs for a minute - if you want to go from Morocco on the Atlantic to Pakistan on the Indian Ocean, there are a hundred million, and we got 2½ million Jews living in this country. By the end of this century we'll have five million and six million. We will. But those figures are absurd in their juxtaposition because by the end of this century they will be 300 million Arabs, not a hundred million.

(inaudible comment from the floor) ... Jewish influence on the world today is equivalent to its population is a little bit like saying Nixon was only one candidate for the White House.

Mr. Friedman

I'm saying that sometimes I wonder why it is that a people of 13 million of whom 2½ or 3 million are concentrated in one state and the rest is scattered in other states, why they seem to make such a constant and huge and steady impact on the news of the world and the influence in the world, and the effect on the world? It's an absolute crazy phenomenon. Why? And sometimes instead of being on page one of the newspaper we would like to be on page 64 of the newspaper, or maybe not on page nothing of the newspaper. That would be a lovely quiet peaceful way for a change.

That would mean that the world would be paying as much attention to us as they should, to any other group of 13 million people.

Question

No one harrasses Israel except the Arabs?

Mr. Friedman

It's not a question of harrassment. It's not that we're complaining about. We are complaining about being so much in the spotlight all the time. We understand why. We would like to be a nice quiet normal country, how many times does Finland come up on the front page of the newspaper. Damn seldom. We'd love to be in that position.

And somehow or other we're not. Now, the other aspect; there are many reasons why we are not. We understand it. It's just a dream that one day we shall like to be quiet and peaceful and normal and ignored. To say that we are not a people of any quantity must also then be said that we are apparently a people of quality. You have no quantity of anything in this country, we haven't got any quantity of raw materials, you have no quantity of iron, nor coal, nor steel nor oil nor gold nor diamonds. Nothing. The only thing you've got quantity of is rocks. A lot of rocks, but no water. What you do have in this country is enormous quality. You have the quality of a people that dreams a great deal. You have the quality of a people that works by idealism. You have the quality of a people that flies in the face of a lot of reality and does things which apparently no sane normal people would do.

Take this whole question of immigration. Why would a normal sane people of the size and poverty of this country keep its doors open, wide open, taking in every year scores of thousands of people, with no health examinations, are you deaf, do you have one leg, two legs, can you read, can you write, we have a quarter of a million illiterate people in this country. We took them in. It didn't make any difference.

Why should a people try to exercise that kind of bravado, if it weren't operating on the basis of enormous idealism. The idealism is part of a quality of this country. This country is one of the tiniest countries in the world, in size, in population, in capital, in raw materials, and every other way. Yet what this country tries to do is some of the most remarkable things in the world. England is having a hell of a mental problem with herself right now, 50 million people live in the United Kingdom, and there are a few

thousand people coming from Asia who have British passports, not even stateless people, they are coming out of Uganda because some idiot went fascist down there, or whatever happened to him, I don't know, but -

Question

He proposed to an Asian woman and was turned down.

Mr. Friedman

I don't know what he did. But he comes out and he says that Hitler was right, and he not only says that but he does it, and he throws all the Asians out of his country.

Now, about some, I don't know, about 40 or 50,000 of them hold British passports, they are actually British subjects, well how can the British Government spend five minutes arguing about whether to take those people in or not.

But they spend more than five minutes, they spend months arguing about whether to take in those poor people and now finally the British Government has said they will take in anybody and honor anybody holding a British passport. Well, my God, for us to sit here and look at a nation of 50 million people with only 50,000 refugees, when to us 50,000 refugees is a yearly digestion. We take in that number every year, and have to digest them.

Now, that is part of the enormous basic, underlying idealist in this country, and that by the way is a much stronger stimulus towards national survival than the external stimulus of having to fight an enemy. Having to fight an enemy does solidify people. But once the enemy disappears, which we hope and pray it will some day, this internal stimulus will still exist. I want to try and get it into your heads right at the beginning the fact that you have to look at this thing as an exercise in enormous national idealism which manifests itself in many many ways.

The willingness to endure the war, the kids who go into the army without griping. You don't have rebellions, you don't have students protesting, every kid comes to 18 he goes and no arguments. And when you do have a kid who doesn't go, we had one here last year by the name of Giora Neumann, one kid, one kid who wouldn't go. It became a matter of absolute national phenomenon in fact and Giora Neumann got more space than Golda Meir got. Every time he opened his mouth. He was sentenced to 8 months in prison for his statement that he would not serve in an army which he considered to be an army of occupation. He is very left-wing. So his objection was that this was an army

of occupation, occupying territory it has no right to and therefore he wouldn't serve in that army. He was tried and found guilty. He served 8 months in prison. He has just come out of prison and has gone into the army, and he will be put into the medical corps, which is where he asked to be put. And that's that.

When you take a look at what happens to the youth in this country who are willing to undergo this constant war and it takes three years of their lives because they believe they are fighting for their own survival. You take a look at the attitude towards taking in immigration. You take a look at the attitude towards taxes. The taxes in this country are the highest in the world. A flat statement - bar none. We are talking per capita in proportion to the income and the GNP and so on. People here are taxed the highest in the world and you don't have any tax rebellion, you don't have any untoward or difficult problems of the Government collecting those taxes. You take a look at all the things in ordinary simple daily life, I am taking simple examples. To indicate that people in this country operate with an enormous belief in the country, there is no question here about what are our national goals. There is no lack of purpose here. There is no confusion as to where are we going. Every once in a while you see an essay in Life Magazine, what are the national goals of the United States. It is terrible that these questions have to be asked. Those questions weren't asked about the United States when I was growing up as a kid, I remember very clearly.

Now what I meant about ignore was, not ignored by people in the world and close ourselves off from the world. No. You are welcome to come. We want people to come and write about it and describe it, sure. What I mean by ignore is everybody being tortured and tormented by poor Israel. What's poor Israel doing, or what's that Goddamned Israel doing, or why is there always a war out there, or why is there always turmoil out there? Everything is getting settled. Detente with Russia, detente with China, detente between North Vietnam and South Vietnam, all the problems in the world, Pakistan, India, almost every national or international conflict in the world is getting settled or on the road towards being settled. But your Middle East conflict remains as the one apparently insoluble conflict in the world, and now, after the American election is over, and on the eve of the Russian visit to the United States, Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Nixon are going to get together and they are trying to find a solution to the Middle East problem, because it's the last remaining, outstanding problem in the world, with the potentiality of blowing up into war again.

Question

Do you want them to settle your problems for you?

/10

Mr. Friedman

No, absolutely not. Thank you no. We'll settle them ourselves. We would like to settle it ourselves, what we mean is - you know it's such a tough thing, we know why we are on the front page of newspapers all the time, but we wish we weren't.

Question

While we are on that subject I would like to ask a question on the general subject of Brezhnev - we feel I think, many of us in the United States, that Russia is making an increased impact in the Middle East (inaudible)

Mr. Friedman

With which result? That Russia had diminishing influence and America had greater influence. I don't think that Russian influence in the Middle East has diminished at all. I think when the President of Egypt threw Russia out in July all she did was shift base and move up to Syria. I think now she's shipping stuff back in there again only five months later. Personnel, manpower and equipment once again, so that I don't see Russian influence in the Middle East diminishing. I don't see the Russian fleet disappearing out of the Red Sea or the Indian Ocean. I don't see the Russian fleet disappearing from the Mediterranean Ocean. I don't see the Russians diminishing the challenge they represent to the Americans. I just don't see any dimming diminution of Russian strength or influence.

Remark

I don't see you off the front page either.

Mr. Friedman

O.K. so there we are. So what we want to do is go on every day trying as best we can to do the business for which this country was created. The business for which this country was created is not to fight wars, although we fought three, and three wars is not really any way to describe what happened here. I would recommend that you think of it this way. The wars, plural, the wars of the Jews, I am paraphrasing a book that was written in the days of the Romans by a historian by the name of Flavius Josephus, who wrote a book called "The War of the Jews". O.K. we lost. Something funny happened to Rome, I don't know where they are, we are still around. And we are back in some more wars. Again for our existence and survival.

/11

We have a house in a place called Caesarea up the coast named after Julius Caesar. It was built in his honor by King Herod, and when we went to dig the foundation for our house we found a big Roman sarcophagus, a coffin, and we stopped to think of that Roman general of the tenth legion who lived there on that spot and now I'm living on that spot. He came there, brought that 10th Legion there and went from Caesarea on foot up to Jerusalem, sacked the city and destroyed it. Now a couple of thousands of years later we are back. It's kind of a constant historic circle on this thing, and he's not back. The Italy of today is not the Rome of yesteryear.

Now, we are fighting these wars, we are going to have to continue to fight these wars. We are nowhere near peace, there is no sign of it, there is no indication of it, there is not the slightest shred of clue that anybody in the Arab world is talking or thinking of peace, with the possible exception of Hussein in Jordan and his position is pretty clearly well known to us. He is not going to be number one and that's all there is to it.

(Comment from floor)

In 1967 there was a war here, and the Jews of America reacted very strongly and we created something called the Israel Emergency Fund. I was the chief executive officer of the whole United Jewish Appeal, for the whole United States and I said that the policy has to be laid down that for 1968 we maintain this Israel Emergency Fund. The Arab States had a meeting in Khartoum on September 1, 1967, and they said, no peace, no recognition, no negotiations.

I said we keep the Israel Emergency Fund going for 1968, so this war isn't over. This was a six day battle. To cut a long story short, the Israel Emergency Fund of 1972, five years later, is still going on and raising more money than 1967.

Inaudible comment from the floor.

I am not the kind of man who ducks questions, I just don't know. I think Mr. Nixon knows and Mr. Brezhnev knows, the one thing which these contributions represent, besides money what they represent is obviously a tremendous bulk of solid support on the part of Jews on the outside, plus lots of non-Jews, let's not forget that, who actually come in with financial contributions. Since you mentioned political support, look what Jackson did now. So that what you've got is what Nixon knows and Brezhnev knows.

Inaudible comment from the floor.

If you ask me to give my opinion I suppose I have to say yes, I think

politicians are impressed by power. I think when they see manifestations and displays of power and this is one, that they have to be impressed by it.

Comment

You said we are nowhere near peace in the Middle East. You have no sign of it here. Number two, you are stronger militarily than Egypt - than the Arab countries are. Number three, the United States and the Soviet Union seem determined, however, warily, to get along in the near future. What does that mean to you in terms of Israeli-Arab conflict in the years ahead.

Mr. Friedman

It means to me a very simple thing. I think that the United States and Russia have an absolute strong determination to get along, and I hope to God they do and I hope they are not drawn into any conflict because of the conflict that exists here. I hope they can manage to stay above that.

And, therefore, I think the conflict here will go on, and go on, until one thing occurs. This war is not a question of war over territory. It's not a question of war over money, not a question of war over national honor or dignity. It's a war over conflicting religions. Take all the things that wars are fought over. All the basic reasons. Try to find out what is this war being fought about. This war is being fought over a very simple thing. The Jewish people has re-established the national entity in this part of the world. Occupying 8,000 square miles. The Arab people who have 18 states, not one, and a hundred million people and God knows how many hundred million miles, aren't willing to agree to the existence of one Jewish state. Just not willing to. Their arguments are their arguments; if you don't know what they are, I'll tell them to you.

Their arguments are, we are very sorry that the Jews had a hard time under Hitler, but what's that got to do with us. We are very sorry that the Jews feel that they want to have a national homeland, but why not have it down in Uganda, which is what the British offered them in 1903? Why do they have to come here? They are out of place here. They don't belong here. They are an alien factor in this part of the world. This part of the world is Arab territory, and they don't belong here.

Peace will come in this area as soon as the Arabs acknowledge the existence of the State of Israel. They don't have to love us. I am not even sure they have to recognize us. They don't have to change ambassadors with us. They don't have to do anything. But

the only thing they do have to do is stop saying that they are going to try and push us into the sea. Which is a poetic way of saying that they simply don't agree to our existence.

I agree and I think 25 years from now they'll still be unwilling to accept the situation. Whether they will ever change ambassadors or not, my answer is no, as simple as that. And that's not an answer that gives any feeling of desperation. I don't look very desperate, do I? I am just saying quite simply and factually the little bit that I know about the Arab mentality. They take a lesson and they still believe this, out of the Crusades. Their war against the Christians. Now what they say is very simple. In the 11th and 12th century there were eight crusades to this country. I don't know how many Popes in Rome put the power of the Church behind it. King of England and France and Gaul and Italy and Germany and Austria and Venice and Lombardy sending Crusades after Crusades over here. It only took 200 years to knock them out of the box, and back to Europe where they belonged.

Now, these Jews, we've only been fighting these Jews 25 years, 35 years, 50 years. Why should we make peace with them. This is how they teach in the Arab universities. This is the moral they draw out of the Crusades. They say Christianity is a foreign element in the Middle East. This was an effort on the part of great empires for political or economic reasons, or the Church for religious reasons, to try to build the Christian Empire in the Holy Land. We had to fight them with everything we had, and we did successfully. They had better horses, they had better armour, they had better engineering, they built bigger vessels.

Inaudible comment.

No, he's talking to me, he was asking me about what's in the Arab mind. This is what's in the Arab mind. They are a very, very long way from feeling that they are under any compulsion whatsoever.

Look, you are going to get a press release in the next couple of days about Kuwait. I think there are 11 or 12 Arab states meeting down there now. They started yesterday, down in Kuwait. Foreign Ministers and Defense Ministers of 12 Arab states. 12 out of 18. They are going to meet there in one or two days, by tomorrow or the next day they will issue their press release. Read it.

They are going to be saying what they are going to be doing now. They'll issue a press release about what they are going to do to intensify the war against Israel. So O.K. And you know, we could almost write the press release for them. It's just going to be a

lot - very easy to anticipate their reaction. So we have to go along, not living under any kind of inferiority complex, and not getting all neurotic about it. We got to go along doing our business, and I want to make it perfectly clear that you should understand our business. We didn't found this State to make wars. Although we've learnt how to do that again and do it well, and we'll continue to do it as long as we have to. But that's not the reason for which this state was created.

To come back to what I said at the beginning, this place was created in order that there should be a home on the face of this earth where Jews who get into trouble or haven't a place to go to. If this place had been in existence when Hitler started there wouldn't have been six million dead Jews. There would have been one hell of a lot less dead Jews.

Now this is the one point on which we are absolutely fanatical. So the reason that this country was brought into existence was to try to create a haven and a homeland and security for Jews who needed it.

O.K. well that's our business, so we go on every day doing that. So in the face of their threat of war, we say O.K. let's take in 50,000 more Jews next year, or 70,000 more Jews next year, and how do you figure out the housing, and how do we tell the Israeli-born young couples that they can't get the house, that we are going to give it instead to the new immigrant coming out of Russia. You realize, we are living on dynamite here with some of the policies that we've got, and are getting away with them.

Question

We had Arab lecturers (inaudible)

Mr. Friedman

In their minds are these things valid. I'm not sure I want to use the world valid. I would use rational. I really believe it when they say that they are not anti-Jewish. I think they are as confused as hell. When they say they are not anti-Jewish, they are only anti-Zionist, well that's really ridiculous semantics. They are against the establishment of an independent state. They are not against individual Jews. They say we are not anti-semitic against you Jews, we are semites also. So how can we be anti-semites. We just don't think that you should have created a political entity, however much you think you needed it, for the security of your homeless Jews. We don't think you should have created it and caused homelessness for some Arab refugees. Therefore this Arab refugee thing is going to be a blood feud with us, and we are never going to be satisfied till it's resolved.

Now, the fact of the matter is, not the psychology of the matter, that you will find it hard put today to see where this Arab refugee problem really exists, except down in the Gaza Strip where we are trying as hard as we know to break it up, and where we have about half the people out of the camps by now, thank God. If we have our way, we'll get them all out of the camps. There isn't any need to have any refugee problem anymore in this part of the world.

In the West Bank where 650,000 Arabs live, which we've only had for the past five years, and where there were once lots and lots of refugee camps around Jericho, Shechem and Ramallah, they don't exist anymore. All those people are now working. Why are those people now working, because the facts of life have overtaken ancient political slogans. A guy isn't a refugee when he has a full-time job and is sending his kid to school and is buying himself a television set.

The refugee problem is just evaporating right under their noses. And will continue to do so. There may be no political solution for 25 years, but there is a de facto solution occurring every single day.

There is another reason also. They know perfectly well that if they want to form the State of Palestine, which they had a chance to do in 1947, '48 and didn't, they can do it again today if they want. We have given up the option to the name, they can have it. We have no intention of annexing the territory, the West Bank territory. They are living there. If they want to turn that territory into a state, let them come forward with a proposal. You want to know the truth of the matter, and this is not for publication at all, but just for your background understanding, they just had municipal elections in the West Bank. Free municipal elections. Some of the old mayors they elected, some they threw out and they elected new ones. There is some feeling in the West Bank that they ought to create their own federal government. They have come forward now with a proposal to create their own university in the West Bank. We've told them yes. We know why they come to ask us. They want the budget. We'll pay for it. They want their own university in the West Bank. If they want their own municipal elections, they even want to go and create their own national or federal government, 650,000 Arabs. How many Jews do you think created the State of Israel in 1948? Exactly 650,000. So it's not an insignificant number. It's all we had when we started.

They therefore can have all that and they know it. So it's no longer the burning issue that some Arab politicians would make of it. There was once a time when some misguided protestant ministers used to make an issue out of it. But that's all passed out now. If you read the

Christian Century and other good journals today, that's all gone. And it all soon disappeared even from the mouths of these Arab politicians.

Inaudible question

Sure it bodes well. You want to know something. Look I said before, do you see a desperate man here? No. The future here as I see, this is my own personal opinion, goes like this. No peace, more war, and you can mark that down. No peace, more war, more fighting, more difficulties, war by any other form to me is still war. The war of terrorism will develop and then they'll think of something else. And within that framework what happens. Gradually, gradually, the Arab problems get settled, both inside Israel and around us. We continue to take in all immigrants who need a home, and gradually, gradually the problem of Jewish homelessness or persecution in the world gets settled. Gradually, gradually this country develops, every year that we go on with no peace, but 60,000 more people coming in, from Russia, or wherever they come from, Algeria, from France, from Iran. More schools get built, more factories get built, more houses get built, more farms get built. More roads get built. So every year, the GNP goes up, the population goes up, the cultural level goes up. We now have seven universities, pretty soon we have eight, then we'll have nine, then we'll have ten. No peace, and more fighting. You can say what it's going to be like 25 years from now? 25 years from now, no peace, but a country of five million people instead of 2½ and a country with a GNP several times larger than it is today, and a country with a cultural level much higher than it is today, and a country with exports and imports much higher than they are today, and a country which is made a swing into an industrial development, away from agriculture. We began as an agricultural country. I give you one example. You know we are skipping the automobile age in this country. We don't manufacture cars, we're going to manufacture airplanes. You skip the automobile age. I mean in terms of industrial development we assemble cars, thanks to Mr. Ford. His attitude is excellent. And we will do that, but that's not a major industrial development. We are manufacturing aircraft. So what this country's going to be like in 25 years from now? We can't possibly predict it. But these are the general lines along which we are going to go.

Now, I think this is a very hopeful picture. It bodes well. Well, you know, it could so easily be achieved. But what it takes is just that click in the head, and it's got to come on the part of Egypt. When I said before Hussein wouldn't be the number one, he can't be. He remembers much too clearly what happens with his grandfather. His grandfather's blood was splattered all over him.

Let me make sure that you understand about Hussein because it's important that you do. When that boy was eleven or 12 years old, he was holding the hand of his grandfather right up here in Jerusalem at the El Aksa Mosque in 1951, and his grandfather was shot by Arabs. The old King Abdullah, by the Arabs who felt that he was too close to making peace with Israel.

And the blood flows all over the kid, and then a few years later the kid's the king, and he's sitting on that throne and holding on and any number of attempts were made to assassinate him. He's lived through them all. So he isn't going to be number one. Egypt has got to be.

When is the thing going to happen inside the Egyptian head? Is Sadat more truculent than Nasser? We didn't expect Nasser to die of a heart attack; we do expect Sadat to fall off the horse before many months are gone. He can't ride it this way. But that doesn't matter, who the next guy will be. It absolutely doesn't matter. The individual man is unimportant in this thing until a historic process changes.

Ben Gurion had a dream in his head. Ben-Gurion believed that the Egyptians would some day come to make peace. You asked him when? He used to say ten years from now, plus, minus. Eight or twelve and we used to try to get him to define why does he say that. By that time, he said, there will be a million people in Egypt who will be graduates of university. It's a nation of 36 million people. There are 100,000 university graduates today. He says when there get to be a million university graduates, there'll be enough intelligent middle-class level in the country so they will realize that peace is desirable for them too.

Question

Why do you think Sadat's going to fall off the horse?

Mr. Friedman

Ask some of the guys in the Foreign Office. That would take a long complicated political analysis. To put it in one sentence, he hasn't got a policy, he doesn't know which way to go. He can stay on the horse if he makes war against Israel. He doesn't feel he's got the strength to do it, his students and the army want to push him off the horse. If he has the nerve to make peace instead of making war, he could also stay on the horse. He could stay on the horse if he does one thing or the other. But he can't stay on the horse sitting in the middle.

Inaudible question

Mr. Friedman

Where are you going to put all the people - that's the question of Israeli expansionism. Let me tell you something very simple. You'll hear a phrase in your days here called the Green Line, let me explain to you what that is.

The Green Line is the phrase which refers to the 1967 territorial lines of this country. I don't call them borders because they are not borders. The borders of this country have never been fixed. This country has no borders. This country is 25 years old and has a series of armistice lines, ceasefire lines, withdrawal lines, call them what you want, there are all kinds of names, nobody's ever agreed to the borders of this country, because we haven't got a peace treaty with them.

So the Green Line is the 1967 line. It's different from the 1926 line, it's different from the 1948 line which was different from the 1947 line. Look at maps and see how these lines are all different. The green line refers to the territory in Israel held prior to the '67 war, and when you hear the phrase across the green line that refers to the territory we have held since the Six Day War. The so-called administrative territories.

O.K. they've been annexed by Israel. There has been no legal step to annexe or acquire them or incorporate them. They are just called administered territories. That's a temporary - well, it's five and a half years old now, pretty soon it's going to get to be permanent, status quo kind of thing.

Now inside the old green line, not even talking about the territories since '67 are 8,000 sq. miles, 60% desert and 40% arable. So if anybody ever said the question, where the hell are you going to put all these Jews who are going to keep coming, and we keep saying, that inside the old green line, let alone this new territory, we had 60% desert that could be developed and all you need to develop desert are two things - power and water. Power and water are both going to come out of atomic energy. Whether we're 10 years away from it or 15 years away or 20 years doesn't matter, that's the line of the future obviously. So don't worry; when we talk about 5 million Jews or 6 million Jews or 7 million Jews, we don't have to jump the line. We don't have to jump the Canal and take anything from Egypt or jump the river and take from Jordan or jump the Litani and take from Syria. We don't have to take any territory, no need. Where are we going to put everybody - inside Israel's 8,000 sq. miles. Plenty of room.

There was a genius of an American, a non-Jewish fellow by the name of Walter Lauder milk who was a water and soil conservation expert 20 years ago. He wrote a basic plan - the Lauder milk plan. And he said - you have got absorptive capacity in this country for 8-9 million people.

I'd like to sum it up by saying this. Try to have some fun as you see the country; it shouldn't be altogether grim. Try to keep in mind that what you're looking at is a huge social experiment in operation. Try to judge it by the fact that up to now, with all the stresses and all the strains on it, it's incredible constant war that takes up 30% of the GNP, there is nothing comparable to that. At the height of the Vietnam War in terms of American experience, 10% of the GNP of the United States was chewed up in the war, which was bad enough. Here 30% of the GNP goes year after year grinding away steady, steady. Do you realize what that would mean if that could be released into productive economic enterprise in this country? With all that, this country has had a growth in the GNP second only to Japan. Japan has been the first in the world and Israel's been second - 7-8-9% per year, year after year after year that GNP keeps going up.

So you are looking at a social experiment that works. It works because of the idealism of the people here who are willing to put up with a lot and because of the support from the people outside. And you have to look at it as a kind of a unique phenomenon which it really is.

In spite of the fact that you're terribly tired, I'd like to make one last point. This country, as beleaguered as it is, still finds the energy and the time and the resources and the mental concern to have a foreign aid program to 22 other countries in Africa and Asia and Latin America. I think that's part of the Jewish ethic that comes down from the time of the Bible and that sounds melodramatic to talk like that in the 20th century, but it's a fact. In his Foreign Ministry, you talk to Asher about this, these are the guys that have charge of the Israeli aid program. I don't know what they call it. They got a typical bureaucratic name for it, but they recruit and they mobilize hundreds and hundreds of people to go abroad every year and do very simple things - how to cure malaria in some African jungle and how to set up water irrigation in some dry places and how to make a model of a kibbutz in some back jungle village and how to grow gefilte fish in some ponds in Haiti. I'm not kidding, it's really kind of weird to think all those nice people in Haiti eating gefilte fish, but it's a very cheap protein food and they got to eat and they're hungry and if you can show them how to grow fish, that's a socially useful thing to do. So this tiny beleaguered country with enough of its

own problems still has an ethical imperative, that pushes it, to try help somebody else.

Now that's not gilding the lily. What that is, is trying to describe why this country works the way it does and how it works. If you understand that this crazy country can take and divert 700 experts or 1200 experts when every man is needed here, to send 1200 guys abroad, I'll tell you something, if we didn't do that, we wouldn't be the kind of country we are. So you have to understand it all as part of a total package.

There are lots of negatives here, you are going to see poverty. You ought to see it and you ought to write about it. There's no sense in sweeping that under the rug. There are things which we have failed to do. The reasons are also clear. It's because we never have enough time and not enough manpower and not enough money. There are shadows as well as lights and you are going to be free to see the whole thing and write the whole thing as you want. I'd like to make it perfectly clear that there is a kind of a gentle military censorship in this country. But you guys aren't going to be writing anything that's going to be disqualified for that reason. There's no other kind of censorship. You write what you want. You file what you want. File it from here or write it when you go home. Please be free, write it the way you see it and the way you want and write only what you believe and if you write anything about the work of the UJA, fine. If you don't, fine. Our work in the field of immigration and absorption and helping people, health and welfare and all that stuff, if there's a story in it, write. If there's no story in it, don't write it. The important thing is that you do try to get across, I would think, the answer to the question of what makes this country tick. Because that's the mystery. If you can get that, then you'll be getting something which your readers will really appreciate and benefit from.

And for the rest of it, we just hope that you have a good time and if Leon won't listen, and Asher won't listen, let me tell you that if you really get wacked out and dead tired, then the only thing to do one fine morning is organize a rebellion and say that you want to sleep until 10 o'clock instead of getting out at six and you know what, they'll surrender and you'll get a good morning's sleep. Goodnight.