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Young Leadership Mission speech. February-March 1973.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Sentiment - too deep to try to express

Washington
2-6-73

let's
FIRST

talk about future - you are now a man - (3)
Go Forth.

Y.L. - Take-Over - Infiltrate - Prepare

Specifically to nominate people for presidents
and boards of major organizations. This means
to give sense - move upwards - exercise influence.

1. UJA itself - and orgs connected with it -
JDC, VIA, ORT

2a

CJFWF

2b

3. Major local federations
national organizations within Presidents' conference.

AJ Congress

Bnai Brith

3 religious orgs

Zionist Fed.

Hadassah

CJW

4. One major org. outside - A.J. Committee

~~4. local~~

5. Major national problem in US -

Jewish
education

infiltrate all national & local orgs

push for day schools - I told you this

3 years ago.

make your point of view felt.

All complicated search for "Jewish living" - "Jewish
identity" - etc. - all solved by education.

6. Link to young leaders in other countries

7. Link to young leaders
in Israel.

(2)

Rewards

Don't get involved ~~into~~ in complicated discussion of "what are we"
what is our role
what are we supposed to be doing
where are we going
etc, etc.

It's all very simple *

1. Deepen your own convictions through study
2. Strengthen Israel - by raising more money through UJA, and other efforts
3. Spread your convictions throughout entire organized life of U.S. Jewish life.

~~* Survival of Jsr~~

- * 1. Belief in the uniqueness of Judaism and the value of its survival.
2. Belief that Israel is the center of the Jewish people - therefore its viability is primary task
3. Belief that Jewish survival comes through our own will - a conscious & deliberate act - and this will power must be maintained through knowledge. Ignorance is our most enemy, leading to indifference & assimilation.

The future is yours - take it.

Nobody will give it to you - take it.

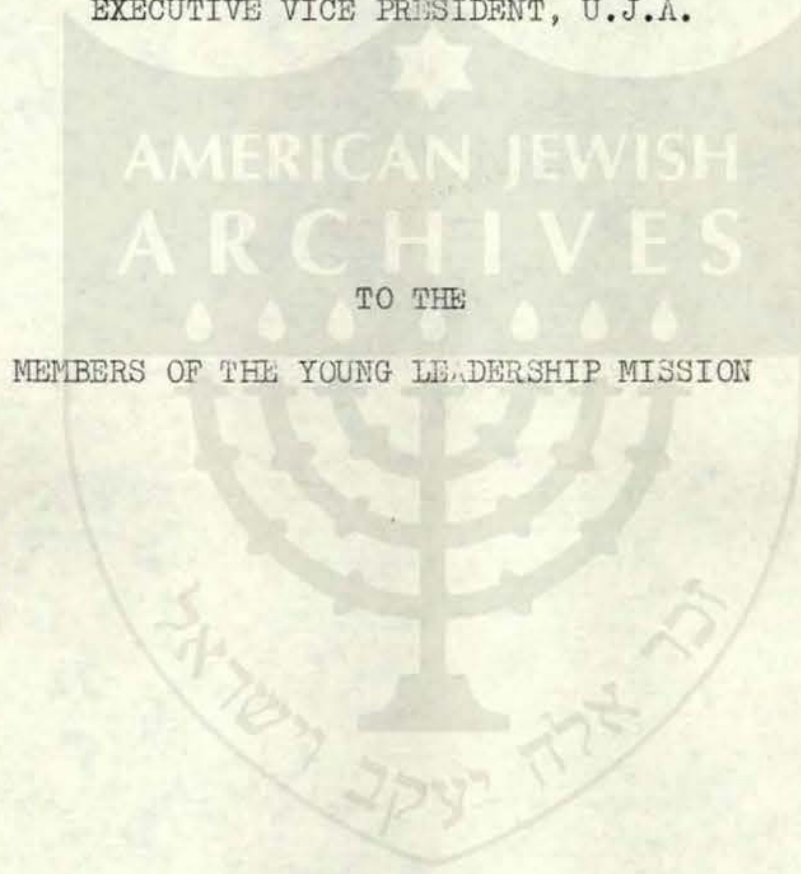
*file
speeches*

ADDRESS

BY

MR. HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT, U.J.A.



MEMBERS OF THE YOUNG LEADERSHIP MISSION

8.3.73

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Chairman, Steven Schwartz:

Good morning. I want you to meet somebody over here on my right who is the man that makes all the wheels go around on these missions. He is the Director of Missions, the National Director of Missions, his name is David Shenhabi, and he'd like to say a few words to you and introduce to you a few people.

David Shenhabi:

Shalom and bruchim ha'baim. I didn't have the chance to welcome you to Israel yesterday evening. I was running and looking for the luggage and so on. Ladies and gentlemen, it is up to you, and I mean it, to make that mission, or break that mission. And you started very badly. Many people are calling me the slave driver, and I am not ashamed, I am a slave driver, I have to do the job and we will do it. I hope we will do it with a smile on our face, I hope we don't have to leave people behind, if it's here in the hotel, or somewhere in Sinai, next to the Canal. Moses went through Sinai 40 years, you would probably come earlier back to the centre of the country.

I don't want to go on, because Rabbi Friedman who will be introduced in a few minutes has a lot to say. One thing now, this minute. We will be responsible always to make the calls, always to tell you in advance everything. You are responsible to be on time, and please be on time. The other thing, we are in a period now in Israel when security is number one. Please don't forget, wear your tags. You cannot come into many places, wear them even on your pyjamas, I don't care, but don't forget.

I am not going through the itineraries. You found them in your rooms. I hope you saw them. There will be slight changes here and there, but not important changes. I am speaking to those stragglers who are coming and didn't listen to it, now you are divided into two buses and every one of you know who is on bus no.1 and who is on bus no.2. Bus no.1 is Mike Traub. That's Mike. Bus no.2 is Shaike Dernitzki, Shaike. They will try their best and I know they will do their best. And you have the best. And I wish you a nice trip and a good trip, and learn a lot. Thank you.

Chairman: I just want to tell you that the third worst introduction that can be given for Herb Friedman is the one that I can give. The second best history of him is the one that's in your biography, and the first best introduction is the one that he will give you himself.

I have to tell you that Herb Friedman started all this. The whole concept of Young Leadership, the whole Young Leadership Cabinet, the first Young Leadership mission in 1961 was his idea, has been his baby, he's lived with us, we've lived with him. He's Executive Vice Chairman of the UJA. He lives here in Israel. He's got a family that he's bringing up in Israel. And what he has to say to you today is going to be probably the keystone of this mission, it's going to set the tone and put us off on the right foot. Herb.

Herbert A. Friedman:

Steve, that's the first best introduction. Short and it's without a lot of baloney and it leaves time for us to get right down to business.

We got about two hours, maybe a little bit less. If you get restless we'll take a break in between. If you don't we won't. And we'll save time that way. You are going to be leaving by about 11 o'clock, to get out on the road and start the rest of the itinerary.

The purpose of these couple of hours is in order for me to set the stage for you so that you can understand basically what the major problems are in the country, so that you can have a frame and setting within which and against which you can understand everything that you are going to see, because you are going to look at a lot of stuff and you will listen to a lot of people, and it can all just be a confused kaleidoscope, unless you put it inside one fixed framework and one rubric and outline, so that everything you see will tick off against some major headings which you've got to have in your head all the time.

The major headings which you have to have, against which you relate everything that you're seeing, are: war and peace, everything that you see, or that happens to you or to the country in the next ten days, think of it in terms of its effect and in relationship to war and peace. That's number one.

Number two, major topic is the topic of immigration. You came in last night from Vienna with a load of people. Wouldn't it be an interesting thing - you can't because it hasn't been organized for you - but if you could do it, take those people who were on that plane last night and check with them seven days from now, to see where they are, where they are living, what happened to them, how it happened, and how they feel, it would be a very fascinating follow up. But it hasn't been organized for you and it won't be done, but it's not really that important. Because seven days from now any immigrant whom you see who came in yesterday, or last week or three days from now, are in the same category as those who came with you last night. It doesn't matter that you can't follow up on the ones who came with you last night. Follow up somebody who came last week, and the concept is the same.

Everywhere that you go where you see anything which relates to immigrant absorption, or you hear anything that relates to that, trigger off in your mind as one of the major topics involving the life in this country.

Number three: water. You just pray every damn day that there's rain for the next ten days. Because we are in a drought period. Insufficient water during all the rainy months that were supposed to be in December, January, February. It's a beautiful day out there for March. Too beautiful. Everything that you can think of that has to do with agriculture, crops, food, exporting of food, earning money from the exporting of food, connect it in your head with water.

Number four. Industry. This country is shifting from being an agricultural country to being an industrial country. So water which is connected in your mind with agriculture and food, and growth, and kibbutzim and farms and all of that, one part of Israel, used to be the major part, now think of it the other way. This is an industrial country. And when you can't breathe on the road because you've got all those damned fumes from the buses ahead of you, and you'll swear and you'll scream about ecology, about the beautiful country being destroyed as we are being destroyed, unfortunately, you'll weep, because this was once a pure place with beautiful pure air. And now the automobiles are getting it filthy. It's the price you pay. The country is going through a huge industrial revolution.

Number five. Arabs. Not connected with war and peace, which is the first item I talked about, but Arabs who live around us, work around us, it used to be that you could say to a group of people coming into this country, just think, everybody around you is a Jew. The fellow who collected the garbage, the fellow who is dealing with the mail, the policeman on the corner, everybody is Jewish in this country. It used to be a stock phrase. It used to be a phrase of wonderment, to the tourist, who would ride on a bus and look through the window and see a Jewish cow, there's a Jewish policeman, there's a Jewish house, built by Jews. Today, we've got living and working in Israel every single day, an Arab labour force of over 50,000 men who come in from across the Green Line, and who work in Israel and go home every day, a labour force of 50,000. It's a problem for us. We've got a big, heavy, overheated economy, short of labour, the Arabs are working, good for them, but it represents a new problem. So when you look around on the street around you, you no longer might be able to say, everybody out there is a Jew. Very likely not.

Under those five headings, war and peace, water/agriculture, industry, immigration, and Arabs. O.K.

Under the rubric of those five headings, let's try to cover a good number of topics. Obviously, I will leave out a good number of things, which we will try to cover in a question and answer period.

First topic of war and peace, in order for me to explain this to you I would like to explain this map to you, because I think that's the best way you could understand it. How many of you have been here before? So it's about 25%. Three-fourths first timers and one-fourth repeat. Approximately. The repeaters who have been here before will know this map. But just look at it again, it will refresh your memory.

For the first timers I'd like to explain it very carefully. Do you see the part which is dark green. The whole map is color coded. The part that's in dark green, right there, coming all the way down to here, that's the old Israel before the Six Day War. That's pre-1967 Israel. It's in dark green, and the territory that's in light green represents the post-'67 acquisitions, we call them the administered territories, we are administering them. Their future is undetermined. No peace, but they haven't been returned to anybody. Nobody's made any discussions about what the map will look like, so meanwhile they are what we call administered territories.

The dark green and the light green sit next to each other, that's why we use the phrase across the Green Line. You will hear the phrase "across the Green Line". Ha kav ha'yarak. The Green Line is the line which separates the dark green from the light green. This area of light green, right here, take a sweep around the City of Jerusalem, and continue it down here, this area is what's called the Western Bank. Why? There's a river here that goes from the Lake of Galilee down to the Dead Sea, which is blue, the river that connects is the Jordan River. A powerful mighty stream six feet wide! And the bank of the river - everything depends. You live on the East Bank, or on the West Bank. The East Bank is the country of Jordan. The West Bank on so-called "our" side of the river, this is west, here is the Mediterranean, we are almost back there, the West Bank area, north and south of Jerusalem - here's Jerusalem right here - a bulge on the north of it and a bulge on the south of it. These parts of the West Bank contain two-thirds of a million Arabs, 650,000 Arabs. I'll tell you about them in a minute. The light green up here on the Golan Heights, between the dark of the old Israel, and the light of the enemy here, Syria, all the enemy countries around us are in light colors, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudia Arabia, and Egypt. Up there the Golan Heights there are not living any Arabs, there are some Druse, and it's almost empty. So there's the Golan, here's the West Bank, over here is this little finger called the Gaza Strip, and all that is part of a big Sinai Peninsula. That's all light green. Do you know how large the Sinai Peninsula is in relationship to old Israel. It is about four times the size of pre-1967 Israel. And the Gaza Strip is nothing but a prolongation of the Sinai Peninsula, like a finger sticking up in Israel.

In the Gaza Strip, this little area here, there are about a third of a million Arabs. You have two-thirds of a million over here, a third of a million right in here, then in the whole big Sinai Peninsula you got about 30,000 Beduins. Not more than that. Wandering through the whole Sinai Peninsula.

Now you go over to the other side of the Sinai Peninsula and here's our line with Egypt. This is the Suez Canal. From the north here there is a place called Port Said, to the south here a place called Port Suez, this is the Suez Canal. Part of it is the Great Bitter Lake, and the Small Bitter Lake, part of it is a kind of a channel of a river, part of it is an artificial trench dug out. The total length of it from Port Said to Port Suez is 106 miles. Now, from 1967 until August of 1970, August 8th, from June 10th, when the war ended, until August 8th, three years later, this was the scene of very very heavy action. Since August 8th, 1970, we have had a ceasefire on this Suez Canal line. In the course of that ceasefire, airplanes have been shot down, and I'm not talking about the Libyan thing, I'll tell you about that in a minute. I am talking about military aircraft, dog-fights.

Fire has been exchanged, riding parties have taken place, prisoners have taken place, under the so-called ceasefire. This is the most dangerous line Israel has, because this is the line which Russia chose to fortify. When Russia threw her weight in with Egypt, here's Cairo, when Russia threw her weight in with Egypt, Russia took this territory, the triangle that I will draw, from Port Said down here

to Cairo, down here to Port Suez, so the Canal is the base of the triangle, the two sides go like that, inside this triangle, the base is 106 miles, the depth probably from the Canal over here to Cairo is about 75 miles, not a lot of space. Inside this area is where the Russians and Egyptians built up their forces. There are a half a million Egyptian troops in this triangle. In three lines of defense, the classic Russian methodology. The way they defended Moscow, the way they defended Stalingrad, they taught the Egyptians the same thing. Three lines of defense. In depth.

On the canal here they lined up the missile sites. Everything from the Sam-2's to the Sam-6's. They tried to build up an impenetrable curtain against Israeli air penetration, of Egyptian space, they called it the defensive line, actually it has offensive capabilities. The Russians brought 20,000 advisors into this area, they set up 62 missile sites, each site had 6 missiles on a launcher, and 6 reserves lying on the ground next to it, which could be mounted inside of half an hour. So you have 60 odd sites, with six missiles to a site, is over 360, and another 360 in the reserve, and how the hell many airplanes do you think Israel's got, that you need to set up 700 missiles against. I mean it's unbelievable, it's an unbelievable concentration of power, which was designed to crush and to intimidate and to frighten and to threaten and they didn't succeed in doing that, of course.

They not only set up the missiles, but they set up a system of artillery which the Russians believe in very heavily. They believe that they defeated the Nazis with artillery. And for all we know they possibly did. Because they really had no air force. And while they threw in Russian manpower in World War II by the million, millions got chopped up, soldiers got killed, manpower wasn't enough against the Nazi motorized divisions. It probably was the Russian artillery concept that thrust them back. So they taught the Egyptians the same thing. They put 1200 big guns on this line of 106 miles. Now 1200 big guns spread over 106 miles, doesn't mean 12 to a mile. Because there are many places as I say along the Great Bitter Lake and the Small Bitter Lake, where you don't need to put them in. So there were places where huge artillery Howitzers and batteries are hubcap to hubcap and the Russians have got the biggest guns in the world, 203 mm. The United States, the largest it makes is 175. So that the Russians poured in here the best they had, everything they had, in quantity and in quality, in the most intimidating array. And the artillery is what took the heaviest toll on us at the beginning. We suffered terrible terrible casualties, at the beginning of the War of Attrition. Following the Six Day War.

We were not equipped with enough defenses, and our men were just simply caught in very heavy artillery barrages, we lost hundreds of men until we built a system of bunkers along this Canal which you are going to see, I think, and you'll see the kind of bunkers that were built up there. Huge hacks of rock strapped in with steel straps. Concrete apartments, dug in under sand. If you go down to the lines, which I mean to the bunker on the edge of the water, the

whole water is like 100 yards across, you can wave to the Egyptians, and you can take pictures of them and they'll take pictures of you. And if you stand there on the top of that massive set up you can see how this investment of hundreds and hundreds of millions of pounds, was developed in order to protect the lives of the men who stay there, because if shelling and firing start again, we have now a system by which the men go underground, fire our guns from underground, telephone system communication between bunkers is underground, food can be served underground, and that was not the case a few years ago.

In the 5½ years since the Six Day War, we developed a system which after we paid heavily for it in blood, then we decided to pay heavily in money instead, and build a protective, safe bunker.

Now it's quiet and there is no shelling, there won't be tomorrow, and you will see it, and then - it could start again, there is no guarantee that it won't. You'll have a very clear picture in your mind of what the Suez Canal line looks like.

The other item down at the bottom of the Sinai Peninsula is a point which you can't see on the map, it's called Sharm-el-Sheikh, and this is a key point in the strategy of this whole area, because you see this water here, right down here there's the Straits of Tiran, and it is a blue water that goes right up here to the Port of Eilat.

Now, what started the war in 1967 was that they blockaded down here. Blockaded the Straits of Tiran by taking this position at Sharm el Sheikh and putting up big naval guns. It's like a cork in a bottle. The entrance to the Strait of Tiran down here at the bottom is 400 yards wide. And what the hell they put these big naval guns up for I don't know, because you could close 400 yards with a good 50 calibre machine gun. You could rake the deck of any ship trying to get through. You don't need great big howitzers. But that's always the principle of overkill. Apply more force than you really need. It looks fierce, and if you ever get down there you will see these big spiked Egyptian naval guns, with barrels exploded outward in a petal-like flower form.

The Strait of Tiran is open, and it has to stay open, otherwise Israel can't breathe on that lung of Eilat, and the shipping that goes down from this Gulf of Eilat down to Africa and over to Asia, is crucial for the export and the import life of our country.

Now, let's cover the whole question of territories, because I know that that bothers you. If you are sufficiently leftist oriented what you say is lousy rotten Israeli imperialistic country, why doesn't it make peace by giving the territories back.

Have you heard the argument, is it familiar to you? Vocally expressed by young Jewish students better than anybody else, they express it better than the Arabs can, better than the Christians can, better than anybody can. They are a most interesting adversary. They are the generation that you have to try to win over.

I think by the way that their point of view is beginning to die out. What they said all the time, for the past 5½ years is why doesn't Israel give back the territory and thereby make peace. Well the basic premise is wrong. That's the whole trouble with their argument, nothing else.

The basic premise is that if you gave back the territories tomorrow morning, that wouldn't buy peace. Peace or war in this whole instance, is not a territorial matter at all. Peace or war in this part of the world, you must understand, and this is a fact which you must understand for the next 20 years of your life, peace or war in this part of the world depends not upon conquering territories, or taking back territories, or advancing or retreating, it involves one principal fact. The willingness on the part of the Arab world to recognize the existence of the State of Israel, to validate that, to agree to it and to give up the myth that somehow Israel can be destroyed.

Once that myth is given up, and once there is an Arab recognition and acceptance of the fact that Israel is here permanently to stay, must be dealt with, and cannot be wished away as if it didn't exist, either by rhetoric or by canons, then and only then peace will come. And the whole point of our effort today is to close off the Arab options to any choice except peace. We've got to close off their options. And we are doing it. We have to close off the military option, so that they don't remain under the illusion that they can destroy us again on the battlefield. The way you close off the military option is to make it perfectly clear to them that you are strong enough so that they cannot possibly defeat you. That's their dilemma. There's a cruel dilemma going on inside of what I call the pathetic confusion of the Arab world. The more they talk about uniting themselves, the happier we are. Their union is always in big elaborate conferences, which are always abortions, because they don't come to grips with reality. They have a united, a union conference in order to figure out a new military plan, and they now have a new supreme commander of a united front, of Egypt, Jordan and Syria, and I think the purpose of that military commander is going to have to keep the three of them away from each other's throats.

We hope, slowly but surely, that the military option is being closed off, and that they realize that with our capacity to defend ourselves, with continued United States support that was just expressed by the Nixon/Meir visit, with the facts of life being as they are, that the Arab world is reduced to terrorism, which involves killing miscellaneous ambassadors in odd and assorted parts of the world, on the periphery, Bangkok, or Khartoum, or maybe Amsterdam, but you know, that's not fighting the fight here, is it? A very interesting bankruptcy involved in this whole terrorist action, because they can't come to grips with the essence of the matter here.

What the hell's the difference if they decide next week to pick some other esoteric sounding place, and some poor guy gets caught in a meat grinder through no fault of his own. There are huge tragedies, but the war, the terrorist war, doesn't solve anything here, does it? And that's an indication of the fact that their military options are being closed off. Thank God.

The second thing we have to do is to close off their option of belief that they can destroy us by attrition. Nerves. That our population will get tired, that you will get tired, and not give support, that somehow or other a paralysis will set in inside the Israeli population, that the students will revolt, that something will happen, that they can harm us by attrition. If they grind away at us long enough, they have to become disabused of that. That option has got to be closed off.

Thirdly the option of belief that they can break us economically, bankrupt us, that option has to be closed off. And slowly but surely the closing of option after option to them, leaving them only the only option of settling it with us. Settling the quarrel with us.

And when the understanding of that finally penetrates deeply enough, then only then, are you going to get any movements towards peace. Either a partial settlement, or a full settlement. Let me explain to you the use of the word partial settlement, because you will hear more about it in the papers and just think of it this way.

Egypt, you don't like Israel, you don't want to make peace with Israel, you don't want to settle things with Israel. Well how about partial settlement. Open up the canal. Partial settlement. Make Israel withdraw a little bit, somewhere, some line back here to which Israel will withdraw. You open the canal. You got to send your technicians over on to the Israeli side, to dredge - there's five years of sand there, it's been silting over, - recement the side, you know, open the thing technically, take you six months of work, let the world shipping begin to go through the canal again, you take the tolls, Egypt, about 300 million bucks a year. You're broke. Nice, wouldn't you like to have it. If Israel will agree. Now why don't we get going on this partial settlement. Never mind the whole settlement, never mind what will happen with the whole Sinai, never mind that you don't sign a peace treaty, don't - get partial settlement, O.K. This is kind of dipping your feet in the water. Make a deal with Israel on one thing, only one. Don't recognize her. Don't exchange ambassadors. Don't say you love her. Don't invite Golda to Cairo. Nothing. Just partial settlement about the canal, O.K. You won't talk to Israel face to face, let's do it this way. Let's have what we call proximity talks. That's another phrase I want you to learn. That's gobbeldygood, bureaucratic talk. It means this. Israel takes the 10th floor in the Waldorf Towers, Egypt takes the 8th floor of the Waldorf Towers. Waldheim runs up and down the elevator from the 8th floor to the 10th floor and you got proximity talks.

Sounds joking doesn't it. In 1949 proximity talks took place on the island of Rhodes and the elevator operator was Ralph Bunche. And the Jews sat in one villa, and the Arabs sat in another villa, and the Jews sat there with incredible inordinate patience, for Jews. From January until April, four bloody months, five months almost, making proximity talks with country after country after country, and five armistice treaties were signed in those five months. Iraq finally walked out and never signed anything, so she's had the advantage technically of being in a good pure legal state of war with us for 25 years, she never even signed an armistice treaty in 1949, so she's the purest of all the Arab countries.

So, O.K, we did proximity talks in 1949, we'll do proximity talks in 1973. As weird as it sounds. But Egypt isn't ready, either for partial settlement, or proximity talks. However, those two phrases will keep cropping up all the time, so now you know what they mean. O.K.

I have no faith in it, I want you to know that straight out. I don't think we are going to get any partial settlement here, I don't think we are going to get any total settlement, I think we are going to continue for another 20 years trying to close off the options, the most important thing is to make sure that they don't exercise the military option, because there is no need to pour blood out into the sands of the desert any longer. Their's also. They are also human beings. They are the enemy, but they are human beings. I think we have 20 years of trying to close off the military option. I think we've got 20 years of continuing to grow as a country so they see they can't destroy us by attrition. I think we've got 20 years of increasing our GNP, increasing the taxes we pay, increasing the contributions you pay so that they can't exercise the economic option of destroying us by bankruptcy, and slowly but surely, as time goes on, it's got to dawn on some Arab leaders somewhere, some place, that they'd better just give in and admit that Israel is here to stay. When that consciousness dawns, then you've got peace, and not before that.

If you ask me how long it's going to take, all I know is that they think in long terms. And the analogy that they use is the Crusades. The Christians came to this country from Europe in the 10th century. Popes, Kings, the battle armour, the horses, Richard the Lionhearted, 200 years worth of it. And it wasn't until the end of the 12th century that we finally got rid of the damned Christians. Alright, it took 200 years, so what's the rush to make peace with the Jews. So the Jews came in the 19th century, and the 20th century and they worked a little bit, the 21st century, the 22nd century, we'll knock them out of the box. Just like we did it with the Christians, ten centuries ago, so we'll do it with the Jews today. That's what they think. Until they change that thinking, you and I are going to be in business together.

So that whenever anybody talks to you about peace or war, I want you to have a very very long look, just as long as their look. And any evasions on your part or any shortsightedness on your part or any desire on your part to find some quick and easy solution is totally wrong and a total disservice to the Jewish position, and I would heartily recommend that unless you are willing to enlist for the duration, you'd better unenlist fast, and get out of it, because what you're getting into is something that's going to occupy you your whole life. And if you don't want it then check out now. Don't give us any illusions of strength and support; if you are real with your strength and support, then be prepared to give it for your lifetime. If you are not real, if the fight is too tough for you, if it looks like it's too long for you, then get out now, so we can get an accurate assessment of our strength. You are our strength. And if you are real strength, and we can count on you for a long time, fine. But if you are a kind of summer soldier, to use the word of Tom Paine, you are kidding us and yourself. Don't do it. Don't kid.

There is nothing in this Sinai except possibly the mountain upon which Moses got the Ten Commandments, maybe a couple of old abandoned manganese and emerald mines, there could be uranium. A lot of rocks, not much water, and if you ask me what this thing is worth, I haven't got a clue. What's it worth historically, what's it worth poetically, what's it worth religiously. What's it worth mineralogically. Is it worth keeping, or would you give it back? We'll give it back, if that would help find peace. And they know it. I am giving you the answer now to the question of the territories. They know damn well that we'll go back to some agreed upon point, somewhere over to this side. They know that Sharm el Sheikh is crucial to us. We can't give that back. We got to have a presence down there. We can't risk having those Straits blocked again, and we are not going to give it to the United Nations because they are like the firemen that ran away the minute the fire bell rang. Ring the fire bell, there's going to be a fire. Goodbye. And everybody takes off. So who needs that anymore. So that's out. That's that.

I, speaking for myself, personally, my own personal opinion, I would put a joint Israeli/Egyptian garrison down in Sharm el Sheikh and by that, I think that would be dead clever, I think that would help them save their face. It wouldn't bother me. Whatever they want to put down there, we can put down there, together, two men in a jeep. I don't think they are anywhere near willing. So I think whatever offer we make on that one, they are going to hold out and we are going to hold out, and that's going to be a stubborn point. That's as far as the Sinai is concerned. As far as the Gaza Strip is concerned, I think that they can have it back, and make it part of Sinai. What do I need it for with 350,000 Arabs living there. On the other hand, the facts of the matter are that as life goes on, as time goes on, time makes its own decision. Where politicians don't make decisions, time makes decisions. What's happening down here very simply is the refugee camps which the Egyptians kept going for 20 years here, slowly and surely we are beginning to bulldoze them down. Slowly but surely we are beginning to scatter the people. Here in a town called El Arish which was an Egyptian town, there were just thousands of empty houses. We began to suggest to the people, why not move over here into a real house, what do you want to live in a tin shack for. You can. O.K. so some thousands of families have moved down there now. A very nice solution. Humane, good for them, good for us. Gaza used to be a place, the City of Gaza, used to be a place which we called Grenade Alley. The main street of Gaza, the cars are coming down here, terrorists used to stand in the doorway, on either side of the street, take a grenade, pull the pin, roll the grenade out into the middle of the street, but just at the right speed so it would explode underneath the vehicle. If you roll it too fast, it will go under the vehicle and cross the road, and explode on the other side of the road and won't do any damage. If you roll it too slowly it will explode on your side of the road, and that's bad. So you just get it right across the road, at the right distance, so that a vehicle going perpendicular to it, you will catch it under the chassis. That's a nice game that went on for a year or two. And Gaza was a place which we earnestly recommended that there should be no civilian traffic, and we never sent missions there. Are you going to Gaza?

You are going to Gaza tomorrow. No problems. What happened. Did somebody make peace in Gaza? No. Life took care of it. You look in the shops in the main street in Gaza City, Israeli shirts, 35 pounds apiece, Israeli television sets, 2200 pounds a piece, the shops are full, people want to buy those things. They don't care much about big problems of war or peace. When I say life has a way of taking care of things, human beings are human beings, and they learn to live in the midst of all kinds of circumstances, and they want a refrigerator, and they want a new shirt, and they want to send their kids to the school like everybody else. And slowly but surely the more of those things they want, the closer we are going to come to peace. That's what's going to bring peace.

On the West Bank the situation is the same. The 650,000 Arab farmers, which is what they are essentially, although some industry is beginning here, are all citizens of Jordan. We don't insist they be citizens of Israel. Their cars have Jordanian licence plates on them. They don't pay taxes to Israel. I don't know whether they pay taxes to Jordan or not, I don't know how good the Jordanian tax collection system is.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Across the river, that mighty stream, there are three bridges. Going into Jordan. We have a policy which was set up by the superhawk, Moshe Dayan, which says, let them cross the bridges. Let them go to Jordan. If they want to load a truck with potatoes and go across the bridge and drive up to Amman, the capital, sell the potatoes, get money, Jordanian money, come back across the bridge, put the money in the bank, or use the money to buy a television set, why should I care, what do I care. Open bridges. If you tell me that I've got to worry that when they come back in the empty truck they are going to bring back some plastic explosive to perform acts of terrorism, maybe. But I'll take the chance. Open bridges policy. Easy military administration. If you drive anywhere through the whole West Bank which we occupy as administered territories, if you look for an Israeli soldier, tank, truck, visible sign, you won't find it. We are there, but we try to be as unobtrusive and low profile in order to not irritate them, not to bother them, not to annoy them, as possible.

We got to treat them as much like free decent people as we know how to do; the fact of the matter is that if the guy wants to get the truck and not take the vegetables to Amman to sell, but he wants to get the truck and take the vegetables to Tel Aviv to sell, he can do that too. And there is no bridge to cross. There's nothing to cross. All he's got to do is watch out for crazy Israeli drivers who might kill him. So he gets in his truck and goes to the market. And he sells his stuff to the Israeli market and Israel money. He puts Israeli money in the bank together with his Jordanian money, how much freer than that can you get?

A very interesting pattern is developing. This terrible imperialistic Israel which doesn't want to give back the territories, I think we are going to find a situation that if we ever could make a deal and say to the King of Jordan O.K., take it back, goodbye Charlie, he's going to say no, and the people on the West Bank would want to say no, and they are going to say we would rather be linked with Israel, and it's like two guys wrestling in a ring that can't disengage from each other. I think that if we want to get rid of them we are not going to be able to.

I think we've got a paradoxical situation where we've got a whole bunch of new potential citizens of Israel whether we realize it or not, life takes care of things. When I said that 50,000 Arabs come in every day, across the Green Line, Arabs going into Netanya and Tel Aviv, to work, Arabs going to Haifa to work, Arabs coming into Jerusalem to work, they come across the Green Line, how do they come across the Green Line? Is there some barrier, is there some barbed wire, is there some police control where they can show their passes? They get on a truck anywhere, in Schem, in Ramallah, and they cross the Green Line. The driver picks them up in the morning, the driver drives a tender and is employed by an Israeli trucking company, the driver is an Israeli, it's an Israeli truck. It goes into Nablus, it picks up 10 Arab workers, it drives them to Jerusalem, they work 8 or 9 hours, they are driven back home. That's how complicated it is.

You have 50,000 men, heads of families, and use the figure of five, that's 250,000, a quarter of a million, of the two thirds of a million, who are living here, are working in Israel already, or living off work in Israel.

So who is talking about giving what back to whom, it's getting very mixed up. In the direction of peace. So I want you to have a very clear understanding, and here's how we finish with this topic. I want you to have a very clear understanding of what war and peace means here.

War and peace means no peace treaties, I think no settlement of anything, neither partial nor full, I think no proximity talks, or no distant talks or nothing. I think a lot of windmill treading, maybe Kissinger can break it, who knows. If he can let him try, we will give him a go. And I'm not saying that sarcastically. Maybe he's got some kind of magic. And he can bring two sets of diplomats together, and if he can he will be a clever Jewish boy from Germany who did it all over again.

(interruption: they won't let him into Egypt) - oh, well, proximity talks, you don't have to go to Egypt, you can go to the Nicosia Hilton. You will find no peace, no settlement, no nothing, but I hope to God you will find no war in the terms of outbreak of big war. You will always find, you will permanently have here, and don't forget it, constant new outbreaks of hostilities on a small scale, which I call war because it kills a man. And anything that kills a 19 year old Israeli soldier to me is a war. So all the smart alocs in the world could tell you there's no war here, and I tell you that every time we have a fight or a raid, November over the Golan Heights we shot down 6 Mig aircraft and destroyed 15 tanks,

we lost troops, we lost people. I don't care about equipment, that's only money. I call it war. That's what you are going to have here. And you can weep and you can cry, but be brave and be strong and be prepared to accept that, and back it up, with your support. The giving back of the territories is no problem. That is not an obstacle, we know what we are prepared to give back, they know what we are prepared to give back. That can come only when we finally talk.

I'll conclude this whole part by the crack that Eban made the other day when he was giving a talk to a group of people and somebody said to him, they heard that King Hussein had told some journalist in the United States that he was prepared to agree, to accept a line of Israeli settlements along the Jordan River, if he could have some sovereignty in Jerusalem, and what did Eban think about that. Eban said, look he doesn't know whether Hussein wants to make peace with Evans and Novack, if he does, that's his privilege, but they haven't got the Israeli authority to make peace, and so Hussein wants to give any ideas to Israel, fine and even if he doesn't want to talk to us directly, he could talk to us indirectly. So peace is never made in the newspapers. And peace is never made by third parties, and until the parties to the conflict face each other, there won't be any peace, and that's it.

Is that a gloomy picture? No. They aren't going to be able to break us militarily, they aren't going to be able to break us by attrition psychologically, they aren't going to be able to break us economically by bankruptcy, so all that's very healthy and very strong, but we are going to have to fight with them for a long time. So I am not pessimistic, and I am not optimistic, I am very realistic about it. And I don't look very nervous, I don't think and I don't look very uptight about it, I don't think, and neither does anybody else here. We just know we've got a hell of a long hard fight ahead of us on our hands, and we are going to have to keep on doing it. Finish point number one.

Let's take a break for one second and ask for any questions on this point.

Lawrence Davis, Wichita, Kansas:

I have two basic questions. One is there any plan to tax the Arabs if they are working in Israel, if they are earning money and taking it back, and secondly, the question of the economic problem with the Arabs and the oil situation which occurs today and which we are hearing about, ten years from now they say the Arabs are going to control the world through their oil, what does that do to Israel?

Mr. Friedman:

Regarding whether the Arabs are taxed or not, I don't really know the technical details. I think Arabs who work in the dark Green Line, are taxed by withholding at source. I think they are. I think everybody who works in this country, there is a law that the employer takes it off at the source.

As far as the second thing is concerned, about worrying about the Arabs' control in the world and all that. Listen, I think - I don't think there is much in it realistically, to tell you the truth. With the world have the energy crisis which it has now, everybody has a tendency to get real scared about the source of supply. Supposing the Arabs cut us off. Supposing the Arabs didn't deliver oil to the West. Supposing the Arabs decide that they are going to boycott the West. Suppose - that's the argument right?

My answer to that is, well what the hell are they going to do with the oil, drink it? How can they control American companies with their money? All they can do is refuse to pump. How is an American company going to lose control of itself by selling its stock to anybody, to such an extent - do you think that Standard Oil is going to sell control, who's got control now? Nobody.

Question:influence on Washington..

Mr. Friedman:

Not very strong. Hasn't been up till now, has it. The crisis hasn't been as crucial? Don't fear, I don't understand the psychology of fear that pervades all your questions. Standard Oil stock is held in the hands of two million people. I don't know how many people hold it. You want to worry that somewhere behind the scenes, somewhere in Geneva some clever Arab is manipulating and buying up all blocks of stock so that one fine day Standard Oil finds it's owned by the Prince of Kuwait, or the Emir of Abu Dabi. I don't understand the fear.

Question: What about small companies. Who could be controlled like the Mafia has learned to control ..

Mr. Friedman:

I don't know what you mean by that. That sounds terribly vague to me. Terribly vague. Control is for one purpose. In order to do what you want. What do they want? Not to sell the oil. Of course they want to sell the oil. So I don't give a damn who they sell it to. It ultimately winds its way to the market. Maybe somebody makes some dough out of it, in between maybe some corruption takes place, maybe somebody gets richer on it in between, but it cannot throttle the markets of world industry. The Arabs have got two choices. To pump it and sell it, or not pump it. Now there is nowhere in the Arab world, any dream of not pumping it. Nowhere. Why not?

Question.. Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Friedman:

Don't talk Saudi Arabia. The King of Saudi Arabia, however many cents he gets per barrel he wants. Period. You think that there is some big united Arab cause there that's going to motivate the King of Saudi Arabia not to get richer? No way.

Question: His gold reserve though is equal to some of the greater nations in the world.

Mr. Friedman:

He'd like to make it bigger. You have an unnatural fear.

Question: But hasn't it had an effect already on the European policy towards Israel, the Arabs' approach..

Mr. Friedman:

Look, try to keep the problem in very clear big context for yourself. Don't look into tiny little ifs. The question was, hasn't the Arab influence on European countries made life more difficult for us? We don't want them to have life made more difficult for us. England is making life more difficult for us, France is making life more difficult for us, without the Arabs. France doesn't want Israeli oranges to enter the Common Market duty free. It's got nothing to do with Arab oil. We got constant problems in life to live and fight our way forward as a tiny country in the middle of all the big giants of the world, and we have to keep doing it, and there is no one evil worse than any other evil, so don't think about this gigantic oil problem as something which is a super monster that we have to face. No, it isn't.

Question: It's a crisis which we have to face in the next few months in the United States. Our gas prices are going to soar, and the American public is going to want something done about it. We have inflation, and I am not sure that the United States is not going to put enough pressure on Israel to make it do the sort of things that it might not...

Mr. Friedman:

Now, wait.. There is no connection between gasoline prices in the United States and Israel's desire to remain alive in the world. The United States is not going to say to Israel, surrender. The United States is not going to say to Israel, give the Arabs anything they want so the Arabs will be nice to us and sell us oil cheaper.

If Israel disappeared off the face of the earth tomorrow morning, it's not going to lower the price of Arab oil. And the United States government knows that. The United States government doesn't hold Israel as the factor to blame for the rise in oil prices.

Question: Yes, but you certainly don't deceive yourself to the extent of thinking that Nixon's disposition to Israel would not change if it was politically expedient.

Mr. Friedman:

That's a theoretical question. We don't deceive ourselves on anybody. We have gone through an awful lot of experiences.

Question: We deceive ourselves as to the necessity of continued American support for continued Israeli existence.

Mr. Friedman:

No. We've got to have continued American support, two kinds. Your kind, as American citizens, and the American government permitting you to do it.

Question: I think that's the question really, can you count on American political support?

Mr. Friedman:

We think so.

Question: And you don't think the oil has any

Mr. Friedman:

None whatsoever. We think that American political support of the State of Israel preceded the existence of this State, we think American support of Israel has been independent of political parties, we think American support of Israel is deeply grounded in the American protestant ethic with its base in the Bible. American support of Israel was not dependent on whether Max Fisher will get enough campaign contributions for Richard Nixon in 1972. It was a President of America in 1952 and a President of America in 1962, and I hope to God there always will be a Max Fisher who will be in a close position with the American President, and that's a good thing to have, a wonderful thing to have, but it's been every American President, in every Administration, more or less.

Now we want more rather than less, obviously, in terms of support, but American support of Israel has been partisan, and has existed since 1917. Every single session of the Congress of the United States since 1917 till 1972, has passed resolutions of support either for the movement of Zionism or for the State of Israel and that's over 50 years. So -

Question: This is a lot of chutzpa for me to argue with your prognosis, but I feel that it's based on logic, and I think that the hatred and hostility among the Arabs is not logical and can't be reached by logic.

Mr. Friedman:

Agreed. It's no disagreement. So that's why I say we aren't going to have any peace. I am just saying for a long time. Logic should bring us to a matter of signing a peace treaty. If it doesn't, it won't. I agree 100%.

Mr. Joel Schneider, Hollywood:

My question has to do with the terrorism and Israeli reaction and is there anything that Israel can do to satisfactorily curb terrorist activity. In other words, is it worth it to raid a camp here and a camp there?

Mr. Friedman:

Yes. It is worth it. We do do it. We did it. We did it last week. You guys lost track of the thing. Does anybody realize that on the day that the Libyan plane went down we made a very deep raid, a penetration raid, way up here, way north, you can't see it on this map. Syria swings around and comes over on the top of Lebanon. Way up here, another 100 miles north. We went into Lebanon by double force, by sea and by helicopter way up north on the Syrian border, and smashed up two camps. In a night operation. It was very lovely and very well executed. We didn't lose a single dead. We had six wounded. Brought them all back. And busted up two big Arab camps full of terrorists. We found a lot of Japanese there, Turks, Cypriots, you can say what the hell is it their fight, but you know the world's full of nuts. And we smashed up the camps, and that helps. We know for instance that the Japanese who came and did us in at Lydda Airport last May were trained up at that camp. So yes, we can stop terrorism by some tactics on our part. But what the hell, we do not control every airport in the world. I'm joking. The bottom line of the thing is we can't control terrorism everywhere in the world. We can try to stop it at the source. We can try to stop it inside our own country. We can try to give tips to police, Interpol, customs police in every airport in the world. But there are going to be terrorist episodes, and they are going to continue to be and there is no way to stop them all.

Question: I know you are not disregarding it, but anti-semitism is present and has been present since the beginning of time, and I can't see that even with the Protestant ethic overriding the anti-semitism that is inherent in many Americans - not everywhere - but it is there. You don't think the anti-semitism is going to make a reversal, disregarding the Christian ethic.

Mr. Friedman:

The answer to it is, no I do not. The question was, do I think that the basic inherent anti-semitism which exists among most Christians and most people in the United States are Christians, and most people there are Christians, don't I think therefore that the basic anti-semitism which is part of the Christian mind will cause a reversal of this pro-Israel sympathy and react negatively at some point in the future.

And I answered no. I am going to give you - a week from tomorrow, Friday, I'm going to be with you again in Jerusalem. We are going to take the whole morning, four hours, and I'm going to talk to you about Hitler, and the Destruction of the Jews of Europe, how it happened, why it happened, and the effect of it and its relationship to the building of this country. And at that point I'll cover the whole question in depth. But let me just give you one answer and say very simply this. Anti-semitism is deeply inherent in the Christian religion; genocide, political anti-semitism, that results in genocide, finds its roots in religious anti-semitism. Religious anti-semitism is going to remain as a factor on the face of this earth so long as the Christians maintain their religion in its present form. When they change some of the content of the teachings of their religion, anti-semitism will disappear. Can that be done in 50 years or 500 years or a 1000 years, that's how serious they are about it. So we are going to live with that forever. We are not going to disappear. If they won't change, anti-semitism won't disappear. So we are going to live with it forever. Basically, radically, it doesn't erupt much in a country like America, or in international relations against Israel. It could. 100 years from now, there might be a dictator in America. Erupt political anti-semitism, genocide, also that would take an anti-Israel tone. But you see I can't predict the course of history forever. The factors are present. At the moment they don't take the form of anti-Israel sentiment. Could they in the future? I suppose so, sure. Let's leave it at that, and I'll say more about it.

Question: Two questions. What is the Labour Party's feelings about these ever-growing number of strikes in Israel and my second question is the juvenile delinquency problem in Israel.

Mr. Friednan:

I'll tell you what. Let me leave both of those. Strikes and JD until 15 minutes from now when I'll get into the internal social topics inside the country. Let's finish now with the political, and let me say everybody, let's rule out all questions except war and peace, international politics. Let's get those done so we can move on to other topics.

Mr. Merrill Jacobs, Tampa, Fla.:

Two questions. First one has to do with the relationship between Israel and France.

Mr. Friednan:

Frozen.

Mr. Jacobs:

..and the second is do you feel that the Arabs themselves would do anything to curb the terrorists in view of the fact that they are beginning to occur in their own countries?

Mr. Friedman:

Your first question, relations between Israel and France are frozen. Nothing to do with the Election. I mean Pompidou blew his stack when Mrs. Meir went to an international socialist meeting in Paris a few weeks ago, four other heads of government did also, who call themselves socialists, he is beleaguered, he is losing the election, he feels nervous and upset. He doesn't want any damn socialists to come to his country and have a meeting in Paris, which would give sympathy to his socialist opponent in the domestic election.

So he blew his stack at the fact that the meeting was held in the first place, and then like a real bitchy lady after blowing his stack at all the five Prime Ministers who came, he took a particular whack at Golda, and said, what the hell is she coming here for. What's the difference. The Austrian Prime Minister is a socialist and the Danish Prime Minister, they were also there, so why pick out the Israeli Prime Minister. But he couldn't help it because it's symptomatic of the bad relations between France and Israel. He doesn't like us and we don't like him.

You don't know me very well, but one thing you will learn about me is that I don't make broad generalizations because I don't think they mean a damn thing. I really don't. I'm a very practical highly pragmatic person. I know the Prime Minister of France doesn't like us so I say that. Whether the people of France like us, how can you tell, I don't know.

I suspect that we have a larger reservoir of goodwill among the people than would appear from the attitude of the government. I do know that for a fact.

Your second question was about Arabs curbing terrorism. Well listen, what the hell, in Khartoum the Saudi Arabian Ambassador gets kidnapped. Well, I don't know if he likes that or not. I should think that maybe they will begin to learn some lessons. Nixon when he said a couple of days ago that the whole world, every government has got to clamp down on this and not give the terrorists a place of refuge, he said, no one is exempt from this. Not even the United States. We thought we were far away from all this. But here the American Ambassador and First Secretary get killed. Nobody's exempt from it, not even you people in the Arab world. O.K., so if they learn their lesson maybe they will do something about it. But Arafat, the head of the Fatah, and by the way his noble, courageous guerilla organization fighting for the freedom of the Palestinians, the Fatah, whom our left wing students adore, and whom "Time" magazine put on its front cover three years ago, the Fatah or the Black September, there isn't any difference, so Arafat sends a telegram to the President of the Sudan and says, terribly sorry, we really have nothing to do with this, and then he sends a telegram to the President of Libya, saying rah rah for the team. We really did it didn't we. Because he has Libya in his corner. So everybody knows and the Arab world will stamp it out if it ever really gets to be a government annoyance to it.

All I know is the King of Jordan stamped it out in Jordan, and there are no terrorist bases in Jordan, and he likes it that way and we like it that way. Now he managed to do it so why the hell can't the others.

I'll tell you an episode and then I'll finish it. Syria, Golan Heights, town of Amman. Anybody know what happened September 20th, 1970? Big civil war brewing inside Jordan, the terrorists were up in the North of the country in some camps here, threatening to come down and take over Amman. The King of Jordan said, what the hell is going on. The Government of Syria, lovely Arab colleague government sees a chance to stick the knife in, so they mobilize and send 200 tanks across the border to give support to the guerillas to go on down to Amman. King of Jordan hollars "help", so the United States Government goes to the Israel Government, "Help", the Israel Government mobilizes two brigades of tanks on the Golan and says to Syria, if you move, we shoot. 200 Syrian tanks turned around and went back. The King of Jordan sent a note, thank you. Now that's a shorthand version of actual events and I happened to be a witness to the event because the thing took place on the night that Prime Minister Golda Meir was in New York, speaking to a big UJA closed circuit television dinner and the plane was waiting for her out at the field, Kennedy, to leave to come home, and the passengers had been waiting for three or four hours and they didn't know why they didn't take off at 8 o'clock, but we knew the plane wasn't going to leave till midnight, till she finished making that speech. About 11 o'clock when the dinner was over and she was off the platform at the Hilton - beep beep - secret service transmitters, 18 guys around, Mr. Kissinger is looking for Mrs. Meir, go upstairs in a room, in the hotel, and - a true story - and the White House wanted to know from Mrs. Meir before she got on the plane to go home, what Israel would do to help solve this problem. She said, I'll call you back. She called Moshe here in Tel Aviv, it was about 11 p.m. at night in New York, so it was about 5 in the morning in Tel Aviv, she woke him up and he said, what's the problem. She said, the White House is nervous. He said, I don't know why. He said, we got two brigades mobilized up there, if you say go, we go. She said, O.K. hold the line, and she called back the White House, and said we were prepared to move on certain conditions, in case Egypt stabbed us in the back we wanted U.S. support here, because that was a possibility; no.2 we wanted to make sure that the Russians were informed, because if we were going to intervene here against Syria, the Russians had to know why, no surprises, and third, she wanted some U.S. airforce officers, with U.S. airforce maps. From 6th Fleet headquarters in Naples. To fly in. In order that the Russians could pick up the American plane on their radar and know that the Americans were acting together with the Israelis in this venture. Kissinger said, wait a minute, I'll call you back. And he talks to the Big Man, and the Big Man says, O.K. And then she says O.K. and then she gets on the plane and 12 hours she's flying home, everything is quiet, she talks to Moshe once or twice on the plane, came back, landed, got into the huddle with him, by this time we had moved right clean up to the frontline, and down here there's a place called El Hamra, where Syria and Jordan come together - you ought to try and go to all the interesting places -

and then she talked to Washington again the second day, when she was back home, and said everything was under control. It looks like they won't move, it looks like we won't have to move, and it looks like this attempted civil war in Jordan is under control.

And from that day to this there's been no terrorist base on Jordanian soil and the King of Jordan is just as interested in getting rid of them as we are, and that's the answer to the question of will the Arabs control their terrorists. They'd better. They should. It's in their interests to. Will they, that's the question. How logical are they? Not very.

Question: How long is Hussein going to last?

Mr. Friedman:

That's a speculative question. Hussein was walking in the city of Jerusalem on a Friday morning into the El Aksa Mosque on the top of the Temple Mount in the city; the Temple Mount area is the area on which King Solomon's Temple was once built. There are two Arab mosques on top of that area now. One of the retaining walls that holds up that whole big area is called the Western Wall. That wall is, remains from King Herod's day, Temple Mount area in Jerusalem is a beautiful area. They even put two mosques exactly where we used to have our temple. Why put it 100 yards one side of the other when you can put it right on top and create religious warfare for another thousand years? On that morning, in 1951, this 11 year old boy was walking with his grandfather Abdullah, to enter the Mosque to pray, when his grandfather was shot by an Arab terrorist, who was annoyed because the grandfather had met with Golda Meyerson in order to talk peace between Jordan and Israel. And the Arab terrorist was so annoyed that he shot the King and the blood splattered all over the little grandson whose hand he was holding. He was eleven. His father became the King, Tallal. His father was a manic depressive and a schizophrenic and died a few years later in a sanatorium in Switzerland. And he became King when he was 17. And that was in 1957. How long will Hussein last - Hussein has lasted from 1957 until now. Will he get shot tomorrow morning by some Egyptian assassin? Could be. There have been four or five attempts on his life. So I can't tell you how long he will last. There's no way of knowing. Everything is really quite erratic in the Arab world. In the 24 years, 25 years, that we've had a stable government in this country, in Syria our neighbour, in 25 years there have been 21 changes in government, by coup d'etat. Not a one by election. You shoot your predecessor and you become king and then you watch out for your back to see that somebody doesn't shoot you.

I can't answer about the stability of the Arab rulers. It has no predictable pattern.

Question: Are you underestimating the general American gentile public? I really don't feel - that they think it's fine we have a State of Israel, but if it was taken away I don't think they would be terribly upset. But they are very much afraid of the rising inflation in the States, and there is a big question in the States right now, which is more important, the Arab oil or the Jewish vote. To the politician.

It frightens me a little because politicians can turn whichever way the wind blows. I don't know how much they would back up Israel if inflation got too bad. You just make your decision, you want the Jewish vote or the Gentile vote.

Mr. Friedman:

I can only try as best I know how to reassure you and if you are still nervous and can't be reassured, then I would suggest having a talk with your local newspaper editor. Sound out really the depth of his feelings.

Question: I don't think he could care less.

Mr. Friedman:

Then go and educate them a little bit. I can't allay your fears. I can only tell you how we look at it here. If you look at it differently, O.K. What can I do? Yes?

Question: To reinforce your thinking, I think in the last year, you've seen a change in U.S. policy towards what is being done about the energy crisis. They are not going to allow themselves to be put in the box, to be dependent on Mid-East oil. I think right now there's a bill in Congress which is going to take the question of the energy crisis out of the courts particularly with regard to LES Pipeline and it's going to speed this up measurably. But the ecology question is going to radically and you can see this change right now. I think in Congress if they had this anti-semitic policy which seems to be concerned here -

Mr. Friedman:

They do not have.

Question: This would not be happening.

Mr. Friedman:

Let me try and finish this thing with one comment and then let's leave it alone because I think we've flogged it enough.

I'll give you an example. In the Congress of the United States which he just referred to, there were a number of senators, there were 507 representatives. Let's use this as a good opportunity to switch over to the second topic of immigration. And let me give you my example. We are very concerned about the Russian immigration, terribly concerned about it. It's a great great fantastic miracle of an opportunity plus a challenge. O.K. The Russians charge ransom. O.K. The Congress of the United States of America headed by a Senator by the name of Jackson, who was from the State of Washington and not Jewish, I don't know how many Jewish voters there are in the State of Washington, introduces a bill in the Senate which says, unless Russia removes this ransom from the Jews, he will not vote for granting Russia most favoured nation status, which is a status that Russia wants badly, and that the American Government

wants badly to give her, because the American Government and the Russian Government both very badly want to try to make a deal to solve the American energy crisis, and the Russian foreign currency shortage, now listen to this, the deals involve over one billion dollars worth of gas and oil per year to be sold by Russia to the United States; Russia wants to sell it because she wants the dough, the United States want to buy it because she's got an oil shortage and everybody wants the deal, except Senator Jackson, plus 72 other senators. How do you like that. Out of 100 senators, 72 or 76 maybe put their signatures on the resolution that they wouldn't approve this deal unless Russia took the ransom off, and the Russian government is calling up the world, spitting mad, saying what in the hell has the Goddamn Jews got to do with a royalty deal? Goddamn it, do we do our business with you on how you treat the blacks in the South. Don't talk to us about how we treat our Jews. What's the hell the matter with you? It's an ordinary commercial deal. What are you introducing this damn thing for.

Senator Jackson said morals are morals and ethics are ethics, I don't like what you are doing to the Jews. Remove the ransom. Once you let the Jews go freely to Israel, and they want to go, let them out, fine, then you are acting like a decent humanitarian country, then I will agree to give you a status of most favoured nation, then you can make your oil deal, and you can have 25 years credit, 50 years credit, what the hell you want, 2%, I don't care.

But you might answer me why it is, oh and then a bill was introduced in the Congress by a congressman from Ohio by the name of Venick, similar to the Jackson bill, so you got the Jackson bill and the Venick bill. Venick is a very nice Polish Catholic name, also not Jewish. You got the Jackson Bill and the Venick Bill, by the way Nixon's as mad as hell, because he wants it passed. He wants the deal to go through. Will you tell me why two senators and 200 and something congressmen are acting that tough, in favour of an immigration of Russian Jews to Israel. What's in it for them?

Now you know I'm not a starry-eyed idealist. I don't sound like one, I don't think. I think I sound what I am. Hard, practical, realistic. Tell me why these guys are taking this position. If it isn't based upon an idealistic desire to support Jewish immigration out of Russia and to support Israel. It really is. Once in a while something nice happens in this world, and this is one of those things. I don't know whether they are going to win, but it is a damn encouraging way of support, that's why I don't walk around paranoid - I know a lot about anti-semitism, I really do - but I don't look for one under every bed. And I also know that you get support when you act and look as though you know how to take care of yourself. Conversely, when you act and look weak then somebody gives you a kick and knocks you out. You lead from strength. You do better than if you lead from weakness. It's a fact of life.

Now, this immigration is crucial to us. It is crucial to the Jews of Russia. It's the second big topic I wanted you to understand about. Israel was not built, Israel was not established, we didn't make a state here in order to fight wars. The purpose of this State is not to have a flag flying in the United Nations and an Ambassador with a top hat and striped pants. And the President flying a little flag off the fender of his Chrysler. No. It's not why you build a country. We built this country so that it would be a place to which Jews could come, Jews who were not in any persecution, like I was not, but I wanted to come to live here, freely, of my own free will, and Jews who need to come here because they can't live some place else, whether it's in Morocco or in Rumania, or wherever the hell.

This State of Israel was built upon the most glorious gorgeous form of idealistic, independence of the Jewish soul, and the Jewish spirit and once and for all to have a place on this earth where Jews are in control of their own destiny, and we've built it for that reason. And that is the *raison d'etre* and that is what it is going to continue to do.

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If we have to fight wars to stay in existence, O.K., we'll fight them. But the reason for being in existence is to bring Jews in on an airplane like last night. And not have somebody tell them they can't come here.

We've got them, they can come here. They are welcome to come here. And you are welcome to come as tourists and visitors and be our friend, and the other people on the plane are welcome to come as citizens and live here and we give them a house, give them citizenship paper and it's their country. It's your country too.

And the whole principle of immigration has got to go on, and that's a sexless word, immigration. It's a dumb word. It doesn't do anything emotionally to you. But it describes what's happening here, in the 25 years of the existence of this country, we took in a million and a half Jews. How many of the million and a half Jews would be dead today if we didn't give them this place to live. I don't know. Hundreds and hundreds of thousands of them would be dead, if not all of them.

But they have a place here, a refuge, a safety, a haven, a home. Now we have to go on with that, that's the purpose for which we are in existence, and as many of the three million Jews from Russia as can get out and want to come here and we can help get them out, and lever them out by all the protest meetings that you people organize, that's how many we want to take in here. And if we could, God willing, take in half a million, or a million, or two million, if that many could get out, or wanted to get out, then we want them, and we'll take them.

And if something happens in Latin America and the Jews have to come here, or want to, and if nothing happens in Canada, but some Jews want to come here, either in places where nothing happens, or where something happens. Any Jews who want to, or have to, should always come here, and we, we the Jews, not the British and not the United Nations, and not anybody, we, have to have the key to the door. It's our house.

Nobody shall lock the door and nobody shall keep a Jew out and nobody shall give certificates and say this month you can take so many and next month you can take so many. That's over with. That's done. When we didn't have the keys to our own house millions of Jews wound up in the oven. And that's an indictment of the whole bloody Christian world, which I will make when I have time to make it, a week from tomorrow morning. Don't tempt me to start now, or we'll never get out of here.

Now, that immigration is a keystone to our whole thinking. And that immigration is essential for the Jews who come here, and essential for us, who live here. We need them, they need us. They need a home to come to, we need them as builders and developers of the country. We will be - we have a better chance of causing the Arabs to understand that they might as well make peace with us, when we have six million, than when we have three million people. Again those are just the facts of life.

So that we need them, the immigrants, just as much as they need us, and that's why this thing goes like it does, and you people understand it, that's why you support it the way you do, and our whole population understands it, which is why they pay as much taxes as they do. So that I want you to understand that while we talked about war and peace first, which is after all the most important thing, because that's life or death, the second most important thing is what are you trying to stay alive for. What do we want to have a State of Israel for. What's its purpose for. And that's where we come to the immigration and absorption and life saving work.

Alright, so that cleans up topic two. Anybody want to talk about it. Any questions about immigration or absorption.

Question: Mr. Walter Bader, New York:

I discussed this topic with you briefly about a year ago, and I think in this room I can get a little more precise. The question I had for you then was given the Arab mentality, given the armament that they had, the deterrent, and on the other side of the coin take their irrational actions, you put the immigration into one country, are you putting the eggs in one basket.

Mr. Friedman:

Yes.

Mr. Bader:

And now my question to you specifically, does Israel have counteract capability in case one of the 21 partitions in Zurich **takes** a current position in popularity and decides to do an irrational act.

Mr. Friedman:

Did I hear - I missed a word. Did I hear you say does Israel have a counter-strike ability?

Mr. Bader:

I am talking about in the magnitude..

Mr. Friedman:

Hell, yes. If somebody would close off the tape for a minute... of course.

Mr. Bader:

.. I head it in a little bit more depth than that.

Mr. Friedman:

What depth?

Mr. Bader:

Have they ever decided to send nuclear warheads?

Mr. Friedman:

Nuclear warheads - who needs them?

Mr. Bader:

Well, assuming we'd win first. Fine.

Mr. Friedman:

Well, why don't we just continue to make the assumptions on the basis of the way the facts have been up till now. Right? You keep backing me into a position of making me sound very cocky and very self-assured, and we know all the risks and all the dangers, we could get caught by surprise. And if we did, we'd get caught without pants down, but that has nothing to do with nuclear capacity. If they want to fly 600 aircraft in on us one fine morning, and they catch us with our radar down, they'll hurt us. Without nuclear warheads. Nuclear capacity in this area of the world is fairly irrelevant. And I hope it grows increasingly irrelevant in any part of the world. Ours is a local squabble. With the geography fairly limited. Don't need nuclear warheads. Don't need them. If you are asking me a direct question whether we have them or not, I won't give you a direct answer. It's a classified fact. But if you are talking about the geo-political or the geo-strategical considerations involved in their use, I would say that in the present circumstances we don't need it.

Mr. Robert Baer:

Something that you said about Jackson, something that I think the group is possibly discounting when they talk about the Jewish vote in the United States. When the Six Day War occurred, a small group from Indiana flew into Washington to try and get something into Congressional records, which we did and immediately flew back to Indiana and raised 60,000 dollars, for his re-election campaign. I think that when Jackson was in Florida, I talked to him for a couple of minutes.. men who had given him financial assistance.. to make a run for the presidency. I think we are discounting the fact that the Jewish

money is a lot more .. by politicians than the Jewish vote.

Mr. Friedman:

Let's put that under the heading of internal domestic American affairs on which I won't make any comment.

Mr. Lee Kabat, Greensboro:

I would like to ask you what changes to the Jewish profile do you expect the Russian immigration will bring to Israel?

Mr. Friedman:

It's a very good question. The Russian immigration is bringing to us - fairly large numbers, thank God, already - we've had over 55,000 Russian Jews come in, it's bringing to us a group with several striking capacities, which are going to add to our profile. One part of the group is well-educated, and well trained, professionally and sub-professionally.

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Engineers and technicians, and engineers are professional and a technician is a sub-professional or semi-professional, so we've gotten added to our population a large group of well trained technical people and that's a big advantage, that's good. Secondly, we have had added to us from the Russian immigration, and I think this will change our profile more, because the addition of technicians doesn't much change our profile, we've already got a good highly trained technical part of our population already, but here we've got another group in from a place called Georgia, in Southern Russia, whose capital is Bilisi, they are called Georgian Jews, or Gruzim, they are peasants. Now, we haven't had much of an influx of Jewish peasants, not from Morocco, or Algeria, or Yemen or Rumania, but suddenly we got a whole bunch of Russian Jewish peasants. Peasants. Peasant types, big heavy men, very burly, large families, everybody's name ends in Shvili; Stalin by the way came from that area, his name was Dukashvili, and there are now large concentrations of these families in Lydda, Ramle, Beersheva, Upper Nazareth, Tamashvili, Vakashvili, Kapashvili, and every time you see a shvili you know that's a Russian Georgian family.

Big number of kids, five, six, seven, eight kids. Rough clothing, Russian style cap, farmers, porters in the Lydda airport, we've had the addition of a Jewish proletarian, adding to our profile. (We have a little trouble with them because they are very religious, and they gave us trouble at the beginning when they signed on at Lydda Airport, hundreds of them, and they read the fine print in the contract, and said the airplanes fly on Shabbat, passengers come on Shabbat, and baggage has to be unloaded on Shabbat, and suddenly all of a sudden we were hit by a bunch of strikes that the Georgians don't want to work on Shabbat, and they were told they had to, or that they had to take turns with non-religious Jews. It's like on Christmas, Jews take turns with non-Jews on Christmas, if none of the Orthodox take turns with Orthodox on Shabbat). Anyhow, that's just a little side story, it was a cute episode, all over now, they brought with them a strong sense of Jewish identity, and a strong Jewish peasant feeling, and that's a good addition to our profile.

Don't think by the way the Russian immigration is without problems. We have problems. Serious problems with them. Or put it the other way, they have serious problems with us. They don't understand how we work. A doctor - we had 600 doctors come in last year. A doctor gets assigned to a physician in the Kupat Holim, Socialized Medicine, so he goes to work in the clinic, and he's got a list of patients, he takes care of them all morning till 1 o'clock, then in the afternoon he can have a private practice, which is what all the doctors do here. O.K., so he says, fine, give me my list of patients for my private practice. Then the Government guy says, come on, go and get it. So private initiative, private initiative, you mean to say the government's going to let me starve. You mean to say the government isn't going to give me a list of private patients. What kind of lousy country is this. Where I come from - by the way, that's another addition to our profile, for the first time in this country we hear people say, where I come from, and they are not referring to the United States. The Russian immigration is a welcome thing, with all of its problems, it's an excellent thing. It's a historically crucial thing. If the Jewish people of Russia are coming back after more than half a century of being in prison, coming back to their own people, to their own language, and their own religion, it's a beautiful thing, it should only continue.

Now, we've only got a few minutes, and I want to come to the feeling about strikes - Mitchell's feeling about strikes. He asked me a question about strikes in this country, and I said we would get to it when we get to talk about industrial development. - We aren't going to get to talk about water and agricultural development, that was topic 3. We aren't going to get to talk about industrial development, that was topic 4. We aren't going to get to talk about the local Arabs inside the Green Line, that's topic 5, but you've got to invite me back. I talk slow, and I take hours and hours.

What we can do is - let me just answer this question. The question was what about strikes in this country. They are devastating. Utterly devastating. The day before yesterday the sailors, the seamen's union went on strike because they wanted the same rates as petty officers, or I don't know what the hell the damn thing was all about, it was really very unclear, but suddenly for 48 hours every ship in three harbours is tied up.

The electricians go on strike because three guys were laid off who shouldn't have been laid off, the strike had nothing to do with money, it had to do with jurisdictional disputes. Israel is going through a wave of labour unrest. Basically, it has to do with the fact that just as in Orlando, Florida, we have a runaway inflation here, and wages can't keep pace. And just as we got overheated economy and a shortage of labour, and no employer is in the position of firing anybody, or closing down, or locking out, because he'd never be able to keep up the work. He can't find labour any place else. Because of a combination of circumstances, but basically, if you want to be fair and sympathetic about it, because the average worker doesn't have enough money to keep going and he's fighting for more dough. That's the reason for the whole flood of labour unrest in the country.

Question: What does the Labour Party - what is their position?

Mr. Friedman:

The Labour Party doesn't have position at all on the damn thing. Can't control it. The Labour Union - some strikes the Histadrut rules out as being illegal, the workers don't matter a damn, they go out on strike against their own union leaders. Basically, it's a desire for more bread and butter money.

Your second question was about juvenile delinquency. We don't have much of a problem here on that, although we have more of a problem now than we had ten years ago.

So juvenile delinquency in the country is increasing. Although it hasn't reached any kind of alarming proportions. It used to take the form of stealing bicycles, now it takes the form of stealing automobiles. It used to take the form of street corner games on the corner, just knocking around with nothing to do and you know, molesting the girls walking by, now it takes the form of breaking windows, and fighting with the cops, nobody kills cops yet, in the country, but you have fighting with cops starting for the first time.

Campus unrest - it doesn't exist here. It is unthought of here. And the reason for it is very simple. It is free, they can say whatever they want. But number two, don't forget this. Every kid in this country goes into the army from the age of 18 to 21. So then they go to university, so your university population is age 21 to 25. So it's a much older, more serious, more mature population, not all the crap that the kids throw around when they are 18 or 19 and don't know what the hell they are fighting against or for. They are past that stage luckily. You see three years in the army does something to a guy.

Now, all your leaders here, there is nervousness in the wings. They are watching the clock and rightly so. I saw three hands up, one the girl, three, then we're finished.

Question:.. Talk a little bit about the Arab citizen of Israel...

Mr. Friedman:

I wanted to, but I can't, there just isn't time. I can't do it superficially.

Question: Are you going to come back to us and take another meeting where we can get this type of insight that we want.

Mr. Friedman:

Yes, you won't get this insight from anybody else, or from any other place, and that's not an inmodest statement, it's just the fact that I really know everything about this country and I can sum it up and...

Look it's a serious question and it was on my mind to discuss with you, but we just didn't get to it. The answer is that if with Steve, with David Shenhabi and Joel we can work out a time where we can find an evening, I'll be glad to give it to you. Nothing would give me greater joy, and I am not kidding, because anything that might import to you, multiplied a thousand times by your efforts, is what keeps the thing going in the States, so I want to give it to you, we just got to find the right evening to do it.

I work, Monday, Saturday, Tuesday, midnight, 5 am...yes?

Question: I just wondered with all the immigrants coming in and with the ready supply of Arabs, available why.....

Mr. Friedman:

Because the economy is growing even faster. We absorb all the immigrants, and we absorb the extra Arab labour and we are still short. If we hit a recession, and had a lot of unemployment it would be different, but the economy is moving faster even than the labour supply is growing.

Question: With the local type administration of the administered land, how do you account for in spite of the prosperity in Gaza for example, the change of attitude, how do you account for the fact that you are unable to maintain Arab government of Gaza, and that they had to be replaced with military government?

Mr. Friedman:

Once the Arab Mayor of Gaza was shot at twice by Arabs. The Arab town council said, well we'd better try not to run ourselves, but the terror element is still strong among us, you'd better keep your hand on the throttle.

The answer is that Gaza being as aggravated as it is, and Arabs being unable to agree as they most of the time are, that there still is not a stable Arab administration in Nablus, Schem, in Ramallah, in Hebron, in Tulkarem, in Jenin. Gaza is the exception. It's not yet tamed.

Question: Is it because of the refugee camps?

Mr. Friedman:

Yes, because it's not yet tamed, sure. It's in the process of getting tamed. They are not there yet.

Alright, now let's look, it's quarter of eleven, you've had two hours, you've really been good, we've got a first back at the thing, we'll fix another time during the week when I'll grab another couple of hours, and then we have reserved for the end, a week from tomorrow, another couple of hours in Jerusalem, on almost your last morning, which I want to devote to one topic, and one topic only, the Shoah, which is a Hebrew word meaning the Holocaust. And we are going to reserve that last morning for that topic exclusively. I am going to show you some slides which I took 25 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto,

and I'm going to talk to you about that. We are going to visit Yad Vashen, that's going to be a morning devoted only to that. In between we'll find one more opportunity, and we'll meet again for another roundup on the whole miscellaneous thing.

Chairman:

That was really great. We are going to try to arrange a couple of more hours for Herb some other night.

