



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995.

Subseries 4: Administrative Files, 1945-1994.

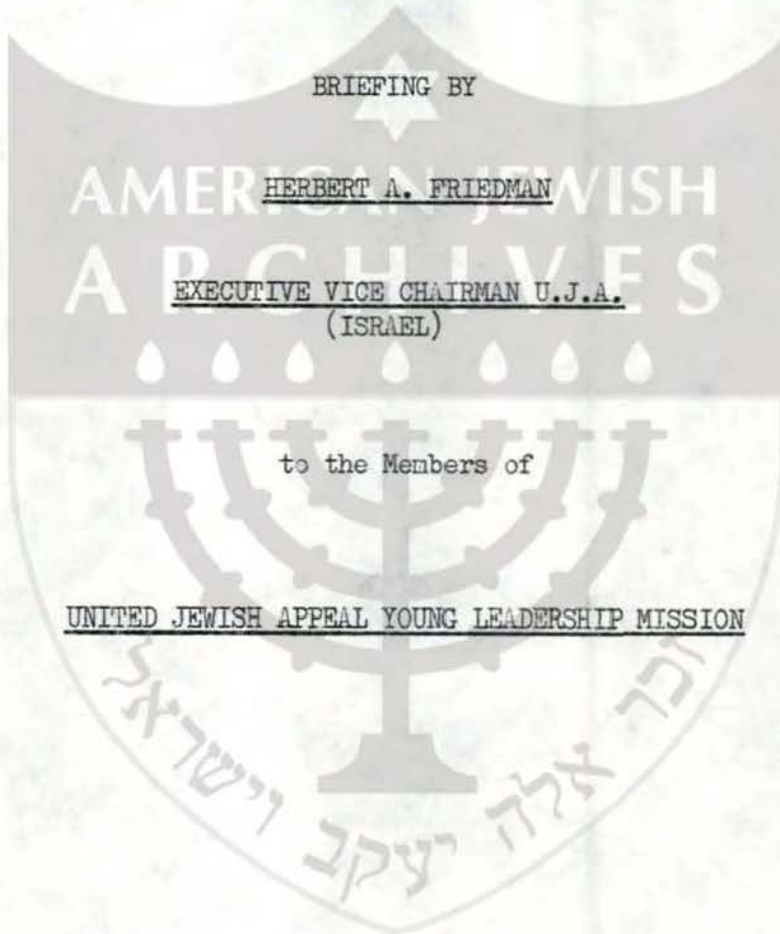
Box
52

Folder
11

Speeches. Young Leadership Mission and Economic
Development of Israel Conference. 1971-1972, undated.

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

*file
speeches*



8.3.72.

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

The Chairman, Gary Rubin

The gentleman that I have the pleasure of introducing today, you have his bio with you. You have a bio on Herb Friedman and it could be page after page and would probably be inadequate. But I'm not going to go over that bio with you. You all remember our first meeting in New York. It seems like it was two weeks ago, but it was only yesterday. At that first meeting we talked about how one's lives could change in a mission. I've never told Herb this, but I'm sure he senses it because he has any number of people who can say the same thing to him and about him. And that is, if I owe somebody anything, it's Herb Friedman. Because in 1968, when Judy and I first came to Israel, when we first had a briefing in New York City, our group, we were briefed by Herb Friedman. And then, having the opportunity of hearing him countless times from 1967, I guess, on right till now, has in fact changed my life. And I'm leading the kind of life I, personally, want to lead. That life has been changed and it's something that we discussed in New York. Herb is a Rabbi. The American Jewish community, the world Jewish community is greatly indebted to Herb Friedman for what he has done. Today, living in Jerusalem, living here in Israel, I can assure you he's planning not for the decade of the '70s, but he is thinking and dreaming about the decades of the '80s, what Israel will be like, what the world Jewish community will be like. That's the kind of thinker he is. It was Herb who founded the Young Leadership Cabinet, who dreamt that younger people should become involved in American Jewish life. And it's always a privilege to have him with us, whether it be in Israel, even especially in Israel, or in the United States. Our leader, Herb Friedman.

Herbert Friedman

What do you do after that. There is only one thing that could drive me away from here and put me back in the United States and that would be the possibility that there I would make a few less speeches. What's finally happened to me here is I'm shot. As you can hear, I finally lost my voice last night. You'll have to suffer through it. Tomorrow I have a big speech up at the University of Haifa in Hebrew to try to explain to all of the people in this country the misconception which they have about American Jews and American Jewish life. The title of the lecture tomorrow is Myth and Reality Regarding Organized Jewish Life. Myth number one - all Americans are millionaires. So then we will deal with the reality of that. Myth number two - all Americans smoke big cigars, in fact, give their money for their own personal ego, not because of any belief in any cause. We'll have to destroy that. And I just want to keep enough voice left for tomorrow and then I'm going to go to Caesarea, take out my two pistols, go shooting in the sand dunes, forget everybody including you, till I see you again on Sunday. Sunday we begin all over again.

But it's been a very, very rugged go here because everybody comes here, everybody. We have in the country right now a group from Eastern Union County, New Jersey. Anybody ever hear of it? Okay, ten very nice guys who want to know what it's all about. We have here in this country 50 very important individuals, single visitors. Everybody wants to know what it's all about. Everybody wants to see everybody and Golda has to keep reminding people that she's here to run a government, not to be a tourist bureau and receive Americans. And I think that this whole thing is going to burst at some point. Yesterday 1200 people entered

the country, counting you. The whole thing is just exploding. We can't handle everybody. So I'm about to run for cover. I'll lose it completely, won't be able to say a word and then I'll be out of commission - thank goodness. However, since we're all here this morning and since I got up at 6 o'clock to come down from Jerusalem and you're all awake and raring to go, I'd like to take you through this map. And I find that with this map we can make most of the problems clear. After you get a comprehension of the geographic circumstances in which you are, the description of the geographic circumstances will also describe the political circumstances. Then what doesn't come off the map, we can talk about - the social problems, the human problems, the stresses and strains in the society, the things which could go wrong and tear this country apart, things which could go right and cause this country to develop into a perfectly exquisite future. There are both possibilities ahead of us. We could go either way.

Before I start, I'd like to know just one thing - how many people have been here before? For how many people is it the first trip? Okay, it's like about two-thirds to one-third. The one-third, old veterans, experts, deeply knowledgeable, will forgive me if I repeat some stuff which they already know. We made this map up in a series of colors and the colors are coded to the whole political problem which we face. Old Israel, before the Six Day War which took place five years ago almost - it's hard to realize it - is in dark green. Everything that's dark green. This Golan up here is light green. Everything that's dark green is the pre-1967 Israel. That's it. That's the Israel which was fashioned as a result of 20-something years of fighting. The old Israel in the dark green still didn't have fixed borders. That's terribly crucial for you to remember. Even the borders of the old Israel were simply a combination of armistice borders from the 1948 war, cease-fire borders from the 1956 war. We live here in a place which is a patchwork of lines on a map that were drawn as a result of hostilities. This country is 24 years old and does not have borders that are agreed upon by any peace treaty or any charter or any international agreement at all. Therefore this country exists only existentially. This country doesn't exist theoretically. Nobody has decided the outline of this country. What the U.N. decided in 1947 went down the drain in a war in 1948. What Mr. Ralph Bunche got the Nobel Peace Prize for deciding out there on the island of Cyprus in 1949, when he made an armistice at the end of the war, those borders were changed all the time as the years went on. And I'm stressing that point, because until we have definite borders for this country, the State of Israel cannot be said to exist in a formal, legal sense. And that's the key to what the hell this war's all about.

What this war is all about is to try to come to a state of existence where the people who live around us will say to us: okay, that's your country, here it is and draw the line. We agree, sign it. Now you stay on your side of the line, we'll stay on our side of the line and we'll live together in peace. There isn't any argument between the United States and Canada as to where the border is today or even anymore between the United States and Mexico. But back 100 years ago there was a hell of a lot of argument as to where the border was and that's what all the fighting was all about. Now what the fighting is all about here is they keep trying to wipe us out. Now, obviously, they're not going to do it. But they still won't come to admit that we're here to stay. Because once they

sign a peace treaty with us, and define the borders of what our country is, then by implication they would be acknowledging our perpetual existence, and they would have to give up the armed struggle and, instead, learn to live with us without shooting. They are not ready for that yet. They are **still living under the illusion or delusion** that shooting will help them. The only thing that shooting does is keep enlarging these armistice lines and pretty soon we are going to be in a very uncomfortable position. Because if they keep on doing this, we're going to wind up far beyond where we really want to go. And, as a matter of fact, we're out there now. All the light green is what's happened since the Six Day War and we don't really want it. This is the whole Sinai.

Yellow is the enemy. Egypt is here, Jordan is here - well, it's a kind of yellow - Lebanon, Syria. And we think that Syria shouldn't be lonesome, so we made the same color for Saudi Arabia. Now, all that yellow-mauve stuff is all around us and we would hate like hell to have to redraw this map and keep pushing this green out, pushing the green out. It would just get absurd. You don't want this, you don't want this. And the reasons are very clear, not because we're so idealistic or so altruistic. But number one, it's too much territory to administer. Number two, and this is most important, it's got a lot of people in it that we don't really want. In this little finger here of the Gaza Strip there are 350,000 Arabs. Right here, in this territory which is called the West Bank, this whole light green hunk, that's got 650,000 Arabs in it. Now, man, if we keep the territory, we got to keep the people. And we don't want the people. We are in a very peculiar situation.

Since we are Jews and the world watches very carefully what we do (supersonic boom, don't bother with it. Somebody's going somewhere and the windows always rattle. These Phantoms fly at 60,000, 70,000 feet and they fly at 1500, 1800 miles an hour and windows rattle. We keep telling them: go out over the ocean. But they like to let people know they're around). Since we are Jews we have no way whatsoever, no way, to take a million Arabs, 650,000 and 350,000, and keep them in territory which belongs to us, but in a second-class status of citizenship. Because what the hell have we been complaining about for all these thousands of years of what other people do to us. How are we going to turn around and do the same thing to somebody else? No way. So that if we wind up with a million Arabs as extra citizens of Israel, they are going to have to be first-class citizens. And at the rate at which you Jews have children and at the rate at which those Arabs have children, they are going to outnumber us in about 15 years. We're going to have an Arab prime minister in this country. And don't laugh.

So it's not an altogether altruistic matter. It's a demographic matter. It's a national security matter. You could even say it's a religious matter - that we not allow the Jewish State which has been created with so much pain and agony and blood and treasure and which has an ideological base behind it, and which has a long-range historic purpose to it, but we had better not allow that to be diverted by some temporary political accident such as holding on to too much land with the wrong kind of people on that land. Give back the land and give back the people and remain in character a Jewish state, which is what we started out to be. We have a minority now of about 300,000 Arabs, who are first-class citizens of this

country in every respect, about 100,000 Christians, who are first-class citizens of this country in every respect. They are the same as Jews. All of them are Israelis. We have religious minorities who have their own court, their own religious leadership, their own rules and regulations of marriage and divorce, their own property, they vote in the elections, they pay the taxes, they serve in the army, they have all the rights and duties and privileges of straight Israeli citizenship. And that's as it should be.

Now you want to take a million more people and make them Israeli citizens - that's our problem. Have you ever been caught in a bearhug with somebody that you're wrestling with and you try to disassociate and he won't let you go? Well, that's what we're in now. We're begining to get all kinds of signs here that Jordan doesn't want this anymore. The king says: what the hell do I need that headache for? They're on the other side of the river, let them stay there. I don't want to take them back into Jordan. The Arabs who live in the West Bank have free access to go across into Jordan, because we got some bridges across the river here. We run a very, very benevolent occupation policy. We keep the bridges open to go back and forth. They can go across in their trucks and take out their farm produce, bring back in explosives and try to blow us up. They can go out and take their money across and put it in an Arab bank, bring back their sons to come in and perform acts of terrorism. They go in and out, back and forth to wherever they want. Once they're across the bridge they go to Amman - there's an international airport there. They fly down to Kuwait. They work in the oilfields at big salaries. They send the money back home to the folks in the old country. It's all very easy, very simple. We've got an open bridges policy. They go in and out. They fly from Amman to Cairo and back to Amman, wind up back in here. And then, once you're in here, all you've got to do is take a bus - bus no. 22 gets you into Jerusalem - free. We're not holding them. They can sell their goods where they want. They can send their children to universities in the Arab world, go to Amman, fly up to Beirut, go to the University of Beirut. You know what we find? They're clinging. They like the University of Jerusalem. They like to sell us their vegetables, not shlep it all the way across the bridge.

We kept a statistic on trade and commerce last year on a free, voluntary basis. They did 80% of their business with us. It's easier to come this way and go this way, then it is to go that way. And I am begining to say to myself - 'oy vej'. I'm telling you all this because all too often the picture of Israel in the outside world is - belligerent, inflexible, rigid, why the hell doesn't Israel make peace by being flexible, why the hell doesn't Israel give back the land, why doesn't Israel make the first move towards compromising. Ooh, would we love to - would we love to get rid of it.

The reality of the matter is that there is no way. We are caught in this bearhug. There's no way to get rid of it because we have one condition. The one condition is: we would like to give you back all your territory - I'll tell you what the exceptions are in a minute - in return for which we want one thing from you. You don't have to love us, you don't even have to talk to us. Just agree where on the map shall be our borders. And if you and we agree on that and we sign it - shalom. You go over to your side; we'll stay within our side. You want to do business with us - fine. You want us to do business with you - fine. You don't want to - fine. Let's just

draw the borders, sign it, no more shooting, put away the guns - okay.

Now, we believe that we are a very, very long way away from that and that's why when we say to them: we'll draw back from the Canal, you don't want to settle the whole issue, let's try to settle part of the issue - we are trying to seduce them into making a deal on the whole territory, okay. Let's take one issue; let's take the Suez Canal. Maybe if we can settle the thing with you on the Suez Canal, when we get that one issue settled, maybe that will be the beginning. And that'll break the logjam, and then we can go on and settle more issues. This is the American position. We got into a bad argument last year with the Americans, but real bad, because Mr. Rogers came in with his clever idea: look, maybe we can persuade the Egyptians to make the partial settlement. But at the time that he said that, it was perfectly okay with us. By the way, the initiative for this partial settlement was proposed by that superhawk Moshe Dayan, of all people. He is the one who proposed opening up the Canal and letting us pull back and giving the Egyptians the Canal. Imagine that, of all people. So Rogers grabbed it and said: fine, that's a great idea, but you have got to promise, before I can even get the Egyptians to sit down and talk to you, that you will pull way back so that they can come over to this side right here. And we said: whoa, Mr. Rogers, hold the telephone. Now if you want to be the 'shadchun' and try to make a match between us and Egypt, that's okay. But please don't try to write the terms. We didn't authorize you to negotiate for us. And we got into a real hassle with him and relations with America got real bad all during 1971.

Finally he came over here. And he's a stuffy guy and he wouldn't go into East Jerusalem, because we have no right to be there, and if he walked into East Jerusalem he was going to legitimize our presence. We don't need him to legitimize our presence. We got 8 million Israelis over there in East Jerusalem every Shabbat morning. The stores are all closed in Jewish Jerusalem. The stores in Arab Jerusalem are doing a land office business, every Shabbat, in East Jerusalem. So we legitimize it. We don't need him to. He didn't want to land at Sharm el Sheikh because he says we have no right to be there. So he gets in an airplane and he flies over Sharm el Sheikh and he won't land - okay buddy. So we said 'goodbye Charlie' and he left. And months and months went by. But now, the Americans are back in the thing on a much more sensible basis. And now, of course, the Egyptians are saying: Americans, trying to bring us together with the Israelis, never! Yesterday, boy, the Americans got hit on the head over the Egyptian radio and in the Egyptian press. So Mr. Sisco is peddling his potatoes now, trying to get the Egyptians to sit down and talk to the Israelis who are willing to be reasonable.

Now Eban, who's got this delightful control of the English language, said yesterday in the Knesset: there are not a few opportunities open to us to negotiate. Does that mean there are many? I mean, what is 'not a few'? Now we haven't got a clue as to whether they are ready to talk or not, but we are. And here are the terms of what we're ready to talk about.

The Suez Canal goes from Port Said down to Port Suez. That's 106 miles right here. From the Canal inland to Cairo is about 60 or 70 miles. Now they've got this strip, this triangle right here and it's not a very large hunk of territory, one half a

million men in three lines, the way the Russians have taught them - three lines of defense in depth. They got 25 air bases, on five of which the Russians don't even allow the Egyptians to enter, because the Russians have got their Mig 23 squadrons and their Tupelov 16 squadrons and they don't want any Egyptians lousing up the works. There are 60 missile sites in this area. Each missile site has got six missiles on board, launched and ready to go, and six in reserve that can be re-mounted in a half an hour, 60 sites times six is 360 and 360 more in reserve. How the hell many airplanes do they think we've got? We haven't got 300, we haven't even got 200 supersonic fighter aircraft. We are outnumbered by them on supersonic aircraft six to one. They got over 600, we got just over 100 supersonic aircraft. - Phantoms and Mirage 3c's. Sub-sonic aircraft - Skyhawks and Mysteres and other kinds of airplanes. We are in a ratio with them of about 4 to 1. They got more dam missiles there than we will ever have airplanes for the next ten years. But they packed in here this unbelievable arsenal, more for political reasons even than military, and more for reasons of saying to the United States: hands off boy, hands off - this is our territory. This is Russia making a big bid for control of the African continent. Don't you forget where Egypt is. It's in Africa. So this isn't just a little Israel fight. This is a fight for very big stakes.

Now with that number of men, with that number of aircraft, with that number of missiles, with 1200 guns along the Canal and 1500 tanks backing it up here, you know what we keep on our side? We haven't got 10,000 men. We got two airfields, one here at Bir Gafgafa, one here at Tamadeh. These are nice former Egyptian airfields which we use. We got some tanks, we got some guns, but we are outgunned 25 to 1 to 35 to 1 - who the hell knows. I mean it is really laughable what we are holding this line with, compared to what they've got here, poised and ready to jump.

Now we say: if you want to start the war again and come across, make a landing across the Canal, we'll bloody your nose, and please don't do it, and it'll be a waste for you and a waste for us, and a lot of good guys will get unnecessarily hurt and killed, and you won't get anywhere with it. For the first time ever in my memory, last week this Egyptian editor, Heykhal came out and wrote a column in which he said: I think we better realize we cannot destroy Israel militarily. Now, an enormous revolution is going on inside of Egypt since last week. Sadat climbed up the wall. Libya, his allies, are making him crazy, they want to fight, Sudan wants him to fight, Syria wants him to fight. He was supposed to go around all this week visiting the places; he cancelled all his trips. I think he's in trouble. The editor wouldn't have written what he wrote without Sadat's approval. If Sadat is begining to realize that Israel cannot be destroyed militarily, that's the first step toward peace. But for the Egyptian leadership to admit that to their people is something which is going to cause them lots of headaches inside Egypt. Lots of army officers will say: you're not giving us a chance to try. University students rioted there last month, thousands of them, because they said to Sadat: you promised to destroy Israel and start the war before the end of December; it's already February, why haven't you started the war? So he's got pressures on him inside of Egypt, poor fellow, and he's got to live with them. We wish he would take our offer. Our offer is open up the Canal. This requires, by the way, a great deal of work, digging out the sand which has silted into it for five years, cementing the sides of the thing. Well you're going to go down there, you'll see it. You'll all be very quiet, climb up on top of the sandbags

and get up on top of the machineguns, stand up there and look right across. And there you'll see, it's about 100 yards across, 150 maybe, wave 'hello' to all the Egyptians. If any shooting starts, duck. Because you are on top of all these very elaborate, fortified bunkers and you can see the amount of work that will have to be done to dredge out. And we are prepared to have the Egyptians send over onto our side all the technicians they want, or all the engineers, all the cement-mixers, all the people they want, civilians - no soldiers.

They want to send soldiers over to protect their workers. We tell them: we'll send our policemen down to protect their workers. They don't have to worry about their workers, nobody is going to get mugged, nobody is going to get hurt. And we'll even send down cold-drinks in the mobile canteens. We'll take good care of their workers. They don't have to send any soldiers over. Now if they get the Canal opened up and they get shipping going through there, they can have the revenues. It's around 250-300 million dollars a year. They can have it, and that's not hay, because they're broke. What we're handing the Russians on a silver platter is allowing their fleet to go right down over to India. And the Russians are very happy about that, because they gave the United States a bloody nose in India, didn't they? I mean they were on the right side, weren't they? We stuck with good old Pakistan, didn't the United States? So Russia would like to go down and send India some nice support and the Suez Canal will let her do it. So the Egyptians can have the dough, the Russians can have the geo-political advantage. We feel that's a lot of inducements. They're not buying. And that's why I tell you that this whole business of we're the ones that are stopping making peace is so stupid. We're offering; they're not buying. They want us to pull back from here over to a line of El Arish, like this down here. We said: wait a minute, not on the first shot. We'll pull back 5, 10 kilometers, some distance. Your first thing is, get the Canal opened, so you don't have to have us way back here.

You want these two air bases back in the middle of the thing? You can have the whole thing if you sign. There's only one point that we're insisting upon about this whole Sinai Peninsula and that's down here - Sharm el Sheikh. You see this geography down here where they can plug us up at our port of Eilat. There's an entrance down here called the Straits of Tiran. Now that's only 400 yards wide. And if they hold this point down here at Sharm el Sheikh, put their guns here and close that Strait of 400 yards, and we can't get any shipping through, then we choke. Now this is what started the Six Day War. They closed this on the 22nd May and we were at war by the 5th of June. If they are going to close this again, there's going to be a war again, sure as you and I are sitting here.

So we say, if we give you back the whole damn Sinai, still we got to agree that you can't put guns down there. Now, how do you want to do it? You want to put your soldiers down there? We'll put our soldiers down there too. We'll have a mixed garrison - Israeli-Egyptian. Two to one, five to one, ten to one, you pick the number - mixed garrison. You don't like that - Israeli-Egyptian? You want U.N. troops down there, you like better Canadians, Yugoslavs, Indians, Turks? You think that will hold it better? Fine - put a U.N. garrison. But the U.N. has a funny habit. The minute that the fire starts, they run. The fireman runs away when the fire starts. So who needs him? We think it would be better if we have our own

fellows - yours and ours - and then you aren't going to put any guns there, are you? I think that the settlement of this issue is an easy one. That's not hard. Okay, they can have the Gaza Strip back too. They don't want it. They'd like to cut off the Gaza Strip and leave it with us. And we say: great. The United Nations ruined these people for 20 years, kept them in camps like prisons, fed them like animals. This is the worst place in Israel today, the only place where they still roll hand grenades under the buses. It's a very neat trick you know. The bus is moving this way and you got to time it like a bowling ball so that it hits underneath the bus just when it's ready to explode 'boom'. Because if it rolls under the bus and goes out the other side, you've wasted your hand grenade. Or if you roll it too slow and it explodes before it gets under the bus, you've wasted your hand grenade, and that's terrible. You get a bad mark for that. So you've got to learn to roll that hand grenade so it blows just under the bus. Then you get a gold star and a bottle of beer and you go hide in a cellar somewhere till the Israeli guys flush you out. And then there's a big gunfight and then four guys get killed and two nice Israeli mothers cry somewhere in Beersheva or Petach Tikva or Tel Aviv. And two 20 year old kids have lost their lives for what kind of silly idiotic reason. So we are trying to pacify that Gaza Strip by bulldozing streets through these ghetto camp areas, so that we can flush out the terrorists more easily. And that policy is beginning to work. But this is a very dangerous area and that's why they don't want it. And we don't want it. And I tell you, with our usual mazel, we're going to wind up with it. For those of you who don't know the word, that means bad luck. With our usual bad luck, we're going to wind up with it.

Now the Golan is up here. The Golan, you know the geography very well. The dark green right here is a valley with kibbutzim running north and south. The light green is about 1500 feet higher than the dark green, like this. They're sitting on top; we're sitting on the bottom. Okay. Now the only thing we don't want is for them to put their guns back up here on the front of the Golan, firing down on us like fish in a barrel. We can split the Golan like this, north and south. We keep the front part, they keep the back part. The back part is what's closer to Syria anyway, Damascus is only 40 miles. All that we want is the crown here, the front part, so that they would have to keep their guns far enough back so their guns can't fire down into the kibbutzim. If it's a matter of pride with them that we can't have the whole Golan Heights, fine. We'll split it north and south and they get the back part.

Jerusalem, which sits here, is completely non-negotiable. It's the one non-negotiable item in the whole package. We are not going to split the city again. We are not going to put up barbed-wire and walls again. We are not, for the sake of some absolutely ridiculous idea about an international city - this is no Vatican - we are not going to take and divide this town from its natural state. We are not going to create a wall like in Berlin. We're just not going to do it. If Jordan wants to fly the Jordanian flag on top of the El Aksa mosque, fine. What do we care? The Arabs want to have their religious holy places with special extra-territorial rights, fine. We give it to them now. The Christians have it now. We got more churches in Jerusalem than we got synagogues, I think. We only got 710 synagogues in Jerusalem; it looks to me like we got 8 million churches. We got all branches of the Armenians and all the branches of the Coptics and all the Ethiopians and all the Romans and all the Protestants and 'weis ich wos'. We got

churches, boy you want churches, we got 'em. And they all have their own extra-territorial rights. And they have their holidays and their uniforms and they don't pay taxes to the city and they collect their own money to rehabilitate their own property. We get a mission a year over here of three important Bishops from Rome to check on the property of the church. And every year they come back and they make a report saying: never been better, our churches never looked better. Now, you know, the health of Aunt Sadie is wonderful. She's growing a year older and everything is repaired and it's nice. We don't see any reason at all why we should break up the city again. And we're not going to. And if they don't want to make peace because they think we're stubborn on that one issue, then we are. And I'm sorry if you think that's inflexible. It just is. Nothing to talk about - full stop.

The city of Jerusalem goes back in the memory of our people to King David, that's 3,000 years ago. Our claim is a legitimate historic and religious one. It's deeply imbedded in the genes and chromosomes of the most atheistic Jew who not only didn't pray three times a day, he didn't have to pray once in his whole lifetime as far as I'm concerned. But even he knows that Jerusalem is something special to the Jewish people. And that's the way it is and there's been too much time and history and too many prophets and Isaiah and Jeremiah and too many things have happened. We're in there too deep to listen to any nonsense about internationalizing Jerusalem or splitting it up again. That is a non-negotiable item. But it's the only one.

Now, if you want my prognosis, if we were to meet again five years from now, we would be using the same map. I think they're not going to buy anything. I think they will go through their turmoil now where they started to flirt with the idea of peace, but you know there's a long time between flirting and getting into bed. And they're flirting. But I think they're gonna back off the flirting and I think they're never really going to wind up for real. And I think that five more years will go by and we'll be holding the territories. And what's going to happen is a very simple thing. Time creates new facts. We have now already up here on the Golan, I think, 22 settlements. Now if we were to give back the Golan, or part of it, the settlements that we have planted there we would, of course, dismantle and take away. But if we don't give it back, then five years from now we are not going to have 22 settlements up there. We'll have 32. And you know, there'll come a time when by the time we got 42 settlements up there, we'll change our position and we'll say: no, none of it back, it's a fact now, it's too long, we've had it for 20 years. That's all, we're not going to give it back.

I think we have many more years of war and fighting ahead of us before we come anywhere near having a signed peace treaty with them. I think they will give up flirting with the idea that they can't destroy us. I think Heykal will get slapped on the wrist for being a bad boy. I think Sadat will get terrible pressure put on him. I think we are going to see a whole series now of new belligerent statements and new deadlines: I'll make war on you by Pesach - so Pesach will come and go. I'll make war on you by Shavuot, and Shavuot will come and go. But I think that that's going to be their policy now. They'll revert to the belligerent stand of four months ago. Whether they do or don't, whether it's bluff or isn't, Russia will always seize the chance to send in another 50 airplanes. And then Rogers will make another speech about the arms race

shouldn't escalate. And we'll get 12 more Phantoms, as in the course of the next six months. We'll probably get two, three a month from now on, I think beginning this month. We pay heavily for them - 6 million apiece. And I think that before the year is over, again some episode will blow up. You must understand that nothing stays still through this whole thing. I don't know what the papers looked like in the United States. But on this Lebanese business up here, I'm sure some of your relatives were saying to you that you shouldn't come over because it looks like war is going to break out again. Anybody over here have anybody in their family say that to them last week? Because everything gets very heavily distorted in the American press. We had a big fight up there on this border. The terrorists have been all chopped up in Jordan. The king took a stand against them, but now they found refuge up here in Lebanon and they are attacking us from there. We'd lost five or six dead, one a particularly vicious case. A young couple, 26 and 25, a husband and a wife with 3 babies, 5, 4, and 1, had gone for the evening from a moshav here called Zarait over here to Nahariya, which is not on the map, but it's down on the coast, to a bar-mitzvah party, and were coming home along this road which goes right along the Lebanese border. I think you ought to ride that road. And about 11 o'clock at night, when they were two kilometers from home, a gang of terrorists had come across - the road goes as close to the border as 10 meters in some places - set up a bazooka, fired bazooka shells into the little tender and killed the man and the woman in a perfectly senseless act. Two fine, simple, young farmers, and left three baby orphans in kadish back home. That's a horrible thing, not to be able to live inside your own country, ride on a road, go to a bar-mitzvah party and worry that on the way home you might get shot and killed. What kind of a way is that to live?

The next night the shelling continued - of the little moshavim, the farm villages up along that border road. Some border patrolmen were out trying to track these gangs and two border policemen were killed. So now we got four dead. After this went on for four, five days, during which they tried to come in. You see where this pointer is? It's on a city called Safed, one of the holy cities of this country in the 16th century. They got as far across from the Lebanese border to come inland to the city of Safed and set up mortars to try to shell the city of Safed. I mean it's stupid. What can they accomplish? If their aim is very good, they'll hit a gas station or some other very important military target. And if their aim is very bad, the shells will land in the open fields, which is where they landed. But damn it, you can't have people come in and start to shell a city!

So, after four, five days of that, the army moves in, does a cleanup operation inside of Lebanon. Came in with aircraft, came in with tanks, came in with armored personnel carriers, stayed in Lebanese territory maybe a total of 36 or 48 hours on two separate raids, bombed over here onto the Syrian side where there were some tent encampments of guerillas. They work around both sides from Syria to Lebanon. The northernmost point up here is Mount Hermon where a few thousand ordinary, innocent Israelis are trying to ski. We got skiing here now. Crazy country, skiing, desert. In the papers, on the outside, it looked like Israel was going beserk, sending an army into friendly Lebanon. You're living in a country in which at every given moment one border or another border blows up in some kind of episode. And what I'd like you to understand very clearly is that's the way it's going to be for many, many, many years to come. And you have to interpret that to other American Jews. For the moment I'm not talking about American goyim and the

whole question of public opinion and P.R. and whether Israel has a good image or a bad image. Forget about that. Image is nonsense. Issues don't get decided on the basis of image. Issues get decided on the battlefield, not on the front page of the newspaper. You have to explain to American Jews that the fight for this country is so far from being finished that if anybody thinks that the war is over, he is just cockeyed. That's what you have to get across to American Jews. If you get that across well to the people of your generation, then they aren't going to get impatient and they aren't going to say: what the hell's the matter with Israel, why doesn't Israel hurry up and make peace? We're not going to be able to hurry up and make peace. We're not going to have any peace. We're going to have war and war and war and war; and I'm giving it to you straight. Until one thing happens - one thing. Whenthey finally decide in Egypt - that's where the shots are called, not Lebanon, not Syria, not Jordan, not Moscow - when they finally decide in Egypt that it no longer pays to try to destroy Israel militarily. That day we're going to have peace. Until that day, forget it. Make all the efforts, and I'm all in favor of it, partial settlement, offer all kinds of seducing arguments, use all kinds of mediators, Jarring, Shmarring, anybody you want. None of it's really going to be substantive until a change takes place in the head of the leader of Egypt that Israel is here to stay.

Okay, once that change takes place, the war's over and then everything changes. Then, all the money problems change. Because the war is draining us very badly. And listen, you know Rome got destroyed because after a couple of hundred years she could no longer continue fighting. The greatest powers in the world go down the drain in history when money runs out through interminable wars. And that could happen to us. And that's why we need your help and your support for the duration. And the duration could be 10 years or 20 years or 30 years. The minute that we can get peace, then two other major problems will fall into place. One of them is the problem of immigration. We did not create the State of Israel in order to fight wars; that's not our purpose. We created the State of Israel in order to take Jews in; that's our purpose. Even you, if you want to come. That's a joke. And we've done pretty well at it. When I say 'we', that includes you, and don't forget it. Because it couldn't have been done without the Jews of America, mainly, plus a little bit England, France, Canada, I mean there are some other small Jewish communities that can help, about 20% worth, but 80% of it comes from the United States. Now you know the figures. This country started 24 years ago and it had 650,000 people. 24 years later this country has got four times that number of people. It's taken in three times as many immigrants as it had citizens originally when it first started. I think that's the most gorgeous, beautiful, humanitarian, lovely, gentle, idealistic thing that can be said about this country. Would you be willing to take into your house three times as many people as you got living in it now? You got four people living in your house. Would you take in 12 strangers? Make room for them in your house, feed them, help them get jobs, help their kids get adjusted in school, teach them how to do the shopping, all the things that life consists of, show them where the skating rink is, show them how to buy movie tickets, all the little things? What the hell does life consist of - show them where to buy the books? Would you do that? In a symbolic sense, that's what every person living in this country did. He moved over and he made room for three times as many people as there are in his own family. And he did it gladly. He griped. We have griping today. There's a lot of griping going on today among

the citizens of this country who came here ten, fifteen years ago and who look at the Russian Jews who are coming in today. And, by the way, that's the big miracle that I want you to understand. This business of the Russian Jews, that is a fantastic miracle that's going on, that renaissance of Russian Jewish spirit inside the Soviet Union where they had been in jail 54 years, going on 55 years - 1917 was the Russian Revolution, this is 1972, 55 years in November - 55 years trying to break the Jewish spirit. And any kid whose 20 years old and 21 years old today and goes on a strike in front of the Supreme Soviet Building because suddenly he discovered he's a Jew, his father didn't know it, his grandfather almost forgot it, but he suddenly woke up, he was born all over again inside of himself. And if you talk to some of these Russian kids, they tell you these fantastic stories.

A kid tells me a story that when he landed here somebody showed him a bank note - 100 pound note - which has a picture on it of Herzl. Look, okay no matter how assimilated you are, is there anybody in this room who doesn't know who Theodore Herzl is? I'm serious. Okay, the long beard, you know. This Russian kid said - who is that? So the official at the airport said: it's Theodore Herzl. So the kid said: who was he? He simply didn't know. You can't fault him for it. Nobody told him. There are no Sunday schools in Russia. One kid said to me: you know what the greatest thrill was after coming to Israel? I learned that our heroes, Jewish heroes, didn't begin in the Six Day War, that we had heroes called Maccabees. Do you know about the Maccabees, this Russian kid says to me. I mean he made a big discovery; he discovered the pride in the background of his own heritage. He didn't know about it. My God, this is like discovering your own soul all over again. That's the miracle of what's happening inside Russia. And with that rebirth of Jewish spirit, that renaissance, they are breaking the walls down to get out.

So they are coming over. Now, when they are going through all that hell to get out, should we make it easy for them or tough for them? We don't do either one. We give them apartments according to the standards of what is being built here today. We are not building specially large places for them or specially small places. All public housing building today is going up at a standard of 75 sq.m. - 750 sq. feet. You got in your house 2000, 3000 sq. feet, that's what most of you have as an average. The apartments that we give them here are 750 sq. feet. And, boy, that's great, because 15 years ago all we could build was 350 sq. feet. Now you bring a Russian in today who has fought like hell to get out and the standard apartment that you give him is a standard three-room apartment of 750 feet. And you got older citizens of Israel living in this country who came here 10-15 years ago who got 350 sq. feet, and they say: hey, wait a minute, what about me, what about me, why don't you upgrade me before you give this new guy better accommodation than I got? Is he right? Well, you're damned right that he's right, from one point of view. Is it feasible? No, it's not feasible. We can't. Haven't got the energy to make two big moves like every month, you know. Take out a thousand older families, move them into the bigger places, then take the Russians and move them into the smaller places, which you have to repair and clean and repaint and fix up all the damage of 15 years. Can't do it, haven't got the time.

So the old ones suffer and this is exactly what I mean by saying the people already living here move over and make room for the new ones. And sometimes the new ones appear to be getting more than the old ones got. No choice. You got griping;

gripping is human and natural. Do you have demonstrations? No. Do you have protests? No. Do you have mobs of people going down to the government and saying they won't stand for it? No. They gripe and they grumble, but then the one thing that finally settles all the arguments is the magic word that these are new immigrants. That's holy. We have to take them in. This country is built on the holy principle of taking in new people. And even though that sometimes works hardships on older people, never mind, you live with the hardships. I think that's the most idealistic thing about this country. And I'm not painting it in pastel colors by telling you every citizen loves it. I'm telling you lots of citizens hate it, but they swallow it, and they live with it.

Now there's one other problem that I want you to watch out for while you're here, since we are really pulling out all the bugs from under the rocks. There is a problem in this country of poverty and social welfare which is terribly crucial to people like you and me who are trained to be sensitive to urban problems and slums and illiteracy and disadvantaged kids. And I'll be frank and tell you that we are afflicted here by those problems. I'm not trying to hide it. And I'm equally frank to tell you that we're doing damn little about it. And the reason is because we haven't got the money, after the war takes its demands and after the new immigration takes its demands. You have to build so much housing and so many schools and the damned thing is enormous. Because we are going to be taking in this year something like 5,000 people every month, a couple of hundred people every day. Every day that you're in this country a couple of hundred more people are coming in, every single day. And how many hundreds of millions that adds up to, to try and take care of them.

So after you finish with the war and you finish with the new immigration, there is very very little left to take care of the old social welfare problems of the under-privileged. But even though not much is done about it, I think we all must be very much aware of it, because if there does come a moment where we can save a few hundred million bucks on the war costs, or, God forbid, immigration drops down and we got a couple of hundred million bucks that we don't have to spend for new immigrants, which will be a tragedy, then we can divert it to take care of some of the older immigrants. I want you to be aware of the fact that that problem exists so that you won't ask about what the hell is this, some new thing all of a sudden that the UJA dreamed up, that they need money for. The problem of the social welfare things I want you to be aware of. And I can give you the statistics very simply. We got about 10% of the people in this country who are living below the poverty line.

Now I'll tell you what the poverty line is. We figured out at around 25 dollars per month per person. So if you got four people in the family, a father, mother and two kids, and they are earning less than 100 dollars a month - 25 bucks per person for four people is 100 bucks - a family of four cannot live on 100 dollars a month. Can't do it, no way, as cheap as vegetables are here, and even if you don't eat meat, and if you have chicken once a week on Shabbat, and you don't buy a bottle of whisky, and you don't send your kids to the movies at four pounds a head or 3 pounds a head. Even if you eat vegetables and onions and cheese and leben and bread, and you got four people, the father has to take the bus to work - and it costs a pound on the bus, so this costs him two pounds a day and he works six days a week - that's 12 pounds a week - 48 pounds a month, just to take the bus to go to work. All he's earning is 400

pounds - 10% of his wages go on transportation to work. That family is hungry and it's a hell of a thing. It's a hell of a thing after living in a luxury hotel and having all the food you want at your disposal to talk about the fact that I could take you 15 minutes from here and show you slum houses where people are living, where the kids in the family are hungry.

It's a disturbing thing to say, but it's a fact. I want you to understand these are not people on welfare, they work. I call what we have in this country working poor. The father is sweating 8-9 hours a day, he's not loafing; he's not sitting home waiting for somebody to hand him a welfare cheque, but his earning keeps him below the poverty line. The normal case is not 2 children in a family, it's 4 and one grandmother or grandfather. So you're talking about a normal family unit of seven persons. And 7 people at 25 dollars apiece is 175 dollars at 4 pounds, so we're talking about 700 pounds a month roughly speaking. And that father who goes to work every day in a factory doesn't earn 700 pounds a month - he earns 550 pounds. And then his wife, with 4 kids, goes out and tries to be a charwoman to earn 100 or 200 pounds, on her hands and knees with a scrub bucket, working 4 hours a day. And if they bring home between the two of them 700 or 800 pounds and they have got 7 mouths to feed, those people are poor and hungry.

Now we have one quarter of a million people - 250,000 - 10% of the population - living that way. They are also what we call multi-problem families. Because those seven people will be living in 1 room or 2 rooms. That's what they got 15 or 20 years ago, when they came into the country, and they never have been able to pick themselves out of it and raise themselves above it and improve their living standards. Now let's make it very clear. You can say to me: what the hell, only 10% of the people live that way. That means 90% of the people in this country made it, they got up above the poverty line. That's right. And I mean that's a hell of a miracle for 90% of the people in this country to have made it. Now, let's not talk about the people in this country who have made it, let's talk about the people who haven't made it. They are the ones who are suffering. They are the ones about whom we'd like to try to do something if we could. And when I say we do damned little, I really mean damned little. We should be pouring money into tearing down slums and building up new housing, but we haven't got it. We should be pouring money into taking all the kids who were dropouts, first of all from grammar school or, secondly, those kids who can't afford to go to high school, and we should be subsidizing them with scholarships and sending them to high school. You know that high school education in this country is not free. Kids are sent to school until they are 14 years of age, that's 8th grade. If they want to go on from 8th grade - 9, 10, 11, 12 - high school from 14 to 18, they have got to pay for it. Tuition in most high schools runs about 2000 pounds for the year, more than college. College tuition in this country is around 1200 pounds. High school is more expensive. For the poorer families there is some scholarship money available but nowhere near enough. We got 20-30,000 kids in this country who will become juvenile delinquents if we can't get them into high school. And we haven't got the money to get them into high schools. Now these social problems are festering. And every once in a while some group forms and does go out on the street and makes protests. And we have had one group here and it called itself the Black Panthers, and they took that name because they said: we're going to try to bring to everybody's attention the fact we're discriminated against because we're Sephardim. We're black Jews, we're different Jews. We're Jews from Algeria, Morocco, Iraq and Yemen. We're not those fine Jews from Poland and Russia and Germany, the Ashkenazi Jews who have it in this country. We are the black Jews on the bottom of the heap and, brother, we don't like it.

They went out and made all kinds of protest meetings about the discrimination against the Sephardim who live in slums, who are illiterate, who don't have trades, who can't earn their living. By the way, there's a cute thing. Somebody pointed out to them that Black Panthers in America have turned anti-Semitic and have turned anti-Israel. So they changed their name. They call themselves Black Panthers Blue-and-White, because they want to show they're patriotic Israelis and they're not anti-Israel and not anti-Semitic. It's a cry for help, that's what it is. And they deserve help. There's no damned sense in calling them street hoodlums. They're kids who are crying. They're like your own children. When a kid creates a temper tantrum, you know perfectly well it doesn't do any good to say: you shouldn't stamp your feet. You have got to find out what he's stamping his feet about and try to calm the kid down. And exactly at the moment when he's being the most nasty and the most obstreperous and calling you the dirtiest of names, that's the time he needs the most love from you. Is that right? At least you ought to read the books, that's what the books say. We can't all do it, we're not all saints. We're only people who are parents. And these kids are stamping their feet and crying for help and their request is legitimate, and our inability to fulfill it is sad. Because there should be another 100 million dollars in the campaign, there should be another 200 million dollars in the campaign. The Jews in America are so rich, so rich. We have the most affluent powerful middle-class Jewish community that has ever existed in the whole 4000 years of our corporate life, from the time of Abraham. Never, no place, not in Spain, not in Babylonia, not in Germany, never until we came to this United States experience of the last 75 years. After all, how long is it? When did most of your grandfathers come to the United States - 75 years ago, 100 years ago, two generations, three generations? What we are talking about, it's all brand new. For 100 years the Jews of America have lived in middle-class security and affluence and they are learning how to share, but only just beginning. Only just beginning. And what you guys have got to do is open up the minds and open up the horizons. And somebody who gives a thousand bucks, what is that today anymore? And somebody who gives even five thousand, what is that today anymore in terms of what people can earn, and in terms of what inflation does to the worthwhileness of money.

So it needs a new look. And you have got to help us through the period when we will still be fighting wars and when we will still be taking in Russian immigrants. And unless they pull a dirty trick on us, we are going to be taking in Russian immigrants for a long time to come. Because this thing is going to go one of two ways. Either they are going to cut it off now, you know they'll give us 20, 30, 40,000 Jews. We got 13,000 last year, that's when it began in 1971. In 1972, we may get another 30-35,000. It may be that after they give us 50,000 Jews they'll cut it off on us and they'll say: you've had it. Because the Russians are our enemies and don't ever forget it. Or the other possibility is that the push to get out is so strong now inside the Soviet Union, and there are so many Jews applying. You know, we feed that by a system of affidavits. I don't want to go into too much detail, to bother you how we work it, but it's a very clever operation, really, quite skillful, and we feed the desire for Russian Jews to get out. We show them how and we help them in many ways. So maybe, this desire to get out is so strong that not even the Russian Government can close it down anymore, maybe, unless they want to start putting Jews in jail or shooting them. So either they are going to close it on us or the momentum is already too strong and they won't be able to close it even if they want to. Then we'll keep getting Jews and keep getting Jews. So we need you for long-range support. I don't want any short-range support. Nobody can come in and get enthusiastic for a year, to stick around for a year or two and then goodbye, go to work for Easter seals or the symphony orchestra. If you are going to do that, do me a favor - go now.

If you are going to stay, enlist for the duration. Carry us through the period of the wars, carry us through the long period of the Russian migration. That's the last large group of Jews to take in; we haven't got anybody else. We've finished almost every place else. Oh, we got a few thousand more Moroccans to go, and a few thousand more Iranians to go, and a few thousand more Rumanians to go. But when we're all through with those few thousands here and there, the whole thing doesn't amount to 250,000 people anymore. What we're really talking about is Russia, 3 million. And if that's going to go, that's going to go for years. And we might be able to get a half a million or a million. Wouldn't that be lovely, wouldn't that be something? So you have got to stick with us through that and you have got to stick with us to the point where we can finally do something about the poor people down on the bottom who have been waiting and waiting and waiting for the war to get over with and for the Russians to get over with. Sooner or later, we are going to have to get to solve their problems. So then, when you're all through with all of that, we'll call a meeting some day here in the Accadia Hotel. I'll still be around, I don't care how long it takes. And at that meeting you'll still be nice and young. I don't care how long that takes, because you still got a long way ahead of you. And then, we'll have a meeting for a different purpose. We'll organize a bridge club, we'll organize a backgammon club, we'll go digging archeological excavations and I'll show you some nice places in this country where you can get some pots. And we will not have to get together for the grim, earnest, serious business of building a country and saving people's lives. We'll get together for the easy purpose of enjoying the years which are left to us. So what I'm really saying in essence is - nobody's got any right to enjoy anything until the work gets done. Now if you will obey that rule only halfway, I'll be very very pleased and very satisfied, and you'll bring it to a successful conclusion.

You see, I'd like to leave you with this feeling - that the problems are absolutely soluble. If the recitation of the last hour and a half sounds grim and hard and difficult, it really isn't. I'm a very pragmatic and realistic man. I don't believe in gilding any lilies, nor do I believe in whitewashing anything. Either way, the picture has got to be painted as it is - hard, cold, clear, realistically. But once you paint the picture realistically, then you have to take an appraisal as to whether that picture will defeat you or you will defeat it. And what's perfectly clear in my head is that we have the capacity to solve every single one of these problems, no matter how overwhelming they now seem to be. We have the capacity in will power, we have the capacity in intelligence, we have the capacity in conceptualization, we have the capacity in financial means, we have every known technical and psychological asset required. All we have to do is put them to work, that's all. The accumulated energy which exists in you 80 people here who couldn't tear his town apart if he wanted to put full time into it. Well you can't put full time into it, because you have got to take care of your own things and your own family. But put 10% of your energy into it and you'll tear your town apart like it's never been torn before. We have the ability to win the future for ourselves. There's no doubt in my mind we'll do it if more groups of 80 people and again 80 and again 80 will come here, take ten days off, spend your vacation, spend your dough. Bury it deep into your heart, carry it as a missionary kind of a zeal for the next ten or twenty years of your life. Keep coming back here periodically for that shot in the arm that's required to keep you going. And I promise you there is no problem that confronts us that we can't solve. There is no goal that we can't achieve. There's no target, however high we set it, to which we can't aspire and win. And that's the reward that I can offer you for all the hard work. What do you get for all the hard work? You get victory. And what victory consists of is a strong and independent Jewish people, full of pride,

full of creative vigor, enjoying a good reputation among the other peoples of the world, enjoying one's own self-esteem that you did something important with your own life, damn it, and you didn't just throw it down the drain playing cards. What else is there in life? These are the things that count. And that's what I can promise you. I can promise you the rewards of victory, the fruits of victory. Pleasures and the good taste in your mouth to know that you devoted your life to something worthwhile. And out of that worthwhileness will come a free and independent State of Israel, which we don't have yet, and a Jewish State, which we don't have yet, making its contribution to the improvement of a better world, which we don't have yet. And wouldn't you like to have all those things? Well, they are there to be had. It just takes a little bit of hard work. Thank you very much.

Gary Rubin

I think you now have a sense of why I made the introduction the way I made it of Rabbi Friedman. Herb does have time for some questions.

Question:

What is the average cost of bringing a Russian family to Israel?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Okay, we haven't got it broken down per person. We have it broken down per family. But all we got to do is divide by 3.5, because that's the average number of persons in a family. I'm glad you asked the question totally - the total cost from the time of exit out of Russia, transit down through Vienna, six months in an absorption center, paying for the wife and the kids, supporting them while the man learns Hebrew, giving them an apartment, investment in the economic infra-structure of the country to create a job for the guy. Is that clear? A man comes in, 500 men come in. You got to build a factory to put 500 men to work. The factory costs a million dollars. Divide it up, how much is it for each one man you have to invest, to create a job for him? 500 kids come in, you need one school. How much does that school cost? Divide it up per head. If you take all the costs, which include the big ones of providing him a dwelling, vocational retraining, job investment to make him self-sufficient, we find that it's running around 35,000 dollars per family. Now, if you use a statistical average of 3.5 persons in a family, then you come to your answer - 10,000 dollars per head. That's really not accurate because you don't need to spend 10,000 dollars on a child, to give a child a job. The dwelling unit that you give them runs around 8-9,000 dollars. The economic investment to create a job for the man is around 11-12,000 dollars. You got twenty thousand dollars in those two items along - the job and the house. The rest of it is a thousand bucks each to get out of Russia. So if you got four people in a family, that's 4,000 dollars. The two big items are housing and a job, the rest of it is all the other stuff that goes around it to the point of making him a self-sufficient citizen. This 35,000 dollars gets spent over a period of about 18 months. It takes that long to build a flat; it takes that long to build the job. It costs a few thousand dollars to maintain the family for the six months that they are in the ulpan, in the absorption center. So as carefully as we can calculate it, it's about 35,000 dollars per family unit. And if we are taking in, let's say 1,000 family units per month, 1000 times 35,000 is 35 million bucks in one month. A lot of money.

In 1971 we got back in the form of voluntary repayments - because we don't send a sheriff out to throw the family out, you don't repossess the flat if they don't pay anything, so the payments are all voluntary - we got back, I think, seven million

in 1971 on housing that we had put immigrants in previous years. And we spent about 160 million. We got back about 7, so it's no factor at all. If they pay, they pay, and if they don't, they don't. And most of them don't.

Question:

When can Israel become self-sufficient so as not to pay out these funds from its economy?

Herbert A. Friedman:

I don't think it's really important where the money is spent. The economy of this country - the G.N.P., that's what I mean by economy - doesn't depend upon infusion of capital transfer from abroad. The economic growth of this country has got to be from within. If we spend 160 million dollars a year building houses here locally, we throw 160 million bucks into the G.N.P. through wages of laborers and through raw materials of cement and so on. If 50 million dollars has got to be spent in the United States on airplanes or 350 million, that doesn't add to the G.N.P. of this country. Is that your question? Okay.

Question:

What percentage of the monies stay out of Israel?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Of UJA money, technically speaking, all of it has to be spent here to qualify for Internal Revenue Service tax deductability. No UJA money technically can be spent for the purchase of arms, because that doesn't qualify as a charitable deduction. Let's take an example. Universities in this country cost 80 million dollars a year to run, above and beyond what the students can pay in tuition. The Government of Israel says: we can't, we have to spend 80 million dollars for airplanes, that comes first. If we have only got 80 million bucks and we have to buy planes or keep the universities going, we'll close the universities. We come along and we say: well, we can spend 80 million dollars on the universities because that's a tax deductible item permissible by IRS. So we pump 80 million dollars which, I suppose by your terms, goes into the G.N.P. here, because it goes to pay salaries of professors.

The Government spends very little money outside of Israel on anything else except arms and a few commodities of food which don't grow here. You don't grow enough sugar here, you don't grow enough beef here. And those things have to be bought. But again, I'm struggling with your question because every automobile which you buy in this country is bought abroad. And the dollars flow out of this country to buy those automobiles. I think this country will skip the automobile manufacturing stage and go right to the airplane manufacturing stage. Several assembly plants exist here - Dodge has one, Ford has one. But no prime manufacturing facilities exist here. And I think the automobile industry is already kind of obsolete in the world. Or, let's put it the other way, within a few years automobiles will be changed in character. We are not going to continue to foul up the atmosphere with stinking gasoline. So you'll have battery cars, you'll have all other kinds of cars ten years, twenty years from now. And I think it would be silly for us to go into the automobile manufacturing stage of industrial development. I think airplane manufacturing is a very good future and a lot of money is going into that, both for civilian aircraft manufacture and military aircraft manufacture. And I would have to say to you that I think this country will be self-sufficient in aircraft manufacture in 3-5 years.

Question:

Do all immigrants coming from Russia go to an absorption center or are some immediately settled?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Very good question. The answer is 'no', not all immigrants are brought into an absorption center. Immigrants from Russia come into this country in two ways and the decision is made at the point of entry, at Lydda Airport. Right there, when people walk off the airport, they are lined-up in front of a table. All people who are possessed of academic degrees or who have a free trade or profession which they can practise for themselves and be an asset to this country and earn a good living for themselves **but who require** knowledge of the language to do it, are sent to absorption centers - architect, newspaper writer, engineer, doctor, accountant, anybody that you or I would call a free professional man, he's got his own profession. He gets sent to an absorption center. The other guy gets sent right to a dwelling wherever it happens to be empty in the country. He goes from the table in the airport to a bus outside and, inside of one hour, two hours, he is someplace. He is in Beersheva, he's in Carmiel, he's in Kiryat Malachi, he's somewhere. He doesn't know where the hell he is yet, and he's got a portfolio of papers in his hands that he should go to Block Number six and Apartment Number four and that's his flat. And he gets on the bus with the piece of paper and he goes to the town and he goes in **that** flat, and that's it. The next morning he goes to the labor exchange and reports for a job. And you ask: where does he learn the language? He learns it on the street. He never learns it properly; he's always a greenhorn in this country, like I am. My kids go to school and they speak Hebrew in school. My wife is petrified. Half a year from now she won't be able to understand them. She is struggling desperately to keep up with them; she'll never make it. She will always speak Hebrew with an accent; they will not. She will always be the immigrant mother, this classy wife of mine. Those kids, 10-15 years from now, are going to bring their friends home and they will apologize for their mother. And what the hell, let's face it, that's life. And that Russian who learns his Hebrew on the street is going to be the same way. So that you could then say: okay, isn't that unfair? Gee whiz, one guy's getting a big advantage over the other guy. And the answer's 'yes', that's right he is, no doubt about it. But a guy in Russia who made it through high school and through technical vocational school and through university and became an engineer and winds up here, age 32, with two diplomas, he is, I'm sorry, better advantaged than the other Russian Jew who left high school at the age of 17 and went to work in the Gorky automobile factory. So he'll come here and go to work in the Dodge assembly plant in Upper Nazareth, that's all. And he'll earn less dough than the other guy, and all his life he'll be on a lower social level than the other guy. But he was in Russia too. So just deal realistically with the fact that there are differences between people and between their abilities and their skills and their training.

Question:

You sound pessimistic on the prospect for long-range peace?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Pessimistic? I thought I ended on the most optimistic note in the world.

Question:

Are you satisfied that we're exploring all the possible alternatives for attaining peace? What is holding Sadat back from making peace?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Anybody who gets a copy of the Jerusalem Post and reads it every morning, there isn't any problem of communication. There's no mystery about the basic ideas involved. It isn't that we got some kind of secret combination deal that we got to figure out how to get to them. They have enough spies in this country, we have enough spies there.

Question:

What is holding Sadat back from making peace?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Not a damned thing. It's got to be a conviction which he arrives at himself in his own head.

Question:

How do you help him arrive at that?

Herbert A. Friedman:

By offering all the inducements that we know how to offer him. We can't help him arrive at it. He's got to decide that it's advantageous to him and that he wants it. If he wants 300 million bucks in tolls, he can have it. It's not as complicated as all that. We don't have to be his psychiatrist. We don't have to help him arrive at a conclusion of what's good for him. On the West Bank of the Canal here is all of Egypt's industrial might, all her industrial cities except the Helwan steelworks which are outside of Cairo and the Asswan dam which is down here for power. Outside of that, the major industrial enterprises of Egypt are in the towns of Kantara and Ismailia and Port Suez. And they are all empty; they are all bombed to cracks. He's got a million people who worked in these towns here who are in the interior of his country as refugees. We say to him: stop this crazy fight, open up the Canal, bring your industrial population back, rebuild your damned cities, get started again, get your economy started, your're poverty-stricken, I mean, I don't understand what you mean by how do we have to help them.

Question:

Your solution is to wait until he's ready. What if he doesn't hasten the process?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Yes, nothing. The implication in this is if there were only some concession made to him. What do you want to give him? There isn't anything. You want to give him the fact that we don't really want Israel, here, you can have Israel?

Question:

He needs a way to stay in office to make the decision?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Face-saving is baloney. I listen to this until I puke. We have to give him some way to save face? He's the ruler of a country of 33 million people with the biggest ally in the world. He goes to Moscow five times a year. And we got to give him some way to save face? Poor guy, what does he want, a free ticket to the movies? It's

absurd. It's based upon a fallacy. That's why I'm so hard on it. It's based on a fallacy that somewhere there exists some secret magical key which, if we could discover what it is and then give it to him, would make it possible for him suddenly to make peace. The whole line of thinking is fallacious. He doesn't need anything to make peace other than a will to make it. Let me put it this way. He's got to swallow the bitter pill that the God-damned Jews have created a state and he's got to live with it - a very bitter pill that he's got to swallow. The only way I could make it easier for him is not to ask him to swallow the pill which means I could say: alright, I'll tell you what we'll do, Sadat, we will take the State of Israel which you don't like here in the Middle East, because we are a bone in the throat in between all these Arab countries, and we will move the State of Israel to Uganda. Then it won't be in your way, it won't be in your area, it won't be what you call an alien force inside the Arab world. Come on, that's what he wants. Are we in a position to give that to him? We can't dismantle ourselves. He's got to learn to live with us, swallow us, like it or not. He can hate our guts, he's got to adjust. That's a good psychiatric word - he has to adjust to the fact of our existence.

Question:

What is with a de jure settlement - why is the signing so important?

Herbert A. Friedman:

They don't want to sign, we won't sign, we'll stay where we are, it will stay exactly the way it is, that's the point I tried to make to you. You have a de facto situation and you have a de jure situation. De facto is where we are - dark green and light green. So it's settled, so the State of Israel is dark plus light. I told you that in this hunk of light green we put in 22 settlements, in this hunk of light green you should know what we put in. We're living there. We're prepared to give it back as part of a deal. If there won't be any deal, we'll stay there. So we have a de facto situation - this is the State of Israel today.

Question:

Why don't we have compulsory education in high school?

Herbert A. Friedman:

No money.

Question:

What is the situation regarding unemployment?

Herbert A. Friedman:

No unemployment. As a matter of fact, the economy is so steamed-up, overheated, at such a high level of production, we bring in from the West Bank every day 30,000 Arabs to come to work inside of Israel. And before this year is over, we'll be looking for 50 and 60,000 Arabs. They never had it so good. There are a lot of reasons why they don't want to go back to the other side and why they want to stay with us.

Question:

Is it true that the Egyptians receive more money from the oil-rich Arab states than they could from the Canal?

Herbert A. Friedman:

Was true up to two years ago, when the Arab countries had a fund-raising meeting once a year in which they called cards to see how much each country would chip in for poor old Egypt. And they used to get more than the 250. Three years ago the meeting was held at Casablanca in Morocco and it was a bust. They didn't do the pre-soliciting right, they didn't get the commitments before they walked in. So the damned thing was a mess. And once the Arab countries got off the hook, they have ceased now. And now Egypt is hurting.

Question:

Do you think it would be possible to have a settlement piecemeal?

Herbert A. Friedman:

We got two candidates right now who will be ready to sign as number two. Jordan says: we'll sign second; Lebanon says: we'll sign second. We got to get somebody to start the ball rolling, and that's Egypt. That's what I said before. It doesn't matter what any other country does, what Egypt does is what counts.

Question:

Is Egypt seriously concerned with Israel's so-called imperialistic designs. Are the armaments strictly what they term 'defensive'?

Herbert A. Friedman:

You used the term 'is Egypt seriously concerned'. No. Serious people in Egypt, including the commanding general of the army know perfectly well Israel has no intention of conquering Cairo, none whatsoever. However what they really know seriously and truthfully in their hearts has nothing to do with the way they play politics with Russia. They claimed to Russia that they need an air defense system against Israeli penetration by air. That's what the missiles are - they are anti-aircraft missiles. The fact is that this then gives them, in return, a huge offensive capacity from their artillery and from their aircraft which work well behind a screen and a barrier that keep us out. Because what the hell is a defensive anti-aircraft system other than a screen in order to give you an offensive capacity. Why do you think we're so concerned about it? If they were simply defensive why would we care? But with those missiles preventing our aircraft from coming over to bomb their artillery, then they use their artillery to fire us out of the lines. Got it?

Allright, the boys want to get on the road. Shenhabi says 'cut'. Gary says 'cut'. There are four heart attacks going on up here. So while there are still questions, I'm sorry, you guys got to get on the bus because apparently you are going to go to Cairo today. I'll see you again on Sunday.

Gary Rubin:

Herb thank you so much.

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

file *speeches*

*speech made
on Gali*

Zahal

22-11-72

*"Sapir - on program -
economic development
of Israel"*



ספר יואל מילר

ק"ל

צ"ק א"י
ב"ק א"י
כ"ב א"י
כ"א א"י

ההתפתחות הכלכלית של ישראל היא אחד הניסים של העולם המודרני. אני סבור שאין עוד אומה שהתפתחה כל כך מהר. ישנן סיבות רבות להצלחה זו: הנכונות של הממשלה לקחת על עצמה סיכונים, ואפילו לעשות שגיאות, כי בלי שני אלה אין אפשרות כלל להתרחב; עבודה קשה מאד מצד רוב האנשים; אהבת הארץ ומוטיבציה חזקה. עם זאת, מאחורי כל אלה חייב להיות כסף שיאפשר את הבניין והצמיחה. יש לציין לזכותם של תושבי הארץ שהם ממשיכים לספק כסף זה באמצעות המיסים הכבדים המוטלים עליהם. אני מאמין שעיקר ההתפתחות הכלכלית של מדינת ישראל מאז הקמתה הייתה תוצאת המאמצים הרבים של תושבי ישראל עצמם. אבל כסף הגיע גם מחוץ לארץ, אם בצורת השילומים מגרמניה, אך על כך אינני מוסמך לדבר, או פטרומות, שעליהן אני יכול לדבר.

במשך השנים 1953-1962 העבירו יהודי ארצות הברית לישראל ארבע מאות עשרים ושניים מיליון דולר באמצעות המגבית היהודית המאוחדת ונאה מיליון דולר באמצעות מלב"ן-ג'וינט, זה גם כן אותה מגבית, - יחד למעלה מחמש מאות מיליון דולר. עלינו לזכור שנערכו גם כגביות אחרות - למען הדסה, האוניברסיטאות וכולי. נוסף לכך, יש לקחת גם בחשבון את העבודה העצומה של ארגון הבונדס - דרפו הלוו-יהודי אמריקה לישראל מאז מלחמת דולרים.

שואלים אותי כל הזמן איך מאורגנה עבודת המגבית? מה תמצית העבודה? איך אוספים כספים? חשובתי לכך היא: עבודתה העיקרית של המגבית היא בתחום החינוך, זאת אומרת - יש לתח לאנשים אידיאולוגיה, כך שיוכלו להבין מדוע נכנסים נחוץ. הדבר העיקרי שלימדנו בשנים אלה היה הצורך לקלוט עולים, לבנות את הארץ ולהזדהות איתה.

הוצאת עבודה חינוכית זו הייתה הכפלת התרומות בתקופה השניה, בין השנים 1963 עד 1972. בתקופה זו העבירה המגבית לישראל מיליארד, שישים וחמישה מיליון דולר, ומלב"ן - שמונים וחמישה מיליון דולר. כך שבמשך תקופה זו היה הסכום שהועבר לישראל מעל מיליארד דולר לעומת קצת יותר מחצי מיליארד דולר בעשר השנים הקודמות. במשך כל עשרים השנים האחרונות הועבר לישראל סכום מדויק של מיליארד, שש מאות שבעים ושניים מיליון, שבע מאות שמונים וחמישה אלף דולר.

נפלא בהלקי הזכות לנהל שמונה עשר מתוך עשרים מסעי ההתרמה של המגבית, אינני עושה זאת יותר מפני שעלינו ארצה לפני שנה וחצי. עד כמה שאני מכיר את יהודי אמריקה, ונדמה לי שאני מכיר אותם היטב, לאחר שעבדתי איתם שנים כה רבות, הם נתנו את הכסף מתוך אהבה ותחושת שותפות. אני חוזר ואומר

שרוב ההישגים הכלכליים של ישראל הם תוצאת היזמה, העבודה הקשה והמוטיבציה של תושבי ישראל עצמם.
יהודי ארצות הברית מאושרים וגאים באותו חלק שהם נטלו בהתפתחות כלכלית זו. אני בטוח שהם ימשיכו
לעשות זאת בעתיד כל עוד תידרש עזרתם.



ההתפתחות הכלכלית של ישראל היא אחד הניסים של העולם המודרני. אני סבור שאין עוד אומה שהתפתחה כל כך מהר. ישנן סיבות רבות להצלחה זו: הנכונות של הממשלה לקחת על עצמה סיכונים, ואפילו לעשות שגיאות, כי בלי שני אלה אין אפשרות כלל להתרחב; עבודה קשה מאד מצד רוב האנשים; אהבת הארץ ומוטיבציה חזקה. עם זאת, מאחורי כל אלה חייב להיות כסף שיאפשר את הבניין והצמיחה. יש לציין לזכותם של תושבי הארץ שהם ממשיכים לספק כסף זה באמצעות המיסים הכבדים המוטלים עליהם. אני מאמין שעיקר ההתפתחות הכלכלית של מדינת ישראל מאז הקמתה היחה תוצאת המאמצים הרבים של תושבי ישראל עצמם. אבל כסף הגיע גם מחוץ לארץ, אם בצורת השילומים מגרמניה, אך על כך אינני מוסמך לדבר, או בתרומות, שעליהן אני יכול לדבר.

במשך השנים 1953-1962 העבירו יהודי ארצות הברית לישראל ארבע מאות עשרים ושניים מיליון דולר באמצעות המגבית היהודית המאוחדת ומאה מיליון דולר באמצעות מלב"ן-ג'נינס, זה גם כן אותה מגבית, - יחד למעלה מחמש מאות מיליון דולר. עלינו לזכור שנערכו גם מגביות אחרות - למען הדסה, האוניברסיטאות וכולי. נוסף לכך, יש לקוות גם בחשבון את העבודה העצומה של ארגון הבונדס - דרכו הליו יהודי אמריקה לישראל מאות מיליוני דולרים.

שואלים אותי כל הזמן איך מאורגנת עבודה המגבית? מה המצויה העבודה? איך אוספים כספים? תשובתי לכך היא: עבודתה העיקרית של המגבית היא בתחום החינוך, זאת אומרת - יש לחת לאנשים אידיאולוגיה, כך שיוכלו להבין מדוע כספם נחוץ. הדבר העיקרי שלימדנו בשנים אלה היה הצורך לקלוט עולים, לבנות את הארץ ולהזדהות איתה.

תוצאת עבודה חינוכית זו היחה הכפלה התרומות בתקופה השניה, בין השנים 1963 עד 1972. בתקופה זו העבירה המגבית לישראל מיליארד, שישים וחמשה מיליון דולר, ומלב"ן - שמונים וחמישה מיליון דולר. כך שבמשך תקופה זו היה הסכום שהועבר לישראל מעל מיליארד דולר לעומת קצת יותר מחצי מיליארד דולר בעשר השנים הקודמות. במשך כל עשרים השנים האחרונות הועבר לישראל סכום מדויק של מיליארד, שש מאות שבעים ושניים מיליון, שבע מאות שמונים וחמישה אף דולר.

על כמבטא הפכה לנהל שמונה עשר מתוך עשרים מסעי ההתרמה של המגבית. אינני עושה זאת יותר מפני שעלינו ארצה לפני שנה וחצי. עד כמה שאני מכיר את יהודי אמריקה, ונדמה לי שאני מכיר אותם היטב, לאחר שעבדתי איתם שנים כה רבות, הם נתנו את הכסף מתוך אהבה ותחושת שותפות. אני חוזר ואומר

שרוב ההישגים הכלכליים של ישראל הם תוצאה היזמה, העבודה הקשה והמוטיבציה של חושבי ישראל עצמם.
יהודי ארצות הברית מאושרים וגאים באותו חלק שהט נטלו בהתפתחות כלכלית זו, אני בטוח שהם ימשיכו
לעשות זאת בעתיד כל עוד תידרש עזרתם.



JDX - average 10

1953 - 39,766
 1954 - 34,294
 1955 - 34,548
 1956 - 52,126
 1957 - 54,950
 1958 - 42,185
 1959 - 44,993
 1960 - 42,126
 1961 - 38,534
 1962 - 39,061

~~31,729
 17,397
 52,126~~

~~33,097
 21,853
 4,950~~

~~31,013
 11,172
 42,185~~

~~31,752
 18,241
 44,993~~

~~31,038
 11,088
 12,126~~

SUB 422,583
 TOTAL - 100,000

JDC

JDX average 8.5

1963 - 35,804
 1964 - 35,468
 1965 - 36,577
 1966 - 36,953
 1967 - 179,440
 1968 - 111,000
 1969 - 120,000
 1970 - 145
 1971 - 175
 1972 - 190

SUB TOTAL - 1,065,202

~~31,052
 145,408
 179,440~~

TOTAL 1,487,785
 185
 1,672,785

December 29, 1971

UJA CASH FIGURES

	\$
1967	233,817,674
1968	130,236,808
1969	149,705,000
1970	178,363,000
1971 (estimated)	205,000,000

UJA REMITTANCES TO JEWISH AGENCY
(during same period)

	\$
1967	180,000,000
1968	111,000,000
1969	120,000,000
1970	145,000,000
1971 (estimated)	175,000,000

1972 " 190

PLEDGE VALUES, ALLOCATIONS, CASH to U.I.A. THROUGH 12/31/67

CAMPAIGN YEARS 1948 - 1967

	<u>Pledge Values</u>	<u>Allocations to U.I.A.</u>	<u>Cash to U.I.A. through 12/31/67</u>
1948	\$146,206,745	\$ 69,690,650	\$ 69,690,650
1949	101,361,929	46,164,209	46,164,209
1950	85,084,309	43,733,560	43,733,560
1951	73,786,710	48,571,848	48,571,848
1952	66,281,276	41,295,539	41,295,539
1953	53,013,891	39,766,466	39,766,466
1954	50,341,075	34,294,734	34,294,734
1955	55,215,112	34,368,014	34,548,084
1956	53,741,066	34,728,897	34,728,897
1956 NSF	17,397,932	17,396,485	17,396,485
1957	33,332,481	33,097,522	33,097,522
1957 ERF	24,551,162	21,853,164	21,853,164
1958	31,739,487	31,013,103	31,013,103
1958 SF	11,171,612	11,171,612	11,171,612
1959	31,752,325	31,752,325	31,752,325
1959 SF	13,240,723	13,240,723	13,240,723
1960	31,038,233	31,038,233	31,038,233
1960 SF	11,087,545	11,087,545	11,087,545
1961	38,534,141	38,734,000	38,534,141
1962	39,060,724	39,320,000	39,060,724
1963	35,804,360	35,800,000	35,804,360
1964	35,417,508	35,400,000	35,417,508
1965	36,577,566	36,500,000	36,577,566
1966	36,931,350	36,900,000	36,931,350
1967	31,031,700	31,000,000	31,031,700
1967 NSF	148,407,349	148,200,000	148,407,349
1967 ERF	107,242,253	107,200,000	107,242,253
1967 SF	113,640,020	113,600,000	113,640,020

