



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.

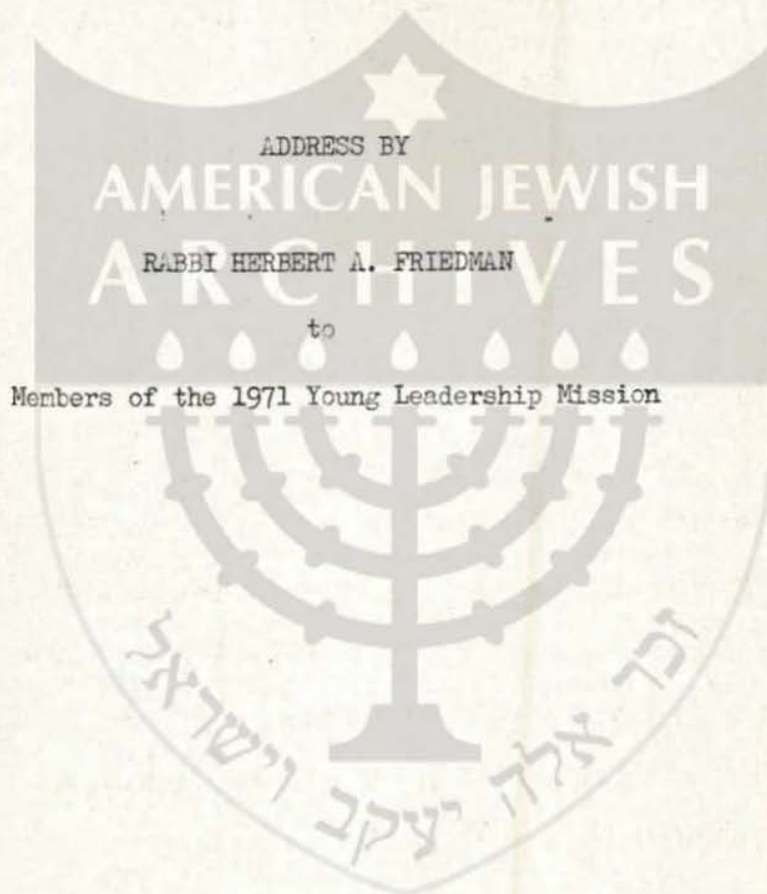
Box
58

Folder
2

Young Leadership Mission. 1971.

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

28



March 14th, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR PUBLICATION

14.3.71

- 1 -

sa

Rabbi Friedman: And now about Massada. It has got to be understood in context, in terms of geography and history. Time and space. Let us get the time and the space dimensions. Here is Jerusalem, up here on the coast is Caesarea, and down here on the Dead Sea is Massada. Okay.

Caesarea up here on the coast was the Roman capital of this country named after Julius Caesar. It was built in the 2nd century. It had an earlier history way before that. The Greeks had a different name for it, they called it "Stratton's Tower". It is mentioned even in the Talmud. We have a restaurant down there called the "Stratton" which is a version of that name. When the Romans came and occupied this country, they took the best port they could find - there was no port of Haifa - and they looked at the place with the most equitable climate, there is always a gentle breeze blowing here, and they built a huge city of over a quarter of a million people, bigger than the city of Jerusalem. The Governor at the time of certain events much later on was a man by the name of Pontius Pilate. He was the Roman Governor of Caesarea and had something to do with that Jewish rebel Joshua, later named Jesus.

Caesarea was the place where there were about 20,000 or 30,000 Jews living, who were constantly being attacked in pogroms by their Roman neighbours. Caesarea was the place later on - and again I am jumping way on after the Massada story, 60 years later when the Jews tried again after Massada fell, the Jews tried to revolt once more, and the leader of the revolt was a man by the name of Rabbi Akiva whose name you may have heard, and the Romans took him and flayed him alive in the amphitheatre in Roman Caesarea where we

now listen to Pablo Cassals play. The nearby immigrants town to Caesarea is called Or Akiva, the light of Akiva, named in memory of him, so part of the story is in Caesarea. Here is the Roman capital, here is the Roman power and here is where the Jews tried to revolt against Rome. Here is the headquarters of the 10th Legion, the famous Roman X Legion, and from here, finally, when the Jewish revolt got worse and worse and worse, the X Legion marched down from Caesarea down to Jerusalem, laid siege to the City of Jerusalem and to destroy it and thereby to put down the Jewish revolt.

The X Legion was joined by the V Legion, Fortensis, and the two Legions combined and laid siege for four years, from the year 66 until the year 70. They surrounded the City of Jerusalem, they built big earthworks around it. They tried to starve out the City. They tried to lay siege to it with big ballistic missiles of those days - Sam III battering rams - and throw in fire bombs, incendiaries and after four years they succeeded in destroying the City, and the City of Jerusalem fell.

South-east of Jerusalem, on a line down here to the Dead Sea, is a short distance, on top of a very strange looking natural rock which had a level top like a table top, a handful of survivors of the fight against the Romans retreated southward to the top of the mountain, and continued to hold out against the Romans for three more years.

The saga comes to an end down here in the year 73. From the year 70, when Jerusalem fell, to the year 73, when Massada fell, the whole power of Rome was surrounding one rock. Now that rock had been prepared not as a last fortress redoubt, but that rock had been prepared by a certain king by the name of Herod, who was half a Jew, but who was kind of a Quisling, if you know the meaning of that word, and was put in his position because of his

friendly attitude and cooperation with the Romans. He was a Jewish king whom they could count on to do their bidding. As a matter of fact, King Herod earlier - he was not alive any more - had done two things. He built the port of Caesarea for the Romans. He made it a gorgeous place, but just full of marble, big columns, thousands of them, a hippodrome for horse races, a theatre for performances, and amphitheatre, like a colosseum for games, the best whore houses in the whole East were known to be in Caesarea, put there by King Herod for the good of the Roman fleet and the Roman legions, and ever Roman general and consul and praefect wanted to be posted to Caesarea because of these gorgeous maisons de tolerance which Herod had built there - and villas and palaces and streets and shops and all of the luxury goods of the world poured into Caesarea which King Herod built and said to the Romans; here, use it. I'm the King of the Jews, and I welcome you and built a port for you.

He also built in Massada a great palace on the prow of the rock. When I say the "prow of the rock", prow means ship. I am looking at the rock of Massada at the side, the way you will see it. You are going to be driving, driving, and you are going to come and look at it this way. It is going to be in your view like this. North, south. The rock of Massada goes up like this. You are coming it at this direction. The Romans came at it from this direction. He built a ramp going up to the top of it. In order to get to the top of it, I think it is something like 1800 feet, they had to back off two or three miles and they built a ramp that would get them up to the top. It was a pretty steep grade, but it was the only way they could do it. They spent years building this ramp.

When you get to the top, by the way, you will look down and you will see on the earth below you, clearly marked out,

squares of Roman camps. There were eight Roman camps surrounding the rock on all sides, and you will see them clearly from the top.

They backed off, they built the ramp. Herod had built on these three terraces on the prow of the rock, a place - a palace for himself. This was his front porch, looking north about 100 miles. You get yourself up on top of a rock, if you are King Herod, and you bring up great marble columns, and you paint frescoes, and if this porch isn't big enough, you built steps going down to this porch, and if you don't like it here, you built steps going up to this top level, and you live up there like a king. Except for the fact that Herod never saw it. He was never there. He built a palace for himself to escape to should he ever have to escape. From whom? Who was he worried about? He was worried about his wife, he was worried about his sons. He was worried about his nearest courtiers. Before anybody could assassinate him, he assassinated all of them. I recommend to you the story of the life of King Herod. It is delicious reading. It is full of fratricide, matricide, regicide, anything you want, you've got in the story of the life of King Herod.

He built it as an escape hatch for himself, and by the way, halfway down to Massada he built another one, called Herodion, another palace for himself. In case anybody ever wants to see that, it is a very interesting archeological site, but nobody goes there, I don't know why.

Now these Jews found, therefore, on the top of the rock of Massada not just Herod's Palace, but on the top of the rock they found plenty of space and the Jews who retreated there found deep holes for water, they found cisterns halfway down the side of the rock where the rainwater could be trapped so that they could live up there. A small band decided that they would retreat there and hold out against the Romans, for the honour of the Jewish State

and to try really not to defeat the Romans - not really thought they could do that - but they thought that the Romans might be discouraged from trying to shake them off of the mountain top and might leave them alone and go away. And that would have been a victory of a sort, because it would have meant that the Romans had conquered Jerusalem, conquered the rest of the country, but there was still one place where free Jews were holding out. And from a moral point of view, that would have been a victory and that was really what they wanted to try to achieve. So I am explaining to you why they fought for three years.

Slowly but surely, they could see the Romans building this ramp up to them. They had built the wall all the way around the perimeter of the top. They built a second wall around the perimeter, a casement wall, and the two walls were some 10-12 feet apart so the defenders could work between the two walls if the Romans reached one, they could get behind the second one. They built rooms inside the casement wall. They had a full life up there. A synagogue was up there. A mikve was up there. Plenty of food. Plenty of water. Plenty of ammunition of all kinds in those days - spears, bows and arrows, huge round boulders - you will see them, big round stones like cannon balls - oil, fire so you could throw down boiling oil on the Romans as they tried to attack you. So you had everything up there with which to keep you going, and yet there is one thing that you couldn't do: you, living up here, you were 900. And they were tens of thousands. And slowly, slowly, slowly, they built their ramp, and as they built their ramp you knew that they would get up there. It is unbelievable, the building of that ramp, the Roman engineering thing. I mean you will see just a piece of it left as you walk up, but what it was then was that they brought lumber from all over Israel, stones, gravel, they

built it up and up. You know you have to build a ramp not just going up but wide enough so that you can bring chariots up, bring war machines up. They were doomed and they knew it, and the question then came, what to do?

Do you let the Romans break the wall on that final night, when they will finally get the ramp done up to the top and they will be able to bring enough men up to batter through your casement wall and the minute that they can batter through, all they have to do is to get the first hundred men inside the wall up on the top, and they have got 10,000 more behind them? Before dawn you are finished. Do you simply wait for that or do you try to do something?

The commander was a young man by the name of Eliezer ben Yair. We know his name from a variety of sources. Number one: a historian by the name of Josephus wrote down the story and used his name. Number two: we have found a piece of pottery with his name inscribed in it - so that it is real. We are not talking about some crazy story that maybe happened and maybe didn't happen. In all of Israel there is not one anything that we have ever found with the name "Jesus" on it. Not one. We find pottery with the name Yehuda Hamaccabi. We find pottery with the name Eliezer ben Yair. We find pottery with the name Shimon Hanasi. These are real people. They lived here. These are our ancestors. Nothing mythological about this. We don't know if he was fat or skinny. We don't know if he was bald or if he had crazy hair, but we do know his name. We also know that he was a good speaker because we have a record of his speech that he gave, and it is that closing speech of Eliezer ben Yair to the defenders the night before the Romans breached the wall that is one of those documents that are recorded down through history, and I am going to read to you part of it.

And he made a proposal to them, and his proposal was that they should, everyone, commit suicide, that the men should kill their wives and their children and then kill themselves, and that when it got down to the last ten, one should despatch the other nine and then the one should kill himself. And that then when the Romans came, at dawn, they would find everybody dead. That the provisions were not to be burned, because the Romans were to be shown that the Jews had enough food to hold out for a long time. The weapons were not to be burned. The Romans were to know that the Jews had enough weapons to hold out for a long time. The Romans were to know that this was a deliberate act - a final act, which Jews could perform in freedom. Kill your son rather than allow yourself to be taken as slaves, so that some day your hands will be bound and your son will call out to him to save him or to kill him and you will be able to do neither because your hands will be bound. While your hands are still unbound, you can use your hand as a free man to do what you have to do.

He tried to explain to them that their dignity and their honour depended upon that, and that this act as free men was the final act, the only logical thing that they could do and that it would be a lesson for all of history. And as the report goes, when he made the speech, they listened but their hearts were weak. They couldn't quite bring themselves to do it, so they gathered again and he spoke to them for a second time, and when he finished speaking to them for a second time, then they could hardly wait to go out to do what he asked them to do. And before the night was over, they did it.

The story is known because down in one of the cisterns which you will see - a great big huge deep water cistern which is at the

south end of the rock, there is a circular staircase which goes down inside of it and if you want to you can walk in, if you don't, just lock in, don't fall. There were two old women and five babies and they were down in the cistern taking water, and they either didn't know or they didn't hear this plan for total mass suicide because they were alive. They came up from the water cistern and they saw everybody dead, and just then the Romans burst in and they told the Romans the meaning of this mass suicide. They understood it intuitively. And so by their deaths, the Jews cheated the Romans of victory, and that is the real meaning of it, and everybody dies. What can you do with your life? If with your life you can do something meaningful, so by taking their lives they cheated the Romans and gave a lesson for all the thousands of years since then, that that name - Massada - has come to mean something tremendously noble in Jewish and all human resistance against tyranny.

The word Massada comes to mean the final resistance against tyranny, being willing to give your life for freedom. It is one of the lessons of mankind. It motivated the people in the Warsaw ghetto. The fight of the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto was the same fight as Massada. You couldn't win. You couldn't get out with your life, but you could resist the Nazi.

Now today in modern Israel the slogan is: Massada shall never fall again, which is a way of saying not just that one rock but it is a way of saying, we shall never be defeated, we shall never have to perform an en masse suicide. We shall defend ourselves always, which is so different to Jewish life in the ghettos during all the Middle Ages when Jews cringed. The slogan: Massada shall never fall again is a slogan which, if you were to use less poetic language you would say, Jews don't

cringe. Backs up high, stiff, strong, pride. No cringing, no bowing, no scraping. No more. Fight! And that modern concept of the phrase was emblazoned on a medal which was published: Massada shall not fall again. A State medal which you can buy and keep on your desk the way I do. It is a memorial. It costs \$3. It is a reminder. That Massada concept is used when battalions of paratroopers, young boys, being sworn in, are taken to the top of Massada and the swearing-in ceremonies take place there at night. Torches going, and with all of history on the heads of these 19 year old kids. And they stand up there on the rock in the darkness and they think of the Romans, and it was absolutely real, and they think of the enemies today who are just as real, and they think of how they should act, and their whole spirits are built up. It is a poetic, it is a spiritual, it is a religious, it is an historical thing, all in together.

You will go up in daylight, and you will see all the interesting things. You will see the excavations. You will see the storehouses that have been excavated. You will see the frigidarium, and the teparium. King Herod built himself a very big set-up up there. You will see the remains of the palace that he built, not on the front edge but halfway down back. If you can have one palace, why can't you have two in the same location? Everybody now has a second residence. And you will look at it in the daylight and you will look off the top of it at the surroundings, please do. You will look down and you will see the outlines of the Roman camps below. On the other side of the rock, the east face, is the Dead Sea. You will look down at the Dead Sea.

I would urge you tomorrow when you are looking at it, not just to look physically what you are seeing with your physical eyes in 1971. You just let your mind range back, make believe

it is the year 73, not 1971, and make believe that Massada is about to fall, and it is exactly 1900 years ago. In the year 71 Massada was under siege, if you think of it that way, make believe that you are looking down on the Romans below you, because they are, 1900 years ago to the day. And make believe that you are trying to live your life up there under your commander, Ben Yair, in a meaningful way, and to defend Jewish dignity.

You carry a deep pain in your heart because your Capital was destroyed last year, the year 70. The Romans are overflowing the Land. The stories have reached you of Jews being thrown to the lions in the Colosseum in Rome. The stories have reached you of the Jews being chained and shackled in captivity under the Arch which Constantine has built, the Arch in Rome under which the Jews were marched. You know all those stories, and you know that you are the last handful trying to fight for Jewish honour, and you go through your day-by-day duties, and it is exactly 1900 years ago.

When you are up there tomorrow, think of it that way.

And then think whether you could have done it. Of whether you believe or not. Whether you are with it or not. Whether you are in it or not. Whether you could have done what Ben Yair asked you to do then.

Now this is it, and then we will close for the night. (By the way, people ask me what's the best book on Massada. This is the best book. It is expensive. 63/- . IL 20-25. It is Yadin's book - "Herod's fortress and the Zealots' last stand", and in it he has a chapter at the end which has the text of Ben Yair's speech)

"Neither once did Eliezer think of flying away nor did he permit anyone else to do so, but when he saw their wall burnt down by the fire and could devise no other way of escaping or room for further courage, and setting before their eyes what the

Romans would do to them, their children, their wives, if they got them into their power, he consulted about having them all slain.

Now as he judged this to be the best thing they could do in their present circumstances, he gathered the most courageous of his companions together and encouraged them to take that course by a speech he made to them in the following manner:

'Since we long ago, my generous friends, resolved never to be servants to the Romans, nor to any other than to God Himself who Alone is the True and Just Lord of mankind, the time is now come that obliges us to make that resolution true in fact. And let us not at this time bring a reproach upon ourselves for self-contradiction while we formerly would not undergo slavery but were then without danger but must now together with slavery choose such punishments also as are intolerable. I mean this: upon the supposition that the Romans once reduce us under their power while we are alive.

We were the very first that revolted from them and we are the last that fight against them, and I cannot but esteem it as a favour that God hath granted us that it is still in our power to die bravely and in a state of freedom which hath not been the case with others who were conquered unexpectedly. It is very plain that we shall be taken within a day's time, but it is still an eligible thing to die after a glorious manner together with our dearest friends.

This is what our enemies cannot by any means hinder, although they be very desirous to take us alive. Nor can we propose to ourselves any more to fight them and beat them.

Let our wives die before they are abused and our children before they have tasted of slavery, and after we have slain them

let us bestow that glorious benefit upon one another mutually and preserve ourselves in freedom as an excellent funeral monument for us. But first let us destroy our money and the fortress by fire, for I am well assured that this will be a great grief to the Romans, that they shall not be able to seize upon our bodies and shall fail of our wealth also. And let us spare nothing but our provisions, for they will be a testimonial when we are dead that we were not subdued for want of necessities, but that according to our original resolution, we have preferred death before slavery."

Now that's it. What do you prefer? The Jewish people has always preferred life. The phrase: U'beharta b'chayim - choose life - but there are many ways to choose life, and one of the ways to choose it is to be willing to die for it.

Have a very good day tomorrow.

Mr. Michael Pelaven - Chairman

I have already been warned that the introduction has to be short. It is a great pleasure and I can tell you a rare treat for this group to introduce Rabbi Herbert Friedman to you - the Executive Head of the UJA or more important than that, he is the idea man whose idea brought about the Young Leadership Cabinet, these missions and the whole concept of missions to Israel that I know we have all found to be so important. I think that he is the one person who has the ability to tie together what we have seen in the last eleven days and with nothing further, it is a great pleasure to introduce to you Rabbi Herbert Friedman.

Rabbi Friedman

That will get him to be general chairman of the whole world if he keeps going that way.

I wanted this to be simple and informal, not heavy with a lot of complicated introductions and I just want to make sure that I have the ground rules right. Here is what Mike told me and let me check it out with you and if it's right then we will go slowly, slowly, slowly trying to do three things here today. If he said was right - and this is what I have in my head - number one, to try to describe the situation in Israel as it is at this moment, March 14th, 1971; what it might be on March 15th and on April 15th and in 1972 and in 1973. In other words what are the problems in Israel today and tomorrow and what are we faced with, what is going to develop, what are we likely to run into in order that you shall be able to understand Israel now as you are seeing it and then when you go back home to have always in your head a very clear frame of reference so that you will be able to understand any kinds of problems that pop up on the front page of the newspaper which you will be able to do if you understand the basic underlying situation and it doesn't matter how the events of the day change. You will say - oh sure, I understand that. I know why this is happening or you will be able to predict what is going to happen. So that's job number one - to try to get you thoroughly clued in as to the life in Israel now, going into the second quarter of the life of this State - it's almost a quarter of a century old - the

first quarter is almost done.

The second thing that Mike said that he wanted to try to get done today was to tie in for those of you who are new in this work the whole complicated relationship of how the American Jewish communities work in regard to Israel and what all the jungle of the letters of all the initials of all the organizations - it's like an alphabet soup - what's the U J A and what's the C J F and what's the local federation and what's the welfare fund and what's the bonds and where does ORT fit into the whole thing. In other words, you have got in America a great big massive typically American highly organized structured community which, if anybody really wanted to understand it, you have got to start drawing a lot of boxes on a blackboard to see what connects with what and how everything fits in and I may be giving the impression, because I am saying this, that I am sort of sneering at it and mocking it, but I am not really. It's just a fact of life and we have to understand it and I think that for those people who have been in this work a long time - they will be bored with that part of what I want to say, but for those who are just coming in for the first time, you won't be bored, you will be a little bit amazed and maybe amused - but if you learn it, you do your homework once, then you will be able to work your way through the jungle of American Jewish organizational life - that's job number two.

First, to learn about Israel - second to learn about how American communities function in relation to Israel and job number three at the end is to try to tell you about Massada to which you are going tomorrow - which is a very unique place in the whole Jewish historical evolution. Also Mike told me that we were not in any rush, that you are all quite relaxed and all quite fresh and that nobody is in the slightest bit tired and that your minds are all just like this and that, as a matter of fact, you had a very easy day today - you only began at about eight o'clock or something. Well, it all depends on how long you need to get dressed. Some people wake up at six.

I told him that I thought he was a little bit nuts to start at 2.30 or 3 o'clock and to think that we could work effectively until

six, seven or eight was not beyond my capacity, because I have developed an old Russian habit - you know, four hours, six hours, twelve hours, it doesn't make any difference, but there are limits and Mike said, well, let's test them and see what they are - now he's your leader so you can take it out on him later - not me. The first thing you will learn is that we are not a democratic organization - we don't take any closed ballots or open ballots or anything - you get the word, that's it - he said go - we go and we go as long as we can go. He says we will take a break for coffee - we will take a break for coffee. He said he will let you get out to eat at eight or nine - you can get out to eat at eight or nine. Seriously speaking, we will go as long as anybody has got the absorptive capacity to do so and I think that we will try to finish the three big main subjects.

I would also like, just in finishing, to say that these three big main topics will take a question period, a break after each one - it just won't run on consecutively.

First of all, for the people who are completely new, let me explain who I am. Mike says that I am the Executive Chairman and the idea man and all that of the U J A, but that sounds sort of mythological, that there is some guy somewhere on the top who runs the thing. I live in New York. We have a house here in Israel. I came late Friday afternoon. I went to the house because I had some problems with the contractor and the architect - it's just finished. I'm glad I went. I slept there Saturday and last night and if that house remains standing in the course of yesterday's wind, that house is going to stand for a hundred years, which it should because it is built on the strongest foundation in the world - it's all solid Roman marble underneath me, so the nobleman who built his house there a couple of thousand of years ago also built well. Jokes aside, I tell you this because you have to know that much about me - I have roots in both places. I was born in Connecticut and I will probably die in Caesarea and that's not a manner of speech - that's a manner of describing the life-style of a particular Jew in the Twentieth Century - we are a very mobile people and anybody who thinks that we are a fixed people - that I was born in Minneapolis and I will die in Minneapolis - that might happen to somebody, but

it's rare and from a historical point of view, it's very rare, because if you understand one thing about our people, you understand that we are migratory people - we lost our heads and we lost our fortunes only when we became so rooted to one place that we could never conceive of moving from that place - for example - Germany - in the middle of the 20th Century. They knew better, but they were blinded by a whole set of syndromes and things that happened to them. They lost their flexibility. They became German citizens of the mosaic faith. And they said - We're Germans who happen to practice the Jewish religion. When you think of yourself that way, you are going to get your neck caught in a meat chopper and this is a lesson all the way down through history - when you say, we're Spaniards - so then along comes the Spanish Inquisition, boom, cuts you to pieces. If you say, we're Jews and happen at this moment to live in Poland, Riga, Vilna and the minute that things don't smell good in Vilna or in Riga, I can go to Krakow and if it doesn't smell so good in Krakow, I can wind up in Kiev and if it doesn't smell so good in Kiev, I will wind up in Brooklyn - flexible, flexible, flexible - that's how you stay alive. Rigid - you wind up in a meat chopper.

So that this business of being rooted in America and being rooted in Israel represents no contradiction whatsoever - it represents the natural condition of a Jew who plays it loose and easy. And if I have learned nothing in the course of my life, I have learned that and I think it's a lesson that everybody should learn and I try to teach it to my own kids, of whom I have five - divided in two marriages - three aged 22 to 17, two aged six and five and the disturbing conversation last week about the future in which she says, well, six, five and I say, well - look at me and she says - so, that's running - a very interesting conversation. That's also all part of it - you don't feel old if you don't act old - you may look old. I just burned my hair - I was trying to fix the gas range in my house, it's all messed up - I got a nice Tunisian lady who works there and she doesn't understand about these things - they don't have it in Tunisia - so I bent over it to look at the pilot and - it smells terrible.

Now you have got some hazy idea of the kind of person I am and the kind of things I am interested in and what I do is try to run the

UJA from a short-range point of view which means on March 14th how much money that the UJA made today and on March 15th tomorrow, how much will it make tomorrow - but from a long-range point of view. I don't really much care what happens on March 14th or March 15th or March 16th - I really care what happens on March 15th 1981 - I care more what happens on March 15th 1991 and I am serious about that and that depends upon you. So the way I have been trying to run the UJA is to do two things - raise money and raise people and it is much more important to raise people than it is to raise money, because if you raise people the right way who believe the right things and understand the right way, they will keep raising money for ten, twenty and thirty years in the future - as long as Israel needs it and if you just go for the quick buck fast, the short thing, then we will be in trouble again.

The Young Leadership thing is the most important thing I think the UJA has ever done. The UJA as a machine or as a group of men on a board of Directors to have permitted me to play with this luxury of just talking about education and facts and come to Israel and travel and look at it - yes and talk about money, everybody has to make a gift - it's like paying your taxes - so sure you'll pay your taxes, whatever they are - you make your gift, but that's not the important thing. The important thing is - do you get to understand something up here - you have to understand something in your heart - that is the important thing and to keep working at that year after year after year has turned out to be the most far sighted thing that that bunch of old-timers sitting on the Board possibly have done. They said - okay, go run with it - let's see what happens - and now ten years later what's happened is - you have got just hundreds and hundreds of guys around America like Mike and like the guys on the Cabinet. It is the most phenomenally successful thing to have hundreds of guys around the country to which group you are now attaching yourselves.

Now, let me get into the business of what Israel's problems are and how she is living and what she is living through and what she is going to be living through, because you have to have attachment to a set of beliefs and I believe that Israel is the single-most

important thing in the entire Jewish survival kit - if you would ask the question of what's kept the Jews alive down through all these thousands of years in all the geographical places we have lived, in all the centuries of history, going through all the tyrants we have lived under, all the people who have tried to knock us out of the box - if you were to ask, what is the one single, most important thing which has kept this people alive, in my judgement, is the fact that it is a people which has had a focal point - out of that focal point came the ideology of the people, out of that focal point came the contributions of that people to the rest of the people on the globe - called goyim which simply means other nations - it's not a bad word. Out of that focal point there came a dream which kept this people alive no matter what persecution they went through and from that same focal point there exists the dream for the whole future - we started here with Abraham, exactly four thousand years ago - we will end here at some unknown point in the future of time which we call theologically - the coming of the Messiah, but historically, what does it mean - it means the Messiah comes and the world is a beautiful, peaceful, wonderful place to live in and all the ideals and dreams that we want of peace and equality and brotherly love come true, then it's as though the Messiah came and brought all those ideas and the human race can live in peace and civilization at that point we have done our work, we can check out. We have finished - our mission is done - at that point we can close - slowly steal back to the country that we started from and the world doesn't need us any more - a fantastic vision of a people, isn't it - sounds a little boastful, some people think it is - it's not really - this is not the time or place for me to delve into the whole nature of the quality of the Jewish people, and what kind of a people it is and what we mean by the chosen people and that whole thing.

But in relation to the centre of these people, the focus of these people, the spiritual and physical root of this people - it's here - this is it - it's not Pittsburgh, it's not London, it's not Sydney, Australia - sorry, it's here. If therefore you come to understand any part of that - if therefore you come to believe any part of that, then you come to understand the absolute intrinsic quality of this

place and the people clustered around this place and you fight like a tiger for the survival of this place and the people clustered around it, which also includes you - because you are clustered around it also ~~p~~ maybe in a wider out-circle and maybe you don't even realize it yet, but you can be ten thousand miles away from here, never mind, you are clustered around this place also - so long as you remain part of this people.

The Jews understood the necessity of having an independent focal centre - they understood it in spite of the fact that many, many times in history it was destroyed, it grew weak, twice it was taken from them - once by the Babylonians, once by the Romans - they were scattered out into the world - they ~~dirf~~ drifted back - all the time that they were building great civilizations in other places of the world - they still paid their taxes to the temple here, even though the Temple didn't exist - it was just a bunch of ruins and there were jackals and there were all kinds of queer people pottering around in the ruins and the Crusaders were coming and trying to rebuild the ruins - it doesn't matter - the dream existed in the mind as though it were for real and made out of concrete and stone and Jews who lived in the Rhine River Valley, the Jews who lived in the Thames River Valley, the Jews who later on lived in the Mississippi River Valley - they kept sending their taxes to the Temple, because this was an act of faith and identification and because it gave them something to believe in that was bigger than a Buick Automobile. By the way, anybody in the advertising business ought to tell General Motors that to put up that perfectly ludicrous sign - something to believe in - a piece of tin that gets knocked off the road and kills everybody in it if you are not careful - something to believe in - an automobile -

This focal point was something that the people, our people, believed in - that's why we stayed alive. Now every time we try to come back here and re-establish this place and rebuild it, we always have trouble - we had trouble from the enemy who we had to fight with physically and we had trouble with ourselves who we had to fight with psychologically, because there were always Jews who doubted and there were always Jews of little faith and there were always Jews with whom you had to argue - it all sounds very familiar, doesn't it, and then

you got started again and you got it rebuilt again. Now, this latest episode in our history, it's like a chapter in a serial, began 23 years ago - 23 years ago in 1948 the Jewish people in its incredible bravery decided to try to start again - that is another chapter which I wish I had time to analyze with you. Have you ever tried to think - just ask yourself the question - why was Israel established in 1948? In 1945 Hitler had finished with us - I think if you go through the entire history of the Jewish people, you will never find us weaker - never - never anything that we had been through had one third of us been killed - never had another third of us been immobilized the way the American Jews were immobilized - they really didn't lift much of a finger during World War Two - so you had a third dead and a third paralyzed. You will not call this a very great condition of strength - would you - this is not the moment that you would think a people would rise up on its heels and make this fantastic act of rebirth. It happened, I think, because of some cosmic understanding on our part, that when we are the weakest we better try to exert ourselves the most or we will die for good and I think the world understood it too - and a little bit of conscience was bothering them about what had happened under Hitler and so it was quite easy for the nations to vote affirmatively in the U.N. - you want a country - yes, yes, yes - the fact that you are going to have to fight like hell with the Arabs to get it, that the U.N. vote isn't going to give it to you at all, didn't seem to disturb any of those gentlemen voting in flushing meadow - but they appeased their consciences by the vote and that's alright - I don't look a gift horse in the mouth - we said - thank you very much for that vote - we fought hard to get it. It didn't win us the State - the State was won on the battlefield and make no bones about it - you will not understand Israel's attitude towards the United Nations today which is cynical - and rightly so - unless you understand what happened back in 1948 when the gentlemen in the United Nations said Yes, yes, you may have a country - yes, but the day after the vote when the Arabs attacked, the United Nations didn't do a bloody thing - so you learn again the brutal lesson that if you want something, you have got to grab it and fight for it yourselves and bleed for it yourself - nobody hands you anything.

We understood in 1948 - or we understood right after Hitler that

we had better make an effort to come back to life - the Jewish people understood it mystically - the other people in the world outside said - alright, go ahead, we will give you your chance. And we made the effort and you know - it's like when you argue for a long time about whether you ought to take a gamble and you don't know whether you want to take the gamble and you don't know if you are ready for the gamble¹⁰, but you roll the dice - you take a gambol - you better win, because if you lose, then you should never have taken the risk in the first place and we are in that position now of not yet having won after 23 years - we rolled the dice. We said, we would like to be an independent State once again for the Jewish people, especially after Hitler, so that we can have control of our own destiny - we got all those Jews in those camps in Europe - we are going to take them in here, the British are not going to tell us no - nobody is going to tell us no - we are going to do it ourselves - like little children - you know. How many people here have had the experience of the kid with the tantrum who wants, he wants, he wants and you have got to hold him firm and help him get what he wants and yet he doesn't have the strength to get what he wants himself, but he knows what he wants and if you squash him, then you will crumple his personality and you will pay for it later - and you will pay the psychiatrist.

In 1948 we knew what we wanted and took the gamble - we tried to make it - 23 years later and three wars later and maybe ten thousand deaths later - we are still fighting. Nobody has given us a thing - nobody and therefore when you hear this argument that's going on in the country yesterday, today, tomorrow about not withdrawing from the territory - you must understand that that is not simply stubbornness, but it's based upon 23 long bitter years of experience. Now Israel has got two problems right now - one is a P R problem - image problem, does she look good or doesn't she look bad - my God, Egypt made the first move - didn't Egypt offer to make peace - what the hell is the matter with rotten, stubborn, lousy Israel. Says Mr. Rogers - the ball's in your court, it is now time, Israel for you to make your move and Israel says over and over again - we are prepared to withdraw, we have ~~said~~ said we will withdraw, we will not withdraw totally until we know whether we are

going to get a firm and guaranteed peace treaty and if we are not going to get one, then we are not going to withdraw. In other words, Israel is not being unclear, she is being very clear - she is stating her position exactly - the fact that some people don't like that position is too bad. The fact that some people think that Israel ought to be more generous, Israel ought to indicate where she will withdraw - Israel ought to draw a map and say - well, all right, we will withdraw to here and here if Egypt, you do this and this. No - because in a negotiating process, once you say you will withdraw - you have lost it - you have got to withdraw.

Every guy in this room who has done any negotiating in business knows what I am talking about - when Israel says Egypt demands total withdrawal as a condition for peace - our answer is No - there will be no total withdrawal - no. Partial withdrawal, gradual withdrawal - step by step withdrawal as Egypt makes step by step settling each issue - yes - and we have got a long drawn-out fight ahead of us - you better believe it. You better not look for any quick and easy solutions - there aren't any. The likelihood still is in my book for the outbreak of hostilities again before you get to a peace treaty.

On the other hand, you have been in the country now eight or nine days and you have been reading the paper every day and you see repeated over and over again from Golda down - we want peace - we want peace - we don't want fighting to break out again. We don't want hostilities renewed again and by the way, the reason for that is not because Israel is afraid - but the reason for it is - when you have peace, you have nobody being killed. Peace is desirable, but as much as you want peace - we are not going to agree to total withdrawal - no. Because total withdrawal back to the lines of June 4th 1967 lay the seeds for another war again.

Now, unless you understand that - you will be going away from Israel totally unclear and totally unable to comprehend the events of the months ahead. And when I say the months ahead, maybe even the years ahead - I don't know - but I say it's going to be a long drawn-out thing and you just have to interpret every event of the weeks ahead and the months ahead in the light of this one basic

premise. Egypt has got to be willing to say that she will sign a treaty with us, recognize us, enter normal relations with us as a normal country - so we then can live together side by side without fear of outbreak of war every ten years or if she doesn't want to say that - that's okay by us - we have waited 23 years and we will wait 23 more, but then don't expect us to withdraw. You can't have your cake and eat it.

Conversely, if she wants peace as much as we want peace and we have said we are willing to settle every issue one by one, then let's sit down and settle every issue one by one. Let's settle the issue Sharm-el-Sheick, then we will know whether we can afford to withdraw from Sharm or not withdraw - we say we don't want those Straits closed ~~every~~ ever again - we have been threatened twice - once the United Nations ran away - once Johnson tried to get a group of Maritime countries to guarantee freedom of the Straits, couldn't do it - the only country on this globe that would agree to join America in May 1967, before the war broke out, was the huge gigantic power of Holland and Holland agreed to join America in a Maritime Treaty that maritime powers - and Johnson went to eight or ten of them, they all turned him down - maritime powers interested in freedom of the sea should guarantee the freedom of the opening of Tiran. How many times do we have to go through this game again - we have been on this route.

If Egypt says and I am theorizing, let's station an international force down at Sharm-el-Sheik, let's put some troupes down there, a mixed body of troupes, some Canadians and some Yugoslavs and some - well, what Golda did yesterday, she knocked everybody flabbergasted - some Israelis and some Egyptians - because what she suggested yesterday was that part of this mixed international force should contain also Israeli soldiers and also Egyptian soldiers - a very clever move. If anybody were to ask me, I would say - no Russians and no Americans - because you haven't been down there, but it's a very boring garrison and the boys are going to play poker down there and they're going to shoot crap and they're going to get into fights and then some Russian is going to shoot some American over a drunken brawl having nothing to do with the politics of the situation and then you are going to get a helluva mess breaking out between the countries over some international episode like that.

Israel says - why do you need anybody down there Egypt - why don't you let us patrol it ourselves - what do you care - we will give you back all the rest of the Southern Sinai and there are Manganese mines, you have got oil wells, you have got coal - we will give it all back to you - what do we care.

But this little point on Sharm, we would like to keep a garrison down there to make sure always that somebody doesn't go crazy in the future - not you Egypt - the Muscat of Oman - the Khalif of Abu Dubu, somebody may go crazy down there some day and decide to close it up, so we would like just to have a couple of battalions to make sure that it's kept open and that the ships go in and out. It sounds like a joke, it isn't a joke at all. Israel says to Egypt - what do you care about it - we will give you back all the Sinai except not that point and obviously if we are going to keep that point, we have got to keep a road - so give us about two, three kilometres on the coast of a road down from Eilat to Sharm. You want all Sinai back - you can have the whole damn Sinai back - but we have to protect this point. Egypt says - no, total withdrawal. Israel says, well, total withdrawal, okay, so what provisions do you suggest making down there. And Egypt says that we are not suggesting making any provisions at all - we are just saying - you withdraw totally. Israel says no. So this is the impasse where we are.

Would Israel withdraw from Sharm - No. Would she be flexible about the kind of presence that she requires down there - Yes. Would she be flexible about the kind of access that she would want down there - Yes. Would she be flexible about the kind of force that should be stationed down there - Yes. She would be flexible about everything. As a matter of fact a lot of people were mad because yesterday when Golda gave that interview to The Times of London and she talked about having access to Sharm-el-Sheik, she didn't use the word "land access". So somebody has already asked the question - what is she doing - giving away the road and is she willing to bargain that Israel would accept having access to Sharm only by air. I don't know the answer to that, because I haven't talked to her since yesterday - I don't know what's in her head, but it might be. I am giving you this as an example of how flexible Israel is - except on one point - no withdrawal unless we have a deal. If we haven't got a deal, no

withdrawal.

Now why am I pounding on that point - to make sure you understand it. You know who is the greatest critic of Israel - Jews. You know which Jews - those who have been here and who are the greatest experts and they are the ones who come back and say - look you know, I have got the solution to the thing - the solution to the thing is Israel should make a very smart public relations answer to Egypt. Israel ought to say to Egypt - Egypt you want us to withdraw totally. We say no, but we are willing to withdraw 90% of the way - as though that would be a very smart public relations answer. It ain't - it just ain't. You can't generalize about the situation - you must be specific about the half dozen points which are in controversy - now do you know what they are. They are Sharm-el-Sheik down here at the bottom. They are the demilitarization of the Canal and not moving the missiles forward. Supposing Israel withdraws from the Sinai this way - with no decision as to what the Egyptians or the Russians can do with their missiles. The line prior to June 4th was over here - you see this dark green - the light green is Sinai, the dark green is old Israel - pre-June 1967.

Now if Israel withdraws, supposing the Egyptians put the missiles along this line - who says they won't. Did you ever think about it. It would be lovely, wouldn't it to have Russian missiles right here. You see this city of El-Arish - it had a very large Egyptian Air Base - now if you put great big Tupolov bombers or badgers or Suchois (phon) and load them into this base at El-Arish - from El-Arish up to Tel Aviv, right up the hypotenuse of the triangle is about nine minutes flight time by a good modern supersonic jet - nine minutes. You want to have this air base here loaded aimed at Tel Aviv - protected by a whole string of Russian Missiles - isn't that absurd.

So if you are going to talk about withdrawal from the Sinai - then what you have got to talk about is demilitarizing the zone here. You have got to talk about controls on moving those missiles. Didn't we have a nasty experience on the first cease-fire on August 5th - anybody remember it. I will never forget it - August 5th, 1970 cease-fire - it was a Friday and we made kiddush that Friday night and boy we were happy. Twenty four hours later, Saturday

afternoon August 6th at about six o'clock Mr. Sapir the Minister of Finance came to my house at Caesarea for a drink before going to a concert that night at Caesarea and while we were having a drink together - in the corner he whispered in my ear - we don't believe it, we can't believe that they would have the chutspah to do it - but they moved missiles during the night. The first night of the damn cease-fire. They moved missiles and maybe you remember that over the weekend there was no way to find out what happened - by Monday the Americans sent in their first U-2 to take photographs and damn if the U-2 pictures on Monday didn't show the missiles had been moved. And that's when the American Government really first began to get behind Israel and understood that the trickery between the Russians and the Egyptians was too much to be believed. That is when Nixon turned his whole position and said - okay, I am going to sell you arms.

By the way, while I am talking about that, let me tell you that in all the 23 years of Israel's existence there hasn't been a better President of the United States to Israel than President Nixon - as shocking as that may be to some of you, but it's a fact. So the Republicans like it and the others are quiet, but I don't give a damn about the politics of the thing - that isn't what concerns me. I am making a flat statement of fact. In 23 years there have been I think, six Presidents of the United States who dealt with Israel - what Truman did was on ~~parallel~~ parallel - Truman recognized Israel one minute after the establishment of the State - that can never be taken away from him historically and he gave the first loan to Israel of a hundred million dollars to help her get started, but that's it and after Truman was Eisenhower and all he did was get cheated by Dullus and felt sorry about it later, because they forced Israel out. You see we have been through this whole damn thing before. We withdrew once before and Eisenhower himself said later that it was a mistake - that he shouldn't listen to Dullus - that Dullus forced him to do it. So he certainly didn't do very much for Israel.

After Eisenhower was Jack Kennedy and with all of the connections and the pressures and the friendships - what Jack Kennedy finally agreed to do in 1961 was sell Israel was some anti-aircraft, anti-aircraft, that's all - purely defensive against Egyptian planes -

missiles, hawk-missiles - that's Jack Kennedy's contribution and then came Johnson and got a little better and at the very end of Johnson's rule when Eshkol went to see him down at the King Lyndon Ranch - he agreed to Eshkol to sell some Phantoms and it is true that it took a year or two for them to start to get delivered, but at least - Then along comes this guy Nixon and out of the clear blue sky and not with any connection with Jews, because there are no Jews who would have any connection with him except one - a guy by the name of Max Fisher - and without any long association of Jewish organizations and nothing - he never made a speech to the ZOA - there's life - the 5th of August when this damn thing happened that I described to you about the moving of the Missiles - Nixon says - okay, that's it - what are we kidding ourselves for. You are fighting the Russians and the Russians are double-crossing you and you are behind the eighth-ball and you have gotten no supplies since the Six Day War and you lost a lot of airplanes then and you need stuff and let's go - what do you want.

And Golda came in September and brought the shopping list and that's what we have been working on ever since and boy have we bought and boy have we ~~exp~~ spent and boy has he shipped. Now the whole story has relevance only in terms of - are they going to move the missiles again - of course they will - why the hell shouldn't they - from their point of view. And do we withdraw without some kind of guarantee of what will happen with those missiles.

So point number one that I talked about is the question of Sharm-el-Sheik. Point number two is the question of the demilitarizing of the canal and the missiles. Point number three - you see this area up here called the Golan Heights - we paid for it - we bought that real estate with a lot of blood. Now what do you want - do you want it back - total withdrawal means give it back. Does anybody in his right mind think that we will ever again permit all those kibbutzim down in the valley to be shot on - let the Syrians put the guns up there again. I mean not even Senator Fulbright, nobody that I can think of has made the suggestion that the Golan Heights should be given back - that Israel should withdraw totally.

On the other hand, there are people who say the Golan Heights from the

crown, from the edge of the cliff where you look down back into Syria proper - the Golan Heights themselves are about 25 miles wide - you want to give part of it back - but we keep the crown, right near the edge, the cliff - so they can't bring the guns up and shoot down - if somebody in his mind wants to make a big deal - if peace depends upon giving back some of the land on the Golan to the rear part of it - we will listen. If that would be a stumbling block to peace - the leaders of this country are very sensible, the people in this country are very sensible - you need five kilometres, you need ten kilometres - you need an agreement that they will not bring any heavy guns in up to ten kilometres so that they can't shell down into the valley - give them back the land - I don't see why we should - it belongs to us in the Bible - in the Bible it was called Bashan - it was awfully good grazing land in the Bible - the greatest most beautiful cows of all biblical Palestine, Canaan were up there - they were the fat cows of Bashan.

And as a matter of fact, one of the prophets when he was describing the Ladies of Jerusalem who were getting a little bit luxurious with their ~~hair~~ hairdresses and their lovely costumes and their concern with sandals and boots and then they ~~begin~~ began to want ivory beds and they wanted to have luxurious furniture and one of the prophets when he was trying to speak about the rich women of Jerusalem in a sarcastic way - he said - you fat cows of Bashan sitting on your ivory beds and he couldn't have been more sarcastic to describe them. It was good grazing land and it belonged to us - you insist we give it back - you won't make peace with us otherwise - how much of it do you want back - what protection can we have down in the valley - let's talk. But you see, they don't talk that way - they say - total withdrawal or nothing and that is why we keep saying to them - go to hell - no.

Sharm-el-Sheik, the Canal, Golan, the problem with the Gaza Strip, the problem with the West Bank, the problem with Jerusalem, the problem with compensation to the refugees, the problem with all the financial matters of restitution for the property that refugees left behind - I don't want to go through the whole list with you - the problem of navigation through the Suez Canal - all the problems - Israel says - we will withdraw ~~piece~~ piece by piece as you settle

problem by problem - it's like slicing salami - one slice at a time. We settle one problem at a time and we will withdraw and withdraw and we'll make peace and sign a peace treaty with you and the next day we would like to exchange ambassadors and be friends and do business with you.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I don't know how many months or years we are away from the end of that process. I want you to be as strong as I am during the course of that process - I don't want you to give in. I don't want you to find arguments to satisfy left-wing friends. I don't want you to try to bend over backwards. I don't want you to do anything except be clear and logical - clear and logical. We have poured hundreds of millions into the Sinai desert - we are perfectly willing to give it back - if we get the protection on the things we want - clear and logical - we are not willing to give one inch of it back on the promise that after we withdraw, then they will sit down and talk over these issues - no sir, we have lost the ball game, because after you withdraw, they can say to you - go to hell and you haven't got a card left to play, except one - back to war - that's the damn problem. If you withdraw without a peace treaty, you are guaranteed to have another war. This way if you hold out and you hold out and try to settle it, you might settle it without another war. You might not - but you might.

I think we're in for a fourth war - I think we may be in for a fifth war - I see us a long way, in spite of Sadat's change and I don't minimize it, it was a change - there's no question about it - he is the first Egyptian to speak with the voice of change - Nasser was in 19 years and no change - Sadat already is changing - I can hear it, I can sense it - but in spite of the change, he doesn't utter the dirty word - peace treaty - the dirtier word - recognition - the still dirtier word - diplomatic relations. This doesn't bother us - I don't know whether you know - for instance. The United States and Germany fought a war, they finished in 1945 - this is 1971 - there is no peace treaty between America and Germany - do you know that? Russia and Japan fought a war - they finished in 1945 - there is no peace treaty between Russia and Japan. So if there won't be a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel - I don't give a damn. But do you have closer working relations between any two countries in the world

than you have between America and Germany and sometimes from a Jewish point of view, it's a little tragic - you know we have our own hangup on that whole issue - but leave out the Jewish thing for a minute and the point of view of 200 million Americans and 18 million Germans - it's beautiful. Is there a chance for a war between America and Germany - now or in the foreseeable future - not a chance. Without recognition - so we'll live without recognition. The Germans have an ambassador in America even though there is no peace treaty - America has an Ambassador in Bonn even though there is no peace treaty - I would like to see an Israeli ambassador in Cairo and an Egyptian ambassador in Jerusalem without a peace treaty - it's enough of a guarantee that there won't be a war. But we are so far away from that. Don't get caught by wishful thinking.

Remember how I began this whole thing - you know me, I dream, 1991, 2001 - I think I'm going to live forever - I have got a very long, long look - don't confuse that with the thought that something may happen immediately. Because I have a dream of peaceful relations between Israel and Egypt, but don't think it's going to happen soon - it's not and therefore if you will be real clear about that in your heads and go back and explain it to everybody and explain it with the map and explain it with the things you saw with your eyes, with the topography & explain it with the cold facts - don't even try to be emotional - you don't have to be and you don't have to be in favour of it - I can make this argument that I am making to you in front of a room full of political science professors and they can't disagree with me. I have had this kind of discussion in front of a room full of non-Jewish editors and newspaper people, public opinion people - they say - you're right - you don't have to be pro-Jewish - just the facts speak for themselves and these are the facts the way I have given them to you.

So be prepared to help our Jewish brothers in all the communities in which you live to be patient - this is really the message that I am giving you - be patient - we have a long fight ahead of us. And don't let anybody get impatient by saying - My God, there is supposed to be peace and what's the matter with Israel - why doesn't Israel make a move. And don't have any delusions - don't look for easy answers - take your time, sweat it out, so when we finally get it,

it will be worth something. And keep always in mind this 23 years I'm talking about - pretty soon it will be 24 years, pretty soon it will be 25 years and Israel will be a quarter of a century old and then it will be fifty years and Israel will be a half a century old - hopefully by that time she will be out of debt - the United States Government was out of debt in the 37th year of its independent existence - that brought it up to 18 - something. Hopefully, by 37 years Israel won't have to have any UJA raising money and won't have to have selling any Bonds - she will be independent - it's a good chance - it really is - unless we blow another few million dollars down the drain in one or two more wars which could also happen.

Now, when I say keep in mind this 23 years, 25 years, 30 years - keep that in mind for another reason and I would like to switch off the war - but also on to something of current affairs today - I understand that you had the most unbelievable experience that any group ever had, because you were out there Thursday night at the airfield when the Lady herself went out - well, boy if nothing else ever happened to you on this trip - that alone ought to be worth the price of admission and in terms of the memories as the years will go on in the future - mark it well as a very historic moment. Now let me try to explain what I mean. We believe 1971 is going to turn out to be the turning point year in relation to the Jews of Russia - could be wrong - we've been fooled before. A long time ago when I took this job, I was a Rabbi then in the city of Milwaukee - somebody said to me - what a stupid thing for you to do - leave a nice, good congregation and devote yourself to this absolutely heartbreaking, crazy, ridiculous, demeaning profession of running around and shnorring money - what the hell did you do it for. So I said to this guy - let's leave Israel alone, let's leave this out of consideration for a moment - if I were to tell you that I hoped that in the next 20, 30 years of my adult life, we might really crack open the Soviet Union and get Jews out and bring them to rejoin the Jewish people in the Free World - would you say that was worth-while giving up that glorious pulpit in Milwaukee, Wisconsin for. The guy looks at me and says - sure, that's a different story. So that was in 1951 and in 1971 - twenty years have gone by and we are on the verge of something very historic.

And the guy's going to look at me, I think, before the year's over - he's going to say to me - you were right. As a matter of fact, he's already said it to me about twelve times, because he is very unhappy in the congregation where he is now.

Cont. on Tape 2 Side 1)

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



U.J.A.

Tape 2 side 1

"B"

14.3.71

- 1 -

sa

Rabbi Friedman:(continuing) Now again this is a question of again having a sense of historic vision. This is what I am trying to give you. It is not a matter of personal stories about me. It is personal stories about you, your historic vision has got to be great and big enough for you to understand what you are involved in, and you are involved in something transcendental as far as the history of the Jewish people is concerned. If in the course of the second half of this 20th century, after 50 years of Russian revolution trying to throttle Jewish life - 54 years - you can have any part of cracking open the Soviet Union, you will have earned your place in heaven. And you've got a chance. No guarantees, but just as I said that there was a change ringing in the voice of Sadat, so there is a change ringing also in the sounds from Russia. There is a change on the part of the Russian Jews, so I say that if they are willing to go and do a sit-down strike in that Soviet building, you have no idea what that means inside the Soviet Union.

You know we are so accustomed to 100 welfare mothers going down to stage a strike outside Lindsay's office, and there is nothing new there, and Mayor Lindsay walks in and says: Good morning everybody, and he goes into his office. Or the university professor, the president, whose office is occupied by the students, sends a message in, will they please send him out his box of cigars, and don't destroy too many papers. You are used to it in the United States, but, my God, you haven't got a clue what this means in Russia. For 100 citizens to defy the Government. Brrr! This is all that they are accustomed to. This is all that they have

~~maximal~~ had in the past. There is no such thing in Russia as civil disobedience, civil resistance - and they have to be 200 million Russians if they ever hear about this, and they won't because it won't make the Russian newspapers. They say to themselves, Goddam those Jews, if they've got the guts to do it, we'll do it! And the whole Russian government is faced with upheavals on its hands on the part of all kinds of dissatisfied parts of its population.

Gentlemen, nobody can maximalize to you the significance of what it means for those Jews to have done that thing the other day. When Weisel wrote his book the other year about the Jews of Silence, he showed how little he understood. He gives it a title - the Jews of Silence, they are silenced, they don't dare speak. Wow! He was also being critical in the title of the Jews in the United States, that they didn't speak. The Jews of silence cut both ways: in Russia they are afraid to open their mouths, and in America, you Jews all are also afraid to open your mouths, so he was castigating both groups. He wasn't really castigating the Russian Jews, he was commiserating with them, he was sorry for them that they had to be silent. But they don't y feel they have to be silent any more. Boy. Five years, they've changed, and there are changing sounds coming from the Russians as well.

You people want to leave? Is this what this sit-down strike is all about? Well come in and discuss it in the "militzia" - the polited - and let's see your applications for visas. There will be about 300 this month. I don't know if anybody k told you the figures. Then forget it. It's a secret. Forget it. And next month there may be 25, who knows? But all we know is that it is cracking. The wall is not monolithic. It is cracking. I remember years ago when we first set up that little tiny way station in Vienna, many

of you have seen it by now. But it has to be enlarged and now we've got a lot of other problems, crazy religious problems and conversions of some of these people. I don't want to get into that, but again we Jews are going to turn out to be our own worst enemies because if we crack down on those people and we are not liberal in our policy towards accepting converts among them, because there are a lot of non-Jewish wives, then we are going to be doing ourselves a lot of terrible harm. Close the parentheses, I don't want to get into a fight with anybody, because somebody may have a different idea on the subject.

But we are about to witness the possibility of some big migration from the Soviet Union. Isn't that something? And we want that to go on in volume from the same Soviet Union whom we are fighting over here on the Canal. On the Canal we say - no withdrawal; and in Moscow we say - Let the Jews withdraw. They don't want the Soviet Union. Out? But we won't get out of Sinai until we get a treaty, and these two policies might seem to be contradictory, and they are not, and we are going to play it tough in both policies, and we will win both ways if we have got the nerve and the guts and the strength to play it hard. And we will lose if we play weak and soft.

We may open up the Soviet Union and get lots of Jews out at the same time that we may force Israel to fight another war. Now can you be strong enough to fight successfully through another war and at the same time be strong enough to take in and absorb all the Jews whom you are trying to open your doors for? And this of course is the trickiest of all questions, and this question, which is the last one which I am going to deal with, is something that you are also going to be seeing and hearing about for months and months and years ahead, because this question is not a question of one day or

one moment or one year. You have the basic policy question: what the hell was this country created for in the first place? To fight wars? No. To take in immigrants. But, if in order to keep your doors open and keep your country free, you have to fight wars in order to have the privilege to take in immigrants, then you have got to do both things simultaneously. Okay. You are not going to surrender to the Egyptians because if you did, they would close the doors like the British and they wouldn't let you take in any immigrants. They don't want to see you get any bigger. Their complaint is here - 2.5 million Jews are too many Jews in this small territory and that is why you Jews are also always exploding outwards and that is why you are expansionist. If you go up to your population that you are dreaming about, (and you know what we are dreaming about - we are dreaming about 5, 6, 7 million people) if you go up to 7 million people, you'll burst out of your seams, and you'll have to attack us to take our land.

They don't realise that we don't need their land, and we can handle 7 million people in what we got. We'll have to do a little better with water, we'll have to do a little better with electricity and we need a few more things, but we can handle 7 million people.

You know, if we ever got to be a country of seven million people, you know how many people Norway has got? 4.5 million. Sweden has got about 12; Switzerland's got what? 7 or 8. Anybody ever try to destroy Switzerland? & Anybody ever try thinking of destroying Norway? You give us here 6 or 7 million people and those crazy Egyptians will stop thinking about trying to destroy us.

So that the immigration and taking in of Jews is connected and linked with security, but in order to have your

independence to take in all the Jews you want, you have to keep fighting your enemy who doesn't agree that you should exist in the first place. Okay. So you go on doing both things, and this, ladies and gentlemen, is the clue to the whole business for the next 20 years. That you go on doing two things - defending yourselves and taking in your Jews, and as you take them in it makes you stronger and it makes it easier to defend yourselves, and it is linked, meshed, and we are not the only geniuses who understand that. The Russians understand it, the Egyptians understand it, the Americans understand it, the world understands it.

I will make you a very simple statement: 23 years we have been working along ~~at~~ this track. On the defense side we have fought three wars. On the immigration side we have taken in four times as many people as the original population here 23~~4~~ years ago. I'm sorry, three times. We are now four times larger than we were 23 years ago. The original population was 650,000 Jews and now you've got 2.5 million Jews so you are four times the original size. For 23 years we go on both tracks. Now I have given you the whole clue. How ~~x~~ do you understand Israel? Israel is on two tracks: she is fighting war and she is taking in Russians. She is fighting war and she is taking in Morrocans. She is fighting war and she is taking in Algerians. Those are the only two ~~at~~ tracks of this country since its beginning. Okay.

Now my closing statement is this: if 23 years from now this country is still alive, this country will have at that time 5 million people and we will be passed the point of having to fight any wars. In other words, the gamble will have been won. That is really what I am trying to say. 23 years ago we shot crap with history and we said, we Jews want to reassert our independence again. 23 years later I cannot stand here today in 1971 and tell you that we have won the gamble yet, but

I can tell you with all the assurance in the world, that if in 23 years from now we haven't been destroyed, bombed out, knocked out, out-boxed, then 23 years from now we will have basically finished with this whole immigration problem and therefore basically finished with the whole military problem, and 23 years from now it will be a country almost half a century old, with a population of 5 million people, with most economic problems solved, and therefore invulnerable to attack, and you will have been part of the only generation in all of history privileged to participate in that rebirth. You are so lucky, and I am not being facetious, because my father wanted it, he dreamt of it, and he couldn't have it, and my son, he will take it as blase, and as a matter of course. He won't have a damned idea of the ~~xxx~~ thrill of how it came to be created.

You will just enjoy living it, but it is like the kids today who look back and think of the covered wagon days of the US in the 19th century, and those were the days of the thrill that went with creativity. That thrill is reserved for you. You are lucky. You were born at the right time. You came into this game at the right time. You are old ~~xxxx~~ enough. You are well enough fixed financially. You are well enough fixed emotionally. You are strong enough Jewishly to want to be in the front ranks of the fighters. So you are very lucky. You are a handful. How many of you are there? You've got six million Jews in America and most of them living like the fat cows of Bashan, and you've got a few thousand ~~xm~~ who are keen in the fight, and you are lucky to have joined them. We are lucky because you did join, and that is the purpose of this whole exercise and that is what this mission is all about for you to come to understand this and to understand the whole framework, and now you don't have to come back here for another 2 3 years because it is all going to be the same, and whatever

year you come back, it will be the same, but come back in 23 years from now to see if the prophecy came true.

End of Part I/

Coffee Break

A lot of people have said that in going over the points that are necessary for us to have peace, I did a careful methodical job on Sharm-el-Sheikh, on the Canal and the missiles, on Golan, but that I skipped over the WEst Bank and Jerusalem very quickly. I didn't mean to indicate that they were not important. I simply was trying to save time, that's all, but several of you have asked me for a detailed explanation on those matters.

Let me try simply to answer Jerusalem first. Israel has no intention of any compromise whatsoever on the City of Jerusalem as far as territory is concerned. It is not a question of partial withdrawal or any withdrawal from Jerusalem. That's out, that's not to be discussed. You can discuss it but you won't get anywhere. Israel will not again divide the City, put up a wall and barbed wire and make a Mandelbaum Gate to go through again, and that is all out, that's done, that's in the forgotten ashes of history.

Israel is perfectly willing to give the King of Jordan who had it before, and that is why they say Jordan and not Egypt or not Lebanon or some other country but Jordan, access to the Holy Places on the Temple Mount where the big Mosque of Omar is, and next to it is the Al Aksa with the silver dome, and that is called the Temple Mount. That is the big platform on which the original Solomon's Temple was built. It is the same platform on which they put their two Mosques. (You would have thought they could have found some place else, but they didn't.)

Israel is perfectly willing to have the Jordanian flag fly over those buildings. Call that Temple Mount Jordanian Holy Place Territory - call it anything you want, the name is not important. Give the Jordanians complete access to it, let them use it as a pilgrimage place to bring Arabs from all over the world, like Mecca and Medina. Jerusalem was the third place - Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. They can have all that again, it is not crucial. As far as splitting the city, no. There are 70,000 Arabs who lived in East Jerusalem who are now part of Unified Jerusalem. Those 70,000 Arabs have all the rights and privileges of all the other citizens of Jerusalem. 3500 of them in the last Municipal election actually voted, and there was only one candidate. They felt rooted enough. Jerusalem was their city, that they went and voted for Teddy Kollek.

Now anybody else who has any fancy ideas about Jerusalem is just whistling Dixie.

What I am about to say has nothing to do with the peace settlement, nothing to do with it, but I think that after the peace settlement is all made and settled - if it is - Israel is going to get tough as hell with all other countries of the world as far as Jerusalem being the capital of this country and therefore insisting that any other country bringing their Embassy to Jerusalem, not to Tel Aviv, which is a point. I don't know if you understand it, that for all these first 23 years, many countries of the world, including the US, have refused to acknowledge Israeli sovereignty in the City of Jerusalem, which according to the first treaty of - the first UN plan of 1947, Jerusalem was supposed to be an international city. Well, it got its international character kicked in the you-know-where by the war of 1948, and it didn't become an international city, it became a divided city, Jewish and

Arab, and a lot of the countries said, well, we'll never recognise any part of Jerusalem as being Jewish.

For 23 years the Israel government hasn't been terribly tough on various Embassies. The Israel government hasn't been tough on the Histadrut, the Histadrut didn't move to Jerusalem, so why the hell should the American Embassy move to Jerusalem? I am laughing. Most of the main Israeli institutions still stay in Tel Aviv, they didn't move to Jerusalem either. It hasn't really become the capital of the country in the fullest sense of the world.

However, I do predict in the 23 next years you are going to see a different attitude and you are going to see that the government of Israel is going to require that Embassies are located in its capital, any more than the US government would permit an ambassador to reside in Havana rather than in Washington. He's got to come to Washington. That's all there is to it. Okay.

Let's wait and see what happens. That's a fun game. That is going to be a good fun thing.

So that is the story on Jerusalem, and I think everybody understands it, and I think that the Christian Church understands it. The attitude of the Catholics in 1947 was not good. The attitude of the Catholics today is fine. The attitude of the Protestants in 1947 was not bad, the attitude of the Protestants today is terrible. They got to shape up and they've got this thing that Catholics are getting better at understanding - they've got to understand the Jewish nature of the city of Jerusalem, without taking anything away from the Holy Places of the Church at all.

So there is no territorial adjustment to be made on Jerusalem. West Bank. Now West Bank is this territory over here in the light green which is both north of Jerusalem and south of Jerusalem. Two sort of wings. It is like a

butterfly with two wings, and it is all called West Bank because it is on the west side of the Jordan River.

As far as that is concerned, Israel doesn't really care about that. There are about 600,000 Arabs living in that territory, most of them in the northern wing of the butterfly, there is only down here in Hebron, that's all. A long time ago Mr. Eshkol (of blessed memory), the Prime Minister who died, said, if you asked him his opinion whether he wants to keep the territory and the people: Since you can't keep the territory without the people, you're not going to kill all these 600,000 Arabs. That's genocide, nor are you ~~ax~~ going to drive them out across the river, that's inhuman and Jews don't do that, so you can't hope to keep the territory without the people, and if you have your choice, then give up the territory because you don't want the people.

And it is not that you don't want the people as human beings. It is that demographically speaking, if you take 600,000 Arabs and add them to your citizens, it tips the balance very badly in terms of birth rate, and in terms of future. If you have now 2.5 million Jews and 300,000 Arabs as citizens and you were to add another 600,000 Arabs as citizens, that would be 900,000, so you would be in a ratio of about 3:1. Somebody drew a graph and the lines on the graph crossed 17 years in the future, and you would have equal number of Arabs and Jews based upon the way the birthrate among the Arabs and the birthrate among the Jews - the fat cows of Bashan, because all they want is one kid per family, two kids, because they are not like my wife. She's got different ideas. But the Arabs, six or seven kids in the family, and the Jews - 2.3 although I don't know how you have .3 of a child, but that is the statistic, so Papa Eshkol said at the time before he died in 1968 - No, we give back the West bank. There is no principle in it for us, and from a practical point of view

there is nothing in it for us, and it is important for them and so they can have it. Yigal Allon said, all right, fine, he agreed with it, he was the Deputy Prime Minister at the time - but on one condition, and that is why it came to be called the "Allon Plan", and he said, along the river at various points, whatever, we need to keep fortifications and we need to make sure that the people of the West Bank, if they form a country of their own, which they might want to call Palestine - 600,000 is a lot of people, we were only 650,000 Jews in 1948 - we don't want them to make a war on us, we'll have to demilitarize the border between them and us. The second thing, if they are going to join Jordan on the other side, we want to keep some strongpoints along the river to make sure that the whole Jordan army doesn't join them to attack us, so the West Bank was considered to be a territory that you could give back as an independent unit to anybody who wanted it, either Jordan or any new group that wants to call itself Palestine, although why in the hell they should want to do that nobody knows - so long as you demilitarize the border and so long as you don't permit a joining up between Jordan and them of military forces which you can do by keeping a few strongholds along the river, which have been built already. Have you been up this road? Up to the Bika'a? So they say some of these strongpoints along the river? Okay. That's the situation with the West Bank.

So let me go one step further with this so-called Palestinians. I don't know what all the excitement is all about the Palestinians, I ~~xxx~~ really don't. You remember 1947, the UN made a decision, partition, part of the country a Jewish State, part of the country an Arab state? What is today called the West Bank was then in 1948 given to them as an Arab State. To whom? To the ~~xxx~~ people living in it. The very people living in it now, the 600,000 Arabs living in the West

Bank were given in 1947 the right to have their own independent State at that time, and you want to call it Palestine, call it Palestine. The crazy Jews are going to call their part Israel.

Why didn't they take the offer then? No, they didn't. They wanted to make war on Israel to grab all of that. They lost that war. Not only did they lose that war against Israel, but they lost another war - Jordan came across the river and swallowed them up. Since when did the west bank become part of Jordan? When? Only after 1948. They had their independence before that. They could have had their own state before that. The terribly important point.

All this crappy sympathy with the poor Palestinians really sends me climbing up the wall, because I have no sympathy with anybody who misses the point of opportunity in his history. If he's missed it, he's missed it, and I am hard on us Jews the same way, and that is why I scream and yell. If we should miss this chance to build Israel, we deserve whatever the hell happens to us!

Now they were given the chance to have their own independent state in 1947. The UN gave it to them. They didn't want it. Furthermore they lost out because their own Arabs came and swallowed them up, and they became part of Jordan, so Jordan was not on our Israel border, and we've had Jordan there for 23 years. Now we don't give much of a damn who we give it back to. It is just as simple as that.

You want to give it back to the original inhabitants? Who could have had it 24 years ago? Fine. You want Mayor Jabari from Nablus to be the Prime Minister of ... okay. Or, the King of Jordan's got a big appetite. He grabbed it in 1948. He isn't about to give it up yet. He doesn't want a Palestinian state. You ask him whether he would like to have a state called Palestine. He will tell you, no, not on your tin-type. So if he wants it, he can have it back, so

long as there are these security measures taken.

Total withdrawal before settling this question? Who is going to be the sovereign power here in this territory? You've got to be out of your mind. Withdrawal after we decide these questions? Sure. ~~Same~~ Same thing.

So that was on Jerusalem and that was on the West Bank.

Q: You mention the potential influx of Russian and other immigrants to the country and the ~~imm~~ swelling population that would make the strength of Israel something so strong as to be an unquestionably permanent peace. Are you assuming from a military point of view that these people will have - and that the ones who have come in the last 5 or 10 years ¹ have the motivation, or will be motivated sufficiently by coming here to make Israel that strong? Isn't the backbone of Israel the people who have stayed here for a few generations all ready, or at least for 20 or 25 years, as opposed to the Johnny come latelies?

A: The answer is a clear no. The elite of this country, if that is what you are talking about, the pilots, the members of the Cabinet, all the generals and most of the colonels, they come from the kibbutz, they come from families that have been here one, two or three generations. Yeah. If you talk about backbone, the backbone of this country is a handful of people, but if you talk about strength and strength deriving from population, there isn't a damned bit of difference in the motivation of a Jew who came from Russia 70 years ago as a chalutz or a Jew who came from Yemen 20 years ago as a penniless immigrant. There is no difference. The 20 year ago immigrant, and even the 10 year ago immigrant, and even the 5 year ago immigrant raced to that Canal four years ago and that is why I say that guy who came 5 years ago was in the army four years ago, and defended this country with the same motivation and the same skill, and I

am not making a speech, because if we look for all the sociological signs, are there cracks in the structure of society, do you hear "rotten Nigger", "dirty Jews" "rotten Kike", "dirty Polack", "dirty scum Wpp" - do you hear things said within the Israeli structure - "rotten Yemeni", "stinking Algerians", "pukey Polack" - no... What you hear are nothing like that at all. You heard at the beginning of this country. 23 years ago, one thing between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, that lumped together generically all Jews from Europe whether they were Germans, Poles, Yugoslaves, Russians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Italians, English - in other words, everybody in this room I suppose, is a dirty, rotten no-good Ashkenazi European White Jew. And then everybody else, from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Iran, Persia, Turkey, Yemen etc was a Sephardic dirty rotten Black Jew.

And there was at the beginning that ~~maximal~~ possibility of a rupture in the country, and there still exists today 23 years later a certain sub-stratum of - you can't call it discrimination because there is no discrimination - there is a kind of a psychological barrier still which is being overcome by the most natural process of all - there is one natural process, the bed. And that takes care of everything. You don't need laws and you don't need PTAs and you don't need Supreme Court decisions, it's a lot of nonsense. The bed takes care of everything. And the bed has been working now for 23 years, and I am not kidding. Golda Meir's daughter is married to a Yemenite, so if somebody says, Would you like your daughter to marry a yemenite? Sure, she says, yes.

That is a practical, effective way, and they lived on a kibbutz called, and the problem gets solved.

So new immigrants, whethere they are here five years of ten years and from whatever country they come from and whatever stratum of the economic level they are, all blend in together

and the motivation is as strong on the part of a newcomer as it is on the part of an oldcomer. The first further proof of the matter is that where motivation is not strong enough people leave. Let's face the reality. A couple of hundred thousand people have left this country. They came here, they didn't like it and they left and thank God, it is a free country, it is not a police state.

We've got about 45,000 of them living on Upper Broadway in New York, a small Israel from 72-96th St. from Broadway to Riverside, and when a man comes here and doesn't feel properly motivated and doesn't feel properly integrated and doesn't have this Jewish feeling of identification, he leaves. HE is free to do so.

So the answer to your question is real clear. It is not that you have the oldtimers better than the newcomers. You do have from the oldtimers a certain special elite, there is no substitute for that kibbutz motivation, it is the finest in the world, but beyond that, the whole population is fairly united,

Q: ~~See~~ something about giving up a hill.

A: NO, no, that's in Jerusalem, Ammunition Hill and French Hill and Ramat Eshkol, all the way out to Shuf'at on the northern side of Jerusalem, that is all part of large Jerusalem today.

Q: Would you please discuss Russian implication in the event of a fourth round? Are they going to shoot back?

A: We shot them already. There's nothing new. Obviously that's another secret you just learned so don't tell anybody- on April 17 we shot four Russian pilots in four Migs and killed them in a big dogfight that took place that date on the Canal. The Russians didn't say anything, the Egyptians didn't say anything, we didn't say anything. And that's how it has been

going. Why should we say anything? Let them send up some more Russians. The Russians know it. We know it. They know we know we know it. We know they know we know it. So k no one has to say anything.

That was a scare question back at the beginnning until it happened. They said, my God, what will happen one fine day we'll find ourselves in hot combat with the Russians. What will we do? Well, we tried to outfly them, that's what we tried to do. We think that this encounter and others subsequent to it - because there was a lot of time between April and August 5 - led the Russians to the conclusion that they had better try to minimize the exposure of their men to combat. They suffered many many casualties on ground fire, many, scores probably. We don't know, we didn't go to every funeral. But when they had their advisors in on very hard and large artillery stations and we shelled or bombed when we were still using the Air Force before the 7 5th August, heavy bombing of artillery sites killed Russians, lots of them. We weren't going to stop bombing. If they wanted to stop sending Russians in, that was their privilege. If they wanted to keep sending Russians in, that was also their privilege. It didn't scare us off, that is the main point. Nor did it cause the Russians to pull out. It didn't frighten them either, but what it did do was to keep them within the balance of what we think was good sense.

Now you've got a different kind of a question. Right here is a big beach. If the Russians want to land two divisions south of Ashdod, what do we do then? If the Russians want to land five divisions? If the Russians decide they want to invade this country from the land, the massive land army, we will lose. It couldn't be simpler, because if the Russians really want to take that attitude, that means that they

are out to destroy Israel, so if they have to put in 50,000 troops or 250,000 troops or 450,000, which is more than every man or woman we could put on the field, they can do it, if that is what they decide they want to do.

Up to now we don't have any indication or any clue of any logic in their thinking that they are interested in trying to obliterate Israel from off the map by massive land invasion of Russians. They don't give us any indication of that but if that day happens we will find out about it one fine morning, but we don't think so.

Up to now the involvement that they have with missile experts, artillery experts, pilots, ground crews, we will accept that involvement, we will retaliate against that involvement, we will take all the risks that are involved in that without being afraid and we will kill Russians. They are trying to kill us, and we just hope that it didn't go beyond that. If it goes beyond that, it won't be because we wanted to escalate, and if it is because they wanted to escalate, that Russia wants to take Israel off the map, then you've got a world war on your hands.

Russia didn't see fit to do that in Korea, she didn't see fit to do that in Vietnam, and we don't think ~~she~~ she'll see fit to do it here. She didn't see fit to do it in Cuba either, never forget that.

Q

A: She's got her foothold without destroying Israel. What does Russia want? Are you quite clear on that? Did anybody talk to you on that? I don't want to repeat any lecture that you have heard from anybody else. Russian objectives do not, as we visualise it, include obliteration of Israel because it is not required from their point of view. As we understand what they want, they want a foothold in Africa

They've got it. They've got a big landbase in Egypt. They've got a naval base on the Mediterranean, one in Egypt and one in Algeria. They've got further footholds on the African continent down in Mali and Guinea, so what they want in Africa they are getting, and they are going to push and you can just believe that for the next 20 years a Russia and Africa and going to get to be buddy-buddies, but I want to tell you think of it that way.

2) She wants an access to the Indian Ocean. she'll get it at such time as she allows the Canal to be opened. When she allows her client, Egypt, to make peace, she can have the Canal.

3) Until the day she gets the Canal, she is moving around around Africa and she's got now a very large fleet in the Red Sea and the North Indian Ocean waiting for the British withdrawal. You all know about that. By the end of 1971, nine months from now, England will be out of every base in the Indian Ocean and the Red sea. You were laughing before when I said to you about the great country of Abdu Abdu, or whatever the hell that name is. It is a real place. It's got a big naval base there. the British are leaving it in 9 months. Who's going to move in? Papa Bear. He's got a lot of ships just sitting and waiting, and the port of Aden and all the Islands off the Coast of the Trucial States, and Qatar and Bahrain, and everything in the Persian Gulf, they are all going to learn how to speak Russian. It's just fantastic but that's it.

Now she's got that now as a result of having bases here on the Mediterranean and bases down here in the Red Sea and the minute she wants to open this up, she's got connection so she doesn't have to destroy Israel. As a matter of fact, she's got to make peace with Israel to get that thing opened up.

Q:

A: If it is not to her benefit, she gains nothing from it, nor is it her motivation, what you're saying simply is that if in the course of a big fight, Israel happened to get destroyed, Russia wouldn't be sad about it. I quite agree with that. That however is quite different from landing five divisions south of Ashdod. That is not an accident. That is not Israel getting destroyed accidentally in the middle of a big escalation of a fight with Egypt. That is Russia moving in to destroy Israel. That is quite different, and that is opening Pandora's box, and I think she has neither the motivation or the desire to do that. She would have to pay a very big price for that.

Q: JDL

A: I don't know how this is connected with this. The activities of the JDL in regard to the emigration of Jews from Russia. I would say that the JDL probably is responsible for getting zero Jews out of Russia. So on that score, they don't rate very high on my book. I think it is a big nuisance thing.

Let me put it this way. I am a practical man and believe in practical conduct to achieve practical results for very practical reasons and dreams. The dream is to be able to get the Jews out of Russia, the practical problem is how to do it, the JDL methodology won't shake one skeleton out of the closet.

Now having said all that, do I say then that the JDL should be closed down and not allowed to operate and that when the guy ~~now~~ wanted to speak in Brussels they should have let him speak? No. Having said that I don't believe that they have any practical, effect whatsoever on the attitude of the Russian government, I nevertheless say that they have got every right in the world to try to function as they see fit and speak wherever they want to try to speak. I don't go so far as to say that they do harm - that is what some people

say. I think they don't do a damn bit of good, but I can't quite go so far that I think they actually do harm and therefore we ^{should} ~~shall~~ close them down and muzzle them and not let the guy talk. No.

So you can see that it is not a very great big issue with me one way or another. It is not very important. It is a lot of excitement about it, but substantively there is not much init.

Goes on to talk about Structure of American Community. Not needed.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



Rabbi Friedman

Mikes idea was that I should tell you something of the history of Massada which is where you are going tomorrow and I said I would be glad to. It doesn't take a lot of time to do that - it is, however, a very great emotional story which is a very important story and the note on which we finish should be the note on which we close the meeting. Therefore, if anybody has got any questions that he wants to ask - loaded or otherwise - somebody just came up to me and said he has got a loaded question and should he ask it publicly or privately - ask it publicly - if anybody has got any questions to ask, let's get finished with the questions now - because when I do the Massada, I want to do it and finish off - no more questions - and then close shop.

(Answering question from the audience - question unclear)

You heard me say that there's a new voice - that Sadat is talking differently from the way Nasser talked - you heard me say that. Now I don't know whether you consider that favourable or not - I consider it a fact. I said many times, I try not to be emotional and I try no - I don't mean in my presentation - I am very emotional in my presentation, but I am talking about the logic in my contents. I try to be as factual and hardboiled as I know how to be dealing with facts and their implications. There is a new voice in Egypt - I don't know whether you call that a favourable thing for me to say about Egypt or not - I don't know.

Audience - unclear

You are asking me the same question which at the beginning of my talk I tried to tell you not to fall into the trap of asking - you're looking for some conception - well, think twice.

Audience - unclear

What the hell do you mean, find a common ground. The process of trying to make a peace is trying to find a common ground. They have said one thing different from Nasser - Sadat has said - I am willing to make a peace agreement with Israel - Nasser never said that. The Arab position at Kartsum in August 1967 was - no peace,

no recognition, no negotiations - they had lost the war 60 days earlier and they came up with that very positive attitude. Now that Khartoum declaration is what they have sat on until last week - or whatever, two weeks ago. Two weeks ago Sadat said something different for which I give him all the credit in the world. He said - I am willing to make a peace agreement with Israel. He doesn't define it, i he doesn't define the issue - that's okay - we've got time to get to ~~xx~~ that - those are the details you get to at the table - but he put a condition on it - on condition that Israel withdraws totally and our answer to him is - go to hell.

And when I said that Israel has got a P R problem - lot's of Israel's good friends like you say - well God damn, Israel has got to make some move - that's what's in the back of your mind - you haven't said those words, but I know what you're driving ~~that~~ at.

Audience - unclear

Don't take the statement - any ^{good} ~~xxxx~~ Arab is a dead Arab unless you know from whom you take it - if a person in authority says it

Hey, fellows, do me a favour, don't get me involved in your personal fights - Arabs may be a very responsible authority and by the way, that may be his opinion and by the way, he may be entitled to have it. But you can't go around saying - that's how Israelis feel - come on man, watch your words. You're going home and you're going to be expected to be much more of an expert than anyone else - because you have just been through this and you have to be very careful how you talk. You heard a new voice from Egypt - the guy says - I'm willing to make a peace agreement on condition of total withdrawal - you heard a new answer from Israel - no total withdrawal, partial withdrawal - planned withdrawal - piece-meal withdrawal as each issue gets settled. No Israeli Prime Minister ever said that before and this Prime Minister is getting her you-know-what shot off yesterday and today, because she is willing to be this flexible.

So you hear new voices on both sides - not very strong, not leading very far yet - but your whole question of how can you make a peace agreement with somebody unless you can make an agreement with somebody -

did you hear the grammar - how can you make an agreement with somebody unless you can make an agreement with somebody - you have got to find the thing that will break through and be acceptable to one side or the other and so far there isn't anything - the Egyptians statement that they just want to make peace isn't good enough for us - our statement that we're willing to withdraw, but on condition that every issue gets settled isn't good enough for them. So that's what the hell the whole impasse is all about right now and it's going to remain that way until somebody breaks that log-jam and I hope to God it ain't us and I got one last thing I'd like to say.

The last thing I'd like to say is that I have drawn a lesson for myself and I am satisfied with it - if nobody else is - of why we have got a new voice out of Sadat - why after almost four years is the Egyptian President talking differently. You know why - he won't get it any other way - you're damn right. Now we've been ~~suffering~~ stubborn as hell - we've held out for going on four years - we've been willing to take all the losses that we've taken - we've taken blood losses - a lot of them, treasure losses - a lot of money down the drain. We've had the whole support of the Jewish world behind us and a good deal of support of the non-Jewish world and the full support of the United States Government and we have just been stubborn as hell and finally he came around to the conclusion that he couldn't shoot us off the canal - he has got to negotiate us off the canal - that's fine - that's peace, not war. And the only reason we got it is because we were willing to go ~~through~~ through hell for almost four years and I say there's a lesson in that - the more they say total withdrawal - the more we say partial withdrawal and we hold firm to the God damn thing - maybe it will take four more years and they'll come to the conclusion - okay, we've got to settle it that way.

Audience - When is the Reform Rabbi going to have the same considerations and priorities as the Orthodox Rabbi (question not very clear)

Rabbi Friedman

I think that it's another one of those long, long problems that's way down the road ahead of us. I don't want to go into the whole complicated story - religion in Israel - it's a very complex story.

I'll be glad to and you won't hear it from anybody else - no official Israeli will talk to you about it - they will just go bla-bla around the subject. They won't ever hit it head-on. Because they won't make the admission as it has to be made, but I have got a long intimate - I've got 23 years of history with this question.

I started asking this question the year the State was established and I won't take an hour to tell you about religion in Israel, because I don't think you got the time or the interest to listen to it now. But you have here a situation in which the authority of the State in many civil matters has been given over to a certain group of people - it's just as simple as that and they are not about to give it to anybody else or any other group. Now you can yell discrimination from now till doomsday, but that ain't gonna help you. That's just it. And they've done it for the Moslims and the Christians and the Jews - the same way. The State gave ~~them~~^{too} the Moslim Kabi, Chief of the Moslim Religious Court power over all civil matters in the lives of Moslims - deaths, births, inheritance, bastards, property, mixed marriages, funerals, everything. The State gave to the Christian Religious Court the authority over Christians and the State gave to a Jewish Religious Court that authority over Jews.

Now the Religious Court is orthodox - nothing else but - and if you don't like it - that's too bad brother. You talk about some member of his congregation whome he couldn't convert. You know what the hell's going on in Vienna. Here you got Russian Jews coming out. Here you got this Jewish Agency taking them out. The department of immigration of the Jewish Agency - I'll tell you a story - is run by the orthodox religious party. The Chairman of the Department of Immigration is an orthodox rabbi who immigrated here from America - Kishblum - orthodox. He sends over two rabbis to Vienna to perform conversions of Russian Jews who are coming out of Russia where the wife was not Jewish or where the husband isn't sure if he was ever properly brought up as a Jew - he wasn't present at his own circumcision - his father and his mother were both Communist Party Members - they both denied religion - he doesn't know if he was brought up as a Jew or not - so whether it's the woman or the man, somebody has got to be converted. The Jewish Agency sends over two Rabbis to Vienna to set up a little court to do the conversion

according to orthodox standards so that those people can feel wanted and welcome to come to Israel and that still isn't good enough for the orthodox Rabbinical Court which sent two men of its own over to Vienna - two different orthodox rabbis - more orthodox - to check on the two guys in Vienna to see if they're doing it right. Now you can go crazy.

So you have no civil ceremonies in this country of any sort - you can't get married by a judge - nobody can - a Christian can't go to a Christian judge - a Moslem can't go to a Moslem judge. Every citizen of this country has all of his personal affairs handled by a Religious Court - only one - don't like it - sorry. A lot of the young modern, free thinking atheistic Jews here in the kibbutz when they get so really keyed off, as they can't stand it, go to Cyprus and get married in a civil ceremony on the island of Cyprus and turn around and fly right back here and then go into the Rabbinical Court to register the marriage - not to have it performed - to register the marriage - to make sure the children aren't bastards and the Rabbinical Court gives them a hard time, but it can't refuse them, because they got married outside - there is no civil ceremony inside. Now that's a strangle-hold and that strangle-hold has got to be broken - but it is going to take one hell of a long time to break that strangle-hold and we have other fights besides that fight and all I can say is that I am sympathetic as hell with it and so are most of the people in this country, but until you get the situation where the Government decides to change, you aren't going to have any change, because the whole problem stems from the fact that the State gave this authority to the Church.

Audience - Does the Israeli Government understand in any way the intransigence on the part of the Arab Nations - what in the opinion of the Israeli Government is the basis for their position in prolonging this situation.

Rabbi Friedman

That's clear. There is no problem in understanding that. They don't want the State of Israel to exist in this region of the world. Why - it's very simple from their point of view. It's an alien

14.3.71

"C" 6

PD

factor - as they put it - I'm quoting them. The more moderate intellectuals among them at the Cairo University say - look, you Jews, you're very sensitive about all this business that Hitler did to you - it's not our fault, it's not our responsibility. You got chewed up in Europe - that's Europe - we live in Africa. Because Hitler did this to you and you want to have a homeland - what's it got to do with us - why do you invade a part of the world where we live where you're foreign - you're Europeans - you're Westerners - you don't belong here - go back where you came from. Where did you come from - you came from Russia, from Poland, from Germany - go back - we don't want you here. You say you were here from the time of the Bible - forget it, so were we. You insist upon this - we'll drive you out - like we did to the Crusaders - it took us 200 years to get rid of the Crusaders - they were here the 12th and 13th Century - in 200 years we'll get rid of you too.

That's why they don't want us here - the basic feeling is one of not wanting to have a State of Israel in the Middle East - it couldn't be more simple and their problem is to adjust to it - that's their psychiatric problem if you want to know the fact of the matter - that's why I believe that time will eventually take care of it - because as in all other matters, one learns to adjust to things, no matter how unpleasant they are - and they will simply adjust to the existence of a bunch of Jews here in what they call - their midst.

(Cont. on Tape 3 Side 1)

ADDRESS BY

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

AMERICAN JEWISH

Executive Vice-Chairman (Israel) of the United
Jewish Appeal

to the members of the
UJA Young Leadership Mission

11.11.71

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

Don Hodes - Chairman

It's my pleasure today to do two things. One - to present the Fall 1971 Young Leadership Mission to Israel to Rabbi Herb Friedman. And now to present Herb Friedman to the 1971 Young Leadership Mission.

Herb Friedman

The Young Leadership Cabinet is what a bunch of guys like Don Hodes have made it and it's a mark of quality and distinction. Most of the honors in organizations are really quite bland and quite meaningless. Guys have long titles after their names and it doesn't mean a damned thing, but anybody whose knowledgeable in organized American Jewish community knows that when a young fellow is introduced with that title next to his name, it counts. You earn it by the kind of hard work that Don has done, in which his wife has aided and abetted. It's that kind of a team and partnership that makes a couple unique. So he sits up here at the front not because somebody put a crown on his head, but he got there by virtue of a lot of labor, and the only reward he gets for all the labor is the opportunity to do more.

All of this is not just a matter of paying a compliment to him, but to try and explain something to you. I asked him what I should talk about today, what gaps there were in your background, what things he thought I should concentrate on. And he said one of the things that he wanted me to talk about was this matter of making a commitment of yourself - and this is a very important thing - a hell of a lot more important than making a commitment of money. Making a commitment of money is quite easy. Everybody does, or once he understands, he does. He doesn't do it enough ever, because nobody ever stretches and nobody ever hurts himself. But the money can come once you understand what the word commitment means and you can only understand what the word commitment means if you understand what the problem is all about to which you are being asked to commit yourself.

Ernie Spickler told me that he thought you understood the security problems of Israel quite well, because you've been up to the Golan, you've been up to Mt. Hermon, you have been to an airbase this morning, you heard General Gur last night. So he said that you understood the military and security problems of this country very well. If you do, I'm grateful for it. Because in the next 60 days your knowledge will be put to a test - we'll probably be in a war. And when we are, you'll probably have to explain it. You will be the ones who are the most recently home from Israel, and so they'll all expect you to be the experts on the matter and to tell them what you saw when you were there and what the hell was happening and what was brewing and how did it happen. So if you do understand it, then I can leave the topic alone. Does everybody understand it?

What war? The same old war. Unless Sadat decides to climb off the limb onto which he's put himself, and if he does climb off the limb, that's fine because then it's his problem - what happens to him when he comes down. But unless he's bluffing, and therefore unless he's way out on a limb of his own making, then we are going to have a war with Egypt.

(From the floor): Mr. Dinitz said he did not think there would be war in 1971.

Right, I hope it doesn't come in 1971 either, because if it doesn't it will knock Sadat off the limb. Sadat made a threat that there would be war before the end of 1971. If he doesn't make war before the end of 1971, we are going to be a lot better off, because it means he's put himself in a very awkward position. He's got another 45 days in which to climb off and in which to make some explanation that he didn't really mean he'll start a war by the end of December 31st - he really meant something else - any kind of explanation and rationalization that he starts to offer which will try to explain away his bluff will leave him weaker - thank God. He has said all through September and October that 1971 will be the year of decision in which he will decide whether it is war or peace for the future - you remember that - and then the second speech that he made on the subject, he said - and I'm willing to commit a million Egyptians to the battle - and in the third speech on the subject he said and of course, that means it will cost them a million Jews too.

Then he started to go through some maneuvering with the Russians and for the first time in 19 years he put on a general's uniform, went down to the Canal, spoke to the local missile commanders and told them to get all cranked up. For the first time in his life ever - not in 19 years - he went up to Alexandria, put on a Naval Admiral's uniform, which he had never worn, and make a big speech to the navy commandos and the frogmen who were conducting maneuvers in the bay at Alexandria for a cross-canal landing which involves all of naval support. Then he went to Moscow to get the green light - that was about three weeks ago. We don't think he got it - but we don't know. Now once you don't know something in that area, you have a little feeling of uneasiness - or let me put it this way - if you don't have a little feeling of uneasiness, you're a little stupid. Now the first reaction over here was - the general didn't sound worried last night. Worry is not our posture. We're not worried, but that's a matter of opinion - that's a matter of mood. I'm just talking about the facts. What the facts are. There are some people who are worried - lots of mothers who have lots of kids are worried. There isn't a single general who's worried - thank God. It isn't important whether you're worried or not - the important is how do you appraise this situation? How do you estimate it? What are you going to do about it?

So what's happening right now is that a fairly serious amount of preparation is going on. We write the scenario as though it will be a cross-canal landing. There are certain visible evidences of that. Earthworks are being built on their side of the canal for tanks and half-track vehicles to come up over the sand dunes to a level at which bailey bridges will be sprung. They will start to try a landing. The only retaliation we have, aside from our artillery which is some 20-25 kilometers back and therefore less accurate, is to come in with aircraft, which can be more accurate. If we come in with aircraft, then we run the risk of heavy losses due to the missiles, because their missile defense is fantastic. Much more elaborate than the missile defense of the City of Moscow - much more - and that's saying something, isn't it. And the rate of loss of aircraft which we will take if we attempt to penetrate that missile screen will be very heavy. How do you decide whether to do it or not? If you know you're getting replacement aircraft - and I'm not talking about pilots who get shot down and killed - we're not talking about this in terms of price of blood, we're talking about this in terms of price of equipment - if you know you're going to get replacement aircraft, then you are

willing to commit to the battle. If you know you're not going to get replacement aircraft, and so far the United States has said no, then you are more cautious about committing, and if you don't commit your aircraft to the battle, that makes their landing easier. Now this is the dilemma that you're in - and this is why there's a terrible crunch developing now between Israel and the United States. You're quite aware of that, I hope. And it's getting more and more serious. It isn't going to be a rupture and there isn't going to be a diplomatic break of relations, but there's a hell of a serious argument going on now. The United States says no, we will not sell you planes, and Israel says you've got to be out of your mind to deprive us of aircraft now. And the United States says two things. Number one - if we sell you more aircraft, the Arabs are going to get upset and right now we think we got the Arabs where they might be willing to negotiate and we don't want them to get upset - we don't want to break up the negotiations. And we say - somebody's dreaming here. The Arabs aren't anywhere near a negotiating stage or position. They're not willing to talk about anything. Furthermore, neither are we. Not along the terms that the Americans are proposing, namely that we should make a partial settlement on the Canal - let the Egyptians come across and send over 750 soldiers, and what do you care - they can't do you any harm and then that will be a first step and a first gesture on your part and then maybe that'll persuade the Egyptians to go further and compromise further. So we don't want to spoil this chance for peace by selling you more airplanes.

Therefore no planes at the moment. Therefore a very complex military situation developing as to how far we'll commit. They know it on the other side. This is emboldening them. So Sadat keeps on taking more steps. Sadat moves from the palace to the military headquarters. That's where his office is now. Busy all day with the army - nothing else on his mind. So we're hanging on, and this is where we're going to sit for the next 30 or 60 days. I believe one of two things have to happen. Either he's got to come down off it, in which case I think he's in bad trouble, internally, inside his own country, which I hope will turn out to be the case, or he means it, and we'll have some shooting. Where it will go, how far it will escalate, nobody can tell. Might get dampened down on the very first day. Might spread. So that when I say I, speaking for myself, think we're moving close to something, and I use the word 60 days, on the 15th of January, or whenever will be 60 days from now, somebody call me up and tell me I was wrong - I'll be the first one to pay the nickel.

If it doesn't happen in 60 days, or 90 days, then I think it will pass. The only other fact you have to know about the military situation is that whether it blows open or not, in terms of the costs that we anticipate, and again I am talking finances, not blood, it will make no more than 20 or 30 million dollars worth of difference. That's only the cost of the shells, the ammunition that will be expended in a couple of days of fighting. Whether there is an outbreak of firing, or not, about one and one half billion dollars worth of cost is going to be endured in 1972 for the purchase of equipment in order to keep this country strong. Makes no difference whether there's firing or not. If there isn't and we can pass this moment, we're going ahead to try to keep the country more and more secure, because if he doesn't fire now, he'll fire a year from now. If he doesn't fire a year from now, he'll fire two years from now. What I am trying to say to you is - there is no path towards peace whatsoever being opened by any move on anybody's

part. And you'd better learn to live with that. If you can't learn to live with that, and if you indulge in wishful thinking, and dreams and hopes, that somehow, some magic formula is going to occur, and there's going to be peace tomorrow, then you're on the wrong train, because we're not going in the same direction.

There isn't going to be any peace here in the way in which you and I understand the meaning of the word peace until one thing takes place, and if that one thing takes place, you'll have peace in fifteen minutes, because there are no other obstacles in the way. The one thing that has to occur is that the Arab countries shall say that the Jewish State has a right to survive. All they have to say is - we recognize you. And I'm not talking about formal recognition, not talking about the fact, we admit that you Jews have a right to your State in this area of the world. Now they haven't said that, in our judgement they are not about to say that, there's no sign that anybody is thinking that way, there are all the signs to the contrary, that they believe exactly the opposite, that this state is only in existence 23 years, and they can knock it out of the box.

And this is what they are dedicated to trying to do. Until they change their minds from that point, we're going to have war, war, war, war. We've had three already, we can have three more. And you've just got to learn to understand it. The consequence of understanding it is that you have got to commit yourself to help with it, or if you don't want to be in for the long run, then don't get on board at all.

We need people who will be committed to hang on for generations. The last thing I'll tell you is that in the Arab General Staff Command College, the thing which is taught is not the tactics of the Six-Day War, the thing which is taught are the tactics of the Crusades in the 12th Century. And you know why? Because they have a very simple argument. They say, we knocked the Christians out of the box. It only took up 200 years. We'll get the Jews sooner. That's their logic. There's no point in smiling at it, no point in arguing about it, that's how they think. And if you don't understand how your enemy thinks, then you'll never win. They are utterly and totally convinced that they will obliterate us from this area, they have the strongest, most powerful military ally on the face of this earth, supporting them with equipment, because they think that Russia is stronger than the United States, and they think Russian ambitions are stronger than American ambitions - they are probably right about it. They think that Russian ambitions and Russian power will carry them to victory. They may be right about it. I'm not trying to create anything like worry where it doesn't apply. What I'm trying to create is a realistic appraisal of what we're faced with and then a very strong feeling of self-confidence that if we devote ourselves to overcoming this, we can do so. What I offer you is optimism and what I offer you is an ultimate victory and what I require of you to achieve those objectives is your power and your commitment and your dedication in love, labor, work and money. Our problems can be solved. All the ingredients are present: the dedication we have, the skill we have, the technological know-how we have, the conviction we have, the money we have, the Jewish people has everything which is required to solve this problem.

The question is to get the Jewish people to put together all its assets in one place, and who the hell is going to do the explaining if not people like you.

Question

Does it not behoove the Israelis to take an optional point of view vis a vis its relationship with the U.S. They feel pressured, put pressure on the U.S., and then the U.S. feels pressured to push for peace.

Answer

We don't want a war more than the United States doesn't want a war. We can't be an ostrich, we can't get so super-sophisticated, we can't say - let's play it cool and make believe there isn't going to be any war, then the United States gets relaxed and cool and then they don't put pressure back on us.

The basic issue is simple. When I said that we can make peace with them in 15 minutes, I want you to understand that too. A lot of people think that the problems are territories. Do we want to give back the territories. I say that's all nonsense. We would like to give back all the territory, because we have an ulterior motive. On that territory which we are now holding for 4½ years now and which is costing us a pretty piece of change every single year just to maintain because we support the whole Arab population in those countries - we pay the school teachers and we give them jobs - there are 30,000 Arabs who have no jobs in the Arab part, they come to us to work in Israel. We pay them the same rates - 18 pounds a day - Histadrut labor wage-level. It's costing us 50-60 million bucks a year and we're holding it 4½ years now and we'd like to give it back for a very simple reason. If we keep the territory, we have to keep the people. We don't want the people. What do we want a million Arabs in Israel for. They'll outnumber us - in 15 years you'll have an Arab prime minister - I'm not joking. We'll have lost the quality of a Jewish State - so it's not that we're such great heroes and saints when we say we don't want the territory. We really don't for very hardboiled geopolitical reasons. But we're not about to give back the territory until we know that what we give back will have a line on it that's called a border which once and for all, for the first time in 23 years of our life, will be the border of our State that nobody will cross over. You don't cross the border of another State unless you're Hitler - or unless you're North Korea - unless you're making an aggression - and then it's labelled that way in the eyes of the world. All the Arab attacks against us have not been crossing recognized borders - we have no recognized borders in this country. We have not had since the birth of this country - there are no borders. There are armistice lines from 1948. The Arabs say - well, we're just readjusting the armistice lines, that's all. We're not invading Israel.

Once and for all you've got to stop and say - this is its border - nobody cross it - that's all we want. We're not arguing where the lines will be. It will be easy to draw where the line will be. We'll give back everything except Jerusalem.

Question

How would you make sure that borders aren't crossed once you make borders?

Answer

You put your own army on your own border.

Question

Could that be different from the way it is now?

Answer: It isn't, and so what we say very exactly - you're quite right - we say to Mr. Rogers - they look we haven't got a border - but what we got is a nice defensible line at the Suez Canal - there's 100 yards of water between them and us. They got 100,000 men on one side - we got 9,000 men on the other side. We're happy - leave us that way. And we're prepared to sit there for the next 20 years if we have to. And so periodically during those next 20 years he's going to start shooting at us and that's why I talk about the inevitability of fire, because you do not have a cease-fire as a permanent state of affairs. So we've had a cease-fire now for 15 or 16 months and fire is about to be resumed. Maybe I should put it that way instead of saying we'll have another war in 60 days - but to me it means the same thing. Fire is about to be renewed - I think.

Question: If you have a weakened Sadat, do you feel that someone taking his place would be more viable?

Answer: I don't know - I don't know who his successor would be - it depends what happens on the trials of December 8th. Right now he's trying to get all of his ex-best friends executed. So if he wipes them out on December 8th, then we don't know who will come up into the batter's ring. No it isn't as if there's any great hero waiting in the wings, out in the bullpen, who we'd rather have than him. I don't know.

Question: Is Sadat a known commodity you can deal with?

Answer: No, it's nothing to deal with. This whole theory always amazes us that certain Arab rulers you can deal with and certain Arab rulers you can't deal with. Look, the ballgame is much simpler than people make it. Three Arab States say that they will be number two to sign the peace treaty - as long as Egypt is number one. So the whole ballgame is Egypt. Pure King Hussein can't sign except as number two - we've saved his life twice now. We got a letter of thanks once. That's right - in the civil war in September 1970. We put two brigades of tanks up on the Golan Heights and forced the Syrians to withdraw - the Syrians were sending their tanks in to chew him up to pieces - tear him apart - with Russian support. We mobilized two brigades on top of the Golan and said to the Syrians and the Russians - don't move, don't touch him. They pulled back. He sent a thank-you letter, as he should have.

Now that kind of thing goes on all the time. So when you talk about moderate Arab rulers - nothing means anything except the position of Egypt, and so long as Egypt is not willing to make peace, nobody else will.

Question: We were given to believe that the United States would replace lost Phantoms - is that not true?

Answer: No - I don't know what your understanding was. We have a contractual arrangement with the United States Government for a certain number of Phantoms to be sold and for a delivery schedule by which they would be delivered. That contract was fulfilled and executed and completed in June. Since June, we've been begging and screaming and yelling for a new contract. And the United States Government has said no. When a nice man like Mr. Sisco wants to sit down with a nice friend of his like Mr. Rabin and say, listen Yitzhak, what are you worried about, if you guys really get in a crunch and you get in a fight, you know damn well we'll fly over to you fast and get you everything you need. And we say - oh, we don't believe it. We don't believe it for a very simple reason. Not because Joe Sisco is telling a lie, but because when fighting starts, the mood of the American public is not going to permit America to get dragged into another fight - and this is what we keep telling them all the time. Your public won't let you get involved in another fight. You just got out of one fight in Southeast Asia, you're not going to get in another fight in the Middle East. The Americans won't stand for it. So the time to send planes over here is not when the firing starts and when everybody is all nervous and shook-up - the time to send planes is before firing starts and it is not a big deal and without any public notice out of it. I don't care if you never announce it publicly - just sell us two airplanes a month - sell us two planes a month - that's what we've asked for. That's all we can afford anyway. Two a month - month in and month out. At the end of 12 months we'll have 24 airplanes. Now if at any time during those 12 months firing starts and we put aircraft into the battle - lose aircraft to missiles - 2, 4, 5, 10, 20 - we know that in a year's time 24 will come in. That's all we ask for - not big publicity, and if you say you don't want to embarrass the Egyptians - don't announce it. We don't care - we don't want credit in newspapers.

So the answer is still no and that's where the answer is going to hang for a while. I think Nixon will break the log-jam. I think he'll break it at the wrong time - he'll break it as firing gets close, or possible, and that will be the wrong time. It's like when you have an abscess, the surgeon shouldn't operate. You wait till the inflammation subsides and then you operate. If you have got the choice. We say there is still a choice - but time's running.

Okay, now we've got other problems besides war. We've got a problem which is a very good and happy problem called immigration. You know, we're not in business to fight wars. This State was not established so that it should become a Sparta - just a beleaguered state in siege all the time, having to fight for life. While we're fighting for life, we have tried all the time to build the quality of that life so it shall be a pleasant life and a good life and a meaningful life, and one of the things you have to do is take care of Jews who are in trouble and we're not in trouble here. We're just beleaguered, but we're not in trouble. Nobody's persecuting us - I mean that's the meaning of an independent Jewish State - nobody can make a dirty crack - everybody's a Jew. I mean we got a few Christian citizens and a few Arab citizens, but they are very Jewish-like, because it's all rubbed off on them.

There are Jews in the world who are in trouble and whose lives have to be saved. Now without taking you through a long, complicated, demographic description, let me just give you one round figure. There are, outside of the Soviet Union, outside of Russia, in communist countries and in Moslem countries - and those are two areas of the world where Jews are in trouble. Jews who live in Moslem countries like Morocco or Tunisia or Algeria or Iran or Iraq or places like that are in trouble - the reason for that is obvious. Jews who live in communist countries are in trouble - persecuted for a different reason altogether. Now there's a reservoir of Jews in both blocks of countries, adding up to half a million. Those half-million Jews have got to be rescued and saved and brought here and as many of them as we can get in every year by any method, we do. In some years 30,000 come - in some years 50,000 come - in some years 40,000 - in some years 70,000. I would say if you talk about a reservoir of half a million Jews outside of the Soviet Union, you're talking about ten years work ahead. For the next ten years, if we continue to work at this very dilligently, we will be able to clean up all the Jews living in countries of distress - that's our euphemistic phrase - country of distress.

Do you live in a country of distress, we will do our best to help you. Do you live in a country of affluence like Canada or England or the United States, if you want to immigrate here - fine - you're on your own. And by the way, about 10,000 Americans have emigrated to come to live here this year voluntarily, on their own. I'm only talking about Jews who live in countries of distress. So in ten years we can clean it up - that's a fantastic possibility, isn't it - that there will come a moment projected ten years into the future when you can look at yourself with a clear conscience and say - damn it, there isn't a Jew in the world who's living in trouble, because I helped save all of them. And that's worth it. That'll make you feel good.

Now you have got the Jews of the Soviet Union. We can't predict - we don't know. In one year, we have had more coming here than in a whole quarter of a century up to now. It means the Russians have made a decision to let some Jews out - they made that

decision, by the way, we know why - because of the pressure of the demonstrations. They've told us through various intermediaries that the Jews around the world are raising such hell and causing them such bad public relations, and every time that there's another demonstration in Rochester, New York, or Sao Paulo, Brazil, all the reports feed back into the Russian Embassy and they all go to Moscow and Moscow says - those damned Jews - let's try to take some of the heat off and let out another few thousand - maybe that'll satisfy them. It doesn't satisfy us, it just makes our appetite stronger. You better have some big rallies in 1972 and keep that pressure on and we might get many more out in 1972 - who knows?

Now the other possibility is quite a different one - not one of gradualism, but an almost mind-boggling possibility that if some nasty decision were made in the Soviet Union - alright, you say Jews want to leave - fine - we'll give you 12 months - everybody who wants out in 12 months - we don't care if it's a quarter of a million, half a million, a million - 12 months - you've got all of 1972 and that's it. So we get half a million Jews in one year - do you think it's inconceivable? I don't. I've seen stranger things happen. I remember what Iraq did to us - gave us 12 months to get out the entire Jewish community or they would be imprisoned - we took 150,000 people in 12 months. And what was the year - the year was 1950 when you couldn't get a meal like this - you couldn't get a white tablecloth - the food in this country was rationed - you got two eggs a week and frozen fish from Norway - there wasn't a piece of beef in this country. There was honest-to-God hunger in this country and there were a quarter of a million people living in tents outside of the city of Haifa, because they all came in boats - there were no planes twenty years ago bringing people in. In spite of that we took 150,000 Iraqi Jews in one calendar year. So don't think it's cockeyed. The only difference is that if anything like that every occurred, we would have to come to you and we would have to say that you have got to raise in the United States a billion dollars, two billion dollars - what town do you come from - St. Louis - raising about 4-5 million dollars. We'd say to you - you've got to do 25 - maybe 50. Go to the bank. Maybe borrow it - hock everybody. I mean that would be no joke.

Now that's something you have got to keep in the back of your head. The normal saving of the lives of Jews - slow, steady, constant - we see ten years work - we can break it - we can get it done - that half million. And that'll finish it. Except the Russian thing - the Russian thing - who knows.

And by the way, there's one more footnote I should add when I say that will finish it. That will finish it barring something unexpected that occurs - like we had an unexpected little flurry this past year in Chile - we didn't expect it. Mr. Allende gets elected President of Chile in a perfectly democratic election - there wasn't any coup d'etat, there wasn't any military takeover - there was a democratic election. The guy's a dedicated Marxist - the guy believes in nationalizing all business - fine - five thousand Jews went up the flue like this - in a minute. They knew they couldn't remain there - they knew they couldn't live there. We had five thousand Chilean Jews on our hands in the most unexpected way during 1971. So when I say that we'll finish with all Jews in trouble and we think there are half a million and we think we can do it systematically over ten years, I'm barring accidents, and I think there's going to be one big accident in Argentina - it's on the way fast, because you have

got yourself a kind of right-wing fascist military regime there and the only reaction to it is going to be some leftist-Marxist General is going to come in and take over and then we got 450,000 Jews in Argentina who are going to be in real trouble.

Question - There are many German Jews in Argentina who have seen the writing on the wall before - why don't they leave?

Answer - They will. There are always those who wait too late. You want to condemn them or penalize them - all you can do really is pity them for being blind. I'll give you a very good, clear example. I'll never forget till I die a letter that I got from a Jew - when the war was over and the people were out of the concentration camps but they were in D.P. camps, trying to get to Palestine, and the British were blockading and one Jew writes a passionate letter to me in which he says - you must help me get out of here, I can't stay in the D.P. camp anymore - I can't stand three years on German soil anymore. The blood of my family is running all over this earth - it kills me - my dreams are horrible every night - you must help me to get to my land of my people, Eretz Yisrael - a passionate, pleading letter. I mean your heart goes out to this guy. And then in the last paragraph he says - but I have a few things that I have to do here yet, I'm selling some things on the black market and so on, so would you please save me a place on the last ship.

I'll never forget it - I call that the last-ship Jew - and there always will be last-ship people who never get out on the last ship. They get caught. But that's their own fault. You can't worry about them - they should know better. I would like to be on the first ship - not the last ship.

Question - All these Jews worth saving - where is Israel going to put all these Jews?

Answer - We've got 2½ million people here now - Jews - and another half million non-Jews - we have got three million citizens in this country. And the Arab citizens and the Christian citizens are equal, by the way, and they have all the same rights as Jews and they deserve all the same territory and living-space. So we call it three million people. On the basis of present-known resources within the borders of what we call the green line, which is the old Israel before 1967 - because I said we're willing to give back all the territory - in the old pre-1967 Israel we can handle six-seven million people pretty easily. We can handle 8-9 in a crunch, depending on two things, water and electric power - you need those two things : to industrialize you need power, and to agriculturalize you need water.

It so happens that water and power in the future will both come from the same source - nuclear energy. We are going to have to develop nuclear energy for power and nuclear energy for desalinating salt water, because we haven't got enough sweet water. We're using 95% of the water resources now - we are draining the lake down to a dangerous degree - we are using all underground wells that we know. We are draining the underground water table very dangerously in years of drought, which we know we shouldn't do - but we're eating up the future during the present, gambling on the fact that in - I would say before the end of this century - so let's say the next two or three decades - we will be in a period of full nuclear power development. Once you've got that, you can handle 6,7, 8 million people, because the financial support will grow - the GNP

will grow - the country's economy will live on a forced boom and we can put up the cities, we can build the roads, we can put up the housing, we can expand the plants and we can handle the people.

Question - Is this considering Israelis now whose families are growing and expanding?

Answer - We figure the population growth as follows. Right now on a level of $2\frac{1}{2}$ million Jews we're running, what we call internal immigration - net gain of births over deaths, 45,000 per year. And external immigration - let's call it 50,000 a year. Let's call it 100,000 from both sources. Israelis living here, growing, developing families, and Jews coming from the outside. You have got a plus of 100,000 per year. In ten years you have got a million - in 20 years you have got two million. That's the slow, steady rate. The internal immigration will increase slightly as your population increases - so it'll be 110,000 a year, 120,000 a year - easy, nothing to worry about.

Question - You shocked the hell out of me when you said we would give all the territories back - why give them one foot back? Is this your personal policy or the Government's?

Answer - I can't speak for the Government of Israel - it's my personal opinion. If you want to ask the Prime-Minister her personal opinion, she'll give it to you, but that's all she can give you, because the fact of the matter is that the Government's taken no position. The issue's never been settled in the Cabinet.

Now as far as the business of not giving back any territories, I think you heard me saying before that if they're not willing to give what we want, and what we want is recognition with agreed borders, with a signed peace treaty, then we're prepared to sit on the Canal for the next 20 years. We're not just handing back the territories for nothing - no. I'd like to give you one little lesson. In 1956 the Prime Minister of this country was Mr. Ben Gurion, the tiger. The Sinai Campaign started on the 29th day of October - on the 3rd day of November we were at the Canal. Do you know when we pulled back from the Canal by Mr. Ben Gurion's agreement - the 7th November - four days later he caved in - Ben Gurion himself. Now he says it's because Eisenhower made him a promise and later on Eisenhower double-crossed him on the promise, or maybe it wasn't Eisenhower, it was Dulles - it's all very murky in the period of history by now. Well, we're not four days later - we're $4\frac{1}{2}$ years later, and we haven't pulled back one inch. We learned that lesson, didn't we.

Question - How can we trust the Arabs to keep their word if they should decide to make peace?

Answer - Well, that's the second point. When we get the word, we'll pull back, and if they break their word, we'll fight again. But there is such a thing as morality and legality, which we will stick on even if nobody else does, because that's the Jewish position. Now you can say to me - let's get as vulgar as the rest of the world, and I say to you - no, there is something about the morality of Jews - and I'm not trying to win a popularity contest by answering you that way, I'm trying to say to you - our greatest armor is not only the airplanes, but it's our word - and we'll stay clean in the face of the whole world. Now you can answer me that if they

bomb us in a double-crossing attack six months after they sign a treaty with us and Tel Aviv is in smoking ruins, then we kept our word but we lost 20,000 dead. And I say if that's the way the world is going to act, we will emerge from that catastrophe also with higher moral status than when we went into it. What keeps us alive - we're a tiny people - what keeps us alive is not only our physical strength - without it we're dead - without it we go to gas chambers - never again will we be without physical strength to defend ourselves - but if you defend yourself only with physical strength then you are just as much of a beast as they are and that isn't enough.

So our position is right, we think, from a moral point of view. Defend ourselves physically - be stubborn - sit there 20 years if they won't sign a treaty. But when they do, we keep our word - we act like civilized people and we worry if they double-cross us and if they become uncivilized and they attack us again, we'll repel that attack and in the eyes of our own children we will look with cleaner hands, and in the eyes of the world, we'll look with cleaner hands. Not that I have any concern about the world ever helping me - let's get that straight too. We will get no help from anyone else, and we believe that. If the Russians were ever crazy enough to want to back up the Egyptians to the extent of landing 50,000 Russian soldiers on the beach at Ashdod, we would have to fight them alone. Anybody who says - oh but America will come and help you then - nonsense. And if the Russians wanted to land 250,000 men on the beach at Ashdod, we'd lose. And that's all there is to it. Nobody will come to help.

We Jews - and by that I'm talking about all the Jews in the world and I want you to understand this concept - I'm not just talking about the Jews in Israel - all the Jews in the world stand alone. The Jews in Israel stand alone only with the Jews in the outside as an ally. If you are an ally, great - if you are not an ally, then the people here are alone. And they know it. We know it. We're very realistic. You know why we succeeded up to now in these 23 years - dangerous, perilous years - because we've never kidded ourselves about anything. We're alone.

You know there are 136 nations in the United Nations. There's no country that goes to the United Nations - not a country on the face of this earth of 136 countries - that doesn't go there and find some other country which is similar to it - Poland goes to the United Nations, there's a next-door communist country - Hungary - they have the same ideology - they have something in common - they have the same language. A black country goes to the United Nations - they have 20 other black countries - they have the same color. Do you want to know something? There's only one country on the face of this earth whose language is Hebrew. Israel goes to the United Nations - there isn't another country there that speaks her language. Do you want to know something? There's only one country on the face of this earth whose religion is Jewish - Israel goes to the United Nations - there's no other country there. Spain goes, there's Argentina there. There are Catholic countries - there are Protestant countries - they have things in common with each other. Israel is totally, thoroughly and completely alone - have you ever thought of it that way? I mean there are only Jews who care about this.

Now if you Jews in the outside world are tight in - solid - like a seamless cloth - but if you become Americans or Frenchmen or Canadians or South Africans and stop

being and thinking and feeling as Jews, then the Jews here in Israel don't have any ally outside. Now that's not paranoid - that's just realistic.

Now, we have got a long-term war of survival on our hands, we have a long-term war of rescuing Jews on our hands, and we have also got a third war on our hands, and that's a war which I am told you began to get a look at - the war against poverty which we are trying to fight in this country.

It was explained to me that some of you people were at Beit Shean and that you saw the living conditions up there, which are terribly overcrowded and bad, and people living in very poverty-stricken areas, and that you saw a community center being built and you wondered why the hell a beautiful community center was being built when people were living in such poverty - did some people question it that way?

Let me try to explain to you this business of the war on poverty in this country. The building of that community center is part of the fight against poverty - strange as it may seem to you. And let me try to explain how and why. I said we have 2½ million Jews living here. We have about 250,000 of them, or 10% of the population, living below the poverty line. The poverty-line we define as 25 dollars per month per person - so if you have a family of four people and the family of four is trying to live on 100 dollars a month, or 420 Pounds - they can't make it - they just can't make it. They can't buy their clothes - they can't buy their food - they can't take care of books for the kids in school - they can't pay tuition for any kids who want to go to high school, because high school isn't free here - they can't do anything. They're hungry. They certainly can't improve their housing conditions. Now it just so happens that of those quarter of a million people - that's like about 60,000 families - maybe 55,000 families - they also are living in overcrowded housing - the same people. In other words, it's a multi-problem family. It's like a family living in a ghetto - it's got all the problems. It's got inadequate income - it's got bad housing with rats running through it - it's got kids who are dropouts from school - it's got poverty built in for the second generation, because nobody learns a trade and they can't life themselves up by their bootstraps, and in America that becomes the welfare load in any great, big metropolitan city. Let me just make a point in passing - thank God it's only 10% here - 90% of the people have made it, which is really the beautiful part of it when you stop to think of it - immigrants who have come from all over the world - what did they have - what skills, what knowledge? They were illiterate - they didn't have the language, and still they made their way. So if we only got 10% on the bottom, thank God, that's not too much.

But on the other hand, it aggravates us and we don't want to see one Jew in need. Now these 55,000 families have another characteristic in common - low wage income, overcrowded housing - by the way the definition for that in this country is 3 persons per room. Now flats in this country are called by the number of rooms eliminating the kitchen and the toilet. So when you say you got a two-roomed apartment - it's two rooms plus a kitchen, plus either an inside toilet or an outside toilet. Now you take the two main rooms and do what you want with them - you can make one living room and one bedroom and you can put ten kids in the bedroom - or you can make one room in which you don't put any beds at all, but you just put mattresses on the floor which is what it is most commonly where I've seen it, over and over again. Because when you talk about the two rooms we're not talking about rooms of this size - what's the size of your living room, do you know? People live in palaces - you don't even know what space you got - is your living room 20 x 20 - 400 sq. ft.?

Some of these people's two rooms can be 350 - 400 sq. ft. altogether. So the size of your living room is the size of the two rooms plus the kitchen plus the toilet - that's all in the size of your living room - and if we've got six persons living in that space or more - that's the line that's called overcrowded. Below that, they're not overcrowded. Okay. Now we've got 55,000 families living at that income level - 450 pounds a month, overcrowded housing, dropouts in school. Unfortunately, almost all of them are North African Jews - almost all of them - Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, some Iraqis, and you know what they claim - they claim that they are being discriminated against and the problem of poverty in this country is beginning to be connected with the outcry of discrimination. I don't know if you heard anything in the States of an organization that was formed called the Black Panthers. What were the Black Panthers? A bunch of Moroccan kids who took that name in order to get newspaper publicity for themselves here in Israel to draw the attention of the Government to the fact that they're living in such horrible, poverty-stricken conditions.

By the way, let me tell you that when they were told that the word Black Panthers in the United States was the name of radical blacks who are anti-Semitic, which they are, and anti-Israel, which they are - they all take Arabic names and they take the Arab side, the Black Panthers - when those kids here learned that, they immediately said - well, they didn't mean that and in order to avoid any confusion in the public's mind that they were in any way anti-Israel, they changed their name and they called themselves Black Panthers - parenthesis - blue and white - close parenthesis. So it's kind of cute - but it really expresses the whole problem. What they're trying to say is - for Christ's sake, do something about us - in a big outcry, and the only way they know how to say it is to condemn the Government for discriminating against them - that when Russian Jews come in now off the airplanes, they will get 700 sq. ft., 800 sq. ft. Of course, what they fail to say is that a Moroccan coming in today also gets the same 800 sq. ft., because the standards of housing today are up and immigrants today are getting 700-800 sq. ft. I live with my wife and two kids in 850 sq. ft. That's the size of our apartment in Jerusalem. That's a big apartment, and when a new immigrant comes in and gets 700 or 800 sq. ft. and he's a Moroccan or he's a Russian, it doesn't matter what he is - there's no discrimination. But these kids are desperate and what they're yelling about is for somebody to do something to relieve their condition.

Now where does the community center come in? It relieves the condition only to this extent - it doesn't improve their housing, but it does give a place for recreation for their kids to come to - it does give a place for the kids to come and do homework. If you have got six people living in one room, where can the kid sit in the corner and do his homework without the other kids piling up on top of him and screaming and yelling. The kid is bound to lose interest in school - bound to quit - so the community center becomes a place where the kids can go to do their homework. Where there can be a little community library put in - where there can be recreational facilities - where the father can get out of the house - because where's he going to go. He doesn't have a country club - he doesn't have a city club - he doesn't have a corner bar - where does he go? He runs out of the house and walks around the streets.

A community center is a tool in the fight against anti-social living conditions for people. Now it's not the cure to their living conditions - it's a palliative - that's all it is - but an important one. And it makes the problem of education more viable, because we can fight the dropout thing if we have more community centers.