



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

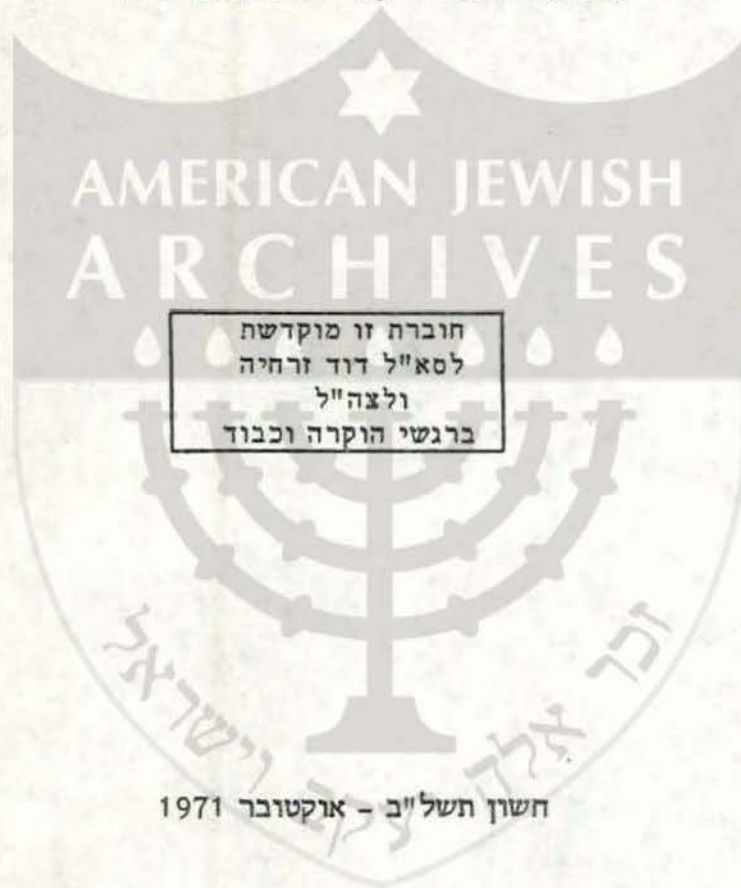
Folder
3

Young Leadership Missions. 1971.

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

משרד הסעד
המרכז למניעת עבריינות

הנסיון הנועז
ספורה של חבורה עבריינית במחנה צה"ל



חשוון תשל"ב - אוקטובר 1971

משרד הסעד

זה ספורו של נסיון. ככל נסיון אחר עקבו אחריו רבים, חלקם מלאי חששות ופקפוקים וחלקם מלאי התפעלות ותקווה.

זה גם ספורה של חבורה עבריינית, של מחנה צה"ל ושל קומץ אנשים שקשרו יחדיו קשר.

זה ספורה של מסגרת.

אנשים רבים, נציגי מוסדות שונים אשר בעיה הנוער במצוקה נוגעת מאד ללבם, ראו בניסוי זה אחגר גדול וחשוב, התמסרו לו והבטיחו ע"י כך שהנסיון ייהפך להצלחה. צה"ל, משרד העבודה, משרד הסעד והמח' לעבודה קהילתית בעיריית באר-שבע עמדו מאחורי הניסוי מחילתו ועד סופו. לכל אחד מהם חלק מרכזי בהצלחת הפעולה.

מר עמירס כלפון עובד חבורות רחוב בבאר-שבע ליווה את הפעולה מיום הקמתה. הוא היה האחראי על מיון הנערים שיתקבלו, ואחדים מהם אף נמנו על החבורה שבטיפולו. הוא היה פעיל בכל שלבי הניסוי והתמודד יום עם הבעיות שנוצרו. פעילותו והשפעתו היו מורגשות בכל עת.

מר כלפון אף חיבר את הדו"ח הזה. חודתנו נתונה לו על מטירתו במסך כל הניסוי ועל העבודה המרובה שהטקיע בהכנת מסמך זה.

החבורה מוקדשת לסגן-אלוף זרחיה דוד מפקד המחנה. סגן-אלוף זרחיה היה תומך נלהב בתכנית מראשיתה, ליווה אותה, סייע בידה והבטיח שהצפיות שחלו בנערים וברעיון אכן התגשמה.

המרכז למניעת עבריינות



ה ת ו כ ן

- 
1. סיפורה של חבורה עבריינית במונה צה"ל - עמוד 3
דו"ח מסכם - עמירם כלפון
2. דברי מטפלים אחרים - עמוד 17
3. דברי הנערים - עמוד 21

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

ספורה של חבורה עבריינית במחנה צה"ל

1. ראשית דבר

- א. בבואנו לגשת למלאכה, עוד בטרם הוחל באיסוף הנערים, טענו השוללים שנערים מסוג זה בו אנו עוסקים, אינם רציניים דיים, אין אמוץ רב בדברתם, לא יסכימו לתנאי השכר הנמוך, לא יחזיקו מעמד ולא יתמידו וחבל על כל המאמץ. לו היו נערים אלה מעוניינים לעבוד, המשיכו השוללים לטעון, כי אז היו פונים ללשכת העבודה ולא היתה חסרה להם העסקה שתחמים לרמחם הנמוכה, הם אינם מעוניינים לעבוד ומעדיפים ללכת בדרכם הנלווה ולכן אין הרבה מה לעשות אדם.
- אי אפשר לדרוש מכל אחד לראות את הדברים כמו שמטפל רואה אותם, להגות באותה דרך, להאחז בכל זיק של תקווה ולנצל כל דרך אפשרית כדי להחזיר נערים אלה לדרך הישר. עם זאת, היתה הפתעה נעימה לשמוע שלא כולם היו בדעה אחת עם השוללים ומקצועם אינו דוקא בחחום הטיפול הסוציאלי. האחרונים, היו בדעה נחושה להגשים את הנסיון ולהעמידו במחן המעשה. תרומתם וגבוים באותם רגעי החלטה גורליים, היה גדול לאין שעור.
- לא מרוע לב חלילה הובעו הפקפוקים. היו גם מטפלים שלא האמינו בדרך זו והסכימו עם טעוני השלילה. היתה דרושה העזה, אותה העזה הדרושה לו לאדם אחראי לשאת כשלון אפשרי ומבטים רבי משמעות לגבי החלטות אחרות בעתיד.
- זו התשורה שנתנה אז למפקקים והיא שרירה וקיימת גם היום להבהרת עמדות.
- אני מציין את הנסיון כבועז, מפני שמדובר, מצד אחד ב"עבריינין" שאינו מוכן (אולי לא מסוגל) לקבל על עצמו מרות, בז' למוטכמות ודוחה כל נסיון למסד אותו. מצד שני, צה"ל בטכונתו המחייבת שמירה על ערכים ומשמעת והתנהגות כמקובל בכל צבא אחר.
- ב. אומרים אנחנו, שנער עבריינין הוא נער אשר בין יתר התופעות הפועלות עליו ובחוכו, נמצא גם הגירוי הסופי הדוחף אותו לתגובה מהירה, חריפה והרסנית. גרוי זה דוחקו לקרן זויה ולפחד מקיום כל קשר עם אנשים זרים מחשש הסתבכות. הזר אינו מביין תגובה זו. מכינה זאת קבוצתו, מטפלו האישי ואלה שהצליחו לחדור לקליפתו. קשה להסביר דברים מעין אלה לכל מעביד אליו מחכוננת לשכת העבודה לשלחו מחדש.

עד מהרה נוצר הקונפליקט, המטבר המניעו לעזוב מבלי לבחון את הוצאות מעשיו. אותו נער, לאחר מספר כטלונות כאלה, אם בכלל הוא מעז לחזור עליהם ואם לשכת העבודה נענית לדרישתו לערוך נסיונות חדשים, רואה את עצמו ככטלון חברתי או מתעטף בתירוץ, שהנה כביכול הכל מתנכלים לו, והוא מגיב בדרכים הידועות לו כדי להתנקט או כדי לספק את צרכיו.

מובנת המניעה להסביר לכל מעביד את מצבו המיוחד של הנער. א) רוצים אנחנו שהמעביד יראה בו נער "נורמלי" המסוגל לתפקד ככל האחרים. ב) רוצים אנחנו שהנער ינהג במעבידו ובחבריו לעבודה בהגינות ויקשור אתם קשר. ג) חוששים אנו מפני דעה מאחדת ומחסידה העלולה לפגוע באמון החשוב כל-כך ביחסי עבודה, לשני הצדדים.

בשחוננו של הנער העבריין, כבודד, מאבד הרבה מיכולתו ומחיוניותו. בשחוננו מצוי לרוב בקבוצתו, בחבורה הטבעית עמה הוא פועל, מקבל או פוסק החלטות. רבים אינם מבינים איך אחר שיחה עם נער כזה וגילוי הבנה מצדו, ממשיך הוא לפעול כמקודם בלא להתחשב בהבטחות שהטמיע. טעות זו נעוצה בכך שאין רבים מוכנים להודות, שהטפעת הקבוצה על הפרט בתוכה, גדולה יותר מזו של העומד בחוץ, על אותו פרט. לכן הסכולם של הרבים קיים.

ג. באשר לכסף, אחת דברים אמורים. הם אמנם אוהבים להשתכר יותר (מי אינו אוהב?) עם זאת, אינם מסוגלים לסמור על מקומם אצל קבלנים שמהם השתכרו - 30 ל"י ליום ויותר. טוב חוזרת אותה חופעה בה הפרט מגלה חוסר עניין ולפעמים חוסר בשחון, מחוץ לקבוצתו. רגישותו למתן הוראות, לפעמים הוראות עבודה פשוטות, נובעם מאותו מתח המלווה אותו והמסריד את מנוחתו, כל אימת שהוא מצוי הרחק מטיבתו ומקבוצתו.

ד. לכן היתה דרושה מסגרת שתקלוט נערים אלה במרוכז. נערים יוצאי טביבה אחת, בעלי רקע דומה. מסגרת עם השגחה ומעקב טפולי וחנוכי מתאים כדי לשחרר את הנערים מכל לחץ מבחוץ העלול להפריע להקלטותם בעבודה ולהתמדתם בה.

2. המסגרת - קבוצת עבודה בטדנא בוד"ל

מה היתה המסגרת? מטרתה? מי היה זכאי להכנס אליה? מה היו תנאיה? כמה נקלטו בה?

אכן-טושן במילוננו, מגדיר מסגרת כ"מקום מבוצר ומסוגר". אולם המסגרת בה אנו עוסקים, לא התכוונה להיות כזו. המטרה היתה והינה, קליטת נוער טפולי ועבריין שלא נקלט בטום מסגרת אחרת ואשר רק בדרך זו ניתן להעניק לו הרגלי עבודה ולמוד. בקטגוריה זו אנו כוללים גם נערים אשר מעמדם בחבורה איתן וכוח השפעתם ההרסני על אחרים, דורט טפול בהם, על אף שלא נפתח להם כל

חיק במטרה.

חבורת רחוב, אינה כוללת בהכרח ס"ך של עבריינים. על פי רוב תמצא בה מנהיגים ומונהגים. לפעמים המנהיגים, סמנהיגותם נקנתה בכוח פיזי, לא מבצעים עבירות, אלא שולחים אחרים לעשות את מלאכתם. פעמים, טפול במנהיג כזה מטפיע השפעה מכרעת גם על אלה הנמצאים תחת השפעתו.

ניתן לומר איפוא, שהמסגרת הוקמה מתוך דאגה למצבו של הנער השולי והעברייך אשר אינו מוצא את מקומו במסגרות עבודה נורמטיביות. צורך טיקומו של נער כזה, החסר כל הרגלי עבודה והנתון לתנודות ולמטברים תכופים, דורש הכנה מוקדמת וממושכת בהקניית הרגלים ויחסי עבודה תקינים. לכן היחה מחשבה, שאט תנתן להם ההזדמנות ללמוד יחד, בחוג פנימי נטול כל לחץ, הם יתרכזו בלימוד המקצוע.

הוצע איפוא לארגן קבוצה של נערים טאינט לומדים ואינט עובדים ולרובם תיקים במטרה, ולהקים למענם קבוצת עבודה במחנה טדנא בצה"ל. מדובר היה רק בנערים טאינט מסוגלים בכוחות עצמם לפעול במסגרת של עבודה.

- א. גיל המסתתפים נקבע 15½ - 17 שנה;
- ב. המקצועות שהוצעו להם היו: צביעה, פנצ'ריה, הטמליה, טנועיה, רתכיה, מכונאות זחלמים ורכב קל, תיקון רדיאטורים ותקון ציוד מכני;
- ג. השכר היומי נקבע לחמש לירות ליום. חמישה ימי עבודה ויום למודים אחד;
- ד. תקופת הקורס: 9 חודשים, החל בנובמבר 1970;
- ה. מספר המסתתפים ההתחלתי: טנים עשר נערים;
- ו. מדרין חברתי-חנוכי צמוד לקבוצה במסך כל התקופה;
- ז. הנערים יקבלו הסעה מהעיר למחנה ובחזרה, ארוחות, בגדי עבודה ובידור;
- ח. לכל נער יוצמד בעל מקצוע שילמד אותו את העבודה.

3. קשיי לידה

עד שהמסגרת קמה, היה צורך להתגבר על מכסולים רבים אשר מצאו את פתונם רק מאוחר יותר. החעוררה בעיית פנקס העבודה, איטורה של יועצת התעסוקה, רשומט כחניכים טעה שלא התאימו לכל סוג והגדרה. ממונט של הדברים אשר מסרד העבודה לא יכול היה למצוא להם תקציב, ועוד דברים טינסומו מסקל למשיכת הנערים. לכל זה נמצאה תטובה ע"י מנהל המחוז במסרד העבודה, מר אלי נבון, שאמר: "יתחילו קודם הנערים לעבוד, אטור להטאירם בחוץ, ותטובה לכל נמצא אט נטבור קצת את הראט. הפחרון ימצא בתהליך ההתפתחות". ואמנט כך היה.

כדי להבהיר במעט את המכסולים שהזכרתי לעיל, חטוב טאתעכב עליהם.

נער החסר כל הרגלי עבודה וכל מוטיבציה לסדר חברתי מקובל, חוזר בו בדרך כלל מהחלטתו לעבוד שעה שמטילים עליו הכנת פנקס עבודה הדורש תהליך של שבועיים ימים בעטייה וציפיה. אין להקל ראש בדישה פעוטה זו כשמדובר בנער המחפש סיפוק מיידי לצרכיו, והחלטותיו מוטפעות מהלך רוח מסתנה מאד.

העבודה עם נוער עבריין מלמדת, כי יש לנצל כל פירצה חיובית באישיותו, כל הלך רוח הצופן בחובו אפשרות הדברות והשתפכות כדי להאיר את עניו ולהטעינו בערכים אחרים המסוגלים להוות אלטרנטיבה להתנהגות ולמחשבה שהוא דוחה באותו רגע משבר. לכן, הצפייה הממושכת שדורשת עשיית פנקס העבודה, היא לרוב גורלית עד כדי כך שנער שלא מורגל למשמעת עצמית ולהתחייבות, יזניח וימשיך בשיטוטו. לדידו הוא מכסול בזיכרו להטעה עבודה. במקרה דגן, צריך להקל מאלף אם רוצים להגיע לתיו וחלק מתפקידנו היה להבהיר נקודות אלה.

הוא הזין לגבי יעוץ תעסוקתי. אמנם, חלק מהנערים נראו כמתאימים, בעיני היועצת, להפנייה למקומות עבודה אחרים, אך היא הביאה בחשבון את כל אותם הדברים שמניחי לעיל, על חוסר אוננו של הפרט המסויים במערכת הזרה והלא מוכרת. יועצת התעסוקה ראתה בנו לפעמים האחראים להפרעת התפתחות עתידו של הנער המסוגל, לפי דעתה, ליותר מאשר מטגרת של עבודה לא מוגדרת. הייתי מוכן להסכים עמה, לו הצליחה לשכנע את אותו נער לעסוק במה שמתאים לו. אך לנוג נער שקודם לא ראה את הלכה מימיו ולהאשימו בהפרעה, זה יומרנו.

לקשה מכל הגענו. לנערים. לתמיהה שהעלינו בפניהם בהצעתנו, לשתיקה הארוכה רבת השתיה ולצחוק. הם חשבו שהנה אנחנו מושכים אותם בערמה לצה"ל כדי לגייסם בכוח. הם לעגו לנו. "על מי אתם באים לעבוד", אמרו הם, "מי רוצה לעבוד? בטביל זמנו ל"י אנו נחלכלך?". ועוד השמיעו כהנה וכהנה וכמו הגלים בים, עבר גל הלעג והופיע גל הרצינות. אותו גל אשר כל מטפל טואף אליו כדי לנתח את הצעותיו בפני המטופל בצורה הגיונית, משוללת כל לחץ. הסברנו להם בערך כך: מבחינה כספית, את נחשב דמי שתי ארוחות ליום, הסעה עד לבית וממנו, ביגוד, בידור וחמש לירות, אפשר בהחלט להגיע לטכום המקבל צעיר ממוצע אצל קבלן פרטי. והחשוב מכל הדגשנו את לימוד המקצוע והעובדה שהם יהיו יחד, מקובצים ומאורגנים במקום מכובד ומכבד כצה"ל, אשר יעניק להם את מדיו. שוחחנו אתם על הנקודות האהובות עליהם, כגון: מפגשי ספורט עם חיילים, טיולים ועוד. הם בקשו הבהרות נוספות, פרטים מדוייקים, היה להם קשה להתעלם מחסדות שהתרוצצו במוחם וטאלו את עצמם ללא ספק "מה פתאם דואגים לנו? מציעים סידור שלא נודע דוגמתו עד כה? למה דוקא אנחנו?" שאלות לגיטימיות בהחלט, ולולא הכירו אותנו היטב ובטחו בנו, לא היו נגשים כלל גם לא מתוך סקרנות.

היה חשוב רק שהראשונים יעזו כדי שהאחרים יבואו בעקבותיהם. ואמנם פנינו לראשי קבוצות תחילה. הרעיון קסם להם ודחה אותם כאחד, ועם זאת באו. בואם סמל את רצונם להתקרב לחברה, חברה אשר לפי תפיסתם, אינה מגלה הבנה מספקת למצבם.

מדריך הועמד לרשותם. הוא לקח אותם במרוכז לעבור את תהליך הוצאת הפנקס ושמר אתם על קשר במקומות מגוריהם. (לאחרונה התפסרה הלשכה והסכימה לכך שנער יבצע את תהליך הוצאת הפנקס תוך כדי עבודה). זו הייתה התקופה שחששנו מפניה. תקופה להפכפכים לחזור בהם. דאגנו למלא אותה פעילות ועניין ויצירת קשר עם המדריך. הוקמה ועדת קבלה כדי לתת רשמיות למבצע, והייתה התרגשות גדולה. כולם התקבלו והובאו אחר אחר כבוד למחנה הצבאי.

4. מפקד המחנה

קשה לתאר היוט את המסך המאבק לולא אסירתו של מפקד המחנה ט"ל זחריה דוד, דמות אבהית, מהנכח ונערצת זו, מצאה לה מהר לטון משותפת עם הנערים. "דעו לכם", אמר להם בשיחת הפתיחה, "שגם אני גדלתי כמובט בבית יחד עם תשעה אחים ולא תמיד היה לנו מה שרצינו". הנערים התרגשו מאד מפגישה זו ולא שכחו לציין אותה תמיד לעצמם בטעם מסובר. הוא הפך מהר להיות גבורם, דמות להזדהות והם הופתעו לשמוע אותו זובר בלשונם, בסלנג המקובל עליהם. כשחולקו למחלקות, מצאו שגם הם, דווקא מגלים הבנה רבה כמעקרה, במיוחד המ"פ שספן שהנהיג פגישה משותפת אחת לשבוע אתם, כדי לשמוע על בעיותיהם. כך התקשרו למחנה מהר מאד והשמועה פטטה.

5. תפקיד המדריך

הוחלט להצמיד מדריך חברתי חינוכי לקבוצה לכל תקופת הקורס, ולבנות סוג חדש של פעילות למדריך. ההנחיות היו: איסוף הנערים מהבית ופזורים בתום יוט העבודה. ניהול יומן נוכחות, עידוד בעבודה וקשר עם האחראים במקום ולשמם כתובת לכל בעייה כדי למנוע קונפליקטים עם אנשי הצבא, ייצוג הנערים והבאת הולונותיהם בפני הממונים, להיות נוכח בשעות הארוחות ולהרגיל למשמעת, נהול שיחות וקיום מפגשים חברתיים וסטורטיביים, למלא צרכיהם כמקטר, ללוותם בכל הדרוש ולבקרם בבתיים כדי לשתף גם את הוריהם, להופיע במטפסים ולהגיט המלצות למטפלים, לקיים קשר עם השירותים האחריים שהנער נזקק להם כדי להקל עליו את הפנייה, לנסות להחזיר נערים שנפלטו, להיות נוכח ביטיבות וליטול חלק בכל תכנון.

6. חלוקת תפקידים

הנערים חולקו למחלקות שונות: מטגרות, צבעות, השמל, מכונאות ועוד. בחודש הראשון במחנה לא היתה יציבות במקומות העבודה ואופסרה ניידות. היות והנערים לא ידעו בדיוק מה הם רוצים, ניתח להם לעבוד ימים אחדים לפי רצונם בכל מקום עד שנקשרו למקום שמשך אותם יותר מכל. סדר יומם היה בערך כך: המטאית אספה אחת בשבוע וחצי בוקר ממקומות ריכוז קבועים ונוחים. נער שלא הופיע לריכוז, מיהרו חבריו להעירו לעבודה. במחנה החליפו בגדים במבנה שהועמד לרשותם ופנו למחלקות. בחשף ארוחת בוקר. בעשר ושלושים הפסקת שק"ם. באחת, ארוחת צהריים ובשבע בערב, חזרה הכיתה כשהמדריך מלווה אותם כמו בבוקר.

7. ה ל מ ו ד י ם

מחוך ששת ימי המעשה, הוחלט להפריש יום לימודים בו ילמדו הנערים מעט מיסודות ההשכלה ומיסודות המקצועות הנלמדים. הלימודים התקיימו בביה ספר חניכים. היה קשה לקיים כחה אחידה בגלל הרמות הטונות. כבר בתחילה נפלטו שלושה, כמעט אנאלפבתיים, אשר לא ראו עצמם מחאימים לספטל הלימודים. כל השתדלותנו להחזירם ללימודים עלחה בתוהו. "איך לנו סבלנוה", הרצו דעתם. יתר הנערים, חלקם הופיעו מחוך כוונה ללמוד וחלקם כדי להפגין גבריותם בפני בנות המספרה. לא היה כל רע בקשרים אלה, אם נבי קיימת חמיד סכנה בצידם. מצד אחד אנו שואפים להוציאם מהסתגרות קבוצתית, מצד שני אנו ערים לסכנה שהטפתם עלולה להצמיח מקשרים אלה. הלימודים התקדמו יפה ולחלק מהם היתה החקדמות ראויה לציון. בחקופת החופש הגדול, הובאה מורה היילת למחנה ולמדה בקבוצות רמה קטנות. שיטה זו הצליחה להקיף את כולם אך חטרה חכנית מנחה לגבי כל קבוצה וכך פריצת קשרים עם עולם החוף מסגרת, שבה אנחנו מאד מעוניינים.

8. מסגרת המטגרת

המטגרת עצמה בוכסה על גישה גמישה כדי להקל על קליטתם של הנערים ולא ליצור מסבר מעבר מחיי בטלה ושיטוט לחיי עבודה ומשמעת. נער שהופיע בתחילה בשעה מאוחרת, התקבל ונרטם לו היום. נער שבקט לצאת באמצע היום לטדורים פרטיים, ניתח לו.

אמנם קיימת זכנה בגמישות מסוג זה והיינו ערים לה. טכנה אחת, שתפוט הרשלנות בקרב הנערים והם יתרגלו לאחר או להשתמש באמצע העבודה באמתלות שונות. ידועה האמתלה הממלכתית על הסבתא שמתה בפעם השמינית כדי לזכות ביום חופש. וכמו כן שבגרות לא נקנית בין יום, כך נוכחו לבד בגיחוך המצאותיהם ואמתלותיהם. לא פעם העיר אחד לרעהו שמעטה אילי הוא לבלף כל הזמן, שעה שהאמת **כפר** ידועה למדריך. הם התבגרו לאט לאט ולא דחקנו בהם. ליווינו אותם, הדרכנו אותם, פקחנו עיניהם, אך לא דחקנו בהם. רצינו שההבנה תבוא מתוך יגיעה עצמית ומתוכם הם. ענין האיחורים בא על תיקונו בתוך הקבוצה בתי צורות. הסברתי ומעטית. הסברנו שאם אחד יראה מחברו ויעשה כדוגמתו המסגרת עלולה להחפרק מאליה. כמו כן הבטחנו שהמדריך יבצע במידת האפשר או יפעל לדהיית השליחות שגרמה לנער לאחר או להפסיד יום עבודה. הנערים גם לא ראו בעין יפה איך חלק מחבריהם מתפרפרים טעה שהם עצמם עובדים והזהירו אותם.

הסכנה השניה של השתמטות באמצע העבודה, טומנת בחובה חוסר של ביצוע עבירות בחוץ, שעה שהם נחשבים כמצויים בפניו המחנה. אל נזלזל בעברייך, הוא אמנם תוצר של נחטלות וקיפוח, אבל הוא מאד פקח באשר למציאת דרכים להערים על אנשי החוק. ואמנם מקרה כזה קרה פעם אחת, בטעות היום, בטלוחה נערים ביצעו פריצה וחזרו מהר לעבודתם. המטרה במקרה זה לא התקטחה באיחורם כי היו עדים שראו "הייליט" פורצים. הדרך למסגרת ולנערים לא היחה אלא עניין של מחטבה קלה בלבד. מקרה זה לא הרתיע אותנו כמובן להשאר גמישים וערים לפניות מצד הנער, כי מאד האמנו בטינוי שיבוא ואמנם טיפין טיפין הוא בא.

9. ש נ ו י י ט

היו שני סוגי שנויים, האחד מהיר והשני איטי וממושך. הראשון קטור בהתאקלמותם בעבודה והשני בהתנהגותם ובהלך רוחם. שני יחסי כמובן. קליטתם המהירה בעבודה, באה מכך שהצבא הביע נכונות לקליטתם ועשה הכל כדי להקל עליהם. הנערים נפגשו לראשונה במעביד שאינו דומה לאחרים, בהקניית המקצוע ובהתנהגות הנאותה והטבלנית. הם נוכחו לדעת שגם הממונה עליהם עובד באותה עבודה שנתנה להם ללמוד ולעשות. אותו ממונה הוא בעל רצון וידע וסבלנות, הוא מסביר פנים, מספר לפעמים בדיחה, מכבד בסגריה כמו החברה בשכונה וכן נקלטו מהר. הם לא הסתירו את גלויי החיבה לאחראים ולמקוט. לא פעם התנצחו בניהם, על ספסל בשכונה, "מי הממונה הטוב שבכולם?" ונמצא שכולם אחד אחד טובים. הנערים מספרים בשבחם רבות.

היו גם סיבות נוספות לקליטתם. המזון והמדים, במספחות ברוכות ילדים, מהן יצאו נערים אלה, בעיית האוכל היא מרכזית ומאד חשובה. הסידור במחנה הקל הן על ההורים והן על הנערים.

לא פעם, בעבר שוטטו הם על בטן ריקה בחוצות. המדים היו תפארתם בטכונה. מדי גאווה ויוקרה. הבנות נמשכו אליהם מאד.

הנערים התבגרו במדי הצבא המרוחים בזמן. הם התבגרו ובטחונם גבר. ידיהם יוצבו. הם דברו כאילו אין עוד חרדה בלבם. "אני בצה"ל", אמרו "לומד מקצוע ויודע להשתמש בכל הכלים". "אני מקבל פחות מסכורת, אך מקבל יחס טוב". "אני כבר יודע הרבה דברים, כמו שאומרים, ממש כמו שאומרים". כזה היה השנוי הראשון, רגשי ומלבב.

השנוי השני והממוסך, מחיחס לאופי הנורמות ששאבו הנערים מגיל ילדות מסביבתם, כחוצאה מבעיות משפחתיות כאובות, מחוסר רכישת ערכים מתאימים, מאזלת יד החינוך ומבעיות נפשיות עמוקות. השביל היחיד שהיה מסוגל להקיף בעיות אלה, חייב היה לעבור פיתולים גמישים הוך שמירת קשר עם המטרה. הבעיות טובבו סביב מטמעת והתנהגות גרועה. בזמן האוכל, חוטפים תחילה את הפירות ומכניסים לכיס מוטטים כל אחד לצידו, את הדברים המשותפים המצויים על השולחן. הוסבר להם שאיט לא יקח מהם דברים אלה, אך לשוא. הוחלט על חלוקה מראש, כדי למנוע התרחשויות ליד השולחן עד שיתרגלו לסדר ולמראה הטעם. עם הזמן מצאו בזה יותר ענין להתבדר מאשר לשמור לשעות אחרות. גם זו התקדמות. מחטיפה רעבתנית למשיכה מתוך בידור. הם הצליחו למשוך את השומת הלב בהתחלה בחדר האוכל, אך עם הזמן התרגלו כולם לראות אותם כחלק מהנוף.

בעייה שונה היא מחלת ההגה. הם לא יכולים לעמוד בפני הפחוי לנוהג. בתחילה כשנוצר

הקשר בינם ובין הממונים, התיחסו אלה האחרונים בכלחנות ו**נציגו לכל נסיון מצד** הנערים לספק את יצרם בנהיגה. עד מהרה החלו ליטול את ההגה בלי רשות איש וסכנה ריחפה על הסככות ועל חיי אדם. קוימו שיחות בנושא זה, ללא הועיל. נעשה נסיון להרחיק לתקופת מה נער שנחפס בנהיגה, ולא הצליח. עד שלא התנגש אחד מהם עם זחל"ם גמבנה, לא נרתעו מטום אזהרה ושיחה בנושא. אצל אנשים הבזים לכל הגיון והמאמינים רק בגורל, רק נסיון מוחסי ירתיעם. הנערים לא היו שלמים עם הנזק הכספי שגרמו למחנה שחרם להם כה רבות והם לקחו את עצמם לידיים. שובטח לכל מי שמחפניין בנהיגה לקבל המלצה בלשכת הגיוס שתפנה אותו לענף זה.

10. ע י ד ו ד

היה דרוש עידוד רב כדי להחזיק נערים אלה במסגרת. מכל המשלונות שטבלו בימי חייהם, נותרה בהם רק מרירות ומטקע של אכזבה, בוז וחוסר אמון לחברה שלא הטיבה את תנאי חייהם בזמן. הכשלון החל מהבית, מקום בו טפגו ערכים רופפים ומעורערים, המקום בו למדו לדעת

שכל אפשרות נידונה מראש לכשלוך, דרך בית-הספר שלא השכיל להבין את משבר התרבויות ולא עודד את האגו התרבותי-עדתי לפיתוח הטוב והמועיל, ועד לרחוב בו הקרקע נוחה לצמיחה כל רעיון אשר יסודו מונח בשלילה. מנקודת ראות אחרת, אפשר לקבל טברה זאת כצורה מרד והגובה נגד ואנטי.

העידוד, מקומו לחזק את החיובי ולטפחו על השלילי. נדבך על נדבך והוא יכסנו. ואם אומרים אנו שבכל אדם שלילי יש משהו מהחיובי, הרי שטפולנו מופנה בעיקר לאותו מעט מבלי להתעלם מהמרובה.

העידוד התחיל בביקורים מאורגנים של משפלים ומפקחים ומנהלים ומפקדים, של ראש העיר וממלא מקומו. הנערים מצאו בביקורים אלה ראייה לכך שאיכפת מאד לאחרים מגורלם, והם הפגינו את יכולתם בעבודה ושפרו את ידיעותיהם. מענקי העידוד היו שונים. כרטיסי סרט, טיולים, מפגשי ספורט, השתתפות בחגיגות היחידה, מתן שי בחגים, הענקת בגדי ספורט, יציאה לבית הבראה ועוד.

סוכריות אלו עודדו את יצירתם. הם לא יטפחו לספר בפעם המי יודע כמה, איך חקנו מטאית שהתקלקלה בדרך טיולם לאילת, כשהנהג בכבודו ובעצמו לא ידע לחקנה.

11. ז ע ז ו ע י ם

היו מטברים שגרמו לזעזועים ולחוסר יציבות לא מעטים. די שנזכיר את הלחצים בהם היו נתונים נערים אלה מבית ומחוץ. עודדנו אותם לאורך כל הדרך ותמכנו בהם כדי שיוכלו להתגבר על הפחוי לעזוב. בכל זאת היו מטברים בולטים יותר שהותירו אחריהם מטעם תהומי ממוטך. אלה הם:

- א. החלפת המדריך באמצע המחזור.
- ב. מתן חופשות לא מבוקרות.
- ג. השתתפות בארועים שאינם שייכים למסגרת.

תמיד אזכור שמה שטרם הנוער העובד למסגרת זו היה, נטילת המדריך באמצע המחזור ויצירת משבר שכמעט מוטט את הכל. הנערים סברו שאנו פטרנוהו וסמרו לנו טינה. לא היה הכרחי ודחוף צעד זה ביצעו חרף פנייתנו למזכיר ההסתדרות במקום.

כאן המקום לציין שמטבר הנערים לא נבע רק מקשר יתר, אלא מחשש קשיי התקשרותם למדריך חדש. לא היה כל קושי למצוא מדריך חדש, אבל קשייו היו רבים מאלה שהחנטה בהם הראשון.

לנערים נוצר כבר מודל לפיו מדדו כל אדם חדש שבא עמם במגע. חמיד חפשו פגם להטיל בשני והעמידו אותו בפני עובדות שיצרו. והוא גילה סבלנות והתמדה עקשנית עד שהצליח לקרב אותם אחד אחד בפרק זמן מיגע וגורלי שנמשך כשלושה חדשים. חסרונו היחיד היה שמקום מגורים מחוץ לעיר ולא היתה לו מספיק אפשרות לקשור אתם קשר בערבים בשכונה. יש לציין שהוא היה חסר נסיון קודם בהדרכה ובכל זאת נענה לאתגר והתגבר.

הזעזוע השני נגרם כשאחד הנערים בקש חופשה בת חודש כדי לעבוד אצל קבלן בחוץ ולעזור להוריו שזה עתה קנו מקור. המדריך גילה הבנה לפנייה זו, אך עד כהרה היא הפכה לתקדים מסוכן. החלו פניות נוספות להגיע. גם לנערים אחרים יש אותן בעיות של חוסר כסף ועזרה להורים. היה ברור שאם ימשיכו בפניות, התפורר המסגרת משום שלא היה כל בטחון שאמנם הם יתורו בתום המועד שביקשו. גם לא היה בטחון שאמנם הם יעבדו בזמן חופשתם.

היה מי שסען שהמסגרת היא לא קודש שנמנע מהנערים שחרור באם רצונם לעבוד למקומות אחרים. מבחינת הנסוח המילולי, אולי הייתי מסכים אתו, אך לא מבחינת העובדות שלא היו נהירות לאותו טוען. אמנם מאמין אני בכנות דברי הנערים, שהחלטתם לעבוד בחוץ באה כדי לעזור בנסל המשפחה; אך יודע אני גם שהם לא יחזיקו מעמד, כל עוד לא רכשו הרגלי עבודה ויחסי עבודה נאותים, כבואם למלא אחר כשאלות לבם, ופרטה נשירחם תתחיל מהתחלה. כך אמנם היה עם אוחו נער שפנה ראשון. עבר ימים אחדים והפסיק. אחרי כן התקשינו להחזירו לפני תום מועד החופשה למחנה, מפני שהאמין בכל לבו שהנה מחר הוא יצליח לקום לעבודה. ולא עבד.

לו חוכננה חופשה מאורגנת, לפי תור, עם מעקב מקצועי מתאים כדי לבחון כושר קליטתו של כל נער, כי אז היה זה מבצע מוצלח. אלא שחופשות אלו לא היו מהוכננות, אבל נתנו לפי התור למי שבקש.

הזעזוע השלישי נגע לאירועים שלא חוכננו עבור המסגרת. היות והמדריך נחשב כעובד הסתדרות הנוער העובד (על אף שהכסף בא ממשרד העבודה) הוטל עליו לא פעם לצרף חלק מהנערים לטיולים שאורגנו על ידם, כדי למלא את החסר. גם את המדריך לקחו לטיולים אלה לא פעם. היה קשה לבחור מתוך מטגרת מאורגנת את החמישה או השישה החסרים לטיול. כולם ראו עצמם ראויים ובצדק, לא היה כאן מקום לפצות את "הטובים" ולהעניש את "הרעים". נעשו נסיונות אחרים, והם יצרו קונפליקטים חמורים בין הנערים והמדריך ישוב סכסוכים אלה דרש יותר זמן מאשר תכנון טיול כזה. לכן הוחלט להפסיק צירופים אלה או להוציאם כולם לטיול. זה דינה של מסגרת מלוכדת.

12. ת ע ו ד ה

הענקת התעודה עם סיום הקורס הייתה חלק מאותם דברים עליהם נאמר בחהילה "אחר כך נראה". לא היחה לגביה כל חכנית מוקדמת היות והמסגרת לא נחשבה כקורס מקצועי לפי המובן המקובל.

בהתקרב מועד הסיום, החלו הנערים לדרוש לדעת מה עם תעודה עבורם. לבסוף החליט משרד העבודה לקיים "מבחנים" באותם נושאים שהנערים למדו בהם ולחלק תעודות לפי דרגת הידע. כמו כן הבטיח לשלוח מפקח מקצועי כדי להכינם למבחן. היחה שמחה גדולה לכולנו. באותה הזדמנות האריך את חקופת המסגרת מעשרה חדשים לשנה. הארכה זו התקבלה בהסתייגות מה אך בהבנה, ואמנם תוכנה החקיים.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

13. ה ת ק צ י ב

במימון הפעולה השתתפו גורמים אחדים:

משרד העבודה שלם שכר הנערים ושכר המדריך.
הצבא דאג להסעה, שחי ארוחות ליום, ביגוד ונעליים, סרטים פעם בשבועיים טיול פעם בחודש.
המרכז למניעת עבריינות במשרד הסעד שלם למדריך החינוכי עבור פעולות חברתיות עם הנערים בשעות הערב, ושכר היועץ שפקח על המדריך.
לאחרונה הגופים הבאים החלו לסייע למסגרת:
הנוער העובד והלומד תורם סכום של -50 ל" לחודש.
המח" לעבודה קהילתית בעיריית באר-שבע תורמת -100 ל" לחודש. בפסח אף הגיש שי לכל נערי משרד העבודה תורם -50 ל" לחודש.
רוטרי באר-שבע תרם באופן חד פעמי תלבושת ספורט לכל נער.

14. ה ר כ ב ה מ ס ג ר ת

12 נערים החהילו בראשית חודש נובמבר 1970. אליהם התווספו כעבור זמן מה שישה נוספים וכעבור המישה חדשים נפתחה מסגרת שניה שמנחה בתחילה 13 נערים. ככל שהזמן עבר התווספו חדשים. שתי המסגרות יחד, מונות, כיום, 30 נערים. עד כה היחה נשירה רק של שני נערים.

דווח זה אינו מתייחס לכל השלושים, אלא לשנים עשר המתחילים בלבד שהשלימו זה עתה את המחזור הראשון והעומדים בפני סיום.

מהראשונים לא היחה כל נשירה. גילם, בהיכנסם, היה: 16-16½.

כיום חלק מהם עומד בפני גיוס ובפני הברירות הבאות:

- (א) לעבוד במחנה עד לגיוס, בשכר רגיל;
- (ב) לעבוד בחוץ (ימצאו להם מקומות עבודה);
- (ג) להגייס מיד (הנערים לא מעוניינים בכך, כי הם רוצים קודם לחסוך מעט כסף).

כמו כן יומלץ על אלה המעוניינים לשרת במחנה בו עבדו. אלה המעוניינים ללמוד נהגו, יקבלו המלצה מהמג"ד.

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

15. מי הם הנערים?

כדי לתת תמונה עם אילו נערים החמודה המסגרת הצבאית, אמסור בקיצור על עברם הפלילי ועל רקעם. אפשר זאת על קצה המזלג כדי לא לגלות את זהותם.

א. נקח למשל את שושן ונתבונן מעט על משפחתו ועל נפשו. אחותו דונה, אביו אנס אותה בשעת שכרות. יום מתנהלות מריבוה בבית המסתיימת בחבלות ובחחכים עמוקים. האם נושאת את מכותיה באלם; וכי יכולה היא להתלונן על בעלה הבא לבעול את בתם, בת הסבע-עשרה, בלילות, ברבעי שכרות?

הנער מחערב להגן על האם ועד מהרה הוא מוצא עצמו מושלך החוצה וישן בחצר. הרעב מציק לו, הוא מתחיל לשוטט, פעמים לבד, פעמים עם חברים בשכונה. עוברת נידת ומרימת אותו לתחנה. לדידה, שוטטוהו מחשידה אותו ומוטב לחקור אותו מעט בתחנה. כך נבנית לאט לאט הנקמה בנפשו והיא מוצאת לה ביטוי עד מהרה באיזה בית שלו שאף העניק לו רוב אושר ברוב טובו והחסיר ממשפחה אחרת את כבודה. פורץ, משתולל והורס. פעמים נחפס, פעמים הולך לו ונרגע.

ב. באוחה שכונה, גר בן עניים אחד ושמו סמי. הוא יודע על בעיותיו של שושן כי סמי ושושן חברים. אך חברות לחוד ועסקים לחוד. הולך סמי ולוחש דברים אחדים לאזנה של האחוזת המעונה, והיא נשרכת אחריו לתל-אביב לעבוד. הוא הביא לה קליאנטים והיא מצאה מנוחה לנשמתה. לא עוברים ימים רבים ושושן הופך לעבדו הנרצע של סמי, כי בידי זה, האחרון, היחה רשימה ארוכה של בזיונות האחוזת, וכבוד המשפחה דורש שמירה סוד.

סמי וסוּסן נמצאים במסגרת. כניסתם לא היתה דבר של מה בכך. האחות הכירה סרסור מוכשר יותר ועזבה את סמי. וזה הידק את שליטתו על סוּסן ושלחו לגנוב למענו. צדיקים, אחרים עושים את מלאכתם.

בחחילה ראו במסגרת כסוי הולט למעשיהם מאטר מקום עבודה.

ג. באותה שכונה גר אלוף הטועלים, טד המרזבים, קלפן ערמומי בחסד עליון. הוא יהודה, עינו פקוחה תמיד על הנעשה בשכונה ויודע להפיק רווחים מכל ידיעה. הוא מצטרף לשליטיה כמגן של סוּסן מפני סמי ולאחרון לא היתה ברירה אלא לחלק עמו את סרפו. שליטיה זו גדלה עם הזמן ועשתה חיל. בינתיים הפסיק סוּסן להתבייש באחותו והכיר בעובדות הגורל. עמדתו השתנתה לטובה ברגע שצירפו לשורותיהם כעטרה נערים נוספים ויחד עשו עסקים כשהאחד מנצל חולשת רעיו. משנתגלתה גם חולשתו של יהודה לעיזים (הוא נהג לבעול עיזים ולשתף אחרים תמורת תשלום) גדל ערכו בעיני חבריו והפך להיות ראש קבוצה. כניסתו של יהודה למסגרת לא היתה קלה, אלא שהוא לא רצה להפסיד את מעמדו בקבוצה והחליט בטם היתר.

ד. ארבעה נוספים נכנסו למסגרת, כולט קליאנטים ותיקים של יהודה בעסקי העיזים. רביעייה זו לא חיכתה בעבר להוראות העירייה לחסל את המעברה בה הם גרו, אלא נטלו רשות לעצמם ופרקו את הצריפים בשביל בדואים טקנו אותם מידיהם בזול. בזקם מעסק זה נאמד על ידי עמידר בארבעים אלף ל"י. על מעשיהם האחרים שלא הגיעו לידיעת המטרה לא נספר.

ה. זנכנס עוד אחד, לא מאותה שכונה של אלה שהזכרתי. צעיר מופנם והמהוני, נער מהונן טאיט לא פיתח את כשרונותיו, פרט לעצביו, מפליג בדמיונות, חי בעננים ואינו מבין דבר באיסורים. רואה דבר, נוטל. נצטווה להחזירו, מחזיר. בעל מזג נוח בדרך כלל, מוזנה בהופעתו ומגורט תכופות מהבית, ויב לו חמיד עם אביו הדורט את תיקונו והוא לא מבין והולך בלי להטמיע מלה. רק מבט עניו טוקע זריז זיתור והוא מתחפר בשחיקתו ובסככתו הקטנה שהקים בחצר. מפעם לפעם שואל הוא את עצמו "מה הם יציק ממני?" במסגרת קטר קטר עם הממונה עליו והיה טמח עד שנטל זחל"ט והתנגט בסככה וגורט. אחרי כן נעשה הכל כדי להחזירו ולפייס בינו ובין הוריו (גם לפני כן פייסנו ביניהם לא פעם).

ו. ועוד שליטיה נמצאת במסגרת, משכונה אחרת. המטותף להט הדריך בעבר את מנוחת החוק והסדר. גם להט תולדות חיים שלא ידעו כלל אושר.

ואזרון המרכיבים מסגרת זו המטיימת מחזור ראשון הוא בני.

אביו נאטם בעבר ברצח ושוחרר מהוסר הוכחות. אמו חולת נפש מאז. הוא נמשך מחוסר פיקוח ותשומת לב לרחוב, ומצא את עצמו עד מהרה בין אלה הנוטלים את החוק לידם. הסתבך לא פעם והזדרדר לעולט הפטע, עד שמצא את תיקונו במסגרת. בתשומת הלב ובטיפול האישי שהוענק לו, החזיק מעמד ונטאר. מצא נערים המתלבטים כמוהו וקטר אתם את מאבקו, סיתף אותנו בלבטיו והיה נכון לפקוח עניו מחדש את תנחן לו ההזדמנות והעידוד הנפטי כדי להתמודד עם האטון שירד בבת אחת על מפתחו. והוא נטאר.

וכטאתה מתבונן בצעירים האלה המסיימים עתה מחזור ראשון במסגרת צה"ל, אינך יכול שלא להודות שהם היו חזקים יותר מאתנו, אם חרף כל אטונותיהם הם נלחמו בגורלם והתבגרו והוסיפו דעת והגיעו למטרה. יש רק לקוות שהחברה תגלה הבנה לנערים האלה ולדומיהם, הבאים לראשונה בסעריה.

ולסיום, חייבים אנחנו לעמוד דום בפניהם, ולומר להם, כל הכבוד!

עמירם כלפון
עובד הבורות רחוב
באר שבע



א. יהודה (שמות כל הנערים בדויים)

הכרתי את יהודה עוד לפני שהוא הגיע לטיפול בטרופיקים ב-1968. הוא בא אלינו יחד עם ילדיו אחרים ועשה עלינו רושם של ילד חביב המוכן לעזור תמיד לחבריו, הראה הבנה לבעיותיהם של חבריו וכמו כן היה מוכן לעזור לנו כשחשב שהיה לנו צורך בעזרתו. יהודה הודה בגנבותיו. גם באלו שלא גילה במסורה, יתכן והכיבה לכך היה רצונו להיות במוסד, יחד עם חבריו.

יהודה ירום מאב אשר נפטר בשנת 1968. האב היה אדם לא בריא, עבד 5 שעות ביום בחברת המשקם. לא הייתה לו השפעה על יהודה. אמו הייתה חולנית גם היא ואם ל-9 ילדים, ולא הייתה מסוגלת כלל לחנך אותו. יהודה הסתובב ברחובות והתרגל לעשות כל מה שעלה בדעתו. מכחה ה" כבר לא ביקר באופן סדיר בבית"ס והסדור בבי"ס מפת"ן נכשל. אחיו יעקב ניסה לחנכו ע"י מכות, אך גם הוא נכשל.

ב-29 באפריל 1969 נשלח יהודה לפי בקשתו להסתכלות במעון "מצפה-ים". ההמלצה אחרי ההסתכלות הייתה סידורו במוסד לילדים "לא עבריינים", אך יהודה עמד על דעתו להיות במוסד יחד עם חבריו ולבסוף הוחזר הביתה. הוא המשיך לטוטט. פעמים עבד אך רק באופן זמני, ולעיתים רחוקות וללא הצלחה.

בסתיו 1970 התקטר לקבוצת שבטפולו של עובד הבורות רחוב ודרכה הגיע לקבוצת העבודה במחנה צה"ל. מיזם קליטתו החמיד בעבודה והרגיש בחוב. המדריכים הממונים עליו בעבודה היו שבעי רצון ממנו. "הממונה היה יכול לסמוך עליו ולהשאירו לבדו בביצוע עבודה כלשהי. הוא הועסק כצבעי רכב וקטרינו עם הסובבים אותו היו חיוביים ועל נושא מקצועי", כל סיפור לנו המדריך. חוות דעה זאת נמסרה במאפטו בינואר ובמאי 1970 והטפיע על החלטת השופט להשאיר את יהודה בבית ולתת לו אפשרות להמשיך בעבודתו במסגרת הקבוצה.

עליזה הימן

קצינת מבחן

ב. אלי

אלי סוכר לטרות מבחן לנוער מהיותו בן 10. באותו זמן ביקר בבי"ס לילדים מפגרים. בהיותו קטן מאד הגיע לטיפולה של אחותו המבוגרת ממנו בשנה, בגלל אספוזיה של האם למשך שנתיים בבי"ח לחולי נפש.

אלי היה ילד עזוב ומוזנח ביותר. היה תוקפן. הוא פסק לבקר בביה"ס מכחה ו' ועבר כ-26 עבירות פליליות בהיותו בן 12. בנובמבר 1967 נשלח לפי חוק הנוער (ספול והסגחה) חט"ך - 1960, למוסד לנוער בנס-ציונה והחזקת יפה שם.

אחרי עבירה נוספת בהיותו בחופש בב"ס, נדון לצו טעון.

אחרי שנה שופר מצבו עד כדי כך שמנהל המוסד הסכים לבקשת אביו והחזיר אותו לנסיון הביחה.

בנובמבר 1970 הגיע אלי למסגרת קבוצת התעסוקה במסגרת צה"ל ונקלט שם. בבגדי העבודה הצבאיים מרגיש כ"גבר" ועושה עלינו רושם כנער עובד ומבוגר ונעלמו הסימנים של הילד המסכן והמפגר שהיה פעם.

עליזה הימן

קצינת מבחן

ג. יצחק

יצחק הגיע לטרות מבחן לנוער בעקבות עבירה קטנה (גניבה בקבוקים), לפני 6 שנים בהיותו בן 11, ופתח את דבריו כך: "יש לי הרבה בעיות בחיים" - וספר על יחסו הסלילי לאביו. ראיחי את מצבו כקשה מאד ולמרות העבירה הפעוטה קבלתי אותו לפקותי למשך 3 שנים.

יצחק סודר למשך שנה במוסד לילדים בעייחית ואחרי זה היה במוסד של עליה הנוער במשך שנתיים. במשך שנים אלו המסכתי להיות בקטר הדוק עמו, אך למרות מאציהם של מחנכים לא הצליח יצחק להתגבר על מופרעתו אשר היה בעל טורט עמוק מאד בילדותו המוקדמת.

יצחק רצה לחזור למסגרת משפחתו אך לא הצליח לקבל עבודה מתאימה - גורט ליאוש של הוריו וסכסוכים תמידיים.

מדי פעם עמד יצחק ברחוב והגיע לבקש עזרה. בקיץ 1969 בצע עברה נוספת וקבלתי

אוחז לפיקוח של שבתיים נוספות.

נסיון לסדרו בקבוץ, דבר אשר היה חלומו מסך שנים נכשל בגלל שהיה קורבן של הנערים בקבוצה עד שהמדריכים פחדו לשלוחו ובקשו להחזירו הביתה. טוב החחילה הקופה של כסלונות בעבודה: יצחק עבד כמחטנאי ובבנין אך אחרי חקופה של הצלחה קצרה לא החזיק מעמד ובסוף 1970, נחבל יצחק למסגרת קבוצה העבודה במחנה זה"ל. מאותו זמן הרגשתי כאילו עבודתי אחר חמה: יצחק הרגיש טוב והיה שמח. הוריו מרוצים. יצחק התקדם בעבודה והחזיק מעמד יפה.

אחרי כמה חדשים בצע עבודה נוספת, הוריו לא היו מוכנים לקבלו עוד בבית וגם יצחק סרב לחזור הביתה, אך הודות לתיווך של המדריך בינו להוריו, חזר יצחק הביתה. בפעם הראשונה הרגיש יצחק שהוא היה חלק מקבוצה שקבלה אוחז. כדוגמא: יום הולדתו נערב במועדון.

לאחרונה טוב הסתכן ואף נזרק מהעבודה והגיע למצב, ושוב הודות להתערבותם של המדריכים חזר יצחק לעבודה ויש תקווה שהוא יטיים ויקבל העודה גמר לקורס.

עליזה הימן

קצינת מבחן

ד. גרטון

גרטון הגיע אלי לאחר שהשתתף "בהתפרעות" במרכז הנגב. בהופעתו היה מוזנח ועניו הביעו עצבות. הוא היה כנה כספר שנפל, נורה והסתולל עם החב"רה.

הרקע המספחתי של גרטון: אביו היה באשפור שנים רבות בבי"ח לחולי נפש. כעת חי בנפרד ממספחתו. אין קשר בין גרטון לאביו. גם מצבה הנפשי של אמו מעורער ויש טאינה מסוגלה לספל בבניה ולהפקד כעקרת בית.

לגרטון אה בכור טאינו מסתגל לחיי עבודה ולא טיים את שרותו הצבאי. במספחה עוד שתי בנות צעירות, להן הוא דואג וקסור.

בשיחה היה מעלה בעיות בקשר להשגת עבודה. הוא אינו מחזיק מעמד במקום עבודה כלשהו. יש לו התנגדות למעבידים ומגיע לעחים קרובות להרמת ידיים.

הדגיש שלעיתים חס אה עצמו מנוצל כשאינו מקבל מסכורת ראויה ובמועד קבוע.

במשך הזמן הצלחנו לעורר בו מוטיבציה ללמוד מקצוע ולהגיעו להצטרף לקבוצה הנערים שבמחנה צה"ל.

תוך מתן עודד וחיזוק והפגה מתחים שהתעוררו בתקופת עבודתו, החל גרטון אט אט להרגיש יותר טוב ונתן אותות שיש לו יכולת להסתגל לחיי עבודה וחגרה.

מלכה

קצינת מבחן

ה. יהושע

יהושע הוא החמישי במשפחה בה 13 ילדים. מצב כלכלי חקין, אך להורים אין שליטה על הילדים. בעיות החנהגות עם הילדים הקטנים. אחד האחים היה בטפולנו, ולאחרונה שוחרר ממאטר.

ב-1963 היה יהושע בגי"ס מיוחד. עבירות וטוסטות. ב-1967 נכנס למוסד. עזב אה המוסד לפני חום הצו ומאז מוטט וממשיך לבצע עבירות. איננו עובד ואיננו משהף פעולה אהנו. לקראת מטפט החל לעבוד, ונפלט לאמר חודס ימים. הביע רצון להצטרף למסגרת במחנה צה"ל. עד שהתפנה מקום עבודה, השתהף באופן פעיל בפעולות החבורה בטפולנו. התחיל להתיחס לסובב אהו, החגלה כנער עירני וחביב. בסדנא נקלט יפה, הן מבחינה חברתית והן מבחינת עבודה. היה מרוצה, התיחס למצבו ולבעיות טונות בצורה יותר מבוגרת.

בביח השתפרו היחסים, אט כי נותרו בעיות בעיקר על רקע טפני. זו הסיבה שבקט חופטה מהעבודה במחנה ע"מ לצאת לעבודה בה השכר גבוה יותר.

לטכום: נער שהצליח לרכוש הרגלי עבודה, יציבות מסוימת והתייחסות בוגרת יותר לבעיותיו.

המסגרת נראית לי כחטובה ומסוגלת לסייע להרבה מהנערים שבטפולנו. על מנח שהצליח חטוב מאד, לדעתי, סיהיה מדריך צמוד שילווה אה הקבוצה כל הזמן, ויהיה אדם המתאים להתמודד עם הבעיות שמעוררים הנערים. (אלו נערים קטים, ודרוש אדם בעל נסיון ורקע מתאימים).

לענין השכר, נראה לי כי הוא נמוך מדי. נערים רבים אינם מעוניינים לעבוד במקום עקב

כך.

יש גם לדאוג לכך שיגיעו למסגרת זו רק הנערים המתאימים באמת לעבודה במקום. כלומר, נערים חטרי הרגלי עבודה, בעלי מוטיבציה מסוימת. נערים המסוגלים לעבודה בטוק הפחות, אין להעבירם לסדנא. טוטנה יעקובי, קצינת מעקב

דברי הנערים

להלן לקט דיעות שכתבו הנערים. את מכתבי הנערים אנו מפרסמים ככתבם וכלשונם מבלי

לחקן דבר.

לפני המצבות. עקרתי כל מני סוגיות ולא למענת מקבוצ בגלל
 שלא היו אף היואלי תנאים. בגלל סכר ולקט ^{ליזא} שלא אוסתדרתי! עם
 המעביבים שלי; אני נבנסתי למצרות המוקבים ולקט בישראל הלואי
 כמו המבנים והאוכל השכלים הליני'ם והיחסים האידיים של המבנים
 כשאם אתה בר אני חושב להנהיג קמיקמו, אני להביע בשבילי
 הנערים האחרים: איבואו למחוק הקבוע ושיבלימו; אני להביע שישל את
 המסקיות שאולי מבוקה.

דני

" לפני המזגרה עבדתי בכל מני עבודות ולוא למדתי מקצוע בגלל שלא היו לי תנאים. בגלל סכר וגם
 בגלל שלא אשחרתי עם המעבידים שלי. אני נכנסתי למזגרה המקצוע וגם בגלל התנאים כמו הפדים והאוכל
 השרשים הטיולים והיחסים הטובים של המפקדים כשאם אבגר אני חושב להמיר במיקצוע, אני מציע בשביל
 הנערים האחרים: שיבואו ללמוד מקצוע ושיבלימו; אני מציע שיעלו את המסקורת שאינה מספיקה. "

לפני המסגרת לא הייתי לומד ולא עובד הייתי רק בהריון היה לי יומך . שנתה יצאתי

מזיקה בקיבוץ אשדוד . שנתה יצאתי

מזיקה בקיבוץ אשדוד . שנתה יצאתי

מזיקה בקיבוץ אשדוד . שנתה יצאתי

מזיקה בקיבוץ אשדוד . שנתה יצאתי

מזיקה בקיבוץ אשדוד . שנתה יצאתי

שלום



" לפני המסגרת לא הייתי לומד ולא עובד הייתי רק בהריון היה לנו מחנה . שמעתי מעמירם שרובים להקים מסגרת לעבודה והלכתי מה שהיביא אותי למסגרת הזאת זה ללמוד מקצוע וגם שיליוס וכל מה שבקשתי ואני הירגני ממשוש מאוד . "

שלום

14.9.71

ד"ר

Q

לפני שנכסתי למסגרת עבודתי קיבלתי אצל
 הד"ר של קתרוסיון עבדתי 3 חודשים
~~שהייתה חזרה~~ חזרה חזרה עבדתי חזרה
 הקניין שלי מן החברים שהם חזרו
 להכנס לקניין שלי וזכרו אתני יקראו
 במסגרת שלי ללמוד מקצוע
 ולמדה את המקצוע ולמדה את
 שלי את כפי וזכרו עבדתי קתרוסיון
 את מקצועי למסגרת החברה שלי
 שנתנו בקרוב שישלמו להם ~~ל~~ ולת
 אחת לי את חלק שלי את עבדתי
 דבר עבדתי הוא את ~~ל~~ חזרה עבדתי
 למסגרת למסגרת ולמסגרת אצל ~~ל~~ חזרה עבדתי
 אברהם הפנור-מכר

14.9.71

ד"ר

" לפני שנכסתי למסגרת עבודתי בה"א אצל הד"ר שלי בחריסיון עבדתי 3 חודשים שב חזרתי הביחה לעשות
 אצל הוהריום שמעתי מי חברים שהם עמודים להכנס לביטוח צבאי וילמדו אחנו מקצוע המסגרת נחנה לי
 ללמוד מקצוע ולמדתי את המקצוע ועכשיו אני שמח שאני כבר יודע לעבוד במקצועי אני מודיע למסגרת
 החדשה שחכנס בקרוב שישלמו להם יותר מחמש ל"י אני חושב להיות אזרח עובד צהל עד הגיוס אני מודה
 למג"ד למג"ד למ"פ ולמג"ם אציק וביחוד לביטוח אברהם הפנור-מכר "

אחרי שגמר הלימודים חיששתי עבודה כל שהי העיקר למרנש את המשפחה. ואחירי כמה זמן שמעתי על
 מזגרה במחנה נתן של כבוצח נערים הרוצים ללמוד מקצוע לעתיד ואז החלתי להיכנס אליהם ולילמוד
 מקצוע. המזגרה נחנה לנו כקצוע בילדים ונהננו מאוד מהמזגרת ובכל זאת המסקדים שלנו החייחשו
 כלפנו יפה ודאגו לנו כמו משפחה וכל חיול אשר היו שומעים עליו שאפשר להוציא אוחנו היו מוציאים
 אוחנו. אני מציע לנערים שישמעו על המזגרה הגאחי שקדיי לחם להיכנס ויהנו. המזגרה מצאה חן
 בעיני הכל היה יפה וחאב אך ורק הכסף לא היה משפיק אבל הישחדרנו, בתחלה שהייתי מקבל קצח
 כסף הייתי שובל עד שלא היה לי כסף ואג היהי הולך לבגנוב ואני שודה בזה שאני גונב ועשב שאני
 הולך לגמור את הכורש אז אני ירביח יותר כסף ולא אגנוב יותר "

אחרי שגמר הלימודים חיששתי עבודה כל שהי העיקר למרנש את המשפחה. ואחירי כמה זמן שמעתי על
 מזגרה במחנה נתן של כבוצח נערים הרוצים ללמוד מקצוע לעתיד ואז החלתי להיכנס אליהם ולילמוד
 מקצוע. המזגרה נחנה לנו כקצוע בילדים ונהננו מאוד מהמזגרת ובכל זאת המסקדים שלנו החייחשו
 כלפנו יפה ודאגו לנו כמו משפחה וכל חיול אשר היו שומעים עליו שאפשר להוציא אוחנו היו מוציאים
 אוחנו. אני מציע לנערים שישמעו על המזגרה הגאחי שקדיי לחם להיכנס ויהנו. המזגרה מצאה חן
 בעיני הכל היה יפה וחאב אך ורק הכסף לא היה משפיק אבל הישחדרנו, בתחלה שהייתי מקבל קצח
 כסף הייתי שובל עד שלא היה לי כסף ואג היהי הולך לבגנוב ואני שודה בזה שאני גונב ועשב שאני
 הולך לגמור את הכורש אז אני ירביח יותר כסף ולא אגנוב יותר "

עני לראו היוו קוף כעיינו איו
 אוף אוחו ען הווחו
 אכלו הבעולת הוואחפות ביתר הן איו
 הצפר לעליות הא אית דנו הכנ
 בהות האחרים

אהנו שנוכסנו לעניו הדבאיון
 בית יבוק אדם זכנע יכנו טעק כנ אמן
 טאו אעצבת אית דבית הספר הסודי
 נתנה הוועברת סתו הפעיק אית הלעק
 הדבאיו סתו הווקוע אית הסביוה
 הנכונה אית יסודו קו הוקדוה
 לעדת אוק זה הדבאו אוק האו
 עוטק תחית בקדיות תחת מקדויו
 נתנה עי חוקק להגיה למיליון
 האחריות עני וכלו האמן הנו מכסית
 מה מעברת הצבאית בלי קוף בזית
 ואוהביו אית האחריות

סכנסו אעצו אחרט
 אחרט סאסיון איתו אצונו לעסאו בעטרת
 לעוק מקדוע עק הדבאו וע הווקק וואויוני
 אידוהיות ביותר איתו אודוהאיו אדוהו לעוק
 אית אופה עמאד טמאדק עמאנה
 לאוריה אהחטעלית ערבי ונתנו ידליו
 יסר לעזונו איתו ווקדוה אהחטעלית

"לפני שנכנסני למסגר הצבאית היחי עובוד אצל קבלנים ופה נמשך כול הזמן מאז שעזבתי את הבית
 הספר היסודי נחנה המסגרת את הלימוד את הכינוך הצבאי את המקצוע את העבודה הנכונה את יסודו
 של המקצוע לדעה אין זה הצבא אין הוא עומד תחת עקודות תחת מפקידים נחנה לי חינוך לחברים
 לחיילים לאחריאים עליי וכול הזמן חתי מפסות מהמסגרת הצבאית בלי שום בעיות ואוהבים אותי
 האחריאים
 לי לוא היו שום בעיות עים אף אחד פין המחנה אבל הבעיות המאוחדות ביותר הם אים אפשר לעלות
 אח דמי הכיס בשביל האחרים שכנסו אחרנו
 אחרי שאסיים אני מעונין להשאר במסגרת ולמוד מקצוע עים הצבא ולהמשיך ונאמנות אדיבות ביותר
 אני מודה למגד לסמגד לממפה לאריה מהחשמליה לרפי ולכול החייליים אשר לימודו אחי מקצוע מהחשמליה "

מירו

אבי

אני כנסיתי למסגרת למצאתי בבית ספר
תכונן מקצועי שם למצאתי את המקצוע.

כשעצמתי את המסגרת עבדתי במחנה נמל
הפסקתי ללמוד והלכתי להתעניין בקטרי למסגרת
כפי אלמד את המקצוע.

המסגרת הזו נתנה לי ללמוד את המקצוע
להכיר חברה חצונית.

זו היו קטנים במסגרת של התלמוד שלמי אני
יבט זל החברה שלי שלם נתן לי ללמוד את
המקצוע.

אני מפיצי לחברה החצונית שלי ושברו במסך
הקיים ושילתי את כל הבעיות הללו
בקר אשכורת אלימיני.

אני מושך המשק את המסגרת את המקצוע
עב אלמד
אני מסיים בזה.

אני מופה לכל חברי המחלקה לעבודה קהילתית
לחילויי. למקצועי. למצאתי. שהפילתי אותי
ובמיוחד אלמד ולמד לידי אלו.

" לפני כניסתי למסגרת למדתי ביה שפר חיכון מקצועי שם למדתי את המקצוע.

כששמעתי על המסגרת עבודה במחנה נחן הפסקתי ללמוד וחלכתי להחענין בקשר למסגרת כדי ללמוד את
המקצוע.

המסגרת הזו נחנה לי ללמוד את המקצוע להכיר חברה חדשים.

לי היו קשיים במסגרת על החשלוט שלמו לנו וגם על החברה שלי שלא נחנו לי ללמוד את המקצוע, אני
מציע לחברה החדשים שלא ישברו במשך הקורס ושיעלו את כל הבעיות הללו בקשר למשכורת ללימודים.
אני חושב להמשיך את ללמוד את המקצוע עד לגיוס.

אני מסיים בזה

אני מודה לכל חברי המחלקה לעבודה קהילתית לחיילים, למפקדים, למדיהם, שהדריכו אותנו ובמיוחד

למ"מ, וגם למד"ג "

מה היו הישגים שניתקו במחקר

אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
המיליונים המיליונים הפעולה שלמה
זמנאות הוא הושג יצירת
מטעם מן המעשים לא ישמחו עם
אנשי המחקר
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים

אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים

כנסת 1957

לפני שנכנסת המסגרת היינו מסתמכים
מחולקת, ובאופן מלאה, וזאת הייתה יצירה
מה של המנהל יש זמן מיוחד בשל ה'
יש לנו עם המחקר שהיה מנסה לעלות
על הכל, ויצא מזהל סדר ומצב
יצאנה מסגרת פשוטה ויחידה
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים

מה שהיה זה היה המסגרת
המסגרת המנהלית הייתה המסגרת
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים
אנשי המחקר זכו לנתונים גדולים

בניית מסגרת למחקר

לפני שניכנסנו למיסגרת היינו מחובבים ברחבות, ובכלים מעבודה, ולא היינו יודעים מה זה
עבודה יש לנו מודרון בטכ/י" ויש לנו גם מדריך שהיה מנסה לעזור לנו בכל, וחוזר סידר למענו
עבודה במסגרת צבאית, וטע לומדים עתה מה המקצוע בקלות רבה.

מה נחשב לי המיסגרת

המיסגרת נחזה לי ללמוד מה המקצוע ע"י זה שיש אנשים שחשבים לעזור לי בכל מיני קשיים. וללמוד
מה המקצוע בקלות רבה ובגמורה, לשלם עכשו אני גאה שיש לי מקצוע, ויכול להתגאות בכל מקום

מה היה תפקיד שניתקלתי בו

אני כימקט ולא נחלקתי בעיקרם
הבעיות. הבעיה הגדולה שיכולה להיות היא המיטמק
מטע מין הנקרים לה כימקטים לכל מינה דברים. יש נקרים שלא באים לעבודה וזה לא טוב שום מולוילים.

מה אני חושב לאחר סיום הקורס

אני חושב לחיטור ולילמוד יותר מה המקצוע. וליחיות יותר טוב (במסגרת) במקצוע, כי מעניין אותי
המקצוע (המטלתי) ואני רוצה להיות (מ.ק.ב)

אני מודה לאנשים שהיקנו לי מה המקצוע. כגון המג"ד המ"ם המג"ד וכל האנשים שעזרו לי ואני מברך
מה כולם ובשנת טובה
בברכה חברי המסגרת

14.3.71

U J A

1.

PD

HIAF
2x
pelach
file
(together
of the
edited
version

Mr. Michaél 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 you'll pay your taxes, whatever they are - you make your gift, 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 - 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

ad better make an effort to come back to life - the Jewish
le understood it mystically - the other people in the world
ide said - alright, go ahead, we will give you your chance.
ve made the effort and you know - it's like when you argue
a long time about whether you ought to take a gamble and you
know whether you want to take the gamble and you don't know
ou are ready for the gamble, but you roll the dice - you take
bol - you better win, because if you lose, then you should
have taken the risk in the first place and we are in that
sion now of not yet having won after 23 years - we rolled the

● said, we would like to be an independent state once again
the Jewish people, especially after Hitler, so that we can have
rol of our own destiny - we got all those Jews in those camps
rope - we are going to take them in here, the British are not
to tell us no - nobody is going to tell us no - we are going
it ourselves - like little children - you know. How many
e here have had the experience of the kid with the tantrum
ants, he wants, he wants and you have got to hold him firm and
him get what he wants and yet he doesn't have the strength to
hat he wants himself, but he knows what he wants and if you
h him, then you will crumple his personality and you will pay
t later - and you will pay the psychiatrist.

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

PD

ise. 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 the risk of outbreak of war every ten years or if she doesn't want to do 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 a peace treaty with her, 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 of Sharm-el-Sheik, 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 year ever again - we have been threatened twice - once the Arab Nations ran away - once Johnson tried to get a group of 12 Arab and 12 European countries to guarantee freedom of the Straits, couldn't do it. The only country on this globe that would agree to join America in a Maritime Treaty in 1967, before the war broke out, was the huge gigantic power of the Netherlands and Holland agreed to join America in a Maritime Treaty with the other maritime powers - and Johnson went to eight or ten of them, and 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 to stay on this route.

Egypt says and I am theorizing, let's station an international force down at Sharm-el-Sheik, let's put some troops down there, a small body of troops, some Canadians and some Yugoslavs and some - what Golda did yesterday, she knocked everybody flabbergasted - Israelis and some Egyptians - because what she suggested yesterday was that part of this mixed international force should include 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 an unprovoked 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 -

ernoon 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 over the weekend there was no way to find out what happened - on Monday the Americans sent in their first U-2 to take photographs damn if the U-2 pictures on Monday didn't show the missiles had 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's when Nixon turned his whole position and said - okay, I am going to sell you arms.

the way; while I am talking about that, let me tell you that in the 23 years of Israel's existence there hasn't been a better friend of the United States to Israel than President Nixon - as far 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. Making a flat statement of fact. In 23 years there have been only six Presidents of the United States who dealt with Israel - Truman did was on ~~parra~~ parallel - Truman recognized Israel one year after the establishment of the State - that can never be taken 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 Truman was Eisenhower and all he did was get cheated by Dullus. Dullus felt sorry about it later, because they forced Israel out. You have been through this whole damn thing before. We withdrew before and Eisenhower himself said later that it was a mistake - he shouldn't listen to Dullus - that Dullus forced him to do it. He certainly didn't do very much for Israel.

Eisenhower was Jack Kennedy and with all of the connections and the pressures and the friendships - what Jack Kennedy finally had 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 say's - 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 ~~xxx~~ 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 our 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

n you have between America and Germany and sometimes from a Jewish point of view, it's a little tragic - you know we have our 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 far away from that. Don't get caught by wishful thinking.

Remember how I began this whole thing - you know me, I dream, 1991, I - 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 words and go back and explain it to everybody and explain it with logic and explain it with the things you saw with your eyes, with photography - 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 favor 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 agree 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.

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,

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

n I say keep in mind this 23 years, 25 years, 30 years -
t in mind for another reason and I would like to switch off
- but also on to something of current affairs today - I
nd that you had the most unbelievable experience that any
er had, because you were out there Thursday night at the
when the Lady herself went out - well, boy if nothing else
pened to you on this trip - that alone ought to be worth the
admission and in terms of the memories as the years will go
e future - mark it well as a very historic moment. Now let
o explain what I mean. We believe 1971 is going to turn out
e turning point year in relation to the Jews of Russia - could
- we've been fooled before. A long time ago when I took
, I was a Rabbi then in the city of Milwaukee - somebody said
what a stupid thing for you to do - leave a nice, good
tion and devote yourself to this absolutely heartbreaking,
ridiculous, demeaning profession of running around and
g money - what the hell did you do it for. So I said to
- let's leave Israel alone, let's leave this out of
ation for a moment - if I were to tell you that I hoped that
ext 20, 30 years of my adult life, we might really crack open
et Union and get Jews out and bring them to rejoin the Jewish
n the Free World - would you say that was worth-while giving
glorious pulpit in Milwaukee, Wisconsin for. The guy looks
d says - sure, that's a different story. So that was in
in 1971 - twenty years have gone by and we are on the verge
hing very historic.

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

Cont. on Tape 2 Side 1)



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

~~have~~ 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 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 politic - and let's see your applications for visas. There will be about 300 this month. I don't know if anybody 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 k 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 ~~xx~~ 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 Morroccans. She is fighting war and she is taking in Algerians. Those are the only two ~~xx~~ 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 ~~knxxx~~ 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 ~~ya~~ 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 23 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 Savana rather a than in Washington. He's got to come to Washington. What'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 ~~don't~~ 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 ~~people~~ 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. ~~Sm~~ 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 ~~sm~~ 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 ^d 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 damed bit of difference in the motivation of a Jew who came from Russia ⁺ 80 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 wit 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 Yemenis", "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 ~~possibility~~ 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, whether 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: ~~Is~~ 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 not hing 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 beginning 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'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 lectured 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 Bahrein, 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 ~~was~~ 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 ~~xxxx~~ ^{should} 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.



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 Kartoum 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, he doesn't define the issue - that's okay - we've got time to get to ~~ix~~ 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 ~~ixad~~ ^{good} 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 ~~thru~~ 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 ~~also~~^{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 ~~th~~ 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

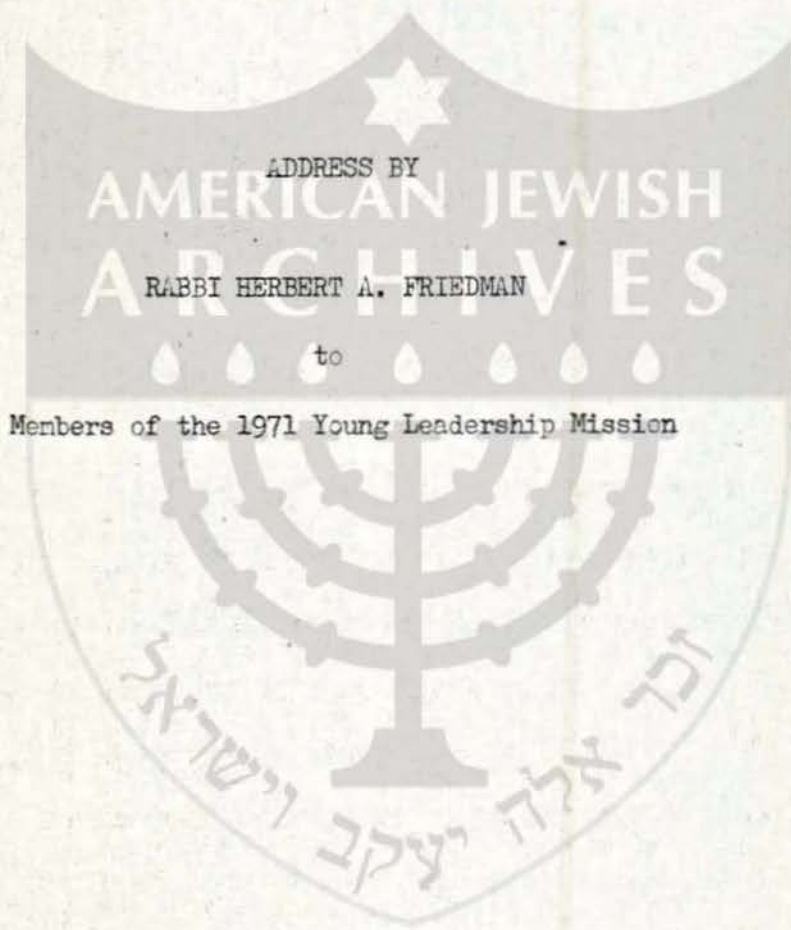
PD

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)

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 "Stratto'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 praetor wanted to be posted to Caesarea because of those gorgeous mansions of 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 come 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 one 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 let 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 look 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

14.3.71

- 12 -

sa

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.

YOUNG LEADERSHIP LECTURE 14 MAY 1971

I. ROOTS OF UNITED STATES JEWISH COMMUNITY

A. Early Beginnings to Revolutionary War

1. Jewish role in Pre-Exploration Period - Lebeson pp.3-14
2. Columbus Theory - Salvador de Madariaga
3. Jews to Brazil. Lived under benevolent Dutch rule - several hundred. Then Portugal conquered in 1654. Jews left in fear of Inquisition.

Jewish colonization:	Brazil	1500
	Lima	1533
	Concepcion	1600
	Barbados	1628
	Surinam	1639
	Curacao	1650
	Martinique	1654
	New Amsterdam	1654

4. New Amsterdam - Goodman PP 76-83
23 refugees arrived Sept. 1654 penniless aboard St. Charles from Recife. Stuyvesant didn't want them. Dutch West Indies Co. ordered them admitted.
5. By time of Revolution - Goodman p.3 - Jews were rare in 13 colonies. Never more than 1000 people among the 3 million inhabitants of colonies. Newport in heyday totalled at most 175. Perhaps N.Y. had as many, or little more. Philadelphia, Charleston and Savannah were smaller. Two large communities (several hundred) were in West Indies - Jamaica and Barbados.

B. German Immigration - 19th Century

1. Brought enlightenment, reform, assimilation, merchandising -

Marcus pp 6-26

C. Shtetl in Russia and Poland - 19th Century - (all quotations
in pages from "Life with People" Zborowski & Herzog)

1. Introduction

Characterized by piety, family life, poverty, emphasis on education. (Some poor people can't understand relevance of education to their predicament; Jews were like prisoners who learned how to make use of their prison time instead of merely ranting against their fate.)

Sacher - 191

2. Sabbath

3. Market - relations with Goyim - 66-67

4. Study - 72; learning gives prestige - 73.

Emphasis on learning began at Mt. Sinai - and is a continuum without date, or reference to space.

5. Status - learning, wealth, yichus

prosteh and shayneh

marriage - father seeks a learned son-in-law

6. Learning is not simple - teaches deductive logic - 121,122

7. Whole concept of Rebbeh making miracles, his tzaddikim and Hassidim - court, dynasty - people bring problems, human and business.

Eating and studying together in the Court.

8. Importance of charity - mitzva - aveyreh - 191

tzedeka - 193; zkhus - koved - 195

zkhus adds to yichus; organizations - 203

fund raisers - 208; beggar - 211

9. "LIFE IS WITH PEOPLE" - the community is one family -
The shtetl self-governed by men who know and men who
give - 214-224
Klal Yisroel - 230
10. Hard work - value of, and necessity of - 240
Vast majority of shtetl population either (1) sell on a
very small scale; or (2) engage in skilled trades; or
(3) serve as strenuous unskilled labor - 243
balagoleh; milkman, forester; peddlars - 252
Almost everyone poor - food simple - 256,7
Value of money - 262 and dreams of it - 263
11. Marriage, children, growing up fast, kosher house.
12. Summary - 409 FF

II. PRESENT STRUCTURE OF U.S. COMMUNITY

- A. Federated concept - Boston - 1895 - First formal organization
- B. Struggle with ideology and direction in local community -
hospital; Jewish education (Bureau, parochial, congregational
school); aged; blacks; drugs
- C. United on Israel
- D. Future will depend upon own creativity - Lebeson - 507

III. ROOTS OF ISRAELI COMMUNITY

- A. Early Zionist Works - Spurred by European Nationalism
 1. Moses Hess - "Rome and Jerusalem" (1862)
Socialist, cosmopolitan, bohemian, finally returned to
Judaism.
Impressed by Italian patriot Mazzini. If Italians were
entitled to their Risorgimento - why were Jews not
entitled as well to their own national awakening and
homeland?

If liberation of Rome was an act of historic justice, why not the liberation of Jerusalem: (Hertzberg - 133)

2. Leo Pinsker - "Auto-Emancipation" (1882)

1881 is great turning point in modern Jewish history. Alex II assassinated, followed by two terrible years of pogroms. Pinsker defined 3 causes of anti-semitism: The Jews are a "ghost people" unlike any other in the world, and therefore feared as a thing apart; they are everywhere foreigners and nowhere hosts in their own national right; they are in economic competition with every majority within which they live.

There is only one workable solution: find a country of their own where the bulk of Jewry would at last come to rest. (Hertzberg - 198)

3. Bilu - Lacquer - 3,4

Established Mikveh Israel Agricultural school (1870); and Petach Tikvah (1880)

4. Chovevei Zion (1881)

In 1880 population of Palestine was 35,000 Jews and 110,000 Arabs. First aliyah began in 1881 (following Pobiedonestov)

	Second	"	"	"	1904 (following Kishinev)
	(Third	"	"	"	1919 (following Balfour Declaration and war)
	(
	(
During period ((Fourth	"	"	"	1924 (following economic restrictions of Polish gov't)
1919-1948 ((
453,000 Jews ((
entered. ((
	(Fifth	"	"	"	1929 - Hitler

5. Theodore Herzl - "Jewish State" (1896)

Never heard of Pinsker. Came to same conclusion as result of exposure to Dreyfus trial. Thought of Argentine. Episode with Baron de Hirsch. "You are breeding beggars."

- B. First and second Aliyah - to WW I (refer to Soustelle book)
- C. British Mandate Period
- D. Arab riots 1921 and 1936-9
- E. WW II period
- F. 1945-1948
- G. Statehood - three wars

IV. OTHER JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN WORLD

- 1. Russia- 2½ - 3 million
- 2. Eastern Europe - almost empty

Poland	5,000
Yugoslavia	6,000
Hungary	80,000
Rumania	100,000

- 3. Great Britain - 410,000

High rate of intermarriage, in view of "orthodox" establishment.
 Religious life stable.
 Strong pro-Israel sentiment.

- 4. France - 550,000

Three waves - old (pre-WW I)
 DPs (post-WW II)
 North Africans

Pro-Israel, in spite of DeGaulle Attitude

- 5. Belgium - 40,000

Brussels - 24,000	-	highly assimilated
Antwerp - 13,000	-	"ghettoized"-no intermarriage, religious, largest community center in Europe

6. Italy - 34,000

Not very active Jewish life
Slow dissolution of community
Milan has day school

7. West Germany - 26,000

Rather strong and vigorous, considering its mixed-up background.
Pro-Israel activity high; also cultural activity

8. Canada - 280,000 - 300,000

- Toronto - 97,000
- Montreal - 110,000
- Winnipeg - 10,000
- Vancouver - 8,000
- Ottawa - 6,000
- Balance - 55,000 scattered

Saul Hayes - "There are more institutes for the study of Jewish literature and there are more religious activities in Canada than in Israel itself." Therefore, there was no threat of assimilation in the foreseeable future.

9. Argentina - 500,000

Buenos Aires - 380,000
Balance scattered in 500 places
High rate of assimilation, intermarriage, non-affiliation with Jewish communal life.
The organized community highly Israel-oriented. Religion plays minor role.

10. Brazil - 170,000

- Sao Paulo - 60,000
- Rio - 50,000

- 11. Mexico - 30-40,000
- 12. Chile - 40,000
- 13. South Africa - 120,000

Strong organization in every direction; education, Israel, etc.

V. HOLOCAUST (Levin- XV-XVI)

- A. Rise of Hitler - to 1933
- B. Consolidation - to Nurenberg Laws - 1936
- C. Failure of World Jewish Community to Act (S.S. Wise boycott suggestion - 1936)
- D. Failure of World to Act - Evian Conference 1938 (Read resolution)
 EVIAN CONFERENCE - summer 1938 - at initiative of FDR - aim of asking for concerted international action on a broader basis. Over 30 nations accepted invitation to attend.

Its main intention was to establish an Intergovernmental Committee which should be instrumental in assisting the emigration of refugees within the limits of existing immigration laws, while emigration and settlement were to be financed by private organizations.

The Conference ended with the following resolution:

"The I.G.C., recognizing the value of the work of the existing refugee services of the League of Nations and of the studies on migration made by the I.L.O., shall cooperate fully with these organizations, and the I.G.C. in London shall consider the means by which the cooperation of the Committee and the Director with these organizations shall be established."

BIG JOKE -

WHILE SIX MILLION DIED

- E. Start of War - 1939
- F. Wannsee Conference - 1941 - Final Solution
- G. Ghettos - camps = Death factoried 1941-1945
(show slides)

VI. POST-HOLOCAUST AND PRE-STATE

- A. DP camp period
- B. Haganah efforts on illegal immigration
- C. Haganah efforts on illegal arming
- D. Zionist efforts among U.S. Jews and opposition (American Council)
- E. Political efforts at U.N.

VII. STATEHOOD

- A. War of Independence
- B. Emptying European camps & Cyprus
- C. Ingathering - Yemen, Iraq, Morocco, North Africa
- D. Tents to Ma'abarot
- E. Malben
- F. Lachish
- G. War again
- H. More Ingathering
- I. Water pipeline, oil pipeline, industrialization
- J. War again
- K. Spread of education

VIII. TASKS AHEAD IN ISRAEL

- A. Military - Political - more wars until real independence and sovereignty and normal life in the area is achieved.
- B. Economic - until viability without outside help is achieved
(U.S. was debtor nation first 32 years of its existence.)
- C. Social - Educational - until one society is amalgamated, doing away with dangers of two Israels.

IX. TASKS AHEAD IN AND FOR WORLD JEWRY

- A. Russian Jewry - immigration rights plus internal survival rights (schools, language, religion, etc.)
- B. U.S. Jewry - developing a commitment to Jewish survival through knowing its value, to us and to world at large.
- C. Free World Jewry - ditto
- D. Latin American Jewry - fast migration

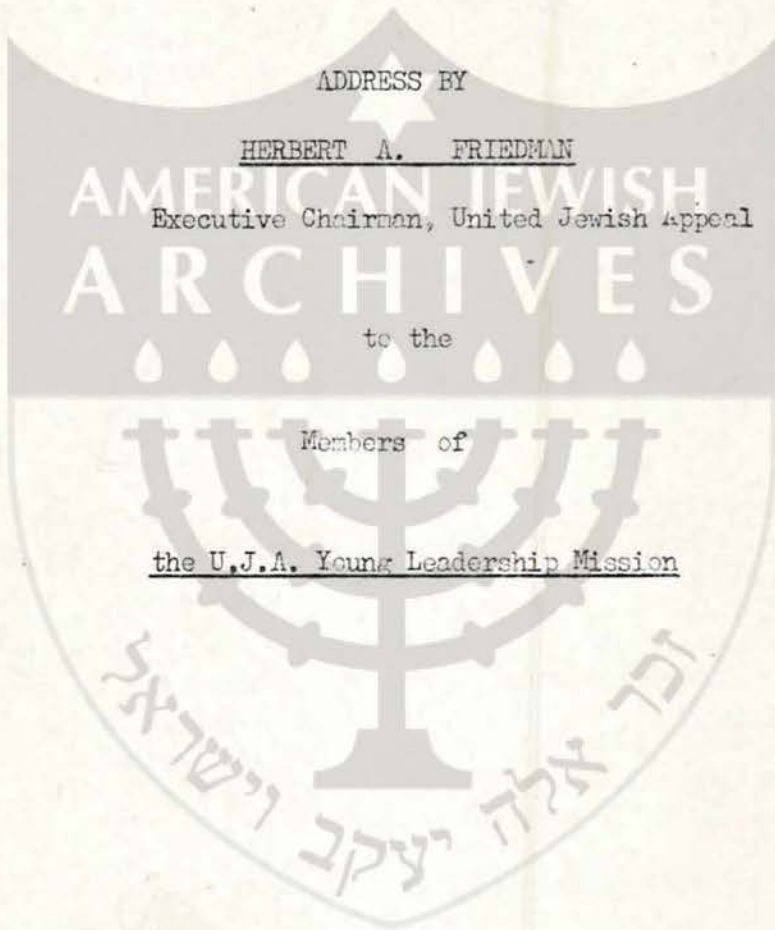
X. VALUE OF JEWISH SURVIVAL

- A. Jews created sense of history - past, present, future - all serve to give man memory. This is his strongest creative tool, including will and desire to continue.
- B. Jews created social justice - prophetic tradition in Bible - see Vorspan book.
- C. Jewish values are optimistic - forward-looking. This is good for man's malaise.
- D. Jewish intellectuality is unique - in medicine and music, mathematics and marketing.
- E. Quote Fleg in Hertzberg - 480
- F. Close with personal statement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "Pilgrim People" - Anita L. Lebeson - Harper Bros. 1950
- "American Overture" - Abram V. Goodman - J.P.S. - 1947
- "Memoirs of American Jews" - Jacob R. Marcus - J.P.S. - 1955
- "Life is with People" - Zborowski and Herzog - Schocken - 1962 ed.
- American Jewish Yearbook - pub. by American Jewish Committee - vol. 71, 1970
- "The Zionist Idea" - ed. by Arthur Hertzberg - J.P.S. - 1960
- "The Israel-Arab Reader" - ed. by Walter Laqueur - Bantam - 1969
- "The Long March of Israel" - Jacques Soustelle - American Heritage Press - 1969
- "The Final Solution" - Gerald Reitlinger - Beechurst Press - 1953
- "The Destruction of the European Jews" - Raul Hilberg - Quadrangle - 1961
- "The Holocaust" - Nora Levin - Crowell - 1968
- "Jewish Values and Social Crisis" - Albert Vorspan - U.A.H.C. - 1969
- "The Meaning of Judaism" - Roland Gittelsohn - World - 1970
- "Judaism" - Isidore Epstein - Penguin - 1960
- "The Course of Modern Jewish History" - Howard M. Sachar - Dell Pub. Co. 1958

3x F



15th July, 1971

CONFIDENTIAL - NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

Donald Benjamin: I think that this morning's session of the graduation airforce exercises speaks for itself and I also have a feeling that all of us will understand why the Israeli airforce is considered to be probably the top airforce.

Yesterday I was kidded about the responsibilities of being chairman of a mission and this is really one of the thrilling and exciting ones. The gentleman on my right is probably responsible for the effect of young leadership today in the United States more than any other single human being. Rabbi Friedman is a graduate of UAL and Hebrew Union College - was a chaplain in 1945 and he became very concerned with the problems of the survivors of the death camps. After that he served as Rabbi of two major congregations in the United States - one in Milwaukee and one in Denver - and joined the United Jewish Appeal in 1955 as Executive Vice-Chairman. He has recently moved to Israel with his wife and children and is leading us as the Executive Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal from Israel.

It is truly a privilege and a pleasure to have you with us.

Rabbi Friedman: This morning's programme was not put on especially for you - although many of the things that you will see during this week are arranged especially for you.

The airforce has got to replenish its crew of pilots and it does so in a very interesting ceremony - the parents all come, there are orange peels strewn all over the place. It's a very family oriented thing as you saw if you looked around the stands. There's a great deal of pride in "my son the pilot" - no more "my son the doctor" - and the pride goes out of the immediate family circle into the whole kibbutz from which the boy comes - hundreds of people share in the enthusiasm for his accomplishments. At the same time that you have got 5,000 people in the stands you might just as well not just give out the wings, but you might just show a little bit of the muscle so that the citizens of the country can have a little bit of reassurance that there is power which is protective.

That reassurance contributes to the morale of this country - the morale of this country in turn is so high that it contributes to its own security. It's like a self-replenishing circle. And there are two or three basic things that you ought to understand right from the beginning. If you don't understand those things, you will never understand this country.

One - this country is in a state of war, feels itself to be and in fact is. Number two - that war is a more or less permanent state of affairs which has temporary interruptions by periods of cease-fire. And the cease-fire runs out and the fighting starts again. Number three - this country knows with a very deep intuition that it can depend only upon itself plus its only ally in the outside world, which is the Jewish people. From time to time this country might have a friendly power - for many years France was a friendly power when this country

couldn't get a thing from the United States. Now, thank goodness the United States is a friendly power in terms of selling equipment and you can't get anything from France.

The moral of that lesson is that you might have a friendly power in the outside world and that friendly power might change from time to time or you might not have one. But the basic thing that you have to understand is that you have to depend on yourself and the only ally that's reliable and that's the rest of the Jewish people. Now you can say - well, my God, that's the sort of mentality of a beleaguered country with its back to the wall, almost a feeling of paranoia, that everyone's out to kill you and the only ones who will defend you are you yourselves plus your fellow Jews. Well it's no good putting fancy names on it - it's not paranoia, it's a very hard appraisal of the realities of surviving. For 23 years now you have been fighting for your life and your existence and you haven't had very many people to help you.

Now if you understand that, then everything else that I saw is just commentary. If you don't understand that, then you will never understand this country or what you're looking at. A couple of basic facts - this country is 23 years old - in terms of an independent sovereign state. This country is 100 years old in terms of an effort of the Jews to colonize it and make it work. This country started 100 years ago in 1870 when a Frenchman came over here and founded the first agricultural school - Mikve Yisrael - the hope of Israel.

And for 100 years the Jews have been breaking the rocks and curing themselves from malaria from the mosquitoes and draining out the swamps and planting trees, because for 2,000 years the trees were all taken up and nobody bothered to give a damn about planting them. And the Jews came themselves from European urban populations into a rural agricultural population. And during the course of those years the Arabs fought every inch of the way and never stopped. No reason to believe therefore that they're going to stop now - no signs have arisen to indicate that they are willing to accept the existence of this country and when I say accept - you know how the whole war could be over in one minute - all it takes is for Egypt, that's the most important of the Arab States, all the others will fall into line, for Egypt to say, "Okay, we give in - we agree - you Jews can have your country in this part of the world and we'll recognize you and we'll do business with you." Five minutes after that you can draw the lines - you figure out what territory you keep, what territory you don't. The whole thing can be settled in 10 or 14 days.

Conversely, until they are willing to make that statement - that they recognize us in this area - there isn't ten days, but ten more years will go by and we'll sit like this and have periodic fights, periods of fire, more fights. You can say to me that's a very gloomy picture and what I want to try and get across to you in the strongest way I know is this - that that's not a gloomy picture at all.

We have to fight for our existence but that doesn't mean that it's gloomy because our existence means that for every year that goes on we take in more immigrants and we build more farms and build more houses and we build more schools, etc. etc., etc. - life goes on - it develops - the country gets stronger - the

country gets bigger - the gross national product goes up, the country gets richer. We got 23 years of fighting wars as a state, and in the course of those 23 years the population has quadrupled in size. So if we have to go on fighting wars for another 23 years then by 1990-95 the population will quadruple again.

So it's not a question of a gloomy picture, it's a question of, we got to fight for our existence until the moment that they call the fight off and we don't see signs that they're bound to and that's why I think the display this morning was very important - important for the morale of the people here - important for them to know that their government has got a certain power which is able to protect them - okay - now that's the basis of it.

If you believe that the Jews have a right to our country and if you believe that this should be the country - then you're with it - then you take whatever other consequences there are and you won't be discouraged and you won't be gloomy and you won't say, "oh, Israel's got a terrible image," "oh, the PR is lousy," "oh, why doesn't she make some compromises to get peace." That's all nonsense.

The Arab point of view is very simple. The Arab point of view is, Jews, we're terribly sorry about what's happened to you, but what's that got to do with us. You people come from Europe - Hitler tried to kill you in Europe - you want to have your own country so that no Hitler can ever do it to you again. Fine, go get yourself a place in Europe. What are you sticking your nose into our part of the world for - this Middle East belongs to us.

This argument is no good - there's room for everybody - they got 13 countries - we want one. They got a hundred million population - we have 2½ million. So we argue that there's plenty room for everybody and they won't listen to that. We argue with them that we are not taking anything away from them - mostly we're replanting the desert - mostly we buy every piece of land we ever got. What we've won in war we don't have to give back. We keep arguing with them that we belong here - Abraham started here - we remind them in case they don't know it that the British once offered us the place - beautiful place, warm, uranium, oil, no rocks - lots of trees. We wouldn't need to have a Jewish National Fund, big grazing lands with lots of animals - the name of the place was Uganda. They offered it to us in 1903 and we turned it down, said no thanks, we would like that rocky little piece of real estate that is somehow connected with our background. Nobody understood it then - nobody understands it now. We understand it, because we are a crazy, kooky, stubborn people and we tried to show the Arabs we're not taking them - we're helping them raise their standards by raising our standards. Well, so far we haven't convinced them - so far they keep trying to shoot us out of the box.

So I think that next year July 15th there's going to be another air show - and there'll be more pilots graduated and there'll be some more Phantoms up in the air and that's the way it's going to go. Now you'll be strong if you're with it and it'll be weak if you're not with it, because you are the outside ally. So this is it in a nutshell, everything else is just commentary.

Let me explain to you the geography - the stuff that you see here in dark green, this is the Israel before 1967. The stuff that you see in the light green up here on the Golan - this area which is marked Ephraim and Yehuda which are the

biblical names but which in modern terms are called the Left Bank - that's all cased in 1967. This whole thing here called the Sinai Desert - this is all green now, because it's all part of Israel, but we keep it differentiated, the light green and dark green to show that this is the territory under dispute. You got Lebanon up here - you got Syria here - Jordan here - Saudi Arabia here - Egypt here - we are nicely surrounded.

You are going to go pretty far in this big Israel - as a matter of fact you are going to go to the other limits of it - the Israel of the bible was from way up here to Beersheva where you are today - you are going to see a much larger Israel than the one of the bible. You are going up here to the Golan which Syria had and the topography of it is such that the Golan is hundreds and hundreds of feet higher - the plateau - above all the kibbutzim that are down here in this plain and when you see it you will understand why we won't give Golan back - because we will never again put ourselves in the position of fish in a barrel where they are up there and can just shoot. You don't even have to range, you don't even have to aim. All you have to do is just shoot, and you'll kill some Jews or at least some Jewish cows. So we will not give that back.

There were 650,000 Arabs living in here. Our problem is if we keep the land we got to keep the people. We cannot keep the land or the people, they got to go back somewhere, they got to go back to somebody. They don't want to go back and become part of Jordan - this was the territory by the way, and mark this well, which in a United Nations Petition in 1947 was originally set up as the original Arab State. They won it - they don't have it now. If they say that they want to have a state called Palestine we say fine - we took a different name anyway - we took Israel. If you want to have Palestine fine, take this territory, call yourself Palestine. You want to make a deal with Jordan and join Jordan - okay by us - the only thing is we will never, we will always keep on the Jordan River a security force - always a security force there - we can't let Syria send in 300 tanks into Jordan and have them come across.

They did that. The civil war last September in Jordan when the guerillas up here in the north were fighting the king - Syria sent down 200 tanks. They could gobble up Jordan in one second if the guerillas were to take the city and kill the king. Syria would have moved in and swallowed up the country. After two days the Syrian tanks withdrew - do you know why? Right up here on the southern tip of the Golan as close as we could get, we were watching.

I tell you these things not to indicate what the terms of the peace settlement could be but to indicate to you that a peace settlement is absolutely easy to get once the Arabs say okay, we'll recognize you. By the way, you're going to go up onto the Golan, you are going to go along the Jordan River Valley here. Firing has started again here, at this point, of katyusha rockets coming over to these kibbutzim, but we haven't lost anybody yet and we're not about to begin with you. It's been quiet for months and months now, but now the firing has started again.

As a matter of fact the rockets came in the other day into Mr. Shenhabi's home town of Petach Tikva - it's right here near Tel Aviv and they had their nerve. They brought in long-range rockets, set it up in an Arab village or ex-Arab

village, fired to Petach Tikvah, hit a hospital, killed a lot of people, wounded a lot of people. So you'll go along this line here - you'll probably be better off here than if you stay in Petach Tikvah - and then you go way over the other way. You have been given permission to go to the Canal - we've really taken a lot of groups through here and the Canal's been closed for months and months and now you have permission to go and we will fly you up as close to the line as we can and then get you over here to this place called Kantara and then we'll fly you back.

So you are going to see the whole country - you are going to see it from all the way up here from the Syrian border all the way to the Egyptian border. You'll get one of the most thorough examinations of this country that any group has had a chance to have.

I would like to show you a few points. In between from one point to another, there's a town that doesn't show on this map called Caesarea - named after Julius Caesar - it's up here between Natanya and Haifa - and that's on the border of the sea. I would like to point out four problems and then open it up for questions.

Problem number one - I would like to make sure you understand there is no political settlement for peace and there is no movement towards one. There are two American diplomats over in Cairo now trying to persuade the Egyptians. Mr. Sisco is coming here next week to try to persuade the Israelis. There is nothing to be persuaded on. The practical problem is an insoluble one. Right now specifically what the diplomats are working on is, okay, if we can't get a whole peace settlement, can we at least get a partial peace settlement, can you figure out how to get the Canal open.

Take the Canal. The Egyptians would like to have the Canal open because there are a couple of hundred million dollars in annual tolls which they would like to have. The Russians would like to have the Canal open because then they can take the whole damned fleet that they have got in the Mediterranean, which is making the American Sixth Fleet look silly and it's making NATO go crazy, because the Russian Fleet in the Mediterranean is stronger than any western fleet and the Russians want to get that fleet down through the Suez Canal, out into the Indian Ocean because all of the sub-continent below China is waiting for them to pick it off. The British are leaving the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea and the Russian ships are getting outside every British Port waiting to move in.

The British are leaving the Port of Aden at the tip of the Arabian Peninsula - they've been in Aden for 150 years - they're leaving Aden the 31st of December this year, five months from now. The Russians have got 12 ships hanging outside the twelve mile limit just waiting to move in when the British flag comes down. Ceylon - I gave you all the names of all the ports in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean - but the Russians have got to get there and the only easy way to get there is to get that Canal open.

The United States doesn't want that Canal open. The United States has encouraged Israel for four years to keep that Canal closed - not that Israel needed

much encouragement. Now the United States says to Israel, alright, look, to hell with it. Open up the Canal, make a deal with them, even though it's in their interests. The Egyptians will get the money, the Russians will get the access, never mind. If we can break the ice and you can make a deal on at least opening the Suez, maybe that will be the first step towards getting a general peace settlement. So we have been working now for weeks and months on this temporary thing of trying to get the Canal open and we say yes, we say we'll pull back when you see that line down there. You'll realize what we're giving up - we'll pull back, it doesn't matter - five miles, ten miles, fifteen miles. We'll let them come across and bring their technicians across in order to clean up the Canal, dredge it, re-cement it, all the engineers, anything they want, also civilians. But we want an assurance that they will not bring troops across and we want an assurance that the Russians won't move the missiles across, because the missiles are all along the line of the Canal. We can't get that damn assurance, so we say, what the hell - and I must say that the Americans are not twisting Israel's arm, the Americans understand it, they'd like to see a settlement, they'd like to see the Canal opened up. But they know perfectly well that the Egyptians aren't going to give a guarantee - no troops - that the Russians won't give a guarantee - no moving of missiles - and how can Israel be expected to pull back without any kind of assurance. Can't do it, it doesn't work. So we're deadlocked again. So that's point number one. If anybody talks about why doesn't Israel make peace - look at the geography gentlemen. Peace is dependent on geography plus the will of your enemy. If he wants peace even geography can be overcome. So I'm stressing the point, maybe I'm overstressing it, but I don't want you to get taken in by this seductive argument that somehow or other there's a magic something that Israel could do to get peace. There isn't. There's no concession that she could make that would turn the trick like this. Okay, that's on the political future.

Point number two that I want you to understand is the military problem. I have here a list of statistics which I'm sure will be boring to you but I'd like to read them. The three Arab countries that have large supplies of Russian equipment - that's Egypt, Syria and Iraq which doesn't show on the map - it's over here to the east, it's the most fanatical of all the Arab countries, it didn't even sign an armistice agreement in 1949, and it is still technically in a state of war with Israel from 1949, not 1967. Egypt - Syria - Iraq - the three countries that are glutted with Russian equipment - Mig 21 fighters, 375 - Suchoi 7 fighter bombers, 200 - Ilyushin 28 light bombers, 80 - Tupulov 16 heavy bombers, 36 - Mig 17s, 245 - a total of 935 first line combat aircraft owned by the three Arab countries plus the Mig 23s, the Mig 21s and the Suchoi 11s which are owned by the Soviet Airforce - which didn't turn it over to the Egyptians but who work them from their own Soviet bases on Egyptian soil with Soviet pilots and Soviet commanders and Soviet radarmen - this is an extension of the Russian Airforce with the most advanced stuff.

So if 935 aircraft are owned by the Egyptians and with what's owned by the Russians - over a thousand combat aircraft - not talking about helicopters, reconnaissance planes, transport planes - none of them - combat aircraft - the biggest of Israeli aircraft are classified, but what did you see this morning? 2 Phantoms - put 4 - 4 Skyhawks - 2 or 4 Mirages - 8 Mirages - and we're talking about a thousand airplanes on the other side - we're talking about some number of planes on our side which is considerably less than theirs.

Now what makes everybody here go crazy is when you get into a ratio where we think that they are running five and six to one against us. We feel we can live with a ratio of 3 or 4 to one, but when it gets to 5 or 6 to one we begin to get a little bit scared and that's why there is now a lot of pressure on Mr. Nixon to make an agreement to sell Israel more Phantom planes. The last agreement has expired. There was an agreement for a certain number of Phantoms. They were bought, they were paid for, they were delivered, they're here. They are functioning here in the Israeli airforce and there are no more on the way and there's a lot of pressure now to get the President to agree to another contract to sell another bunch of planes. How we pay for them is another story. He hasn't answered, but the pressure is on and the pressure is going to stay on until he comes through with an answer.

So on the military situation we have got this Russian build-up plus this Russian treaty that they made with Egypt where they say they'll stay in Egypt now 15 years - that means it's not child's play - it means we're facing the Russian presence for the next decade of years. I don't know how anybody can have any illusory feelings about peace being around the corner. Okay, that's the political prognosis - no settlement - military problem - heavy imbalance - the only other thing I should say is that in all other battles besides aircraft the United States Government has been selling to Israel during the past year very well and delivering very well and very rapidly and I'm not interested in what your politics are, I'll just state it as a fact that President Nixon has been absolutely marvellous. Of all the Presidents that have dealt with Israel during the 23 years of its existence, he's probably been the best, strange as that may sound to some of you. Well, I think his attitude is based on an anti-communist attitude, and there's a certain logic in the way he thinks.

Now there are two other problems I'd like to allude to. One is the problem of immigration and the other is the problem of social welfare. Political settlement and war, military - that's one thing. Get off of that and get onto the civilian side which is the reason why this country was created in the first place. We didn't build this country to fight wars, we built this country to try and save Jewish life and that's what this immigration is all about and we have taken into this country almost a million, four hundred thousand - by the time this year's over it will be close to a million and a half Jews - many of whom would have died if they did not have this place to come to. So that when you talk about saving life, it's not an allegorical statement, it's not a demographic statement, it's a statement of pragmatic fact and reality. Jews who came here out of Moslem countries in Africa or Asia, Jews who came here from the various countries in Eastern Europe, those Jews might very well have lost their lives in the turmoils of the last quarter of a century if they had not come here where they are safe and protected in freedom and equality. Right now in a spirit or feeling which is giving everybody a big lift, a big high, because after all the yelling and the pressures and the demonstrations, the Russians have finally caved in and Russian Jews are being permitted out, still in very small numbers when you talk about the 3 million Jews living in Russia, but some thousands are getting out whilst we couldn't use the figure thousands if we added up Russian Jews of the last ten years. Now we're getting, during the first half of this year already, probably 5,000. If it goes on this way we could have ten - again I repeat, it's not in the bucket - ten thousand out of 3 million - but you have got to understand what it

means to crack open a monolithic police state which doesn't let anybody out and gave in only because, and we know it for a fact, because they say so - they tell us the reason - they say we are giving some Jewish exit visas in order to try and reduce the pressure in the world against us. Well, that's fine, so all we do is keep up more pressure and more demonstrations and more mass meetings and parades in Chicago and anywhere else - if it works, it works.

Meanwhile, as exciting as it is to realize that you are getting the Jews of Russia after nearly half a century when they were locked in since 1917 - as exciting as it is, it's equally pragmatic because the rush to get housing for them and the rush to get schools built for them and the rush to get jobs found for them - because they say, and here I'm treading on a delicate one so be careful and don't misquote me because I'll try to explain it as I go along - the Russians say - you can't treat us as though we're Moroccans or as though we're Algerians - we're high school graduates, we're college graduates, we were engineers, there's a naval architect - I don't know why they ever let him out - one of the great naval architects of Russia has now entered this country. So the Russians are coming in and saying you can't put us into houses of 250 sq. feet, 350 sq. feet, we need a thousand square feet and the standard is to give immigrant five hundred feet, six hundred square feet. Six hundred feet is about the size of your living room. This is for a whole family - sleeping, eating, kitchen, toilet, everything - four people live in a flat this size. So the Russians say - we want more than that - so now we got something in Israel called Black Panthers and they say - what are you discriminating in favor of the Russians for. We Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, Iraqis - we are the black Jews - we are the no-good Jews - we are the bottom half of the economic ladder - that's what the Black Panther business is all about, it is under-privileged people living on the poverty line who believe that the reason for their poverty is because of some kind of racial discrimination against them. There is none - this is not the reason at all and what has been pointed out to them is that Black Panther has got a nasty connotation because the Black Panthers are anti - they changed their name and call themselves not Black Panthers, but Cachol-Lavan - Blue and White - they're patriotic Israelis - they don't want anybody to misunderstand them so when somebody asks them, why did you take a name like that, they say this is our name to get attention in the newspapers. Now what's their beef?

Their beef is that they came here ten or fifteen years ago - that's when the Moroccan Jews came - and at that time they admit that Israel was a poverty-stricken country and they were put into tents and corrugated tin huts 200 sq. feet and then they were transferred into permanent concrete housing 350 sq. feet, 400 sq. feet and that's where they were left - on the retarded social development ladder. They claim that they are the victims of poverty, over-crowding, large families only living in slums, forced to drop out of school because of that and go out and make a living, unqualified to do entrance examinations into the universities like the Ashkenazi white Jews, no high places for them in the Government, no high places for them in the army - there isn't a general in this country who comes from a Sephardic background - not one - they take all that as a sign of discrimination based on racial origin.

That isn't the case at all - what it's based on is very simple - poverty, and I don't care how complicated you want to get to try to explain it, it means one thing - poverty means not having money. Now how do you put money in a man's pocket. You got to teach him a trade. How do you teach him a trade. He's got to go to school. How do you teach him to go to school. He's got to have a desk in a corner of his house where he can sit and read his school books and if you've got eight people living in 400 sq. feet, you have got a vicious circle which you can't break. The kid can't stay in school, he doesn't stay in a vocational school, he can't learn a trade. This country is so short of skilled labour that it's pathetic - anybody can get a job here. Americans say - what would we do if we came here - there are jobs for everybody - not the kind you got now, but jobs. These poor kids can't take the jobs that are open in this country, because they haven't got the education.

So how do you break the circle. So you say, okay, we'll subsidize the family, we'll tell the father, we'll give you money which your fifteen year old kid would have earned if you sent him out on the street to sell papers, so let him go to school. Here is the money - let the kid stay in school. So the kid stays in school, but his father can't read or write Hebrew - he hasn't learned it in ten or fifteen years - still speaks Arabic from Morocco or whatever he speaks - you have got this cultural gap - so you have the same typical vicious circle. Now you ask me is there discrimination and I answer you flat - no, because the policy of this government and every municipality is to try and break that vicious circle. The policy is to try and give them a bigger house, the policy is to try and get him out of the slum, the policy is to try and give him a job, give him vocational training and slowly but surely it's going to work - it'll solve itself - the problem I think will never be solved, I really honest to God think it will never be. The sores here, I really don't think you'll see them ten years from now, I really think you won't, that's the difference.

So in the meanwhile we are struggling through these very hard, nasty social problems - we have a desire to solve them and we have a plan to solve them - but the plan goes when the Russians start shooting again, because the plan takes money. We have blown in the four years since the Six Day War probably two billion dollars on defense.

There's a large group of young Israelis - Ashkenazin - second and third generation sabras whose fathers and grandfathers came here and they can't get married because there is no housing for them either. There are thousands and thousands of kids registered on a waiting list to get housing in order to get married - some kids finally quit and get married anyhow and live with their in-laws, but everybody knows how lousy that is. So you have got a list of thousands and thousands of Israeli couples - they complain - they don't scream discrimination - they are just desperate and those Israeli kids - they're not Algerians, they're not black, they are three generations born here - they can't get anything either.

So I want you to be aware that immigration is good and it's beautiful because it saves Jewish lives and that's what we have created here to do - but on the other hand it's got its problems because the more Jews you take in, the less you can do for the ones you took in two years ago, and three years ago and five

years ago. Now that's it altogether - no political settlement - therefore the continuation of military pressure - therefore the continuation of military purchases - therefore less on servicing new immigrants that are coming in every day and we want to take them in, and including the condition of old immigrants that you took in five and three years ago and that's the whole thing in a nutshell.

Everything that you see in this country - just try to measure up against these four things - political settlement, military problems, immigration, and social problems - and that is the key to understanding Israel and if you apply that key - that's the code - and if you apply that code to everything you see, it'll all fall into place.

Question: I just have a question relating to the houses - we have heard so much about the housing shortage - what is the approximate cost per housing unit?

Rabbi Friedman: The approximate cost per housing unit is around nine or ten thousand dollars for a standard 600 sq. feet immigrant house. I'm not talking about luxury housing - I'm talking about immigrant housing. I was in Jerusalem yesterday and looked at apartments that cost 250,000 pounds that Israelis are buying so fast you would think they were bargains- immigrant housing runs at about 35,000 pounds a unit.

Question: Where do the funds come from?

Rabbi Friedman: Housing is built on current income plus the campaigns plus what the country can generate in tax.

Question: How does an immigrant buy housing?

Rabbi Friedman: He can get a forty thousand pound loan from the Jewish Agency - the rest you pay cash. You can borrow the money from the commercial market if you can find it. Most of the time you can't at rates below anywhere from 15% to 20%. So most housing here is bought on the basis of - a guy buys a house once in his life. If he's not a new immigrant, but an Israeli, he can't even get the forty thousand pound loan, so he has to borrow from a commercial bank and he pays fifteen percent of his livelihood.

The cost of housing in this country will never go down until two things go down. One - technological old-fashioned methods - number two - the cost of money. Until that goes down the cost of units will remain high.

Question: What about interesting private investors in housing here?

Rabbi Friedman: Well, I think everybody in God's green earth is trying to get private investors to come here and put up housing.

The Russians are getting bigger housing - yes - did I hear somebody say why. Number one - because it's taken half a century to get them out and that's one good reason why. And we want them to be happy here - and we want to continue to propagandize by writing letters home for other Russian Jews to have the courage to stand up and fight their own government. Every Russian Jew who comes here is received here well with open arms and loving care and good conditions. No - they wouldn't have come anyway - do you think that renaissance - that phenomenon

of Jewish people in Russia is something accidental - I think what happened ten years ago, why couldn't it happen twenty years ago.

No - they didn't come with a promise of anything - they came with the secret police on their tail - they came happy to get out. We want them to be received well here, we want them to feel that the fight to get out and to come here is worthwhile. We want them to feel that they have come back to the Jewish People and that their struggle against their own government which was a very courageous thing, was justified and worthwhile for them to have gone through and we want them to say to their friends and relatives back home, this is the place and we were right, that the dream has turned out to be true in reality. That's the main thing - that's what it all boils down to - the dream that they had when struggling to get out has now become a reality.

Question: How can we help with the demonstrations to put the pressure on the Russians?

Rabbi Friedman: By whatever your own local community organizes do - you ask about the Kahane business - I am a great believer in large scale organized efforts - the Kahane thing is not important.

What I care about is if more communities can organize systematically large-scale - involving thousands of people - sending a delegation down to the Soviet Embassy in Washington and saying, we had a meeting in Virginia last night and a thousand people came to that meeting and they all signed this protest and we are here to deliver this protest to you and our Mayor was there and he signed it and our Governor was there and he signed it, and we want you to know that we think your treatment of the Jews is wrong and if any Jews want to leave, they ought to be free to leave. The United Nations says that the first freedom that a man ought to have is the freedom of movement. It's a fact, it's in the Charter of the United Nations.

So if you want to do something, I'd rather you put your energy into that kind of meeting and not the Kahane kind - you do the big meeting - the next day 20 of you get out there and bang the door of the Russian Embassy and they won't let you in but they read every proclamation that is sent to them. So I won't pass judgment on the Kahane business, I just believe that the larger the scale the better and I don't think the Kahane approach is a large scale effort - that's my opinion.

Question: I've got two questions to ask - Jerusalem has been annexed and is not negotiable - are other things not negotiable like Sharm-el Sheikh.

Rabbi Friedman: There are a lot of suggestions as to how Sharm-el-Sheikh should be handled. Whether to lease it or give it back to them. We could give it back to them, but we want to keep troops there - the best example of international affairs is Cuba - there is an American base on Cuba and Cuba hates America's guts.

The other basis is, they want to take Sinai back - Sharm-e-Sheikh is down here and if we keep a road - so we can have access from Eilat down to Sharm - we'll take five kilometers on the edge and they can have all the rest of it. Every one of these problems is not as complicated as it appears to be - if you have got the desire to settle it.

Question: You talk about the housing problem here. If my understanding is correct, there are many former residents of Israel - people who live in Israel part of the year, say six months and live in the United States the other half - is this a great number?

Rabbi Friedman: Sure there are a number of such people and all such people have the means - everybody has got enough dough to have two houses - one here and one in the United States and this is not on anybody's back - he's not preventing public housing from being built.

Question: What about using American know-how?

Rabbi Friedman: This has been the case for twenty years - Israel has really tried as best as possible large scale housing based on American know-how and based on western powers from abroad and I can't say nothing has happened. We have organized many syndicates with United States Insurance Companies - American money and American know-how - guaranteed occupancy - the main organization that uses UJA money in Israel is the Jewish Agency - the Jewish Agency would take any group of Americans that want to bring in American investment money and American know-how and build apartment houses. We'll guarantee occupancy - will rent them from you for twenty years, because we know we have got a steady flow of immigrants coming in - we know we got to have housing. So if somebody else will built it with their money - we'll be delighted - we'll rent it from you and guarantee you some 6,7,8% return, because we have got to have housing anyway.

All the efforts in the past with the cooperation of the Israel side have been offered over and over again and still have not produced large scale - large-scale - 50,000 units a year can be absorbed in this market and by American standards that's small, but in this country that's very large.

We're going to get about 50,000 people this year - still 80% of the people are coming from Morocco and Algeria and Turkey and Iran and Rumania.

The Russians set out differently. The Russian way says - it's very expensive to do all this processing - giving passports - it's a lot of paper work - they would like 900 rubles per person - this is about one thousand dollars per person.

If you have a family of four people coming out it's four thousand dollars. To understand what 900 rubles is - the average salary is 150 rubles a month - so nobody saves up 900 rubles except after years - but it's also equally well understood that the Jew who has got the nerve to go to the police station and apply for a permit to get out and fight all of the scorn and the disdain and even the physical danger, because he gets fired from his job and all the other workers in the factory all mock him and all call him traitor, because he wants to leave for Israel and his kids at school have a terribly hard time because the other

15-7

kids called him a traitor and it's a nerve racking process.

Every Jew who is willing to go through that in order to get here - if he doesn't have the nine hundred ruples and he doesn't in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred - he knows where to go to get it. And the reason that he knows where to go to get it is because we have a kind of a Jewish telegraphic system by word of mouth which tells him where to go to get it and I would not like to go into details how we do it, but let me just put it to you this way - nobody and I mean not one single human being who wants to get out and needs the money ever stays behind because of lack of money - not one.

Question: How are the people coming from Eastern Europe countries settling to the life here in Israel - I ask this because I have heard that the husband likes it, but the wife doesn't.

AMERICAN JEWISH

Rabbi Friedman! The one answer I will give you is this: in Russia all of the life is organized by the State. You are directed and guided - you are told of every official of this - you want to go to the ballet, you go to a certain office and they issue you tickets - you already know what to do with your child when he gets to be 14 and finishes school. You don't have to go through a whole series of choices, you go to a certain office and they tell you what the next step is for your kid. It's not a plain society - everything works in groups - communal living is the pattern. There are no individual kitchens in every individual apartment in Russia - one kitchen on the floor for two or three apartments. It's group living - it's group society living - in Israel it's the reverse - one of the things the Russians complain about bitterly here in Israel is that they are left on their own too much. Here in this country nobody bothers you, nobody cares whether you live or die, you are left alone in this country. Your balcony is here - every apartment house here has got a balcony - the other guy's balcony is five feet away. You don't want to talk to him - he doesn't want to talk to you - this is an individualistic society. This is not a communal society, and the Russians come here and they go through cultural shock, because they are not led and guided by the nose every inch of the way. They are on their own. They want to work - get out and work - they come home from work, look at the television, go to the movies, hang around with your own family, do what you want - there's no club to go to.

They go to the workers club - they go to the chess club - in Russia recreational life is organized in large units, because apartments are tiny in Russia, and their social life is not in their apartments. In Israel it's the reverse - so this is one very serious shock that they have.

The second shock that they have is the expense of the cost of living which is horrendous here - rent is higher than it is there - food is higher - everything - entertainment - the best ballet seats in Moscow are low compared to the cost of theatre here. Language usually doesn't pose much of a problem for them - they know English, French and they learn Hebrew quickly. But at the beginning there is a cultural shock and it takes a while to adjust.

Question: Please explain the difference between a UJA gift and buying Israel Bonds.

Rabbi Friedman: If the Israel Government has a chance to get a thousand dollars in the form of a loan and it has to pay 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ % interest on this or a thousand dollars in the form of a gift on which you have to pay no interest and never pay back anything - what would the Israeli Government rather have - they can use the argument that the Israeli Government would rather have the loan than the gift. Now, it's an excuse - Israel is absolutely doing miracles and Israel is as close to the edge of bankruptcy as anyone can imagine and they live on the edge like on the edge of a volcano and we're twisting and draining and squalling and looking for money. Now the kind of money we want is free money - if we can't get enough free money, we borrow money - that's what the hell the bond is - it's borrowing money but borrowing money has to be in addition to getting free money. So every good Jew is expected to give money and to loan money. But to say that the Government prefer to have the loan than the gift - that's just contrary to common sense.

Now the second thing - about the gift money not getting here - I'll mess around with many things, but I won't mess around with that, because I've been running the UJA for 17 years. I could not with good conscience continue year after year asking for money if I didn't know how the money was handled and I have got good credibility - people believe me because they know that I know and I don't lie. The first piece of money that comes off of what you contribute is the overhead expense of raising it - the UJA will raise in 1971 probably 275 million dollars - the expense of running that show will probably be around 7 and a quarter million - it's not cheap - it's ridiculously cheap. The Red Cross goes crazy - everybody goes crazy - they come to me and say - how do I do it and I've got one answer - there's an army of volunteers - beautiful, wonderful, dedicated people like you who volunteer to do this.

Okay, so about 270 million comes over here - over there there are no expenses of administering this, because what happens is to vote this money into programmes. We say, alright, we will take the universities - the Government of Israel has been supporting the universities up to now - but the Government of Israel now with the military defense projects said to us, we can't handle this - can you handle the universities - so we said, okay, we'll take on the universities. So we voted 80 million dollars out of the 270 million to the universities. Then we'll take the 80 million dollars and sit down and divide it up between the presidents of the different schools, together with the Israel Government officials, and ask them how much money they are going to be able to subsidize for the universities, if anything, in the form of scholarships or in the form of grants that they are going to get for research from the American Government, the German Government, the British Government. Is the Israel Government going to bring in any more money for the universities from any other source outside so that maybe we won't have to vote the whole 80 million - we research the whole thing out - we make the allocation to the universities - there is no overhead expenses to spend that 80 million dollars - we give it to the already functioning administrative unit that's in existence already.

The only money that doesn't come here is the money that we decide to spend elsewhere in the world on Jewish needs through a different organization called the JDC. We spend about a million dollars a year in the country of Iran mostly

on children's kindergartens and mother and baby clinics and fresh milk - stuff like that. They have a Jewish population of 80,000 people over there in Iran - mostly all poverty-stricken - most of them afflicted by ringworm. We had a professor from the University of Florence do a test there on schools - we found that 97% of the children are afflicted. So it's a tremendous clean-up job that they are trying to do there, because those people are immigrating and moving over here. We want them to come over here healthy. So we're spending about a million a year over there and we're spending a million and a half in Morocco where we still have a population of 40,000 Jews.

I'd say all around the world where we have still got Jews in bad trouble - but not in Israel - we're probably spending about 8 - 10 million dollars. So you start with the original 275 million - the overhead expenses come off - 10 million bucks that we spend in other countries of the world comes off.

There is a distinct difference in what we call the regular campaign and the emergency campaign - but the emergency campaign money comes 100% to UJA. Of the regular campaign money 50 - 50. The regular campaign is quite small compared to the emergency fund campaign - most people put the largest part of their gifts in the emergency campaign, because they want it all to come over here. So I would say out of the 275 million - the emergency campaign will probably be 200 and the regular campaign 75. So if we get 75 from the regular campaign and the community gets 75 because it's 50 - 50.

You see different communities have different ways to get at the objective if you are aware of the objective - that Israel needs the biggest share she can possibly get of all the money raised.

Question: Could you discuss the refugee problem?

Rabbi Friedman: You have two kinds of so-called Arab refugees - one kind is the class of 1948 and the other since 1967. Now the class of 1948 is really pretty much settled - everybody in the world knows by now that those approximately 600,000 refugees of 1948 have been camped in United Nations camps - down here in the Gaza Strip about 300,000 - another 300,000 of them in camps around Jericho - some in other places here in Jordan - they are put in camps by their own Arab countries who never gave them citizenship, never gave them working permits, never would accept them as citizens although they spoke the language and culturally they were Arabs, but would act as a political football to beat Israel over the head with - since 1948. Israel has offered many of them compensation. The Arabs don't want compensation - the Arabs want repatriation and Israel says, no, we're not taking back 600,000 people - we'll take back 100,000 - the Arabs said no - it's all or nothing - Israel said nothing - and on and on it goes over the years. The merit of it is never going to be solved - never - in a very simple way, there are certain things which are tragedies of war - it was their mistake - Israel urged them to stay.

Many of them are refugees of the '48 War who fled into this territory, they have lived here for 20 years, now suddenly they find themselves back under Israeli

15-7

sovereignty and we say to them what would you like to do. We have a policy here called "Open Bridges". Now across the Jordan River there are four bridges that go across the river into Jordan.

If you went there you would see Arab refugees driving in a taxi or a bus at the bridge, going across from the other side and going to the capital of Amman, from there they go where they want. They can take an airplane from Amman for after all it's an international airport. They can take an airplane from Amman and fly to Cairo. We have what's called an "Open Bridges" policy. Any Arabs that apply for passes to go, go back and forth, they go back and forth in the summer and we have a Summer Visitors Policy where Arabs from Jordan can come across and visit their relatives here in the West Bank of Israel. It's a chance, it's a hell of a chance. Batteries are opened up inside the truck because we have discovered inside the battery hidden plastic explosives. You go over the truck with a fine toothcomb. So your choice is to close the bridges, and Dayan says No. No. We are going to treat these people like civilized people. We are not going to persecute them, we are not going to be aggressive, we are not going to be an offensive occupying power.

So they go back and forth and they do their trading back and forth and they do their smuggling back and forth. They are free to go where they want. We know a very interesting thing about 1970, economically. The Arabs of the West Bank were free to take their products across and sell here in Israel. Last year they chose to do 85% of their business with Israel. That's the refugee problem.

And we employ every one of them. They have a better standard of living these last two years than they ever had before. They voluntarily prefer to do their business with us. Our problem will be after we give back the territory.

So there is no refugee problem. What is Israel doing about the refugee problem? Israel is dealing with it in a most civilized and liberal way, with the most liberal occupation policy in the world. This country - this territory - is occupied by us, we conquered it. Our armies did it. Israeli soldiers. You don't see Israeli soldiers - they never show their faces on the streets in order not to give offence to the Arabs. They stay out of sight. It's the most liberal occupation policy that ever existed anywhere in the world. And so nobody calls it a refugee problem. What you call it today is - what you got here is a population problem, and you don't know what's going to happen with the people.

You see what's the problem here. Our prime interest is that we should have peace. Dayan says give it all back in return for peace. The difference is what you define as peace. But Dayan says I'll probably want to give this back, but you got to watch your Russian missiles.

Now, if we go back here, along the whole line, I'd like somebody to tell me if the Russians are going to move their missiles from here to here. Will they..or won't they? Because if the Goddamned missiles are here - there's Tel Aviv.

Question: In Look Magazine some time ago it mentioned a Black Panther Movement. And another young group that says that they don't believe that there would be one small chance that the territory would be given back.

Rabbi Friedman: You're back to the Social Welfare Problem. Housing problems. Once there's no war that the population in Israel will slip back. And I think that's a lot of baloney. If this is what you call exchanging territory for peace, just define the word, that's all man.

You want us to sign a peace treaty with you? You want to give a guarantee about the Russian missiles? To take a guarantee from Russia?

Well, does anybody remember the 7th of August? The 7th of August was when the ceasefire began - right? Did they move the missiles? They moved then that same night. I shall never forget it. It was a Friday night, the 7th of August. Sapir, Minister of Finance, came over to my house that night for dinner. And we were talking and talking, and I could see his face was all distraught and suddenly the phone rang. And I said "Oh, My God - what now?". It was eleven o'clock at night - they already started to move.

By the next morning they had moved 35 kilometers over the side of the Canal which was supposed to be kept free of the missiles. They came back 35 kilometers, just increasing the range of their effectiveness, the devastation they can do here.

Now there were no Israeli aircraft up in the air to take photographs of it. The U-2 aircraft which were based up in Turkey were not operating over the weekend. The satellite which photographs once every 24 hours was not operating that weekend. The first real pictures that anybody got were Monday and by Tuesday the Pentagon agreed that a violation of the Ceasefire had taken place. So we said thank you very much.

You will give them back the territory for peace - peace means that? A promise that they won't put the missiles here? Is a promise any good? And whose promise do you want? Do you want the Russians' promise, the Egyptian promise, or the American promise, or the United Nations' promise? What kind of guarantees are any good?

I would like to have the following. I would like to have a guarantee by the United Nations - that's worth nothing but one thing - public relations.

Number one, I would like a guarantee from the United Nations, that in fact this remains a demilitarized zone. There shall be no movement of troops, or equipment of any sort. No equipment - not mine - not yours.

U.S. guarantee. Not that I believe that a U.S. guarantee - that she would intervene, that she would send the Sixth Fleet, not for a moment. I wouldn't even want it.

The leaders of this country have said over and over again they don't want American troops landing on this soil. The main reason for that, not the least of which is, once you got American troops landed here it'll be a long time before they go home.

And the second thing is that you've got a big Jewish population in the United States. And there's no damned reason for starting up a new wave of anti-semitism, because some kids from Iowa are going to get killed here. We don't need that. We've got to keep in mind the Jews of America as well as the Jews of Israel.

For all those reasons we don't want Americans here. We don't want any troops here. The guarantee we'd like from the United States is that we'll back you up in the United Nations if you ever - if you want to go to the United Nations and condemn Egypt and condemn Russia, we Americans will back you up.

And the third kind of guarantee we want is some kind of surveyance, on our procedures. Where once a day somebody's aircraft will fly over and take the photograph, and show the photographs to all sides, so that everyone can see the picture and make damn sure - don't worry about that -

When you say the super powers, there is almost nobody in this country that wouldn't say, OK, give back Sinai, but the conditions under which we give it back, that's the point. I don't know whether you agree with that.

Question: The Church is giving us a lot of static right now. Is there anything been done to relieve some of the pressure? Don't they have more access now than they ever had before?

Rabbi Friedman: The fact of the matter is that there is a catholic - a Monsignor whose got extra-territorial rights representing their property. He keeps issuing statements all the time that the holy places under Jewish control are kept in much better repair, the pilgrims have better access to it, they are treated better than when the holy places were under Jordanian control. But that doesn't influence the Pope. The Pope makes a statement once in a while depending on his own internal politics. For years he's quiet, and we think that he understands, and he was here in '64, that's seven years ago, and now he's making his rumbling that he doesn't think that Jerusalem should remain under Jewish control, and the American Jewish Committee sent a delegation to see him, and they came - he said - anti Israel - and they said, well - and he said, Well, I didn't mean to...

So the bottom line of all business is not really serious. Just not serious. Because he can say that he thinks that Jerusalem ought to be internationalized. And we still say not.

And there's the question of what's negotiable and what's not. I would say what's not negotiable. We got to keep what we call the crown - the part that's closest to where our settlements are. If we keep them far enough back so that their artillery can't range in, and that means we got to keep them about 15 miles back. So long as we keep them 15 miles back from the crown, we don't care what they keep back.

15-7

But the crown doesn't go. Jerusalem doesn't go. The West Bank - give it back - Gaza - give it back, Sinai - give it back. Sharm - leave it. And that's it.

Later on after you've been a through this itinerary - you've travelled all round Jerusalem and you've gone down here to Jericho, and from Jericho you are going down to the beautiful Judean Desert where Bishop Pike got lost and died. He went down to the Dead Sea and through what's called the Wilderness of Temptation in the New Testament - he got lost there. What you're going to do, since none of you have been subject to any temptation whatsoever, you're going to go up to Jericho, come down here where the Dead Sea Caves are, and then there's a beautiful new road which has been built down here to Masada - and Masada is right here, and then you're going to go all the way through this part of the country, and Mr. Shenhabi is going to give you a lecture down here - and then you are flying to the Canal. Then you will go to Jerusalem up north through the - along the valley - the river in the Beit Shean Valley - and then up into the Golan - it's freezing up there, nice and cold.

Then you are going all the way up to the top here to the Lebanese border, and then you're coming from this direction over to Acre and then you go South and I guess the plan is to come in the afternoon, and look at the excavations.

Donald Benjamin: Thank you, Herb, for your evaluation of the current situation today. It is very appropriate that we heard it today because this is still a beginning for us and I think it makes interesting background for what we will be doing for the next 12 days. We'll catch up with you again a week from today, and we'll have a chance to ask you some more.

** ** * * * * *

28 6

ADDRESS BY

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

AMERICAN JEWISH
Executive Chairman UJA
ARCHIVES



to the members of

UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP MISSION



22.7.71

CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

227

AT CAESAREA

- 1 -

Herbert A. Friedman: I want to talk for a few minutes about the area in which we find ourselves right now, physically, because I think it tells a story.

To try to get the story across of the survival of the Jewish people and their apparent indestructibility, we have at hand one of the best examples in this place of Caesarea. You are looking at the ruins of the Roman fort, the water is 50 yards away. There was an open plaza here 2000 years ago, and the first port buildings began here. If you live in Norfolk there is a port, if you live in New York there is a port, and if you live in Portland there is a port - so a lot of people are familiar with ports, and you have to think of this place as a Roman port in the Mediterranean, east of Rome. Rome was 1500 miles due west of here. The only way to get here was by rowboat - 3-tiered rowboats called "Triremes", on which you could hoist a sail. The longest of those rowboats was 60 - 70 feet long, which is about the length of one Roman column carved out of marble or granite, so each boat rowed 1500 miles carrying one column. This port of Caesarea, named after the Emperor Caesar, was resplendent with tens of thousands of tall Roman columns carved out of marble or granite. The place gleamed in the sun when the sun struck the white marble. If you stop to think of the number of labor days that went into building this place, it boggles the mind.

The engineering and design, the architecture and the layout, the aesthetics, were all done by a Jewish king by the name of Herod who was seeking to curry favor with the Romans. He was a half-Quisling, and he told them that if they brought the building materials, he would build them the most glorious port in the whole ancient world, which he did. Some people say it was prettier than Alexandria itself, which was not a Roman city as you know, but which was the greatest city in the Mediterranean.

This port of Caesarea had a quarter of a million people living in it. It was the Roman capital of Palestine. There were three legions which were available to this city - the Fifth, Tenth and Fifteenth. The aqueduct, which you saw, brought water down to this city. I was walking along the top of the aqueduct and saw marble signs set into the side of it - polished white marble - with the Latin words: "legio dec." It was a sign that the Tenth Legion had built that aqueduct. It made history come alive right under your fingertips.

The Tenth Legion marched on foot from this city southeast up to Jerusalem to sack the city. That was after the Jews made life so miserable for the Romans that they figured that they had to do something in order to impose their will. The Jews were in constant revolt against the Romans. There was a troublemaker by the name of Joshua, or Jesus, and they executed him. That was done also by order of the Roman governor who lived in this city. His name was Pontius Pilatus, and the only place in this country where anything has ever been found in stone with his name carved in it was approximately over there where the shops are now. A stone was dug up with his name on it, so Pontius Pilate was a real man and the Roman leaders of this city were real people. We have no other evidence of the existence of Jesus, other than what was written 100 years afterwards in the New Testament Gospel, but let's assume for the moment that he was a real personality and that he was troublesome

to the Romans and they did execute him. That was in the year 4, and 60 years later the Jews are still making trouble for the Romans and not bowing down to Roman domination, and they sent the Tenth Legion up to do the job. It took them four years - four long years by the best legion the Romans had, to knock that handful of Jews down, and at that they wouldn't have done it if the Jews hadn't had a terrible civil war amongst themselves in which they disagreed on everything.

They disagreed on how to defend the city. They disagreed on how to institute rationing of food and water. They were their own worst enemies, and doesn't that sound familiar? We haven't changed one bit. We are just as stubborn and pig-headed and difficult and nasty and hard to get along with today as we were then. But the only one entitled to talk like that is any one of us. If anyone on the outside would talk that way, we would knock his block off. But we know our own failings, and one of them is that we are a hard and difficult people to get along with, especially with each other.

At any rate, whether it was due to our own inability to pull in harness or their superior strength, they did destroy Jerusalem in the year 70. They went further down to catch the last handful of Jews who had fled still further southeast to the top of the mountain at Massada, and they surrounded them and it took three more years to get that last 900 who were up on top of the rock. Two Roman legions surrounded the rock then.

If you go up on the top of it today and you look down, you can see carved into the earth the squares that marked the linearments of the Roman encampments. There were eight encampments around Massada. The Roman General's name was Silva. After they built a ramp three miles long, the Jews refused to surrender and committed suicide, and the Romans had their pyrrhic victory. That was in 73.

It looked then as though everything would be quiet, but it wasn't really because the revolution kept brewing. There was a great Rabbi by the name of Akiva and he backed a great general by the name of Bar-Kochba. About 60 years later, in the year 135, they tried it again and they revolted against Rome, and again the Romans exerted massive superior strength and put down the revolution once and for all. They brought Rabbi Akiva here to this place - to this same square - and flayed him alive, combed the skin off of him with iron combs. The village which you probably did not even notice as you entered into Caesarea has the name of Or Akiva - the light of Akiva - after the famous martyr.

This town therefore is associated with the tremendous power that was Rome which crushed the power that was Judea, apparently forever. But the phenomenon of history is - and this is why I said that if you are looking for an example of Jewish indestructability and survival, you have it here - the fact is that after Rome smashed us with all her legions and all her power, we are back and Rome isn't. Rome is no more. The Rome of today is not the descendent of the Rome of 2000 years ago, The Israel today is the direct descendent of the Palestine of 2000 years ago. We speak the same language, we are the same descendents, we have never forgotten this place, we have kept it alive in our prayers and in our hearts - memory is as powerful as geography. We lived here during all these 2000 years, even if physically we were in Russia or Poland or Rumania or Cincinatti, in Spain or Edinburgh, in Rotterdam or in Babylonia - in our memory we lived here. It is a very interesting thing that when the first Israeli who ever got the Nobel

Prize for Literature, Agnon, writing in an obscure language called Hebrew, accepted the prize at Stockholm, he introduced himself by saying, "I was born in a small village in Russia, but that was an accident. I was really born in Jerusalem, which is where I live now. I have always lived there. Physically it is true that I was born someplace else, but that is unimportant."

The rebuilding of this place is a specific and concrete symbol of the manner in which the Jewish people has rebuilt itself through all the centuries, consistently and stubbornly sticking to the fact that this is the place in which we began. This is the place in which we belong. This is the place to which we come, either to live or as pilgrims to visit, always as lovers - and this is the place to which we will come ultimately to die, when we finally disappear from the stage of history.

Other people came here in between. The Romans drove us out and we left and scattered, although there were always remnants. There are four holy places in this country in which Jews lived permanently - there never was a time when these four places were devoid of Jews: Tiberias, Safed, Jerusalem and Hebron. But even though there were, symbolically, some hundreds of Jews living there all the time, nevertheless it is true to say that we were driven out, we left the place, we were defeated.

But when during the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries we were living in Babylonia, the Romans also got driven out of here, and Caesarea became covered over by the sand and the sound of the jackals and the desolate birds flying over. You could always hear the sea crashing as you hear it tonight, but there were not very many people to listen to it. Caesarea lay quiet and still in ruins for hundreds of years.

Then in the year 1200, a thousand years later, people came - strange men from the far, far west, blond, with long beards and long mustachios, big horses, heavy iron suits. They came to conquer this country, because they were looking again for the beloved lord and the cup that he drank from, and they were out to destroy the infidels who lived here, called Muslims. The leader of this country then was a man called Sallah-e-Din whom they called Saladin, and they sent King Richard and King Beowulf and King Baldwin and all the big names from England, France, Germany and Austria to destroy him and the infidels, who were the Muslims. Incidentally, they tried to kill every Jew on the road from the Rhine River Valley to the Jordan River Valley, because that was an extra, additional byproduct benefit.

The Crusaders lived here 200 years. They needed a port. The greatest port in the country was the port the Romans had built. If you swim some 50 feet off shore and look down into the water, you can see the whole outline of the fantastic Roman port, with its thousands of columns, lying under the water. The Romans left a huge amount of building materials, so when the Crusaders came to build, they used the Roman building materials and they built themselves a castle which covered this whole area, with a moat. It is a perfect 12th century castle in excellent repair.

But after 200 years they lost and they left, and again Caesarea quieted down. No more sound of battles and alarms and excursions. No Crusaders. No Moslems. No Jews. Nobody but lizards in the hot sun, for another 700 years or so.

In the early 19th century, that Moslem minaret on a mosque, and this building, were built in about 1830 by Moslems who came here from the Balkans - what is today Yugoslavia - countries that were called Bosnia and Herzogovena before World War One. To this day those areas are filled with many Moslems. They came here to get a foothold - it is only a few days' boatride from the Adriatic Sea - and they built these few buildings around the old port in the hope of establishing a foothold and living with the Arabs who were also fellow Moslems.

By the 1880's, the Jews were coming back to this country in fairly sizeable numbers, in the hundreds, and when you get hundreds of Jews anywhere, everybody had just better move away, which is what happened in a lot of suburbs in the U.S. too. But by the time hundreds of Jews started to come here, the jig was up for anybody else because the Jews began to dig in with a great deal of persistence. By the 1890's, Baron Edmund de Rothschild, probably the richest man in the world at that time, came here, saw this place, fell in love with it, bought hundreds and hundreds of square acres of this place, all the way from Petach Tikva down to Michmoret and was buried here 100 years later. He was known in Hebrew as "Hanadiv Hayadua" - the well-known prince, and everybody knew who he was.

From 1880 to 1890, Baron Edmund de Rothschild poured 100 million dollars in gold francs into this country, and laid the foundations here, in Petach Tikva, Rishon le Zion, Zichron Ya'acov. He started with wineries because that is what he knew from France. He thought it would be the greatest crop. It turned out that oranges were, that came later though.

Rothschild saw the Roman ruins and the Crusader ruins and decided that Caesarea meant Jewish life reborn, and he bought all this land. His grandson, also known by the same name, Baron Edmund de Rothschild, gave 75 of these acres to build a golf course, so we have the only golf course in Israel here in Caesarea. I don't know what the Romans would have thought of that.

A thousand yards south of here, on the edge of the sea, is the great Roman amphitheatre, which seated 5000 people. That amphitheatre was opened in 1961 - ten years ago - after it was dug out of the sands. The amphitheatre is built in a semi-circle facing the sea, so the artist plays with his back to the sea. At 6.30 in the afternoon when the sun is setting in the sea, in the west, and you sit up here in the stand in the bleachers and you look down at the performer, and you look at the sun setting behind him. It is absolute magic. The first concert was given by Cassals, and although the acoustics were no good because of the sound of the waves and the wind, the magic was in the air and that is the thing that comes through.

Nearby the Romans built one of the greatest hippodromes in the world in the form of a long ellipse. You can see it today. The bleachers are built up along the side, and the chariot races go round and round. Last Pesach we came to the

Roman hippodrome with the people from Kibbutz Sdot Yam, who ran their horses in horse races in the same way that the Romans used to. Now the hippodrome belongs to Sdot Yam, and they have put part of it in banana trees.

All this may sound just like a wierd jumble, but it isn't. Living on top of the Roman theatre, and the Roman hippodrome and the Roman port and the Crusader castle, and looking at it all, and knowing all the history that has gone back into it, and knowing that we were here before they were, and we are now here after they are, we try to figure out the meaning of that enduring quality. It is not a matter of bragging and it is not a matter of boasting. The trick is to try to figure out the mystique of that. It is not an accident. There has to be some deep transcendental meaning or religious meaning, if you believe in personal religion with God controlling the events of man, to explain this continued survival quality of a handful of Jews.

Great empires don't manage to make it, and we keep making it. Why? How come? You've got to put the question to yourself and you've got to find an answer for it. What is there in the nature of the people or the quality of the people or the purpose of the meaning of the life of the people to explain it?

I simply put the question to you. I am convinced that there is something special and unique in the Jewish people. I am utterly convinced of it. There are many explanations that I have. There are many reasons that I give. There are many unusual quantities to which I attribute to this people, but my purpose tonight is not to go into all of them. My purpose tonight is simply to put the question to you and ask you to think through your own answers to this, because I am presenting you with a physical fact - a city in which we lived, from which we were defeated and thrown out, to which we have come back after many other peoples have used this same city, and I ask you to ask yourselves the question, why? How come? What is the mystery? What is the secret? What is the purpose of continued Jewish existence? How do we manage to survive continuously? Certainly we take care of each other. Certainly we are all one small family in which every Jew is responsible for every other. Is that enough of an answer to explain how we have managed to hold on?

Great historians have called us fossils, but that is something that is dead. Well, we are obviously not dead in spite of what they say. So the secret of survival is something which lies in the ability of every mind and every heart to analyze, and I would like just to ask you to analyze it. I would also like to ask you to come back to Caesarea over and over and over again, because it is one of the few places in Israel where you see this historical drama played out in front of your eyes.

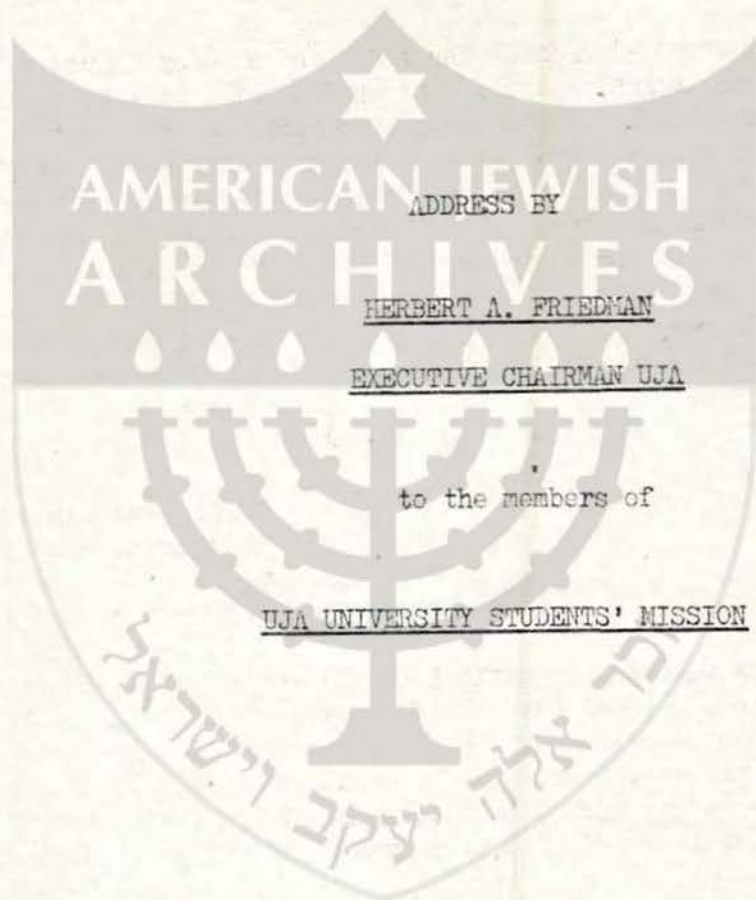
Jerusalem was never the capital of the Romans or the Babylonians or the Philistines or the Greeks or the Byzantines or anyone else. You don't see this history played out in Jerusalem. Tel Aviv did not exist - there was nothing. Beersheba was a watering place where Abraham went to get water. There is no place else in this country that I know of where you can see the drama played out. This was the Roman capital. It had one quarter of a million people living here. The biggest city in the whole Mediterranean base - bigger than Carthage. We had 20,000 Jews living here when they had 250,000. So this place is unique.

We would like you to go away with some of the feeling of this magic in your bones, which I am sure you will get from the whole trip, but which we especially want you to get from this location and this place.

Mr. Benjamin: Francie, Herb, may I say "toda raba" on behalf of our group for your hospitality this evening, and I think all of you should realize something that is of the moment. Herb Friedman's idea of some nine or ten years ago concerning the importance of the involvement of young American Jewish leaders to protect the survival not only of American Jewry but the survival of Jews and Judaism in the State of Israel, is the reason that we are here today.

It was a concept that he had and he had the faith, very strongly and very dearly felt, for the concept of the right of you American Jews to take their place in their communities, and therefore in the total world of Jewry, and it is because of this that these missions do exist. Again we must show our really deep and heartfelt gratitude for his wisdom in coming up with that idea.





23.7.71.

CONFIDENTIAL
NOT FOR GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

Rabbi Herbert Friedman:

On all previous young university students missions I have gone over from Israel to Munich and have met the groups there, and have spent the five or six days in Germany, or in other places, because I have the feeling that the Hitler experience and your knowledge of it, is absolutely essential to your understanding of the birth and growth of Israel. The two events are linked - there is a causal relationship. If in your minds there is anything unclear about the Hitler period, and about the relationship between Hitler's murder of the Jews and the creation of this State of Israel, then I want you to try to bring it out by asking questions. Because if you haven't got that point, you are missing a very key foundation stone in understanding the meaning of Israel.

You're having gone to Bucharest was absolutely necessary in order for you to get one look at what life is like in a country behind the Iron Curtain for Jews who are living in a very favorable environment. The Government allows them to have their religious life - that is, their Jewish national life, and the Government allows them to migrate for a big price of course. Sometimes when the Government feels like it wants to charge a little bit more blackmail, what it does is stop the emigration, shake us all up, get the Jews there all nervous, and then come with a new proposal, and with a jacked up price. We have a lot of meetings, we flutter around like a lot of butterflies, but we know perfectly well we're going to pay. Pretty soon we agree to the higher price, then they agree to let more Jews out, and then that goes on for a while till they stop it, and then they ask for more money and more negotiations, and this is our fate with them.

We've got about ninety or a hundred thousand Jews left there and we will go on with this thing until they're all out.

That's a favorable situation. Now compare that to the Russian situation, which you didn't see, which is unfavorable. So the good thing about your seeing Rumania is that you now have a feeling of what Jewish life could be like, or might be like, in the Soviet Union. And the whole question of Jews in the Soviet Union is going to continue to occupy your attention for the next 20 years of your life. The Jewish communities of the world are going to be busy with the question of Russian Jews, and 20 years from now, when you guys are running the towns in which you live, you'll be having to make the decisions of what to do to help Russian Jews.

Now, we leave Europe behind and I wanted your first introduction to Israel to be not in the City of Tel Aviv, but in the City of Haifa. The reason that I wanted that is because I wanted to make the connection between Europe and Israel in the city into which most immigrants came, and still come from Europe to Israel.

Immigrants don't come from Europe into Tel Aviv. There are no boats that land here, there are no planes that land here. However, due to the enormous historical factor that we couldn't get you hotel rooms, you are in Tel Aviv.

So we are beginning here, although one week from today I'm going to meet you in Haifa on an immigrant ship that's been lifted out of the water and set up on the shore and turned into a museum, and you will hear the story of how immigrants got to this country from Europe.

First, as to the geography. All the way down Israel on your right is Jordan. Jordan is having terrible trouble now because the Fatah have quit - the greatest tremendous, courageous, exquisite Arab guerilla fighters for freedom and independence are now surrendering by the hundreds, and going across the border into Israel. Seventy came over, then the next day 25 came over, and quite soon the rest of them will come over. They like it better here, and they don't like it over there, and that's the end of the Fatah. Time magazine should never have put Arafat's picture on the front cover anyway. Time blew the whole Fatah guerilla movement way out of proportion by putting his picture on the front cover, because that's reserved for very important people - you know, like Louie Armstrong - and when you put the guerilla guy on the cover, it gives people the impression that he's important. And then on all the campuses of the country everybody started wearing Fatah buttons, and Fatah got to be a great liberal movement. A movement of liberation.

Well, since September the civil war that's been going on in Jordan has chewed up the Fatah movement, and the last remnants of them are coming over and surrendering and explaining that they like Israeli treatment better. So the Jordan border, on this side of your map, which is a very long border with Israel, I think is now going to get to be quieter and quieter, thank God, so that the murder of some hundreds of people that has been going on along this border maybe won't be from now on.

The map takes you down as far as Beersheva. In order to understand all of Israel, there are two more southern hunks of the country that are on the other side. From Beersheva, here at the top, this whole thing is the Negev, which takes you down to the bottom, with a little tiny bit of blue water here which is the port of Eilat. And then the second hunk below the Negev is the Sinai Desert with its border on the Suez Canal. That's Egypt.

On your map you readily see all of Israel's enemies surrounding it. The light green is what Israel took after the Six-Day War: The Golan Heights, Jerusalem. Jerusalem was like Berlin, but with one difference - Berlin is an island totally surrounded by the Communist world. Jerusalem is connected to the rest of Israel by a thin corridor that gradually widens out, but Jerusalem was under siege for nine months and almost cut off. Jerusalem was completely surrounded by Arab territory, which was supposed to be the Arab State in 1948. That's another thing about this whole Arab thing - they keep complaining that they want a State of Palestine. Well, they can have it. No arguing about it. As a matter of fact, they were given it by the United Nations in 1947. They rejected it then - they didn't want it - but they want it now. They can have it.

In the days of the Bible it was called Ephraim and Yehuda - two of the twelve tribes. Today it is called by the old name West Bank, because its on the west side of the Jordan River. This West Bank territory right here, has got 650 thousand Arabs. They don't really want an independent state of Palestine. Our problem is going to be that they are going to want to join us, and our problem is going to be what do we do with them. If we keep the territory, we've got to keep the people. We are not going to perform any Hitler solution of killing everybody, or driving them across the West Bank into Jordan.

By the way, we keep the bridges across the Jordan River open all the time. There are bridges that go across here. We have what we call an "open bridge policy" - that's terribly important for you to understand. You can travel through the whole West Bank and you'll never see an Israeli soldier. They are there, but you don't see them, and the population doesn't see them. And the population is not oppressed and we don't lean on them, and we don't make it heavy for them. In this whole West Bank these Arabs have bridges and they go into Jordan and once they go into Jordan they can go anywhere. And so the Arabs are not held prisoners by the terrible Israeli oppressive policy at all. They are allowed to come here and work if they want to. They are allowed to send their sons out and to go to Arab Universities - to Cairo, for instance. And they can smuggle guns in, as they do all the time. They can take their trucks and sell their produce over here in Tel Aviv or they can take their trucks and drive into Jerusalem to sell their produce here. They are free to do what they want.

Last year, 85% of their commercial connections were made with the State of Israel, not with the State of Jordan. It's a fantastically important fact.

This whole Arab refugee thing is just a big bunch of wind. The facts destroy it all. As I said, what we are afraid of is that when the chips settle down they're going to say, well why should we really have an independent State of Palestine -- we'll join your State of Israel. You already have 300,000 Arabs who are citizens. O.K., take us in too, we'll be loyal citizens. We like your wage scale, we like the fact that you pay all of our school teachers in the West Bank. We like the fact that every man has a job -- which he never had before -- we like the fact that the health standards are very good, and that your clinics and your doctors are operating. So why don't we join your country.

We'll face that when we get to it, but you had better realize that the problem is not what the terrible Israelis are doing to the poor Arabs. The problem is what the terrible Arabs are going to do to the poor Israelis before we are through. Because they may just force their way in and we may just wind up with another 650 thousand citizens, and then they will outnumber us.

So this whole business of the terrible Jews who conquered the territory and don't want to give it back is a lot of baloney. We would love to give it back, the land and the people -- goodbye Charlie, and if we can only work it out that way, that's what we'd like to do. We just would want one thing. If they want to obtain a joined Jordan, or if they want to form their own State, we only want one thing: we're going to keep our troops on the line of the Jordan River, to make sure they don't cross again. That's all. It's very simple. And we'll dismantle our line when we are really convinced that they will acknowledge that we are really here to stay, and stop the fighting of wars all the time.

The second green piece on the map up here since the Six-Day War is the Golan Heights. It is empty now except for settlements that we've put in there during the last four years, but there once used to be a hundred thousand Syrian farmers up there on the top of those heights. It is beautiful, beautiful agricultural grazing ground. As a matter of fact, in the days of King Solomon and King David, this was the Iowa of Israel. This was the Kansas of Israel.

In the Bible, if you remember, they were talking about the ladies in the capital city of Jerusalem who were very, very rich and wanted gold and jewelry and ivory beds to lie upon. One of the prophets in the Bible, in referring to these women, called them fat cows of Bashan. Now Bashan was the name in the Bible given to the Golan Heights. The cows of Bashan were notorious for being very fat because the corn was good, the wheat was good, and the grazing land was great. Huge herds of cattle were supported up there.

The Arabs kept the Golan and they scratched some kind of life out of its soil, nothing very spectacular. Today we have perhaps 20 Nahal units, kibbutzim, and moshavim beginning to work up there. In another 20 years that will again be a rich grazing land.

Here again, this terribly intransigent Israeli Government is not willing to give anything back. You will see the topography when you go there, and you will be the first one to say don't give back an inch of it. This is about 1800 feet above the Israeli plains. The one principle of war is when your guns are on top your enemy is like fish in a barrel. You can't miss. And for 20 years they had us this way and they were shooting down into the kibbutzim. Now what we say is we don't want any more Syrian guns on the top of the Golan shooting down into the kibbutzim. If they want some of the Golan Heights back, well fine, we'll give some of it back. All we want is to make sure they don't bring their guns to the edge of the cliff.

Or maybe they'd better stay back about 5 miles from the edge of the cliff, because artillery can fire 15 to 20 km. So maybe they'd better stay back 15 to 20 kms. from the edge. We don't care if they take the back half - their guns can't reach us from there. Of course in 20 years there will be new guns and better guns and maybe they can reach us from there. Some people say think ahead: don't give it back at all, until they sign a peace treaty. All this is until they sign a peace treaty.

Now, the other thing you see in green on the map is the Gaza Strip, with 350 thousand Arabs in a little territory. And that's the meanest, nastiest, situation we've got. We call the road through it Grenade Alley. That road just isn't safe, and we don't use it. As a bus comes down the road, they stand back in a doorway and roll a hand grenade, like marbles, and the trick is to pull the pin and have the grenade roll and blow under the bus. Gradually everybody learns how to do it very well. As the bus comes down the road, the grenade rolls and "boom". I'm making a mockery out of it, but it's tragically, deadly serious.

The reason for that poisonous attitude inside the Gaza Strip is that the Arab refugees, who were penned up there for 20 years on soil which is Egyptian, were kept in camps by their Egyptian fellow Arab brothers who wouldn't let them become Egyptian citizens, wouldn't let them go back to Egypt to go to work, and insisted that they live only on United Nations rations. Now 20 years of poisonous hatred has developed. There's as much hatred against the Egyptians as against the Jews. The people in the Gaza Strip are just plain miserable animals by now, and that's going to be the hardest and toughest problem to unravel. Slowly but surely you have to reduce the hatreds and animosities and bring them back to being human beings again. Right now all they know is how to shoot.

Well, obviously we couldn't. We'll pull back when we have any kind of a treaty, or instrument, or document, or agreement, or guarantee, that this will remain empty and demilitarized. We would not like to have the kind of situation we had in 1967 when I came here, about three weeks before the War started, on a call from the late Prime Minister Mr. Eshkol. He said, can you come over - we are in trouble, and we are going to need a lot of help. And I said I'll be there tomorrow. He asked me how much money we thought we could get together in a hurry in the United States, and he said, do you think you could get together 20 or 30 million dollars. And the way he was putting it to me, it sounded like he thought it was a very large amount of money. When the fact of the matter is that in war 20 million dollars will last you half an hour.

So I said that I thought, Yes, we could certainly get together that kind of money and I could see that there was some kind of political problem brewing. I was here the next day, and I had a lot of conversations with him and with the leaders of the Government. A couple of days later I went from Tel Aviv down to a place called Nitzanah on the old border crossing-point.

I went up on the brow of the hill - I spent two days down there - I'll never forget it in my life. Along the brow of the hill, looking with a very powerful pair of field glasses about two or three thousand yards opposite us, I saw the line of Egyptian tanks. One hundred thousand men were brought along this line, with over a thousand tanks. They were way down below Aquaba - the Straits of Tiran - on the bottom of your map, the part called Sinai. To the left side, down at the bottom, you see an island called Tiran and there's a channel there called the Straits of Tiran. Between the shore and the island there's a navigable channel of about 400 yards wide. Now what Egypt did was set up on the shore, at the point called Ras Nusrani, large naval guns to blockade that Strait. Ships are like sitting ducks as they work their way through that channel to get up north to the Israeli port of Eilat.

On the 22nd of May, Nasser blockaded the Straits of Tiran and said he would shoot any ship going through. Israel said that's a declaration of war. I was here at that time. On the 22nd he knew Israel would go to war, which is why four days previously he had moved all the troops and all the tanks down. He was ready.

Eban had left Israel that day to go to Washington, to ask Mr. Johnson if there was any way of breaking the blockade open so that ships could go through and Israel would not be choked.

You see, Eilat is the only port Israel has, except for the port of Haifa. Around the port of Haifa there were 12 Egyptian submarines. So if you are blockaded at Haifa and you are blockaded at Eilat, you can't breathe. It couldn't be simpler.

Eban got to the United States the next morning. Mr. Johnson saw him immediately and said that he understood the problem and begged Israel not to fire the first shot. Eban said well what do you want us to do. Johnson said, give me three weeks. Eban said, you've got to be kidding. Johnson said, I need time in which I will try to get other countries of the world who are maritime powers, who have interests in the sea, to join the United States in telling Egypt to open the blockade, because its illegal, its piracy to blockade straits of shipping in the

world. If I can get other maritime powers to agree with me to protest to Egypt, we will try to open up the Straits.

Eban said, I don't think we can wait three weeks, but do your best. He flew back that afternoon. The only country in the world that the United States of America could get to join her was the great maritime power of Holland! And Holland, whose love for Israel is very strong, probably the strongest of any country on the continent of Europe, joined America and said that it's illegal to blockade the Straits. Yes, if you want to make a show of force on this, we'll send our Dutch Navy to join the American Navy and blow it open.

Well, that was ludicrous. Everybody knew the chips were down, and that war was inevitable. And still it dragged on and on. This country went into shock, because nobody knew what was going to happen. Meanwhile all of the waiters and the busboys and the taxi drivers were being mobilized, and by now you had about a quarter of a million men under arms, because there is a secret system of code names that comes on over the radio. When you hear your code name, or your code unit, you drop what you're doing. You just drop what you're doing, and you go to a certain prearranged place where they have your uniform, your gear, your guns, your equipment, and you know another place that you're supposed to report to, where the transportation is waiting for you. You get on your horse, Charlie, and you run. Now your horse consists of milk trolleys and bread trucks and ice cream trucks - every vehicle is mobilized as well as every person. And if you don't come home to supper your wife knows why.

The uniforms, the guns, the ammunition are all located at strategic points - you know where yours are, you know where you are supposed to go - from the time that the code name of your unit is called out over the radio, you will be in uniform, armed, in the field together with all the other thousands of men in your unit, together with your vehicles, inside of 18 hours. A fantastic system of true defensive militia. The citizens of this country defend the country.

Now, a quarter of a million men had been pulled out of civilian life. Factories couldn't work. Businesses stopped. The whole country came to a halt, a standstill. No traffic on the roads. All the vehicles were mobilized by the army, including thousands of private cars, and they stopped because there were no men to drive them. It's hard to describe walking out on Ben Yehuda street and not seeing anything moving - no people, no vehicles.

Now, you can't keep a whole country mobilized day after day after day in that stage of tension, losing the economy, losing industry, which stopped working. But still the Government did not want to go to war, in spite of everybody being mobilized. So on the first Sunday when the Cabinet vote was taken, it was a vote of 9 to 9, and that meant no. Sunday is when the Cabinet meets - every Sunday morning.

The second meeting was Sunday, the 4th of June. And the vote was 16 to 2 GO!

So Monday morning, the 5th of June, they went - they had waited until they couldn't wait any longer.

Now all this is a description of you of why we would not like once more to have 100,000 men and a thousand tanks on this line.

Now, if they promise us that they won't come over, O.K., we'll withdraw. They are not about to make any such promise. The Americans have twisted their arms over and over again, why don't you promise the Israelis that you will keep the Sinai empty and demilitarized. The Egyptians say no, we reserve our option to regain our territory by force. We reserve our right to bring our forces up against their line, because we will have to fight another battle with them.

I am a very realistic man and I take people at their word. And if somebody says he is going to shoot me, I believe he is, so I'd better watch out. If somebody says he's going to shoot, I don't want to go around saying, are well he's some kind of crazy nut. He really won't do it.

Why should I take that kind of chance? Especially with all my 23 years of experience behind me. So we are not going to take that kind of a chance. That's why we're sitting status quo. It's four years and a month now and we might be sitting here holding that territory for five years and a month, or ten years and a month, because if they don't want to budge, we are not going to budge.

I repeat over and over again, we don't want the territory. We want to give it back. The Americans know it. But we want to give it back on one condition - the condition of a peace treaty.

I'd like to take one second to answer the question of some cynics who say, what do you want a peace treaty for - how do you know they'll keep the treaty? How do you know they'll keep their word? Well, we believe in a world of law. And we believe that having a treaty and having an agreement is better than not having it, and if they're going to break it, then they will be breaking the law, then for the first time we'll go to the United Nations, and we'll complain about them.

The point is, maybe we'll have to fight even if we have a peace treaty. But a peace treaty is better than not having one. Because then there is international law and morality prevailing, and we feel that we would run the risk of pulling back under a peace treaty, even if the peace treaty might get torn up the next day. And it would turn out that we did a disadvantageous thing.

Nevertheless, in the interests of law and morality, it would be the right thing to do, and that's when we'll do it. But not till then.

And the Egyptians understand it. The Americans understand it. The Russians certainly understand it. Last month the Russians made a 15-year treaty with the Egyptians, that they're going to stay on that line for 15 years. We say, well, if they're going to stay there for 15 years, we'll just have to stay there 15 years. It's ridiculous.

The Russians know perfectly well what they're doing. The Russians own Egypt now. They've really got it beautiful. And we are sitting here, having to live with that situation.

23-7

I'd now like to switch the talk from the geography, the borders, the history and the war, to another subject.

Do you think that we want to sit here for ten years, or 15 years, just having to worry about soldiers and tanks and airplanes? No.

All of you, I'm sure, are perfectly well aware of what the phrase "To live like Sparta" refers to. We do not want to become a Spartan-like, garrison, militaristic state. That's not our purpose. We will be very, very good at war in trying to defend our life and our country, but that's not our main purpose.

What is our main purpose? You saw it. You saw our main purpose when you went to Vienna, and when you went to Bucharest. Our main purpose is to give Jews who are in trouble or in need a free, democratic homeland to which they can come and live and be free men. That's our main purpose.

And you can put that very simply in one sentence. Now, we've carried out that purpose I think rather well in the 23 years of the existence of the life of this country.

Twenty-three years ago when this country was born, in 1948, there were 600,000 Jews living here. Today we are 2½ million - four times as many. Where do they come from? We took into this country one million four hundred thousand human beings - men, women and children - Jews - many of whom I think would be dead if we did not have this place for them to come to. Because they came out of Iraq, where they were threatened with extinction and persecution and death, and they came out of Morocco, and they came out of Algeria, they came out of Poland, they came out of Hungary, and they came out of the concentration camps of Europe. A quarter of a million alone came from Germany and Austria. They came from the Island of Cyprus, where the British had them bottled up behind barbed wire. They came from Rumania - 300,000 Rumanian Jews are in this country, and we've only got a hundred thousand to go. We took out three out of every four Rumanian Jews so far. One million four hundred thousand Jews have been brought here from Communist countries, or Arab-Moslem countries, who if they had remained in those countries might very well be dead today. One hundred twenty thousand Jews in Algeria, caught in the Algerian revolution between the French and the rebels. If they'd remained in Algeria, they'd have been slaughtered, every last one of them.

Now, you people ought to feel unbelievably, fantastically proud of the fact of what the Jews, mainly of America and Israel, have done to save one million and a half other Jews in the world. The Jews of Israel did it with their pride and their courage, and the Jews of America did it by helping provide a lot of the money, and that's a good combination. And we are in business here in Israel for the sake of saving lives, not killing people in war. War is destructive. Taking in immigrants is constructive, happy, beautiful. It's based on love, it's based on wanting to help a fellow man. It's all based on a feeling of identity with a fellow Jew, that he's your brother - that's the purpose that we're in business for. That's why this State was established. Not to fight wars but to save lives.

However, if we have to go on all the time fighting wars in order to stay alive ourselves, in order to take in more Jews, then we've got to keep on fighting wars, and that's the circle that we're on.

One thing is clear - we are not going to quit. We are not going to stop taking in Jews who need to be rescued and saved. The Jews of Russia want to come out now and they are going to come out. And if ten thousand of them come out, or if a hundred thousand of them come out, we are going to take them in. If the Arabs want to make peace, we'll make peace like that. And then they'll have great, tremendous benefits. We keep trying to sell them this all the time - that there is something in it for them too. If they don't want to make peace, we'll live without peace. Twenty more years will go by. We'll take in another million Jews. We'll build up more farms, more houses, more schools, more universities, more hospitals. The country will get bigger, stronger, more powerful, and pretty soon the Arabs will learn they can't knock us out of the box.

Anybody know the population of Denmark? Anyone know the population of Switzerland? Denmark has about four and a half, five million; Switzerland's got about 6 million. Does anybody ever think of destroying Denmark? Does anybody ever think of destroying Switzerland out of the box? We'll get to the point here of four, five or six million population, and even the crazy arabs will stop thinking they can knock us out of the box. You just don't destroy a country of over 6 million people any more. It's too strong. That's what I think myself: they will give up the idea of war, when we've reached that point of strength. Their good sense will begin to prevail. And they are going to begin to graduate some people out of universities too. And then they'll decide to quit trying to destroy Israel. Then we can quit wasting all the dough on the war, and we can concentrate only upon taking in refugees and building up. That's the last point I want to discuss - our social welfare services.

We have great ideas and dreams. We are going to lick poverty in this country. There won't be any. We are going to lick slum housing in this country. There won't be any. We are going to lick illiteracy in this country. There won't be any. We are going to lick drop-outs in this country. There won't be any. We've got to get to the point where every human being in this country enjoys the rights that every human being is entitled to on earth. A full head and a full mind and a full belly and a happy heart, and nobody in want, nobody hungry. And we're going to get to it. Believe me that we are going to get to it in your lifetime. On one condition - if you help.

We can't do it alone. We need the Jews of the rest of the world outside to help us. So that's why you're here. You are here to get brainwashed to the point that you will say: O.K., we'll help. I believe Israel's the worthwhile thing, and I will help build it up because the objectives that you feel if 30 years from now we have a great ceremony obliterating the UJA, because we won't need it any more, and you come to that closing ceremony, and you say, well I gave 30 years of my life - you'll only be 50 by then, you'll still have another 50 years to go - you gave 30 years of your life to help bring the Jewish State to the point of a population of 5 million, safe from attack, with social services guaranteed

so no man shall be in want for anything, and that every man shall sit as it says in the Bible"... under his vine and his fig tree and none shall make him afraid...". It's a beautiful sentence. There will be no poverty, no uncontrollable disease. Thirty years from now we should have conquered cancer. No hunger, no malnutrition, no racial discrimination, no slums, no overcrowding. That's like a dream of a Garden of Eden on earth.

Well, you kids are supposed to have a tremendous amount of social idealism driving you, motivating you, pushing you, working for great causes. I don't know of a greater cause on the face of this earth than the one I've just outlined.

The last reason that I will give you is that if we can manage to do that here, with a handful of people, why shouldn't they be able to do it in the Congo? And in Uganda, and in Mali, and in Chile, and in Peru, and in India. There's a sentence in the Bible which says "...the Jews shall be as a light unto the Nations...". If you can make it work, then it will be as an example to all of mankind. So what I say is if you are looking for a social idealism cause to latch onto, you've got it right here on home base.

If we can make this thing work in this little, rocky, hard country - no natural resources, a lot of blinding sunlight and big rocks, a little bit of water, no oil, no gold, no uranium, no raw material - nothing - just plain power, and a lot of devoted people, and out of that if you can make a life work, why can't they in every other place on the earth.

Mankind always needs examples to strive for. Well, I think we can create one of the greatest living models of human social democracy to be found on earth, and we can do it within our lifetimes.

Question:

Rabbi Friedman: David's question was this: Am I suggesting that the professors at Cairo University who come from a socialistic intellectual background, and who say that they really think the solution to the problem is to have a bi-national state - do I believe that they are being hypocritical.

Bi-national state - that term refers to a state consisting of Jews and Arabs - no Jewish majority - no designation that this is a Jewish state. Do I think they are being hypocritical? No. I don't think they are being hypocritical. I just think they are being unrealistic. You see, the use of the phrase socialist intellectuals implies that that is a very high degree of human development, and that anyone who portrays himself as being a socialist intellectual somehow or other has achieved the right solutions for all problems in the world. This is not so. Israel is much more socialist intellectual than Cairo is. Cairo talks the socialist line, but doesn't practice socialism for the 31 million of its inhabitants. Because 29 million of them are illiterate, cannot read or write, afflicted with an unbelievable number of diseases, and their government doesn't give one bloody damn about raising their standard of living.

Israel is a socialist country in the true sense of the word, struggling to try to make room for a few capitalists who manage to increase the growth of the national economy, because with pure socialism you don't have a profit motive incentive and people might not work hard enough, and this country has got to grow in its GNP eight, nine, ten percent a year, which it's been doing second in the world only to Japan.

So here you have a socialist country barreling ahead, with economic expansion, but worrying about socialist problems, which is that everybody should have enough to eat and everybody should have enough schooling. They don't worry about that in Cairo. So the word socialist intellectual when applied to them, I think, applies to a very thin layer - 20 or 40 or 100, or 300 professors in the university. It is not applicable to the government, and not applicable to the civil service and the administration of the country, so that I don't accuse them of hypocrisy, I just accuse them of lack of realism.

By the way, to continue with this, there were also Jews in the early days of the founding of this country who believed in a bi-national state. One of them was a very famous American who came to live here, and became the first Chancellor of the Hebrew University, a man by the name of Judah Magnus. Strangely enough, he was once the Rabbi of the big, famous temple on Fifth Avenue, and he came here in the 1920's, fifty years ago, he said let's build a bi-national state. Arabs and Jews, let's form a government together. He got no takers from the Arab side.

Now we would have to go fairly deep into the psychology of the Jewish desire for independence to understand why when Jews have always talked and dreamed about having their own country where they could be free, they never dreamt of sharing that authority with anyone else. The Jewish historical experience has been that when you are in charge of your own country, you live your own life, handle your own king or your own prophet, run your country. You have national independence, which gives you religious independence and social independence. When the enemy comes along and destroys you - Rome, Babylon, it doesn't matter who - and you want to come back and rebuild your country for your own independence, you want it for your own purposes. The whole question of what is the meaning of Jewish identity, why have a Jewish State, why can't a Jewish State be built with an equal Arab parity, requires a deep understanding of Jewish fears, which are not without reason, from the Babylonians down to Hitler. We learn always over and over and over again that when the chips are down, we'd better watch our own flanks and our own back. You could call that paranoid if you want, and I hope that some day we will get over being paranoid if we could live a few hundred years without somebody trying to stab us. Then maybe we could kind of normalize down a little bit.

We may be an abnormally sensitive people at this point, but if so, history has made us that way. So that's why when Judah Magnus came and talked about a bi-national state, nobody would listen.

And when a few Arab professors in Cairo talk about it, nobody listens. So they are not hypocritical, they are just unrealistic. That is not a solution to the problems. A solution to the problem is for nationalistic Israel to be able to live in peace with 13 other nationalistic Arab states. The ratio of 13 to 1 ought to be O.K. when in the 13 states they have a hundred million Arabs and Moslems, and in the one Jewish state we have four or five. I think that they shouldn't be afraid of us, and we shouldn't be afraid of them, and we should live together in this part of the world peacefully that way.

By the way, their answer is - the answer of some of the best Arab leaders is - we have no objection to your having a Jewish State, but why do you have to have it in this part of the world? You don't belong here. The Middle East is ours - you don't belong here. You are European people, we are terribly sorry for what Hitler did to you, but what the hell is that our business. Go find a corner of Bulgaria, or a corner of Yugoslavia, or a corner of the coast of Spain, go find someplace in Europe - go get your own state, God bless you - goodbye. We don't want you here.

We tried to explain to them that we began here, we started here - Abraham walked through this place - four thousand years ago, long before there was any such thing as an Arab. Why can't they understand that we really feel rooted here.

How many of you know the fact that we got another offer to go someplace else in 1903? The place they offered us was infinitely better than this place. It had uranium, it had all the water you could use, it had great, huge forests, and we wouldn't have needed to plant all these trees for a buck and a half. It had great live animals. It had size - 30 million people would have been nothing. The name of it was Uganda. If anybody's ever been there, it's a rich, beautiful country. Low lands, and high lands, and mountains and greenery, endlessly. Every little tiny patch of green that you see here you must realize was made by a lot of sweat and money and labor and blood. The circumstances of the Uganda offer are important for you to know. 1903 happened to be one of the most terrible bloody programs that ever took place in Russia, in the city of Kishinev. Then a million Jews beat it out of Russia, after that Kishinev program, so at that point, the very low point of Jewish fate and despair, the Zionist Organization was working to try to get a home for the Jews.

The British then said, "look why do you beat your brains out trying to get Palestine. The Turks have it - the Turks are Arabs, they don't want to give it to you. It's part of the Ottoman Empire. We will offer to give you Uganda, in Africa, this beautiful place. Form your Jewish State down there." The proposal was taken to a meeting of the Zionist Congress in Switzerland in the year 1903, and the delegates in the hall - a couple of thousand of them - turned the thing down cold turkey. Who voted the strongest against it? The biggest delegation in the hall - the Russian Jewish delegation. Here they were with Kishinev blood pouring, and the Russian Jews turn down the solution because they say, No, that's no solution. We'll go through more programs. We'd rather wait till we can get our own country, not Uganda, which is not germane to us - we have no relationship to it. We want that little rocky piece of soil on the edge of the Mediterranean where our memories go back, where Abraham and Isaac and Jacob were - that's ours.

Well, you know the Jews are just crazy, that's all. But this crazy stubbornness of the Jews is what has made us what we are.

So, you must know that kind of history and background to know why the proposal of a bi-national state is just not realistic.

Question: (Referring to Sinai and the Golan Heights)

Rabbi Friedman: The question was whether an agreement to give back the Sinai and Golan Heights territories would also include Jerusalem. The answer to that is no. Jerusalem - the eastern half of Jerusalem - will not be given back. That is the one non-negotiable item. And that's been stated clearly right from the beginning by everybody, and everybody knows it. There are 70,000 Arabs who lived in East Jerusalem, who are now part of the total large Jerusalem.. We don't say East Jerusalem or West Jerusalem any more - Jerusalem is not a divided city like Berlin any more - it's the united Jerusalem.

When the Bey of Jerusalem went to be elected in the last election, he put on a terrific campaign among the Arabs to persuade them to come out and vote in the election. He printed campaign buttons in Arabic and in Hebrew, and he sent his student workers out among the Arab population begging them to exercise their rights to vote. Actually, 3,000 Arabs of East Jerusalem did go to the polls and vote in the municipal election of Jerusalem, which showed they felt themselves to be citizens of a city, and he was their man. Now you could say that 3,000 wasn't a lot. But it's a beginning, it's better than nothing. The second thing that happened, just a few weeks ago, was that the Minister of Justice offered a proposal of a bill to the Knesset to pay property compensation for all Arabs who lived in East Jerusalem if they lost their property or if their houses were taken over by Jews. Step by step we'll go on like that and try to consolidate Jerusalem, make one city of it. So that's not negotiable.

One other thing was offered - that for the Arab holy places like the big mosque of Omar, if Jordan wants to fly the Jordanian flag and consider those places extraterritorial sovereignty, yes, we are certainly willing to do that. And the same thing with Christian Holy places. But its going to be one city from now on.

Question: Can you give some explanation of the relationship of the Jew to Israel without the religious concept of the Jews as the Chosen people.

Rabbi Friedman: It's a relationship of people to territory, having nothing to do with whether the people is chosen or not chosen. The people in its historic memory. By the way, that's what the Bible is, to a very great extent - a writing down of the historic memory of the early tribal myths, legends, journeyings and wanderings. In the early memory of this tribe, called Hebrews, they remember that they came up out of a place far to the east of here called Babylonia, in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley, which is one of the places where civilization began on this earth. There are only two or three places on earth where we think civilized life - village life - began. Up to that time, man was a nomad, a hunter - man followed animals and lived that way. The change in society came only ten or twelve thousand years ago, when man settled and learned how to take life out of

the soil in one place, and get food year after year without having to wander and chase herds. Man ceased being a hunter and became a farmer,

Now, probably that began in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley. A tribe of Hebrews wandered out of that valley about five thousand years ago, wandering westwards, and they came to this coastal plain. There was a professor at the University of Chicago by the name of Brestead who coined the phrase "the fertile crescent." The wandering went in a crescent, a half-moon pattern. Everything all around is a huge desert, but there is a fertile territory with waters and oasis where the tribes wandered, and they entered into the land of Canaan from the north. Now, in the memory of this tribe of Hebrews is their first relationship with this land. Abraham came down here to Beersheba and found water here. Then there were terrible droughts, and he went further down to Egypt to get food, came back, and arrived in a place called Hebron. There he bought a cave as a burial place for his wife, and that burial place was later the place where Isaac was buried, and Jacob was buried, the ancestors of this tribe.

Then there was more drought, so one of their sons, named Joseph, goes right back to Egypt to get more wheat because the Nile always produced food. Joseph and the Hebrews lived down there for four hundred years. They came back under a leader called Moses. Always back and forth, back and forth, but always coming back to this place. And when Moses came across the Sinai Desert, he came across to the same place where I was, Mizana, and then he hit up here into a place called Kadish Barneya, which is a little bit west of Beersheba, and then he tried to make a thrust up into the Promised Land. It was always called the Promised Land because the Jews felt that it was their ancestral land which God promised to them, or they promised to themselves - that is not really too important. They felt they had a hold on it now. Abraham was two thousand B.C. Moses was 1250, so already there were 750 years of telling stories from one generation to another about our land. They had a claim on it - a psychological, historical, mental claim on it.

Moses tried to push in, and couldn't do it; the tribes living here were too strong. So he came all the way down through the Negev and up the other side to the city of Jericho. There he died, without ever entering the land. You remember that story. He was on a mountain top. He took the next-best guy, Joshua, promoted him to general, clapped him on the shoulder, and said, "you got it boy." Joshua went in and invaded, took Jericho, and then up and down, north, south, they had it. They fought two hundred years to get it. Two hundred years they had it.

By then we're down to the year 1,000 and the Jews were a real miserable, cranky people, fighting among themselves all the time. They decided they'd better have a king to control the whole thing, so they made a king, Saul, and then there was a second one, David, and then there was a third one, Solomon. And then there was another big bad Jewish civil war, and they could only agree on kings for a short period of time. Then north and south split, and there was a civil war.

So the history of the Jewish People related them to this land. The fact that they conceived of themselves as being the Chosen People of God - that's a whole other matter. That has to do with their religion, that has to do with their mission in life, it has to do with the Messiah. But the relationship of the people to the

land is a relationship purely of historical experience, and memory. And every time the people were driven out of this land, it came back to this land. It is logical to assume that it will always be so. There is a thrust, there is a drive, there is a push; you see, memory is something terribly strong in the human being. Its as though you've been programmed. Memory is programming. The Jews have been programmed by their history to relate themselves to this country.

You don't pray three times a day any more. But your ancestors did, for generations, hundreds of years and thousands of years. It all comes down in you, whether you realize it or not. It's intuitive, magical, mystical, subconscious. Freud could explain it. These things are all real. So when I say the historical memory of the Jews links them to this country - I don't know where your father was born, or your grandfather, or his father or his grandfather, but I can assure you whether it was in Germany, or in Poland, or Russia, or Hungary or wherever it was, thousands of your male ancestors prayed three times every day to come back to this country. Now they didn't think it was real. And they certainly would never have had a vision of you in shorts and sandals back in this country. But that's how life works out. And your descendents, generations from now, who will never know you, will receive something which you will imprint in their memory banks by the experiences of your lifetime, which you will tell to your next immediate sons, and then they'll tell it, and on down the line it will go.

Now, you can think that that's a very unscientific answer, but believe me it's not. I used two very technical scientific words - the unconscious part of man's memory, and programming. Those are scientific words, but they describe what happens to human beings, in their brains.

Question: I was wondering what we can do to help besides help to give money for the campaign and all. Is there anything else we can do, as students?

Rabbi Friedman: The answer is yes. There are lots of things that you can do, and with your permission I would like to reserve the answer for a week or two until you've gone through more experiences, and then we will talk before you leave Israel. I thank you for asking the question. It was a natural, honest question. I didn't plant it. But with your permission, I'd like to leave the answer alone.

Question: (Referring to a peace treaty)

Rabbi Friedman: The question was concerning my point about the peace treaty where I referred to the fact that there might be another war. Am I presupposing that we will win the next war? The answer is yes, of course. Sure, there is always a possibility that you will lose, but we'd better not. We'd just better not. I am very very much of a realist, and here is the one lesson of realism that you'd better all learn: we can only afford to lose once. We can win ten times, but if we lose once we are through. They can afford to lose ten times and try the eleventh, try the twelfth, the thirteenth - because their survival is not at stake. Let's put it this way - they are not risking their destruction. They know perfectly well we have no intention of destroying and wiping out millions of Arabs by genocide. Their intention towards us is quite clear, and they have specified it. A crazy man, Ahmed Shukeiri, once said, when he was talking about the '67 War a

couple of days before June 5th: "after we have finished mopping up all those Jews, and we get rid of them, and kill them, and deport those who do not belong here, the only Jews whom we will allow to remain in our conquered province of Palestine will be those Jews who were born there, and then we will keep as perpetual serfs."

Well, you can say the guy's crazy, the guy is uttering absurd threats, I just say over and over again that realism requires us to pay attention to this. If they conquered us would they throw us all into the sea, the way Nasser said on the 19th of May? I don't know, But why risk it?

So our attitude is that we can't afford to lose once. And, therefore, there has to be an assumption that when or if there is another war we will win it again, by whatever means are required, by whatever ingenuity or whatever sacrifice.

When, as I told you, I came here at the request of Prime Minister Eshkol on the 20th of May, 1967, the first thing he told me when I walked into his office was: "Now we are going to have a war." And I said, "I think you are right. It's what I feel in my bones also." He said: "I had a shocking experience this morning. The Chaplain's Corps of the army sent a request to me to approve the consecration as a burial ground of a large plot of ground in Ramat Gan, which is a suburb outside Tel Aviv. I gave them approval, of course, because it's a preparation the army has to make; we had to be prepared with enough ammunition and we had to prepare with enough cemeteries." And he continued, "what shocked me was the size of the plot which they asked to be consecrated in this religious ceremony. It was enough for 40,000 graves." He said, "I never realized that we could be asked to make that much of a sacrifice." Of course, he gave the approval. But that thing shock him to such an extent that it caused him to hesitate about whether to go into war.

Now, eventually, of course, thank God, there were 800 dead. The war lasted only six days - much less than that, actually, in terms of heavy casualties.

Question: Since Israel is in an arms race and since Israel is dependent upon the United States for planes, what does Israel do if the United States cuts off planes? Does Israel have her own manufacturing capacity to make planes?

Rabbi Friedman: Israel has been receiving planes from the United States by purchasing and paying for them. Nothing free. Right now, the United States has completed the delivery of its last contract. No more planes are being sold to Israel until a new contract is negotiated. That's exactly the subject that's under discussion right now. The United States has been asked by Israel for a new contract for the delivery of more planes. Right now the United States has not yet said yes. We think that Mr. Sisco will come here next week from the State Department and they will press him very hard, of course, in Jerusalem - Mrs. Meir and Mr. Dayan and others. The likelihood is that the United States will sign a contract for the delivery of more planes in September, October, the next two to three months. We really think that they will do it. And that little delay is not crucial, for a very simple reason. As you said, Israel is in an arms race with Egypt. A race implies one side trying to get ahead of the other. But we are not trying to get ahead of Egypt. There isn't a chance of getting ahead of Egypt.

They've got a thousand airplanes.

Our arms race is simply to try to keep a ratio of about three to one or four to one. If we can keep a ratio of somewhere between three or four to one, we are satisfied. Right now things are getting a little bit out of whack and the ratio is around six to one. So this is a little bit dangerous.

And so that's why we are asking for the purchase of more planes, though if it takes another month or so it won't make any difference. I think the United States' answer will be yes. If the United States' answer is no, then we have a problem, because as to your question - is Israel manufacturing planes of this capacity - the answer is no. There are only four countries in the world that manufacture supersonic jet fighter aircraft. Israel will be the fifth. But that's a few years down the road yet.

Do you know what those four countries are? U.S., Russia, France - not Great Britain - and Sweden. Great Britain does not manufacture supersonic aircraft. Germany doesn't manufacture supersonic aircraft.

Question: You said that when Israel has a population of five million, then Egypt will sit back and say let's be at peace.

Rabbi Friedman: I also said one other thing. We must keep trying to convince them all the time that it's to their advantage economically to have peace, because we can have a very good trade relationship with them.

If you are talking about the narrow legal question of what's the good of having a written contract with a piece of paper, I thought I answered that. That puts Israel in a much better position legally, according to international law. Right now, every time they shoot at us they have not broken any peace treaty. They have broken an armistice - only an armistice. An armistice is less than a peace treaty. If they make a peace treaty and then shoot and break it, they are committing a worse crime in the eyes of international public opinion.

So you can be as cynical as you want. It still is an advantage to Israel to have a peace treaty which they break rather than an armistice agreement which they break.

The only real way to get at peace is when they are convinced that peace is worthwhile to them, which is a positive way of putting it, or the negative way of putting it is - when they come to the conclusion that they can't destroy us.

You see the problem today is not economic, and it is not political - the problem is psychological. They don't want us here. It's like a child who doesn't want something and throws tantrum fits all the time. They have not come to the conclusion that they are willing to accept that there shall be a tiny Jewish state in this vast Middle East area. They keep operating under the belief that they don't have to live with it. It's like a splinter that you keep trying to take out and take out, because the splinter is an irritation to you and pretty soon it causes an infection and you try to find some tweezers to pull the splinter out.

You won't have a bi-national state; what you will have is a region here in which Jews and Arabs will live together peacefully. It is completely natural. And you will have a common market here, as you have in Western Europe.

And I will close the answer to this question with a story. It is about a guy from Boston, where they manufacture shoes, who has been sent here to look into the industry and see if it would pay to open a shoe factory in Israel. The guy comes back with the report, and he says: Silly, doesn't make any sense at all. You have a couple of million people in Israel. They are all quite civilized. They already wear shoes, they have factories, they make enough shoes, and there's only a few million people, so no market. It doesn't pay for us to go in and build a big factory. All around Israel you have a hundred million Arabs. They don't wear shoes. They run around barefoot. But we're never going to be able to sell shoes to them, so there's no point in building a factory, either to sell to the local market, or to sell to the surrounding market.

His competitor hears this report, sends his own man in to make a market research survey, and his own man comes back and tells the same facts in a completely different way. You have a few million Jews living there. They all wear shoes, but their shoes are lousy. We can make much better shoes than they can. You have a hundred million people there - and nobody yet wearing shoes! What a market!

It all depends on how you say the same facts. The point is that once there is political and military peace, the economic expansion of this area is limitless. Israel will be a natural manufacturing center for a huge market that can absorb everything that can be made here. And you are going to have a burst of economic prosperity, on both sides.

That portends very well for a handsome future, but that pot of gold at the end of the rainbow comes only after this senseless war, which has been going on for 25 years, comes to an end. It isn't a six-day war, and it isn't a 100-hour war. This war has been going on for a quarter of a century, and the real question is - is it going to go on for another quarter of a century, or is there going to be some Arab accommodation to it, much earlier?

By the way there is one thing that I wanted to say at the beginning, which is, I'm delighted you are here. I really want to thank you for coming. When this is all over and you look back in your lives at one of the things that formed you and shaped you, it's going to turn out to be this summer. The impact of it might hit rather fast in some of you and it may be like a delayed time bomb that may not hit some of you till ten years from now.

I want to make sure you understand the purpose of this trip. The purpose of this trip, and all of us are working hard investing a tremendous amount of time and energy in you, is to develop leaders for the American Jewish community. Not every single one of you is going to be a leader - nobody knows it better than I. But if one of you gets to be the UJA Chairman of the city in which you live, one of you gets to be the chairman of the Women's Division of the city in which you will live, one of you gets to be a national chairman for the whole country (we have ten for the whole United States), if a half dozen of you rise up to positions

of top leadership when you are 40 years of age, double what you are today, then that makes this whole trip worthwhile, because the training of leaders means leaders - single individuals. We don't train masses. The UJA is not a mass organization. We need mass support from every Jew in America, but the ones who organize the campaign are the leaders, and the leaders are a handful. If you were to ask me how many genuine leaders there are in the whole United States of America, I would have to tell you that I don't think the number is 5,000. We were talking about 5½ million Jews. So that is about 1%, or a 10th of 1%. We are looking for that diamond, that jewel, that unusual, unique human being who will rise to be a leader and get other people to follow him.

The training of leaders is the role and the duty of the United Jewish Appeal. If we succeed, and we won't know for 20 years, you will be around and I'll be around, and we'll check it then, and we'll have a reunion, and we'll see who, 20 years from now, has risen to the top in terms of helping Israel.

