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אני חושב ש- 15 השנים בין 1933 ל-1948 היו השנים החשובות ביותר בכל 4,000 השנים של הסטוריה יהודית. אני חושב שאני מכיר את 4,000 השנים הללו, קראתי עליהם 400 ספר. חשבתי על כך כ-4000 שעות, לכך אברור את המילים בקפידה. לא אברהם אבינו, ולא מתן תורה בהר סיני, לא תחילת כבוש הארץ בידי יהושע, לא דוד המלך ולא שאול, לא הרומאים ולא הבבלים ולא כל דבר אחר בהיסטוריה שלנו אינו כה בו חשיבות כ-15 השנים בהן קרו שני דברים בסיסיים: מיתה והולדת.

בשנים 1945-1933 כמעט מתנו כעם. לא רק ששת המיליונים שנהרגו והיוו שליש מאיתנו, אלא גם יתר שני השלישים שלא נרצחו באופן פיזי, אבל היו על סף של מיתה רוחנית ונפשית. אני מעז לאמר שאם לא היתה מתרחשת הלידה שלוש שנים מאוחר יותר, כי אז היו שני שלישי אלה יזוקים עוד ועוד תוך תקופה של 100 - 50 שנה ולעולם לא היו נרפאים מהמכה. היסטוריונים מאוחרים יותר היו מנסים לגלות, מה גרם ליהודים שיאבדו את אינסטינקט החיים שלהם, אותו אינסטינקט שעמד להם במשך כל הרדיפות וההיסטוריה.

מעולם לא עשה לנו איש מה שעשה לנו היטלר. לא צורר, לא כובש ולא אצאר ארוסי. אף אחד לא פצע אותנו כה קשה והפכנו לחסרי אונים. במשך הזמן היו שני השלישים שנותרו בחיים מגלים שהם היו אשמים במותו של השליש, מפני שהם לא עשו דבר למענו. אין זה חשוב להאשים אחרים. ראשית עלינו להאשים את עצמינו גם כן. העולם היהודי עשה מעט מאד, אם בכלל, כדי להלחם בהיטלר וההכרה הזאת היתה מחלחלת לאישה אפילו בקהילות רבות עוצמה כזו "באר" הב והיתה גוררת רגשי אשם כבדים. אני חושב שאפילו מאה שנה זו תקופה ארוכה. הרס היהדות היה קורה עוד קודם לכן.

הנחתי היא, אם כן, שהיהודים היו מתיים באופן רוחני ופסיכולוגי מבחינת רצון החיים בדיוק כפי שהיהודים מתו באופן פיזי בתאי הגזים ובכבשנים. לכן אני קורא לתקופה של 45 - 33: "תקופת ה"תחנו", ול-1948: "הרגע המזהיר של לידתנו". לידה זו עלתה לנו בדם, כי זו דרכה של כל לידה. אין לידה ללא דם. אפילו לידה אדם עלי אדמות הוא נסיון טראומטי מסוג זה. הדם של הולדת-עם נספג את החושט חדלות האונים והשיחוק ובודאי גרם להתעוררות מחודשת של אינסטינקט הקיום היהודי, שהוא אופטימי וחדור אמונה בכוח היוצר של חיים חדשים.

אין זו שיויה מה שאני מנסה לומר לכם, אני אומר משהו שבאמת קיים מבחינה היסטורית. אין בידי להוכיח זאת. אם אי פעם בעוד 500 שנה נקרא ספר היסטוריה אני חושב שתקופה זו תחואר בדרך שאני מתארה עכשו.

אם זו אמת, אתם יכולים לתאר לעצמכם שאתם חיים בתקופה או על סף תקופה של דור יוצא דופן מכל אלפי הדורות. מפני שאף כי אינכם חיים בתקופה זו של 33 - 48, הרייכם נולדו בה. מכל מקום, אתם נמצאים על הגדה של מאורעות אלה ועדיין חיים בתוך הגלים והאדוות של הדור המיוחד הזה ואינכם כה רחוקים מכך. עברו רק 40 שנה. אין זו שיחה אודות הנושא המועמט של "השואה". שמתה את המילה "שואה" במרכאות, כי יש האומרים! "אלוהים אדירים, אינני רוצה לשמוע את הספור הזה שוב ושוב"; או: "אינני חפץ לבקר במחנה ריכוז"; או: "לשם מה, לכל הרוחות, אתה מחטט בנושא זה?!". כל מי שמדבר כך אינו אלא בוגד בהיסטוריה יהודית. עליכם להבין את תקופת היטלר והטפעתה כדי להבין את תקומת ישראל.

זוהי הקדמה שתפקידה להסביר, אם יש צורך בכך, מדוע אני רוצה שתכירו מקרוב את התקופה הנאצית.

זה התחיל בווינה וזה עושה את זה מכאיב במיוחד. הוא נולד באוסטריה, גר באוסטריה, היה בן 24 ואז עבר לגרמניה. הוא מת בערך בן 45,46 אינני יודע במדויק. כלומר מחצית חייו עברה עליו באוסטריה וזך היתה תקופה מכרעת בחייו.

את כל רעיונותיו הביא משם. אני רוצה לספר את הסיפור על רקע גידולו. הוא היה בן שלישי מנישואים שלישיים של אביו. בנישואים אלה נשא אביו קרובת מטפחה שלו. טבו של היטלר לא היה נשוי לטבתו, על בן אביו היה בן בלתי חוקי. בתחילה היה שם הסבל שיקלגרובר והיטלר עצמו אמר שעכ שם כזה לא היה מגיע לעולם לעמדת כנה.

אי אפשר לתאר אלפי אנשים מפלוגות הסעף: "הייל שיקלגרובר". למעשה שמו היה היטלר, אך הוא לא אהב את זה והוא בחר בשם היטלר שהיה קצר יותר, קשה יותר ופשוט יותר. הצליל: "הייל היטלר" שהיה ריחמי ונשמע היטב, היה חשוב בטל השפעתו ההיפנוטי והשוב שחזקרו, שלפי דעתו, היתה השפעה היפנוטית על ההמונים. זהו אחד ההטבריס, איך אפשר לקחת אומה של כמה מליון נפש ולהפנט אותם. לצלילים יש חלק בתהליך ההיפנוס

מבלי להכנס לניתוח הפסיכואנליטי, אם הוא שוא את אביו או האם אהב את אמו ידוע כי הוא עזב את ביתו בגיל צעיר, הוא לא כיבד במיוחד את הוריו. בהיותו ילד עסק בשוטטות ואחר כך עבר לוינה חסר מקצוע משוטט ברחובות האפלים וחי באכסניה. הוא נראה כילד מיכרה מלוכלך. הוא הרויח באורח ארעי כצייר תמונות של גלויות ומכר אותן בחנויות למזכרות. הוא ניסה להכנס לצבא, אך ללא הצלחה. אני חושב, שאת הרעיונות הפסיטיים שלו הוא דלה משוטטות ברחובות אלו, בהם הוא בא במגע עם האנטישמיות. הארסית שפשטה שם. גם את הרעיון שיש גזע עליון אחד ויתר בני האדם הם נחותים, הוא קבל שם. הוא לא יכול היה לקבל שהאוטטרים הם גזע עליון, על אף היותו אוטטרי. כך החל להאמין שהגרמנים הם כאלה, שעל גרמניה לטלוט בכל העולם ביד ברזל וכי הדמוקרטיה הוא הבל ורעות רוח.

הוא עקב אחר פעולת הפרלמנט האוטטרי ונהג ללעוג לו. כך נולד הרעיון כי דמוק-רטיה פרטלמנטרית אינה דרך לשלוט במדינה. כאשר עזב את וינה בשנת 1913 שנה לפני פרוץ מלחמת העולם הראשונה, הוא היה בן 24 והאמין בלהט בלאומיות הגרמנית, שוא את הדמוקרטיה, שוא את המרכסיות ושוא שואה ליהדות והיהדות ששיגעוהו כחיים. הוא האמין שהעם הגרמני נבחר להיות הגזע השולט.

זהו זה. זוהי כל האידיאולוגיה שנבנתה במוחו של צעיר בן 24. בקומו הוא הוא גילה בגיל צעיר כיצד לשלוט באנשים והגיע ל-3 מסקנות, שאחר כך הוציאן מן הכוח אל הפועל:

- 1) שעליו ליצור תנועה המונית כדי להפעיל את רעיונותיו.
- 2) עליו ללמוד את מלאכת התעמולה, כלומר השליטה בקומו של אנשים כדי ליצור תנועה המונית.
- 3) יש לדעת כיצד להשתמש בסרור כמכשיר הפחדה.

באשר לנקודה זו הוא הדגים אותה מיד עם הגיעו לעמדת כוח; בשנת 1934 בשנה הראשונה שנכנס לתפקידו, על חברו הטוב קפיטן רוהם, שהכין עבורו את הבטליון של ס.א., בטענה שהאיט הוא הומוסקסואלי. אס"זה לא היה המניע האמיתי, המניע האמיתי היה להראות לעולם כולו אלא איכפת לו על איש, אפילו לא על חברו הטוב ביותר, כדי שיראו אתרים חיראו. אם יש ברצונך להצליח בהחדרת הטרור לכללי המסחק, עליך להפעילו בשלב המוקדם ביותר של המסחק, וזה היה מחויב.

הוא פיתח עוד כמה עקרונות מנחים. אם כי הוא לא היה אדם דתי ולמעשה הוא שוא את הכנסיה, הוא החליט מוקדם בחייו שלא להתנגד לכנסיה, אלא לנסות לחיות איתה. ואכן כך נהג. בשנת 1938 הוא עשה הסכם עם האפיפיור ובאופן מרשים ביותר הצליח לנטרל את הכוח המוסרי של הכנסיה הקתולית. הוא אף פעם לא גונה ע"י האפיפיור. זה היה חלק מתכנון מחוכם. אני מאמין גם כן שהיה עליו לכבוש את לב המיסד כדי לזכות בתמיכתו, אף כי הוא עצמו היה מהפכן והתכוון למגר את הממשלה.

זה מחוכם מאד למגר את הממשלה בעזרת היסודות השמרניים בחוכה ולכבוש את לב הצבא ואת התעשייה הגדולה. הוא הצליח בשני המקרים. בתמיכת המיסד הוא הצליח למגר את המיסד.

עיקרון נוסף שהוא גילה מוקדם מאוד בחייו, היה כוחו של הדבור. הוא נהג לומר טוב ושוב, שאין דבר המצליח כמו המילה המדוברת. המילה הכתובה עלולה ללכת לאבוד. אבל המדוברת משה את מחשבתם של האנשים ואפשר להניעם לכל דבר שאתה רוצה - להפנטם.

זהו הצעיר עם הרעיונות שעוצבן בסוהו ועם העקרונות והשיטתיות שלו. הוא בא לגרמניה בשנת 1913 בהיותו בן 24 שנה לפני מלחמת העולם הראשונה-1 ומצא בית בצבא הגרמני. הוא שוטט חסר שורשים עד לנקודה זו בה נעמד לפתע אדם בעל מטרה. הוא נלחם קשה. הוא הצליח לעשות משהו. רק מעט מאד היילים גרמניים עשו אי פעם. הוא זכה בעיטור של: צלב ברזל דרגה שניה ואצ"ל ברזל דרגה ראשונה.

אף על פי שמעולם לא עלה בדרגתו על רב"ט, זה היה דבר נדיר ביותר. מבין כל האנשים בצבא הגרמני, אינך יכול לספור הריטר אחד של בעלי העטורים הגבוהים האלה. לא בין הטוראים ולא בין הקצינים.

הוא ענד את העיסור הזה עד סוף ימיו, זהו צלב קמח שתוכלו לחזות בו, אם יזדמן לכם לראות סרט יומן מאותה תקופה. הוא ענד את העיסור תמיד קרוב לקצה חליפתו, בניגוד למוסוליני ולדיקטטורים אחרים בתקופתו, מדיו לא היו מצועצעים. הוא נפצע ארבע פעמים: ב-1914, ב-1918. חודש לפני הכניעה ב-1918, לפעור זמנית מגז מרעיל שפגע בו בשדה הקרב ובאותו בית חולים ב-1918 הוא שמע על הכניעה. הוא לא יכול היה להאמין למשמע אזניו שהעם הגרמני הנבחר והצבא הגרמני הכל יכול, הובסו בשדה הקרב ע"י האנגלים המנוונים וע"י הצרפתים המושחתים.

הוא לא יכול היה לבלוע את זה. הוא הפסי שיעיר לעזאזל ומצאו מיד. הוא שוכנע שהיו בוגדים שנעצו סכין בגבה של גרמניה, וביטוי זה: דקירה הסכין בגב, הפך להיות ביטוי שבעזרתו הוא שכנע טוב ושוב את ההמונים הגרמנים. במשך 10 השנים הבאות, כאשר הוא הטיל את כל כובד משקלו נגד אמנת ורסאי והלהץ הבלתי הוגן שהפעילו בעלות הברית על גרמניה הוא טען שגרמניה נוצחה לא בשל אויב אחד, אויב סודי אויב מבפנים, אלו היהודים והם שנעצו בגבה של גרמניה את הסכין.

רק נפגשו כל האידאות: שהעם הגרמני עודנו בלתי מנוצח, ועודנו רב עוצמה, ויכול עדיין להרוס ולכבוש את כל העולם, והם נוצחו רק ע"י היהודים. עם אידיאולוגיה זו הוא החליט להכנס לחיי הפוליטיקה.

כיצד עשה זאת?

הוא נשאר בצבא והתנדב לגדוד במינכן בשנת 1919 כדי לפעול בתור מה שהיה קרוי אז: קצין חנוך - זוהי מילה עדינה למרגל. הצבא הגרמני נהג לשלוח קצינים או טוראים במדים להיות נוכחים באסיפות של מפלגות קטנות שלאחר מלחמת העולם ה-1 צצו כמו פטריות. תפקידם היה לרגל את המפלגות האלה ולדווח לצבא מי מהן מראה נטיה לקומוניזם. החלטתו של הצבא היתה נחושה לעקור זאת מהשורש. הצבא לא יכול היה להלחם באנגליה ובצרפת בשנית, אבל הוא יכול היה להלחם מבפנים בקומוניסטים הגרמנים.

בפברואר 1920 הוא עצמו הצטרף למפלגה קטנה שנכח בישיבותיה בתוקף תפקידו. הדוקטרינה שלה מצאה חן בעיניו. היא נקראה "מפלגת הפועלים הגרמנית" ומספר חבריה היה גדול: שישה. הוא הפך להיות החבר הסביעי. רוחם היה החבר החמישי. שם הוא פגשו לראשונה ושם הוא הפך להיות ידידו הקרוב. פגשו ב-1920 והרגו ב-1924 רק כדי להוכיח כי אין אדם קדוש לגביו.

במינכן מצוי אולם גדול - מרתף בירה. הוא נודע בשם פייצהאל. זהו מרתף בירה גרמני דמוי מערה, חדריים ובהם שולחנות וכסאות כבדים מעץ אלון ועליהם יושבים אנשים מסביב. יש שם קני בירה עשויים מבלוקים גדולים ואתה מכה בקנים על השולחנות והבירה נשפכת מסביב והכל מקיאים מסביב, אנשים יושבים ושרים באשר ובשמחה. 2000 איש בחדר רוקעים ברגליהם, מקישים בכוסותיהם על השולחנות. אתם יכולים לשחזר בדמיונכם כיצד הם נראו, כיצד הם נשמעו וכיצד הם הריחו.

דרך אגב, באותו פייצהאל אתה יכול להזיז מחדש את האוירה, אם חרד למרתף תמצא שם 2000 איש יושבים ושרים.

ב-24 לפברואר 1920 נערכה שם אסיפה בנוכחות 2000 איש. הוא התחיל את הקאריירה שלו ב-25 נקודות שאוהן קפלתי ב-2,3 נקודות בדברי מקודם.

הוא רצה לאחד את כל הגרמניות לגרמניה גדולה אחת ולשלול מהיהודים את אזרחותם ולחסל את אמנת ורסאי. הוא רצה ליצור צבא פרטי חזק, הוא עשה זאת בנאום משלהב מאד ואני טוען, וזו דעתי הפרטית, איש לא השתמש במלים אלה, שיש בו מיסוד ההיפנוזה. הוא הפש סמל ומצאו בצלב הקרס. הוא הפש דגל ומצאו בצבעים אדום שחור ולבן, התופסים את העין בקלות. זה היה דגל שחור גדול עם עגול אדום גדול בתוכו וצלב קרס לבן במרכזו. ועבודת האלילים הראונית שהדהימה את כן את הגרמנים החלה. אתם בודאי יודעים כיצד נראתה מאוחר יותר עבודת אלילים ענקית זו. היא הגיעה לשיא באסיפת המפלגה שנערכה באיצטדיון של נירנברג שהכיל 80,000 - 100,000 מקומות ישיבה ושדה שיכול היה להכיל כרבע מליון איש בעמידה. הוחלט לא להוסיב איש. רבע מליון איש עמדו, היכו בתופיהם. רקעו ברגליהם, הצצרו בחצורותיהם, הניפו את לפידיהם לגבהים, קראו בקצב שעה אחר שעה: "הייל היטלר". זו היתה אורגיה שקשה להבינה. כאשר כולם עומדים במקום ואינם מניעים שריר. זה היה מן היפנוס המוני, כאשר רק קול אחד פועם מתוך הדוכן הגבוה, מתחת לנשר הענק שנבנה ומוטות כנפיו ברוחב 50 רגל מרחפות מעל ראשו וצלב קרס גדול מתנוסס על חזהו של הנשר. זרקור אחד מאיר את האיש העומד

בהליכה חומה ללא תפאורה. זוהי הטיטה המקסימה ביותר שהומצאה אי פעם לפניו אל
ההמון והופנתה אל רבע מליון איש. כשהוא מנמיך את קולו עד כדי לחישה ומעלהו
בבת אחת לצריחה. ההמון היה בידו כחומר ביד היוצר. אורגיות מטיפוס זה הלכו
וגדלו והפכו ל"לחם ושעשועים" שהרומאים מצאום חשובים כדי לשלוט בהמון.

בראשית דרכו הוא עדיין לא היה כל כך מעודן. הוא קבל כסף מהצבא. הוא קבל
60,000 מרקים מהצבא כדי לקנות עיתון. פעם אתה רוכש עתון ואתה יכול להדפיס
כל אשפה כל יום ולהשפיע על מחשבתם של אנשים. הוא היה זקוק לעוד כסף ^{לדפוס} ^{מאשה}
שמה הלנה ביכשטיין אשתו של מיצר פסנתריט, שבנה את פסנתרי ביכשטיין. הוא יסד
את העתון במשך השנים 21 - 22, הם רוזנברג וגרינג כולם הצטרפו אליו בשנים אלה.
הוא ארגן את האספסוף שלו כבר מהתחלה.

ב-1923 ההפיכה הצבאית ("הפוטש") הטילה את היטלר למקום ראשון בחשיבותו
בגרמניה. אני חושב שחשוב לספר את הסיפור הזה, מפני שהוא מעורר הרהורים על הדרך
שבה דיקטטורים מתחילים וכיצד אתה יכול לעצור אותם. זוהי שאלת מפתח.
מתי אדם למשל כג'ורג' ואלס מתחיל להיות מסוכן, מתי פוליטיקאי שאיננו מסכימים
אתו והאינטואיציה שלנו אומרת כי הוא עומד לקחתנו לכוון בלתי רצוי מתי הוא מתחיל
להיות מסוכן, מתי עלינו לעצור מתי אנחנו חשים בואת.

זו היא הסבה מדוע יש משהו מחנך על היטלר. אם היו עוצרים אותו ב-1923
כאשר ניסה לחולל את ה"פוטש" נגד הממשלה הגרמנית, אם היה נכשל אז, מה היה קורה?
אבל היטלר לא נכשל. 10 שנים מאוחר יותר הוא נעשה קאנצלר. אם היו עוצרים אותו
ב-1923 לעולם לא היה מגיע לעמדת כוח ב-1933. זה הלך שיש להסיק. יש לעצור
מישהו כמותו בתחילו דרכו. אפילו אם הדרך היחידה היא לתקוע בו כדור ולהרגו.
הקשיבו היטב לדברי אלה.

ב-11 בנובמבר יום חתימת הסכם הנסיגה של מלחמת העולם ה-1 זהו יום שכל פטריוט
גרמני מכיר היטב, באותו יום תוכננה אטיפה במרתף בירה אחר. למעשה, הוא תוכננה
לשמיני באותו חודש או לתשיעי בו. היו שלושה פוליטיקאים שהיו מנהיגי באוריה
שהיוותה כמחצית מגרמניה - המחצית הדרומית. הם תכננו את האטיפה בפרבר של
מינכן הקייט עד היום, היו שם כאלפיים או כשלושה אלפים איש. היטלר פסע פנימה
עם אקדח בידו, ירה בחיקרה בשעת נאומו של אחד המנהיגים, קפץ על הבמה והודיע
שאנשי החולצות החומות ה.ס.א. הקיפו את הבנין, הציבו מכונת יריה על המרפסת ותפסו
את כוחות הצבא שהיו בחצר, ושהוא, היטלר, והמפלגה הסוציאליסטית של הפועלים
הגרמנים מזמינים את שלושת הפוליטיקאים שהיו על הבמה להצטרף אליהם, ושהיטלר עומד
לקחתם מן הבמה לחדר אחורי קטן ואתם, אנשים נחמדים, השארו כאן והמשיכו לשתות
את הבירה שלכם, בעוד אנו נערוך התיעצות ונקום ממשלה חדשה ונחזור לבמה בעוד
דקות ספורות. כשהוא מאיים באקדחו הוא אמר ל"ששת האנשים: "הבה ונלך". זוהי
עובדה, עד כמה שזה ישמע באבסורד, שלושת האלפים או אלפיים הגרמנים הסולידריים
נשארו לשבת במרתף הבירה והזמינו עוד בירה, הנערו בתלבושתן החמודה, המשיכו
לשתות. כאשר התנהלו ההתיעצויות בחדר האחורי אמר לשלושת הבחורים שהוא רוצה לשוחח
עמם כי הם המנהיגים הפוליטיים של באוריה והוא רוצה שהם יצטרפו לפוטש.

הם ענו: "לא, איננו יכולים."

הוא אמר: "אירה בכמ"

הם ענו: "בבקשה, תירה"

הוא אמר: "יש לי כאן ארבעה כדורים, שלושה בשבילכם אחד בשבילי"

הם אמרו: "ובכן, ירה"

כך הם הגיעו לקפאון. אז אמר היטלר: "גנרל לונדנדורף תומך בי."

גנרל לונדנדורף היה גיבור אגדי של מלחמת העולם ה-1, טגנו של פון הינדנברג
שאתר כך הפך להיות נשיאה של גרמניה. שמו של לונדנדורף שימש כמילת קסם ובאמת
דקות ספורות לאחר מכן בעד פנימה לונדנדורף ואמר לשלושת המנהיגים: "הצטרפו
אליו לממשלתו, אני אהיה ראש הממשלה שנקיים לאחר ההפיכה."
היטלר אמר: "לא אתה תזיה ראש הממשלה כי אם אני."

המאבק על השלטון החל באותו חדר צר ולונדנדורף נכנע. הוא לא יכול היה לעצור
את היטלר, איש לא יכול היה.

הוא אמר: "בסדר, אתה תהיה ראש הממשלה ואני אהיה ראש המטה."

שלושת המנהיגים לא הסכימו להכנע. היטלר זכה לפתע בהשראה. הוא יצא מן החדר,
עלה על הבמה ומן הדוכן הודיע לשלושת המנהיגים הסכימו לשרת עמו בממשלה החדשה.

זה היה השקר הגדול הראשון, הוא גילה לפתע שאיך צורך לומר את האמת. מדוע, לכל
הרוחות, צריכים 3,000 האנשים האלה לידע מה שהתרחש בחדר האחורי? אפשר לומר

לומר שהם הסכימו בדיוק באותה מידה שהם התנגדו. כאשר האנשים באולם שמעו זאת, הם החלו להקיש בגביע הבירה באשור ובזמחה. יללה מנהיג חדש, ממטלה חדשה, הכל כל כך חזק. הם הרגישו את עצמם בטוחים והחלו לשיר ולאסיפה היתה הצלחה עצומה.

הוא עזב את האולם לדקות מספר על מנת ללכת לקסרקטיץ הגדוד שבו התחולל קרב בין אנשי הצבא ובין אנשיו. הוא הלך למשך שעה. כאשר הוא חזר אל האולם שלושה הפוליטיקאים נכנעו, לונדנדורף נכנע וכל הענין הארוך הזה נסתיים בלא כלום. למחרת היום הם נפגשו בשעה הצהריים, הם החליטו לערוך מצעד על העיר ולכבושה ומשם לתחנת המשטרה כדי לשחררו את גרינג שנאסר יום או יומיים קודם לכן בקרב רחוב שנערך בין החולצות החומות ובין המשטרה.

לונדנדורף והיטלר התחילו לצעוד מ"בוגרבאוס קלר", שהוא מרתף בירה בשעת הצהריים. היה עליהם לצעוד רק 300 - 400 יארד על גשר ולחצות את הנהר אל ליד מוזיאום גדול: "דויטש מוזאום" אחד המוזיאונים הטכנולוגיים הטובים ביותר בעולם. מקום זה חשוב להיסטוריה שלנו, השתמשנו בו שנים רבות אח"כ, כאשר המלחמה הסתיימה ובו ריכזנו את העקורים היהודיים, אך זה סיפור אחר.

300 יארד ממרתף הבירה התחילו היטלר, לונדנדורף וכמה חברים לצעוד, אחריהם בקצה התור זינבו כמה מאות אנשים. היתה גם מטאית ועליה מכונת ירייה. משמר שוטרים קטן החזיק בגשר. קציני המשטרה אמרו: "אין לכם רשות לעבור, כי אין לכם רשות לעבור, היטלר ואנשיו אמרו" "אנחנו כן נעבור".

משמר שוטרים קרא לו, כחצי תריסר שוטרים ניסו לעצרו, אבל הם לא הצליחו, והמצעד צעד. הם חדרו לעיר, לאט לאט התאספו טביבת עוד אנשים. כעת הם היו כבר כמה אלפים. הם הגיעו למרכז מינכן. סטרייכר כינס אסיפה בפנינת רחוב. זו היתה אסיפה אנטישמית כשהוא ראה את המצעד של היטלר, הוא פיזר את אסיפתו והצטרף להיטלר. כך הצטרף סטרייכר לתנועתו של היטלר, בדרך מקרה באותו בוקר.

לא אכנס כאן לגאוגרפיה של מינכן, אבל מה שחשוב הוא שהם נכנסו לרחוב צר שהמשטרה צרה עליו וירתה. את המשטרה היתה יותר נמרצת היא היתה הורסת באווו בוקר את התנועה הנאצית.

אבל מה שלמעשה קרה היה, שכאשר המצעד הגיע לבאריקדות של המשטרה, אין איש יודע מי ירה ראשון, אבל היו קצת חילופי אש שנמשכו במשך 60 שניות, בהם נהרגו כ-16 איש. היטלר נפל על המדרכה. שורגור, אחר מחומכיו הראשונים שהלך עמו שלוב זרוע, נהרג. בנופל הוא הפיל את היטלר ונזקע את כתפו. יתר האנשים שכבו על הקרקע. רק גנרל לונדנדורף עם שפט מבריק לא רצה להכנע. הוא עמד זקוף לחלוטיץ בחוף האש, הוא פסע לעבר מפקד המשטרה. המפקד אמר לו: "אני מצטער, אני מוכרח לאסור אותך, גנרל". לונדנדורף אמר: "מלא את חובתך". ובראש מורם הוא פסע אל תהום הנשייה.

היטלר הורס ע"י חבר כשם בוטסי הוברסטנקל, בוגר אוניברסיטת הארווארד, נער אמריקאי שהגיע לגרמניה, היה פסנתרן ופגש בגב' ביכטטיין והיא הציגה אותו לפני היטלר. הוא היה הפטרון של היטלר כל היה אמריקאי, עשיר ומפונק, בעל חוילה. הוא לקח את היטלר לחוילה שלו, שם הוא נת מקרבות הרחוב, שהיו צריכים לחסל את הקריירה שלו, אבל במקום זאת ציינו את תחילתה.

ב-10 בנובמבר 1922 היטלר הובא לבית המשפט בו נשפט על חלקו בקרבות הרחוב נגד המשטלה. הוא נמצא אשם. הוא נשלח לבית הכלא בלנדסברג, עיר קטנה ליד מינכן. הוא שם בבית הכלא 9 חודשים. במשך זמן זה כתב את ספרו: "מיין קאמפף".

זהו זה. אינני רוצה לעמוד על כל מה שהתרחש מכאן ואילך כי יש צורך לפרט מאד. מה שחשוב הוא, שבין הימים 25 - 33 כוחו הלך ורב. הוא צרף אליו את גבלט שהפך למומחה שלו לתעמולה. בשעת המיטור בגרמניה ב-1929 בעת האינפלציה, כאשר דולאר עלה 4 ביליון מרקים הוא נתמך ע"י הצבא וע"י אנשי עסקים גדולים. היו לו 2 צבאות פרטיים. החולצות החומות והחולצות השחורות שהיו ביחד מליון נפש. בדרך זו הוא פתר את בעיית המחסור בעבודה. הוא קבל כל מחסור עבודה וכך זכה לתמיכה. לצורך זה הוא היה זקוק לכסף רב. הוא קבל אותו ממקורות עשירים מאד וגם מאנשים קטנים שהצטרפו למפלגה. הם שינו מיטיט וזמיטיט הצטברו לסכומים גדולים. אינני רוצה להכנס לתוך התסבוכת של הפוליטיקה הגרמנית. מה שקרה עם

הרפובליקה הניימריה, עם קאנצלר ברנינג, עם קאנצלר פון פאפן וכו'. ממסלה אחר
 ממסלה נפלה. לבסוף, האיש הזקן פון הינדנברג, שהיה נשיאה של גרמניה אולץ ע"י
 היטלר למנותו כקאנצלר. פון הינדנברג אמר חצי שעה לפני הטכס: "לעולם לא אמנה
 קורפּרל אוסטרי מלוכלך למנהיג של גרמניה." וחצי שעה אחר כך הוא עשה את זה.
 אסר הנאצים החלו לצעוד ברחובות כמרכז ברלין, פון הינדנברג הסתכל מבעד לחלון.
 הוא היה טנילי בן 84 באותו זמן, הוא לא הבין מה הוא עושה. הוא אמר לעוזרו
 שעמד לידו: "מדוע כל האנשים האלה למטה צועדים? לא ידעתי ששבינו כל כך הרבה
 רוסיים". בשנת 1933 הוא עדיין חשב שהוא נמצא ב-1918.

במשך 6 השנים 33 - 39 שיתק היטלר את העולם. פחדו מפניו כמפני נחש. הוא
 עלה על רוחו. צרפה לא ניסתה לעצרו ב-1936. הוא עבר על חוקים נגד היהודים ב-
 1934 - 1936 ואיש לא עמד בדרכו. הוא פלש לצ'כסלובקיה ב-1938. צ'מברלין
 הגיש לו אותה על מגש במינכן. דרך אגב, מינכן הייתה המרכז. מפעם לפעם, אני
 לוקח קבוצות טוודנטיס לשם להראותם את המקום. אני מכיר את ביתו של היטלר.
 הוא אינו מסומן. אני לוקחם לברוטו ברט קלר, אף הוא אינו מסומן. אני לוקחם
 לחדר שבו חתם צ'מברלין על ההטכס עם היטלר. היום יש שם קונסרבטוריון, היושבים
 בו אף אינם יודעים עליו.

נעשה תכל כדי למחות את זכרוננו של האיש, אך חותמו מוטבע על העיר, אם אתה
 יודע מה קרה לעיר. אני לוקחם למחנה הריכוז דאכאו שליד מינכן ולבית הכלא של
 לנדסברג. גם לביתו של היטלר בברטסגרוך הנמצא במרחק של מספר שעות נסיעה למינכן.
 אולי יבוא יום ואתם תסעו למינכן, זכרו כי הוא היה המרכז.

מ-1933 עד 1939 הוא הניח את ידו על היהודים ועל העולם ואיש לא התנגד לו.
 איש לא האמין לו, אך איש גם לא היה מודאג בעתיו. וזה היה בדיוק כפי שאני מתאר
 זאת. כמו אדם הצופה בנחש העומד להכניסו לאינו עושה דבר כדי לכרות את ראשו מעליו.
 הוא שלט בגרמנים ע"י הטרור וע"י כך שהשיע באוזניהם מה שהם רצו לישוע:
 גרמניה נולדה מחדש, גרמניה של החילה, טרויך בן 1000 שנים עומד להיולד ושהכתם
 של ההשפלה בורסאי עומד להמחות. הם רצו לישוע את כל זה.

אינני צריך לומר לכם מה הוא עשה ליהודים. המחנה הזה יספר לכם. האישה שלו
 הייתה לבודד, לרכז, להפריז ולהשמיד. גטו וארטה ישמש דוגמא. קחו למשל, חצי
 מליון איש יהודים, בוחדו אותם מאתר האוכלוסיה, רכזו אותם בשטח של מיל מרובע
 אחד בעיר התחתית של וארטה והוציאו מהבנינים את החושבים הנוצרים. לאחר שריכזתם
 אותם אתם מפרדיים בישהם ומפצלים אותם ליהודות קטנות ואז ניתן להשמידם יחידה
 אחר יחידה. אין צורך לבצע את כל זההליך של הפיצול במקום ריכוזם. אפשר לעשות
 זאת במקום שנבנה במיוחד למטרה זו וכמהו כבית חרושת גדול.
 עבור חושבי גטו וארטה, היה מקום ינקרא טראבלינקא שנמצא במרחק של 70 מייל ברכבת.
 בטראבלינקא נבנו תאי הגזים והכבשנים. כדי להעביר אנשים לטראבלינקא יש כמובן
 צורך להפעיל תחבורה. אתה מוציא מהגטו 7,000 או 8,000 אנשים כל יום כי זה
 המכסימום שאפשר להרוג בטראבלינקא. כל בית מסבחיים כזה הוא בעל קיבול מוגבל.
 אי אפשר להרוג מספר בלתי מוגבל של אנשים כל יום. מפני שזה ^{לדקה} כמה דקות לשרוף
 את הגוף בכבשנים, זה ^{לדקה} כמה דקות להרוג את הגוף בעזרת הגאז, זה גוזל כמה דקות
 כדי לתקוע יחדות ומקלות בגופות ולגדור אותן למקום אחר ולנקות את הדר הגז שהיה
 מלא הפרשות וקיא שאנשים פלטו ברגעי פחד. אם יש ברצונך להכניס עוד 200 איש
 פנימה כדי להרעילם בגאז, לא תצליח לעולם לעשות זאת אם יראו לאיזה תא הם מוכנ-
 סים. השלט שהיה כתוב בחוץ על התאים היה: "מקלחת". כך אתה מפתח את האנשים
 לחשוב שהם עומדים להתקלח, אתה מספק להם סבון, יש לך שפע של סבון, כי אתה משתמש
 באותן הגופות ליצירתו. כך אתה מפתח להכנס לחדר, זה גוזל כמה דקות גם לנקות,
 אסירים יהודים הועסקו במלאכה זו. עליך גם לעקור את שיני הזהב וכיו"צב, גם
 זה גוזל כמה דקות. הכנסת הגופות לחוף הכיבשנים גם הוא ^{לדקה} כמה דקות.
 אתה יכול להרוג כך רק 7000 - 8000 אנשים כל יום. זה בבית חרושת קטן כמו
 טראבלינקא. בבית חרושת גדול כאושוויץ אפשר להרוג 20,000 איש כל יום.

מטפחים אלה חסרי מובן. באוטובוס זה יש ב-35 - 40 איש. כמה זמן זה יקח
 כדי להרוג את כולם כאן? לקחת את בנדיכט ולהניחם בערימה, לגזוז את שערכם
 ולהניחו בערימה, לקחת את משקפיהם ולשרוף אותם בערימה? כל הדברים האלה הם בעלי
 ערך והגרמנים הם אנשים מאד חסכניים, מעשיים וחרוצים. הם לא יקלקלו סתם
 סחורות טובות. שער אדם הוא חומר מעריץ למילוי מזרונים, או לאריגת בדים למעילים
 לחיילים הגרמניים. זה קר בחזית הרוסית, ואין גטפיק צמר כי זו תקופת מלחמה.

ולמה יהודים טובים יותר מאשר לספק טייער? זה יקח הרבה זמן לחסל את כל האנשים באוטובוס הזה.

אפשר היה לבודד, לרכו ולהפריד את היהודים יותר מהר משאפשר היה להשמידם, לכן הם חיפשו תמיד שיטות מהירות יותר ויעילות יותר. לירות ביהודים זה גוזל זמן. צריך להביאם במכונית לשדה, לחפור שוחות, להורגם, לשים את הגופות בתוכן, לכסותן לזרוק לתוכן עוד גופות, זה הכל גוזל זמן.

אייכמן היה רק חוקר, הוא אף לא ירה באיש, הוא הביא את הרכבות והבטיח את חזירות נסיעתן.

דאכאו נוסדה ב-1938. מאטהאוזן הוקמה ב-1939. בשנים 33 - 39 לא היה הרג המוני של יהודים, אם העולם היה עושה משהו במסך 6 שנים אלה, היו מליוני יהודים ניצלים. אני רוצה לספר לכם על ועידה שנתקיימה בצרפת בעיר אן-יאן, זוהי עיר יפה, עיר זו נבחרה ע"י הדיפלומטים, כי הם אהבו את מימיה. הם התכנסו בעיר זו בספטמבר 1938 בוועידה בינלאומית על פליטים, היו עם נציגיה של 30 אומות, שרצו לישות מה הם יכולים לעשות למען האנשים המסכנים כל כך שנרדפו ע"י היטלר. איש מהם לא הציע להם בית. הגרוע ביותר היה הליכלוך, הצביעות וחוסר המוסר שהיוו אות קלוז על העולם המערבי ואנשים שאירגנו את הוועידה כמו הנשיא רוזוולט גילו את פשיעת הרגל המוסרית שלהם.

אל תתנו לאיש לטפר לי עד כמה הוא מצטער על מה שקרה לי, יזעה שאני יודע שאיש לא נתכון כלל לנקוף אצבע. הם הירשו לנו ללכת לכיבושנים ולדאוג לעצמנו. היום אני יודע, לפחות, יזאני חייב לדאוג לעצמי ושעל היהודים היה להשיב מלחמה שעה, מוצלחת יותר, קשה יותר, מוקדמת יותר וביותר תכונה. זה דבר נורא לא לדעת כיצד לנהוג בעיתות סכנה. אלו מאיתנו שזוכרים זאת חייבים לספר על כך לאחרים, כדי שכולכם תכירו את סימני הסכנה. זיכרו כי הדבר החשוב מכל הוא, כמובן, מדינת ישראל. קיומה של המדינה זו הערבות ההדדית, שמה שקרה לא יקרה שנית.

העולם לא עשה דבר, היהודים בארצות החופשיות היו משותקים, לא ידעו מה לעשות ולכן לא עשו דבר. בק נהרגו 6 מליון איש בשנים 39 - 45. כשהסתיימה המלחמה, שחתנו הם מכל הפצעים.

היו גילויי התנגדות בודדים בין היהודים. היו קבוצות של פרטיזנים, היו מרידות בכמה גישאות, היו נסיונות של יהודים להמלט דרך מערכות הביוב של הערים כדי להגיע ליערות ולהמשיך במאבק מתוכם. נעשו נסיונות של בודדים להמלט בסירות לארץ ישראל. ידוע לכם בודאי הסיפור על הבריטים שעשו הכל כדי למנוע זאת. אך גילויי התנגדות אלה היו מעטים בתוך כלל התהליך.

אז באה התקופה של 45 - 48, שבה היו יהודים שחשו אינסטינקטיבית שהמאבק על החייה הגיע לשלב מכריע ושאלם לא נצליח יקץ הקץ עלינו. רק החזון הציוני ראה בראייה נכונה שהיהודים זקוקים למדינה לעצמם. אז התארגנה עליה בלתי ליגאלית נגד האנגלים. אני עצמי עבדתי למענה בשנים 45 - 48, היו הברחות נשק לישראל כי למדנו לא לסמוך על איש. אלו הברחות הנודעות בשם: "וכש". עבדתי כאן בגרמניה ובאוסטריה. במסך שלושת השנים הללו העברנו אנשים מדינה דרך זאלצבורג למינכן. שם שיכחנו אותם במחנות על אימת גרמניה ואוסטריה בנסה כיבוש אמריקאי, לשם העברנו רבע מליון איש. אחר כך העברנו לים התיכון לחוף האיטלקי או הצרפתי.

העלינו אותם על אניות. היו 56 אניות. הבריטים תפסו את מרביתן. אחדות הצליחו לעגון בחוף ארץ ישראל, היו בהן כמה עשרות אלפים של ניצולים. הבריטים לכדו 60,000 - 50,000 איש והעבירו למחנות בקפריסין. אבל המאבק נמשך והרצון לחיות נולד מחדש. ובמחנות בגרמניה אותו רבע מליון של בני אדם שחזרו לחיים החל לומר: "אנו רוצים בית! תנו לנו בית, תנו לנו ארץ, תנו לנו את ארץ ישראל. אנו רוצים את ארץ ישראל".

ועדות על גבי ועדות הגיעו למחנות בגרמניה ואוסטריה, אך לא היה להן מה לחקור כי אני יכול לומר לכם מה היו העובדות, היהודים שנתרו בחיים היו מוכרחים לעזוב את אירופה הארורה ואף אחד לא רצה בהם, אפילו לאחר המלחמה. היה ברור שהם זקוקים למקום אליו יוכלו ללכת...

אלוהים אדירים, דברתי כבר שעה זיבע וזה זמן רב.

Burger brau Keller

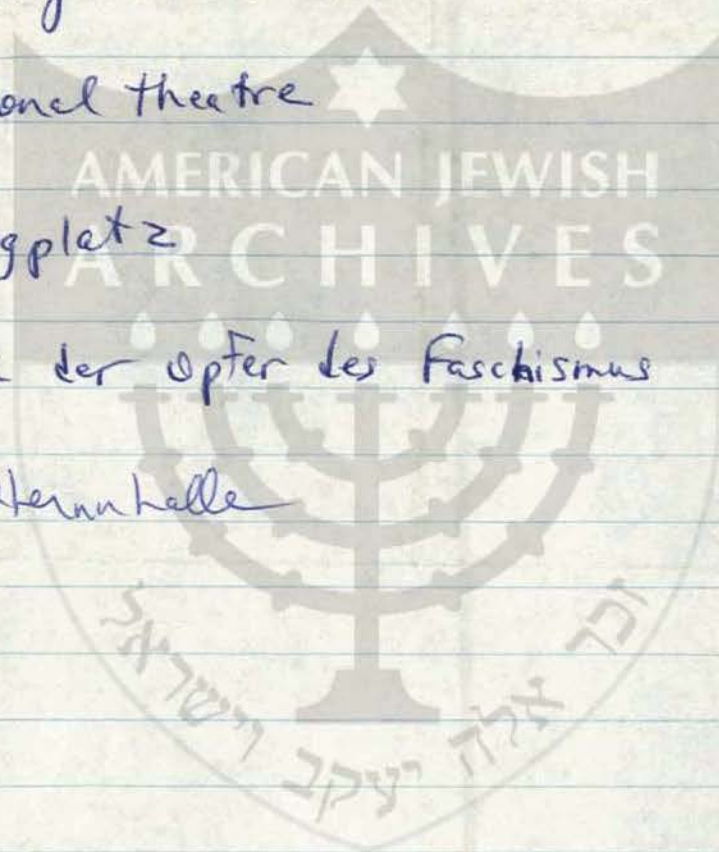
Ludwig brücke

National theatre

Königplatz

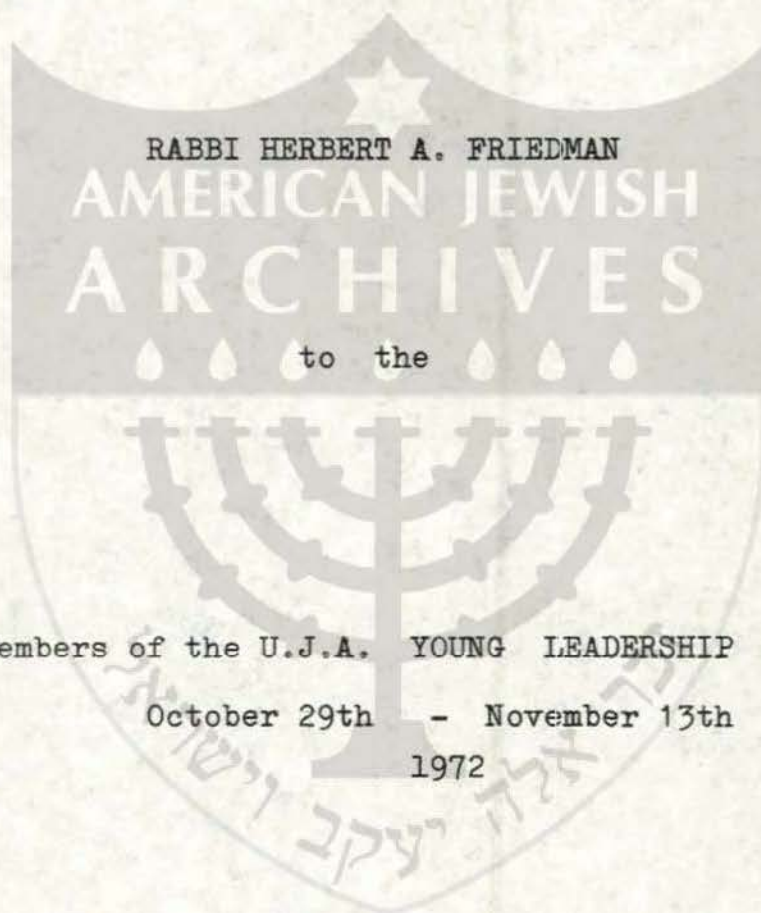
Platz der Opfer des Faschismus

Feldherrnhalle



A D D R E S S

By



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Donald Benjamin

I see many smiling faces after 11 hours of riding today, I have been talking to a number of you since we got here and I see that you realize the importance of what we did and why we did it, so that you could see some of the things that help to make the totality of the picture about Israel, its problems, its concerns, its strengths, its weaknesses.

I'd like to take a moment before Herb starts speaking this evening, because the question has been raised on a number of occasions in the last 8 or 9 days about what is the Cabinet and what does it do and why does it exist and things of that sort. I told you when we left Vienna that the Cabinet was the dream of Herb Friedman, because he felt that there was a gap in the leadership of the American Jewish community and based upon his experiences he realized that as long as Israel would need us and that there would be problems in our local Jewish communities, that there was a need for a coterie of young men to become involved in the problems that concern the survival of Jews and Judaism and Israel and they would not wait until they were 50 or 60 years old to make their mark, but would start when they were in their 20's and their 30's, who would devote a great deal of time and effort because they want a better life for their kids and for themselves. And because they believe in this country that we are in today.

It's an exciting thing that happened as a result of that dream. Today, in the United States in 1972 there are 67 either present cabinet members or past cabinet members who are chairmen of UJA campaigns in the largest 100 cities in the United States and there are some 120 odd men who are presidents of the 200 or so odd federations in the United States who have been associated with this program. So this sounds like we have accomplished something. I think we truly have. This group has turned on in a sense the American Jewish community because we have shown our elders that we really care about it, that we are concerned about it, that we are ready to put our efforts forward, put our money where our mouths are and to do something to make it better.

I'd like to take a moment to introduce to you people who are part of this mission who are part of the Cabinet. I purposely did not do it earlier, because I wanted you to feel that this is as it is - a group of 81 people all identical, but I do think at this point that you should know who are cabinet members. As I call the names will you please stand up - Art Brown from Chicago, Conrad Giles from Detroit, Dave Gill from Los Angeles, Robert Kadis from Goldsboro, Larry Roth from Syracuse, Arnold Sweet from Dallas, Wayne Wisbaum from Buffalo, Neil Cooper from Boston, Clifford Isroff from

Akron, Art Roth from Albany, Norm Sanet from High Point and Bill Wedren from Cleveland.

They are representatives of a cabinet of 200 strong who are doing their things and this is the guy that's responsible for it. Herb, do your thing.

Herbert Friedman

Somebody's doing something. Nobody will want to tape this one, this is a different kind of a speech altogether. This is a speech which is to be given at 9 o'clock in the morning to people who have had a very, very small breakfast a very, very long night's sleep, who have sharp pencils and pads, who are very, very alert and bright and who are capable of analyzing carefully and critically and substantively long columns of figures with decimal points and percentages and that's exactly the condition you are in right now. So that I am doing the thing that I was asked to do, but I think that if you are smart you will have fallen asleep long before I get done and then when I get through with all of this somebody will wake up and ask me a provocative question and we decide whom to shoot tomorrow morning. Then we'll get back on the track to where we were once before.

However, there are some penalties you have to pay for this wonderful, wonderful trip you're having. You are allowed to drive all along the Lebanese border for 12 hours, you are allowed to do all kinds of marvellous and wonderful things. You should hear what's being planned for you here now, oh boy. Therefore what you have to do to pay for that is digest these figures. Once you digest those, you will know more than any young leader, middle age leader, old leader, baby leader, geriatric leader. Nobody knows these figures, not that they aren't available because they are all printed in the documents. I didn't make them up out of my head or memorize them, but nobody reads the figures. So if you come home with one little piece of paper like this, you will seem like some fantastic kind of guru who went there on top of the mountain in Haifa where Elija one sacrificed to the prophets of Ba'al and you learned all of this magic stuff and you came out knowing things that nobody knows. So I would recommend that you take the back of the menu with a pencil, write this thing down and I'll explain it to you and if you have already used the menu for passing notes to each other then you're wasteful.

Here's what this is. Don is very very insistent that you people get to take over by evolution, not by my means, the American Jewish community. Now you've done it two-thirds of the way, you got to do it the other third of the way. These figures will explain to you what the campaign in America

means in terms of human needs here in Israel. Now let's stop all the horsing around and let's get to realize what's all this money raised for, what's done with it and I think you can get one or two kinds of speeches. You can get a speech of gorgeous fantastic oratory telling you what's done with the money and you'll never know when it's all over. After you come out of the fog of hypnosis you won't know what the speaker said because he didn't give you any facts. He kept telling you that he didn't want to burden you with facts, so he didn't and so you don't know any. The other way is digest a few figures the hard way and then the whole picture will come very clear as to what Israel's needs are outside of the field of security which doesn't show on this chart.

Now what this chart has got is this and people who are out of range of it, if they just move their chairs and get into range, there are three columns on the left here, this one, this one, and this one, are three columns of figures for the present fiscal year. This up here says 1972/73. The fiscal year that we are now in which goes until March 31st, this is now November, we are two-thirds through the fiscal year and so these are current figures. The column on the right here, the one thin column on the right is for the fiscal year 73/74 beginning April 1st '73 but these figures on this column really apply to the 1973 UJA campaign, next year's campaign that you're preparing for now. Okay. I have put the total on the top in case I got down the bottom here and it got obscured and you couldn't see it. The total of these three columns.

The first column here says budget of needs - 775 million dollars. In other words, and that's the one big word in this talk tonight, 'if' - if 775 million dollars had been raised, if it had been raised and made available, that's the amount that was really and truly needed and underneath it there are 10 items which add up to 775 and these are the items which show how 775 million dollars could have been spent if it had been made available.

The second column shows the reductions that were made in these 10 items because 775 wasn't available. The third column shows the operating budget, for 465 was made available. 465 million was made available, not 775 million. It was 310 million dollars short and 310 million dollars short meant that a lot of things had to be cut and the cuts are right down here in this middle column.

Okay, now that's the framework of this table. Now let me begin with the items. Immigration...for immigration we wanted to spend 74.7 million out of a total of 775. We didn't have 775. We had to cut this down to 57 million. Right - instead of spending 74½, we could only spend 57. We cut 17.4 million or 24%. There was a 24% cut on that

item. The figures that are in the parentheses are the percentages of the cut, just statistically interesting, that's all.

Under social welfare services we wanted to spend 55, we wound up being able only to spend 28 - we had to cut 27 - almost 50% had to be cut. Under health services 84.3 - we cut it way down to 34.3 - we knocked off 50 million or 60% got knocked off in the category of health and by the way I'm going to go back over these and explain to you not in great detail, but just very quick sentences what got cut out. Education here in this column means high school education and pre-school education. Let me tell you one thing about education in Israel because it's very interesting and as parents this subject is close to you. Primary school education in Israel is free and its compulsory and it's obligatory by law and the government has to pay for it and you can't spend one penny on it, because no tax deductible money can be spent on something which the government is obligated to do by law. Pre-school education, 3-year old and 4-year old and high school education from the 9th grade to the 12th is not obligatory by law, not compulsory in this country, not free in this country and so we can spend money on it.

So education in this category refers to three and four year olds and from the 9th grade to the 12th. We wanted to spend 57.8 million - we could only take 33.6 We had to cut off 24 million or almost 45%. Higher education is universities - 88 million, we had to cut off 15½, we only spent 72½. You paid for almost the whole bill of higher education in this country - about 75% of it you paid for. What the kids in this country can pay for by tuition is pitifully small. You had to put 88 million dollars into that pot, but you didn't have that much. However, this is one item that we cut down very little, we only cut this down 18%. Health we cut down 60%. Higher education we only cut down 18%. These are value judgements you have to make and it's very hard to make value judgements like that, it's the most painful thing in the world to sit at a meeting and figure out how should you cut and what should you cut and in what proportion and where's the priority and is the priority with the body or is the priority with the mind. And we have decided the priority is with the mind. And that's why health got a big cut and the care of the body takes a big cut, but the care of the mind takes a small cut.

Youth care we had originally started out saying that we needed 31 million, could only spend 19, cut of 12 - that's 40% almost. Agricultural settlements, I want you to know what that refers to, it does not refer to kibbutzim which are mostly independent and self-sufficient, it refers to moshavim which take in new immigrants, lots of new immi-

grants. We try to settle as many people as possible on the land instead of in the cities, but when you take new immigrants who are not farmers and you push them out onto farms, you have got to assist them, you got to put in training, you got to put in cows which they kill through neglect and you got to put in more cows and they ruin the chickens because they don't know how to handle them, so you got to supply more chickens and the amount of waste - well that's the wrong word - the amount of attrition that takes place through inexperience. The learning process is expensive, that's all. So everything that's called support of agricultural settlements - we're taking in new immigrants - 43 million - we had to knock off 10 million of it and only spend 33. Housing, the biggest single item of the whole ten - 298, almost 300 million. If we had raised 775 we would have spent 300, almost 3/8, the biggest hunk, on housing. Because that's the greatest need and so housing took the biggest cut. We cut it right in half, 50% knocked off 150 million and spent 150 million. Administration is nothing - 3 million. We cut that down a half a million to 2.6. Debt service - if you don't pay the interest and something on the principle, then your credit is no damn good and we are carrying a debt load now which is so enormous that it's almost 40 million dollars a year in interest. We owe almost 400 million dollars - we are paying almost 10%. And the debt service you can't fool around with very much. We cut it ten percent - instead of 38.7 - 34.7. But we didn't have much room to play with there because you better keep your line of credit with the banks in proper shape, or you can't go borrow next time.

Let me go to next time and let me show you the figures in this column here. For the next coming fiscal year 73/74, but forget the '74, it's really 1973 - from April 1st until December 31st of 1973 is 9 months and it spills over for the first 3 months of '74. The total would be 785 instead of 775, but you really have to look at the breakdown. Immigration - we thought we would be able to spend 74 - we should really spend 89 next year, because of the increased number of Russians coming in. Now I don't know what the hell we're going to be able to spend, because if we don't raise 785 and it doesn't look to me right now as though the next year's campaign is going to make that kind of a jump as it should, we are going to have to cut this budget too. What we'll be able to cut this 89 down to depends on how many Russians come in.

Social welfare we said 55 and we only spent 28, next year we are budgeting it for 74 instead of 55. Again, because we keep hoping that we can take a crack at the poverty problem that I told you all about, or something about.

Health - we're budgeting it for way less - 65 - I mean we have such a bad situation with it this year - 84 and only spending 34 - that we said, what the hell, why kid ourselves, and we know that if we get in trouble with next year's budget that that's the first item we're going to slash again. So the hell with it, no sense putting it in at 85 - put it in at 65 to begin with and you'll cut it down from 65 to 25 maybe. If you've got to cut something, that's got to take the biggest cut again.

Education - 57.8 up to 65. Higher education 88, down to 83, because what we're saying is that the universities have got to go do more and better fundraising on their own. You got one or two ways of handling it. Either a moratorium in which they are not allowed to raise any money in the United States at all which was the case two years ago which I was very much in favour of and if they are not allowed to raise any money at all, then we've got to foot the whole bill, but if they are out of the way as fundraising competition, then the UJA campaign can raise more money and that's why I was very much in favour of the moratorium two years ago. I was in favour of retaining it this year. I was outvoted. There is no moratorium this year. The universities are all out on their own raising money in the States. Therefore, if that's the case then let them go and really raise money and let us get more and more and more off the hook. I mean either or. Either they don't raise any money, then we got to foot the whole bill and have a better campaign because they don't raise money, or if you think the other way, that they can raise a lot of dough and not interfere with us, fine, then let them really raise a lot of dough and let us a little bit off the hook on this item. Now it isn't much from 88 down to 83, but it's a symbolic move downwards. Youth care - 31 up to 36. Agricultural settlements - about the same, 43, 45, that's just an inflationary factor of a couple of million dollars. It will cost a couple of million more next year to do the same thing we're doing this year. Housing - 300 - 284 - it's a purely arbitrary figure, completely arbitrary. We could have made it 350. You can do as much or as little as you want in the field of housing. Administration is the same 3.1, putting it in at 4 - interest is the same - 38.7, here it's 40. That's a round number. So next year looks like 785 - 775 million.

How much will we have available next year will depend upon how good the campaigns are around the world. Where did this 465 million come from? The campaign in the United States we're assuming will produce 275. The campaign from other countries will produce 90. Contributions here in Israel will produce 25, can you believe that, on top of their taxes and on top of everything else. God bless them.

Fifty million borrowed in the United States on the credit of the UJA, 25 million borrowed in other countries on the credit of the UJA. Add up those five items what have you got - you've got to have 465, you better have.

Now, that may look complicated but I really think if you grab that chart and look at it, it's quite simple. This is all based upon an immigration of approximately 60,000 persons of whom approximately 30,000 are Russians. The items that come here under immigration are - I'll just read them off fast - documentation, that's the red tape business that you pay off in Russia, a thousand bucks for the normal visa, not ransom tax for the academic persons. Everybody costs a thousand bucks, a little more now, about 1,100. Special services for professionals, constructing of new hostels to put them in as the immigration gets bigger, social integration, loans and grants for special cases for equipment, doctors, dentists, architects who need professional equipment, financial aid during the transition period, adjustments, all other items under immigration and absorption including absorption centers, maintenance of families for six months, etc. You all know that picture pretty well.

Under social welfare services comes old age grants, relief payments, construction of homes for the aged. We cut that out completely, one of the things we cut out here. We had 8 million dollars put in for building homes for the aged - we cut out eight million dollars - zero was allocated for building homes for the aged - zero. I mean if you are going to slash 310 million bucks, you got to cut out a lot of things, so even 8 million dollars for homes for the aged causes a lot of suffering on 15-20,000 old people and only saves you eight million, but if you don't chop off every eight million you can put your fingers on, you'll never get to chop out 310. Education I told you about. Scholarships for high schools. We had 25 million in scholarships for kids. Do you know what it costs to go to high school in this country? It costs about 1100 or 1200 pounds a year. You know what it costs to go to university - 900 - it costs more money to go to high school than it does to go to university. And we have to throw some money into the high school program in order to provide scholarships for kids of sephardic families and poor families and Russian immigrant families who aren't on their feet and they're not making it. But if you came to this country as a new immigrant from your western background with your emphasis on education and your special Jewish belief on education, isn't the first thing that you would want to do is to get your kid into school if he's of high school age and if you can't afford 1200 pounds, because that's roughly two months wages, two months wages for a year's tuition for a kid, supposing you got two kids, how do you take four months wages to send two kids to high school?

You can't do it. We have budgeted 25 million dollars for scholarship aid for kids for high schools. We wound up really allocating 8½ million. We chopped the item hard and we did a hell of a lot of damage and we hurt a lot of families. But what are you going to do, the money isn't there.

Higher education I told you, that's the university. There are 7 universities in this country, 45,000 students going to higher institutions in this country, that's all. Out of 2½ million Jews we got 45,000 going to university. No good. No good. We ought to have a hundred, we ought to have 200. If we are not the people of the Book, what are we?

Youth care and training, that's mostly institutions for retarded kids and orphaned kids and sick kids and handicapped kids, it's not a lot of money to talk about 30 million dollars being required for youth care in a whole nation, what's 30 million dollars and we can't even spend that, we spent less than 20.

Agricultural settlements, I told you what that was. Housing, that's clear. Where we did the big chop by the way was we wanted to allocate 40 million dollars for housing for young couples in this country. We cut it in half, we only took 20. We wanted to build 203 millions of dollars of apartments for immigrants - we cut it in half, we took 113. So we hit the two areas the hardest where the people were the most needy and the general administration and the debt, you can't do a damn thing about that. All right, full stop. That's enough. I'm not kidding you, it seemed like I was horsing around in my opening remarks, but I wasn't. I tell you in all seriousness that there is no president of a federation or chairman of a campaign or top member of the Executive Committee of the UJA or any city in America where a guy could give these figures as quickly and as neatly and to know the details of what the breakdown is on this as I have just given to you in 20 minutes and if you know this, you know the guts of what this campaign is all about.

I said that there is an item missing here, this is security and I just want you to understand one thing. When we want to take money and put it into a welfare program like this and we can't do it because we can't raise enough, what happens. The service that was supposed to be performed gets cut, or the Government of Israel has to come in and pick up the tab. Now the Government of Israel is limited by one very simple thing - its defense costs. And the Government of Israel is today spending a fantastic proportion of its annual budget, over 40% on defense. So if we can't put as much in housing as we should put in and if the Government of Israel says. Look, you guys can't build the houses for the young couples, but we better get the housing for the young couples or their morale will sag and there will be a big crisis in the country.

If the Government of Israel is going to pick up the rest of the tab for the housing, where are they going to take the money from, they are going to take the money from defense. And that's a very tough decision to put them up against the ropes and force them to make that decision and that's what we did to the tune of 310 million dollars worth. We made them decide that either they would cut the services or they'd steal the money off the security budget with all the risks that that implies and that's why it's a very serious thing. If there were no security problem behind this and if we said, Well gee whiz, we wanted to do 775 million worth of work, but we couldn't quite make it, we only can do this 465 worth, Mr. Government, please you want to do the other 310, pick up the tab sir, less than half - we're doing more than half of it and if the Government had the leeway to do that it wouldn't be such a serious matter, but as strapped as the government is with the war problem, that 310 becomes impossible. They can't meet it. That's over a billion two hundred million pounds. The whole budget of this country is only 17 billion pounds. The whole budget. So to pick up a billion two that we fall short on, they can't do it, no way. So the net result is the services get cut and get cut.

Now, you got the picture clearly and if you really take these figures down and if you really understand them for this year and for next year, boy you're way up on top of intellectual and statistical comprehension which lies behind the emotional comprehension that you're getting now. I'd like to finish and then I'll answer questions, by talking about this emotional comprehension. The emotional comprehension means that you say, I am emotionally identified with this. I am part of this. I am with this. I am committed to this. Come what may I am committed. And I have talked to you in Vienna about the word commitment and identifying your life with the survival of this country and the people in it and its future and the future of all Jews who have to come here. Now I'd like to tell you that one boomerang has come back to me from this heavy emphasis that I gave you on long range commitment. The boomerang that came back was my God, the guy is telling us that we are going to have to fight a war for another generation, that we are going to have to take in immigrants for another generation, the guy is telling us we have to be committed for another generation. The figures that the guy is giving us are overwhelming and the boomerang that comes back is people start to say. The problem is too big for us. How many people here in the last three or four days have said that or thought it, let's be honest, hands up. How many people have said it or thought it? Damn few, I'm surprised to see, okay.

I would like to reassure you that the problem is not too big for us, or for you, that is. No matter how hard it's going to be, no matter how overwhelming these figures may seem to be, it's not too big for us to handle, it's just not, because what

we've handled in the past 25 years that have brought us up to this point has been much harder and much tougher than what we have yet facing us in the future. What we have got to go, the road we have got to traverse yet is nowhere near as difficult before we see the light at the end of that long tunnel, because if you can possibly project yourself back 25 years ago and think of what that tunnel looked like from 1948 and it looked like it would stretch endlessly forever. In this city of Haifa in 1948, 1948 there were scores and scores of thousands, 100, 150, 200,000 people living in tents on the lower slopes of this city where there are now apartment houses and every time you drive around this city and you look at the apartment houses creeping up the side of the hill, think in terms of canvas tents and if you began in 1948 to look ahead and say! My God, I have a quarter of a million people living here under canvas who came from camps in Europe, what the hell am I going to do with them, how am I going to digest them? There was no hotel like this hotel in the city of Haifa 25 years ago, there was no food to eat, there was no printed menu for food to eat. There was a very simple thing. Eggs were rationed, you got one a week. The diet for protein was frozen fish that was imported from Norway. You ate it till it came out of your ears, three meals a day. If you looked at the thing in 1948 and said: Where the hell is the light at the end of the tunnel, you couldn't see it, but when we compare the road we've travelled up till now with the road that I'm laying out ahead of you that has yet to be travelled, the future is much easier than the past. There is no need to be oppressed by a feeling that the problem is too big to solve. The problem is horrendous, the figures are going to go up and up and up and up every year, this is 775, 785 million. A few years from now we'll be talking about a thousand million. It's a billion. But do you want to know something. The campaign in America can raise a half a billion dollars. The campaign around the world can raise a quarter of a billion dollars instead of a hundred million. Money isn't what it was 25 years ago. Money is so relatively cheaper now and easier and floats more swiftly.

The task ahead is long, it's going to require your commitment for your lifetime, not five years and not one year and not three years. But it's not insuperable. Nobody could say that in 1948. Anybody who stood up in 1948 and said: The task is not insuperable, I promise you, I guarantee you success. Anybody who stood up and said that in 1948 was not a prophet, he was simply a fool and nobody talked that way. In 1948 people talked with great great bravery and with great confidence about a dream that they wanted to work to make true and they wanted to lay their lives down to make it come true and the war of 1948 took an awful toll -6,000 people, when the population of the country was 600,000. One percent of the people died in the War of Independence. That's a staggering figure. One percent of the people died. And even with

that willingness to give life, no leader would have dared to have made an assertion that he would guarantee the safety and the security and the success of the country - no.

Today, today, responsible leaders can guarantee that to you provided there is a measure of support from a loyal, resilient, flexible Jewish people in the world. In other words, we are in a position to promise you much more today than we were 25 years ago and that should be a very encouraging thing. I'd simply like you to think of it this way. Every year that goes by that we have to fight a war blood and treasure are lost. Every year that goes by that we have to fight to take in more immigrants, money and nervous energy and we'll have all kinds of casualties of men who will die of heart attacks from overworking themselves to build this country, but look, every year that goes by, I don't care if we're fighting a war, I don't care if we're pressed with immigration, I don't care what problems we have, every year that goes by we're one year older and one year stronger and one year richer and one year closer to ultimate maturity and let's go on like this for 25 and all that will happen at that point is that we will have a population of five or six million like I keep telling you and I don't care if these figures go to 2,000 million which they could very well go to by 25 years from now. So what. So the Jews of the world will be raising 1,000 million and we'll still be cutting the needs in half, but look at where we'll be, look at where we'll be 25 years down the pike from now.

So I don't want anybody ever to have the feeling that no matter how hard the job is, that it's an impossible one or that it's a self-defeating one or that it's too big for us to handle or that what's the use of my effort. You see the point is when you get into that frame of mind you say to yourself, what's the use of my effort, what can I do about this, what's the difference if I give another 1,000 dollars, what's the difference if I work another year harder, what's the difference if I take chairmanship, what's the difference if I steal time away from my wife and my kids, none of it matters, I as one person can't do anything about this. This is too big for me. That's the mood that I don't want to set into any one brain for one minute, because it's not true.

Every extra 1,000 dollars does count and when you guys get together tonight to start putting some money on the table, put it on the table in the right quantities and every extra 1,000 and every extra 5,000 does count and every extra year of labour that you give to this thing does push it one inch further ahead and every other additional human being that you can mobilize to volunteer to enlist in this work does push it ahead another inch. And look, I'm not interested in anything more than getting

ahead inch by inch by inch by inch. I don't believe in seven league boots and I'm not looking for any miracles. You give me inch by inch by inch, that's a yard and a yard and a yard, pretty soon it becomes a mile and a mile, another year's gone and we're a hundred thousand Jews bigger and stronger and another mile is another year and we come to 1982 and 1992 and 2002 and pretty soon the job is done. And you'll look back and you'll say! How did it happen, it seemed to have been so tough. Was it really so tough? Yes, I'm not minimizing it, very tough, but given the support which you are capable of giving, it's absolutely within reach.

Take the figures, realize that we bit off a lot when we hoped to have 775 to spend. We are not foolish, knowing that instead of having 775, we only have 465 you could say: Why don't you get realistic, why take 785 as next year's starting budget. Well, that's realism, Jewish style. Realism united way style is to cut the 785 to 466. It's not the way we do things. We are going to keep shooting for the moon, shooting for the moon and one day we are going to find ourselves walking there and we're not sure how we got there. But I'm sure how we got there. I know how we got here. A bunch of crazy people saying nothing's impossible. Crazy people here primarily with a few crazy supporters over there. Today the number of supporters over there gets bigger and bigger and bigger, thank God, and then the crazy people here don't look so lonesome and so few anymore. And that's how we got up to this point - the 25th anniversary - and that's how we'll celebrate the 50th year anniversary by having the ranks of the crazy house fill and fill and swell with a bunch of fanatical devotees to the cause that's bigger than all of us, that sweeps us off our feet and makes us do illogical and irrational things.

Tonight one of you guys is going to do an irrational thing as regards the amount of money he gives. Hopefully, more than one and then you will go back and say to your wife! You know what I did, and she'll look at you and she'll think to herself, Oh, the nut and then she'll say, Yeh, but you know what, so what, maybe he's right. And that's why I believe by the way that on some of these missions the wives ought to come along because when they understand it and they are behind their husbands on this thing, they are pushing instead of pulling and holding back and that's good. No, this is not too big a job and let's never hear that anymore. Let's just deal with the practicalities of whether next year we ought to cut education and increase housing or next year cut housing and increase health. I mean those are the only problems we have to deal with, that's all. How to get through next year and next year and next year and build something here so great and so fantastic that it was all worthwhile in the end.

I think that's the moral for the day. I am going to see you once more on this mission. We are trying to fix a time for it on Thursday when I want to talk to you not about this, and not about the necessity for a whole lifetime of commitment, but I want to talk to you about the city of Jerusalem. I want to talk to you about some of the history and the poetry and the magic and the mystery which is up in that cool mountain air and we are going to meet Thursday afternoon some place as soon as Howard and David fix a place and I hope they pick a place where we can stand on top of a hillside somewhere and look out over the city and that's where I'll meet you for the last time and say goodbye. That will not be much of an opportunity for the asking of questions. That's just sort of pure poetry and you can't bring it down to any mundane level by saying: What's the price of the three submarines from Vickers or how much does it cost to send a kid to kindergarten. so, the reason I'm telling you that is this tonight is the last chance for questions on any and all subjects except political assassination. The same Jewish Agency, this by the way I assumed you understood it, I didn't put it up on the top, this is not the Government of Israel budget - this is the Jewish Agency budget. That's the name of the philanthropic organization here in Israel that takes the UJA monies from around the world. Didn't you have somebody from the Jewish Agency talk to you - Chinitz, he talked to you, he explained that all. This is the Jewish Agency budget, so the new immigrant makes out his mortgage, he signs a form to the order of the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency has in its safe hundreds of millions of dollars worth of mortgages signed by new immigrants. How in the hell do you think the Jewish Agency goes out and borrows 400 million dollars? That's the collateral. It's fantastic. If you could run your own business that way, it would be great. To get a guy to sign a piece of paper called a mortgage which on your books then becomes an asset, when the guy who signed it doesn't have a damn thing behind him and isn't going to pay, but you take that piece of paper and you go out and you borrow against it and banks in this world will loan you hundreds of millions of dollars against that portfolio. Now, what's the reality, do the immigrants pay back - yes - some of them do. Every year the Jewish Agency gets in a few million dollars, 7,8,10, million dollars of immigrants who came here 8 years ago and 10 years ago and 12 years ago and they signed a mortgage - by the way, nobody presses them, the sheriff doesn't go, nobody is dispossessed, little Eva is not put out in the cold. The bank doesn't come. None of that deal. But the guy gets on his feet and he feels he's got a debt and he feels he wants to pay it back so that the next immigrant coming in will have some dough, there will be some dough to build a house for him. So I would say somewhere between 7 and 10 million a year comes back paid in by immigrants of previous years. Very nice, you spend

200-300 million, every year, and you get seven or 8 or 10 or 12 or something comes in and that's fine, it's okay. I don't know if that answers your question.

Question : Basically my question was what and when will Israel be solvent ?

Friedman : The answer to that will be number one, when the GNP rises to the point where you will have a per capita income of 3 or 4 thousand dollars per year - 2,500 per year. Number two, when you don't have such a huge defense drain. Number three, when you don't have such a huge immigration load. Those are the times when the extraordinary expenses will not be occurring and your normal income will rise so you can produce enough revenue from taxation on that income to meet normal expenses. Normal revenue from taxes, to meet normal expenses of running a country.

Right now you have abnormal expenses of defense and immigration which includes housing in relation to the ability of the population of pay for it by taxation. That's why you need all the help from the outside. So the time will come when the extraordinary expenses will diminish, the internal income will rise and therefore the taxation on it will rise and therefore the external income will no longer be required and that's when it will balance off and become self-sufficient.

In this budget what we had allocated there we had put down, allocations to existing hospitals for equipment, development and research, 20 million dollars. What we cut was 20 million dollars, so we gave them zero. We put in an item of construction of new hospitals, 25 million dollars, what we cut was 25 million dollars. There hasn't been a new hospital built in this country for 8 years. You know how the population has grown in eight years. I don't know, I suppose in eight years the population has grown three-quarters of a million people. Three-quarters of a million people. You have a fixed ratio, there's at least one doctor here who produces new population - maybe there are other doctors here, there's a fixed ratio which doctors know about of so many hospital beds per thousand population. Our population here increased three-quarters of a million persons in eight years in the course of which time we didn't construct one new hospital bed. And God help you if you get sick in this country. It's shitty. You can't believe how bad it is. I could take you to the best hospital in this country and you would just vomit because the minute you walk in the whole corridor is full of beds, the corridor, there's no such thing in this country as a private room, except in one hospital. Everything is four people in a room and the pushing and the scrambling and the screaming with the nurses to get through between the beds carrying food and linens and clean linens and soiled and bedpans and flowers, it's just unbelievable.

Do you know what the word bedlam referred to in 17th century England ? Well, that's what hospitals are like in this country. To go 8 years without constructing one new hospital. It's absurd. Absolutely absurd. I mean it's the one thing that's shameful about this country and I pray every day - it's the only one thing that I got almost a phobia on, I hope to God I never get sick because I swear I will not go into hospital. I'll stay sick at home, I don't care what the hell the sickness is.

Now that was under hospitals, health services. We had started out to do 84 million, these two items alone were 45. The ones I just said. Allocations for improvements to existing hospitals and constructions of new hospitals. And those 45 we chopped out completely. There's an item called hospitalization of mental cases. We wanted to put 10 million into it. We have a lot of problems in this country, let's face it, people who have been through frightful experiences in their lives, beginning from Hitler on and down all the way through, Jews in Iraq watching their families being hung upon the gallows on a public square, I don't know if you have been reading about it lately. The problems of the Jews in Iraq. It's in the papers in the first three or four days while you're here. Our Jews have gone through horrible experiences, Hitler or Arab countries or communist countries, pogroms, wild anti-semitism in Poland, all post-war, and it has disturbed many people mentally. Now I want to keep in balance, we don't have a country full of crazy people, but we have a country with many many people in it who have been through terribly terribly emotional situations where they get emotionally disturbed, maybe that's a better word than mentally, emotionally disturbed. And they require hospitalization or they require home care and they are poor and they can't pay for it themselves and we have put in an item of 10 million dollars for hospitalization and care of mental and emotional cases, and chopped it from 10 to 2½. So they are disturbed, so they're disturbed, so we can't help them. So, what are you going to do, can't help them. So I don't know if that's clearer about what came under health.

Question: Re income tax of Israelis.

Friedman: The income tax system is the highest in the world. That's really saying something. I think the best way to answer it for you, really the best way, is to explain what's called here a loksh. A man's pay cheque here comes to him in the form of a long piece of paper where his gross salary is put down at one side and then the deductions of what's taken off for this tax and that tax and this forced loan and this compulsory loan and this voluntary loan which is compulsory and then what he's got at the other end of this long loksh. Okay, Mike, you got a loksh in your pocket - Mike is an Israeli guy, typical guy, makes a good salary Israeli standard and you'll see what he begins with and what he ends with.

When you get up to - a thousand dollars in 4,200 pounds. A thousand dollars or 12,000 bucks a year in the States, take a normal situation, one wife and two kids, normal deductions on a guy who earns 12,000 bucks in the States the tax would be a couple of thousand dollars. If it's 20% it would be 2,400 bucks - 25% would be 3,000 bucks. That's it, tops. Here if you are talking about 4,200 pounds a month - you begin at 40%, by the time you get up to about 2,000 pounds or 500 bucks a month you are fifty and sixty percent. The last 500 bucks you are at 87%. If you take it across the whole board, if you start with 4,200 gross, you probably wind up with 1,800, 1,900 maybe 2,000. There's a saying in this country that it doesn't matter a God damn what you earn, you wind up with 1,000 pounds, that's all and that may be right.

Question: Where are the other 30,000 immigrants coming from and what about the JDC budget which is outside of this ?

Friedman : The other 30,000 are coming from a whole miscellaneous host of places. No one item very big. Nothing more than three or four or five thousand. Iran, Turkey, Algerians who live now in France, Tunisians from Tunis and also from France, Moroccans, free-world people, Canadians, Europeans, English and Americans, maybe four or five thousand this year, 5,000 maybe, Rumanians - Russians is Russians, but there are Jews from other Iron Curtain countries. Those are about the main places where the other 30,000 Jews are coming from. Call it 3,000, 4,000, 5,000 each from seven or eight places. I forgot, Latin America a couple of thousand. I mean when you are drawing from seven or eight places at two, three, four thousand each, you hit 30,000 very fast and that's about it.

The second question about the JDC budget, the JDC budget this year I think was 26 million dollars or 25 of which it gets from the UJA about 21. It gets almost its entire budget from the UJA and it gets a couple of million bucks from outside sources. It gets a little money from Latin America, it gets a little money from Canada, it gets a little money from Germany, but 90% of its money comes from the UJA. Where is it spending it, where does the UJA spend about 25 million. It's spending about 40% of that or about 10 million here in Israel. Have you visited the Malben. The Malben takes about 7 or 8 million a year. There's a program among some orthodox yeshivot for about a million a year. There's a program among Ort schools - JDC is giving to Ort about 3 million of which about a million is spent here in Israel. So they are spending about 10 million here. They spend about 3 million sending packages behind the Iron Curtain although we never say that in writing. In writing you remember the name that Feder told

He used the phrase "relief in transit" - RIT which sounds like rest in peace. And you know why that name was picked many many years ago, because the idea was that the Jews living in Russia were only in transit and they wanted to get out of Russia and until they got out we had to send them packages inside. So about 3 million a year gets sent inside Russia. About a million and a half gets spent in Morocco - about a million gets spent in Iran - about 2 million gets spent in France for the Algerian and Tunisian Jews - about 2 million gets spent in Rumania for poor Jews who live there - I don't know, how far are we now - that's about it.

Their budget, contrary to the Jewish Agency pretty much balances. If they start out with a budget of needs of 25 million, 26 million, they find that they can almost make it, they don't have to cut very much, because they don't try to do an open end job. They do a closed end job.

Question: What about the Iraqi Jews?

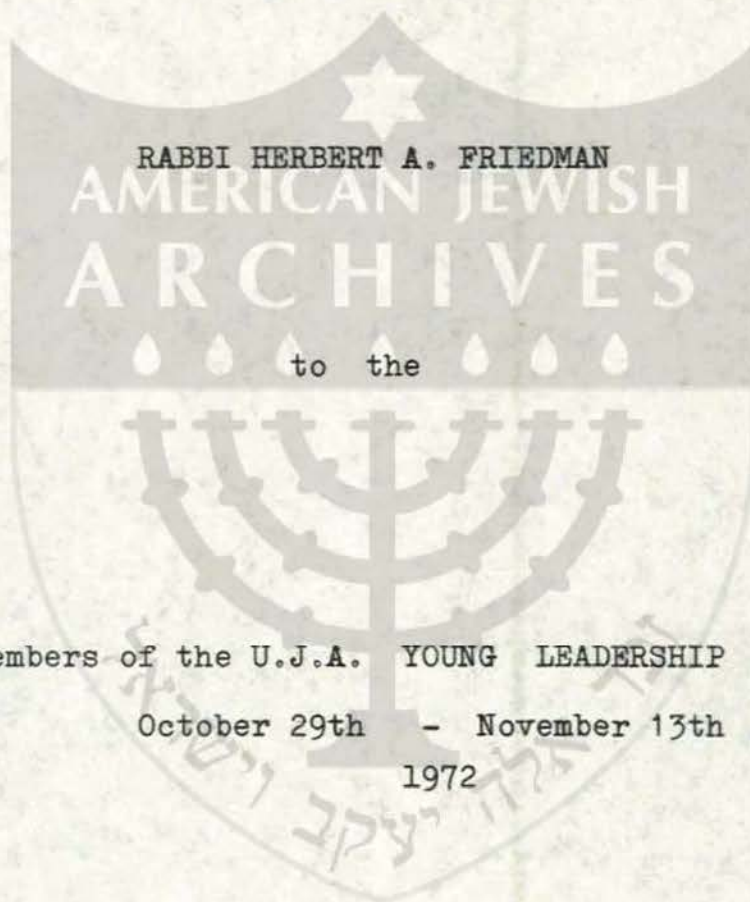
Friedman: Do me a favour and don't ask me for the details. Iraq is situated next door to a country called Iran, that's all I will tell you. We get them out of Iraq by clandestine means, difficult means, in which people have lost their lives, been wounded, who tried to help from the outside and people from the inside trying to escape have been arrested, turned back, put in jail and tortured, so its not a fun and games thing at all, it's a real tough bloody operation and if they get across the border at all they get across into Iran. In Iran we have no trouble picking them up and bringing them here, but how they get out of Iraq over to Iran through the mountains is something I'd rather not be specific about for obvious reasons. The information won't really do you much good and could do some people a lot of harm. I hope that satisfies you.

We don't have anywhere near as many to go as we have already gotten out. We have a successful scarlet pimpernel type of rescue operation which is fraught with danger but which works and its not a big volume thing, but it's continuous and steady, with casualties, but it goes on and we do it. That's really a chutzpahdike question - someone sits in his secure living room and says: Why don't you get Jews out of Iraq. First of all he doesn't even know where it is and secondly he's really impuning the dangerous activities of a lot of dedicated people.

It doesn't get the publicity for another reason, not because it doesn't have the volume. We don't want it to get the publicity. We cringe every time anything appears about it. We wish nobody knew about it. We would be able to get them out faster.

A D D R E S S

By



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Donald Benjamin

I see many smiling faces after 11 hours of riding today, I have been talking to a number of you since we got here and I see that you realize the importance of what we did and why we did it, so that you could see some of the things that help to make the totality of the picture about Israel, its problems, its concerns, its strengths, its weaknesses.

I'd like to take a moment before Herb starts speaking this evening, because the question has been raised on a number of occasions in the last 8 or 9 days about what is the Cabinet and what does it do and why does it exist and things of that sort. I told you when we left Vienna that the Cabinet was the dream of Herb Friedman, because he felt that there was a gap in the leadership of the American Jewish community and based upon his experiences he realized that as long as Israel would need us and that there would be problems in our local Jewish communities, that there was a need for a coterie of young men to become involved in the problems that concern the survival of Jews and Judaism and Israel and they would not wait until they were 50 or 60 years old to make their mark, but would start when they were in their 20's and their 30's, who would devote a great deal of time and effort because they want a better life for their kids and for themselves. And because they believe in this country that we are in today.

It's an exciting thing that happened as a result of that dream. Today, in the United States in 1972 there are 67 either present cabinet members or past cabinet members who are chairmen of UJA campaigns in the largest 100 cities in the United States and there are some 120 odd men who are presidents of the 200 or so odd federations in the United States who have been associated with this program. So this sounds like we have accomplished something. I think we truly have. This group has turned on in a sense the American Jewish community because we have shown our elders that we really care about it, that we are concerned about it, that we are ready to put our efforts forward, put our money where our mouths are and to do something to make it better.

I'd like to take a moment to introduce to you people who are part of this mission who are part of the Cabinet. I purposely did not do it earlier, because I wanted you to feel that this is as it is - a group of 81 people all identical, but I do think at this point that you should know who are cabinet members. As I call the names will you please stand up - Art Brown from Chicago, Conrad Giles from Detroit, Dave Gill from Los Angeles, Robert Kadis from Goldsboro, Larry Roth from Syracuse, Arnold Sweet from Dallas, Wayne Wisbaum from Buffalo, Neil Cooper from Boston, Clifford Isroff from

Akron, Art Roth from Albany, Norm Sanet from High Point and Bill Wedren from Cleveland.

They are representatives of a cabinet of 200 strong who are doing their things and this is the guy that's responsible for it. Herb, do your thing.

Herbert Friedman

Somebody's doing something. Nobody will want to tape this one, this is a different kind of a speech altogether. This is a speech which is to be given at 9 o'clock in the morning to people who have had a very, very small breakfast a very, very long night's sleep, who have sharp pencils and pads, who are very, very alert and bright and who are capable of analyzing carefully and critically and substantively long columns of figures with decimal points and percentages and that's exactly the condition you are in right now. So that I am doing the thing that I was asked to do, but I think that if you are smart you will have fallen asleep long before I get done and then when I get through with all of this somebody will wake up and ask me a provocative question and we decide whom to shoot tomorrow morning. Then we'll get back on the track to where we were once before.

However, there are some penalties you have to pay for this wonderful, wonderful trip you're having. You are allowed to drive all along the Lebanese border for 12 hours, you are allowed to do all kinds of marvellous and wonderful things. You should hear what's being planned for you here now, oh boy. Therefore what you have to do to pay for that is digest these figures. Once you digest those, you will know more than any young leader, middle age leader, old leader, baby leader, geriatric leader. Nobody knows these figures, not that they aren't available because they are all printed in the documents. I didn't make them up out of my head or memorize them, but nobody reads the figures. So if you come home with one little piece of paper like this, you will seem like some fantastic kind of guru who went there on top of the mountain in Haifa where Elija one sacrificed to the prophets of Ba'al and you learned all of this magic stuff and you came out knowing things that nobody knows. So I would recommend that you take the back of the menu with a pencil, write this thing down and I'll explain it to you and if you have already used the menu for passing notes to each other then you're wasteful.

Here's what this is. Don is very very insistent that you people get to take over by evolution, not by my means, the American Jewish community. Now you've done it two-thirds of the way, you got to do it the other third of the way. These figures will explain to you what the campaign in America

means in terms of human needs here in Israel. Now let's stop all the horsing around and let's get to realize what's all this money raised for, what's done with it and I think you can get one or two kinds of speeches. You can get a speech of gorgeous fantastic oratory telling you what's done with the money and you'll never know when it's all over. After you come out of the fog of hypnosis you won't know what the speaker said because he didn't give you any facts. He kept telling you that he didn't want to burden you with facts, so he didn't and so you don't know any. The other way is digest a few figures the hard way and then the whole picture will come very clear as to what Israel's needs are outside of the field of security which doesn't show on this chart.

Now what this chart has got is this and people who are out of range of it, if they just move their chairs and get into range, there are three columns on the left here, this one, this one, and this one, are three columns of figures for the present fiscal year. This up here says 1972/73. The fiscal year that we are now in which goes until March 31st, this is now November, we are two-thirds through the fiscal year and so these are current figures. The column on the right here, the one thin column on the right is for the fiscal year 73/74 beginning April 1st '73 but these figures on this column really apply to the 1973 UJA campaign, next year's campaign that you're preparing for now. Okay. I have put the total on the top in case I got down the bottom here and it got obscured and you couldn't see it. The total of these three columns.

The first column here says budget of needs - 775 million dollars. In other words, and that's the one big word in this talk tonight, 'if' - if 775 million dollars had been raised, if it had been raised and made available, that's the amount that was really and truly needed and underneath it there are 10 items which add up to 775 and these are the items which show how 775 million dollars could have been spent if it had been made available.

The second column shows the reductions that were made in these 10 items because 775 wasn't available. The third column shows the operating budget, for 465 was made available. 465 million was made available, not 775 million. It was 310 million dollars short and 310 million dollars short meant that a lot of things had to be cut and the cuts are right down here in this middle column.

Okay, now that's the framework of this table. Now let me begin with the items. Immigration...for immigration we wanted to spend 74.7 million out of a total of 775. We didn't have 775. We had to cut this down to 57 million. Right - instead of spending 74½, we could only spend 57. We cut 17.4 million or 24%. There was a 24% cut on that

item. The figures that are in the parentheses are the percentages of the cut, just statistically interesting, that's all.

Under social welfare services we wanted to spend 55, we wound up being able only to spend 28 - we had to cut 27 - almost 50% had to be cut. Under health services 84.3 - we cut it way down to 34.3 - we knocked off 50 million or 60% got knocked off in the category of health and by the way I'm going to go back over these and explain to you not in great detail, but just very quick sentences what got cut out. Education here in this column means high school education and pre-school education. Let me tell you one thing about education in Israel because it's very interesting and as parents this subject is close to you. Primary school education in Israel is free and its compulsory and it's obligatory by law and the government has to pay for it and you can't spend one penny on it, because no tax deductible money can be spent on something which the government is obligated to do by law. Pre-school education, 3-year old and 4-year old and high school education from the 9th grade to the 12th is not obligatory by law, not compulsory in this country, not free in this country and so we can spend money on it.

So education in this category refers to three and four year olds and from the 9th grade to the 12th. We wanted to spend 57.8 million - we could only take 33.6 We had to cut off 24 million or almost 45%. Higher education is universities - 88 million, we had to cut off 15½, we only spent 72½. You paid for almost the whole bill of higher education in this country - about 75% of it you paid for. What the kids in this country can pay for by tuition is pitifully small. You had to put 88 million dollars into that pot, but you didn't have that much. However, this is one item that we cut down very little, we only cut this down 18%. Health we cut down 60%. Higher education we only cut down 18%. These are value judgements you have to make and it's very hard to make value judgements like that, it's the most painful thing in the world to sit at a meeting and figure out how should you cut and what should you cut and in what proportion and where's the priority and is the priority with the body or is the priority with the mind. And we have decided the priority is with the mind. And that's why health got a big cut and the care of the body takes a big cut, but the care of the mind takes a small cut.

Youth care we had originally started out saying that we needed 31 million, could only spend 19, cut of 12 - that's 40% almost. Agricultural settlements, I want you to know what that refers to, it does not refer to kibbutzim which are mostly independent and self-sufficient, it refers to moshavim which take in new immigrants, lots of new immi-

grants. We try to settle as many people as possible on the land instead of in the cities, but when you take new immigrants who are not farmers and you push them out onto farms, you have got to assist them, you got to put in training, you got to put in cows which they kill through neglect and you got to put in more cows and they ruin the chickens because they don't know how to handle them, so you got to supply more chickens and the amount of waste - well that's the wrong word - the amount of attrition that takes place through inexperience. The learning process is expensive, that's all. So everything that's called support of agricultural settlements - we're taking in new immigrants - 43 million - we had to knock off 10 million of it and only spend 33. Housing, the biggest single item of the whole ten - 298, almost 300 million. If we had raised 775 we would have spent 300, almost 3/8, the biggest hunk, on housing. Because that's the greatest need and so housing took the biggest cut. We cut it right in half, 50% knocked off 150 million and spent 150 million. Administration is nothing - 3 million. We cut that down a half a million to 2.6. Debt service - if you don't pay the interest and something on the principle, then your credit is no damn good and we are carrying a debt load now which is so enormous that it's almost 40 million dollars a year in interest. We owe almost 400 million dollars - we are paying almost 10%. And the debt service you can't fool around with very much. We cut it ten percent - instead of 38.7 - 34.7. But we didn't have much room to play with there because you better keep your line of credit with the banks in proper shape, or you can't go borrow next time.

Let me go to next time and let me show you the figures in this column here. For the next coming fiscal year 73/74, but forget the '74, it's really 1973 - from April 1st until December 31st of 1973 is 9 months and it spills over for the first 3 months of '74. The total would be 785 instead of 775, but you really have to look at the breakdown. Immigration - we thought we would be able to spend 74 - we should really spend 89 next year, because of the increased number of Russians coming in. Now I don't know what the hell we're going to be able to spend, because if we don't raise 785 and it doesn't look to me right now as though the next year's campaign is going to make that kind of a jump as it should, we are going to have to cut this budget too. What we'll be able to cut this 89 down to depends on how many Russians come in.

Social welfare we said 55 and we only spent 28, next year we are budgeting it for 74 instead of 55. Again, because we keep hoping that we can take a crack at the poverty problem that I told you all about, or something about.

Health - we're budgeting it for way less - 65 - I mean we have such a bad situation with it this year - 84 and only spending 34 - that we said, what the hell, why kid ourselves, and we know that if we get in trouble with next year's budget that that's the first item we're going to slash again. So the hell with it, no sense putting it in at 85 - put it in at 65 to begin with and you'll cut it down from 65 to 25 maybe. If you've got to cut something, that's got to take the biggest cut again.

Education - 57.8 up to 65. Higher education 88, down to 83, because what we're saying is that the universities have got to go do more and better fundraising on their own. You got one or two ways of handling it. Either a moratorium in which they are not allowed to raise any money in the United States at all which was the case two years ago which I was very much in favour of and if they are not allowed to raise any money at all, then we've got to foot the whole bill, but if they are out of the way as fundraising competition, then the UJA campaign can raise more money and that's why I was very much in favour of the moratorium two years ago. I was in favour of retaining it this year. I was outvoted. There is no moratorium this year. The universities are all out on their own raising money in the States. Therefore, if that's the case then let them go and really raise money and let us get more and more and more off the hook. I mean either or. Either they don't raise any money, then we got to foot the whole bill and have a better campaign because they don't raise money, or if you think the other way, that they can raise a lot of dough and not interfere with us, fine, then let them really raise a lot of dough and let us a little bit off the hook on this item. Now it isn't much from 88 down to 83, but it's a symbolic move downwards. Youth care - 31 up to 36. Agricultural settlements - about the same, 43, 45, that's just an inflationary factor of a couple of million dollars. It will cost a couple of million more next year to do the same thing we're doing this year. Housing - 300 - 284 - it's a purely arbitrary figure, completely arbitrary. We could have made it 350. You can do as much or as little as you want in the field of housing. Administration is the same 3.1, putting it in at 4 - interest is the same - 38.7, here it's 40. That's a round number. So next year looks like 785 - 775 million.

How much will we have available next year will depend upon how good the campaigns are around the world. Where did this 465 million come from? The campaign in the United States we're assuming will produce 275. The campaign from other countries will produce 90. Contributions here in Israel will produce 25, can you believe that, on top of their taxes and on top of everything else. God bless them.

Fifty million borrowed in the United States on the credit of the UJA, 25 million borrowed in other countries on the credit of the UJA. Add up those five items what have you got - you've got to have 465, you better have.

Now, that may look complicated but I really think if you grab that chart and look at it, it's quite simple. This is all based upon an immigration of approximately 60,000 persons of whom approximately 30,000 are Russians. The items that come here under immigration are - I'll just read them off fast - documentation, that's the red tape business that you pay off in Russia, a thousand bucks for the normal visa, not ransom tax for the academic persons. Everybody costs a thousand bucks, a little more now, about 1,100. Special services for professionals, constructing of new hostels to put them in as the immigration gets bigger, social integration, loans and grants for special cases for equipment, doctors, dentists, architects who need professional equipment, financial aid during the transition period, adjustments, all other items under immigration and absorption including absorption centers, maintenance of families for six months, etc. You all know that picture pretty well.

Under social welfare services comes old age grants, relief payments, construction of homes for the aged. We cut that out completely, one of the things we cut out here. We had 8 million dollars put in for building homes for the aged - we cut out eight million dollars - zero was allocated for building homes for the aged - zero. I mean if you are going to slash 310 million bucks, you got to cut out a lot of things, so even 8 million dollars for homes for the aged causes a lot of suffering on 15-20,000 old people and only saves you eight million, but if you don't chop off every eight million you can put your fingers on, you'll never get to chop out 310. Education I told you about. Scholarships for high schools. We had 25 million in scholarships for kids. Do you know what it costs to go to high school in this country? It costs about 1100 or 1200 pounds a year. You know what it costs to go to university - 900 - it costs more money to go to high school than it does to go to university. And we have to throw some money into the high school program in order to provide scholarships for kids of sephardic families and poor families and Russian immigrant families who aren't on their feet and they're not making it. But if you came to this country as a new immigrant from your western background with your emphasis on education and your special Jewish belief on education, isn't the first thing that you would want to do is to get your kid into school if he's of high school age and if you can't afford 1200 pounds, because that's roughly two months wages, two months wages for a year's tuition for a kid, supposing you got two kids, how do you take four months wages to send two kids to high school?

You can't do it. We have budgeted 25 million dollars for scholarship aid for kids for high schools. We wound up really allocating 8½ million. We chopped the item hard and we did a hell of a lot of damage and we hurt a lot of families. But what are you going to do, the money isn't there.

Higher education I told you, that's the university. There are 7 universities in this country, 45,000 students going to higher institutions in this country, that's all. Out of 2½ million Jews we got 45,000 going to university. No good. No good. We ought to have a hundred, we ought to have 200. If we are not the people of the Book, what are we?

Youth care and training, that's mostly institutions for retarded kids and orphaned kids and sick kids and handi-capped kids, it's not a lot of money to talk about 30 million dollars being required for youth care in a whole nation, what's 30 million dollars and we can't even spend that, we spent less than 20.

Agricultural settlements, I told you what that was. Housing, that's clear. Where we did the big chop by the way was we wanted to allocate 40 million dollars for housing for young couples in this country. We cut it in half, we only took 20. We wanted to build 203 millions of dollars of apartments for immigrants - we cut it in half, we took 113. So we hit the two areas the hardest where the people were the most needy and the general administration and the debt, you can't do a damn thing about that. All right, full stop. That's enough. I'm not kidding you, it seemed like I was horsing around in my opening remarks, but I wasn't. I tell you in all seriousness that there is no president of a federation or chairman of a campaign or top member of the Executive Committee of the UJA or any city in America where a guy could give these figures as quickly and as neatly and to know the details of what the breakdown is on this as I have just given to you in 20 minutes and if you know this, you know the guts of what this campaign is all about.

I said that there is an item missing here, this is security and I just want you to understand one thing. When we want to take money and put it into a welfare program like this and we can't do it because we can't raise enough, what happens. The service that was supposed to be performed gets cut, or the Government of Israel has to come in and pick up the tab. Now the Government of Israel is limited by one very simple thing - its defense costs. And the Government of Israel is today spending a fantastic proportion of its annual budget, over 40% on defense. So if we can't put as much in housing as we should put in and if the Government of Israel says. Look, you guys can't build the houses for the young couples, but we better get the housing for the young couples or their morale will sag and there will be a big crisis in the country.

If the Government of Israel is going to pick up the rest of the tab for the housing, where are they going to take the money from, they are going to take the money from defense. And that's a very tough decision to put them up against the ropes and force them to make that decision and that's what we did to the tune of 310 million dollars worth. We made them decide that either they would cut the services or they'd steal the money off the security budget with all the risks that that implies and that's why it's a very serious thing. If there were no security problem behind this and if we said, Well gee whiz, we wanted to do 775 million worth of work, but we couldn't quite make it, we only can do this 465 worth, Mr. Government, please you want to do the other 310, pick up the tab sir, less than half - we're doing more than half of it and if the Government had the leeway to do that it wouldn't be such a serious matter, but as strapped as the government is with the war problem, that 310 becomes impossible. They can't meet it. That's over a billion two hundred million pounds. The whole budget of this country is only 17 billion pounds. The whole budget. So to pick up a billion two that we fall short on, they can't do it, no way. So the net result is the services get cut and get cut.

Now, you got the picture clearly and if you really take these figures down and if you really understand them for this year and for next year, boy you're way up on top of intellectual and statistical comprehension which lies behind the emotional comprehension that you're getting now. I'd like to finish and then I'll answer questions, by talking about this emotional comprehension. The emotional comprehension means that you say, I am emotionally identified with this. I am part of this. I am with this. I am committed to this. Come what may I am committed. And I have talked to you in Vienna about the word commitment and identifying your life with the survival of this country and the people in it and its future and the future of all Jews who have to come here. Now I'd like to tell you that one boomerang has come back to me from this heavy emphasis that I gave you on long range commitment. The boomerang that came back was my God, the guy is telling us that we are going to have to fight a war for another generation, that we are going to have to take in immigrants for another generation, the guy is telling us we have to be committed for another generation. The figures that the guy is giving us are overwhelming and the boomerang that comes back is people start to say. The problem is too big for us. How many people here in the last three or four days have said that or thought it, let's be honest, hands up. How many people have said it or thought it? Damn few, I'm surprised to see, okay.

I would like to reassure you that the problem is not too big for us, or for you, that is. No matter how hard it's going to be, no matter how overwhelming these figures may seem to be, it's not too big for us to handle, it's just not, because what

we've handled in the past 25 years that have brought us up to this point has been much harder and much tougher than what we have yet facing us in the future. What we have got to go, the road we have got to traverse yet is nowhere near as difficult before we see the light at the end of that long tunnel, because if you can possibly project yourself back 25 years ago and think of what that tunnel looked like from 1948 and it looked like it would stretch endlessly forever. In this city of Haifa in 1948, 1948 there were scores and scores of thousands, 100, 150, 200,000 people living in tents on the lower slopes of this city where there are now apartment houses and every time you drive around this city and you look at the apartment houses creeping up the side of the hill, think in terms of canvas tents and if you began in 1948 to look ahead and say! My God, I have a quarter of a million people living here under canvas who came from camps in Europe, what the hell am I going to do with them, how am I going to digest them? There was no hotel like this hotel in the city of Haifa 25 years ago, there was no food to eat, there was no printed menu for food to eat. There was a very simple thing. Eggs were rationed, you got one a week. The diet for protein was frozen fish that was imported from Norway. You ate it till it came out of your ears, three meals a day. If you looked at the thing in 1948 and said: Where the hell is the light at the end of the tunnel, you couldn't see it, but when we compare the road we've travelled up till now with the road that I'm laying out ahead of you that has yet to be travelled, the future is much easier than the past. There is no need to be oppressed by a feeling that the problem is too big to solve. The problem is horrendous, the figures are going to go up and up and up and up every year, this is 775, 785 million. A few years from now we'll be talking about a thousand million. It's a billion. But do you want to know something. The campaign in America can raise a half a billion dollars. The campaign around the world can raise a quarter of a billion dollars instead of a hundred million. Money isn't what it was 25 years ago. Money is so relatively cheaper now and easier and floats more swiftly.

The task ahead is long, it's going to require your commitment for your lifetime, not five years and not one year and not three years. But it's not insuperable. Nobody could say that in 1948. Anybody who stood up in 1948 and said: The task is not insuperable, I promise you, I guarantee you success. Anybody who stood up and said that in 1948 was not a prophet, he was simply a fool and nobody talked that way. In 1948 people talked with great great bravery and with great confidence about a dream that they wanted to work to make true and they wanted to lay their lives down to make it come true and the war of 1948 took an awful toll -6,000 people, when the population of the country was 600,000. One percent of the people died in the War of Independence. That's a staggering figure. One percent of the people died. And even with

that willingness to give life, no leader would have dared to have made an assertion that he would guarantee the safety and the security and the success of the country - no.

Today, today, responsible leaders can guarantee that to you provided there is a measure of support from a loyal, resilient, flexible Jewish people in the world. In other words, we are in a position to promise you much more today than we were 25 years ago and that should be a very encouraging thing. I'd simply like you to think of it this way. Every year that goes by that we have to fight a war blood and treasure are lost. Every year that goes by that we have to fight to take in more immigrants, money and nervous energy and we'll have all kinds of casualties of men who will die of heart attacks from overworking themselves to build this country, but look, every year that goes by, I don't care if we're fighting a war, I don't care if we're pressed with immigration, I don't care what problems we have, every year that goes by we're one year older and one year stronger and one year richer and one year closer to ultimate maturity and let's go on like this for 25 and all that will happen at that point is that we will have a population of five or six million like I keep telling you and I don't care if these figures go to 2,000 million which they could very well go to by 25 years from now. So what. So the Jews of the world will be raising 1,000 million and we'll still be cutting the needs in half, but look at where we'll be, look at where we'll be 25 years down the pike from now.

So I don't want anybody ever to have the feeling that no matter how hard the job is, that it's an impossible one or that it's a self-defeating one or that it's too big for us to handle or that what's the use of my effort. You see the point is when you get into that frame of mind you say to yourself, what's the use of my effort, what can I do about this, what's the difference if I give another 1,000 dollars, what's the difference if I work another year harder, what's the difference if I take chairmanship, what's the difference if I steal time away from my wife and my kids, none of it matters, I as one person can't do anything about this. This is too big for me. That's the mood that I don't want to set into any one brain for one minute, because it's not true.

Every extra 1,000 dollars does count and when you guys get together tonight to start putting some money on the table, put it on the table in the right quantities and every extra 1,000 and every extra 5,000 does count and every extra year of labour that you give to this thing does push it one inch further ahead and every other additional human being that you can mobilize to volunteer to enlist in this work does push it ahead another inch. And look, I'm not interested in anything more than getting

ahead inch by inch by inch by inch. I don't believe in seven league boots and I'm not looking for any miracles. You give me inch by inch by inch, that's a yard and a yard and a yard, pretty soon it becomes a mile and a mile, another year's gone and we're a hundred thousand Jews bigger and stronger and another mile is another year and we come to 1982 and 1992 and 2002 and pretty soon the job is done. And you'll look back and you'll say! How did it happen, it seemed to have been so tough. Was it really so tough? Yes, I'm not minimizing it, very tough, but given the support which you are capable of giving, it's absolutely within reach.

Take the figures, realize that we bit off a lot when we hoped to have 775 to spend. We are not foolish, knowing that instead of having 775, we only have 465 you could say: Why don't you get realistic, why take 785 as next year's starting budget. Well, that's realism, Jewish style. Realism united way style is to cut the 785 to 466. It's not the way we do things. We are going to keep shooting for the moon, shooting for the moon and one day we are going to find ourselves walking there and we're not sure how we got there. But I'm sure how we got there. I know how we got here. A bunch of crazy people saying nothing's impossible. Crazy people here primarily with a few crazy supporters over there. Today the number of supporters over there gets bigger and bigger and bigger, thank God, and then the crazy people here don't look so lonesome and so few anymore. And that's how we got up to this point - the 25th anniversary - and that's how we'll celebrate the 50th year anniversary by having the ranks of the crazy house fill and fill and swell with a bunch of fanatical devotees to the cause that's bigger than all of us, that sweeps us off our feet and makes us do illogical and irrational things.

Tonight one of you guys is going to do an irrational thing as regards the amount of money he gives. Hopefully, more than one and then you will go back and say to your wife! You know what I did, and she'll look at you and she'll think to herself, Oh, the nut and then she'll say, Yeh, but you know what, so what, maybe he's right. And that's why I believe by the way that on some of these missions the wives ought to come along because when they understand it and they are behind their husbands on this thing, they are pushing instead of pulling and holding back and that's good. No, this is not too big a job and let's never hear that anymore. Let's just deal with the practicalities of whether next year we ought to cut education and increase housing or next year cut housing and increase health. I mean those are the only problems we have to deal with, that's all. How to get through next year and next year and next year and build something here so great and so fantastic that it was all worthwhile in the end.

I think that's the moral for the day. I am going to see you once more on this mission. We are trying to fix a time for it on Thursday when I want to talk to you not about this, and not about the necessity for a whole lifetime of commitment, but I want to talk to you about the city of Jerusalem. I want to talk to you about some of the history and the poetry and the magic and the mystery which is up in that cool mountain air and we are going to meet Thursday afternoon some place as soon as Howard and David fix a place and I hope they pick a place where we can stand on top of a hillside somewhere and look out over the city and that's where I'll meet you for the last time and say goodbye. That will not be much of an opportunity for the asking of questions. That's just sort of pure poetry and you can't bring it down to any mundane level by saying: What's the price of the three submarines from Vickers or how much does it cost to send a kid to kindergarten. so, the reason I'm telling you that is this tonight is the last chance for questions on any and all subjects except political assassination. The same Jewish Agency, this by the way I assumed you understood it, I didn't put it up on the top, this is not the Government of Israel budget - this is the Jewish Agency budget. That's the name of the philanthropic organization here in Israel that takes the UJA monies from around the world. Didn't you have somebody from the Jewish Agency talk to you - Chinitz, he talked to you, he explained that all. This is the Jewish Agency budget, so the new immigrant makes out his mortgage, he signs a form to the order of the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency has in its safe hundreds of millions of dollars worth of mortgages signed by new immigrants. How in the hell do you think the Jewish Agency goes out and borrows 400 million dollars? That's the collateral. It's fantastic. If you could run your own business that way, it would be great. To get a guy to sign a piece of paper called a mortgage which on your books then becomes an asset, when the guy who signed it doesn't have a damn thing behind him and isn't going to pay, but you take that piece of paper and you go out and you borrow against it and banks in this world will loan you hundreds of millions of dollars against that portfolio. Now, what's the reality, do the immigrants pay back - yes - some of them do. Every year the Jewish Agency gets in a few million dollars, 7,8,10, million dollars of immigrants who came here 8 years ago and 10 years ago and 12 years ago and they signed a mortgage - by the way, nobody presses them, the sheriff doesn't go, nobody is dispossessed, little Eva is not put out in the cold. The bank doesn't come. None of that deal. But the guy gets on his feet and he feels he's got a debt and he feels he wants to pay it back so that the next immigrant coming in will have some dough, there will be some dough to build a house for him. So I would say somewhere between 7 and 10 million a year comes back paid in by immigrants of previous years. Very nice, you spend

200-300 million, every year, and you get seven or 8 or 10 or 12 or something comes in and that's fine, it's okay. I don't know if that answers your question.

Question : Basically my question was what and when will Israel be solvent ?

Friedman : The answer to that will be number one, when the GNP rises to the point where you will have a per capita income of 3 or 4 thousand dollars per year - 2,500 per year. Number two, when you don't have such a huge defense drain. Number three, when you don't have such a huge immigration load. Those are the times when the extraordinary expenses will not be occurring and your normal income will rise so you can produce enough revenue from taxation on that income to meet normal expenses. Normal revenue from taxes, to meet normal expenses of running a country.

Right now you have abnormal expenses of defense and immigration which includes housing in relation to the ability of the population of pay for it by taxation. That's why you need all the help from the outside. So the time will come when the extraordinary expenses will diminish, the internal income will rise and therefore the taxation on it will rise and therefore the external income will no longer be required and that's when it will balance off and become self-sufficient.

In this budget what we had allocated there we had put down, allocations to existing hospitals for equipment, development and research, 20 million dollars. What we cut was 20 million dollars, so we gave them zero. We put in an item of construction of new hospitals, 25 million dollars, what we cut was 25 million dollars. There hasn't been a new hospital built in this country for 8 years. You know how the population has grown in eight years. I don't know, I suppose in eight years the population has grown three-quarters of a million people. Three-quarters of a million people. You have a fixed ratio, there's at least one doctor here who produces new population - maybe there are other doctors here, there's a fixed ratio which doctors know about of so many hospital beds per thousand population. Our population here increased three-quarters of a million persons in eight years in the course of which time we didn't construct one new hospital bed. And God help you if you get sick in this country. It's shitty. You can't believe how bad it is. I could take you to the best hospital in this country and you would just vomit because the minute you walk in the whole corridor is full of beds, the corridor, there's no such thing in this country as a private room, except in one hospital. Everything is four people in a room and the pushing and the scrambling and the screaming with the nurses to get through between the beds carrying food and linens and clean linens and soiled and bedpans and flowers, it's just unbelievable.

Do you know what the word bedlam referred to in 17th century England ? Well, that's what hospitals are like in this country. To go 8 years without constructing one new hospital. It's absurd. Absolutely absurd. I mean it's the one thing that's shameful about this country and I pray every day - it's the only one thing that I got almost a phobia on, I hope to God I never get sick because I swear I will not go into hospital. I'll stay sick at home, I don't care what the hell the sickness is.

Now that was under hospitals, health services. We had started out to do 84 million, these two items alone were 45. The ones I just said. Allocations for improvements to existing hospitals and constructions of new hospitals. And those 45 we chopped out completely. There's an item called hospitalization of mental cases. We wanted to put 10 million into it. We have a lot of problems in this country, let's face it, people who have been through frightful experiences in their lives, beginning from Hitler on and down all the way through, Jews in Iraq watching their families being hung up on the gallows on a public square, I don't know if you have been reading about it lately. The problems of the Jews in Iraq. It's in the papers in the first three or four days while you're here. Our Jews have gone through horrible experiences, Hitler or Arab countries or communist countries, pogroms, wild anti-semitism in Poland, all post-war, and it has disturbed many people mentally. Now I want to keep in balance, we don't have a country full of crazy people, but we have a country with many many people in it who have been through terribly terribly emotional situations where they get emotionally disturbed, maybe that's a better word than mentally, emotionally disturbed. And they require hospitalization or they require home care and they are poor and they can't pay for it themselves and we have put in an item of 10 million dollars for hospitalization and care of mental and emotional cases, and chopped it from 10 to 2½. So they are disturbed, so they're disturbed, so we can't help them. So, what are you going to do, can't help them. So I don't know if that's clearer about what came under health.

Question: Re income tax of Israelis.

Friedman: The income tax system is the highest in the world. That's really saying something. I think the best way to answer it for you, really the best way, is to explain what's called here a loksh. A man's pay cheque here comes to him in the form of a long piece of paper where his gross salary is put down at one side and then the deductions of what's taken off for this tax and that tax and this forced loan and this compulsory loan and this voluntary loan which is compulsory and then what he's got at the other end of this long loksh. Okay, Mike, you got a loksh in your pocket - Mike is an Israeli guy, typical guy, makes a good salary Israeli standard and you'll see what he begins with and what he ends with.

When you get up to - a thousand dollars in 4,200 pounds. A thousand dollars or 12,000 bucks a year in the States, take a normal situation, one wife and two kids, normal deductions on a guy who earns 12,000 bucks in the States the tax would be a couple of thousand dollars. If it's 20% it would be 2,400 bucks - 25% would be 3,000 bucks. That's it, tops. Here if you are talking about 4,200 pounds a month - you begin at 40%, by the time you get up to about 2,000 pounds or 500 bucks a month you are fifty and sixty percent. The last 500 bucks you are at 87%. If you take it across the whole board, if you start with 4,200 gross, you probably wind up with 1,800, 1,900 maybe 2,000. There's a saying in this country that it doesn't matter a God damn what you earn, you wind up with 1,000 pounds, that's all and that may be right.

Question: Where are the other 30,000 immigrants coming from and what about the JDC budget which is outside of this ?

Friedman : The other 30,000 are coming from a whole miscellaneous host of places. No one item very big. Nothing more than three or four or five thousand. Iran, Turkey, Algerians who live now in France, Tunisians from Tunis and also from France, Moroccans, free-world people, Canadians, Europeans, English and Americans, maybe four or five thousand this year, 5,000 maybe, Rumanians - Russians is Russians, but there are Jews from other Iron Curtain countries. Those are about the main places where the other 30,000 Jews are coming from. Call it 3,000, 4,000, 5,000 each from seven or eight places. I forgot, Latin America a couple of thousand. I mean when you are drawing from seven or eight places at two, three, four thousand each, you hit 30,000 very fast and that's about it.

The second question about the JDC budget, the JDC budget this year I think was 26 million dollars or 25 of which its gets from the UJA about 21. It gets almost its entire budget from the UJA and it gets a couple of million bucks from outside sources. It gets a little money from Latin America, it gets a little money from Canada, it gets a little money from Germany, but 90% of its money comes from the UJA. Where is it spending it, where does the UJA spend about 25 million. It's spending about 40% of that or about 10 million here in Israel. Have you visited the Malben. The Malben takes about 7 or 8 million a year. There's a program among some orthodox yeshivot for about a million a year. There's a program among Ort schools - JDC is giving to Ort about 3 million of which about a million is spent here in Israel. So they are spending about 10 million here. They spend about 3 million sending packages behind the Iron Curtain although we never say that in writing. In writing you remember the name that Feder told

He used the phrase "relief in transit" - RIT which sounds like rest in peace. And you know why that name was picked many many years ago, because the idea was that the Jews living in Russia were only in transit and they wanted to get out of Russia and until they got out we had to send them packages inside. So about 3 million a year gets sent inside Russia. About a million and a half gets spent in Morocco - about a million gets spent in Iran - about 2 million gets spent in France for the Algerian and Tunisian Jews - about 2 million gets spent in Rumania for poor Jews who live there - I don't know, how far are we now - that's about it.

Their budget, contrary to the Jewish Agency pretty much balances. If they start out with a budget of needs of 25 million, 26 million, they find that they can almost make it, they don't have to cut very much, because they don't try to do an open end job. They do a closed end job.

Question: What about the Iraqi Jews ?

Friedman: Do me a favour and don't ask me for the details. Iraq is situated next door to a country called Iran, that's all I will tell you. We get them out of Iraq by clandestine means, difficult means, in which people have lost their lives, been wounded, who tried to help from the outside and people from the inside trying to escape have been arrested, turned back, put in jail and tortured, so its not a fun and games thing at all, it's a real tough bloody operation and if they get across the border at all they get across into Iran. In Iran we have no trouble picking them up and bringing them here, but how they get out of Iraq over to Iran through the mountains is something I'd rather not be specific about for obvious reasons. The information won't really do you much good and could do some people a lot of harm. I hope that satisfies you.

We don't have anywhere near as many to go as we have already gotten out. We have a successful scarletpimpernel type of rescue operation which is fraught with danger but which works and its not a big volume thing, but it's continuous and steady, with casualties, but it goes on and we do it. That's really a chutzpahdike question - someone sits in his secure living room and says: Why don't you get Jews out of Iraq. First of all he doesn't even know where it is and secondly he's really impuning the dangerous activities of a lot of dedicated people.

It doesn't get the publicity for another reason, not because it doesn't have the volume. We don't want it to get the publicity. We cringe every time anything appears about it. We wish nobody knew about it. We would be able to get them out faster.

A D D R E S S

By

AMERICAN JEWISH
RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
ARCHIVES
ON BUS TO MATHAUSEN

to the

Members of the U.J.A. YOUNG LEADERSHIP MISSION

October 29th - November 13th, 1972

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Mr. Friedman

I think that those 15 years (1933-1948) were the most important 15 years in 4000 years of Jewish history. I think I know those 4000 years, I have read 400 books about it. I think I thought about it for four thousand hours and I pick my words carefully, not Abraham and not the giving of the Torah on Mount Sinai and not Joshua beginning the conquest of the Holy Land, and not David and not Saul and not the Romans and not the Babylonians and nothing. Nothing that we have passed through has been in four thousand years of our corporate history, nothing has been as momentous as the 15 years in which two things occurred, which are the two fundamental things, death and birth. Between 1933 and 1945 we almost died, collectively as a people, not just the Six Million, one third of us, who were killed, but another two thirds who weren't killed physically, but who were on the verge of dying spiritually and psychologically and I dare say that had not that birth occurred three years later the Jewish people all over the rest of the world, those two thirds, would have gone down and down and down in the period of 50 years or a hundred years and they would never have been able to recover from the blow. And some historian later on in the future would try to figure out what happened to cause the loss of the life instinct of the Jewish people, which had kept them alive through all the persecutions and tortures, some historian would have said that we lost our instinct to live when we were dealt the worst blow we ever endured. Nobody ever did anything to us like Hitler, no persecutor, no conqueror, no Russian Tzar, nobody ever hurt us that badly, left us feeling like impotents, and with time the two thirds who were alive would have realized that they were guilty of the death of the one third because they had done nothing about it. Nevermind trying to blame the outsiders. First you have to blame yourself, too. The Jewish world did very little, if anything, to try to fight back against Hitler. The knowledge of that would gradually have seeped in, even into the powerful American Jewish community, and a guilt feeling would have overtaken them. I think even 100 years might be too long, it would have happened sooner.

So my thesis about history is that the Jews would have died psychologically spiritually in terms of the will to live, just as surely as the Jews died physically in the gas chambers and ovens.

And therefore I call the period of '33 - '45 the period of our death and then in '48 there was the absolutely spectacular and glorious moment of birth and that birth also took place in blood the way all birth does. It is not possible to be born except through blood. Every human being on earth goes through that experience, traumatically. And the blood of the birth of a nation I think washed away some of the sense of impotence and paralysis and certainly gave a whole new ecstasy and brought back into play again a small Jewish survival instinct, an

optimist instinct and belief again in the creative power of new life.

This is just not poetry that I'm trying to tell you, I am really saying something which I think is historically valid. I can't prove it, but if we came back 500 years from now and read about it in a history book, somehow this period would be described, I think, it could be described the way which I just have.

If that is true then you must realize that you are living through, or you are living on the edge of, the most extraordinary generation in a thousand generations, because although you are not of the period of '33 - '48 you were born then. Nevertheless, you are on the fringe of that and you are still living through the waves and the ripples of that very special generation and you are not so very far removed from it. Some of you actually were born in 1933, it's almost 40 years ago. It is not just a question of talking about the same old boring subject of the "Holocaust." I have put that word into quotation marks, because some people say: Oh, my God I don't want to hear that story all over again, or my God I don't want to visit a camp or what the hell is he digging all that up for. Anybody who talks that way is a traitor to Jewish history. This Hitler period and the effect it had upon us is as important for you to understand as the Israel period and if you don't understand that one you won't understand the other.

That's the introduction to justify, if I have to, why I want you to be intimately familiar with the Nazi period.

It began in Vienna and that makes it also particularly poignant where this whole story began. He was born in Austria, lived in Austria, he was 24 years old, that's when he went to Germany, he died when he was 45 or 46, I am not sure when exactly. So that for half his life he lived in Austria and that was a very important period in his life.

All of his ideas he got here. I want to go into a psycho-analytical story of his background. He was the third son of the third marriage of his father and that third marriage took place with his father's second cousin, the grandfather not married to the grandmother so the father was illegitimate, the grandfather first had the name Schickelgruber and Hitler himself said that with that name he never would have come to power, you can't think of thousands of stormtroopers yelling "Heil Schickelgruber", it would just have been comical. Then his name at one time was Heitler and he didn't like that, he thought it was too salt sounding so he chose Hitler which was shorter, harder, simpler, it became a good sound "Heil, Hitler," and this rhythmic thing was fairly important because it had a hypnotic effect, and I want you to remember that word, because

in my analysis of the whole thing there was a mass hypnosis which took place. It's one of the explanations to account for how you can take over a nation of eight million people - to hypnotize them, it makes it easier and sounds are part of the process of hypnosis.

Anyway, without psychoanalyzing whether he hated his father, did he love his mother and all that stuff. He left home at an early age, he didn't have much respect for his parents, he wandered around as a kid and then he came into Vienna and he didn't have much of a profession, he wandered the back streets and lived in a hostel. He looked like a dirty miner's kid. He made a kind of a makeshift living as a drawer of pictures and postcards, sold in souvenir shops. He tried to get into the army, but couldn't get in. I said that the basic ideas, he picked up wandering the streets and coming into contact with the virulent antisemitism which existed here. The idea that there was one Master Race and that all other people were inferior. He couldn't really believe that the Austrian people were the Master Race even though he was an Austrian, so he came to believe that the Germans were the Master Race. He began to believe that Germany should rule over the whole world with an iron hand, not just the whole country. He came to believe that democracy was nonsense. He watched the Austrian parliament in operation, he used to mock it and scorn it and the idea was born that parliamentary democracy was not the way to run a country.

When he left Vienna for Germany in 1913, one year before World War I, he was 24 years old. He believed with a burning passion in German nationalism, he had a hatred for democracy, he had a hatred for Marxism, he had a burning hatred for Jews and Judaism that obsessed his life, and a belief that God has chosen Germany to be the Master Race.

Well, that's the whole ideology chained in the mind of a 24 year-old boy. Also he with his own genius, and he discovered the secrets at an early age of how to control people, and he reached three conclusions which he put into practice later on. Number one, he felt that he would have to create a mass movement to get his ideas into practice. Number two, he would have to learn the art of propaganda, how you control the minds of people in order to create a mass movement, and number three, how you learn to use terror as an instrument to intimidate. As far as that latter fact is concerned, he put that into practice immediately after he was in power. Because in 1934, the first year he was in office, his best friend Captain Rohm, who had formed the SA battallions for him, with the excuse that the man was a homosexual, but that was not the motivating fact, the motivating fact was to show to the whole world that he cared for no one, not even his own best friend, as an example to others to be afraid of you, you succeeded in putting terror into people's hearts very early in the game. And this was a calculated and deliberate device.

He developed a few more guiding principles. Although he was not a religious man and as a matter of fact hated the Church, he decided early in his life not to oppose it, don't oppose the Church, try to live with it. He certainly did, didn't he? By 1938 he made a cordante with the Pope and effectively neutralized the powerful moral force of the Catholic Church. That was never condemned by the pope. This was part of a clever design. I also believed he had to win over the support of the heart of the establishment even though he was a revolutionary and intended to overthrow the government.

And that's a very clever concept, to overthrow the government with the help of conservative elements in the government and to try to win over the army and big business. And he succeeded in both. With support from within the establishment at the same time that he tried to overthrow the establishment.

And the other principle he discovered very early in his life was the power of oratory and what it could do, because he said over and over again that nothing succeeds like the spoken word. The written word may last, but the spoken word sways men's minds and you can get them to do anything you want, hypnotize them.

This is the boy with the ideas formed in his head and the principles formed and a methodology formed. He came to Germany at the age of 24 in 1913, one year before World War I, and found a home in the German army. He had been wandering rootless up to that point and suddenly he became a man with a purpose. He fought hard, he did something which very few German soldiers ever did, he won the Iron Cross Second Class and the Iron Cross First Class, although he never rose above the rank of Corporal and it was one of the rarest things, of millions of men in the German Army you couldn't count dozens of ordinary soldiers, not officers, who had won the Iron Cross First Class and he wore that decoration the rest of his life. That was the little cross you may have remembered seeing in the picture, dangling close up to the top of his tunic, almost like a choker around his neck, that was the style in which it was designed and it was the proudest decoration which he ever wore, and he wore it always.

Contrary to Mussolini and many other of the great dictators of his age, his uniform wasn't sprinkled with a lot of fruit salad. He was wounded four times in 1914, in 1918 and just a month before the surrender in 1918 he was in hospital, blinded temporarily from poison gas which had wounded him in a battlefield and then in that hospital in 1918 he learned that Germany had surrendered. He couldn't believe his ears that the great German chosen people, the mighty German army, had actually been defeated on the battlefield by the decadent English and the corrupt French. It was an impossible concept for him to

swallow and he immediately looked for a scapegoat and immediately found one and the conviction grew in his mind that they were traitors who had stabbed Germany in the back and that phrase, to stab in the back, became the phrase with which he won over the German masses because he repeated it over and over and over again in the next ten years when he inveighed against the Versailles Treaty and the unfair pressure which the allies were putting on Germany and that Germany had been defeated not by any weakness of her own but by an enemy, a secret enemy, an enemy within and that was the Jews, they had stabbed Germany in the back. So all of his ideas came together, that the German people were still invincible and still powerful and still could destroy and conquer the world and they were not defeated by anybody else, but by the Jews and so his whole ideology became intensive and that was the ideology with which he decided to go into politics.

Well, how did he go into politics? Again, he remained in the army and he volunteered for a regiment in Munich in 1919 when the war was over to act as what was called a "Bildungs officier" an education officer which was the polite word for a spy. The German Army used to send officers, or enlisted men in uniform, to attend meetings of small political parties which had sprung up in Germany after World War I like mushrooms, to spy on those parties and to report to the army which of those political parties showed any communist learnings. Because the army was determined to root that out. The army couldn't fight England and France any more, but the army could fight internally against German communists.

In February 1920, he joined a small party himself, whose meeting he had attended as part of his observation duties when he became attracted by the doctrine of that party, which was called the German Workers Party, and the large number of people in that party were six, he became number seven. Rohm was number five, that's where he met him and became his close friend. He met him in 1920 and shot him in 1934, just to prove that no person is sacred.

By the 24th of February, 1920, in a big hall, a beer hall in Munich called a Hochauer House known as the Ffeistzhal, a German beer hall, cavernous, rooms with heavy oak tables and benches on which people sit all round, with heavy beerstands, a great big block and you pound it on the table and beer slushes all over the place and everybody's vomiting all around, people are singing happily and jollily, two thousand people in a room stamping their feet, clanking their pots on the wooden tables, well you can just imagine what they looked like, sounded like, and smelled like, and by the way you can absolutely recapture that atmosphere today in that same Feistzhal house, you go down in the celler and there are two thousand people there singing.

And at that meeting in 1920 with a couple of thousand people, he began his career by announcing the 25 points in his program, and the 25 points all boiled down to the two or three points that we have talked about. He wanted to have a union of all Germanies, a greater Germany, with Jews to be denied citizenship, he wanted to abrogate the Versailles Treaty, he wanted to create a strong central private army. He did it with very inflammatory oratory and he began to introduce already those elements which I call, and by the way this is my own private theory, nobody else uses these words, I call the elements of hypnosis. He was looking for a symbol, and he found it in the hackenbrauts in the swastika. He was looking for a flag and he found it in the colours of red, black, and white - they are the things which hit the eye easiest. That great big black flag with a great big red circle in it and a white swastika in the middle, and the pageantry which later on overwhelmed the German people, began that early in the game.

Later on you all have a picture in your mind of what those vast pageants were like, they came to a crescendo every year at the Party Rally, in the stadium at Nuremberg, which had room for somewhere between 80 and 100,000 people, or standing out in the field sometimes as many as a quarter of a million, and it was decided not to seat anybody and the whole thing took place on foot, a quarter of a million men standing, beating their drums, stamping their feet, blowing their trumpets, huge torches 100 feet high flaring up into the air, massive searchlights swinging all over the place, and that rhythmic beat of Heil Hitler, Heil Hitler, Heil, going on hour after hour and after hour, it was an unbelievable orgy with everybody standing in place, not even moving a muscle and a kind of mass mesmerization and only that one voice beaming out of that podium under the great eagle which was built, which had a fifty-foot wide wing span hovering over his head, with a big swastika on the breast of the eagle, one searchlight burning down on this one man, in a light brown tunic, no decorations, just an embrassage and the most magnificent public address system ever invented in the world, covering that field of a quarter of a million people, making his voice sound like a whisper rising to a scream, he turned that crowd in his hand like as though it were putty. And those orgies got bigger and bigger and bigger and more and more frequent and they were the bread and circuses which the Romans had discovered were necessary to control the crowds.

Back in the early days he wasn't yet that refined. He got money from the army, he got 60,000 marks from the army to buy a newspaper, "Der Volkischer Wermachte". Once you have a newspaper you can print your garbage every day and begin to take over the minds of people. He needed more money, he got it from a woman of the name of Helena Bechstein, wife of a piano manufacturer who

made Bechstein pianos. He founded it in the first few early years, the first year, two years, 1921, 1922, Hess, Rosenberg, and Goering all came in with him in 1920 and 1921. He had the beginning of his crowd right from the start.

The whole thing came to a head in 1923 when the putsch catapulted Hitler into national prominence in Germany, and I think it's important to tell that story because you wonder how dictators get started, and how they started and where could you have stopped them. This is a key question. When does Huey Long get dangerous, when does Father Callaghan get to be dangerous, when does George Wallace get to be dangerous, when does a politician whom you don't agree with, whom you sense intuitively is going to take you on a wrong path, when does he get to be dangerous, when do you stop him, when do you know.

Well, that's why there is something instructive in the Hitler lesson. If he could have been stopped in 1923 when he attempted to make putsch take over for control of the German Government, he would have failed, but Hitler didn't fail, ten years later he was the Chancellor and what happened. If he had been stopped in 1923 he would never have been in power in 1933, he would have been stopped dead in his tracks, or should have been. And that's the lesson that you have to try to draw out of this thing, to know when to stop somebody dead in his tracks even if the way to do it is to shoot him. Listen carefully to that.

Remember November 11th was the date of the signing of the armistice of World War I and November 11th was a day of infamy as far as every German patriot was concerned and so a rally was planned for another beer hall on November 11th. It didn't take place on the 11th - it took place on the 8th or 9th. There were three politicians who were the leaders of the State of Bavaria, which was about half of Germany, the southern half. These three politicians were holding a rally, in the Burgerbrau Keller which is another beer hall in the southern outskirts of Munich, which exists today, and there were two or three thousand people in the beer hall, and Hitler marched in with a pistol in his hand, he shot the pistol into the ceiling while one of the politicians was speaking, he jumped up on the stage and made an announcement that his SA brownshirt men had surrounded the building, had put a machinegun up in the balcony, had trapped some armed troops outside in the courtyard, and that he, Hitler, and the, what was called by now the National Socialist German Workers Party, were taking over the Government and they were inviting the three politicians who were up there on the platform to join them, and Hitler was going to take them off the stage and into a small room in the back, and all you nice people should remain here drinking your beer, while we negotiage the formation of a new government and we will return here to the stage in a few minutes.

Gesturing with his pistol, he said to the three fellows, Let's go. It was fact, it was as absurd as it sounds, that two or three thousand solid German burghers remained sitting in the beer hall, ordered more beer, the girls in their pretty dryndls kept serving them while the negotiations were going on in the back room and Hitler said that these three guys that he wanted to bring, because they were leading politicians in Bavaria, to join him in the Putsch, and they said no, they couldn't and he said I'll shoot you, and they said shoot, and he said I've got four bullets here, three for you and one for me, and they said go ahead, shoot. And so it was a stalemate. And then Hitler said, I have got General Ludendorf on my side. Now General Ludendorf was the Godlike mythical hero of World War I, Second in Command to General von Hindenberg, who later became the President of Germany, and the name Ludendorf was magic and sure enough a few minutes later Ludendorf walked into the room and said to these three guys, Join him, in his government. I'm going to be the head of the new government, which we will make after this Putsch and Hitler said, No you are not, I am. And the struggle for power begins in that little tiny room, and Ludendorf capitulated right there, he couldn't stop Hitler, nobody could. So he capitulated, he said, O.K. you be the head of the Government and I'll be your Chief of Staff. Three guys still won't give in. Hitler suddenly got an inspiration. He went out of the room back onto the stage, took the podium and said, The three leaders of Bavaria have agreed to serve with me in a new Government. The first of the big lies, but he suddenly realized, and why do you have to tell the truth. Why the hell do those 3,000 people have to know what was happening in the back room. You could just as well say that they had agreed to join as that they were resisting. When the people in the room heard that they began to clank their beer pots, happily and gladly. They had a new leader, a new government, everything was strong, they felt secure, they started singing songs again and the rally had been a huge success.

He left the hall and left that room for a few minutes to go to the barracks of a regiment where a fight had broken out between the German regular army and his men. He was gone for about an hour. When he returned to the hall, the three politicians had scattered, Ludendorf had scattered and the whole damn thing had fizzled out that night and nothing happened.

The next day they met at noon time - this was November 9th - and they decided to have a march on the city, take over the city and from there on to the police guards and free Goering who had been arrested a day or two before in a street brawl between the Brown Shirts and the Police. Ludendorf and Hitler started the march from the Bergerbaum Keller, it's a beerhall, at 12 noon. But they had to go only 300 or 400 yards over the

bridge and cross the river Esse right by a great big museum, the Deutches Museum, one of the best technological museums in the world. It's important in our history, we used it many years later, when the war was over as a collecting place for Jewish D.P.s and that's another story about Jews which I want to get into later. Three hundred yards down the road from the beer hall, Hitler's marching in the front with Ludendorf and a few of his friends. At the end of the column are a few hundred of these stragglers, there was a truck with a machine gun mounted on it. There was a small police guard holding that bridge. The police officers said, You shall not pass, you have no permit to permit the parade into the center of the city. Hitler and his men said, We're going in. The police guard called him. About a half dozen policemen right there, tried to stop him. They didn't. They marched. They continued to penetrate into the city, gathering more and more people, now there were already thousands. They came down to the town hall, Marianplatz, the centre square of Munich. Streicher was on a street corner holding a rally, an anti-semitic rally. When he saw the Hitler parade coming, he disbanded his rally and joined them. That's how Streicher got into the Hitler movement, quite by accident that morning.

And then they came down the Strasse into the Platz in front of the These places in Munich don't mean anything to you, but the geography is such that they came down a very narrow street where the police had thrown up another blockade and surrounded them with fire, and had the police been a bit more vigorous in the firing they would have destroyed the Nazi movement that morning.

Instead what happened was that when the march came up to the police barricade, nobody knows who fired the first shot, but some shots were exchanged. It lasted a few seconds and in about sixty seconds, a minute, 16 people were killed. Hitler hit the pavement. Schwergner, one of his early devotees was killed and he had his arm linked in Hitler's arm and he pulled Hitler when he fell himself. Hitler dislocated his shoulder. Other men were on the ground. General von Ludendorf with moustache bristling, wouldn't yield one inch. He remained standing absolutely upright in the middle of all the fire, he walked up to the police captain and surrendered. The police captain said, I'm sorry, I must arrest you, general. Ludendorf said, Do your duty sir. And head upright he marched off to oblivion.

Hitler was picked up by a friend of his by the name of Butsie Hoberstenkel, a guy who graduated from Harvard in 1923, a young American kid, who came over, was a piano player, met this Mrs. Bechstein, she introduced him to Hitler. He became Hitler's patron and he was a rich, spoiled American

kid who had a villa. He took Hitler to the villa where he rested up from his street brawl, which should have marked the end of his career, but instead marked the beginning of it.

November 10th, 1923. A few months later Hitler was brought up for trial for attempting to start a riot against his government, he was found guilty, he was sent to jail. He was put in Landsberg Prison, Landsberg is a small town outside of Munich, and in 1924, he stayed in Landsberg for nine months until November, 1925, and during the course of those nine months in prison he wrote the book, Mein Kampf.

And that's it. I don't want to go through any more of what happened, because what went on must be a lot more detail. From 1925 up to 1933 he became more powerful and more powerful and grew in power in those years, building up his complete organization and taking in Goebbels, who became his propoganda expert, and when Germany went through a depression in 1929 after having gone through the inflation when one dollar cost what was worth four billion German Marks. The wagon in which you carried the money from the bank was worth more than the money. He got support of the army, he got more support from big business and by that time his two private armies, the Brown Shirts and the Black Shirts, had drawn millions of men, because he solved an unemployment problem in Germany. Anybody who was unemployed, he took them into his army and so he got support like this. In order to do that he had to have money, millions and hundreds of millions, and he got it from big heavy sources and also little people who began to join the party. It means that they pay party dues, one buck, two bucks, five bucks and by the millions it adds up. I'm not going through all the complications of German politics, what happened with the Weimar Republic and Chancellor Brunning and Chancellor von Papen and blah blah blah! Government after government failed and finally the old man, Von Hindenberg, he was the President of Germany, was forced by Hitler to appoint him Chancellor. Von Hindenberg up to half an hour before the ceremony said, I'll never appoint a filthy Austrian corporal to be the leader of Germany. And a half hour later he did. And when the Nazis began marching up and down the street the centre of Berlin, Von Hindenberg looked out the window, he was 84 years old at that time and senile, and he didn't know what he was doing literally, and said to an aide who was standing next to him - why are all those people right down there marching, I didn't know we had captured so many Russians.

In 1933 he still thought he was back in 1918. And Mr. Hitler is in power. The whole 1933 until 1939, six years, a very short time, the whole World War Two started and in those six years he paralyzed the world. They were afraid of him like a

person confronted with a snake. He moved into the Ruhr. France didn't try to stop him in 1936. He passed laws against the Jews in 1934 and 1936, whatever it was, nobody stopped him. He marched into Czechoslovakia in 1938. Chamberlain handed it to him on a platter. Also at Munich. Nobody stopped him. By the way, Munich is the centre of the whole thing and I take groups of students to Munich and spend three or four days there with them and I show them every place. I know where Hitler's house was, it's not marked anymore. I take them to the old Bruter Brat Keller, it's not marked anymore. I take them to the room where Chamberlain signed the deal with Hitler, today its a music conservatory. It's not marked anymore, the tenants don't know it.

Every effort was made to wipe out the memory of the man, but the memory of the man is stamped on the city. If you know what happened to that city. I take them to the concentration camp Dachau, just outside Munich. I take them to the Prison at Landsberg which is just outside Munich. I take them to Hitler's place at Berchesgarden which is a few hours down the autobahn from Munich. Munich is the centre of it all. And someday maybe you'll organize a trip to Munich.

Anyhow from '33 to '39 he put the finger on the Jews and he put the finger on the world and nobody opposed him and nobody believed him and nobody even worried about him and it was absolutely as I say. Where you stand, glaring in fascination at the snake which is about to strike you and you don't do anything to take his head off. I don't have the time to go through that business, of how he did dominate the German people, but he dominated them through fear and terror and giving them what they wanted to hear - that a new Germany would be born, that a new glory would be born, that a thousand-year Reich would be born and the Cathedral of Versailles would be wiped out and the stain of dishonour will be eliminated. They wanted to hear all this.

I don't have to tell you what he did to the Jews. This camp will tell it to you. His method was very simple. His method was to isolate, concentrate, to segregate and eliminate. The Warsaw Ghetto is an example. Take a half a million Jews, isolate them from the rest of the population, concentration them into a fixed area, one square mile of the city of downtown Warsaw, you get everybody out who lived in those buildings, all the Christians. Once you've got them concentrated, you then segregate them and even further on you break them down to smaller and smaller units and then you begin to eliminate these units one by one and the elimination takes place not necessarily in the place in which you concentrate them, but in a place which you build specially for that purpose, which is like a big factory. For the Warsaw Ghetto it happened to be a place called Treblinka which was 70 miles down the railroad line and at Treblinka you

built your gas chambers and your ovens and you played on a certain amount of rolling stock and you moved out of the ghetto 7,000 or 8,000 people a day, which is about the capacity of what Treblinka could kill. I mean every slaughter house has its capacity. It can't kill an unlimited number of people per day, because the oven takes a certain number of minutes to burn up the body and the gas takes a certain number of minutes to kill the body and it takes a certain number of minutes to put hooks and poles into the bodies and carry them from one place to another and to clean up the gas rooms which were full of disease and vomit the human body evacuates in moments of fear and if you're going to put another couple of hundred people in there to gas them, you will never get them to enter the room if they see that they were entering that kind of chamber. The word on the outside of the chamber said dousebade, which means shower bath, so you seduce the people into thinking that they were going to take a shower and you hand them even a slab of soap. You have plenty of soap because you use the same body later to manufacture soap. You entice them into a room which you couldn't do if it were a dirty and filthy room. And it takes a few minutes to clean it up. Jewish prisoners do the cleaning. And you have to hook the corpses and then take them in and get out the gold work in teeth and all of that. That takes a few minutes. And then shove the bodies into the ovens and that takes time. You can only kill 7,000, 8,000 people a day, in a small factory like Treblinka. In a big factory like Auschwitz you can kill 20,000 a day.

Those numbers are meaningless. There are 35 or 40 people on this bus. How long would it take to kill everybody here, and take off their clothes, put them in a pile, cut off their hair and put it in a pile, take off their eye glasses and put it in a pile, all these things are usable. The Germans are thrifty, useful, industrious people. They don't just destroy nice good quantities of goods. Human hair is the best quality to make mattresses out of or to weave into linings of overcoats for the German soldiers. It's cold on the Russian front. You don't have too much wool, it's wartime. And to have the hair of all these dead Jews, what are they good for. All this takes time. It would take a long time to knock out the forty people on this bus and strip them down.

So the elimination process was always the desperated search for faster methods, because you can isolate the Jews and segregate them and concentrate them faster than you can eliminate them. Shooting takes time, you have to take them out in a truck someplace in a field, dig a trench, kill them, topple the bodies in, throw more dirt on top of it, throw more bodies. Everything takes time.

Eichmann was only the Expediter. He didn't ever shoot anybody, he just brought in the trains and made sure that they went as fast as it could go.

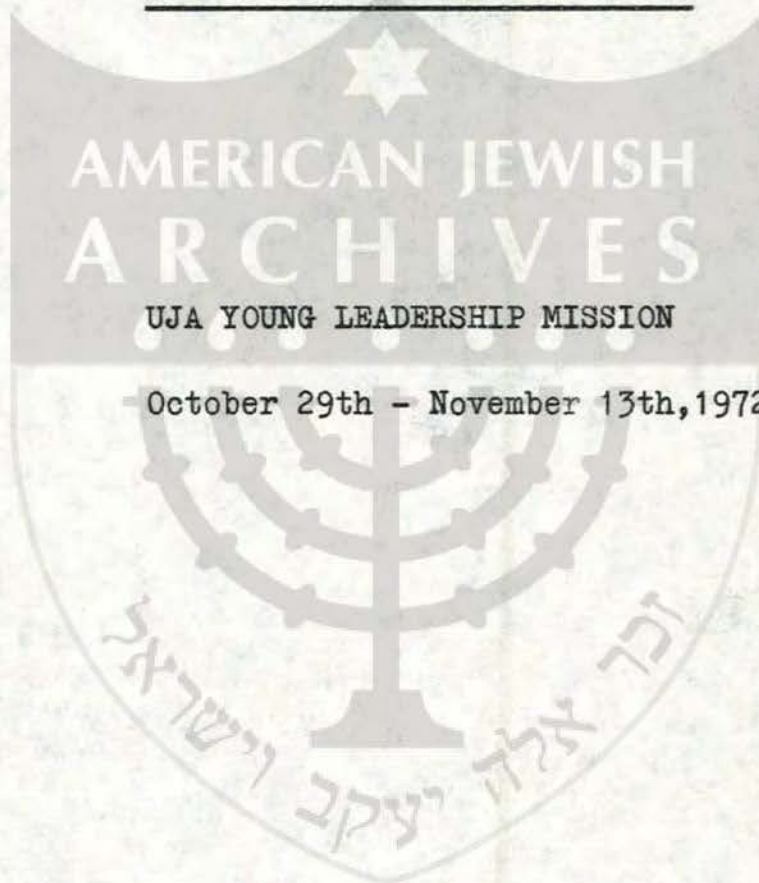
Between 1933 when he came to Power and 1939 when he started the war, those six years, in which Jews were persecuted and put in camps - Dachau was founded in 1938, Mathausen was founded in 1939. The years of '33 - '39 were not, repeat, not the years of mass murder of Jews and if the world had given one Goddam there would have been millions of Jews saved in those six years. I want to tell you one story about a conference that was held in a town in France called Evian, it's a beautiful town, the Goddam diplomats selected this town because they liked the water and they sat there in that town all through the month of September 1938, in an international refugee conference, 30 nations, to see what they could do about the poor, poor people being persecuted by Hitler. Nobody offered a home, the damned thing was the most filthy, hypocritical, immoral, condemnation of western civilized nations that ever took place anywhere and the people who organized the conference, Mr. President Roosevelt, should have had his head examined for showing up his moral bankruptcy as badly as he did.

Don't let anybody tell me they're sorry for me and want to try to do something when they haven't got the goddamdest intention of doing a thing. Let them tell me to go in the ovens and worry about it myself, then I know at least I'm on my own and maybe then the Jews would have fought back, better or harder or earlier or more cleverly. It's a terrible business not to know how to handle yourself in time of danger. Some of us who remember it will try to transmit to others like you the danger signals. Of course, the most important thing of all was the State of Israel, is in existence and that's the best guarantee that it will never happen again.

If Eichmann was captured in Argentina in a command-like operation, that's what it was, then another nascent Hitler could be wiped out by a paratroop squad that can be dropped in by friends of the Israeli Army. Okay, the world didn't give a damn, the Jews in the free countries were paralyzed, didn't know what to do, and didn't do anything and the six million were destroyed between 1939 and 1945. When the war was over we were bleeding from all those wounds and we had suffered this fantastic defeat and so few Jews had resisted during the process. There were partisan units, there were uprisings in some of the ghettos, there were efforts of Jews to escape through the sewers of many cities and getting to the woods to continue the struggle from there. There were efforts on the part of a few people to organize some boats to get to Palestine. You know the story about the British, who were attempting to stop that. But the resistance efforts were minor in terms of the big process. When the war ended there we were, and then came that period from '45 to '48 in which by some instinct a few people

understood that the struggle to be reborn was so crucial that if we didn't succeed, we would be dooming ourselves forever. And there weren't very many people working, there were the people who were called Zionists who had the only true vision and dream, that they need a state of their own. There was an underground army called the Haganah, of which I had the honour of being a member from 1945 on. There was an illegal immigration movement against the British which was called Aliyah Bet for which I worked for three years, from '45 to '48. There was an illegal arms smuggling movement to try to get weapons to Israel or to Palestine, because we knew that we would get it in a war no other way. We had learned a lesson not to depend on anyone else. And that was called the Rechesh, also conducted by the Haganah. I worked here in Germany and in Austria for those three years, two and a half of them, and we moved people down from this city of Vienna across Salzburg to the city of Munich where we put them in camps on German soil and Austrian soil in the American occupied sections of those two countries. We packed in a quarter of a million Jews into these camps and then we took them out of these camps down to the Mediterranean, south to the coast of Italy and France. There we tried to board them on these ships and we ran 56 vessels. The British caught most of them. We beached some on the shores of Palestine, we got a few tens of thousands of people in. The British caught 50,000 or 60,000 and put them in camps on the island of Cyprus. But the struggle was going on, the fight was going on and the will to live began to be reborn and in the camps here this quarter of a million people were beginning to come alive and say, We want a home, give us a home. We want a land, give us Palestine. We want Palestine. And commission after commission after commission came through the camps of Germany and Austria till you could almost puke with rage at the futility of this whole thing and there was nothing for any commission to investigate, what all the facts were. In five minutes I could tell you what the facts were. The Jews who were alive had to get off the bloody soil of Europe and nobody in the world wanted them, even after the war was over. So it was clear what the hell you had to do, you would have to found this country so they could have a place to go. We are getting towards Salzburg, Linz, that's the border with Germany. All right, there's not much point in getting further into the story. My God, I've talked for an hour and a quarter and that's a long time.

EXCERPTS OF MEETING IN VIENNA



October 29th - November 13th, 1972

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CHAIRMAN

I think we have had a very moving day in Vienna and a long day on board the airplane from New York, many of us I'm sure. We have a very exciting man with us tonight. He was also at Schonau this afternoon, by the way. I think before we go any further I would like to thank one man who is responsible for most of what you have done today, Morris Eisinger.

He has made this visit very heartwarming to us. This is a fantastic place, many of us did not expect it, he surprised us all and the arrangements that he made this afternoon, this morning actually were terrific and I think it's definitely going to help us on our trip with the impressions we received and the Russian immigrants whom I'm hopeful we may see later in Israel.

Tonight I want to introduce to you as our speaker Ted Feder. Mr. Feder is Associate Director General of the Joint Distribution Committee's Overseas Program at its base in Geneva. He has been with JDC for 26 years and he has directed their programs in Germany, Iran, Israel and Austria. He has three teenage children and his wife is a psychiatrist, a practising psychiatrist. She's not with us tonight. For his work with JDC, Mr. Feder has received the Medals of Honour from the city of Vienna and the Government and we were talking earlier and I asked him what is one of his fondest memories and he said, one of his fondest memories is when a Miss Golda Meyerson dragged him to kindergarten in Milwaukee. So I present to you Mr. Ted Feder.

Mr. Ted Feder

First of all I want to apologize that you have only one speaker this evening and that's myself, although I'm sure if I look at some of the eyes around me, they are very pleased that there's only one, so that you'll be able to get out of here and go home and go to bed, but I do want to apologize, we had Simon Wiesenthal of the Nazi Killers, he calls himself, who promised to come this evening, but unfortunately he had other commitments and he couldn't make it.

This afternoon I was at Schonau with Mr. Ben Cohen, You were out there this morning. I knew, you were out there, not only because I knew your program, but I knew it from another way. As we came out there and I looked around at the youngsters, and then suddenly Mr. Cohen and I were at the railroad station at 6.30 this morning and saw the Chopin Express come in with 51 people, all of whom you saw, and when we came in there was a lot of people whose jaws were moving very quickly and I asked one youngster, he spoke yiddish, I said, Where did you buy the gum between Vienna and here, and he said, Americaners. So you left your mark there and I must tell you that at 4.00 this afternoon they were still chewing that same piece of gum.

I mentioned to Herb that I also met the gentleman who spoke to you this morning, one of the two, Mr. Gerevitch. Mr. Cohen and I were walking by the small synagogue and I don't know if you noticed it, but they have so many people there today that they had put tables into the synagogue - fortunately all the food is kosher - they put tables into the synagogue because they just were overrun with people today and the mashgiach was sitting there with a gentleman, do you all remember him, with a beret, a black beard, and when I came, we're old friends, he pulled me in and said: Hey, you've got to hear this story. And he told me the story of the Rebbeh and as I mentioned it to Herb, you didn't get the whole story because they didn't give you all the facts about this phenomenon that took place with this individual who six years ago was not aware that he was Jewish. He was not aware that he was Jewish. His father was not Jewish and his mother was Jewish, but on their documents 'Jew' did not appear and when he learned, I didn't get the story of now he learned that he was Jewish, there was this Messianic feeling that he got about the fact that he was a Jew, he became an orthodox Jew and I want you to know that he had a Brit Milah at the age of 26. And this man with his feelings not only for himself as a scientist, but as an orthodox Jew, and then the story got interesting, about his wife, who was also not Jewish. His father was not Jewish and his wife was not Jewish. And he told us this story, that in his dilemmas as to how he could convert his wife, the Lord apparently got involved in the form of a Rabbi from Miami, a Rabbi from Miami who stayed there long enough in order to convert his wife. Now that's an unforgettable story and you heard it this morning a day after this man arrived from the U.S.S.R. I'm not going to make a long speech, because a number of people would rather go to sleep than listen to me. We'll talk in the majority. And the Defense Department of our Government has said time and time again that any people, and I suppose except Mr. Kissinger, any person who comes over from the United States is not going to attend a meeting in the first 24 hours and if he does, he's not supposed to make any decisions and you are at a meeting and I hope there won't be any decisions, but I'll try to make this as quick and as painless as possible. I'm not going to let you go to sleep.

We have talked about the great things done by the recipient agency to the UJA, but let me tell you of a small one, a small little program that took place two months ago. Two months ago three couples left Bucharest, left Bucharest to go to the USSR. I happened to meet one of the couples, they were in Geneva two weeks ago and he told me the entire story. These three couples carried with them 50 lemons wrapped in paper showing that these lemons had come from Spain and you know they weren't lemons.

They were not lemons. They were an integral and important part of Succot and you know what they were. They were etrogim and they were brought into the chief rabbi and there was no fuss and no one was making a lot of noise about the fact that 300 etrogim cost them 120 dollars - 300 etrogim got into the USSR as they have been for the last 15 years and we don't make a big issue of it, but the Jews of the USSR had etrogim for Succot, because of the JDC, not a big program, not something that you write about, but the Jews of the USSR were aware, and the chief rabbi certainly was aware that these etrogim were coming in through the help of the Jews of the United States.

I envy you. I envy you this mission, that you will have an opportunity today, having seen the Jews come out of Russia, that modern miracle, and it is a miracle that they are coming out, because it wasn't so long ago that our pundits in the United States many rabbis, many of our Jewish leaders, came back from the USSR, the moaning and the wailing that we had lost a generation of Jews in the USSR, Jews who were brought up by the mother milk of communism and were lost to the world, and look what we have today.

What has brought these people out, what rekindled their Judaism? As one little woman said today when I asked her why did you come out, she said, I'm sick of lying, I wanted to stop lying. Or the little 83 year old woman who said to me: I'm a Jew . I wanted to come out. And many of our leaders had given up what was probably something that they were unable to see. I remember 10 years ago when I was in Israel and someone came to me and said: There is going to be something happening in the USSR. And I said you can't go against all that had been said to us, the fact that how can there be Judaism there, there are no talmud torahs, there are no synagogues, there's no community center, how can it flourish, we need it. And he said: Never mind, the young people don't understand anti-semitism, the oldsters do, but the young ones are the ones who are going to rebel, because they know that they are really not accepted in the communist society. And how true he was. And this is a prediction ten years ago, and Herb, you know who I'm talking about.

I'd like now to relate what we, JDC, the UJA, have done that perhaps has helped. Please don't get me wrong, my agency and those of us who work for the Joint are not coming out and saying that we have been an integral part of the movement of the Jews out of the USSR, but let me tell you of the link that we have forged, not yesterday, not five years ago and not ten years ago, but starting back in 1943, and there was a man

today out there who I asked if he had ever received a parcel and he said, Yes, I received a parcel in Siberia in 1943. You may not be aware of this, but the JDC were sending, from Teheran, packages to the Jews in Siberia in 1943. Surplus food of the allies were being sent in packages and the Russians accepted it and as a matter of fact we have receipt of the people, I suspect that some of them may be forged, but the Jews of Siberia who had fled from western Russia were getting packages from the JDC in the midst of the war and this program continued. In the worst days of Stalin, during the Doctors' Trials in 1952 and '53, when the JDC was the arm of the CIA, and as a matter of fact we still are when there are recent trials, such as of those in Leningrad and they talked about the fact that it had been financed by parcels sent by Wienerman & Son, an organization financed by the American Joint Distribution Committee. We have a great big dossier in the USSR of our activities.

In the worst phase of Stalin these packages went forward. What did these packages mean? Could people live on it? Could they exist for a long time? Probably not, The packages had a good resale value - for what we paid \$60, for a package the value is 400 or 500 rubles which meant something in the daily living for an individual, but today with all the problems of paying the tax, it's only a tear in the ocean, but at the same time it was a link and I'm sorry that we didn't have a chance to talk to you first because if you'd have gone and asked if they knew of packages, you'd get very strange stories. Yes, we got a package from Switzerland or somebody got a package from Belgium or he got a package from Copenhagen or he got a package from England. Each of those parcels were financed by my organization. And we are very proud of it and this year we have more than tripled, we will be spending more than 2½ million dollars on just sending these parcels into the USSR and what an important step it was for the Jews of the USSR to be getting these parcels in the worst days of Stalin.

True, true, it doesn't solve the problem that you met today. There's a terrible fact with the professionals, it is way beyond anything we may be able to do, but if you talked to the people today on this issue you would hear them tell you of how not only did they sell what they had, but they would also go to other people and this is something that should have come out today, the tremendous self-help generated amongst the Jews of Russia to help those that are leaving and this again is a factor which we in the JDC feel that we are involved with.

Let me tell you another thing. If you think this is clandestine you're wrong. It is not clandestine. The Government of the USSR knows everything, everything that we do. They know where we get our lists, they know what the costs are, they know when they can put up their customs and we won't balk at it. They know everything we do. Let me not give you the impression that this is an underground movement, it isn't. They know, as a matter of fact if we would ask them questions, they could tell us some of the names and we would be doing it cheaper. They know everything we do. Why do they allow us to do it? Very simple. One thing, they are interested in the money. They are interested that a sixty dollar package which we send in, they get at least thirty dollars in customs and in postage and to them, that's money. And as long as we don't give it publicity, as long as we don't come out and say we are helping the poor starving Jews of the USSR, they allow us to do it. Those are the ground rules, let's keep it quiet, just as we carry on programs in Hungary, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia. Each of these countries, where we send in parcels and we send in money, the Governments know exactly what we are doing, and yet they are quite prepared to have it because of the high dollars, they couldn't care a damn about the Jews. They are interested only in the aim, to get dollar value out of our program and we're quite pleased to do it, because those of our people there do need our help.

Let me for a minute talk about the programs behind the Iron Curtain where we work openly, and that is in Rumania and in Yugoslavia. In Rumania, the head of the Jewish community there is a very solid, strong personality, Rabbi Rosen, and he runs the community. There are 100,000 Jews there. There are 60,000 odd who are over 60 years of age and are needy. We have feeding kitchens in 12 cities throughout Rumania. They are kosher incidentally. And I may tell you a story of how we get the best bang for our buck. Why buy locally in Rumania? We buy export items to use locally and our dollar instead of getting 18 lei to a dollar which is the official rate, by purchasing locally and sending parcels out, we get as high as 40 lei per dollar. After all, we're handling other people's money and we have to make certain that we get the best possible rate that we can. And here is a community where if immigration were to open up, all of the able-bodied would go, the sick and the aged might not want to and as long as we can operate and as long as we can carry out a program in Rumania, we will. The Government at one time opened its gates for the Jews in Rumania and then they closed them. They always say that there's no difference between a Hungarian and a Rumanian, except the Rumanian in cases of immigration, the Rumanian will sell their people and the Hungarians won't. Yugoslavia is also an interesting country. We use it as a listening point for the problems and the needs of the Jews behind the Iron Curtain. The Jewish community of Yugoslavia is a non-

religious community, yet it is very valiant in its efforts to try to be helpful to us to bring whatever assistance we can to the countries behind the Iron Curtain, including the USSR.

Let me for a moment talk about just what is the JDC. You know that we have various kinds of immigrants. Someone said, Wow, you are a Jewish Red Cross, another one said, You're a Jewish fire department. Another one said, You are a Jewish world radar sensitive to the needs of Jews throughout the world. Well, maybe we are and certainly with the kind of associations we have with non-Jewish organizations and of course with Jewish organizations, what we can do to feel out where there are needs and where there are problems, certainly if it is within our competence.

Let me give you another broad view. Our program roughly is around 26 million in 30 countries in the world. About 30% is for relief, about 25% for aged and medical assistance, about 320,000 Jews in these thirty countries - 100,000 in Eastern Europe, 103,000 in Israel, 44,000 in the Moslem Countries, 65,000 in Western Europe and 8,000 in a number of other countries, including incidentally ten mentally sick Jews in China. We have been sending funds into Red China for the last 25 years. Now you figure out why the Red Chinese have allowed us to send in funds for ten mentally sick German Jewesses that they won't allow to come out and if they would we would certainly be able to take them to Israel.

Let me for a moment give you a thumbnail sketch of our programs in Moslem countries, because I think this is essential for you to understand. When you think of Iran, with the Shah whose ability to walk that thin line is pretty good at this stage, not only with the Arabs but with the Russians. Who knows, if he has a misstep, what will happen to the Jews of that country, they are not aware of this posterity in Iran but we feel very strongly that Iran is going to be in the crunch between the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the USSR and the Jews there will be in danger. Certainly in Tunisia, Bourghiba, who is, you should pardon me, mentally sick and I know because I know what psychiatric hospital he was at up until three months ago. And finally, the King of Morocco, a man who lives only by suffering, that he is still alive today is a miracle and the Jews of these countries live only because of their leaders being alive. When these three leave, the Jews of these countries will be forced to leave, just as Jews had to leave Egypt and Iraq and if they could from Syria, they would.

Our program there is slated for the children, we are educating close to 14,000 kids in full-day Jewish schools in these countries. We educate them, we feed them, we take care of them medically because we know it's our investment. We know these kids are going to move and they're going to move to Israel and

when they do get to Israel they are going to come far better equipped to become part of the fabric of Israel than the youngsters of these countries who came in the early fifties and brought with them the tremendous debilitating diseases and illiteracy which was a real drain on the resources of the fledgling state and now when they come, they are going to have something that they can give the state. That is the investment of the JDC in these countries. We are criticized for work in these countries, because if we would get out of it then people would leave. Well, we know they are going to leave, we have pressed it too often, the desire of people to leave stress areas by the fact that our programs if taken away would make them leave.

Let me for a moment talk about Egypt, Iraq and Syria. Iraq, unfortunately we have heard in the last few weeks that they have begun to arrest Iraqi Jews. Here's something very interesting, it took place in the last two years. I must say I really don't know myself what made it happen, but are you aware of the fact that hundreds of Jews moved through the mountains between Iraq and Iran, helped by the Kurds, came over on donkey and horseback, walked through the mountains to get away from Iraq and came into Iran. I must say I don't know who organized it - somebody organized it. Unfortunately, we weren't involved in it, but something took place and the 1500 member Jewish community of Iraq is down to less than 500. And now suddenly they closed the gates again and we know of at least 20 people who are in jail in Iraq. Iraq incidentally is a country that hung 11 Jews about three years ago and yet when we saw them leave we were so pleased that it was taking place.

Egypt, there are less than 500 or 600 Jews there. Here again there was an exodus after the war, helped by the JDC, by the Hias and by other agencies, primarily with the help of incidentally the International Red Cross and Protestant agencies who worked for us in these countries to bring the Jews out, and most of them have gone on to Israel.

Last and not least is Syria. Of all the Moslem countries the Syrian Moslems are the worst. There is no doubt about it, anyone who has any knowledge of Middle East politics knows that the Syrians in their attitude towards anybody are simply, they are not very restricted as far as their inhuman desire to inflict as much punishment as they can on people. When you think that today they still have a curfew for the Jews, they can't go far from where they live, that in Kamishli there are only about 350, this is on the Turkish border, a place where the train from Turkey comes to Syria and moves out again, where during the early days we were able to bring out hundreds of Syrian Jews and with all the misery in this country, it is the country that we are still able to bring assistance and there is a pharmacy in Damascus and Aleppo and a dispensary in

Aleppo and Kamishli and incidentally there is a Catholic priest in Kamishli who helps Jews. We know that, because we get reports from him. And it's in this area that our efforts are trained to see what we can do to bring more of the Jews out of Syria and certainly they deserve every help that we can give them.

I won't dwell long on western Europe except that we cannot forget to repeat time and time again, because we can tell this, when we talk about France and I'm not an apologist, Mr. Pompidou makes my stomach turn too often, and I want you to know that the French Government is prepared to give a Jew a transit visa in any of the countries that I have mentioned - Syria, Iraq and Egypt - without question. At the same time they would arrange for transportation for many of these countries, paid for by the United Hias Service. Incidentally, I'm sorry there's no one here from the United Hias Service tonight. The French have interceded time and time again in these countries on behalf of Jews. It's hard to imagine knowing what we know about the other aspect of the political problem on which the French have been pretty negative to say the least. And the French Jewish community is the fourth largest community in the world. France has taken in more refugees for its size than any other country but Israel and it's a country with refugees from Algeria, from Rumania, from Poland and it's a country that we still give assistance to because we consider it as a country of refuge.

I see I talked far too long and I'm going to finish. Let me give you another image of the JDC. Along with other Jewish organizations of the UJA, rescue is one of our primary reasons for being as an agency. In other words they help those who wish to leave their country in which they cannot live as free Jews. We reinforce communities receiving Jewish refugees. One of our largest programs, and I haven't said one word on the fact, is that in Israel one-third of our budget is spent in the care of the aged and the handicapped and incidentally in new programs which we are helping to begin in order to help the poverty problems that Israel's facing. France is another country that is receiving Jewish refugees. Third, we ready children for immigration. I told you about what we're doing in Moslem countries and this is our entire objective. We want to get them out of there and we want them to come ready to stand in the Israel society and they will only go to Israel. Very few countries are prepared to take Jews from Moslem countries.

And last and not least, with all of this, knowing what it means to get the Jews out of the Moslem countries, Jews will be left behind. When the leadership leaves from Morroco and Tunis and perhaps Iran, not all the Jews will leave. We know the history of movement and we are setting up programs to take care of those that are going to be left behind, because we know, except where there is total evacuation and we haven't seen that yet, neither in Iraq nor in Syria nor in Egypt and there are still aged in

Egypt which we are helping incidentally through the Red Cross.

November is the Yom Kippur of the JDC. Yom Kippur is a day you look at yourself and you examine yourself and you say, What kind of a Jew am I going to be for the next year. With us it's different. It's our budget month and we have to sit down and we have to be realistic about the money, and the greatest faith is an Agency getting money from the United Jewish Appeal, because in November we're making up the budget for next year and we don't even know how much money we're going to be getting from the UJA. But fortunately we haven't been let down in the last 25 years. But there are decisions that you have to make and the decisions that you have to make and the decisions are pretty horrendous and I want to share them with you. After all, you are giving, your leadership and your communities, I think you ought to know what we have to decide and this year incidentally the packages for Russia were very important and do you think we had that much extra money from the United Jewish Appeal? We certainly did not. We got our share, we have our limits. I'm not saying that the Jewish Agency shouldn't get it. They need more than what they're getting when you look at what you saw today and how much each family is going to cost at 30 - 35,000 dollars, it's horrendous, but JDC at its own level has to make decisions. For example, this year, in order to put more money in the relief and transit we haven't stopped certain programs that we are carrying on in Rumania for the oldsters, we cut out a certain amount of clothing. We have to decide whether we should increase the caloric value of the meals that the kids in Morroco are getting, again in order to give the money to the RIT, that's what it's called, Relief and Transit.

Our program behind the Iron Curtain is called Relief and Transit. This name was made in 1948 and how right the people that made that term were - Relief and Transit, help give to Jews behind the Iron Curtain because they were there in transit and how this has come out to be a truism. Naturally we could send more money into Syria, again you have to cut it. These are the agonizing plans and decisions that those of us in the administration of the JDC are faced with each budget Yom Kippur. I tell you all this because I think you ought to be aware of what we are faced with and I can only appeal to you that in what you are seeing now and what you'll be seeing in Israel, to give it very serious consideration so that someone instead of going without, will be able to receive it, because of the additional funds you and your comrades can generate in the coming year. Thank you.

Chairman

Thank you very much Ted. I feel this was very informative for us. We completed a full day on JDC work and I'm all for you to help us in completing this package, so to speak.

Don Benjamin

There's a gentleman in this room whom I talked about when we were at Schonau. And I said to you this is the man that really changed my life. And I have the pleasure of introducing to you Herb Friedman. He is the guy responsible for our being here. Eleven years ago he had a dream. He dreamt about a coterie of young people from the United States who could really have an effect upon the American Jewish community and he went to the Executive Committee of the United Jewish Appeal with his dream. That's something that he referred to as the Young Leadership Cabinet. And we are here today because we are living part of this dream. His dream dealt with a group of young men and women who would be concerned with the survival of Jews and Judaism in Israel. And could do something about it.

I could stand here and give you his biography about when he graduated, at what congregations he worked, what's his relationship with the United States Army as chaplain. He has been concerned about our people, because he said he felt he believed that's why he's here, Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, the Executive Vice President of the United Jewish Appeal.

Rabbi Friedman

Ladies and gentlemen, first you have to understand Israel and its various problems. I am very very happy, I have had many questions, I have been trying to go into depth. I have seen many countries which appear to be in need and where the future is in doubt, but it's the first time that I have ever seen anything like the kind of people who are here tonight. I think it's just absolutely great. Compared to the way you live in the United States, and I live in Israel and compared to the environment which we have which supports us, millions of Jews around us in all places, to think of living here in small towns, tiny, where every person counts, is really great. Every single individual has to count, there are so few and the world here must be more discouraging here than where we live and therefore these people are more heroic. And I think the fact that the Young Leadership Movement in the United States become powerful and set up an exchange of personnel and some of you might take a vacation and come and spend two weeks in Austria and help teach the business to the guys who are living here. We had a discussion about it beforehand and a lot of them said to me that the American tactics might not work and other tactics, the Israeli tactics might not work. And that's true. So the question is do you think you can take that push. Think about it. Now I said on the bus that we will finish the whole business of Schonau and the holocaust tonight. You know when we have parquet floors and chandeliers and oil paintings, it's kind of hard to realize

that a thing is in existence 175 kilometers away, what we saw this afternoon at Mathausen. But these two things do exist in the same world side by side and even though this environment may be very screwy and even cruel, I'm trying to talk about the fact that this exists today. So I would suggest that we finish up the thing tonight and then we put this subject to sleep. Tomorrow morning we start turning our face towards Israel and it's my guess you won't feel like working early tomorrow morning if you want to come and listen to a nice description of what Israel is like today, you are welcome to come at 11:00 tomorrow morning to the Intercontinental Hotel and I will give you a talk about what are our present-day problems inside Israel. Austria is only three and a half hours from Tel Aviv and really our guests here, really our hosts, they could come over to Israel from the United States, it's a long schlep. From here it's not.

I have two or three questions to raise, but first let's see if you have any questions that you want to raise about the whole Hitler period, of the Holocaust, of the destruction of the Jews, anything which came to mind. I'll only beg that you ask big questions, philosophical questions, not tiny little detailed questions. Tiny little detailed questions would seem out of place, but are there any big things that bother you.

Question You said that if Hitler felt that God chose Germany for a mission now how about a juxtaposition between Hitler and God, in Vienna.

Friedman What's the question?

Question If Hitler chose God for a mission or God chose Hitler or Hitler said that God chose the Germans

Friedman That's what he believed.

Question It's obviously a euphemism for saying that the word Hitler and God are similar.

Friedman I said just a sentence ago that you people are being unrealistic. Hitler believed that God had ordained the German people to rule the world, that's what he believed. Did he have a right to believe that? Is that what you're saying? Was the idea a correct idea, is that what you're saying? Not to use the two words in the same sentence means that you will rid yourself of speaking English. It's hard for you to believe that Hitler believed in God, but there were times in his life that he did, times in his life he didn't. You think that a person whom you describe to be evil, is himself incapable of believing in God. What do you say of all the priests in the Spanish Inquisition. Many people kill many other people in the name of God.

The Moslem religion has spread itself across Africa and into Europe, teaching the Moslem God by the sword. That's the way they believed. The Crusaders took the Christian religion into the Holy Land in the 12th century in the name of God. Christ, people dying right and left, blood spurting all over the place, singing Hallelulah Praise God. I'm not arguing about it, I don't understand the question. Evil is evil and it's performed by evil men and if you are able to analyze it and define it and label it, and call it evil, it's altogether another question whether that evil man speaks in the name of God or speaks in the name of the Devil or speaks in the name of money or speaks in the name of a flag or patriotism or country. I mean there's all sorts in which evil men speak in the name of God. Hitler believed that God had chosen the German people to rule for a thousand years and that he was doing God's work to put the German people on the top of the human race.

Later on he got a bit more sophisticated and knew he was not the commissioned person in the formal sense and he stopped talking that way. He didn't have to talk that way anymore.

Question Herb, the day we experienced Mathausen. Can we find more information about Israel's relations with Germany because of the release of the three Arab killers. Eli Wiesel said in one of his writings, which I'm sure you've read, that even though the Germans should have been able to teach us how to hate, they never succeeded because the Jews were poor students and he thought that every Jew should reserve some place in his heart for hatred, for pure hatred. If you have read that, can you tell us what you think he meant and what relevance it has for us today, the Jews and our relationship with Germany, and the Arabs for that matter.

Friedman

Well let's separate the two questions as to whether we should hate the Germans and whether we should hate the Arabs. Let's keep the two things apart. Let's talk about the Arabs tomorrow and talk about the Germans tonight.

Of what you say, let me just take the core of the question, which is the philosophical question of whether we should hate. I don't know what Wiesel had in mind when he said that everybody ought to reserve a part of his heart for hatred. I think hatred is a useless solution. To me personally, it's useless. Some people get a kick out of hugh emotional frenzies. I'm very emotional person, I'm a very warm person, I believe very deeply in things I believe in, I express myself with a great passion and conviction about the things I believe in. I think you will have found that out already in a very few hours.

But useless emotion that doesn't generate anything, I find this a waste, I don't think there is time enough in one short life to waste in hatred.

I have my own definition for myself. It's pragmatic it works for me and I don't suggest it for anybody else. You can come to it yourself. Everybody has to come to his own feeling. I came to my own decision during the years when the question was raised, should we take German money or not. The whole reparation question.

In 1952 Germany and Israel made a deal, 1952, only four years after Israel was born, and a contract was signed at the Hague for German reparation. And there were people who said: This is immoral, this is evil, this is fantastically inconceivable, that Jews should take German money. To a lesser degree you get it all the way down the line 25 years later, some guy says I wouldn't buy a Volkswagen and somebody else says, well, everybody in Israel rides around in Volkswagens, and both statements are true for the person making them. Some people can't stand eating out of a piece of Rosenthal china, some people say Rosenthal was a Jew so ...

I have to decide for myself, my own moral issues, should we take reparation money, how can you take the money if you hate, should you hate, should you seek revenge, and hatred and revenge soon cease having any meaning. I neither hate nor do I look for revenge. Neither one. I believe in one thing. I believe in Zachor, which in Hebrew means Remember! If you forget I'll chop your head off. Because if you forget it means that you are cold, cruel, it means you are not Jewish, it means you are turning your back on it, it means you are a full idiot. Any Jew who says, I don't want to know about this, as far as I am concerned I'd like to talk to him. It's a different kind of person from me, I've no connection. This experience is our history and anybody who says I don't want to know about this is for me not part of the Jewish people.

But you have a right to say to me what's the purpose of hatred. Why bother to say to people REMEMBER? Because the action of remembering is a useful act. The act of remembering what happened in the past will enable you to judge how to act in the future.

You came into a situation where you had your people ready to wage another war and there were people who said: Oh, God, it's so clear, the Arabs are threatening genocide, the world will not permit this to occur again. I was in Israel the last week of May before the war. I went on May 20th at the request of the Prime Minister, Mr. Eshkol, and I stayed from May 20th to June 3rd, and I was there during that fateful time when the

Government was deciding whether to go to war or not. I was convinced we had to go to war. I was told to alert the American Jewish community there would be a war and the Jews must stand up and do their duty. Mr Eban is a good friend of mine. I remember that week he went to Paris, Washington, London and back to Jerusalem four days later. He came back and he said: They all told me that on no condition should Israel go to war. He didn't offer to help. He gave me advice. I went to London, I asked for help, I couldn't get any help. The British sympathized. The British invented the miniskirt, the British have a minipower.

He went to Washington, Johnson said yes,

Johnson said, Give me a chance to get some of the countries with shipping on the sea, the principle was open shipping. Egypt by blockading the Straits of Tiran, closing the Suez Canal, and Israel was choking. It was in the legal power, the maritime power of these nations to join in the guarantee for Israel, to have open shipping, and then they would have put the muscle on Egypt and said: Egypt, open up to Israel shipping. The President of the United States approached 11 great maritime powers of the world and he got a response from one. The enormous world naval power of the Netherlands.

The purpose of remembering the lessons of Hitler is to understand that we are alone. And if you remember that and you never forget it, never lose your cool, never lose your self-confidence, never expect anything, solve your problems by yourself it is the only way for the Jewish people. And if that isn't strong enough, I don't know what is.

The purpose of remembering what happened to us is to learn the lesson of the past.

Regarding the Germans, you think they'll understand, do you think we are getting along with them, do you think they understand us and our problems? They knew perfectly well what was happening to us, to the Jewish people. They knew what Munich meant to the Jewish people. They knew it was a knife in our hearts. They knew what Munich meant to the Jews. They knew it perfectly well. They knew what murder meant to the Jewish people. And yet they decided to do what they did. They took that chance, they decided on the basis of their own policy.

The purpose of our remembering what the relations with the German people are is to know where we stand.

This is the second time they gave in. This is the second time, not the first time. The first time they paid five million dollars in cash. The Arabs captured a German airplane and then asked Israel to release 200 terrorists. Israel to release 200

terrorists. Israel refused and the Arabs then demanded five million dollars in cash and the Germans paid.

In 1933 the first concentration camp in Bavaria, Dachau, was created. By 1933 the first people who have been re-educated were released from this camp. As long as they were in Germany they couldn't talk. As soon as they came to other countries, they talked. And then faithless Roosevelt and many people read about it and nobody wanted to believe it, it was more convenient not to believe in it. Otherwise it would have paid them to do something. Although as Friedman said, before 1942 Auschwitz could have been bombed out. I agreed with him, together with the prisoners, but together with the guards, but not only '42 it should have been done in 1939 when the war began. The first two, three camps knocked out together with the prisoners, they were to be sacrificed anyway. No new camps would have been created. And I am not going to explain to you in depth, I think Rabbi Friedman did that yesterday. In 1945 in Bavaria there was a conference of the Central Jewish Committee, the Central Committee of the Liberated Jews from Germany. I was here too. In the discussions before the speeches being made the Germans were accused, but not only that, they accused every nation in Europe and the world because they had their ears, their mouths and their hearts closed. They didn't hear the sufferings of six million souls. No, there were dozens of millions. You were today in Mauthausen.

If Mussolini had been stopped in 1922 I don't know if the Italians would have been better off, but the Germans would have been better off. Evil is a communicable disease. It stinks. If you stop it in one place you prevent somebody else from getting it. If you have to stop it by force, stop it by force. You have no alternative.

Question from audience

(Regarding Wallace would-be-assassin - did he do right thing.)

Friedman I don't know how to judge if Wallace is an evil man. I don't think he is in my sense of the word.

I am not telling you that you ought to play the part of God. I am not an advocate for political assassination by which an individual takes the law into his own hands and decides he wants to shoot somebody. I am not advocating that at all. I don't understand why it's so hard for you to follow the English language.

I used the analysis of Hitler in the Street when the police blockade was there, the police in that situation, and I am answering your question, Who makes the decision, The police

in that situation, represented the legal and legitimate authority of the State. The police were there with orders to shoot. A revolutionary parade was coming down the street by men who had announced that they were attempting to take over the government. They'd said it publically, it wasn't guesswork. It wasn't the individual opinion of the captain of the police who stood at the head of the street.

Now, he was ordered to stop this parade, never mind that Hitler thought the police were evil and Hitler thought he was right, in that situation the police represented the right of legality and Hitler represented the wrong and the illegal.

All that I'm saying is that in that situation where 16 people were killed by the shooting of the police, which lasted for 60 seconds, what I said quite specifically was: It wasn't good enough. It didn't stop it. And if 100 people had been killed, I said, and the shooting had gone on for three minutes, I think the Hitler movement would have stopped dead in thestrasse in Munich. That's my opinion.

The police were shooting anyhow. They had decided: The law was on their side. The State had decreed this to be an illegal revolution, not one individual convicting, that's political assassination. When one man takes a gun and shoots one other politician he is an assassinator. Why is it so hard to understand. Whereas when you take the instruments of the State as they exist, and you use them to stop some other movement which you consider to be dangerous, it's quite a different situation.

All that I'm saying is that if it has to be done, it has to be done. The only remaining question is which side do you think is right. Do you think it's the state - the German Bavarian State authority of 1923 was right - or do you think differently. So it certainly depends from what vantage point you view this thing as to whether you think that the bastard shouldn't shoot at me, because what I'm doing is for the good of Germany, and he believed it of course he could believe that what he was doing was for the good of Germany.

The difficulty especially with Americans or Asians is that in many instances the law of the state, the law of Mississippi or Alabama, the law of the police in certain parts of the States is maybe not with the moral side of the issue in the same way that you are talking about, the questions you are raising are a little bit deeper and it's not black and white, in the same way.

I regret to say that the whole problem of the Vietman War has got on most people's nerves and they are thoroughly confused, and they don't really come out and say what they want.

Most people get to a parade and condemn the policy of the government in continuing the war. Then they condemn the President for not paying attention to their protest and the depth of their protest.

They are not saying however that they would like to overthrow the government. The only logical consistency is on the part of the fanatics like the Weathermen. They are consistent. This I can understand. I could be wrong. But when I try to understand some of the process of logic and carry it through to its logical end, that's why I think that you are not correct in saying the State is sometimes evil. Racial wars are evil, lots of states and federal governments have lots of evil things about them. But you are not saying to me that you want to overthrow that. You are not saying that that is such a great evil that you want to replace it. What you are saying is that something is happening that you don't agree with. We've worked like hell to try and make the government respond to what you want to tell them. Millions of people who have by now paraded on Vietnam, nobody tried to assassinate us. Nobody tried to set up political argument that would replace the government in the United States by a different government. So that there is no necessity for introducing the use of violence into the American Administration, and it's not similar. Every time we get into a discussion like this there is only one thing that keeps coming up all the time in the people of your generation, it is Vietnam, Vietnam, Vietnam, and I submit to you that it's simply not similar. Because you are not alledging that the Government of the United States is evil and should be replaced. You are saying the Government of the United States has got into a wrong war and is not responsible to the wishes of the people in it. That's what you are saying. You are not carrying any part of it. I am talking about a situation where a political party promised, I'll see you again in the new government we're going to form. And you are going to work with us. I'm talking again, and I want to be perfectly clear about the sort of situation where a political party or political personality comes along and presents a point of view in a program which he announces publically - again when you raise the question of who is to decide, well any human being who read Mein Kampf, which was written in 1925, if he wanted to chose to believe it seriously, would have the right to decide if Hitler was a danger to democracy, because he said so, you don't have to guess at it. He put it in black and white. Not that people didn't want to believe it,

O.K., if you want to take it seriously, you have a right to act accordingly. The problem is the recognition of danger, the stopping of that danger in time, by non-violent legal means, if you can, or by violent means if that's what it ultimately results in, and it usually does, because usually the police have the power to shoot. All I was recommending is that when it comes down to that, shoot efficiently.

No speculation for the sake of speculation, give me a real situation. Are you saying Hitler would have conquered Russia, then what would he have done with the Russians? I am putting that to you because I believe for example that if he had defeated Russia, feeling the way he did about the Slavic race which he also wrote very clearly into Mein Kampf, he would have attempted to have destroyed millions and millions of the following kinds of people, Ukrainians and the Slavians, or Mongolians, also part of Russia, or Caucasians, all Bekistanians, Turkistanians, and all the provinces of Southern Russia bordered on to Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet. And I don't fool around with generalities, you know me by now, I deal in specifics. You say to me if Hitler had gone on for a few more years, what would he have done. If he had conquered England would he have destroyed and put into the furnaces all the English. No, because he had a mystical belief and conviction that the English were the same as the Germans. He believed they came out of the same stock. That isn't what you would have done, I am talking about he would have done. I believe that if the war had gone on for a few more years and he had had further victorious in reaching, in going past Stalingrad, and Rommel had gone past Alexandria in Egypt and you know the purpose of the operation was that the European army would swing through Southern Russia down into Turkey into Palestine, and that Rommel's Desert Army would have come across Africa, gone through Egypt and into Palestine, and the two pincers would have joined there because Palestine is the bridge between Europe and Asia, and from the base of Palestine in which it just so happens 650,000 Jews would have gone up in smoke in a week, he would then have launched a war and continued further eastward towards Persia and India. This was planned, so he would have put all the Jews in Palestine into the oven, very quickly. Would he have put all the Persians in - no. All the Indians - no. So the question that you have to ask is what were his goals and what were his objectives, what would he have done to achieve it. He wasn't interested in burning up the whole human race, he was interested in conquering the world and getting rid of certain elements of it who he thought would be troublesome to him. His intention then was to turn backward into Germany and eliminate the Church. That would have been a great surprise in store for His Holiness. And if you say to me that you want to make a proposition that he would have gone on ten more years, he would have destroyed the Catholic Church.

I would like to finish by saying that the subject is so awesome, the fields of thought that it opens up are so enormous. The problems that it forces us to think about are so different to what we deal with in our ordinary lives when you open the door to the evils and you look it in the face and you think of possible implications of what it can do to you and what you have to do to face it, it's so different to what we deal with our ordinary lives and we try to protect ourselves from that. I don't want you to live with this every day of your life and be sort of obsessed by it and yet I don't want you to be exhausted by it. I don't want you to become obsessed by it - that's not necessary. We opened a certain window today and you can close it now. But you must always know that behind that window there lies more and more of this for you to investigate in the years ahead. From now on you dare not rest a moment when death will be the answer. We've always been aware of the forces of evil. Don't make yourself sick about it. Turn it into a positive direction and act for the positive survival of the Jewish people and Israel and let this serve as a motivation, a permanent motivation, a firm positive action on your part to build a strong Israel and a strong Jewish state and in a way really that's the most effective response we can make together. Never mind what we didn't do about it in 1943, the question is what you can do about it in 1970 and 1980 and 1990, in a storm of active response against Hitlers, in a way to end all this evil so that we don't become psychotic about it. We may get to understand the powerful formation for doing good which we all want to, and I think that's how we can turn it into something.

Although we are sitting here on Austrian soil, we make believe we are in Israel. The briefing that I would like to do with you now, I normally do the first evening you arrive in Israel. But because of the way this schedule has been twisted around you will arrive late tonight, we will arrive, I'm going home with you and late tonight we can't do it, and tomorrow morning first thing you are getting on an airplane again and you are going down to the Suez Canal. So, there isn't going to be a chance to do it tomorrow, and by tomorrow night when you come back from the Suez Canal it will seem like you've been in Israel 100 years, and a preliminary briefing will almost seem to be an anticlimax.

I can't do a preliminary briefing tomorrow night after you get back from the Canal so we are doing the preliminary briefing on Austrian soil, but forget it, we are really in the Tel Aviv Hilton and we've just all landed - sorry you're going to the Dan - and one or two pieces of baggage have been smashed and one or two pieces of baggage have been lost, and the rest of it, 95% is all up in the rooms, carefully stowed away. You are quite excited about the flight from Vienna. You are quite tired, you say to yourself, my God, we got to have a briefing, and Don and Howard say, yeah you've got to have a briefing, so we're downstairs in the King Solomon Room of the Dan Hotel and forget about what you see out there, that's not real.

I would like to try to do two things. I'd like to try to take you through the itinerary but as I take you through the itinerary, which by the way is written on a piece of paper in front of me, but it's totally and completely invalid and will be either slightly modified or radically changed by tomorrow morning, and if you have any maps with you, I'd like to take you through the itinerary so you can see where you are going and what you are doing geographically, and use that same device to isolate out the major themes. In other words I'd like to take you through the itinerary geographically and thematically, both. So that you understand where you're going, what you are going to see and you also understand the major problems that are going to be unfolded in front of you.

Might just as well begin with tomorrow morning. You're going to fly right out of Israel as soon as you've flown into it, and you are going clear across the Sinai desert and if you will look at the map and look at the Suez Canal, and see if you can see a place on that map marked Kantara - I don't know if it's on that map because I haven't got a copy of it in front of me, a few miles east on our side of Kantara there is airstrip that's been built in the desert. We are not going to fly you out any closer than that for a very simple reason, that as you fly westward across the desert towards Egypt, towards the Canal you come up of course on the Egyptian radar screen. And there is no damn sense in having them make any mistakes about what's flying towards them.

So we don't take you to the strips, which are the military strips right at the Canal, we take you to a military strip back from the Canal and there is no civilian airfield in the middle of the Sinai Desert. You will land there and transfer on to some vehicles, depending what kind of vehicles we can get down there, it might even be a bus, it might be an army truck, or a command car or a few jeeps or whatever's there. If you are lucky it will be a bus. And then you got about 20 or 25 kilometers to ride from that field right up to the town of Kantara which is on the Canal, or if the security situation in Kantara is such that they'd rather not have a busload of you coming up there, they'll switch to a different town called Ismalia and you can find that on the Canal. Ismalia is a little bit of Kantara. It doesn't much matter. It's another ten kilometers one way or the other. And you'll wind up with about a 30 minute ride, and you'll come up behind some high bunkers and fortifications which are dug into the sand and bulldozers bank the sand up ten or fifteen yards high into the air, behind the sand these big packings of concrete and stones strapped in steel and underground trenches, and it's a whole big tremendously complicated fortification network which exists there. If you look at the way to the Canal from the top, Port Said from the Mediterranean, you see it, down to the bottom of the Canal to Port Suez, down on the Gulf of Suez, from the top to the bottom, Port Said, to Port Suez, it's 106 miles. And along that strip of 106 miles of the Suez Canal they have on their side in depth back from the Canal westward towards the city of Cairo, which probably doesn't show on the map, due west

from the Canal, 70 miles is the city of Cairo. So it ain't very far. And they know it and we know it. The Canal is 100 yards wide, not a massive obstacle to get over, the width of a football field exactly. You can damn near throw a football that far if you are any good. Half way, quarter of a way, or third of the way, throw a hand grenade a quarter of the way across. They've made many attempt to cross, they've landed successfully, we've had sabotage groups landing behind the line, we've fought them, they try to capture guards and take them back across the Canal. It is a natural obstacle, but that's the best defense line we have, an excellent line behind which to dig in, a very hard line from which they can jump off and try to get across, but on their side of the line, the 106 mile North and South and the 70 miles inland West, towards their capital, which draws a triangle. If you draw a triangle with the Canal as the base and point, and the two lengths of the triangle come together at Cairo, it's a triangle lying on its side, inside that triangle, not very large, they have half a million men. In three lines of defense in a classical system, the Russians believe in three lines. They defended Moscow that way quite successfully from the Germans, they defended Stalingrad that way, and so the Egyptians are using a Russian defence line, and between the three lines of defense are all the missile sites, which interdict any aircraft on our part from going across, and you know the Russians have taken out all their technicians. They have not taken out all the missiles, and the Egyptians learned how to use them.

They have along that line north to south 1200 artillery pieces, huge ones, Russian 155's, 175's, 203's, fantastic equipment, the best that Russia has.

Again, I don't understand what Sadat is frightened about. I think the Russian position - we gave you everything why did you throw us out. Why don't you like us? And the Russians did give him everything. But it wasn't enough for him. He wanted Mig-23's, which were attack bombers, because he said he has no offensive equipment with which to attack Israel, poor fellow.

And the Russians said, What do you need it for? We give you stuff to defend yourself in case Israel attacks you, what do you need big bombers to attack them? If you want to attack them send your soldiers across the Canal. You have a million men in the army, Israel's army doesn't have a quarter of a million men. So move your men across, you have the tanks, we gave you hundreds and thousands of tanks, go, what do you need bombers in the air for? If you really want to fight them, you really want to destroy them, you really want to kill them, you are a nation of thirty five million people, the are 2½ million, you have five times the number of tanks, you have ten times the number of artillery, you have four times the number of soldiers, go and kill them. But don't put us on the spot to give you more missiles and more aircraft, because then we are going to

get into a fight with America, and we don't want it.

So Sadat got angry and he said: Out, get the hell out, out, out! And the Russians were badly insulted and they picked up and they left. This was July. We are now in November. Sadat has sent his Prime Minister, Sidki, three times already back to Moscow, crawling back to them to try to repair the damage. Sadat is in a bad way. When somebody is in a bad way one or two things happens, either he quiets down, and then the more quiet he becomes, then somebody, the opposition removes him and he falls off the horse. Or the other thing he does is, he gets very desperate and he makes a last explosion before he gets thrown out and he starts a war again. And Sadat now is in a very bad way and we are watching him very carefully. It's a very ticklish period right now, which way he goes.

I hope he gets thrown off the horse. Even though we are not sure what will come in anyhow behind him, but still I think it would be better than if he were to explode the other way into a war.

All right, all of that is the Canal and I think it is important that you should see that right on the first day, you should see our bunkers. We don't have half a million men on the line, we don't have 1200 pieces of artillery, not only on that line, we couldn't put half a million men in the field on all our fronts, against Egypt and against Jordan and against Syria, against Lebanon, we couldn't mobilize that many men. Let alone on one front. And 1200 artillery pieces we not only couldn't put on one front, we couldn't put it on four fronts. We haven't got it. The biggest thing that we have are 175 mm cannons which were bought from the United States of America at one million dollars a piece, one million, for one cannon, on a long trailer, and if I were to tell you the number of those that we have, you would really burst out laughing.

I will only tell you one story. We have more than one, but I would like to tell you a story of the War of Independence in 1948, which is a beautiful story, it was applicable then, it is applicable today.

In 1948 in the month of April when the guerilla fighting was on before Israel was established in May, and the guerillas were fighting all over Israel and hitting us hard and they got into the Northern Galilee into the kibbutzim under an Iraqi General by the name of Fauji El Kaukji who was a great hero for a few weeks. Yigal Yadin the famous archaeologist was the Chief of Operations of the Israel forces. April 1st there was a stormy fight between him and Ben-Gurion, Yigal Yadin came to Ben-Gurion and said, sir, we must go on the offensive, we cannot stand having these guerillas come in and attack us all the time. The only way we have to do this thing is to attack them by closing the roads to them. If we go on the offensive, close up the roads, set up

roadblocks, prevent them from coming in, then when they come in to our roadblocks, then we attack them and chase them, and by the way this has always been Israeli policy, attack, attack, attack, attack. Defense is no good. Defense gets you no place. Defense is static. Passive. So Ben-Gurion said, fine, that's very good. You go ahead and do that, and Yadin said, fine. The Israel Army had at that time, the entire Israel Haganah, the underground army, possessed four 75 pounders from the Franco-Prussian war of 1871, bought from France. Honest to God truth. So Yadin said, well I'm going to take the four artillery pieces and I'm going to use them to defend the kibbutzim, and we're going to attack the Iraqis, and then Ben-Gurion said: What! And Yadin said: But you just gave me permission to go on the attack. And Ben-Gurion said, Yes, but I'm taking the four guns to defend Jerusalem, because they had blockaded the road to Jerusalem. Jerusalem was going under siege, you remember that. You know the whole story of the convoy of trucks trying to bring food up the road to Jerusalem. Nine months Jerusalem almost starved into submission, until an alternate road was built, The Burma road, you remember that story. And Ben-Gurion wanted the four artillery guns to break the road open to Jerusalem. Jerusalem was the holy Jerusalem. Ben-Gurion was mystic, he had a feeling that if Jerusalem fell the War of Independence would be lost. If the Jews couldn't defend Jerusalem, they couldn't defend anything. Yadin said, the road from the North is more important than Jerusalem and he started to read the stories from the book of Kings, Chapter 2 about Ahab and Netzar who came down and attacked the Babylonians, came through like a wolf from the north, he said we are always vulnerable from the north, and we have to defend in the north. And Ben-Gurion said you know the bible, you are 100% right, I agree with you, defend in the north, attack in the north, do what you want in the north, but I got the four guns for Jerusalem. The argument went on for five solid hours, and of course you know how it is, Yadin took two guns to the North and Ben-Gurion took two guns to Jerusalem. That's a true story. Unbelievable today, isn't it? Four guns, that's all we had. O.K. we have more than four today, but we haven't got 1200.

So you are going to the Canal tomorrow and that's a geographical place you are visiting, but what you are really doing on your first day in Israel is coming to grips with the one major problem that overwhelms all other problems and that's the defense of the country. Semantically you are looking at the security of Israel rightaway, the first minute you are there, which is absolutely the correct and proper emphasis, and I congratulate Don and Howard for organizing it that way. It may sound crazy to come in at 10 or 11 tonight on a plane from Vienna, and at 7 tomorrow morning to get on a plane to go to Egypt, but that's it. You are doing the right thing. Freudian slip, get on the plane and go to Egypt!!

By the way if I have time some time I would tell you, a month ago or so, I was in Amman. I was in Jordan, I was there on a bad night, I was there on the night of the Munich murders. And that was a bad night to be in an Arab hotel in Amman, bad night. But that's a whole

other story which I'm never going to get to. If anybody wants to do it I can tell you how.

Now, the next day, Friday, I am not sure what your program is because it's a big question mark. There is a factory near Tel Aviv called the Cosmetics factory, and it's called the Cosmetics factory because with cosmetics you make pretty things prettier, don't you. Well this Cosmetic factory takes old Russian tanks, and readjusts them, and fits them up and cosmeticizes them and then we can use them. We got a lot of old broken down beat-up Russian tanks and we are using them and this is an unbelievable fantastic technology for these Jews out of the Shtetls and ghettos and, I mean, when the hell did you ever read anything or think anywhere that Jews would be working with heavy tanks and changing long rifle barrels and diesel engines and God knows what all else. Well we can do it now. We can do it. The technology of the Jewish people has changed. We used to be very good in medicine and mathematics and music and a few other Ms, we are now getting good in metallurgy, and a few other Ms and the nature of the Jewish people has changed, and it's something with which we should be enormously impressed. But you are probably not going to be taken to that factory. It's one of those changes which are probably going to occur. Anyhow it doesn't matter, as long as you know it exists.

In the afternoon they want to introduce right quickly to you on day number two the second major theme in Israel. Number one defence. Number two immigration. And I want to say. In a few short hours of listening to me you know pretty much by now my philosophy about an active policy of defending yourself because nobody else is going to give a damn about you and if you don't take care of yourself, too bad. You'll get swept into the garbage heap and you will be a footnote in the history book a hundred years from now. Take care of yourself and do it by as active means as you know how to do it. And you know I believe that.

But now, let me put the but, but, we did not build and create a State of Israel in order to fight war. We did not build a State of Israel in order that there should be generals with uniforms, and flags in front of the United Nations Building, and Presidents and Ministers and Ambassadors and all the crap and paraphernalia which goes with modern sovereignty. That isn't why we built the State of Israel. We built the State of Israel to have a tool, a cutting edge with which to make sure that Jews would never again be shoved into ovens, but that if Jews get into trouble someplace, and need a place, they've got a place. So you build a state and you are willing to fight wars if you have to. You build a state in order to save Jewish life, and so immigration is theme two, but it is linked with theme one. You defend the country in order to have the country, in order to have a home for people want that country.

When I say same theme one and theme two, I'm not saying that one is more important than the other. It is not that one is more important

than the other. They are linked. It is fatuous and silly and pompous to talk about immigration, if somebody is going to shoot your state off the map. If you lose your state you haven't got a place to take anybody. Conversely, if you protect your state you have a place to take in anybody you want. Another million and another million and another million - it doesn't matter. We can take in all the Jews of the world if we have to.

O.K., so on the first day you see the security, and on the second day you will see the immigration right away, just as you saw it in here in Vienna, you saw people in transit, now in Israel you will go to an absorption center. I don't know which one. It's not really important. We have 50 or 60 in the country. Some are better than others. I think in the course of 11 days if you get to see two or even three it wouldn't be too many. Every few days if you knocked off and spent a couple of hours in an absorption center, there is a wonderful one in Pardess Hannah, at Athlit there is a good one. An absorption center, I just want you to know in a couple of words what it is, it's a place to which some of the people you saw yesterday at Schonau, who came to Israel last night, Lydda Airport, when they arrive, they were assigned to go to an absorption center. What is it? It's a closed institution. It's a place which has rooms to live in, a dining room for eating, classrooms for studying, social workers, offices for interviewing and for helping people to adjust and to become integrated. So it's a closed unit, an absorption center, some of them are small, they take 50 or 60 people. Some of them are large and can take 300 people. A family is assigned to go to an absorption center and they are taken there and they already spent their first night in the country there. Somebody met them, I don't care if it was 4 o'clock in the morning, with a flashlamp, opened up a door, there are beds and there are sheets on the beds and towels in the bathroom and welcome, sir, from Vienna via Russia. Welcome sir. You are now in Pardess Hanah, my name is Gidon. You are on Israeli soil, you have your tudat oleh, you have your certificate indicating you are a welcome immigrant and a citizen of our country. Go to bed, sir. Tomorrow morning come to the office and I will tell you when your classes start, and it's a school. And the father and the mother sit there for five months and you pay every penny of the expenses and they study Hebrew five hours in the morning, all morning and in the afternoon they have three hours homework more to do. And then they get out of this little place for an hour or two and they go to the nearby town and they see what the supermarket is, and what goods are available to buy in Israel, and slowly but surely they learn the intricate red tape and bureaucracy of our wonderful country and they learn about the money and their children are taken and put in the nearby school in the town and the kids come home crying and then they learn that kleenex costs a buck and a half a box, so you don't buy kleenex to wipe your child's nose. You wash the handkerchiefs, and you learn all the little things about life. It's not a consumer society, and slowly but surely we become adjusted and after five months of living that way you know enough of the language, so that when you are thrown out of the

absorption center into the big world you make your way.

Now does every immigrant get put into the absorption center? No. We haven't got room for everybody. Is there a selection process by which it's decided who goes into the rather privileged, I think, set up. And who doesn't. Yes, there is a selection process. The Jewish Agency decides which people would benefit most from being in an absorption center, and which people really probably wouldn't benefit from it at all, so they just might as well get put right into an apartment in a town, which also has beds in it and furniture, and they are also welcomed at four o'clock in the morning by a social worker, and put in this apartment, and they say this is yours, tomorrow morning when you wake up, come see me and we'll talk about a job. And, that guy and his family learned Hebrew out on the street, out on the job, they got a harder start in a way, an easier start in a way. Because five months later when the fellow comes out of the protected absorption center where he's been given the advantage of that kind of help, he only just first then has to begin to look around for his job, whereas the guy who's been thrown into the water from the very first day he arrived in the country, by five months later he's already a veteran. He knows where the best movies are and he's already conned somebody into giving him a ticket for the concert and he's already worked his way into Israeli daily life, but he's illiterate in Hebrew. So you see one method of absorbing immigrants compensates for the other method. One method has some advantages, the other method has some advantages. And you will argue incessantly about the morality of this - I know you - you people are hung up on morals and you will argue about which is the right way and which is the moral way, why is it fair for one guy to be put in an absorption center and not fair for another guy. Good, argue about it for the next 11 days. You will reach no conclusions, because there are none. Both systems are right, that's the real answer and what's more right and moral is that without knowing which system is right but purely pragmatically and by trial and error we have been going at the thing now for about 25 years, almost one and one half million human beings have been taken into the country and some good and some bad and some have made it and some haven't. Somehow or other life goes on.

By the way, this is how it is going to continue. And when you come back on the old leadership mission in 1995, you will see that Israel will still have absorption centers and this time it will be for antiquated Canadians, or it will be for adventurous Australians, or I don't know what it will be for, but that will be a system still of taking people in and we will then be a country of five million and we will then be a country of five million and we will still be taking them in.

So this is endless. The security problems are endless because they don't want to make peace. We will fight war for the next 25 years. The immigration thing is endless, thank God Jews will be coming for the next 25 years. We want to make a reunion 25 years from now. We will make a reunion and we will see how with 25 years more of fighting with the Arabs and with 25 years more of struggling with immigrants Israel will be like Switzerland, beautiful, lovely,

wonderful country, stronger and stronger and five million and six million, and then it won't make any difference, if they make peace or they won't make peace, what's the difference. They won't be able to destroy us.

You see, don't be gloomy. When I say we have a long way of fighting ahead of us, don't be gloomy. Every year, one more year that we get one more year older we get one more year stronger, we get one more year more people, one more year more economy, the Gross National Product keeps growing, the standard of living keeps growing. Israeli standard of living today is just around on the same level at Italy, an average per capital earning power 1300 and something dollars per year, per capita. Egypt \$240, the Gross National Product of Egypt, 35 million people and Israel 2½ million - three million people counting Moslems, Christians, all citizens of Israel. Egypt is more than ten times bigger. Gross National Product of both countries identical. Isn't it absurd. So where the hell will we be ten or 20 years from now.

Boy, we are only on the second day. It took six days to create the world, now we know why.

The third day is Saturday, free. Well that's Shabbat you see, there is a soccer match you can go to, you can go take an airplane to Eilat, planes fly to Eilat on Shabbat. Sharm-el-Sheikh you can fly to if you want on Shabbat. Sleep if you want to. Go swimming in the pool. Does the Dan have a pool? Visit relatives, visit friends. Saturday night you'll have a briefing by an official of the Jewish Agency, and his name is Zelig Chinitz, he was a former member of my staff in New York, of the UJA. He moved over to Israel five years ago, and he's a nice guy and he will give you a very clear picture of the work which the Jewish Agency does in Israel absorbing immigrants and if he is still as good as he used to be, I think you will enjoy him very much, and tell him I said so.

You're in the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv, and after Saturday night you leave and you go North. Now look at your map, from Tel Aviv you are going North. You leave to go up to Haifa, Sunday November 5th. On the way up, I don't know if it's on your map, but there is a little town called Pardess Hannah. Look for a town called Hadera. About half way up from Tel Aviv to Haifa. Right near Hadera on the map there's a town called Caesarea. That's where I live. Right near Hadera there's this little town of Pardess Hannah and there you are going to an installation of the Joint, JDC which runs a program in Israel called Malben. I want you to remember that name. Malben is an acronym I won't give you all the hebrew letters that it stands for, but it's the program of the Joint in Israel on which 7 or 8 million dollars a year is being spent and it's a program involving three or four thousand people in beds, hospital beds, old folks, handicapped, leftover remnants of poor people from the Hitler period who lost a limb or lost sight or something and whom we have to maintain

in honor and in dignity until the day they die. And let's hope it's a long time. And let's hope it takes a lot of money. Because it means then that they will be living out the last years of their lives quietly and peacefully the way they deserve. You will go to this place in Pardess Hannah, it's called I think Neve Avot, which means the home of the fathers, it's an honored word in the Hebrew language. The fathers are Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but the fathers are also my father and your father, and anybody else's Jewish father. It's a tight family concept. When you walk down those tree-shaded lanes of this little village, and you see benches outside, sitting in the sun and the people are 80 years old, and some of them are 90 years old, and when you hear the phrase "Bis hundred und swanzig" and you know what that phrase means in Jewish tradition, may you live to be 120, well the man is already 90 and he's sitting on the bench and soaking up the sun and he looks at you and you seem to be kind of a strange animal as you walk down the lane, and he will see you in your strange clothing and he already - his eyesight is already a bit dim and he thinks that our breed of people has been born with some appurtenance sticking out of its chest - that's the cameras that you all wear and then you will say to him, May I take your picture, and he will say yes and smile and then he'll say, send me one. You better send him one, don't take the picture if you don't. That'll be cheating, send him one and don't ignore it, because it's a damn chore and don't lose the little piece of paper on which you take down his name, which will be a complicated Rumanian name with spelling that you won't understand, take it down, send him the picture and mail it to him and you'll bring a smile to his face four weeks later.

It's one of the tenderest, most lovely, most beautiful, most significant things that happens in Israel. It's very much part of you. I find a very interesting thing, the age gap between you and them is enormous, but you understand them and you feel for them and you empathize with them and they with you and you bring a breath of fresh air into their lives, because of your youth and because of the fact that you made a trip there to see them. That means that you love them. And that will come across, you needn't even work at it, don't even work at it, just be natural. It will all come out okay. And you will want to spend more time there and somebody will blow the whistle and drag you on the bus and you won't want to leave. And that's an important part and you've got to realize that all over Israel there are dozens of such places. You will only see one. It's a great program that you're part of and it's a great program of which the Joint should be most proud. It's one of the most wonderful things it does. And you are going to go over from there to Caesarea which is only a few miles out to the edge of the water and Caesarea is a town which was built by King Herod who was a sycophant to the Romans and he named the town Caesarea after Julius Caesar and oh Jesus, he built him a place, mama mia, that was a gorgeous town. It had the largest amphitheatre in the whole Middle East, the famous 10th

Roman Legion which took Gaul and Britain was based in Caesarea, its headquarters. The Roman Governor lived there, the procurator, his name was Pontius Pilate, lived in Caesarea. There was a great hippodrome for horse races. It's now a banana field owned by a kibbutz - Sdot Yam. And as we leave there and wander over the fields and I love every stone of it and every inch of it, you find pieces of Roman glass, and we find old Romans - I mean old bones and skulls - while we were digging the foundations of our house, we found a Roman sarcophagus. So it's out in the back yard and it's been there for years and my wife swore she would plant roses in it and there's nothing in there but gravel and there are no roses yet, and she says, wow. Okay, so the Romans lived here a long time, we live here a long time. I'll get some roses in there later.

And you know its fantastic to think the Romans are gone and we're back there. They threw us out. Rabbi Akiva was excuted in that town at the time that he tried to make the revolution against Rome with Bar-Kochba and they took him down to the amphitheatre in the centre of town and, flayed him, iron cones ripping the skin off his body and then they went to the amphitheatre and had a big gladiatorial combat and then they went to the small theatre which is right in front of my house and they had their play by Sophocles and the old aqueduct is still there and the fanciest brothels in the Middle East were located there, the Phrygians and the Partheons and the Cythians where the Roman legion were all located, a fifth, 10 - 15 were on the eastern curve of the Mediterranean from what is today Turkey to what is today Sudan and everybody used to try to get five days leave to go to Caesarea, because that's where the action was. Today you got a bunch of old broken down families living there of which we're one and you are going to go and see it and poke among the ruins and that's another side of Israel. I want you to have a feeling for the history and the archeology.

The roots of your past are there. Abraham wandered with his flocks, with Lot, down that same road just about four thousand years ago. And there are olive trees on that road that are at least 2,000 years old, half that length of time the trees are still alive. What waves of people have passed over that thing - Assyrians and Caldians and Issits and Babylonians and God knows what. And the Jews are still there. Still in. Get knocked out of the box, come back. Get expelled and come back, wave after wave. You want to know where your roots are, your roots are not in Witchita or Kansas, your roots are not even in Vilna where my father came from, your roots are in Caesarea and in Pardess Hanna. Those are not the names then, the names today, but that's the country. And when you dig into the past of it a little bit I want you to have that feeling, that connection with it.

Some day you are going to shoot up north from Hadera, Pardess Hannah, Caesarea, you're going up north to the city of Haifa and right outside the city of Haifa on the side of the road propped up on

concrete pillars there's a ship, a hundred yards from the water. It's been made into a museum. It's the ship that was used to carry illegal immigrants to Palestine in the days of the British. The ship ran up on the beach - it's what I started to tell you about yesterday - a few hundred immigrants who were on board jumped off, scattered, were received by people in the nearby villages and kibbutzim, who developed a trick. When a ship came and landed and if the British could catch it on radar from their ships that were patrolling out beyond the three mile limit, they would send a radio message to the British forces on land who were based at a big British army camp at Atlit, which is a few miles south of Haifa, and the whole base would go on the alert and the trucks would get rolling and the patrols would get out on the road with big search lights and they would start racing up and down the road parallel to the beach, the sea, where the illegal Jewish ship was coming in, in order to catch it when it landed on the beach, catch the people, put them in prison and then transport them back to the island of Cyprus.

The Haganah used to set up squads to defend the roads and set up road blocks against the British trucks and there were sometimes fights involving shipping and sometimes not, but the whole trick of the Haganah was to play for time to keep the British patrols away from the 100 yards on the beach, put nails in the road so that the British cars should get flat tires, put up a diversionary fight a mile down the road and start firing a machine gun in the air, light a lot of flares so that the British might be diverted and run over there to see what was happening. Do anything you could do to stall for time for the following to take place. Let the boat hit the beach, let the people run off the beach, jumping off into the water and swimming the last few yards up to the shore, then the Jews in the neighbouring kibbutzim or moshavim who were assigned by the Haganah would run down there, change clothes - this was the trick - put the immigrants into dry clothes. The kibbutz guy puts on the wet clothes, the immigrants are taken into trucks and scattered fast in the dark without headlights and brought to the kibbutzim and moshavim within a five mile radius and the legitimate honest to God kibbutzniks in wet clothes would wait on the beach till the British came to be arrested, because you could only divert them and hold them off 10 minutes, 20 minutes, 30 minutes, because that's all you needed, and then the British come and they see, ah they scoop up 240 immigrants and put them on the trucks, take them to the British camp at Atlit, start to sort them out and find that every single one of them had legitimate identity papers. He's not an illegal immigrant at all and then the British would go crazy with rage. About 5 o'clock in the morning it's all over and then he is freed and goes home and the British say, foiled again.

It was a very common device and a very successful one and it isn't a question of fooling them, they arrested the only people they found on the beach, it happened it wasn't the right people. Now that ship

that you're going to see is one such ship and the name of it in Hebrew is lovely, it's called Af Al Pi Chen which in Hebrew means, In Spite of Everything, a great name. That's been turned into a museum and it's been set up there on concrete extensions by the side of the road and you'll spend an hour or so going through it - it's a fascinating thing to look at it. They also have an exhibition there of the early days of the Israel Navy. Like the Austrian navy, the Austrians are talking about having a navy. They haven't had a navy since World War I and now they are talking about a marine fleet. I heard this talk in the air. Is that right? They want to have a navy, tell me, do you know?

So you want to have a few boats on the Danube going up and down. Anyhow, if you look at that museum, at what the Israel navy was like, you can see about the Austrian navy. Today the Israel navy is nice and strong, we have three submarines and the Egyptians have 12. We are buying some now from the British.

Oh yes, so then finally when you get off that ship, by the side of the road you are going into the hotel and you will be at the second hotel in Israel, the Dan Carmel.

Monday the 6th you are going clear across the whole northern part of Israel, across the whole Galilee. You are going from Haifa eastward over to the Golan Heights - east and north. All the way across. It's a long ride from Haifa up to the Golan Heights. And there it's a question of what you'll find. The Golan Heights is the most active of all of our fronts right now. The day before yesterday when we went in with the airforce - by the way, did you see the headlines in the Herald Tribune, "Israeli Jets Make Deep Penetration". There are two airfields outside of Damascus and we raided them and I told you before we shall do it and we shall continue to do it and we will do it until we destroy the terrorists bases so they will have no place from which to function and I think that it's a big exaggeration for the Herald Tribune to write its headline that way and everybody back home gets scared as hell, because they think you are going to have a war going. When you are inside Israel you will just simply not feel it at all. Your feeling inside of Israel is going to be so different from it as when you are outside, out there, reading these crazy headlines. Every day the Jerusalem Post nice, quiet, will announce what raids took place and where and they have a map and everything is clear. There are no secrets, no mysteries. Now what's happening is that the Syrians have been firing back on the Golan. They have been retaliating with artillery fire on the Golan.

So obviously if it's hot up there, if it's sensitive like an inflamed appendix they won't let you go and if they do let you go you will be under pretty strict military surveillance all the way and you know, they got to play it by ear. If the schedule says go to the Golan Heights, and we want you to go and we are planning to take you, it's been cleared with the army to take you, but that's already next Monday, November 6th. Who the hell knows what it's going to be like

then. So we'll see how it is that morning, it depends on the way it is that morning.

And it says here drive via Safed, here on your map - that's the route, the road goes from Haifa to Safed and from Safed up on to the Golan to a town called Kuneitra. Kuneitra was a Syrian town and Kuneitra is pretty close to the Syrian border and then from there you'll go to the border and then to a stronghold right along the line with Syria. As I say, if the situation permits it. And then you'll get back down, look south to the lake of Galilee - there's a kibbutz on the eastern side of the lake called Ein Gev and you'll come back down to Ein Gev by lunch, but don't fool yourself, it'll be about 3 o'clock. And then the idea is to give you a big thrill and take you across the lake by boat which is about 40 minutes and the buses make a big hurry-up swing to get to the other side and you get in the bus and you drive from Tiberius back to Haifa.

Now if everything works right, you should be in a lovely mood after a day like that, you will listen to me that night in the hotel in Haifa, I'll give you a very detailed seminar on the financial budgetary problems of what we are spending the money on, housing - I mean you really are going to be in the mood for a balance sheet business session on Israel's financial needs, but it doesn't matter whether you're in the mood for it, that's what's scheduled.

Tuesday you continue to spend in Haifa. You're up there at the Haifa university with a full day of in-depth seminars, Arab-Jewish relations, meeting with the Committee of the Arab-Jewish centre. So you're going to go intellectual that day and you are going to be seeing if there's anything you can discover about how to make peace with Arabs by talking to Arabs. There's no reason why you shouldn't, no reason at all. And I hope that you will have a very frank and open discussion. All I beg you is try to keep as many complexes out of the discussion as possible and try to deal with facts. Try to keep as many preconceptions out of the discussion as possible. Keep hangups out. Deal with facts. You're Alan, that's fine. My name is Muchamad Ba ba ba. How do you feel about things? Fine. Why do you feel it. Yes. How do I feel. Just transmit information. Look at the guy, don't be snide, don't smirk, don't let him be snide to you, he might be. Give it to him a little bit if he is, don't be afraid. You don't have to walk on egg shells with him just because he's an Arab. Treat him as a human being. And try to come to some understanding with him. He's a citizen of Israel. Why is he there? He's got every right to be there. We have 350,000 Arabs, a third of a million people, citizens of the country, there's a wide gap and gulf between them and our Jewish citizens, there shouldn't be. We have to try to break it down. The one who believes most of all in breaking it down is none other than the superhawk, Mr. Dayan. He's got the best Arab policy of all - open bridges, open communication, open contact, he's a thousand per cent right. Like I said to you last night, there's no sense in living on hatred. I don't hate Arabs. I don't love them. I don't have to love them.

I don't have to hate them. I wish to hell they would make peace with me. If they won't, they won't, but I can live with them as a normal person, if possible. And that's the attitude we have to take. Spend a day trying to dig through that attitude and talk and talk and talk and see if it makes sense to you.

By the way, excuse me for interrupting myself, somebody last night came up to me and said, You shouldn't tell me what I should believe. I don't. I tell you what I believe. You can accept it or not accept it, as you want. You're free. I give you an opinion and you take that opinion and test it and see if it sounds right to you, accept it. If it doesn't sound right to you, reject it. My God. Oh, he said, don't spoonfeed me with your ideas. I don't spoonfeed with anything. Vomit it out if you don't like it. But if somebody doesn't throw ideas out to you and stimulate you and spark you, then there's nothing to argue about, is there.

Do the same thing with the Arabs, the same thing.

From audience But it sparked you to respond to it. The point I was trying to make was to encourage everybody here to come to some kind of conclusion on their own by making their own historical quest to deal with the holocaust.

Friedman That's precisely what we're doing.

From audience Well, you said don't let it become an obsession with you, it's right, put it in your mind, think about it, don't put it too far back, but I think that you should have been more positive to encourage everybody here not just to accept what you say, but to make their own historical quest which is obviously one which you made, you have the fire and you have come to your own conclusions. I think you should encourage that more positively.

Friedman I hereby do. I thought I had. Do the same things with the Arabs that day, it's good. By the way, I don't think I mentioned your name, did I. By the way, that's what I think what's good about this whole thing, because it creates an interaction where everybody's mind starts going. That's excellent.

All right, so the next day you leave Haifa. And you start to come down, I'm sorry, you got another day there which again looks complicated to me, but I think there are some changes there, I don't know if you're going to the Beit Shean Valley that day or you're not. Look from Haifa, look again over to the Lake of Galilee, all the way across, then look south of it, do you see a town just south of the Lake of Galilee called Beit Shean. Beit Shean is a big town, like about 13,000 people, which is the centre town of a valley called by the same name, Beit Shean Valley in which there are lots and lots of kibbutzim and it's beautifully quiet there today. For three years in the Beit Shean Valley 40 kibbutzim and moshavim that exist in the valley along the Jordan River line, every child in

every kibbutz and every moshav slept under the ground in air-raid shelters, for three solid years, night after night, that's over a thousand nights and there are children born who are three years old, who never slept one night above ground and when the shooting finally stopped after three years on the Jordan River Valley front, from 1967 until 1970, almost into '71 and finally it stopped. The Jordanians quit. We beat them. We don't have peace, but we have quiet. You know that phrase, peace and quiet. Well, if we can't get peace, we get quiet. And when the kids were taken above ground to sleep, three year old and three and a half year old children couldn't sleep above ground. Too many noises, crickets, wind whistling in the trees, strange sights, skies, moon, keeps you awake. Psychologically to think that a child born and brought up and living for the first thousand days of his life underground inside of a concrete and steel shelter where you take the gasproof doors like you saw yesterday in the gas chamber, and clank the door shut, you winch it shut like a ship, you get the ventilators going to bring air in and the child falls asleep peacefully. It's a strange world, isn't it. I mean you take a child outside, upstairs and the war's over, he can't do it, he can't adjust to the world. And now the children of Beit Shean are coming back slowly to where they sleep okay upstairs and the shelters I hope will slowly rust, although we recommend that they keep the hinges oiled.

And you should go into that valley and go through from Haifa to the town of Beit Shean, go out of the town which is an old Roman town by the way, the town in the Bible where King Saul's head was hung on the wall after he was killed in a fight on the top of Mount Gilboa with the Philistines. And you think that took place 3,000 years ago, well it didn't. You will lose a sense of time and history. It took place yesterday, same town, same name. That's what I mean by find your roots there. Go through the town, out into the valley, take any kibbutz out in the valley, there are 40 of them, and arrange to visit one of the kibbutzim and spend a couple of hours there and talk to the people about what it was like then when the people were sleeping underground. And then watch your road there and go south from Beit Shean Valley through the Arab territories of the West Bank to Jerusalem. The other road goes through Nablus or Shechem, I don't know what's written on the map there, and then down to Remallah and that's written on the map there, and then into Jerusalem. You're going through Arab territory the minute you leave the Beit Shean Valley - Arab territory, we call it the administered territory. They call it the occupied territories.

Now the last day. You'll come down to Jerusalem and I'll see you there again in Jerusalem on Thursday, November 9th and we'll talk a little bit about the magic and the mystery of the city and you'll have dinner there with a Cabinet Minister, Shimon Peres, Minister of Transport and Communications who unfortunately spent most of his time running out to airports giving instructions as to whether to shoot the terrorists or surrender the prisoners. I mean he's the poor guy, he's the Minister of Transport but he always gets hung

up on all these airplane accidents and he grew ga ga running back and forth from his office to the airport and when the Munich thing happened and they said, Well, Shimon, fly to Munich this afternoon. Shimon says, yeh, I'll go if Moshe will go. Moshe says, Come on let's go. They were both ready to hop to Munich that afternoon and then Golda said, No stay home and you know when mama says stay you stay. But Shimon Peres, who we will meet, is always in the thick of the action and if you want to have a nice evening with him ask him what it feels like to be running the commander center at Lydda airport when he is trying to decide what to do with those Sabena hijackers. He's got a whole long list of very interesting stories and he'll have more.

You hit Jerusalem on Thursday, the 9th and you remain in Jerusalem till you leave. Friday you go round the city and Saturday you got a free day and maybe you can have kiddush with the President, that would be a nice thing to do. That makes good dinner conversation back home. By the way, I made kiddush with the President.

He's got a new house, a big old presidential palace. Kiddush with him is usually Shabbat morning after the synagogue, it's about 11 - 11.30 and he is a charming old man, he's got to be 80 something - his name is Zalman Shazar. He speaks beautiful English. He will insist upon speaking to you in magnificent Hebrew and all that will take twice as much time, because then it's got to be translated and we always say to him, Mr. President, Sir, please, would you speak English to the group. And he says, Here in Israel, English? Invite me to New York and I'll speak English. Here I speak Hebrew. And he's really lovely and if you get invited to that house, it's a big beautiful new house in which he is totally uncomfortable, because he can't find anything. He doesn't know where the bathrooms are and he can't find his collar button and he doesn't know where his shirts are. He had a house, the President's house was nice. I live around the corner from it and it was a little house in Jerusalem, we have a flat in Jerusalem also, besides Caesarea, and he had one bedroom and one dressing room and one little office and he used to know where everything was. This thing is called the presidential palace, and it is. But we will get used to it and it's really fun for you to see it if we can arrange it. It's listed here as tentative.

And Sunday you remain - your last day, November 12 - you will be going to Massada that day. If you look at your map from Jerusalem doing down to the Dead Sea south there's a road and if I know your organizers it says in the thing, Climb Massada, but I bet you they are going to take you up in a cable car, and if they are, that's dirty, because you have got to climb it, you ought to climb it. Climb the snake path. Well it's a real great climb, but anyhow you won't do it. And you come back to Jerusalem that night and you have a dinner that night with Mr. Dinitz who is the Director General of Mrs. Meir's office, a very charming knowledgeable young man. He's got to be in his late 30's or maybe 40's and he's her right hand man. Simcha

Dinitz. And you'll enjoy him very much and he will give you a closing dinner and Monday, the 13th of November, you will depart for home.

Sunday night, November 12, is the big Variety Club Dinner in Israel and Burt Lancaster is going to be there and that's at the Hilton Hotel and so you listen to Simcha Dinitz and I'm going to go to the Variety Club Dinner. We'll say goodbye to each other at some point previous to that and on Monday the 13th you will leave Israel, you will leave sadly, you won't want to leave and there's only one way to overcome that terrible sadness that will afflict you and that is to make a little note in your diary as to when you are going to come back again and that will sort of take the edge off the sadness the next time you come back, either on a mission or alone as individuals, you will be familiar with the place, you will feel for it and it will feel for you. And all I want to say to you is that we are very happy that you are going now and we will be very sad to see you leave, we will be very happy to welcome you back again any time you come. When you come again you always know if you need any help that there's a UJA office there in Israel, there are lots of people willing to help serve you and make your second trip comfortable. If you don't want to come on the mission the second time, come alone, some of you will bring your kids, that's usually the pattern that happens. The second trip or the third trip you'll want to bring the children. Don't bring them if they're too young. Eleven, twelve is about the right age start bringing them, not much before that. And then on the third trip I recommend definitely no mission, no children, honeymoon and then you call me up and if you make it on the third trip we're in the phone book and give me a ring and I'll give you nice places to go and recommend things and the honeymoon trip will then be beautiful.

On the fourth trip forget it, on the fourth trip you're an ancient veteran and you will have a love-hate relationship with the country, the way all of us do and it will be in your bones inextricably. It might even get there after the first trip, you don't know. But don't expect too much and let it all happen. I think they planned a good itinerary for you.