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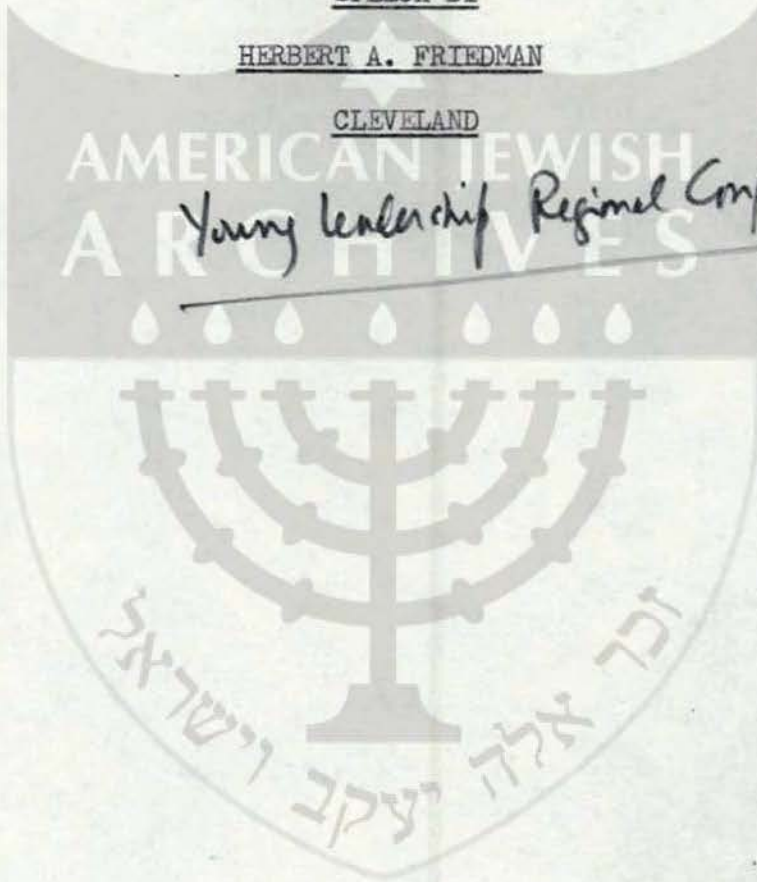
SPEECH BY

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

CLEVELAND

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Young leadership Regional Conference



I will try to tell you the things that I believe in - to tell you the way I see Jewish history in this century compared to other centuries - to tell you what I think we have to try to do and why we have to try to do it -- and to say at the beginning what I hope I will remember to say again at the end - that when I look at a group like this, I have the most fantastic feeling of absolute confidence that there will be no relaxation - that there will be no loss - that there will be only gain for the great, beautiful and millennial, long tradition of our people, which you hold now in your hands and which it is your responsibility to polish more brightly and not to allow to become tarnished. And, if anyone ever says that they have any questions or doubts about your ability to carry this precious heritage and improve upon it, you tell them that they don't know what they're talking about. They haven't sensed your strength and the flexing of the muscles and the purpose and the intent which is so obvious to me and which flows out of you to me with such an emanation of strength that anyone who doubts you is a man of little perception.

Anyone who talks about the fact that, in this land of freedom and affluence and generosity and lack of pressure - he is afraid that the Jews will wither and die through 'a kiss of kindness' just doesn't understand your temperament. You will not be seduced away from the preservation of the Jewish heritage no matter what the blandishments of contemporary life in America will be. And that's what I want to say here tonight - and I'll try to say it in a way which is much clearer than these first couple of paragraphs have been.

We are at a very unique crossroads in Jewish History. Our people was founded and established roughly four thousand years ago. The time that the historians have set on the migration of Abraham from Babylonia to the land of Caanan is about 2000 B.C. This is corroborated by all sorts of archeological data - little clay tablets with cuneiform writings on them which have been found in many places - and it's pretty solid. It's not a guess. In the year 2000 B.C. The Picts and The Scots and Celts were running around naked on the Islands of Great Britain painting themselves blue -- and The Teutons and The Barbarians were running around in the forests of Northern Europe - Germany and Scandianvia painting themselves green for anybody knows. In the Nile River Valley there was a civilization; and in the Valley of the Tigres and Euphrates in Babylonia there was the beginning of something; and in far off China there was a culture. Aside from these beginnings, there wasn't much else in the world.

From the time that we began, just about four thousand years ago, I don't think that in all of those forty centuries we have ever been at the 'crossroads' position that we are today. The reason I say that is that never, in the corporate life of our people or in the civilized development of mankind as a whole on the globe - has there been a society developed, such as that which exists in these United States of America. Not in Periclean times in Athens - not in ancient Egypt - not in ancient China - never has there been a civilization such as exists here in the United States - so rich - so powerful - so limit-

less in its potentials - so well-endowed with raw materials and minerals, with brains and with inventive capacity, with drive and with vigor and with youth - no society has ever been like this. Nor has there ever been a situation where a group of Jews has lived inside such a society with the freedom that we have - with the lack of pressure on us as now exists - with the opportunities to go to the top which now exist - with the friendship of our neighbors - with the deepening understanding day by day by day of our neighbors, even those, who were apparently least willing to understand us through the centuries, namely the Catholics. Never has a set of circumstances conjoined where in there was a society of a hundred and ninety million people, of whom we comprise five and a half million in their midst, - where the people were so well-endowed and we were so well received among them. This is an absolutely unique set of circumstances in forty centuries.

We always knew what it was in other climates, in other continents, in other centuries to be under attack. And we knew and we learned how to live under attack. Never have we had the problem of learning how to live under kindness. Gentlemen, it's frightening. And that's what I mean by saying that many times we have been slaughtered - we have met death by the sword - nowhere have we been under the temptation or the possibility of a set of circumstances of 'meeting death by a kiss.' Very simply stated, if we, here in the United States, go down the drain and become like all other Americans, so that in one generation or two generations or three generations, which is a century,

or two centuries -- after having struggled for forty to stay alive - if in a half or in one century we go down the drain -- and by that I mean become indistinguishable from all other Americans, it will not be because anybody in this country will have tried to cut our heads off but because somebody in this country will have tried to make us like everybody else. And, when we become like everybody else, indistinguishable from anybody else -- no matter how good everybody else is - no matter how fine a standard of culture is created - then we are finished. If we become only like everybody else and not different from everybody else -- and that differentness I shall try to define -- then we will have met the end of our historic existence through what I call 'death by a kiss.' And that 's what's so extraordinarily unique about this moment in time and this place in which we live - and that's why the responsibility for the preservation and the survival of the Jewish people rests so heavily upon your shoulders - and that's why we've got to do more serious thinking about it than any of our ancestors was ever called upon to do.

You know, everything today that's Jewish is "in" - or if you're really "in"-you know what the new word is, is "camp." (laughter) Everything Jewish today is very "camp." Whether its "Fiddler on The Roof" - (you don't think they fill up the show night after night only with Jews?) Or whether it's Saul Bellow (everybody's reading Herzog, not just Jews. There aren't that many Jews who buy books, I think.) Or whether it's the movie "The Pawnbroker"; you turn

around today and look at what the writing is all about in America today. -- And you see that most of the novels written, whether by a Jew or not, have got something to do about Jews. It's very chic. You go to a non-Jewish cocktail party and you hear a lot of Yiddish flung around. It's very "in!" (laughter) And it's quite - it's quite unique. It's quite different. It's quite spectacular.

Today, when you go to dinner with ten people and eight of them at the table are not Jews, and they discover you're a Jew, you immediately are the celebrity - you immediately are somebody they want to talk to. They want to know all about you and your background. Now, all this is dangerous. Because, since it's so happy and so peaceful and so easy for everything Jewish today to meet generalized acceptance, there is that slippery, seductive possibility that there will enter into people's minds the thought - "I could pass" -- pass in the technical sense of the word. You must know what the word evokes in the Negro community, for instance - how much pain and anguish there is inside the Negro community when one of their people decides to pass, and can pass today. Because lots of people in the white community are dark as I am - and lots of negroes are as light as I am - and when they choose to desert their group and pass, there's anguish in those whom they leave behind. Read "The Man," if you don't understand this, and see what - the Negro President of the United States in that novel feels about his daughter who has passed and denies

her own father who's the President. It was written by a Jewish author. (laughter)

Now, not only is everything that's Jewish, 'camp' today, but there's another thing that's happening today. The Catholic world has faced itself in its own very, very honest way and has made a decision. This is something that was not easy for them to do - and don't anybody minimize it. They've been going through tortures on the Jewish question for the last three or four years in the Ecumenical Council. In a delayed reaction from the unbelievable events of - twenty-five years ago, that pang of conscience has now struck deep into their hearts and souls. Never mind asking why they didn't do anything about it then. They didn't. The Pope made a concordat with Hitler, period. Half the Germans are good Catholics from Bavaria, and they went to church on Sunday and they killed Jews on Monday. No sense in asking how that happened a quarter of a century ago. What's interesting to look at is that there is a delayed reaction - and now that guilt burns - it burns hard - deep in them - and they're trying to make amends - and they're not having an easy time of it. They've been struggling with it for three or four years. They'll pass this thing next month when the last and final session of the council gets together. They have no choice. They're too far out on a limb. The pressure on the part of the Arabs has been tough, and the pressure on the Eastern Bishops has been tough - but they'll go through with it.

Whether they take the word deicide out or they don't isn't important - everybody knows just what they mean. They're exonerating the Jews of all of the centuries in which the Jews have been accused of killing Christ -- and they're exonerating us as well as they know how to do - and they're saying they're sorry as well as they know how to say that -- and they're saying more. They're admitting that this constant charge of their's, over all these centuries, has been responsible for the death of an awful lot of our people. They don't want to see that happen anymore.

There's a new book that's come out which I will recommend to you. It's the first new book on this subject which has been written by a Catholic priest. - It carries the imprimatur of Cardinal Spellman, and is called "The Anguish of the Jews." A Catholic priest writes of 23 centuries of antisemitism. He writes in his first paragraph of an experience which caused him to pen the book. He says, "This book received its first impetus from a personal experience. One evening, several years ago, I walked north on Park Avenue in New York City in the company of a young Jewish couple. Behind us shone the huge, illuminated cross the Grand Central Building displays each year at Christmastime." (Those of you who have been on Park Avenue will have that clearly in your minds. The windows of the building are lighted in the form of a huge cross, and all the rest of the windows are left dark. So it shines out for many, many blocks on Park Avenue.) "Glancing over her shoulder, the young lady - ordinarily well-disposed toward Christians - declared: that cross makes me shudder. It's like an evil presence. This dis-

turbing comment evoked many questions in me, not least of which was: How did the cross, the supreme symbol of universal love, become a sign of fear, if evil for this young Jewess? It soon became clear that her fearful reaction to it was the fruit of the knowledge which she, but not I, had, - a knowledge of the immense suffering undergone by her people at the hands of Christians for many centuries." She knew those things. He didn't. And so she shuddered at the cross which he loved. And when he realized that the cross meant that to her, he decided to find out what this anti-semitism was all about. And so he studied it - and this book is what he has discovered.

The last paragraph in the column says: "For the believing Christian, this tale of horrors, ends in the deepest chambers of the spirit. The sin of anti-Semitism is many things, but in the end it is a denial of the Christian faith, a failure of Christian hope and a malady of Christian love. The agony of the Jews is one Jacques Maritan has pointed out, in which Christ himself participates." The author is saying that Christians have made a mockery of the Christian religion. They have denied their own Christian beliefs, and ethics. They have denied everything by the way they have practiced their acts against the Jews.

Well, here it is. This is the first such book. There will be many more as honest and sincere and thoughtful Christians try to understand what it is they've done - how badly it is that they perverted the religion which they know came from us. They will seek in the years ahead to come to a deeper and deeper and deeper understanding. If, in Argentina,

a strict Catholic hierarchy can send its archbishop into the synagogue to talk freely and frankly and openly to Jews, then we know that we are witnessing a revolution.

And so these are the two basic facts which constitute a new situation for us -- the uniqueness of this century in these United States in which we, a powerful five and a half million Jews, face a new situation -- and the new attitude of the organized daughter-religion of ours which has been, for nineteen centuries, killing us and which now is coming to try to understand us-- These two facts, thankful as we are for them, should not so anesthetize and lull us into a situation where we develop the feeling that it's no longer necessary for us to preserve our separate identity. I have this absolute conviction in my bones, which comes every-time I get in the middle of people like you - especially you, not the ones twenty years older than you with whom I deal all the time on the 'heavy money' level -- and I'll be talking about that later, too, because I'm not demeaning money -- but, when I get in the middle of you, then I say to myself you are not going to give up the fight for survival. On the contrary - on the contrary, what you are going to do is to continue to search for the meaning of Jewish identity. It is the responsibility of those of us in leadership positions in America to help you in the search for identity. You ask many questions. Our task is to answer them. You ask: What am I supposed to do about being a Jew? How am I supposed to act and handle myself as a Jew? What are the duties that are expected of me as a Jew? What is meant by all the talk of Jewish survival? Why should we Jews want to survive? And, if I can be shown why - and, if somebody can prove it to me, then how am I supposed

to go about protecting our survival?

Those are all positive questions that you're asking. I find no negativism. I find no pessimism. I find no cynicism. I find no running away. I find no great massive trend to assimilation. I'm sorry, I don't know what other speakers say from other platforms, but I don't find suicidal tendencies. I find you in a very active and virile and vigorous state of health. I find you questioning. I find you perplexed. I find you concerned. I find you not getting the answers from the pulpits - from the national organizations to which you belong. I find you searching. And I say therefor it is my job and the job of others of us in leadership to try to give you answers to those questions.

I am the head of the United Jewish Appeal and some people think that therefor my only responsibility is to raise money. Without money we won't survive, I'll tell you that right now. Money is an indispensable tool and a weapon. Money is the strongest weapon in our arsenal. There is enough money present in the total corporate possession of the Jewish people to do everything we have to do to guarantee survival. It's the job of some of us to extract that money. Fine. (laughter) We'll extract it. Believe me, not against your will. We couldn't get a dime against your will. It's a game we play, and we all understand it. (laughter) I say, would you give another thousand dollars? Oh, another thousand dollars? And there's a lot of dickering that goes on back and forth - and then we settle for two hundred. (laughter) We know perfectly well that the next year the two hundred will go to three hundred, and that's

okay. That's really okay. (laughter) My job, as I conceive it, is not to be simply the painless, extractor of money. The United Jewish Appeal, as I see it, must be a great and powerful educational instrument - educational instrument to answer the questions which I find you posing. Who are we? And what are we? And why are we? And why should we? And what are we suppose to do in addition, if you accept this premise that the UJA must serve as an educational instrument, then you must accept the further premise that the Federation locally must also be an educational instrument. And, if you accept that premise, then you must accept the consequence that all if you interested in the UJA and Federations - be the teachers as well. If I say I must be the teacher to you, then you must be the teachers to the tens and the hundreds and the thousands. - So, if you accept the premise, you've got to accept the responsibility that goes with it.

Let me try to give you some of my answers - and when I say my answers, I mean the answers that I've come to in the course of my life - the answers which satisfy me, not just in a haphazard way but satisfy me with deep nourishment.

What satisfies me as I try to analyze this whole business of Jewishness and being Jewish? What nourishes me? What feeds me deep, deep inside? I've come to a series of conclusions and convictions. I don't know if you ever read something that Tolstoy wrote -- just a few paragraphs -- and I think they are worth listening to. He said - writing at very beginning of the 20th century, just after the Kishinev Pogroms in Russia - "What

is a Jew?" This question is not at all so odd as it seems. Let us see what kind of peculiar creature the Jew is which all the rulers and all the nations have together and separately abused and molested, oppressed and persecuted, trampled and butchered, burned and hanged - and, in spite of all this is yet alive. What is a Jew who has never allowed himself to be led astray by all the earthly possessions which his oppressors and persecutors constantly offered him in order that he should change his faith and forsake his own Jewish religion?

The Jew is that sacred being who has brought down from heaven the everlasting fire and has illumined with it the entire world. He is the religious source, spring and fountain out of which all the rest of the peoples have drawn their beliefs and their religions.

The Jew is the pioneer of liberty. Even in those olden days when the people were divided into but two distinct classes slaves and masters - even so long ago had the law of Moses prohibited the practice of keeping a person in bondage for more than six years.

The Jew is the pioneer of civilization. Ignorance was condemned in olden Palestine more even than it is today in civilized Europe. Moreover, in those wild and barbarous days, when neither the life nor the death of anyone counted for anything at all, Rabbi Akiba did not refrain from expressing himself openly against capital punishment a practice which is recognized today as a highly civilized way of punishment.

The Jew is the emblem of civil and religious toleration. "Love the stranger and the sojourner," Moses commands, "because you have been strangers in the land of Egypt." And this was said in those remote

and savage times when the principal ambition of the races and nations consisted in crushing and enslaving one another.

As concern religious toleration. The Jewish faith is not only far from the missionary spirit of converting people of other denominations, but on the contrary the Talmud commands the rabbis to inform and explain to everyone who willingly comes to accept the Jewish religion, all the difficulties involved in its acceptance, as to point out to the would-be proselyte that the righteous of all nations have a share in immortality. Of such a lofty and ideal religious toleration not even the moralists of our present day can boast.

The Jew is the emblem of eternity. He whom neither slaughter nor torture of thousands of years could destroy, he whom neither fire nor sword nor inquisition was able to wipe off the face of the earth, he who was the first to produce the oracles of God, he who was for so long the guardian of prophecy and transmitted it to the rest of the world, such a nation cannot be destroyed. The Jew is as everlasting as is eternity itself.

Ilya Nicholiavitch Tolstoy, who wasn't a Jew, he defined us that way. I believe in all the things he said. I believe the Jews are quite unique. I believe they were unique from the time that they were created. I believe that they were and are and always will be a chosen people. If that's too mystical for modern, sophisticated minds - if that sounds too boastful for the reverse-snobbery of which we've all become guilty, where everything must be equalitarian and democratic - if that's impossible

for you to grapple with, then just think about it for ten or twenty years.

There is something different between Mr. A and Mr. B. You have two sons and those two sons are as different as day and night. They come from the same mother and father. There is no point in denying differences. Differences do not mean superiorities. This whole doctrine of the chosenness of the Jewish people is very often misunderstood because some people think it means that the Jews are better than everybody else. And so we have a tendency to repudiate it because we all want to be equalitarian. Nonsense. We're not all equal. If you have an I.Q. of a hundred and sixty, you're not the same as somebody with an I.Q. of a hundred. If that's not democratic, then it's not democratic. We were each born under a certain and different set of circumstances. Whether you believe in God or whether you don't is your own personal business, but history you all believe in. Well, there is a fact of history which says that this people forty centuries old began as a certain club, group, tribe, nation, family - call it what you want - and has stuck together through these forty centuries, carrying with it a certain banner, flag, belief, set of ideas, set of codes, set of principles which membership in this club required you to accept and practice -- and these ideas and beliefs and principals were passed on from one generation to the other -- the father brought the son into the club by that physical act of cutting into the flesh of his own son -- and that membership in the club was precious. And the laws and the rules and the traditions and the heritage of the club were passed on to the son. And many sons dropped off - and many sons slipped out - and many sons inter-married - and many sons

ran away - and many sons rejected and repudiated - but most of the sons did not.

This people, chosen and different and separate and unique was isolated - yes, isolated. Because the original rules of this tribe set down by Mos es and Joshua eight hundred years after Abraham - were that you don't eat the same food that the people around you eat. What do you think is the meaning of the laws of Kashrut? Hygiene and cleanliness? I'm not satisfied with that explanation. You don't eat what the neighboring tribe eats, so then you don't go into his tent and eat with him. Isolation and separateness. And if you don't go into his tent to eat with him, the likelihood is you won't marry his daughter. And if you don't marry his daughter, the likelihood is you won't 'beat it out of the tribe.' Now, our group of people began that way. Today, in the 20th century, most of us eat with him -- and he wants to eat with us. I believe we can keep our separate identity without being separate in the eating. But I understand what the original rules were all about. And I believe the purpose for which the rules were instituted. If I say I don't need those rules anymore to achieve that objective, that's my business. But the objective I agree with.

They carried with them - that tribe, group, club, nation, family, whatever you want to call it, a certain set of beliefs. What the devil were they struggling so hard to keep separate and to keep alive and to survive? There was a reason. And the reason was that they believed they had a vision of life, a view of life, an attitude toward life which was absolutely special and different from that which everybody

else around them had - an attitude toward life which they thought would be good for the whole human race - if they could only give this to the whole human race -- and a point of view toward life which it might take the whole rest of human history to achieve for thousands of years into the future, but which would be achieved. They believed in freeing the slaves when nobody else believed in that. They believed in the dignity of human life when nobody else believed in it. They believed in social justice for the widow and the orphan when nobody else believed in it. They believed in the equality of all colors when nobody else believed in it. What they did was to have a vision of the world - a place which could be a beautiful, a perfect, magic, marvelous place with peace, law, order, freedom, justice and equality, happiness and plenty, no war, no poverty, no persecution, no oppression. You see there was a vision of that. At the beginning it was called The Garden of Eden. But that got all shot to hell, because of the stupid business between Adam and Eve and the snake and the apple, and nobody knew what happened. The vision matures and you call it a vision of mankind which the Messiah will come to bring. And we have to keep trying to work toward it. And nobody's going to divert us - and nobody's going to cause us to become pessimistic - and nobody's going to say it's impossible - and nobody's going to get us off this 'kick.' And, by god, if you stick at it over all these forty centuries, pretty soon what you do is begin to convince a larger and larger part of the world that the ideas you have are right.

If there's law in the world today, it came from Rome, through Hebrew law. If there's democracy in the world today, it's because Western society of

England and Western Europe took it out of the Hebrew traditions and planted it on these shores. And if you read the Massachusetts Bay Compact- and if you read the names of the people who lived in Massachusetts and Virginia and New Hampshire and Rhode Island in the 1600's - their names are Jeremiah and Hepsibah and Ebenezer and Sarah and Rachel. We've given to the world a vision of social justice and of equality and of democracy and of freedom. And part of the world has accepted this - part of the world hasn't. We say therefor that we will sit firmly on the **stage** of history. We will not be shoved off until we succeed in giving this vision to everybody. And when they all accept it and the world is a perfect place to live in, then we can fold up our tents and fade away. Because, by then, everybody will be Jews. (laughter) Or act like them - and, at that point, it's okay with us. We've finished. Our job's done.

I believe these things. There are lots of people who find it hard to stomach. There are lots of people who find this egotistical or chauvinistic or too nationalistic or too superior-sounding and they question it. They question it and they question it. Good friends, I wasn't joking when I said take ten years or take twenty years to think about it. If this line of reasoning that I've given you, sits with you naturally, and if it goes down easily, and if you swallow it easily, and if it seems comfortable with you, okay, good, then you've got the same armor around you that I have. You've got a set of beliefs that nourish you and that will keep you going. If it doesn't sit easily with you - if it seems ~~somehow~~ somehow too - too - much like boasting or bragging - or if it just doesn't sound right to you that this whole, fantastic thing that I've painted is possible - that in a world of three billion people, as

we are today, thirteen million Jews can count for that much -- and that this whole thing is an exaggerated notion - sort of a little, tiny fly-speck of a nothing trying to assert itself - some grandiose, transcendental, Messianic purpose of a justification for its continued existence - if that's how it seems to you, then just take some more time to think about it. And if it doesn't sit well after time and after reading and after questioning, then you'll be one of the non-believers of whom we have many as you well know.

Because I think the Jews are this significant, and have this meaning for the whole world, - and in the course of these few centuries have already brought the world so far along in what we call progress, therefore, I think that their continued survival is a matter of utmost urgency for the whole world as well as for themselves. Any living organism needs, rationalization for its continued existence. We live. We continue to live. We don't ask ourselves why we are living, we don't have to defend or justify why we're living, or excuse it, or apologize for it. We live. But, when an organism believes that it has a function and a purpose that goes beyond its own purpose in living, to embrace a wider cause, then it makes this justification and it says that its survival is important and even urgent for the whole world not just for itself.

I believe that the labor union movement in this country was born and created by Jews - I believe the civil rights movement in this country has recieved its greatest support and impetus by Jews, no matter how much the negroes hate us. I believe that the scientific inventiveness,

the musical genius, the medical capacity - I believe all the things that the Jews have - are great treasures to be given to the world. Sometimes we have to shove it down their throats. But never mind that either.

(laughter)

Now, therefore, our survival is something urgent for the world not just for us. And if that's so, then we have to learn what the tools of our survival are. What tools do we need to sharpen? What instruments do we have to devise? What do we have to know in order to guarantee our survival? The tools of our survival are not very complicated. Number one: Knowledge. Brainpower. Sharpen it. Sharpen it. And you all know that we do that all the time. The number of Jewish students in universities in the United States today, in ratio to the Jewish population. Is many times as large as any other group. There are many slings and arrows that we suffer for that - never mind. We fight our way through all the doors of all the schools we can get into - and well we should. And I don't have to elaborate that thing. Because education has been one of the great hallmarks of Jewish existence - whether it was in poor, little villages of the Polish shtetl type or in, the Atlas Mountains in the South of Morocco on the edge of the Saharan Desert - it doesn't matter where, education was the hallmark of our people. That's one tool. The second tool was migration. Whenever we got caught in a bind, anywhere, and we couldn't fight our way through because they were bigger and stronger than we were, we shifted our center of gravity and moved elsewhere. Sometimes they threw us out. Never mind. so we migrated involuntarily. Palestine came to a crashing end when

the 10th Legion of Rome smashed down the walls of the temple. So then for a thousand years the center of Jewish life was shifted over to Babylonia. And when it came to an end, there, in the 10th century, the center of importance moved over to Spain. And for five hundred years we had the 'golden age' in Spain. And then boom. Ferdinand and Isabella decided that they would throw the Moors out - and with the Moors they threw the Jews out. And in 1492 Columbus sailed for America. And on the same day, the third of August, the Jews sailed for Turkey and Holland and Morocco and Algeria and everywhere else - the same day. And Columbus wrote in his diary that he noticed, as he sailed out of the harbor, that there were Jewish refugee boats in the harbor.

Migration was a tool of our survival. Education was a tool of our survival. Raising the economic level of our people so that we could beat hunger and disease was a tool of our survival.

And last of all, among these tools of survival, there was one which probably was the most important of all - in my judgement at least -- I'm not sure others would agree with me -- although there's one other man who does agree and therefore I'm going to quote him. Probably most important of all the tools of survival, that we learned to use, through all these centuries, was the dream of Israel. And we dreamed about it the hardest. And we loved it the most, but were the farthest away from it. We prayed for it three times a day when there wasn't a prayer of a chance of ever getting it. Deep in the heart of the pale of settlement, in the middle of the 15th and 16th century, Jews poured their hearts out in countless thousands of little villages, from which you and I stem, about

returning to the land of Zion and the throne of David and the King of Israel and the glory that once was - whether in Odessa or in Kief or in Minsk or in Pinsk or in Dvinsk, there wasn't a prayer of a chance of getting that dream back - and yet it sustained them and it kept them alive. And I think this is the deepest, the deepest, the most significant psychological, central tool in the survival of the Jewish people because it has to do with our beginnings, our roots and our origins.

The man to whom I referred, who believes this very deeply is Martin Buber. You all read recently about his death. You all read these fantastic obituaries in all the papers and magazines. He was an authentic 20th century genius - accounted so by the whole world not just the Jewish world. He wrote a very thin book which I have here. It's called, "Israel and Palestine, The History of an Idea," by Martin Buber. And what he says here is very simple. You all know enough Hebrew to know what the word is for man. The word for man is Adam. We anglicize it by saying Adam. You also know that the word for earth is Adama. Many of you know the prayer. You say Borai pri ha-Adama. Adam and Adama etomologically are the same word. Man and earth are identical. Man comes from earth. Adam - a version of Adam, means reddish brown, the very color of earth. And you know all the old, early myths about the Gods that fashioned men on the potter's wheel out of clay and mud and earth. Man is earth. The Hebrew man and the Hebrew earth were created at the same time. God gave the land to the people. Time after time after time after time it says in the Bible - and I shall give this land to you and to your seed and to your seed after you - and I shall give this to you for an inheritance. I don't have to repeat the quotations. In Latin Homo, man, comes from humus, earth. We

gave an idea to all the other peoples and to all the other languages.

We, the Hebrew people, came out of the Hebrew earth. Abraham left a different land to come to that land - and that is the first memory we have. That's even our pre-natal memory. Everybody's been psychoanalyzed haven't they? Or knows somebody who has? And everybody knows that the child was influenced at the moment of conception. And nine long months of influence occur on the child before it's ever cast out into this unfriendly world. From the moment of our birth - and before our birth - while he was in Babylonia planning to come to the land which God pointed out to him. Now look, You know I'm not a fundamentalist. You know that by now. And I'm very irreverent in many things. And you know that. So I'm not trying to give you a literal interpretation of those words - but I am asking you to believe those words psychologically. The faith of the Hebrew people has been connected with the faith in the Hebrew land for four thousand years. Whether you're orthodox or reform or a reconstructionist or whatever somebody's going to invent tomorrow - the cardinal fact of the Hebrew religion is that God appointed, or history, if you don't believe in God, appointed a group of people, in relation to a land, to live there and develop there and struggle there and flower there and give their ideas a soil in which to grow - and that people got knocked out of that land. We've been knocked out of the box twice. We've reestablished that country a third time now. We may get knocked out of the box again. And if you take a view of history, it's entirely possible, a thousand years from now, the present commonwealth of Israel may be defeated and destroyed by somebody.

But then it will get started all over again for a fourth time. From the beginning of time -- of our time -- until the end of our time that land is going to be a central tool in our survival.



UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

September 16, 1965

H.A.F. SPEECH - CLEVELAND

REEL #1

CHAIRMAN (Introduction)

Router

As I walked up, Herb said to me - Rabbi Friedman, excuse me, said to me -- and he knows me very well - only two words about me. So, I'm not going to say - I'm only going to say two words about him. I'm going to talk about the fact that we had the privilege of having -- Nancy and I had Francine and Herb Friedman visit with us last year at the Columbus Convention - Conference, which was similar to this. And I'm very anxious to have our young son Harry, who is eleven, be interested in Jewish affairs. And, as some of you know, the biggest thing today -- I guess we say this to our wives when they want to watch the other television programs -- our young son should watch these various espionage pictures - Man From Uncle and what have you -- and so I had said to my son that you must meet this person, Rabbi Friedman, who was a chaplain with the 9th Army during the Second World War, which we were in and which most of us perhaps don't remember. But - and this was the - this was the 'undercover' chaplain. And I wanted Harry to be very interested and very

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CHAIRMAN

involved in Jewish causes and so I sort of described him. Well, actually, Harry thinks he's The Man From Uncle. (laughter) As a matter of fact, Chaplain Friedman was very instrumental in rescuing many Jews. I remember very vividly -- (BUZZER GOES OFF) Is my time up? Good. (laughter) Several years ago we were on a trip with a group from the UJA to Auschwitz in Poland, and we were sitting in the back of a bus, cold, shivering - Eddie Ginsberg from your city, Rabbi Friedman and several others in this group - and a bottle of liquor was passed around to warm us up after seeing these horrible torture chambers of Auschwitz -- and a few of us became a little bit, shall I say, verbose after a few drinks, as we all do. And we found out - or at least I found out that Rabbi, former Chaplain Friedman, had been very active in requisitioning, unofficially, U.S. Army trucks and taking these trucks, with ^{one} carton~~s~~ of cigarettes, and rescuing a Jew's life - taking a Jew across the border to freedom. And so it's with this, it reminds me of a little story that (name) Garcy, who is a mutual acquaintance, told us about the fact that during these terrible days that Israel was about to

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CHAIRMAN

become a state and they were trying to bring people in in order that they could fight and protect the state when the State of Israel was founded - and there was this -- well, as a matter of fact, (name) Garcy was like an undercover agent or a spy. And they told him - they gave him a special pill and they said this was a hush-hush, great, great important thing for the state, and that if he was captured that he must take this pill - pill -- that it would kill him instantly. He couldn't reveal any secrets. He couldn't say and give any of the things away about the formation of the new state and the arms that were coming in, and the guns that were hidden and the whole thing -- he was with Hagannah. And they sent him to Vienna. And there he was instructed that 'you contact the undercover agent Goldberg. And they told him he lived on 66 Kaiserstrasser and that it was Apartment #6 and that the greatest precautions were to be taken. And (name) took these great precautions and arrived, after devious routes through Paris and London and so forth, and Vienna - and at the Kaiserstrasser. And he went to this apartment building and looked in - and it

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said, Goldberg - third floor - and apartment C. And he went up and he was told that he must use this code - the sun is shining; the moon is up. And he'd remembered this. He didn't write it down but he remembered it very well. And he knocked on the door and a man opened the door slightly. And he says, Goldberg? And he says yes. He says, the sun is shining and the moon is set. "oh, he says, you mean Goldberg the spy. He's on the fourth floor." (laughter) But, I must say that Rabbi Friedman was active in World War II as a chaplain. He was active and he saw the ghettos of North Africa, the D.P. camps, the visits to Poland, Rumania. Before he became UJA's Executive Vice-Chairman in 1955, Rabbi Friedman served as spiritual leader for the largest Reform Congregations in both Denver and Milwaukee. I must also tell you that this sophisticated, debonnaire man from "Uncle" - wonderful, wonderful person - is an international figure. He is as much at home in the darkness of the night rescuing Jews across the borders of Germany as he is in the international councils of Jewish leadership in London and Israel and Paris - or just as much at home with his -- and I say this

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CHAIRMAN

- our contemporaries here this evening -- with the Young Leaders in Cleveland - as he is in these other great councils. He is a great humanitarian enrolled in a great, great public service. It's a real privilege - it's a real privilege to call myself a friend and acquaintance. I give you Rabbi Herbert Friedman. (applause)

FRIEDMAN

Well, what do you do? I am more frightened now than I was before - and I was very frightened before. Just ask Lois. Joe, this is - this is not easy. You and I have been through the formation of this young leadership movement in the United States in the last four or five years. And you and I have sat through many meetings and many speeches. We've been all over this country from top to bottom. And I think it's fair to say that nowhere, at no time or in no place had I ever seen a group like this. This is to me the most ~~xxxxx~~ heartwarming and rewarding and satisfying thing that has happened in five years of hard work - and I thank you. If I 'lay an egg' tonight, ~~xxxxxxx~~ ^{forget it.} Excuse me for it. It won't stop this movement from capturing this nation and guaranteeing the future of Jewish survival

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FRIEDMAN

in these United States. You've got it made now. And whether any one of us professes to be a leader in the American Jewish community - succeeds or fails any longer in providing any additional inspiration, you'll do without us. Because you've got the 'bit' in your teeth now and you're running with it. This analogy comes from the fact that I went this afternoon, with my host Mr. Ginsberg, to a place called "Thistle" (laughter) and I lost fifteen dollars. (laughter) And his horse Hidden Intent remained well hidden. (laughter) And nothing happened to either one of us. But all I could think of was that here were twenty thousand people in the stands watching ten beautiful animals animals 'beating their brains out.' Those/~~animals~~ were running as hard as they knew how to run. They weren't sure why. Our job is, at our age and at our position in the crossroads of the generations, to run as hard as we know how, under a most extraordinary set of circumstances which I want to define. But we have to know why. And so I'll try, here, tonight, to tell you the things that I believe in - to tell you the way I see Jewish history

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in this century compared to other centuries - to tell you what I think we have to try to do and why we have to try to do it -- and to say at the beginning what I hope I will remember to say again at the end - that when I look at something like this, I have the most fantastic feeling of absolute confidence that there will be no relaxation - that there will be no loss - that there will be only gain for the great, beautiful and millennial, long tradition of our people, which you hold now in your hands and which it is our responsibility to polish more brightly and not to allow to become tarnished. And, if anyone ever says that they have any questions or doubts about your ability to carry this precious heritage and improve upon it, you tell them that they don't know what they're talking about. They haven't sensed the strength and the flexing of the muscles and the purpose and the intent which is so obvious to me and which flows out of you to me with such an emanation of strength that anyone who doubts you is a man of - of little sense and no values and he should just go away and keep his worries in the corner. Anyone who talks about the

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fact that in this land of freedom and affluence and generosity and lack of pressure - anyone who says that he is afraid that the Jews will ^{wither} ~~with~~ and die through 'a kiss of kindness' just doesn't understand your ^{temperament.} ~~temperament.~~ You will not be seduced away from the preservation of the Jewish heritage no matter what the blandishments of contemporary life in America will be. And that's what I want to say here tonight - and I'll try to say it in a way that's much clearer than these first couple of paragraphs have been.

We are at a very unique crossroads in Jewish History. Our people was founded and established roughly four thousand years ago. The ~~is~~ sum time that the historians have set on the migration of Abraham from Babylonia to the land of Caanan is about ~~220~~ 2000 B.C. This is corroborated by all sorts of archeological data - little clay tablets with cuneoform writings on them which have been found in many places - and it's pretty solid. It's not a guess. In the year 2000 B.C. The Picts and The Scots and Celts were running around naked on the Islands of Great Britain painting themselves

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blue -- and The Teutons and The Barbarians were running around in the forests of Northern Europe - Germany and Scandinavia painting themselves green? for anybody knows. And in the Nile River Valley there was the beginning of some civilization. And in the Valley of the Tigris and The Euphrates in Babylonia there was the beginning of something. There wasn't much else in the world. From the time that 'we' began, just about four thousand years ago, I don't think that in all of those forty centuries we have ever been at the 'crossroads' position that we are today. And the reason for that, I think, is because there never, in the corporate life of our people or in the civilized development of mankind as a whole on the globe - there never has been a society developed such as that which exists in these United States of America -- not in Pericles in Athens - not in ancient Egypt - not in ancient China - never has there been a civilization such as exists here in the United States - so rich - so powerful - so limitless in its potentials - so well-endowed with raw materials and minerals, with brains and with inventive capacity,

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with drive and with vigor and with youth - no society has ever been like this. Nor has there ever been a situation where a group of Jews have lived inside a society with the freedom that we have - with the lack of pressure on us that exists - with the opportunities to go to the top which now exist - with the friendship of our neighbors - with the deepening understanding day by day by day of our neighbors, even the most beknighted among them, who were least able to understand us through the centuries, namely the Catholics. ✕ Never have a set of circumstances conjoined so that you have a society of a hundred and ninety million American, of whom we comprise five and a half in the middle of that - where these Americans are so well-endowed and where we are so well received among them - an absolutely unique set of circumstances in forty centuries. We always knew what it was in other climates, in other continents, in other centuries to be under attack. And we knew and we learned how to live under attack. Never have we had the problem of learning how to live under kindness. Gentlemen, it's frightening. And that's what I mean by saying that many times we

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have been slaughtered - we have met death by the sword - nowhere have we been under the temptation or the possibility of a set of circumstances of 'meeting death ~~by a kiss.~~' by a kiss.' If we, here in the United States, very simply stated, go down the drain and become like all other Americans, so that in one generation or two generations or three generations, which is a century, or two centuries -- where we struggled for forty to stay alive - if in a half or in one century we might go down the drain -- and by that I mean become ~~indistinguish-~~ indistinguish-
able like all other Americans, it will not be because anybody in this country will try to cut our heads off but because somebody in this country will try to make us like everybody else. And, when we become like everybody else, indistinguishable from anybody else -- no matter how good everybody else is - no matter how fine a standard is created of culture -- I'm not talking about the average, gum-chewing, baseball/~~visiting,~~ visiting, un-thinking, television-watching American whose cultural level stops there. As the cultural level of this country expands, even if we keep up with it - if we become

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only like everybody else and not different from everybody else -- and the differentness I shall try to define also later -- then we will have met the end of our historic existence through what i call 'death by a kiss.' And that's what's so extraordinarily unique about this moment in time and this place in which we live - and that's why the responsibility for the preservation and the survival rests so heavily upon your shoulders - and that's why we've got to do more serious thinking about it than any one of our ancestors was every called upon to do. You know everything today that's Jewish is "in" - or if you're really "in"-you know what the new word is, is "camp." (laughter) Everything Jewish today is very "camp." Rather - whether its Fiddler On The Roof - everybody wants to go see Fiddler On The Roof. You don't think they fill up the show night after night only with Jews? (laughter) Or whether it's Saul Bellows - everybody's reading Herzog, not just Jews. There aren't that many Jews who buy books, I think. (laughter) Or whether it's the movie The Pawnbroker. You turn around today and you look at what the writing is all about

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FRIEDMAN

in America today. And where Sinclair Lewis used to write about what was happening in midwestern communities - and that was the genre of American writing in the 1920's and '30's -- today every novel written, whether it's by a Jew or not, has got something to do about Jews. It's very chic. You go to a non-Jewish cocktail party and you hear a lot of Yiddish flung around. It's very "in." (laughter) And it's quite - it's quite unique. It's quite different. It's quite spectacular. Today, when you go to dinner with ten people and eight of them at the table are not Jews, and they discover you're a Jew, you immediately are the celebrity - you immediately are somebody they want to talk to. They want to know all about this. Now, that's dangerous. Because, since it's so happy and so peaceful and so easy for everything Jewish today to meet generalized acceptance, there is that slippery, seductive possibility that there will enter into people's minds the thought - I can pass -- pass in the technical sense of the word. If you know what the word evokes in the negro community, for instance - how much pain and anguish

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there is inside the negro community when one of their people decides to pass, and can pass today. Because lots of people in the white community are as dark as I am - and lots of negroes are as light as I am - and when they choose to desert their group and pass, there's anguish in those whom they leave behind. Read "The Man," if you haven't, and see what the President - the negro President of the United States in that novel feels about his daughter who has passed and denies her own father who's the President. It was written by a Jewish author. (laughter) Now, not only is everything that's Jewish 'camp' today, but there's another thing that's happening today. The Catholic world has faced itself in its own very, very honest way and has made a decision -- and this is something that was not easy for them to do - and don't - don't anybody minimize it. They've been going through the tortures of hell for the last three or four years in this Ecumenical Council. In a delayed reaction from the unbelievable events of twenty years ago - twenty-five years ago,* that ~~pag~~ pang of conscience has now struck deep into

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their hearts and souls. Never mind asking why they didn't do anything about it then. They didn't. This Pope made a concordat with Hitler, period. Half the Germans are good Catholics from Bavaria, and they went to church on Sunday and they killed Jews on Monday. No sense in asking how that happened a quarter of a century ago. What's interesting to look at is that there is a delayed reaction - and now that guilt burns - it burns hard - deep in them - and they're trying to make amends - and they're not having an easy time of it. They've been struggling with it for three or four years. They'll pass this thing next month when the last and final session of the council gets together. They have no choice. They're too far out on a limb. The pressure on the part of the Arabs has been tough, and the pressure on the part of the Eastern Bishops has been tough -but they'll go through ~~ix~~ with it. ~~xxx~~ Whether they take ~~k~~ the word deicide out or they don't isn't important - everybody knows just what they mean. They're exonerating the Jews of all of the centuries in which the Jews have been accused of killing Christ -- and they're exonerating us

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as well as they know how to do - and they're saying they're sorry as well as they know how to say that -- and they're saying more. They're admitting that this constant charge of their's, over all these centuries, has been responsible for the death of an awful lot of our people. They don't want to see that happen anymore. There's a new book that's come out which I will recommend to you. It's the first book which has been written by a Catholic priest,--it carries the imprimatur of Spellman. It carries the (phonetic spelling) Nehilupstat of the index of the official church of the Vatican. And the book is called "The Anguish of the Jews." A Catholic priest writes of 23 centuries of anti-semetism. He writes in his first paragraph of an experience which caused him to pen the book. He says, "this books received its first impetus from a personal experience. One evening, several years ago, I walked north on Park Avenue in New York City in the company of a young Jewish couple. Behind us shone the huge, illuminated cross whic the Grand Central Building displays each year at Christmastime. Those of you who have been on

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Park Avenue will have that clearly in your minds. The windows of the building are lighted in the form of a huge cross, and all the rest of the windows are left dark. So it shines out for many, many blocks on Park Avenue. "Glancing over her shoulder, the young lady with whom I was walking - ordinarily well-disposed toward Christians - declared "that cross makes me shudder. It's like an evil presence." This disturbing comment evoked many questions in me, not the least of which was how could the cross, the supreme symbol of universal love, become a sign of fear and evil for this young Jewess? It soon became clear to me that her fearful reaction to it was the fruit of the knowledge which she, not I, had, a knowledge of the immense suffering undergone by her people at the hands of Christians for many centuries. She knew those things. I didn't. And so she shuddered at the cross which I love. And when I realized that the cross meant that to her, I decided that I had to find out what this anti-semitism was all about." And so he studies it - and the book is what he has discovered. And the last paragraph says (reads) "For the believing Christian, this

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tale of horrors, the story of anti-semitism through all these centuries - this tale of horrors ends in the deepest chambers of my spirit. This sin of anti-semitism is many things, but in the end and finally it is a denial of the Christian religion, a failure of Christian hope and a malady of Christian love." Jacques Maritan has pointed out that the agony of the Jews is one in which Christ himself participates. So what he's saying is, boy, we made a mockery of the Christian religion. We have denied our own Christian beliefs. We have denied our ethics. We've denied everything by the way we have practiced our acts against the Jews. Well, here it is. This is the first. There will be many more as honest and sincere and thoughtful Christians trying to understand what it is they've done - how badly it is that they perverted the religion which they know came from us - and how they will seek in the years ahead to come to a deeper and deeper and deeper understanding. If, in Argentina, a black and strict Catholic hierarchy can send its Archbishop into the synagogue to talk freely and frankly and openly to Jews, then we know that we

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are witnessing a revolution. And so these are the two basic facts which constitute a new situation for us -- the uniqueness of this century in these United States in which we, the powerful five and a half million AMERICANS, face a new JEWISH -- and the new attitude of the organized daughter-religion of ours which has been, for nineteen centuries, killing us and which now is coming to try to understand us -- these two facts are not to anesthetize and lull us into a situation where, if we do not - thankful as we are for these two facts - grateful as we are for them - appreciative as we are for them -- but, if we allow these two facts to lull us into a feeling that it's no longer necessary for us to preserve ~~XXXXXXXX~~ our separate identity, then we will have let ourselves go down the drain. And what I said at the very beginning was that I have this absolute conviction in my bones, which comes everytime I get in the middle of people like you - especially you, not the ones twenty years older than you with whom I deal all the time on the 'heavy money' level -- and I'll talking about that later, too, because I'm not demeaning money -- but, when I get in the

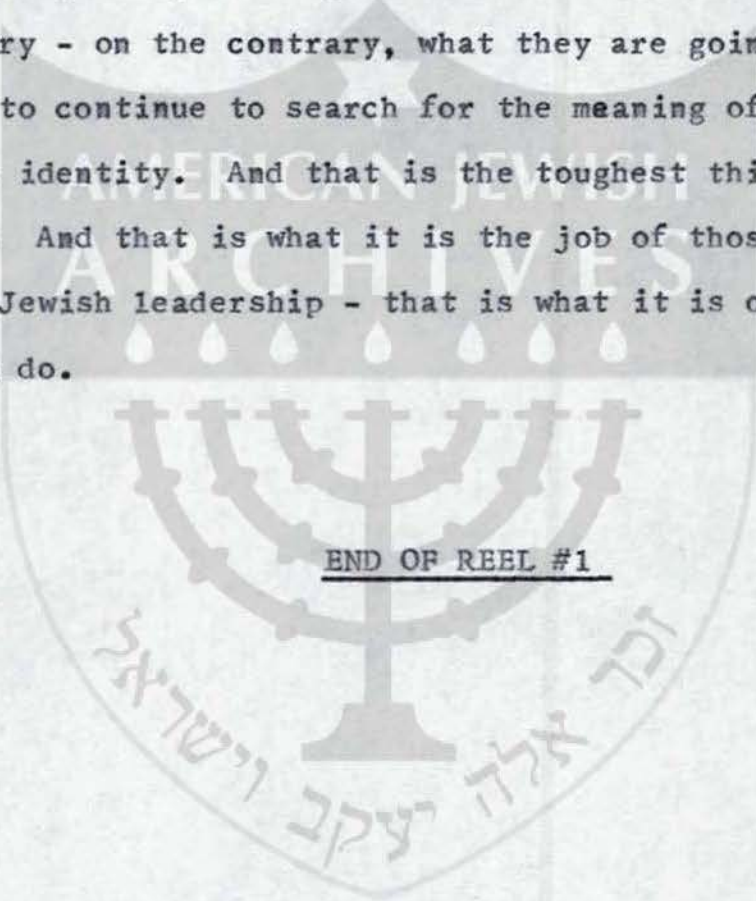
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middle of you, then I say to myself they're not going to give up the fight for survival. On the contrary - on the contrary, what they are going to do is to continue to search for the meaning of Jewish identity. And that is the toughest thing to do. And that is what it is the job of those of us in Jewish leadership - that is what it is our job to do.

END OF REEL #1



And what am I supposed to do about being a Jew?
And how am I supposed to act and handle myself as
a Jew? And what are the responsibilities that
they want from me as a Jew? And what the devil
do they mean when they talk about Jewish survival?
Why do they want us Jews to survive? And, if I
can be shown why - and, if somebody can prove it
to me, then how am I supposed to go about protecting
our survival? And those are all positive questions
that you're asking. I find no negativism. I find
no pessimism. I find no ~~ex~~ cynicism. I find no
running away. I find no great massive trend to
assimilation. I'm sorry, I ~~do~~ don't know what other
speakers say from other platforms, ~~and~~ I don't find it~~x~~.
I find you in a very active and virile and vigorous
state of health. I find you questionigg. I find
you perplexed. I find you concerned. I find you
not getting the answers from the pulpits - from
the national organizations to which you belong. I
find you searching. And I say therefor it is my
job and the job of others of us in leadership to
try to give you answers to those questions. And
so that might be the first ~~prexxen~~ peculiar thing

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that you see about me. I am the head of the United Jewish Appeal and some people think that therefor my only responsibility is to raise money. Without money we won't survive, I'll tell you that right now. Money is an indispensable tool and a weapon. Money is the strongest weapon in our arsenal. There is enough money present in the total corporate/~~possess~~^{possession} of the Jewish people to do everything we have to do to guarantee survival. It's the job of some of us to extract that money. Fine. (laughter) We'll extract it. Believe me, not against your will. We couldn't get a dime against your will. It's a game we play, and we all understand it. (laughter) And I say, would you give another thousand dollars? Oh, another thousand dollars? And there's a lot of whining that goes on back and forth - and then we settle for two hundred. (laughter) We know perfectly well that the next year the two hundred will go to three hundred, and that's okay. That's really okay. (laughter) The job - my job, as I conceive it, is not to be the painless or painful, depending on how you look at it, extractor of money. The United Jewish Appeal, as I see it, must be a

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great and powerful educational instrument - educational instrument to answer the questions which I posed before - which I said you pose. Who are we? And what are we? And why are we? And why should we? And what are we? And what are we supposed to do about it? It seems to me our role - and now it's not just mine - because, if you accept this premise of the UJA must become an educational instrument, then you accept the premise that the Federation locally must be an educational instrument. And, if you accept that premise, then you must accept the consequence that you must all be the teachers as well as -- if I say I must be the teacher to you, then you must be the teacher to the thousands and the thousands and the thousands -- so, if you accept the premise, you've got to accept the responsibility that goes with it. Let me try to give you some of my answers - and when I say my answers, I mean the answers that I've come to in the course of my own life - the answers which satisfy me and satisfy me not just in a haphazard way but satisfy me with deep nourishment -- nourishment, the way you say food satisfies you

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■ when you're hungry. And there isn't a person in this room who doesn't know what that means -- not because there's anybody here who's so poor that he isn't able to buy food - but there isn't a person here who hasn't been on a diet and who hasn't been hungry and who doesn't know perfectly well what it means to try to eat and satisfy yourself -- and something holds you back. That also passes very quickly. A week. Two weeks. Three weeks, and we get off the diet. Satisfies? What satisfies me as I try to analyze this whole business of Jewishness and being Jewish? What nourishes me? What feeds me deep, deep inside? I've come to a series of conclusions and convictions. I don't know if you ever read something that Tolstoy wrote -- just a few paragraphs -- and I think they weren't listening to it. He said - writing this toward the very beginning of the 20th century - I think 1903 or ~~19~~ 1905 - I think right after the (phonetic spelling) Kishinev Pogroms in Russia - "What is a Jew?" This question is not at all so odd as it seems. Let us see what kind of peculiar creature the Jew is which all the rulers and all

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the nations have together and separately abused and molested, oppressed and persecuted, trampled and buthered, burned and hanged - and, in spite of all this is yet alive. What is a Jew who has never allowed himself to be led astray by all of the earthly possessions which his oppressors and persecutors constantly offered him in order that he should change his faith and foresake his own Jewish religion? What is the Jew? I say - and this is Tolstoy - the Jew is that sacred being who has brought down from heaven the everlasting fire and has illuminated with it the entire world. He is the religious source, spring and fountain out of which all the rest of the peoples have drawn their beliefs and their religions. The Jew is the pioneer of liberty. Even in those olden days when the people were divided into but two distinct classes - masters and slaves - even so long ago, the law of Moses prohibited the practice of keeping a person in slavery for more than six years. For ~~EXXMP~~ emphasis - you know that regulation in the Bible - in the 7th year of slavery he had to be remitted and let go free. Fantastic. Nobody

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else dreamed of a thing like that. The Jew is the pioneer of civilization. Ignorance was condemned in olden Palestine more even than it is today in civilized Europe. Moreover, in those wild and barbarous days, when neither the life or the death of anyone counted for anything at all, Rabbi Akiba did not refrain from expressing himself openly against capital punishment because human life was sacred. The Jew is the emblem of civil and religious toleration. Love the stranger. And the sojourner Moses commended because you were strangers in the land of Egypt. And this was said in those remote and savage times when the principle ambition of the races and nations on this earth consisted in crushing and enslaving one another. The Jew is the emblem of eternity. He whom neither slaughter nor torture, thousands of years, could destroy - he whom neither fire nor sword nor inquisition was able to wipe off the face of the earth. He who was the first to produce the oracles of God. He who was for so long the guardian of prophecy and transmitted it to the rest of the world. Such a national cannot be destroyed. The Jew is as

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everlasting as eternity itself. Boom! Ilya Nicholiavitch Tolstoy, who wasn't a Jew, he defined us that way. I believe in all the things he said. I believe the Jews are quite unique. I believe they were unique from the time that they were created. I believe that they were an are and always will be a chosen people. If that's too mystical for modern, sophisticated minds - if that sounds too boastful for the reverse-snobbery of which we've all become guilty, where everything must be equalitarian and democratic - if that's impossible for you to grapple with, then just think about it for ten or twenty years. There is something different between Mr. A and Mr. B. You have two sons and those two sons are as different as day and night. They come from the same mother and father. There is no point in denying differences. Differences do not mean superiorities. This whole doctrine of the chosenness of the Jewish people is very often misunderstood because somebody thinks that it means that the Jews are better than everybody else. And so we have a tendency to repudiate it because we all want to be equalitarian. Nonsense. We're not all equal. If you have an I.Q. of a

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FRIEDMAN

hundred and sixty, you're not ~~ix~~ the same as somebody with the I.Q. of a hundred. And I'm sorry. And if that's not democratic, then it's not democratic. We were born under a certain set of circumstances. Whether you believe in God or whether you don't is your own personal business, but history you all believe in. This is the age of the dialecticalism. This is the age of the great movements where, when you read Toynbee, you say, laws of history can be isolated and written down. Well, there's a law of history which says that this people forty centuries old began as a certain club, group, tribe, nation, family - call it what you want - and has stuck together through these forty centuries, carrying with it a certain banner, flag, belief, set of ideas, set of codes, set of principles which membership in this club required you to believe in -- and these ideas and ^{beliefs} ~~principles~~ and principles ~~beliefs~~ were passed on from one generation to the other -- the father brought the son into the club by that physical act of cutting into the flesh of his own son -- and that membership in the club was precious. And the laws and the rules and the

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

traditions and the heritage of the club were passed on to the son. And many sons dropped off - and many sons slipped out - and many sons inter-married - and many sons ran away - and many sons rejected and repudiated -- but most of the sons did not. This people, chosen and different and separate and unique and isolated - yes, isolated. Because the original rules of this tribe set down by Moses and Joshua eight hundred years after Abraham - eight hundred years between Abraham and Joshua, the club still kept alive, and the rules that were set down there were -- you don't see the same food that the people around you eat. What do you think the meaning of the laws of kosher are? Hygiene and cleanliness? I'm not satisfied with that explanation. You don't eat what he eats, so that you don't go into his tent and eat with him. Isolation and separateness. And if you don't go into his tent to eat with him, the likelihood is you won't marry his daughter. And if you don't marry his daughter, the likelihood is you won't 'beat it out of the tribe.' Now, this group of people began that way. You can keep yourself isolated and separate if you want to

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

and still eat with him. Today, in the 20th century, we eat with him -- and he wants to eat with us.

So, I believe - from my point of view -- and I know there are others who don't agree with me -- they're called orthodox (laughter) - that you have to keep yourself separate even in eating. I say you can keep yourself separate without being separate in the eating. But understand what the original rules were all about. And I believe the purpose for which the rules were instituted. If I say I don't need these rules anymore to achieve that objective, that's my business. But the objective I agree with. Now, they carried with them - that tribe, group, club, nation, family, whatever you want to call it, a certain set of beliefs. What the devil were they struggling so hard to keep separate and to keep alive and to survive? Just so they could wear sweaters with emblems on the front? No.

There was a reason. And the reason was that they believed they had a vision of life, a view of life, an attitude toward life which was absolutely special and different from what everybody else around them had - an attitude toward life which they thought

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

would be good for the whole human race - if they could only give this to the whole human race -- and a point of view toward life which it might take the whole rest of human history to achieve for thousands of years into the future, but which would be achieved. They believed in freeing the slaves when nobody else believe in that. They believed in the dignity of human life when nobody else believed in it. They believed in social justice for the widow and the orphan when nobody else believed in it. They believed in the equality of all colors when nobody else believed in it. What they did was to have a vision of the world - a place which could be a beautiful, a perfect, magic, marvelous place with peace, law, order, freedom, justice and equality, happiness and plenty, no war, no poverty, no persecution, no oppression. You see there was a vision of that - it was called The Garden of Eden. ~~It~~ It got all shot to hell, because of that stupid business between Adam and Eve and the snake and the apple, and nobody knew what happened. But, all of a sudden, boom, it's no more. And so, then, what

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FRIEDMAN

you do is you dream of recreating it and you call it a vision of mankind which the Messiah will come to bring. And we have to keep trying to work toward it. And nobody's going to divert us - and nobody's going to cause us to become pessimistic - and nobody's going to say it's impossible - and nobody's going to get us off this 'kick.' And, by god, if you stick at it over all these forty centuries, pretty soon what you do is begin to convince a larger and larger part of the world that the ideas you got are right. If there's law in the world today, it came from Rome. And it came from Rome because Rome took it out of the Hebrew law. If there's democracy in the world today, it's because Western society of England and Western Europe took it out of the Hebrew traditions and j planted it on these shores. And if you read the Massachusetts Bay Compact - and if you read the names of the people who lived in Massachusetts and Virginia and New Hampshire and Rhode Island in the 1600's - their names are Jeremiah and Hepsibah and Ebenezer and Sarah and Rachel. We've given to the world a vision of social justice and of equality and of

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FRIEDMAN

democracy and of freedom. And part of the world has accepted this - part of the world hasn't. We say therefor that we will sit firmly on the stage of history. We'll not be shoved off until we succeed in giving this vision to everybody. And when they all accept it and the world is a perfect place to live in, then we can fold up our tents and fade away. Because, by then, everybody will be Jews. (laughter) Or act like them - and, at that point, it's okay by us. We've finished. Our job's done. I believe these things. There are lots of people who find it hard to stomach. There are lots of people who find this egotistical or chauvinistic or too nationalistic or too superior-sounding and they question it. They question it and they question it. Good friends, I wasn't joking when I said take ten years or take twenty years to think about it. If it sits - this line of reasoning that I've given you, if it sits with you naturally, and if it goes down easily, and if you swallow it easily, and if it seems comfortable with you, okay, ^{good,} ~~good~~ then you've got the same armor around you that I have. You've got a set of

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FRIEDMAN

beliefs that nourish you and that will keep you going. If it doesn't sit easily with you - if it seems somehow too - too - too much like boasting or bragging - or if it just doesn't sound right to you that this whole, fantastic thing that I've painted is possible - that in a world of three billion people, as we are today, thirteen million Jews can count for that much -- and that this whole thing is an exaggerated notion - sort of a little, tiny fly-speck of a nothing trying to assert itself - some grandiose, transcendental, Messianic purpose of a justification for its continued existence - if that's how it seems to you, then just take some more time to think about it. And if it doesn't sit well after time and after reading and after questioning, then you'll be one of the ^{non-believers} ~~many~~ of whom we have many as you well know. Because I think the Jews are this - and have this for the whole world - and in the course of these few centuries have already brought the world so far along in what we call progress. Therefore, I think that their continued survival is a matter of utmost urgency for the whole world as well as for themselves.

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

Any living organism needs, ~~took~~, rationalization for its continued existence. We live. We continue to live. We don't ask ourselves why are we living? We don't have to defend or justify why we're living, or excuse it, or apologize for it. We live. But, when an organism believes that it has a function and a purpose that goes beyond its own purpose in living, to embrace a wider cause, then it makes this justification and it says that its survival is important ~~nd~~ and even urgent for the whole world not just for itself. And if our survival is that important for the whole world - and I believe it is - I believe that the labor union movement in this country was born and created by Jews -- I believe the civil rights movement in this country has received ~~gx~~ its greatest kick and impetus by Jews, no matter how much the negroes hate us, and boy they do -- and if you get inside negro circles you'd be shocked at what you would find -- never mind -- I believe that the scientific inventiveness, the musical genius, the medical capacity - I believe all the things that the Jews ^{have} ~~have~~ are great treasures to be given to the world. Sometimes

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

we have to shove it down their throats. But never mind that either. (laughter) Now, therefor, our survival is something urgent for the world not just for us. And if that's so, then we have to learn what the tools of our survival are. What tools do we need to sharpen? What instruments do we have to devise? What do we have to know in order to guarantee our survival? The tools of our survival are not very complicated. Number one: It is a tremendous knowledge. Brainpower. Sharpen it. Sharpen it. Sharpen it. Sharpen it. And you all know that we do that all the time. ^{The} *number of Jewish students in universities in the United States today, in ratio to the Jewish population, is twice as large as any other group. There are many slings and arrows that we suffer for that - never mind. We fight our way through all the doors of all the schools we can get into - and well we should. And I don't have to elaborate that thing. Because education has been one of the great hallmarks of Jewish existence - whether it was in poor, little villages in the Polish (phonetic spelling) Schtepel - what was in the

FRIEDMAN

mountains, the Atlas ^{..}~~M~~ountains in the South of Morocco on the edge of the Saharan Desert - it doesn't matter where, education was the hallmark of our people. That's one tool. The second tool was migration. Whenever we got caught in a bind, anywhere, and we couldn't fight our way through because they were bigger and stronger than we were, we bolted. Sometimes they threw us out. Never mind. So we migrated involuntarily. It all came to a crashing end in Palestine when the 10th Legion of Rome smashed down the walls of the temple. So then for a thousand years the center of Jewish life was over in Babylonia. And when it call came to an end, there, in the 10th century, it ~~was~~ moved over to Spain. And for five hundred years we had the 'golden age' in Spain. And then boom. Ferdinand and Isabella decided that they would throw the Moors out - and with the Moors they threw the Jews out. And in ~~19~~ 1492 Columbus sailed for America. And on the same day, the third of August, the Jews sailed for Turkey and Holland and Morocco and Algeria and everyplace else - the same day. And he writes in his diary -- you'll notice, as

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FRIEDMAN

he sailed out of the harbor, that there were Jewish
refugee boats in the harbor. And there's a great
big story, about whether he might not have been a
Jew, ~~wix~~ written by a Spaniard, I urge you to find
- "Was Christopher Columbus a Jew," written by
Salvadore de Muriaga, Professor at the University
of Madrid. Whether he was or he wasn't, he had
a lot of Jews on board. Barbernell~~x~~ was a Jew,
the interpretor - and Sacuto the compass maker.
And off they went, because these Jews, ~~wxxx~~ ^{with} there
facilities for languages, were going to have to
learn how to speak to the Indians of Cathay and
China who were about to be discovered. As a
matter of fact, they spoke Hebrew, when they landed
in the Caribbean Islands, and for some reason the
Indians there didn't understand them. (laughter)
Migration was a tool of our survival. Education
was a tool of our survival. Raising the economic
level of our people so that we could beat hunger
and disease was a tool of our survival. We just
are vulgar in many things. Vulgar. We have
discovered - we have reached the apogee of vulgarity
in our ^{Bar Mitzvah} ~~wxxxxxxx~~ parties (laughter) - and in

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

many other things that we do - and it's so stupid -- and it won't last. It'll all swing back. Some sense of balance will always come back into the picture. But - but - but this emphasis upon food and drink, and this love of the creature-comforts that we have, stem from a very deep, psychological thing. One of the ways we always learned to survive was to be sure we had enough food in the bellies of our children. Well, it's gone way overboard. (laughter) But, again, I understand the motivation. And last of all, among these tools of survival, there was one which probably - in my judgment at least -- I'm not sure others would agree with me -- although there's one other man who does agree and you know I'm going to quote him. At least when you find somebody who does agree, you bring them in. Probably most important of all of the tools of our survival, ~~is~~ that we learned how to use ~~y~~ through all these centuries, was the dream of Israel. And we dreamed about it the hardest. And we loved it the most, but were the farthest away from it. We prayed for it three times a day when there wasn't a prayer of a chance of ever getting

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

it. Deep in the heart of the pale of settlement, in the middle of the 15th and 16th century, Jews poured their hearts out in countless thousands of little villages, from which you and I stem, about returning to the land of Zion and the throne of David and the King of Israel and the glory that once was - whether in Odessa or in Kiev or in Minsk or in Pinsk or in Dvinsk, there wasn't a prayer of a chance of getting that dream back - and yet it sustained them and it kept them alive. And I think this is the deepest, the deepest, the most significant psychological, central tool in the survival of the Jewish people because it has to do with our beginnings, our roots and our origins. A man who believes this together with me is a man by the name of Martin Buber. And you all read recently about his death - and you all read these fantastic obituaries in all the papers and magazines. He was an authentic 20th century genius - accounted so by the whole world not just the Jewish world. He wrote a very thin book which I have here. It's called "Israel and Palestine, The History of an Idea," by Martin Buber. And what he says here is very

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

simple. You all know enough Hebrew to know what the word is for man. The word for man is Adam. We anglicize it by saying Adam. You also know that the word for earth is Adama. Many of you know the prayer. You say borai, pri, Adama. Adam and Adama etomologically are the same word. Man and earth are identical. Man comes from earth. Adam - a version of Adam, means reddish brown, the very color of earth. And you know all the old, early myths about the gods that fashioned men on the potter's wheel out of clay and mud and earth. That's a Babylonian myth and a Sumarian myth and a Eucharitic myth and an Arcadian myth and a Hebrew myth, and it crept into our bible that man was fashioned out of clay and mud. Man is earth. The Hebrew man and the Hebrew earth were created at the same time. God gave the land to the people. Time after time after time after time it says in the bible - and I shall give this land to you and to your seeds and to your seed after you - and I shall give this to you for an inheritance. I don't have to repeat the quotations. In Latin Homo, man, comes from humus, earth. We gave an

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

idea to all the other peoples and to all the other languages. We, the Hebrew people, came out of the Hebrew earth. Abraham left a different land to come to that land - and that is the first memory we have. That's even our pre-natal memory. Everybody's been psychoanalyzed haven't they? Or knows somebody who has? And everybody knows that the child was influenced at the moment of conception. And nine or ten long months of influence occur on the child before it's ever cast out into this unfriendly world. From the moment of our birth - and before our birth - while he was in Babylonia planning to come to the land which God pointed out to him -- Now, look, You know I'm not a fundamentalist. You know that by now. And I'm very irreverent in many things. And so you know that. So I'm not trying to give you a literal interpretation of those words - just to believe those words literally - but I am asking you to believe those words psychologically. The faith of the Hebrew people has been connected with the faith of the Hebrew land for four thousand years. And if there are some people in that organization, which shall remain

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

nameless, who believe that, you know - the American Council for Judaism - who believed that that idea is heretical, then those people just don't understand the Jewish religion. "Whether you're orthodox or reform - yeah, a reconstructionist or -~~or~~ whatever somebody's going to invent tomorrow - the cardinal fact of the Hebrew religion is that God appointed, or history, if you don't believe in God, appointed a group of people, in relation to a land, to live there and develop there and struggle there and flower there and give their ideas a soil in which to grow - and that people got knocked out of that land. We've been knocked out of the box twice. We've reestablished that country as a third time now. We may get knocked out of the box again. And if you take a view of history - take a view of history, it's entirely possible, a thousand years from now, the present commonwealth of Israel may be defeated and destroyed by somebody. But, from the beginning of time - of our time - until the end of our time that land is going to be a central tool in our survival.

END OF REEL #2

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REEL #3

FRIEDMAN

And some people, from this country, who go - who want -- and we all take pride in it and we all love it - and we all work like the devil to make it stronger and better and more prosperous and more of a success -- and to take the immigrants into it and to absorb them there. All of our campaigns for the last four or five years have been devoted almost exclusively -- we've taken in a quarter of a million people in the last four or five years, with the money we've raised, to Israel. Israel was certainly central to the survival of those quarter of a million people who had no other place to go. And now there are two and a quarter million Jews living in Israel - the third largest Jewish community in the world. The first is America. The second is Russia. The third is Israel. By another generation the Russian community will be down the drain unless we get them out of there. So that by every way you want to count it, whether it's for a Russian Jew or an American Jew, Israel is central to the survival of our people. And therefore, if we learn these tools of survival - education and migration and economic advancement,

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R. #3

FRIEDMAN

and Israel always as the place from which we get our inspiration which sustains x us all the time - which gives us the vision of this greater kingdom of God on earth that we call the Messianic Dream, then we will have done everything that it's humanly possible for each of us to do to protect the survival of the Jewish people. I would like to read one thing from this Bubber just to give you a feeling of what I'm trying to say. He's referring to a man by the name of Moses Hess that he says - The true, the faithful Jews, he says, need earth, land, Adama, to realize the historical ideal of our people, an ideal which is none other than the reign of God on earth. His intention in thus emphasizing the word earth is to stress the fact that the Jewish Messianic deal refers not to the next world but to this world. It is this earth that is to become the Kingdom of God. But, in order to fulfill its ~~xxx~~ task of setting up a perfect kingdom on earth, a Garden of Eden, a wonderful society, 'The Great Society' - Johnson is very Jewish (laughter) the Jewish people needs ground under its feet - its own ground - a land

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R. #3

FRIEDMAN

on which it can build an independent, self-determining life -- and therefore it needs a land of its own. You know, all of us, when we were kids in school, learned the words of the Lord's Prayer - the Christian prayer - and sometimes we didn't want to say it because we thought it was disloyal to say it - so we used to mumble it under our breaths while the other kids said it. Do you remember? There was nothing disloyal about it. Very, very Jewish prayer. It comes from Jewish sources. Remember what it says? Our Father, who art in heaven, thy kingdom come, on earth as it is in heaven. Jews don't believe much in heaven or hell because we don't know much about that. We're not sure about it. We're a very pragmatic people. But we do believe in earth - the life on earth - making it the best possible place for our kids and everybody else. And so we say thy kingdom come on earth. And if the Christians took that over in The Lord's Prayer, okay. Earth from which we began - Palestine - Israel - earth - anywhere we live on the planet earth - earth as a dream to be made into a place in which man will flower to

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FRIEDMAN

his finest potentiality. That's what we Jews were put here to do - to dream about - to achieve - to fight for - to suffer for and to persevere for. If the United Jewish Appeal helps to do that, I'm all for it. If the American Welfare Fund and Federation of Cleveland, Ohio helps to do that, I'm all for it. Great - great ideals don't mean a damn thing until you work out the instruments by which to make them real. My heart can bleed and cry for the survival of the Jewish people, but unless I find a way to do it, then I'm just going to bleed and cry. But, if I find a practical way to achieve it - and we have found a practical way - we have united together into these great, strong federations - we've united together behind these great organized movements - we found a way to power the treasuries of the money that we have, ~~more than~~ ^{more than} even Croesus ever dreamed of - more than Midas ever dreamed of - we have found a way to pour the largesse, the excess, the great fortunes that we've been able to make - we've found a way to channel them into constructive and purposeful methods to protect the survival of Jewish people and Jewish land and

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R. #3

FRIEDMAN

Jewish ideals - and it's your responsibility to keep those going. Now, if you don't, you'll just get marked down in history as a 'lousy generation.' If you do - and you will - then you'll get marked down in history as 'the ^{most noble} ~~most noble~~ of all generations.' Because, at a time when it would have been the easiest for you to check out, you said nothing doing. We'll stick by it and we'll keep this thing going. That will be to your everlasting glory. (applause)

CHAIRMAN

When Herb said, at the beginning of his speech, that he was frightened by this group and the responsibility that he felt that reaching this group entailed, I knew he was underrating his own ability as a communicator. And I can see from the response that he's had the kind of electric affect on this group which he's had on every group that I've ever been a part of.

END OF REEL #3

H.A.F. SPEECHES IN CLEVELAND

from Herbert A. Friedman

outline of Cleveland
Jury Leadership

Sept 65



from Herbert A. Friedman

①

1. WE LIVE IN GREAT NEW WORLD
2. EVERYTHING JEWISH IS "IN" - "CAMP"
FI
3. NO ANTI-SEMITISM (REFER TO FLANNERY)
4. WE ARE SEEKING TO FIND OURSELVES
5. (TIME MAG - FINAL P) WHAT IS A
DEATH BY SWORD, DEATH BY KNIFE JEW?
WHAT DO I
DO ABOUT IT?

UJA IS NOT JUST MONEY-COLLECTING,
BUT EDUCATIONAL INSTRUMENT
PEOPLE MUST LEARN "WHY", BEFORE
WE CAN ASK "HOW MUCH?"
MY JOB IS TEACHER.

I BELIEVE:

JEWIS ARE UNIQUE
" " CHOSEN
" HAVE CREATED) WORLD AS
WE CHERISH IT - LAW, SOCIAL JUSTICE
(READ TOLSTOY) FREEDOM, PEACE

THEREFORE:

JEWIS MUST SURVIVE + WORK
+ CREATE + IMPROVE

SURVIVAL - IN POLISH SHTETL MEANT
INBREEDING

②

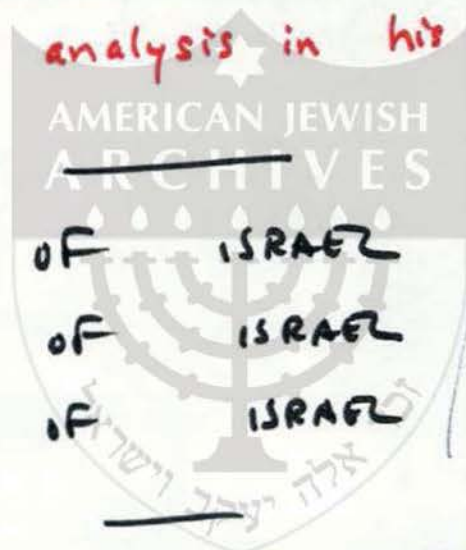
from Herbert A. Friedman

SURVIVAL MUST BE SOUGHT
BY MANY MEANS (MIGRATION, EDUCATION,
DEFEATING ANTI-SEMITISM, RAISING ECONOMIC
LEVEL, ETC.) - BUT

ISRAEL IS CENTRAL

(Buber analysis in his book)

LAND OF ISRAEL
PEOPLE OF ISRAEL
IDEAS OF ISRAEL



organized
community
is the
instrument

IF WE PROTECT THESE,
WE CONTINUE TO REMAIN FERTILE
TO LEAVEN MANKIND'S FUTURE -
NOTHING LESS ! ! ! !

What is a Jew? Tolstoy

What is a Jew? This question is not at all so odd as it seems. Let us see what kind of peculiar creature the Jew is, which all the rulers and all the nations have together and separately abused and molested, oppressed and persecuted, trampled and butchered, burned and hanged - and in spite of all this is yet alive? What is a Jew, who has never allowed himself to be led astray by all the earthly possessions which his oppressors and persecutors constantly offered him in order that he should change his faith and forsake his own Jewish religion?

The Jew is that sacred being who has brought down from heaven the everlasting fire and has illumined

with it the entire world. He is the religious source, spring and fountain out of which all the rest of the peoples have drawn their beliefs and their religions.

The Jew is the pioneer of liberty. Even in those olden days, when the people were divided into but two distinct classes, slaves and masters - even so long ago had the law of Moses prohibited the practice of keeping a person in bondage for more than six years.

The Jew is the pioneer of civilization. Ignorance was condemned in olden Palestine more even than it is today in civilized Europe. Moreover, in those wild and barbarous days, when neither the life nor the death of any one counted for anything at all, Rabbi

Akiba did not refrain from expressing himself openly against capital punishment, a practice which is recognized today as a highly civilized way of punishment.

The Jew is the emblem of civil and religious toleration. "Love the stranger and the sojourner,"

Moses commands, "because you have been strangers in the land of Egypt." And this was said in those remote and savage times when the principal ambition of the races and nations consisted in crushing and enslaving one another. As concerns religious toleration, the Jewish faith is not only far from the missionary spirit of converting people of other demoninations, but on the contrary the Talmud commands the rabbis to inform and

explain to every one who willingly comes to accept the Jewish religion, all the difficulties involved in its acceptance, as to point out to the would-be proselyte that the righteous of all nations have a share in immortality. Of such a lofty and ideal religious toleration not even the moralists of our present day can boast.

The Jew is the emblem of eternity. He whom neither slaughter nor torture of thousands of years could destroy, he whom neither fire nor sword nor inquisition was able to wipe off the face of the earth, he who was the first to produce the oracles of God, he who has been for so long the guardian of prophecy, and who transmitted it to the rest of the world,

- such a nation cannot be destroyed. The Jew is
everlasting as is eternity itself.



P. 10 ff

Martin Buber

Israel + Palestine

London - East West Union

PRIMAL RELATIONSHIP between MAN + EARTH

ADAMA - earth } Hebrew
ADAM - man }

(5)

Homo - Humus - Latin

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

(6)

page
18

✓
Within history an absolute relationship between a people and a land has been taken into the covenant between God and the people

19

✓
Israel is the one people that knows the truth how it came into possession of its land. Among all the traditions of the world this is the only one that tells of the promise of a land to a people.

The man Abraham appears as the earliest recipient of this promise.

31 (bottom)-32

Centrality of place (Zion) for all mankind.
First Torah given only to Jew at Sinai,
second to all mankind from Zion.

35

ditto this theme

ZION The HEART OF THE WORLD

47

Both the people and the land of Israel are elected by God. The people is chosen in a definite moment of history, a man is chosen to become the tribal father, gradually in the succession of the generations a people is formed and selected.

The land, on the other hand, is as such not the product of history but a part of Creation. Its election must have taken place in the very act of the Creation itself.

53-54

Three Haggadic sentences:

A.) "Dwelling in the land of Israel outweighs all the commandments of the Torah"
(i.e. makes their fulfillment possible)

B.) "Everyone that lives in the land of Israel is like the man that has a god and everyone that lives abroad is like the man that has no god"
(i.e. one can only attain a proper fellowship with God in the land of His people.)

C.) "Return unto the land of ~~my~~ my fathers and to my kindred, and I will be with thee - My father is waiting for thee, My mother waiteth for thee, I myself am waiting for thee."

54-56

Story of return of Rabbi Zera from Babylon to Palestine - and his belief that the dawn of the messianic age will come as a result of living in the holy land.

Living in the land, and in the midst of the people, doing the will of God as a people, only this, not discussing the Redemption, not pondering over it, not making frantic exertions to bring it about, only living in the land as God's people will bring Messiah when no one is thinking of him.

p. 117 ✓

Max Hesse - socialist turned Zionist - says:
The true, the faithful Jews, need earth
'to realize the historical ideal of our people, an
ideal that is none other than the reign of God
on earth.' In both cases, as in two earlier
passages, Hesse has underlined the word la terre,
the earth.

His first intention in thus emphasizing the word
'earth' is to stress the fact the Jewish messianic ideal
refers not to the next world but to this: it is the
earth that is to become the Kingdom of God; but in
order to fulfill its task of setting up the Kingdom of
God, the Jewish people needs ground under its
feet, its own ground, a land in which it can build
up an independent self-determining life and therefore
one in accordance with the will of God - for that it
needs a land of its own.

P. 118

Hess defines more closely the manner in which he sees the "realization of the historical ideal of our people" in Palestine: in the creation of model social institutions.

He was the first religious socialist in the history of Judaism.

He made three points as pre-conditions for a successful rebirth:

- 1) "The acquisition of the national soil held in common"
- 2) "The effort to establish legal conditions under the protection of which work can thrive"
- 3) "The founding of Jewish societies for agriculture, industry and commerce according to Mosseri, that is to say, Socialistic principles."

"These are the foundations on which Judaism will rise again in the Orient and by which the whole of Judaism will be revived."

from Herbert A. Friedman

Grtt

Put this in my
speech file, with the
Cleveland Young Leadership
speech, Sept. 1965



Young Leadership Regional Conference
Cleveland Sept 1965

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REEL #1 (QUESTIONS & ANSWERS)(CLEVELAND - IMMEDIATELY
FOLLOWING BLUM'S SPEECH)

(applause)

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Blum had, what we say in showbusiness, a hard act to follow, As you know, having listened to Rabbi Friedman's speech last night. But, he sure held his own and he gave us, I think, one of the most thoughtful and inspiring talks that we've heard in Cleveland in many a year. We thank you for being with us and for your participation in this conference. There's now time for questions from all of you on either Rabbi Friedman's talk of last night, or Mr. Blum's speech this morning. I'd appreciate it if you would identify yourself. Keep your questions relatively brief so that we can hear from as many people as possible. Are there any questions from the audience at this time? And will you please say who you'd like to direct them to? Yes? Mort Stone.

STONE

I'd like to direct it to either of those gents. Relating specifically to the area of Jews in the college professorial level - professionals - professors, teachers and the like, it's been my impression - and I wonder if they'd comment upon

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R. #1

STONE

this -- many of these men, who, of course, are among the brilliant people of the country - who are people with ideas - or should be people with ideas - to a large measure, when they enter those fields, seem to in a sense vanish from the Jewish community. They seem to identify with the scholastic community. And perhaps much of their resources, of what they could do for the Jewish community, is somehow lost and not properly tapped. I wonder if this is the case, or it's a misimpression? Or, if this is an area where a lot of effort can be directed? Because these people are teaching - they are positions of responsibility in leadership and it seems that there is a vast area of great importance ^{for} ~~on-going~~ on-going motivation.

CHAIRMAN

I think that most everybody heard Mort's question. But just in case some of those in the rear did not - he's asking about the lack of involvement, in the Jewish community, on the part of the academic community - the Jews who are professors in our big universities. And he addressed the question to either of you gentlemen. Which one wants to

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R. #1

CHAIRMAN

tackle it? Rabbi Friedman?

FRIEDMAN

First of all, before answering your question, I want to say that Irv and I really sandbagged you. Because, with no collusion whatsoever, contrary to the Sinai Campaign of 1956 (laughter) we just locked you in. And, if you didn't believe me, now you got to believe him. (laughter) Because, as you realize, we said identical things - absolutely identical.

BLUM

That's why you liked the speech. (laughter & applause)

FRIEDMAN

And I - I want to say publicly - and you know I'm not one who is given very much to compliments or flattery - but I think this is one of the most, well-reasoned, logical - and I'm talking now about the manner in which he went at this - the structure of the speech - the thought that went into it - the raising of questions and the answering of them - the skeleton and bones of that talk @ A,B,C - 1,2,3 - were as well reasoned and logical and as beautifully spoken as I have heard any layman in

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

the United States manage this subject - and I really mean it. (applause) You're really sensational.

BLUM

Send money! (laughter)

FRIEDMAN

You see now that hard-headed business side of him comes out. (laughs) A - as far as the question is concerned of Mr. Stone, my own observations are that there is - a - there has been a flight of the intellectual from Judaism - a flight of the Jewish intellectual from Jewish commitment. The Jewish intellectual will sit there and argue about - about this question raised this morning. He will say that he disagrees with most of the things that Irving said or that I said. He won't accept that there's a relevance of Judaism in this modern world. He insists upon the larger, universal framework. And he - that Jewish intellectual - mostly - a - in the field of academics, teaching or - a - the theater, or literature - is going to find himself - if he doesn't already - peculiarly out of step with you. Because what's happening is

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

that that Jewish intellectual, in 1965, has a petrified and frozen position which he adopted in 1945 and which he's sitting with now - and you passed him by because you are returning and he's not. And when he finds himself out of tune with you, he'll swing back. It's a little - a little heartbreaking sometimes to talk to people like Norman Cousins or like Philip Roth - and I don't want to go on mentioning names - and have them be way above this small, sectarian battle of ours - and not realize that it's the battle of all of mankind that we're fighting. They think they're fighting their way with their broad, universal approach. They are wrong, some of us think. They are wrong, most of you think by the way you act and conduct yourself, and they'll find out that they are wrong. Meanwhile, slowly, slowly, slowly some of them keep coming back - and it isn't completely true. Because now the youngest - the very youngest generation of them, particularly in the scientific community, the Ph.D.'s in the mid-twenties, twenty-five years old and twenty-eight years old, whom I know a bunch working out at Brookhaven, let's say at the atomic

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

laboratory in Long Island, they're on their way back in to the concept of the relevance of Judaism and commitment to it. When you're talking about the college professors, you're talking about the forty-year olds and the forty-five year olds, maybe whom you know - and I say they're twenty years out of step by now - and we regret it - and we don't have them -- with rare exceptions. You got a Professor Haber at Ann Arbor - and you got - I could name lots and lots and lots of them all down the line. It's not really as bankrupt and as barren as that. But, accepting the fact that the majority of them are, as you say, out on the fringe of our sense of commitment and we haven't been able to bring them in, I think that this situation's going to alter itself in five or ten years.

BLUM

Could I make a comment?

CHAIRMAN

Sure. By all means. Go ahead.

BLUM

I'd like to associate myself with Herb's remarks on this and to add just a couple of thoughts about

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R. #1

BLUM

it. I think one of the reasons, aside from the encompassing reason -- and I like Herb's turn of phrase on this, petrified - because I really do think that a lot of this response is a reflex action - this is the expected response and this may very well change. Because it's becoming a little more fashionable, a little more "in" these days to be Jewish in the general community. (laughter) Well, you don't need both of us. (laughter) I do think that one of the problems about this, and with which some of our people at the national level, I know, are concerning themselves, is the matter of Jewish education at the college level. I don't really believe that there is enough knowledge or understanding of what Judaism is and what it stands for and its relevance, if you will, at that level. And I think that this is being corrected if - if we go, at all, by the demand that there is today for Jewish educators - not necessarily Jewish educators but educators who specialize in - in bible and Jewish history as a matter of demand from the colleges themselves. There was a very recent article, that I just happened to read this week,

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R. #1

BLUM

in The Jewish Frontier, I believe, Herb, by Doctor Teller who, if I'm not mistaken, is a Labor Zionist fellow, and he had a procedural sort of mechanical answer to this that maybe relates very closely to some of the thing that I said and that we're all confronted with. And he said that the Jewish intellectual was alienated because, for an entire generation - generation, we have promoted and sold what he called 'a victimization-complex' that the whole matter of Jewish communal activity was centered about the fact that Jews were victims and that in a sense now this comes back to plague us. Because the intellectual, who has not had that as an experience of his own, seeks other ways of expressing himself. I think there's an element of ~~the~~ truth in that. And I too would underscore the fact that I am very confident that somehow, someday the Jewish intellectual will find Judaism the continuing inspirational source that it has been in the generations gone by.

GORDY

Sidney, could I react to this for a second?

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R. #1

VOICE

Sure. Gordy (name) would like to comment on this.

GORDY

I don't know (name) or Cousins, but I do feel that there is - there is a danger. There has been a freezing of position by the intellectual in the academic circle. There is a danger that the organized Jewish communities will freeze their position with regard to academic circles. And I think that the defrosting must start with the organized Jewish community. That the overture, the invitation to involve the academic people in the process of Jewish community life must start with us. Now, I'm not in a position to say that it will work with everyone. It won't. But in Columbus we have tried - we have made overtures. And one of the dangers, one of the fears of the academic circle, apart from this victimization which I think is sound, is that the structure of the organized Jewish community is stratified with money - that the purpose of the Jewish community is to raise money. These are not enabling causes that inspire the intellectual on the campuses. We need their brainpower. We've got legitimate social

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R. #1

issues to deal with. We've got legitimate organizational problems to deal with. With their imagination and their knowledge and their capacity to contribute resourceful, new approaches to new and changing problems are vitally needed. I think the first step is for the organized Jewish community to extend the invitation on that level. Not in fund-raising - not in ^{campaigning} ~~campaign~~ - but in the service organization of our community to the academic community - so that they have an opportunity to feel needed and a part of - and welcome and wanted. Thank you. (applause)

CHAIRMAN

Thank you Gordy. Actually, steps in that direction have been taken in Cleveland, also, and we've been quite gratified by the response to-date along these lines. But we have a long ways to go. All right, are there any other questions? Yes? Mrs. Goodman.

MRS. GOODMAN

Rabbi Friedman, you mentioned last night, that unless the Russian Jews are out of Russia, in another generation we will lose them. Does UJA have the hope of bringing out the Russian Jews?

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R. #1

CHAIRMAN

Now, Mrs. Goodman has asked whether the UJA has any hope for the rescue of approximately the three million Russian Jews.

FRIEDMAN

I think the word was do we have any plans? The answer is no. It's the biggest issues on the agenda now. In terms of where Jews in the world are in trouble, we have been steadily and happy making great progress in cleaning up most of the areas of difficulty. We're down now - I'm using the word down statistically - to the fact that in the Moslem world, where it's uncomfortable for Jews to live - there probably aren't two hundred thousand Jews living in the entire world, in six or eight countries under Moslem flags, anymore. And we keep constantly evacuating and evacuating - and that problem is on the way to solution. In the Communist, satellite world of Eastern Europe, the same situation prevails, very happy. ^{hemorrhaged} ~~XXXXXX~~ Most of those countries have ~~XXXXXX~~ out of their Jews. In the whole of the satellite world, I don't think there are two hundred and fifty thousand Jews left. And therefore we can say, with a feeling of successful accomplishment, that we've

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

almost finished. Another five years of work, eight years of work, we'll be done with that. And therefore, on the agenda ahead, the Russian-Jewish population remains as the great challenge to all of us. There seems to be no possibility whatsoever, based upon everything we know now, to be ~~able~~ able to affectuate anything like an opening of the door there. The reasons are complicated, but $\frac{1}{2}$ put it down to one simple one. It is impossible for the Russian regime to admit to itself and to the world that it has three million out of its two hundred and something million people who don't want to live there. They can't admit that - not to themselves and not to the world. And they can't admit that their regime, their government, their Socialist utopia is something which several million people might want to - to - to leave. And so there is no possibility whatsoever of talking about open immigration. Approaches have been made to them on the basis of not open immigration but family reunification. Would you allow out - and we'll give you lists of names - many of your citizens who have brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers living

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

in other parts of the world - in Israel, in Canada, in the United States, in Argentina - would you allow your people out on the basis of family reunification? That's a humanitarian approach. That doesn't mean they don't like your country - that means they want to go live with their brother. And we've handed in long lists of names - twelve thousand names - forty thousand names - and the Russia reaction to that is very negative, very limited, very minor. At the same time, parallel to that, we keep talking to them all the time about the second fact. Okay, if you won't conceive of allowing people out, what about allowing natural, organic Jewish survival techniques and instrumentalities inside Russia? Why don't you let the Jews inside Russia have synagogues - have the use of the Hebrew language or the Yiddish language? Why don't you let them have seminaries to train rabbis and teachers to keep the people informed and loyal to each succeeding generation to Judaism? And that is the main burden of the public relation's pressure that we keep bringing on them now in these recent years. That will be the point of the big meeting which will be

FRIEDMAN

held in Washington one week from today, where thousands and thousands of Jews are going to convene, ⁱⁿ with what will be called a 'vigil,' in order to bring to the Russian attention again the fact that we feel that Russian Jews don't have a chance for equal expression with all the other hundred and sixty nationalities of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government calls the Jews a nationality. Every Soviet citizen has a passport in his pocket. We use passports only when we want to travel abroad. Every one of them has a passport which he uses when he wants to go from Moscow to Leningrad - he shows it at the train station. On this identity document, which every Soviet citizen carries, his nationality is stamped - and there are one hundred and sixty nationalities in the Soviet Union. You're either a Cossack or an Uzbek or you are a Turkistan or you're a Georgian or you're a White Russian. And one of the nationalities is Jew. And there are three million Russian citizens who carry that identity in their passports. So, we say to the Russian Government, if you admit that they're a nationality, then give them the trappings that all the other nationalities have.

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

Every one of the other one hundred and sixty nationalities has got a newspaper printed in its own language. The Jews haven't no newspaper printed in either one of the two Jewish languages, Hebrew or Yiddish, etc. etc. So that's the public ^{pressure} ~~pressure~~ campaign we bring to bear on them all the time. And they are slightly, ever so slightly susceptible to that. There are little, tiny chinks every once in a while in which they make a concession and they say, okay, we'll print a book of -Sholem Aleichem died - the hundredth anniversary of his birth - fine, we'll print a volume and we'll issue it in ten thousand copies. Well, the ten thousand copies get snapped up in the first two hours. There's a big sea of demand for it and the ten thousand go fast. So that's really only a token gesture on their part. We keep pressing for the token gestures and they keep making some. We have a lot of visitors going back and forth all the time inside the Soviet Union, open and clandestine, trying to ascertain the temperament, the mood, the feeling of Russian Jews, who try to work particularly among anybody below the age of forty-seven. The age of forty-seven

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

is, for us, the crucial age. That means anybody born after 1948. 1948 is when the Soviet Regime came into power. So anybody born since then was born under a Russian-Communist flag and government. In the forty-seven years of the existence of that regime, which has been constantly trying to drown and kill and destroy and break the back of Jewish identity, any man under the age of forty-seven who retains any sense of Jewish feeling really represents a success for us and a failure for them. Anybody over the age of forty-seven, who was born not under the Communist regime, can have some old Jewish memories and so the Russians say, well, sure, that's sentiment, and that's - and they'll all be dead pretty soon. We find that even among those below the age of forty-seven there are - there are two strong currents. One is a completely assimilated Communist current, where the fellow says to me don't bother me. I'm not Jewish. I'm Russian. So we've lost him. But the second current that we find is yes, I am Jewish. Yes, I am interested. Yes, I do listen to Kol Israel on the radio, even though the Russians try to jam

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

it like they used to try to jam the B.B.C., they try to jam the Israel radio now. I'm interested. I'd love to get some literature. I'd love to see what happens. Please tell me what's going on. So that leaves two clear-cut currents. If you'd ask me my own estimate - are three million Jews in Russia strongly identified to the - to the basic premise of maintaining Jewish identity and survival, I would by now say no. It's no longer true. How many of the three million are in the process of drifting off from us I don't know. It's getting larger and larger. If we could do something about it now, how many of them could we save? Still the majority. By a quarter of a century from now, if this situation remains at it is, where they won't let anybody out and where they won't let us in in any large systematic way, and where they continue to try to clamp down and only grant these little minor concessions, by another quarter of a century they will have succeeded in ~~xxx~~ lopping off a whole - another bunch. And what would our loyal corps be down to by then? I don't know. So that this is the major issue on our agenda now for the new few years. And

FRIEDMAN

this is the time at which we have to keep on this unrelenting pressure on them in a very subtle way. We can't conduct a cold war with them. We can't say 'dirty Russians, rotten Communists' and make it sound as though we're part of the cold war. No, it's got to be more subtle. We're not against your government. We're not against your economic form. What we are against is the fact that you are not allowing freedom to a group of people inside your country. Give them the freedom you want. Print a hundred thousand copies of the book, and if the Jews don't buy it, then you're right and we're wrong. Let them have an organization of synagogues all over the country. If they don't want it, we'll find that out. You'll be right and we'll be wrong. This is the way we keep subtly working at them. And this is going to be a matter in which we're just going to have to keep the pressure on. There will be a lot of publicity out of that meeting next Sunday. There'll be another meeting a year from Sunday - and it'll just go on and on this way. Every non-Jewish emissary, that we can get our hands on, who goes to the Soviet Union, we ask to bring this problem

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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

up. In the course of the last five years, a whole variety of people - everybody from, oh, Mrs. Roosevelt, when she was alive, went to Russia, brought it up - and Vice-President Nixon, when he went to Russia brought it up - non-Jews bring it up with the Soviet Government - so that they are - they're constantly aware of the fact that this is an important issue with us. And our strategy in the whole matter is to keep them on the griddle with this and keep them on the hot-seat with it and make them aware that we're not the C.I.A. and we're not trying to undermine them, and we're not trying -- still, we want them to know we're unhappy with what they're doing. And they do respond to that. So, I've tried to give you the whole picture of the thing. In specific terms of getting people out, I think probably we can - we have been getting out of the Soviet Union six, seven hundred people a year for the last five years, which you know is just nothing.

CHAIRMAN

Thank you Herb. Any questions? Yes. (name) Goodman

GOODMAN

Rabbi, last night you made a statement, probably

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R. #1

GOODMAN

generalizing, that you find in the negro leadership, in the civil rights movement, there is an anti-semitic feeling. And I think ^{Clevelanders,} ~~circumstances~~ both the lay people and professionals who have been doing some work with the negro leadership, have not found this true. I'd like to heard your comment on thisx.

CHAIRMAN

I might say that this particular subject of community relations is not the subject of this conference. So I'm going to ask the Rabbi to comment very briefly on that question.

FRIEDMAN

Yeah, I can be very brief. I did not say negro leadership. No. No. The civil rights leadership - the negro leadership, with the exception of a guy like James Baldwin, who's really got a fire in his belly, not on the mountain (laughter - but the leadership is quite, quite respectful and close and coordinated and understands and is grateful and appreciative and - and knows that we're working hand-in-glove. No, my comment referred to twenty million negroes - Watts - on 125th Street in Harlem - there, the feeling is deep among them


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R. #1

FRIEDMAN

that the damn white Jewish merchants have exploited them for all these years. And, boy, if they could only burn up those shops and loot them and gut them, the Jews have got it coming to them. There's a complete paradox and a complete difference of opinion between the responsible leadership and the mob on the street. I was referring to the latter.

END OF REEL #1 (questions & answers)



REEL #2 (QUESTIONS & ANSWERS)

BLUM

...to establish the fact that I though - although I can't prove it completely, statistically - thatn there was a very, very close relationship between these facts - and that the motivation which - a - is present in large givers - the small numbers of people - may quite well not be the motivation which is going to motivate the other people at the base of this pyramid - ~~pyramid~~ which is what we're trying to get at. How can we get at that? Now, this is an interesting thing. We think we had some success with this this year. We added one thousand givers in our member's division, over last year, so far this year. We had some six thousand givers last year. We have had seven thousand this year. And a number of projects, we felt, resulted in this - one of which was this matter of bringing the rabbinic community into our effort. And this - we have only scratched the surface - and we think this has a lot of possibilities - and that fact may not have been present in other communities other than our own. We also involved our young leadership people in a project that has tremendous promise - and that is that we try to find out a little bit

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R. #2

BLUM

about the people unknown to the associated community. And we asked our young leadership group to undertake a project which went something like this. We supplied the young leadership group with the names of some five hundred people, who were gotten together, having no relationship to synagogue affiliation or country club or anything like that. We took out-lying areas in our community where it was known that Jews live. And we simply went to telephone books, in apartment houses that were known to be Jewish apartment houses, and got together a list of five hundred people. The young leadership group got us together a team of fifty men who agreed either in pairs or singly to go at these five hundred people - not so much to get a gift - because this was - though this was important - but really to try to find some information as to how they felt about it. Well, we had a staggering result because they got gifts from a very, very substantial number of people that they approached.

And many of them were ~~xxxxxx~~ just simply - nobody had been to them. They weren't joiners and they didn't belong to a synagogue. They were physicists

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R. #2

BLUM

at the Westinghouse Plant, and technicians at the Martin Plant, and people who had moved in from other communities. There's much more mobility today. And you don't - we, in communities, think we know everybody in the community. We really don't because there are thousands of people that come in. Now, that project was so productive, not only in terms of the results that we got as to numbers of gifts -- that our young leadership, we hope this coming year, will undertake a program whereby, in concert with Mr. and Mrs. groups and Brotherhood groups and Sisterhood groups in the synagogues, will try to go at five thousand people instead of five hundred. It's understanding. I mean so few people really understand. I'm now speaking of the people at the base. I'm not talking of the people at the top of the pyramid - really understand the magnitude of this effort of ours - not only in sympathy terms but in effectiveness terms, in terms of what we do in a community, in terms of what our institutions mean to the non-Jewish community. I sometimes think that some of our non-Jews in Baltimore understand what we do a hell

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R. #2

BLUM

of a lot better than we understand it ourselves. And we run a non-Jewish campaign in Baltimore, very quietly, and raise several thousand dollars a year. I've been Chairman of that for a couple of years and I've talked with leading bankers and businessmen. They understand what they mean in the community. They understand the force that we exert for the betterment of the human condition. And I think there's a close relationship between this understanding and commitment. And I don't think you can be committed to anything until you understand what you're committed to. And if we could get more understanding, we would get more commitment. Because what we're doing is valid in sectarian terms and it's valid in universal terms. And I think there is a close relationship. And I've only mentioned a few of our programs. We had other programs, that we'd gotten started in that area, that we think ended up as this thousand more gifts, which in campaign terms we have to think of as annuities, if we keep them. And what those gifts are worth is the future contribution value in dollars. And what they are worth in human

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R. #2

BLUM

terms is underscoring the validity of our entire approach.

CHAIRMAN

Thank you. The next question? (name) Hershkowitz.

HERSHKOWITZ

This is directed to Rabbi Friedman. In respect to Jewish survival, how are we to transmit to our children the sense of Jewish history and of Jewish values? What is the role of organized religion in your tools for survival?

CHAIRMAN

Boy-oh-boy. (laughter)

FRIEDMAN

No. No. We'll get out of here in time. (laughter)
We will. First of all, the most literate spokesman in the lay-leadership I've ever heard, Mr. Blum, admits that while he has great ease and facility in convincing three hundred of us, he has trouble with his own children. And that's so. I have a sixteen year old son, with whom I have to fight all the time because he says look, pop, what the hell is this business of always talking about those six million Jews? Now, that was a quarter of a

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

century ago, and I'm just sick and tired ~~am~~ of hearing about it. And ~~that~~ so they were -- and he's merciless in the way he defines it - you know, in his thinking - which is this free, new America in which he lives. They went like sheep to the slaughter. They didn't do anything to fight back. They had no guts. Okay, they got clobbered. They got caught in something bigger than they could handle, and it was the accumulation of centuries of persecution. That's done with. I don't want to hear about it anymore. And I tried to argue with my own son about the enormity of that crime and the fact that it recommended a bankruptcy in Christian morality, and the fact that we Jews have to be terribly vigilant about it and never forget it in order to use it as a stepping stone for ^{progress.} ~~progress.~~ He just sits there impatiently while I'm hammering away at him. So that I'm not minimizing the question you asked. Yes, organized religion has a tremendous role. I maybe better not say some of the things that I think about the problem that organized religion has in America now, at this point. Organized religion has come through an orgy of 'temple-building' which has (laughter)

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

apparently consumed an awful lot of time and energy - and now everybody's sort of exhausted - and most of the new buildings are built - and so now we're at phase two. What should we do inside of those buildings? (laughter) But the fact of the matter is - the fact of the matter is - look, it's my own colleagues. (laughter) I'm the only one in this room's got a right to say it. (laughter) The fact of the matter is that organized religion plays a crucial role as an instrument. You, as the parent of the kids in that Sunday school, are going to get the kind of program for your children that you want. You'll get the skimmed-milk kind of thing every two hours on Sunday morning, if that satisfies you. Or you'll go in for the meat and potato thing of three, four days a week, if you really want it. And there's no other way than the meat and potatoes. Organized religion is no more or no less than you. Rabbis are very responsive to the demands of ^{their} ~~that~~ congregations - very responsive. Any strong group came into a Rabbi and said, look, we think the curriculum is too thin - we think the time spent is too little - we want more - he'll give it

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

to you. Don't you worry about that. Organized religion can go very far if you're willing to steep your kids in it - to teach them things. Number two: The household can go very far because you have a better hook on them than the synagogue. You have them more. You just sit down at that table every single Friday night of the year and the television gets cut off - and the dates don't take place until nine o'clock - and they don't run to the basketball games - and you just make them sit there for a couple of hours - and you light those candles and you talk a little bit around the table about Jewish things - and you say that blessing over the wine - and you create the emotional warmth of identification about little, tiny, minimal ceremonials - but you do it consistently and you'll put aside a couple of precious, sacred hours a week, in which all the mundane stuff gets left alone that goes at the dinner table six nights a week, one night a week - and let it be that Friday night - let that be something special - you have got a teaching instrument in the home which is more powerful than you. Thirdly: You got to start,

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

yourself, to read more books than you read - because they're smarter than you are and you know it. (laughter) When they get into the sixth grade, with ^{the} new mathematics, you and I are lost. (laughter) Or, the second grade in some places. (laughter) And what you got to do is simply keep a jump ahead of them. Now, if you can't keep a jump ahead of them on the new mathematics, you can keep a jump ahead of them on the old Judaism. And so, you know, between what you will demand inside your congregational life and what you will demand in the way of intellectual discipline from yourself, you will have an effect on the kids or you'll fail. And that's not out of the question either. If you got three kids, maybe you'll strike with ~~three~~ two and miss with one. But then you're providing the next generation with two thirds committed. And I haven't gotten -- there isn't any more complicated answer to it than that. There really isn't. (applause)

CHAIRMAN

Thank you Rabbi. Before I call on the next questioner, I would like to pass on a question related to Herb's answer to the previous ones - it was asked by a number of people at this conference - and that is,

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R. #2

CHAIRMAN

sure, we know we have to broaden our own background, our own understanding of Judaism, of the role of the American Jewish community. What specific terms - what type of reading should we do? And I'd like to have Herb just mention briefly the resources available, to any of the people who are attending this conference, along those lines.

FRIEDMAN

Well, let me - let me just say this vdry quickly. We had a Young Leadership thing like this in Baltimore a few months ago - I forget when it was - and somebody said, will you give me a list of books? And I said, yeah - and I really worked very hard and I drew up a list of twenty-five books. This is my list of twenty-five books. If you were to read them all, and really know what's in them all, you would be much better informed on this than I am. (laughter) Or, let's say, as well. (laughter. Now, you know I've got that list. It's in the office. It's ~~new~~ mimeographed. I can send it to anybody who wants it. You know I didn't bring three hundred copies of it to pass out here. But, if Eznie, or anybody has got a membership - has got an attendance

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

list of who was here - and if you want it - and you just -- let's see a show of hands - we'll mail it to all of you. Anybody interested?

CHAIRMAN

Who?

FRIEDMAN

Okay. Good.

CHAIRMAN

It'll be a quiet winter.

FRIEDMAN

It'll be a quiet winter. (laughter)

CHAIRMAN

Thank you Herb. I might mention that most of you noticed that Herb's speech of last night was being taped. Mr. Blum's speech was ^{also} ~~was~~ being taped. And we will hope to have some transcripts available. I don't know exactly when - but if you're interested, why, please let us know. I believe this ^{gentleman} ~~gentleman~~ over here has a question.

SHELDON SCHACHTER

My name is Sheldon Schacter and I'd like ^{to ask a} ~~the~~ question of the Rabbi.

~~XXXXXXXX~~ It seems to me that it's fairly obvious that involvement, commitment and charity is proportional

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SCHAGITER

to education and the feeling engendered by this Jewish education, whether it be formal or self-taught. Why has it been that the UJA in the past shied away from the field of education - from basic Jewish education? Why is it also when Mr. Blum gave his talk, that when he mentioned the rabbis and kossereh, for example, which is really the tap-root, as he put it, of Jewish survival, that he mentions it in a ludicrous fashion? Why is it that mention of rabbis and of religious commitment always bring out laughter in a group such as this? Why has it been, for example, that the Catholic hierarchy borrows from us - from the old testament the - the - the - the commandment to teach diligently to our children? Why doesn't the UJA get involved in basic education instead of only with social agencies?

CHAIRMAN

I think you better answer.

BLUM

I'll defend myself afterwards.

CHAIRMAN

Go ahead. Answer him!

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FRIEDMAN

I will accept the fact that the question was asked out of 'hunger and need and desire and a little frustration' - that it hasn't happened before - and I'll answer it by saying that to the best of my knowledge, in the ten years in which I've been the head of the UJA - and I can't account for it before that - I have tried to make it, as I said last night, an educational instrument. So, when you say why hasn't the UJA done it, I can't only answer by saying, to the best of my ability, I do it. I take the UJA machine and try to make it as much of an educational machine as I can. But, when you say why doesn't the UJA educate the American Jewish community, then you're saying that we should do the job of the synagogue - we should do the job of the bureaus of Jewish education - we should do the job of the committees of Jewish education, and there's a difference, as you well know. That we should do the job of the parent in the home, no. No. I'm trying to take the UJA and operate it on the premise that you don't just slug a man over the head for money. You got to get from him his commitment, and tell him why you need the money,

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FRIEDMAN

and try to get as much as you can out of him, and teach him in the process of asking him. And that's the way I run the UJA - and that's the way I run the UJA-and that's the way my staff works - and that's the way the lay-leaders work who receive their training. The second thing you talked about was the sort of snickering that goes on in the room when one talks about rabbis. Look, let's be brutally honest about this. The asking of the question is a painful thing, because the asking of the question reveals the fact that there is something wrong in 'this State of Denmark.' And I'm not talking now about superficial respect. Superficially, the American Jewish community gives great respect to its rabbis, just as the Christian community gives respect to its clergy. But, down deep inside the snickering probably comes - and now I have to be the psychoanalyst in order to make the guess - the snickering probably comes because - on the part of most people, they look on the rabbi as somebody to perform - to marry them and to bury them - to speak nice things in the inter-faith meetings to the 'goyim' - to put on a good musical program and

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FRIEDMAN

a good service once a year at ~~the~~ Rosh Hoshana -
and to be 'the whipping boy' when he doesn't visit
Mrs. Cohn, in the hospital, who's got an ingrown
toenail. I mean the American Jewish community
needs to have a whipping boy and the rabbi's it
in most cities. And so what you're doing is ~~describing~~
describing a ~~snickering~~ snickering which is ~~x~~ the result of
what you -- I don't mean you personally -- what
you collectively do to your rabbis. Now, a few
guys manage heroically to climb above all that and
dominate you. And when you get a very strong,
powerful and committed and dedicated and vocal and
literate rabbi, he fights down his Board of Directors
all the time and he's the boss. And then he says
something that you listen to and you respect him
and you don't snicker at him. But most of the
rabbis are not like that. The great American parlor
game is 'bait the rabbi' and you all know it. And
in this community there's been a great deal of it.
Not just in this community - in all communities. So
the snicker comes because everybody knows, sub-
consciously, that he's guilty of that. Now, you
cut him down to size and he can't perform for you.

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

The few giants, who surmount this, you love and you respect and you follow and you revere and you learn something from them. He's no more than what you make of him. He's dependent upon you for his bread and butter. He can't run to the Pope to get a job at another diocese. He's got to get another job himself if you throw him out. So, if you make him something much better than he is, he'll rise to be something much better than he is in his usual pedestrian way. And what are most rabbis? They're only people too. I'm not defending him. I'm saying that the goods ones get to the top and can give you something - and you are in the constant process of cutting all the rest of them down and then they're just emasculated. So then they marry you and they bury you - and when they're sixty-five they go on a pension. So, therefore, I don't take your question as an indictment. I take it as a search. And you can improve the situation, not the rabbi. He's got to improve his capacity. We have a bunch of misfits in the profession. It's a queer profession. It's the one which you say why should a Jewish boy go into it? (laughter) You

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R. #2

FRIEDMAN

know that's all part of the snickering you're talking about. And we have our misfits and we have our incapables. We -- the role of the rabbi has become something so peculiar - he's an advertising man and he's an administrator - and he's a publicity agent - and he's a fund-raiser - and he becomes less and less able to read and study, so he doesn't fill himself up. How can he give anything to you? It's a tough routine. It's a vicious circle. Now, as far as the third thing, you said about - you suggested that there was a sort of snickering about the kosher table as well - I think that was the third item? I will just like to recall what I said about it last night and what I really feel about it. As one of the factors which separated and delimited and kept isolated the Jewish group -- I applauded it and have all respect for it -- I view it as an important tool in the whole fight for survival, I really do. The fact that there are some problems with it is what causes some people to be impatient with it - and there are always a lot of problems with it. There is an intransigence on the part of the orthodox

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FRIEDMAN

community in regard to it. They view it differently. They don't view it just as a tool for survival. They view it as a word from God that has to be obeyed. Well, when they view it that way, and try to impose that view on everybody who might not believe that way, you've got tensions and frictions. And so, when the question comes up of having a luncheon - to be very specific -- make believe it wasn't a luncheon of rabbis - make believe it's a luncheon. In every planning committee that you've ever sat on, you've all been faced with this. We're going to have a luncheon. And somebody says, well, it's got to be a kosher luncheon. And somebody says, oh, God, Does it really? And somebody else says, well, yeah, now it does because there's a whole group of people want to invited, we don't want to offend them, and they've got to be able to come and eat. And what's the difference if it's kosher? Because, we non-kosher people can eat kosher food but they can't eat non-kosher food. Okay, so the majority bows to the minority once again. And there's a feeble attempt once more to bring up the financial question. And somebody says, but a kosher luncheon

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FRIEDMAN

is going to cost twice as much as a non-kosher luncheon - which it does. And somebody then says, well, so what. And you argue it out and you argue it out, And finally you come to the conclusion. So, I'm saying that, from that point of view only, it's an irritant in public, organized life many times, and that's maybe why you hear snide things about it. But, from a person point of view, you would be surprised at the number of families in reform congregations - reform/~~emigration~~ congregations - who keep kosher at home - they don't outside. Because, as a tool inside the house, they want to use that thing to impress the kids with - as I was talking before - not just a Friday night table. It's going to be a kosher table. And I've known families that have done it, on an experimental basis, for ten years, fifteen years, until the kids grow up. And then they quit it because it has served the purpose for which they designed it. So that I don't think, in terms of the organized Jewish community, that you have any anti-kosher feeling. Every official dinner, of the United Jewish Appeal in the United States, where it can possible be

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FRIEDMAN

arranged, is kosher. And that's the official policy of the organization. And it isn't because the United Jewish Appeal is dominated by orthodox Jews or rabbis. Au contraire. And I would say that - that might very well be the policy not just of the United Jewish Appeal but of many Federations and Welfare Funds around the country as well. So, I don't know if I've answered you, but I ventilated. (laughter and applause)

CHAIRMAN

I think Mr. Blum wants to respond.

BLUM

A little more ventilation. (laughter) If - if anything that I said caused you to apply the adjective 'ludicrous,' to my attitude towards the orthodox community, it was a failure, I can assure you, of expression rather than of intent. Because, what I would not do is assume that they were ludicrous. I have often assumed that they were wrong. And when we Jews lose the capacity to make a humorous observation about ourselves, it seems to me that something very fundamental, as Fiddler On The Roof has shown us, will be gone from Jewish life. And

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BLUM

this was the extent of describing a sometimes fairly prevalent attitude that we get from the orthodox community. Quite to the contrary, in positive terms what I was really trying to say and what was implicit, I think, in what we did, was a recognition of the fact that the orthodox community was vital to our effort. What we had done was an explicit effort at trying to involve the community, the orthodox community, in our work - the assumption being that there is nothing mutually exclusive about - that would put the orthodox community outside the pale of what we're ~~trying to~~ doing. Because the plain fact of the matter is that Federation to me represents this common denominator - it has room for everybody in it. This is all that we were trying to do. I don't believe that anybody in our Federation has ever adopted an official attitude that we considered ourselves as operating outside the orthodox community. I must say, as a realistic fact of life with which we have had to deal, that frequently the orthodox community has considered itself outside of our effort, and in many respects had considered some of the things which we had done

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BLUM

as over-secularization, as defeating of what they had thought would be the right thing to do. And I must say, just as one final observation in defense of the Baltimore Federation, for the first time in the whole history of our Federation, which is fifty years, we were successful - and I had a great deal to do with this - and we had a certain amount of objection about it - we were successful in having appointed to our Board an orthodox rabbi simply because we wanted a rabbinic community to know, to feel that they were a part of what we were doing. I don't consider there to be any conflict in the achievement of our social objectives. Now, we have practical problems with relation to this - Herb mentioned some of them. Some of them run deeper than this in terms of philosophy. Some of them result in really tough community battles. We don't support our Talmudic Academy through Federation. There's a constant effort to have this done. There are people who have very strong feelings about it. We'll resolve these problems. We survive on conflict. But it's not ludicrous. Maybe humorous but not ludicrous. (applause)

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R. #2

CHAIRMAN

Thank you Mr. Blum. Before I call on Lou Goldman, back there, I do want to remind you that the kits I referred to last night are now available and will be available for you to pick up as you go out of the dining room. So, please don't forget to take them as you leave the conference. Just so I won't forget to remind you, I'd better put it in right here. I see Lou Goldman has a question. I'm not going to forget you Lou, but there is a question that I'm going to take the privilege of asking, myself, which I think is a rather central question, at least that we're going to be facing here in Cleveland, Mr. Blum, and I'm directing this to you. We are known to be quite a fund-raising city and we're proud of that record, but we have to be realistic. And we know that although we are increasing the total of our campaign every year, the percentage increase and the actual total dollars that we are getting in additional funds is not sufficient to cover all of the increased needs of both our local agencies and the United Jewish Appeal. And we have to begin a reevaluation in our community - and I think this must be going on in other communities

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CHAIRMAN

-- as to where the priorities must be in our local community. Do we now begin to stress and direct more of the funds, we're raising for our local agencies, into the area of Jewish education - those areas that are particularly Jewish -- and ~~begin~~ begin to cut down the support to the broad, social agencies that you referred to, that have done such a magnificent job in the American Jewish community, in order to make our dollars do the maximum they can for Jewish survival as a Jewish group? And this is a very fundamental question, I think that we're facing broadly, not only in Cleveland but around the United States, and I'd like your reactions to it.

BLUM

Well, first, welcome to the club. (laughter) We've all got the same problem and I confess that I really don't know the answer to the question. I was trying to suggest in my talk that I think that what we have to do is first that which I hope we have already done, and that is recognize that it is a problem - which I'm not so sure all the people, even in the leadership of our community, are yet willing to recognize as a problem. The second

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BLUM

thing, it seems to me, that we have to do to get at that, is to really find out what our communities want. We, at leadership, sometimes just sort of have a way of assuming, by osmosis or some other process, or possibly by instinct, that we know what our communities are thinking. I know that in Baltimore, Bob Hiller, who is our new Executive Director and comes, as all of you know, from Pittsburg, and I, were discussing this very point at luncheon the other day. And I think that what we intend to do is to implement a fairly large, broadly-based panel, that will examine into this problem, in which we hope to bring into the deliberations of this panel people from outside of the normal Federation leadership, people in our academic community -- and we mentioned this in response to a comment that was made earlier by Gordie, I believe, to bring our rabbis, of all denominations, into this - to retest the validity of - of our social institutions - to say, well, this is where we want our money to go. This is...

END OF REEL #2 (questions & answers)

REEL #3 (QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)

BLUM

...social programs that are outside of the Jewish community, I don't know. There are a lot of people in our community who really feel that this should be done. They feel that our agencies, for example, ought to be actively involved in population control problems. They think that our communication with negro leadership is not what it ought to be, and that basically it's defense-oriented. And I subscribe, as a result of Baltimore experience, to what Herb must have said to us last night. We have had real, substantial evidence in our community of very strong anti-Jewish feeling among our negro community - and a great case can be made for this. One of the things that we think relates to one of your earlier comments, and that is that maybe if we did this we would be more attractive to more people, and maybe we wouldn't be having these minimal increases or decreases as some communities have had? Maybe if we were involved in this way - and we can make a good, philosophical case for it - even in defense terms. Because anything that causes conflict and tension within a community somehow, in history, has always ended up as trouble for the Jews. That -

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BLUM

that then maybe we could involve more people - some of the academic community - the intellectually oriented guy - the younger people who see this as the pressing social problem of our time? But specifically - how to tell you - if what we're going to do is to assume that we have a relatively constant pie and that we can't have, in the midst of this great American affluence of ours, as much of a growth in our education, to what we're doing, by our community, then it seems to me we're licked. I'm never going to satisfy Herb, in Baltimore, if what Baltimore has to deal with every year is the fact of raising less money than before. There's a built-in growth in our social agencies. We don't have to have one more perhaps and it costs us more money every year, so we're running - we're treading water all the time. The central point, it seems to me, of the question is not how we will divide up that slowly growing or static or declining pie, but we could make this pie be bigger to meet some of these tests of new programs and of great need overseas, and national as well as local, and still have something that will bind the Jewish

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BLUM

entity together in a sense of accomplishment and fulfillment in what it is doing. My whole plea is always that we not think in traditional terms - that we open up the horizons of our mind - that we seek to have a broader definition of what fulfillment of Jewish prophetic mission is. And I think we would then attract more people. We would then get more money. We would then be able to move our programs in the area where they would do the most good, or more good than they're presently doing, and not be confronted with this perennial heart-breaking problem of saying how little you can give to an agency, or which of its programs must be eliminated - eliminated, or which of its other ideas must be inhibited. I think - and we're going to try to find out what our community wants. This is one of the things that we're doing. We're thinking in terms of a committee, possibly of a hundred or a hundred and fifty people, that will be - break down into sub-committees that will - will bring in people never before involved in our Federation activity - to bring in a fresh approach -- and maybe out of this will come some way of

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BLUM

answering your question.

CHAIRMAN

Thank you very much. I'd already recognized Lou Goldman of Dayton.

GOLDMAN

I don't have a question. I feel I would be remiss, in sitting here, after hearing Herb ^{defend his} ~~Friedman~~ position with regard to education - I prefer to give him my able assistance. Many of us have been working with Herb Friedman, very pleasantly, the last few years. There were four or five hundred people sitting here last night. This is one of many meetings throughout the United States - sit and talk about (name), Chicago and other places. All I can say is Herb Friedman, in my estimation - and I know ~~him~~ many others feel this way - is the greatest Jewish educator that I have ever met. And it has been my honor and my deep pleasure to be educated in some small way by Rabbi Herb Friedman. And I appreciate it. (applause) (warning buzzer)

CHAIRMAN

Whether you intended to or not, Lou - and there goes the warning bell, incidentally, you gave me

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CHAIRMAN

a lead-in to something I did want to say. I guess you can call it oneother commercial, and a brief one. I wish it could be a longer one. But one of the most central tools of education for a Jew, and particularly for one who has the sense of commitment to the totality of Israel, that Rabbi Friedman referred to so eloquently last night, is to see the country yourself. Betsy and I have had that fortunate experience. I know many of those in this room have. And I am saying to my friends from Cleveland that this year we're going to come around and ask you - and I hope this is true of the other communities too - to give serious consideration to seeing Israel yourself. And the most beautifully organized way that that can be done is the Young Leadership Mission which is run in the summertime by the UJA Young Leadership. If you're interested in seeing for yourself the well-spring of our religion and our people, then I ask you, when you're contacted later and you receive the material of the Mission, take it seriously and give it really solid thought, and let's see you go on that Mission. I want to further say that this year it was a sell-out. So, if you

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CHAIRMAN

really are thinking about it, get your reservations in early. I promised Mr. Harris that we would adjourn promptly at twelve o'clock. I know there are a lot of questions still unanswered. But, as I said yesterday, the same questions can be raised in Montreal - they can be raised in New York in December. And I hope that we've given ^{you} enough of an appetite, for this type of a meeting, to draw you to those meetings as well. On behalf of Cleveland, the UJA, The Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, I thank you all for coming. We've enjoyed your participation. We appreciate your attendance. Thanks again. Have a nice trip home. (applause)

END OF REEL #3 (QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS)
