

VT-985 Transcription

Friedman, Herbert A. and David Harris. "Soviet Jewry Plenary."

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David Harris: [0:00:11] Thank you, Nathan. First of all, I have to make one correction in Nathan's otherwise generous introduction. At the time that I was a graduate student at the London School of Economics, there were so many Jewish students from around the world that in fact, it was the London Shul of Economics, I attended, they say.

One thing Nathan did not mention, in the 1970s, I spent three years working in Rome and Vienna with HIAS on the migration of Jews from the Soviet Union. And occasionally, in addition to the tens of thousands of Soviet Jews who came through our offices, we had [0:01:01] other Jews who came by, looking for migration help. And one day, a sixteen-year-old Roman Jewish boy came in, and he approached me and said he wants to immigrate to Australia. I asked him how old he was. He said he was sixteen, and I told him that, without parental permission, we simply couldn't help him. So he said he'd bring his mother back.

They lived in the ghetto. If you know Rome well, where the synagogue is along the Tiber River, that area. Probably, the family had not left that area for years, if not generations. And so he brought this mother back a few days later, and I explained to her that her son wanted to immigrate to Australia, but we needed her permission. She looked at me and she said, "Senor, my son, he can go wherever he wants [0:02:00], just as long as he comes back for every Shabbat dinner."

Well, it's Shabbat, and normally, the only place I would be is with my co-production team of wife and three children. But when Nathan, an old friend, called and asked me to come for this very special occasion, somehow, I couldn't resist. And now, looking around the room and seeing a lot of familiar faces and friendly faces, it's all the more reason that I know why I'm here this evening, and I suspect why my family knows I'm not with them this evening.

I'd like to talk with you a little bit about remarkable events, perhaps placing them in some context, if I may. It was a little over two years ago that a number of you and I gathered together on the nation's [0:03:00] mall. We were some 250,000 strong. I can tell you now that, in the thirty-seven days we had to plan that event, we had a lot of doubts about whether we'd succeed. And we knew the stakes were very high, because if we

organized a demonstration on the eve of Gorbachev's first visit to the United States and few came, what message would that send to the Soviet leadership? In effect, we believe that in the balance was the fate of Soviet Jewry. Indeed, we can now reveal that for weeks, we actually considered not holding a demonstration in Washington, but rather, holding a leadership assembly, perhaps bringing together just a couple hundred more people. I see [Mark Mehlman?] in the back nodding his head [0:04:00]. You remember, Mark, thinking that if we brought together 500 or 600 people in a hall in Washington and called this a leadership assembly representing six million American Jews, we could get away with it. But Natan Sharansky and others came along and said, "No way, because the people are out there. You've just got to find a way to tap into them and to get them out."

There were thirty-seven days to plan that event. Those of you from Washington will know that the previous record for a Jewish demonstration in the nation's capital over the 350 years of our history in this country was some 13,000 people who came in 1973 to meet Leonid Brezhnev. In fact, in 1967, during the Six Day War, no more than 5,000 to 6,000 people gathered at Lafayette Park across from the White House [0:05:00] to express solidarity with Israel.

So I can also reveal now that, precisely because we were so worried about attendance at the event, you remember that that was the time of the NFL's players strike. Well, our demonstration was on a Sunday, and we were trying to persuade the players to continue their strike, at least through December the 6th, to give you one less excuse for not showing up.

But what we saw on that day, I think those of you who were there -- how many of you were there, if I may ask? Look at yourself. That's two-thirds. What I think we saw in ourselves on that day was empowerment. What we saw on that day was our recognition of our historical role [0:06:00]. What I think we engaged in that day, perhaps, was a bit of self-expiation. And what I heard on that day as I walked around were a couple of refrains. The first and perhaps most frequent refrain was, "My God, look at us! Why couldn't we have done this in 1941, and '42, and '43, and '44, and '45? Why weren't we in front of the War Department? Why weren't we in front of the White House? Why weren't we in front of the State Department? Why didn't we insist, demand that even one rail line be bombed, that even one person's needless death be prevented?"

But we weren't there, yet we're here today, and that was the second refrain. I saw lots of children that day. There were children, there were grandchildren, there were nieces, there

were nephews. There were all kinds of children, most of whom [0:07:00], probably like my own little ones, would have much preferred to be at the Air and Space museum, which was just next door. And yet, I heard myself and I heard others, in effect grabbing their children by the shoulders and saying to them, "Look, listen, learn, and remember, so that one day, you'll be able to like your children in the eyes, in the year 2002 or 2020, and say that when my moment came and I was offered two roads, I knew which road to travel. I had learned the lessons of history, and I had proved it on that day, and perhaps before, and perhaps thereafter."

Little did any of us know, any of us who were involved in that demonstration, how quickly events would follow and in effect, sweep us all off our feet [0:08:00]. Ironically, even to the point where within two years, the issue seemed to be less how could we get Soviet Jews out of the USSR than the debate over what we did once they came out, and how we coped with such vast numbers, leading one cynic in Washington, in discussing the Jackson-Vanik amendment to say, "Why do we keep holding out the waiver for the Soviets until they release even more people? Maybe we should offer them the waiver if only they stop letting people go for a while, because we can't cope." [Al levay?], we

should only have such problems of not being able to cope with such large numbers.

But what we've seen is something that is completely unprecedented, both with respect to the larger events in the Soviet Union, and for me to rehearse them here is simply to repeat what are probably well-worn clichés. They're beyond belief. They're unpredictable. Who even has the *chutzpah* to try and predict tomorrow's events, when none of us could have predicted [0:09:00] yesterday's events? And yet, we also see what's happening to Soviet Jewry, and that has taken a somewhat unpredictable turn.

Unpredictable because, as recently as six months ago, American Jews and Israelis were earnestly discussing the following question: If the United States limits admissions of Jews from the Soviet Union, what will the resultant behavior of Soviet Jews in the USSR be? Will it be to go to Israel, or will it be to remain in the Soviet Union? And as recently as six months ago, most of us didn't know the answer. In fact, some Jewish leaders were even quoted in the newspapers as saying, "We believe that many would choose to remain in the Soviet Union if their only option for immigration were [0:10:00] *Aliyah* to Israel. And yet, six months later, what's happened?"

The immigration figure for January was 4,759 Jews from the USSR. The percent to Israel, 97.3. That answers the experts' predictions -- 97.3 percent. The question is why? And I think the answer is probably quite simple. Simple. It's simple in hindsight, and the answer I think is because Soviet Jews are voting with their feet on the future of themselves in the USSR [0:10:59]. In effect, they're acknowledging the past, and they are voting with their feet about the future. Why?

If you talk with any Soviet Jew today in the Soviet Union, or any of their relatives here in this country, indeed, if any of you have recently traveled to the Soviet Union, you're all hearing the same things, I suspect. There's a growing sense of apprehension, if not actual panic, among Jews in the Soviet Union. They fear all kinds of scenarios that are beginning to unfold or could potentially begin to unfold tomorrow. They look first at the nationalities explosion. They look at what happened to the Armenians in Azerbaijan, and in effect, they say, "There, but for the grace of God, go I."

How many of us realize just how the Azeris went about their massacre of Armenians [0:12:00]? They knew exactly where the Armenians lived, and they went directly to those apartments. They had the information. Why? Because the information is available through the housing authorities. Since all housing is

government owned, and since everyone over the age of sixteen must register by nationality, if one has access to power, one has access to living patterns. The Jews looked around and said, "Good God, Armenians are being butchered. Are we next?" And in fact, on the streets of Baku in Azerbaijan, one could hear the following: "The Armenians have one day to leave Azerbaijan, the Jews have one year to leave Azerbaijan, and the Russians have two years to leave Azerbaijan," or variations thereof [0:13:00].

And they looked to Georgia, which has been a tolerant republic towards Jews, and they saw what happened to the *Abkhazians*. You remember the *Abkhazians*? They're the ones where featured in those yogurt commercials, the women at 140 who were pregnant with their first child because of this extraordinary kefir they were eating, or yogurt, or what was it? And the men at 160, doing twelve pull-ups before breakfast.

Audience member: [inaudible].

David Harris: It was oat bran? [laughter] Well, even those seemingly durable, if not immortal people, were being killed by Georgians. And then they looked to Uzbekistan, and they saw a group called the *Meskhetians*, ethnic Turks, who were being killed on the streets. And then they went back to Moscow and

Leningrad, and they looked at groups like *Pamyat* [0:14:00], this xenophobic, slavophillic [*sic*], right-wing group which makes no pretense about its anti-Semitism. And indeed, on the first day of the National Congress of Soviet Jews in December of last year, they were out there demonstrating against the dirty Jews.

And what's more, they looked beyond *Pamyat*, because there's something perhaps even more ominous than *Pamyat* today, and it was captured by Bill Keller's cover story in the *New York Times* magazine just ten, twelve days ago. The emergence of a Russian nationalist right, which has more scholarly, intellectual, societal trappings about it than *Pamyat*. Call *Pamyat* a bunch of thugs, if you will, but not this group. Not this group, which sees Russians as the victims of discrimination, of persecution in the current constellation [0:15:01]. And Jews look around at *Pamyat*, at the new right, at the Armenians, at the *Meskhetians*, and so forth and so on, and they scratch their skin a bit, and underneath it they remember how inhospitable Russian soil has been to Jews for 350 years. And remembering yesterday's fears and tomorrow's apprehensions, they're voting with their feet.

How many want to leave? Everyone will come before you with numbers. I don't believe any of them. Why? Because everyone is simply annualizing, based on the currently monthly figure, or last month's monthly figure, or next month's monthly figure, or

the number of people standing in front of the Dutch embassy this month. But who knows? Who knows how many seek to leave?

Look, in 1979, when the decennial census was being [0:16:00] issued, Kosygin rushed into Brezhnev's office and he said to him, "Brezhnev, I have got a terrific idea. The census data has come out, and you know what? We've got 2.1 million Jews," or whatever the figure was. Brezhnev said, "So many?" And Kosygin said to him, "But I've got a great idea. Let's open the gates. Let's let as many of those who want to leave, leave. We'll do two things. We'll remove pressure from the domestic pressure cooker, and we'll win points in the American Congress and White House, as well." Brezhnev said, "Hmm, a chachem." He said, "A smart man. So how many you think would want to leave, Kosygin?" And Kosygin said, "Probably no less than 5 million of them."

Why? Because the numbers really are quite infinite. Because they include the number who are registered as Jews, and in the 1989 census [0:17:00], the results of which have not yet been made public, but we have learned from Soviet academics that the registered number of Jews is 1.45 million, which represents yet another drop from the '59 census, from the '70 census, and from the '79 census. But then you've got half-Jews and quarter-Jews, and Leonid Feldman can tell you much better than I can about all

the chachmes in registering people at the age of sixteen. The father is Russian, the mother is Jewish. You register under the Russian nationality. You change the name to Ivanoff, rather than Rabinovich. But then it comes time to emigrate, and interestingly, an INS official called our office just a few days ago, in trying to cope with this new surge of immigration. And he said to us, "Tell us, who is a Jew?"

Oy. Oy [0:18:00]. In fact, the only one in this century other than Hitler, who resolved that question quickly I think, was Stalin. Stalin. When the passport system was first established in the 1930s, he made it very simple. If both your parents are Jewish, you've got no choice, you're Jewish. If one of your parents is Jewish, he's giving you an escape route, which many took.

So how do we know how many want to leave? We hear figures of 500,000, 750,000, a million, and no one knows. But I suspect that the potential is for vast numbers. Because what we're beginning to see now is even those who had, months ago, talked about prospects for religious and cultural life in the Soviet Union are talking less about that. They're going more through the motions, because the window of opportunity is open, because we need to do what we can to feed as much rebuilding of religious and cultural [0:19:00] life. And the Memorial

Foundation for Jewish Culture, and the Joint Distribution Committee, and many of the synagogal [sic] bodies are doing extraordinarily good work. But, fewer and fewer people are clinging to the notion that there really is a long-term, viable future for Jewish communal life in the Soviet Union.

And so, much of it really becomes a kind of halfway house, a kind of staging ground preparing people for emigration. Five or six hundred Jewish kids are now studying Hebrew in Riga. Are they studying Hebrew because they anticipate staying the Soviet Union? No. They're studying Hebrew because they anticipate *Aliyah*. And so, while I think we need to welcome and encourage anything that deepens the roots, shallow as they have been, of religious and cultural life in the Soviet Union, while we welcome the National Congress [*Kholvad?*], which was established in [0:20:00] December, the real thrust is emigration.

And people are leaving by plane, by train, by car, there has been someone who left on a bicycle, and by boat. And one of the big challenges now is the fact that there is a backlog of 15,000, 20,000, or 25,000 Soviet Jews who have permission to leave and are not able to leave, simply because there are no seats on planes. Recently, we have tried more to use trains, and the word is now getting through to Soviet Jews: Board trains. Those trains are going to Bucharest and to Budapest and to

Warsaw. Take planes to Nicosia, the capitol of Cyprus. You know that there have been Soviet Jews who have landed in Cairo, and hailed taxis, asking them to take them to Mevaseret Zion? [laughter] There [0:21:00] are planes landing throughout Eastern Europe, where El Al planes are now able to fly and to meet them. They're coming out in various ways.

Now, this represents an enormous challenge for Israel that goes without saying. And so many of you are involved with Federation campaigns that I need not rehearse those issues except to say that I think this represents an extraordinary moment in Jewish nation-building. And it's always been my view that there aren't many times in history when we're given a chance to not become not simply observers of history, but authors of history. And I would suggest to all of us that this is a period which probably began in December 1987, which continues to this day, one of those tests that we're given in life, when we either put up or shut up; when we either say, "Yes, we are determined [0:22:01] to become authors of history, and not simply sideline observers." And there are lots of ways that we can do it.

Jewish nation building in Israel is certainly one, and perhaps the principal one. But even here in the United States, and I need not go into the controversy over destination now, but

let me leapfrog that for a moment and say that even here, I would suggest to you that there is an extraordinary challenge which has largely gone unfulfilled, and that is the Jewish integration of Soviet Jews in the United States. We have done an extraordinarily good job in the United States through the Federation movement in resettling Soviet Jews. And I define resettlement in terms of survival skills, getting people on their feet, working, speaking English, and all the rest [0:23:00]. But I would suggest to you that our success in bringing Jews from the Soviet Union into our midst has been far less successful.

I wish there were many more than one Leonid Feldmans here in this room tonight, and in every leadership meeting throughout this country. And not just leadership meeting; I'll take rank and file meetings, too. I would suggest to you that we have made an enormous mistake, and I'm being, forgive me, very blunt. Many of us travel to the Soviet Union. I saw [Joe Bremin?], I want to say from Pittsburgh, but from Boca Raton, earlier, when he was one of the Pittsburgh Seven. They call themselves the Secret Seven or the Pittsburgh Seven, who traveled to the Soviet Union. And there were many, many Federation groups like that who did exceptionally good work.

But in going [0:24:00], who did we meet with? We met with the Refuseniks, we met with the families of prisoners, we met with the people who sought to meet us, who had burned their bridges behind us. Where do we go? We went to Arkhipova Street in Moscow for Simchat Torah, and we danced the Hora with Soviet Jews who showed up on Simchat Torah. And we went to apartments of people who were showing us tattered editions of Exodus in Russian, and who were practically fondling soup cubes made in Israel. And we came back, and we told our stories, and those were stories of a beleaguered, modern-day Maccabee group who wanted nothing more than to assert, or re-assert, their Jewish identity.

And then, reality came. Jews came from the Soviet Union to our communities, and they didn't quite fit the bill. They weren't quite all those modern-day [0:25:00] Maccabees. They didn't all rush to the synagogues. They didn't all keep their kids in the Jewish day schools, once the Federation's tuition-free program ended. They yanked them. Why? We were puzzled. We were angered. We felt betrayed. Hadn't we sought to save Soviet Jews for Jewry? And where were they.

And increasingly, one heard stories of embitterment from American Jews. "I tried to help those Soviet Jews. I invited them for Shabbat dinner once. I took them to the shul for Yom

Kippur, and you know what? They disappeared. They turned their backs on me." I would suggest to all of us that we need to readjust our own expectations and understanding of Soviet Jews as they are, and not as we want them to be [0:26:00], or as indeed, a small group has been, but from which we cannot extrapolate. No more than one can say that every soldier is a Medal of Honor winner. Every soldier who goes through war shows a quiet dignity and courage. Some emerge as leaders, and some emerge as medal-bearers, not all. And so, too, with Soviet Jews.

Those of you who have sat in Vienna, who have sat in Rome and Ostia and Ladispoli and who have been working in the field on a volunteer basis with Soviet Jews I think know what I'm speaking of. They are people who do have an interest, an interest that can be kindled, but it has to be approached gently. It has to be approached with the right psychology and understanding of whence cometh they. And I'd suggest to you that it would be one of the great ironies of our Jewish history if we had made [0:27:00] miracles to bring Soviet Jews out, Jews who had somehow managed to survive sixty, seventy years in the Soviet system as Jews, only to see them disappear in our very midst within a generation or two at the most.

So we've got our work cut out for us, I would suggest, in the Soviet Union, where we've got to very closely monitor and

surveil what's going on and the manifestations of anti-Semitism taking place, try to find those strategies that will be effective. And they are going to be very difficult and very illusive, because much of what's going on is out of control. But nonetheless, find those strategies to address the question of growing anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. And hold Gorbachev's feet to the fire, that in the final analysis, Soviet leadership must be responsible for what takes place in their country.

We have an enormous challenge of [0:28:00] Jewish nation building in Israel, one that will not be easy and that is fraught with so many challenges and obstacles, which you know as well as I do. And yet, who can afford to fail? And here in the United States, we have this continuing task of resettlement of Soviet Jews. And not just empowering them with English language skills, and not just preventing them from making goffs in the supermarket when they go to buy soup and they end up mayonnaise instead, because they don't know the difference, but in terms of making them a part of us. And I would hope respectfully, for the Wexner Foundation and for every other major and minor Jewish group in this country, making them an integral part of us in this country.

And because it's Shabbat, let me end if I may with what I hope is an appropriate biblical parable. The story is told of a

[0:29:00] religious man who wanders in the desert. Today a fast. He comes across a wealthy shepherd. The wealthy shepherd is about to sit down to eat. The religious man is hot and he's tired, and the shepherd sees him and offers him food. The religious man says, "No, today is a day of fast for me. I cannot eat and drink with you." "Ha," said the shepherd. "So you'll fast tomorrow. Eat with me today." The religious man said, "Sir, if you can guarantee to me that I shall live until tomorrow, only then shall I eat with you today." That's why this collective task of ours in which we are engaged is so compelling, because it can't wait for tomorrow. Thank you very much.

[applause] [0:30:00]

M1: David has been kind enough to suggest that we take questions now, before [inaudible].

M2: [inaudible] talked about finances and money on Shabbos on Friday, my question that's been bothering me. A few days ago in Miami, there was a meeting of the leadership of some of the national Jewish organizations in Miami to discuss the issue of how do we raise the capital necessary to deal with the, God willing, likelihood of this 500,000, 700,000-plus Jews coming

into Israel. And from my perspective, what I've seen, we're going back to the old methodologies that may have worked then, but I don't think they're going to work today, which is you give the same pledge you gave last year. You have three years to pay it off, and you know, a lot of gamesmanship. I heard a number of people [0:31:00] talking about more creative ways to deal with that issue, making a couple billion dollars, zero coupon bonds. It's creative financing and putting together programs that businessmen are using on a daily basis, but we in the "Jewish community leadership" seem not to be dealing with. I wondered if that's an issue that you all are dealing with and that you're part of this -

David Harris: Rabbi Friedman says he's going to be addressing that question. Whew!

M3: My question is related to [inaudible] came to Atlanta.

M1: Can we just have the questioners stand up?

M3: [inaudible] came to Atlanta a couple weeks ago, and he gave us a [inaudible] about our main priorities, what our main priorities as the American Jewish community should be right now.

He was absolutely certain it was to be none other than to raise money to get the Soviet Jews integrated into Israel. Your figure of the January immigration will be 97.3 [0:32:00] percent going to Israel suggests that maybe the emphasis in the latter part of your speech was not the one that we should be concentrating on most. Rather, this task of getting the money together to resettle people in Israel.

David Harris: Did everyone hear the question, first of all? No, okay. The gentleman said that Mordechai Gur of Israel came to Atlanta, is that correct, and emphasized that this issue of Soviet Jewish resettlement in Israel is the preeminent issue of the day and ought to be the focus of our attention. Therefore, asked the questioner, what about the last thing I said, in terms of what we need to be doing here in the United States? Might that be deflecting from the first goal? Fair?

No [0:33:00]. No, I don't see them at all as being mutually exclusive or mutually contradictory, or somehow impinging on the time of each need. And in fact, I would suggest that many of us would be feeling a lot better as well, personally, if we were involved not just in checkbook Zionism, but also if we were involved in Judaism. What I am suggesting is let's get involved both with checkbook Zionism, because we've got to, and that's

what Mordechai Gur was asking. And if there's more that can be done in terms of building factories or creating investment opportunities and all the rest, all the better.

But that's not enough. I know the group from Boca Raton, with Rabbi Friedman's impetus, has become involved on a hands-on basis, and he may want to talk about that. I don't want [0:34:00] to get into it. But I am suggesting that we've got to go beyond the writing of checks, and this is an extraordinarily important opportunity to complete the task of *pidyon shvuyim*, in bringing Soviet Jews to this country. They are coming.

The numbers that I mentioned are actually deceptive. They are deceptive because there are Soviet Jews coming to this country even today, but most of them are still coming from Rome and Vienna, where the backlog is being cleaned out by INS. And not until that, if you will, reserve, or residue that's been stuck in Rome and Vienna leaves for the states, will INS have numbers available to begin admitting people directly from the Soviet Union. So that, it's not just 2 percent of the Soviet Jews coming to the United States; it's 2 percent of those leaving the Soviet Union today who are going to the States. But there are another 2,500, 3,000 per month who are coming [0:34:59] via Rome and Vienna to the States and into your communities, even as we speak.

Nathan, do you want to call? Shall I call on them?

Nathan: Please.

David Harris: A fellow Washingtonian.

F1: Yes, recently the *New York Times* had an article about [inaudible] Soviet Union, and they [inaudible] the likes of which [inaudible]. I'm wondering if you can comment on that and if you've got any ideas on how to respond?

David Harris: For those who did not hear [Kathy's?] question, there have been now, I guess, two *New York Times* stories, plus one op-ed in the last two weeks, on the subject of Soviet anti-Semitism. And one of the stories referred to a rumor circulating of a May 5th pogrom to take place in the USSR.

We've heard that rumor, as well [0:36:00]. We have already done a number of things. First of all, we've cancelled May 5th for this year. [laughter] More seriously, we met ten days ago with Deputy Secretary of State Larry Egelburger, prior to Secretary of State Jim Baker's visit to Moscow. Many of you will know that Jim Baker has been in Moscow this week, and among the issues that he has been addressing in Moscow are one, the

question of direct flights from Moscow to Tel Aviv to try and help address the backlog question.

Parenthetically, El Al and Aeroflot have worked out all the technical arrangements for that aviation agreement. What holds up the agreement is one thing: A political nod from the Kremlin. That's been held up for some time, largely because of Moscow's sensitivities to the Arab world. That became even more problematic because of the prime minister's recent remark, linking [0:37:00] *Aliyah* from the Soviet Union with *Eretz Yisrael*, the greater Israel. I needn't tell you that has created quite a storm in the United States, in the Soviet Union, and in the Arab world.

In fact, to digress on this one for a moment because it's not unimportant, Egyptian President Mubarak has sent a personal letter to President Bush on this very question, and in the letter has not made any distinction between Soviet Jews settling in the West Bank and Soviet Jews settling within the Green Line. And in fact, if you read the Arab and PLO statements carefully, you'll see a lot of ambiguity, some addressing the question of West Bank settlement specifically, but others more generally opposing any *Aliyah* to Israel.

For the Soviets now, it becomes even more difficult to move forward on the direct flights question. But 100 [0:38:00] US

Senators have just signed the letter -- 100 -- supporting direct flights. That letter has been sent to Gorbachev. Jim Baker has already carried the message. This is an issue of great importance to the United States, and we hope we can move the direct flights issue forward.

The second issue is anti-Semitism. Secretary Baker is raising the issue of anti-Semitism with his Soviet counterparts. Interestingly, this past Monday, President Bush met with two dozen of the most prominent Jewish leaders in this country. Probably foremost on the president's mind, and you'll know this as well if not better than I, Kathy, was the question of Soviet anti-Semitism, which he addressed at some length. So they are aware.

There is now a letter that is being drafted in the Congress on this question that specifically addresses the question of a possible pogrom on May the 5th. Now, [0:39:00] one has to ask oneself, beyond those kinds of approaches here in our country, and pursuing what Secretary Eagleburger suggested, namely approaches to West European countries to make clear that any such action against Jews, or for that matter any vulnerable minority in the Soviet Union, will not be countenanced by the West and will not permit normal relations to proceed as the Soviets would like them to proceed is a very important message.

Beyond that still, one interesting anecdote that you may not know about. And I don't want to say it holds out great hope for May the fifth, God forbid it should come.

But you know, when the Soviet Jewish Congress took place in December, and that first day I mentioned the *Pamyat* group was outside demonstrating against the Jews. You know who was out there on the second day, protecting [0:40:01] the congress? Does anyone know? Because on the second day, Palestinians came again to demonstrate against the Jews. Who was there? Anyone? Representatives of *Rukh*. *Rukh* is the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement. Let me repeat. I didn't have wine; I had grape juice. So the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, which has gone to some considerable lengths. If you follow nationalities, politics of the Soviet Union, just as the other major nationalist movement in another part of the country that evokes very somber, poignant memories among Jews, Lithuania, *Sayudis*.

Sayudis, the national movement of Lithuania, and *Rukh*, the national movement of Ukraine [0:41:00], have been in the forefront in denouncing any manifestation of anti-Semitism, have put it down on paper. And if you read the *Washington Jewish Week* a couple of months ago, there was even a manifesto from *Rukh* that was published there for a Jewish audience. So maybe there is even a glimmer of hope, as well, in what's going on, that for

some -- and by the way, in Eastern Europe, as well -- for some in the emerging nationalist movements, the greatest litmus test of their commitment to democracy and to tolerance is their attitude on the Jewish question.

It's fascinating to watch. And we've seen this in meeting after meeting with some Hungarians, some Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians. Not all, but among those who are committed to democracy and tolerance, this is a very special question for them. So we may even have some potential [0:42:00] allies. Please.

F2: [inaudible] Washington. Two questions. One, can you give us a legislative update on what, if anything, is happening at this time as far as parole status for Soviet Jews trying to come here, not just to deal with the backlog, but also deal with [inaudible]. And secondly, [inaudible] Atlanta [inaudible] *Washingtonian* [inaudible]. We from Washington were at the table. Some people from Atlanta felt that, while we are doing what we need to do as far as fundraising, [inaudible]. We don't get the sense that our community -- I'm speaking specifically for Washington and you may have a different sense [0:42:58] -- is really galvanized, the general community is really galvanized behind this issue at this time. And I'd be interested -

David Harris: Which issue, now?

F2: I'm sorry?

David Harris: Which issue, specifically?

F2: The Soviet resettlement, and really, while it's not at a crisis level, it's more [inaudible], it could become a crisis if we don't [inaudible]. I would be interested in hearing any suggestions of what, in general, we could do to unite the entire community [inaudible]. We are preaching to the converted in this room [inaudible]. How could we educate better the general community [inaudible]?

David Harris: First of all, I'd like to throw back one question that you asked at the group and ask whether the group shares the sentiment that their communities don't feel galvanized. Was that the word you used? How many share that sentiment in your particular communities, that [0:44:00] the community does not feel galvanized on the Soviet Jewry issue today? And conversely, how many do feel?

F2: Beyond fundraising.

David Harris: Beyond fundraising?

F2: Not much past that.

David Harris: Okay. Let me try your first question first. You asked about parole status and all of that. Soviet Jews can come to the United States as refugees today, and there are 50,000 numbers available to the Soviet Union generally, of which roughly 40,000 are available to Jews, of which roughly 32,000 are what we call funded numbers, and 8,000 are unfunded numbers, meaning there is no government assistance with it, to put it simply. Okay? Category one.

Category two, people who apply for refugee status [0:45:00] and who were turned down are offered parole status, under power given to the attorney general. In order for them qualify, though, for parole status, they have to have sponsorship in this country, which in effect says to the government that for X number of years, these people will not be public wards, particularly because of the health and medical care question that's problematic for many. Nonetheless, that's a second way for Soviet Jews, or any Soviets, to come.

Third, immigration. There are six immigration categories in US immigration law, four of which are family related. If Soviet Jews qualify under one of the four, they can come as immigrants. Category four, a miniscule category, let's call them asylees [sic] and defectors. You know that there are now 1,000, 1,500 [0:46:00] Soviet Jews per month who are visiting in this country, and a similar number visiting in Israel, being permitted to leave and then to return to the Soviet Union. A small number of them choose to stay abroad, their family circumstance permitting that. If I'm not mistaken, that's it.

Legislatively, the US Government is considering another option called special immigrant status, which would free up an additional 30,000 numbers per year worldwide, not Soviet Jewish specific, to give the administration more flexibility, and at the same time probably to do away with parole. But it would be another way to bring in Soviet Jews who don't fall into the refugee category, but don't qualify as immigrants. That's roughly it as far as options for admission to the United States go.

The other question, that's a \$64,000 question -- well, even more [0:47:00]. The biggest challenge to all of us, I remember the Washington Federation in particular, because presumably a third or even more of those who marched on December the 6th were

Washingtonians. Seventy, 80,000 Washington area Jews marched, but where were they the next day, and how do you tap into them? And I know that the Federation has been grappling with this question ever since, and I'm not sure how successfully.

I don't have easy answers for you. I don't think any of us do. If we did, we wouldn't hide them. I can only say that it's our obligation in this room, as people who have leadership roles in communities, to make abundantly clear to those around us just what this moment entails, and just how pregnant with history this moment is, and how pregnant with opportunity it is. And conversely, how poorly history will treat us [0:48:00] if when our generation was faced with the most extraordinary challenge of its time, we were either indifferent or otherwise involved with irrelevant things.

Those are easy statements for me to make, I realize, but this is not a workshop. And it really takes a workshop, and it takes us rolling up our sleeves to come up, city by city, with how to implement that kind of approach. And I don't think this is the occasion, Rabbi, for us to get into the kind of nitty gritty.

Nathan is moving closer and closer, which suggests to me there is time for one more question, or not? Perhaps later, then, at the oneg. [applause]

Nathan Laufer: Four years ago, when I came onto the Foundation -
- Herb doesn't know I'm going to say this -- [0:49:00] and the
issues that David and I were dealing with at the time were how
do you get Soviet Jews out of the Soviet Union? I came to work
at the Wexner Heritage Foundation, and maybe the first week, I
sat in on one of the interviews of a student. And one of the
prospective students said throughout our [inaudible], "Why
should I join this fledgling venture called Wexner Heritage
Foundation?" And I sat him down, and I said, "I'll tell you
why."

I said, "Because one day, sometime in the not too distant
future, the Soviet Union may say to world Jewry, 'Yeah, 400,000
Jews supposedly want to leave. We're going to let them all leave
in twelve months. You have twelve months to get them out
[0:50:00] and resettle them. And we're keeping most of their
possessions, so they're not going to come out in a straight go.'
And now, your challenge is resettle 400,000 Jews in twelve
months." And he said, "American Jewish leadership is not
thinking about this eventuality, but it will happen. And when it
happens, what will we do?"

"The reason that we are forming this foundation," he said,
"is because we want to have positive leaders out of the country

who will recognize the signal [**inaudible**] and will be able to respond to the issue quickly and effectively. And if we can fill city by city, twenty people in each city, we can do it."

So Rabbi Friedman [0:50:59] foresaw what some of us perhaps did not. And then we took five years to plan [**inaudible**].

[laughter] And now, for the next fifteen minutes -

David Harris: The plan.

Nathan Laufer: [**inaudible**] [applause]

Herbert A. Friedman: These two guys are something, aren't they? Yeah, it's their generation, David Harris and Nathan Laufer. And it's your generation. And when I tell the old stories about what happened a long time ago, and they're fascinating stories, and it doesn't matter whether it's about stealing airplanes or what it's about, I see the look in your eyes. And you say to yourself [0:52:00], "By God, those days and opportunities will never repeat themselves, and we will never have the chance in our lifetime to move history the way you did." And I say to you, "Your moment is here."

Now, 200 communities can sit in Miami on February the 6th and fumble around and not know what the hell to do, and I think

that was the net result of the whole meeting. That's the question you asked me. They seem to be dealing in an old-fashioned way with conventional ideas, and nothing new, and nothing sparkling, and that's failure. You will either seize this moment or you won't. You will live or die with honor or condemnation. The choice is yours. And if there can be no [0:53:00] solutions found on the national level, then you find them on the local level, and I'll spell out to you exactly what I mean.

There are three challenges functioning, working, parallel and simultaneously, and Dr. [Connor's?] question about whether one recommendation seems to invalidate the other is not to be feared. All three have to be done simultaneously. There are Jews coming into the United States, and they have to be absorbed here. There are Jews coming into Israel, and they have to be absorbed there. And there are Jews who will remain in the Soviet Union, and we have to create an infrastructure for them there. And that may be wasted money in some people's eyes, and I don't think any money spent, invested in creating a sense of Jewish [0:54:00] identity is ever wasted, even if it takes you 100 years to reap the fruits, because 100 years is nothing in terms of Jewish history. *Sub specie aeternitatis*, what's 100 years?

Look at how long it took, thirty, forty years, to wake up the spirit of Jewish survivalism and desire to live from the little tiny spark. I remember a man in Israel by the name of Shaul Avigur, Moshe Sharett's brother-in-law, who in the 1930s, and then later in the forties, took on the assignment of trying to increase the little tiny flame up in the labor camp in Vorkuta up near the Arctic Circle. And how did he do it? From an underground operation in Palestine before it was even Israel, he was sending handwritten copies [0:55:00] of a *lu'ach*, a calendar, as big as a book of matches -- no bigger -- that could be hidden in your pocket. And if he could put a calendar in the hands of a Jew who was a slave laborer up in that camp in Vorkuta, he would keep alive in that man's mind when was Yom Kippur, and when was Sukkot, and revive the ancient memories from before 1917, which were beginning to lie dormant because they were unused. And he was relighting the fire to use Jewish knowledge and memory. And memory is what keeps you alive when the times are hard and frozen.

So it doesn't matter if you don't get the fruits for forty or fifty or sixty years. No investment is wasted. Now, these three things are going on simultaneously with a rapidity which has startled everyone, and everybody is confounded [0:56:00]. There should be now -- and I will get to the answer to your

question immediately, the nitty-gritty of the whole business. If I were asked, and I was asked, to provide some ideas, which I did -- I wrote them down and gave them to the proper authorities -- as to what I would do, I would begin with the following.

I would establish a line of credit, somewhere between \$2 and \$5 billion, with a group of banks and insurance companies, to be drawn down as we needed it. You pay a small amount of money for a letter of credit; it's worth it. Along comes a situation in which somebody estimates that there will be 100,000 Jews going into Israel in 1990, and 30,000, 40,000 Jews coming into the United States in 1990 [0:57:00]. And somebody else estimates that it will take \$420 million, or somebody else says no, it's \$600 million. It doesn't matter. It's all guesswork.

What you do know is you need cash, and you need it fast, and you need it so that nobody is put at a disadvantage. I think the American Jewish community already has made one failure. It should have said to Israel by now, "Whatever the cost is of taking into Israel any and every Soviet Jew will be borne completely by the diaspora. You folks forget about it. You've got enough problems on your hands. You've got the social problems, you've got the psychological adjustment problems, you have the hatred and the fear of the newcomer on the part of the old-timer, who himself isn't settled yet." You think the

Moroccan Jew who came thirty years ago is settled yet [0:58:00]? Full of his own fears and insecurity, still. Don't load on him the kind of tax burden that this will represent. I think it's bad haggling. It's cheap. It's the *Shuk* that I never thought I would see operating between Jews.

For Mr. Dinitz to come running around, threatening that he'll go run a separate campaign in America, or for Mr. Peres to have to stand up in the Knesset in Israel and say that the Jews in the rest of the world are not carrying their share, why should those men have to be provoked into saying things like that, which are ugly and which are not soft? American Jewry, English Jewry, et cetera, et cetera, says to Israel Jewry, "Okay, it's our problem money-wise. It's your problem to [0:59:00] put another goat in the tent, more people in the houses. Crowd up closer, rub shoulders. Make the closeness even worse."

We didn't do it. Okay. We're quibbling and we're arguing and we're fumbling. That's the bad word. We're fumbling about how to raise the \$420 million over three years. All the pledges we want now so we're sure the 420 will come in, but you have three years to pay. This is the concept, as though to seduce you, as though you need something to seduce you to put up the money, for which you ought to say thank God you're being given

the opportunity. Stand up and do your duty. Don't quibble about it. Don't take a long time to argue about all these silly arrangements.

Harris said empowerment [1:00:00] took place two years ago on the Mall. You were empowered to do something. Okay, set up your line of credit so that you can draw it down as you need to. Number two, reach for levels which no one has ever dreamed of or has spoken about, and there are five groups of money to be reached for. There is a \$25 million level that has to be set, and there are about forty people in America who are capable of doing that. And you know what that is? That's a billion dollars.

You know what you can do with a billion dollars? Because the people who are capable of giving that kind of money give it to you in cash [1:01:00], and if they haven't got the cash, they go borrow it. That's their problem. If you've got \$1 billion in cash money, you have \$75 million a year in interest coming in. The \$75 million a year in interest coming in is more than the whole Passage to Freedom campaign raised last year. It didn't raise 50 million bucks. It was terrible, because half the year was wasted in arguing whether it should be spent locally, or whether it should be spent through Israel. The intricate formulae that were devised were a disgrace. Nobody was thinking.

Take that big pool from the very top of the cream of the people who are able to give it, and go back to the old Jewish principle of making interest-free loans to Russian immigrants [1:02:00]. Don't give him a dime. Loan him \$50,000 if he needs it, and he owes you the money, and he's got to pay you back. No interest, so it doesn't hurt. And he's got a long time to pay it back. And he's going to feel so good because he's independent, and he didn't live off somebody else's *kest*. He didn't live off somebody else's charity. You've made him independent from day one.

By the time he pays that back -- it can be ten years later, it can be twenty years later, it doesn't matter -- the people who put the money in are long since dead. Anyway, they've long since taken their tax deductibility for it, so they don't want the money back. You have a permanent fund -- permanent. This rich Jewish [1:03:00] community has never collected a permanent fund of any kind of size. And a billion dollars is nothing, and it ought to quickly be built up to grow to five. This billion-dollar pool, as I call it, is the base of the whole production of money.

Now, I said we've never built a pool. We do -- we have a pool. We have a pool of some hundreds of millions of dollars owned by all of the communities, which are called the community

endowment funds. And the community endowment funds have to put up about \$100 million of this \$420. A million here, and a million there, and two million here, pretty soon, it adds up to real money [1:04:00]. And there ought to be an assignment made, simple assignment made to all of the community endowment funds, depending upon what they have. And they will not be honest, and they will shelter some of it, but never mind. There's room for cushions there. You simply assign 100 million bucks, and it will be forthcoming.

A whole pattern has to be organized with the approval of the Russian government, and that begins with the Russian ambassador in Washington. Start there and it will go quickly up to the Kremlin in order to make sure that you're not doing anything in violation of their sensitivities, a whole pattern of missions to Russia. I started the concept of missions to Israel and took the first one in 1955, and I fought like a crazy man [1:05:00], and I managed to get twelve people. And the first mission that ever went to Israel had twelve people on it. And from 1955 today to 1990, you are talking about almost 10,000 people a year who go through Israel on missions. I would like to suggest that in the year 1990, this year, a planeload a week, every week, one load, 200 people for fifty weeks. Two hundred people for fifty weeks gives you 10,000 people.

Ten thousand people going to the Soviet Union, charge them 500 bucks each, and every gift is a \$10,000 gift. You can make every gift a \$25,000 gift, if you want. People who will give 1,000 bucks to the campaign, people who will give 2,000 bucks [1:06:00] to the campaign have got to be asked, over this three-year period, for ten and fifteen -- the kind of money they never in their lives dreamed they would ever give or ever be able to give, and may have trouble paying off. But never mind; it's good for them, because they will have the privilege of burning the mortgage. There's no fun if you don't take the mortgage. Take the mortgage, pay it off, burn it, and you feel free.

I'm not joking. Everybody has got to stretch. Everybody has got to do something he never thought he had to do before. You don't understand that if you fail on this one, the likelihood of your getting another opportunity in your lifetime, average age thirty-eight, is slim. So grab this one [1:07:00]. You'll feel right about it. You'll feel that you are an author of history, not an observer. I liked his phrase.

And you will find out that it's possible, never mind that what scares you now is the cost of putting your kids through college. It scared me to death. I had five that I had to do it with. I did; I'm alive; they're alive. It's all over, just

beginning for you. I'm seventy-two. It will take a long time to get it all over. But to hell with it. What's the difference?

Don't worry about the kids in college. You are going to have to, in the next twenty or thirty days, make your mind up as to what you're going to give personally, if you haven't already done so. And you'd better realize that you are part of that pool of people that ought to get on one of those airplanes [1:08:00] to Moscow. And you don't have to stay there more than two or three days. And I've got a whole program worked out on paper of what you ought to do there. Everybody, you could all do the same. You've all been on enough missions to Israel. You make up an itinerary of what you want to have on a mission to Moscow, and the UJA ought to give it to you. And if the UJA won't give it to you from the national office, then sit down with [Sarnat?] in Atlanta, and sit down with blah-blah-blah in every town, and sit down with your local guys, and they'll give it to you.

You need something for the big people, not the \$25 million, but there are hundreds of people in this country who can give \$1 million. Nobody has ever asked, or asked in a perfunctory way, or in a silly way, or not in the historic context of what we're talking about [1:09:00]. It's always asked in a wishful thinking way. "Oh, if we could only get somebody in town to give a

million bucks." Why should he? Now, why shouldn't he, especially if a lot of other people are going to do it, too?

You get yourself a bunch of Wexner type airplanes, Gulfstream IVs and Gulfstream IIIs and the big advanced Lears and the best things going, and they have ten or twelve seats each. That's all they got, and it goes at a million bucks a seat. And let me tell you something, if you can get [Belzberg's?] plane, and you can get Simon's plane, and you can get [Fischer's] plane, and you can get Wexner's plane, and you can get Taubman's plane, and da-da-da-da-da, and you can get [1:10:00] fifty airplanes, you'll send one airplane a week with five, six, seven people on it. Because you going to leave three or four seats on it that, after these characters have flown to Moscow -- it's only eight hours from New York to Moscow -- and they've seen what they've seen, and they've had their lunch in the Kremlin and da-da-da, they're going to pick up three or four Russian Jews and fly them from Moscow to Tel Aviv. They don't need any intergovernmental permissions for direct flights. And they'll come back from that trip three days later, and the six of them or the seven of them have given their million bucks each. And it will accelerate and accelerate week after week, week after week.

Set up a fax network among all the Federation offices and just shoot the names out, who did it this week, who did it this week, who did it to whom on whose plane [laughter]. [1:11:00] And you've got yourself a momentum going in America in which everybody is beginning to feel like this is a crusade that's going to work. The injection of faith and enthusiasm and technology all have to work together.

And I'm not inventing any wheels here in front of you, because all this has been done before. But it's done in a certain tempo that I'm suggesting, and at a certain rhythm, and at a certain volume, and at a certain level which has not been tried before. And that's the difference between [*shigrati?*], between listening to routine talk about how are we going to do this, and shall we have our big gifts dinner with pink tablecloths or blue tablecloths. Good God.

I think that I would load onto the non-Jewish community [1:12:00], through some kind of big corporate division, something between \$250 and \$500 million. And I would get somebody like Iacocca or Ross Perot -- and these are guys who care. I'm not just talking some rich non-Jew. Somebody who cares.

I once sat in a helicopter with Ross Perot going over the Sinai Desert, and I thought that my task was to try to explain

to him the map below. We were sitting with maps on our laps, and the stretch of the burned-out Arab tanks -- this was after the Six Day War. Guy wasn't interested in that at all. Couldn't care less. He says, "You've got a map. We're looking out the window. What I want you to show me is the route that Moses took."

[laughter] [1:13:00]

So I say to him, "What do you care about that?" He says, "I read the Bible." Dallas, Texas, not far from here, a lot of people read the Bible. And I think if it were put to him right, he would take the chairmanship of a corporate division, you want to call it Christian division, I don't care. And you load onto it 250 or 500, and it's absolutely doable in my judgment. Absolutely doable.

You've got to cultivate it. Isn't going to happen just because you say you want it to happen. But it's an approach. You get a lineup of people, Christian and Jewish. You go talk to what's-his-name at Bank One in Columbus, and if [Leslie?] pops for the big number, and if [Leslie?] puts his airplane at the disposal of this [1:14:00] million-dollar thing, you think that John McCoy isn't going to put Bank One in the forefront of a large corporate move? He certainly will. Wexner is on the board of that bank. So there's muscle, and there's power, and if you mobilize the power toward a very specific objective...

I think you have to do something for the smaller people, because they can't be left out of this thing, nor should they be. And they may not be able to give a million dollars or \$25,000 or numbers like that. But for people who have either never given anything or given 100 bucks, I think we have to create something like a \$1,000 Russian rescue bond. It's a nice number, \$1,000 bond. And I think we've got 450,000 [1:15:01] Jewish students in this country, 450,000 nineteen- and twenty-year-olds. I would empower them with Polaroid pictures in plastic little identity cards, which would entitle them to go from house to house to house-to-house, knocking on every Jewish door in town and ask for that \$1,000 Russian rescue bond.

Guy says, "\$1,000?" You're going to get your money back in fifteen years, with interest. Don't forget, we've got that billion-dollar pool sitting there. You can pay this back. Every Jew in this country has got to participate in this and be given a chance to at a level which is within his reach. And I'm not just talking idealism; I'm talking money, because I think there's 100 million bucks in those \$1,000 dollar [1:16:00] Russian rescue bonds.

You know what I'm talking about takes a massive amount of organization? It takes a large, dedicated staff. It takes no wasting of time in all of the preparations. They're all

essentially simple, because they've all been done before. It takes a very, very nifty crew of volunteer lay leaders. There's none better in the whole country than you, and this is where you ought to put your talents. And if everything that I wrote goes into the wastebasket as far as the upper stratosphere of the UJA is concerned and they can't get their act together to do anything, then you take any parts of this that you want and try to put it to work in your own town, and nobody will say to you nay.

The last thing I would [1:17:00] recommend is this: You've got to personalize this. You've got to personalize it. David Harris mentioned the name of Leonid Feldman twice in his talk, because Leonid Feldman has made a personal impact on him. As knowledgeable, and as sensitive, and as absolutely conversant as he is with the whole subject, still he has one thing, which has nothing to do with knowledge. It has to do with passion. He's got passion, and if some of that passion came from Leonid, and if that's the source, fine. And if it came from some other Jew whom he met in the Soviet Union at some other time, fine.

I would like to make the following suggestion. I would like to have you search out [1:17:59] for your town four very, very special Russian Jews. I would like you to use a man or a woman for ninety days, and after that, he or she is worn out, and so

you need another one for the next ninety days, [*b'tor anut?*]. And the next one, and the next one, so four times ninety will carry you through all year.

I want you to take that person and put him in the home for breakfast, lunch, or dinner, or tea, or evening talk, or whatever, of every single Jew in town who gave to the regular campaign from \$500 and up. And I think that he or she [1:19:01] can see five people every day, five people every day, and that means that you can see about 1,500 or 2,000 people in the course of the year. Personal, face-to-face. He's sitting at your luncheon table, and he's talking to you about what life was like in the Soviet Union, and what letters he's getting from people who are still there, and what his fears are, and what the latest pamphlet he saw distributed around the streets. "Marx was a Jew." "Lenin's grandmother was a Jew."

The whole list of communism, which is now under attack, is being laid at the feet of Jews. They invented it. They created it. They're the villains. He'll tell you everything that he knows, everything that he feels [1:20:01]. He gives you his analysis, and all you have to do is look in his eyes, and he'll look in your eyes, and the contact is made. And he doesn't have to ask you for one bloody thing. Nothing.

But after he has lunch in somebody's house, the next day, you have to call the guy up. You have to call the guy up the next day. Don't wait forty-eight hours; twenty-four is the most. And say, "I want 10,000 bucks. Don't drop dead. Just say yes, and I'll come and explain to you how you can handle it. I'm going to bring the paper over to sign. Good bye." No? You'll get it or you won't, or you'll get half of it, but you can't lose. No way to lose. The only [1:21:00] way you lose is if you don't ask, and if you don't ask, then you've lost your whole life. And that's really what you're confronted with.

You bring into face-to-face contact every person who is a prospective giver with somebody who has the legitimate right to explain what the need is. It's never been done in that volume before. We always talk about doing it. We kid ourselves, and we talk about doing it two on one. We never even do it one on one! I can't stand the hypocrisy! You want to do something? You know how to do it. You don't want to do it, don't do it. But then, don't come crying about a missed [1:22:00] historic opportunity. And don't come around to your kids twenty-five and thirty years from now with some kind of fake story about what did you do in the Great War, Daddy? And you make up a story, and you tell the kid a lie. Don't tell the kid some lie thirty years from now about why you didn't do something now, which you can do! Nobody

is asking you do to do anything you can't do. It's only a question about your will to do it. So that's where you stand in the face of history.

Everything that I've said may be nonsense. Everything I've said you may just say, "Fantasy. He's bluffing. It's un-doable." But as you see, I have run out of voice, and you are now very fortunate with that fact. So I will finish by saying simply I believe in you [1:23:00]. You are much more intelligent, and you are much better educated than the generation one or two generations before you. You have no fear in you, as the American Jew did in the thirties and forties, which paralyzed him. You have more education. You have less, if any, fear. You have thirdly, a good sense of organization. The communities are organized much better than they were forty and fifty years ago. And there isn't a reason under the sun why you shouldn't take this in your stride, thanking God every single day that the opportunity is being given to you. Seizing it with a certain smile instead of a grimace, with a sense of grace [1:24:00], with a sense of thankfulness, and with a sense that duty is duty, and you're going to do it.

Okay, that's it. [applause]

END OF AUDIO FILE [1:24:21]