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"The Ordeal For Israel's People Is Not Finished." 8 December  
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# The Ordeal For Israel's People Is Not Finished



Delivered by  
**HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN**

Executive Vice Chairman

to the  
United Jewish Appeal

30th Annual National Conference

December 8, 1967

New York Hilton    New York City

*Personal Copy  
H.A.F.*

*And the mighty chariots gathered in the sands, and the warriors waited under the hot sun, and there was both silence and much groaning as the lords of Egypt shouted their commands, piling ever higher their endless arsenals which came from far across the sea. Sharp rays slanted from the sides of silver birds, cruel and swift, able to strike much terror into the tents of Israel.*

*Children of Dan and of Levi, Ephraim and Manasseh gathered swiftly to meet the foe. From tribe to tribe the sons came in all their numbers—but still were a handful against the vastness of the enemies around. With pride and with faith, with love of God and love of land, their hands grew more skilled and their aim was true. Night and day flashed with fire—men were brave and fought with daring—through the deserts and the mountains—the valleys and the seas—and when it was quickly done, in six short days, the Angel of Death passed, and came to rest in the other camp.*

*And Egypt and Syria and Jordan and all the Kings and princes of Araby were discomfited and fled and the children of Israel breathed anew.*

These verses are my fanciful version of how the story might be written a thousand years from now when the Holiday of the Six-Day War will be celebrated, perhaps surpassing Chanukah as the high-water mark of Jewish armed resistance. This war, which seems to border on the miraculous, etched itself so deeply and swiftly into the Jewish consciousness that even though we are still within short weeks of its occurrence we already speak of it as some fantastic historic episode which we compare with Joshua's wars or David's wars.

Every Jew in the world, even the silent Jews of Russia, fought this war. And that fact is the second miraculous event, beside the victory itself. Everyone was involved, emotionally, psychologically, actually. Our response proved it. Much will be written to digest, analyze and savor what happened. We shall read for years and decades - and re-live June. But now our eyes must turn forward, to the future, to what is waiting.

AMERICAN JEWRY WILL CONTINUE UJA ISRAEL EMERGENCY FUND IN 1968

The Israel Emergency Fund campaign which was conducted by the United Jewish Appeal in 1967, in conjunction with Federations and Welfare Funds throughout

the country, whose cooperation and enthusiasm was magnificent, will be continued during 1968 - and the decisions authorizing this policy were taken by the Board of the CJFWF on September 24, 1967, and the Executive Committee of the UJA on September 28, 1967.

The UJA National Study Mission, with 550 participants from 80 communities, endorsed this decision on 26 October at a meeting in Tel Aviv at the conclusion of almost two weeks of intensive study of our current problems in Israel, travelling throughout the country and listening to many reports.

The logic behind the decision is quite clear and simple. Israel is faced with a serious military and security problem, as a result of the present political impasse. The government and people of Israel must undertake tremendous financial burdens of rearmament, since the Arab world refuses to talk peace. At the same time, there is the huge backlog of social welfare problems, involving health, education, immigrant absorption and many other needs, which has traditionally been the responsibility of Jews in the outside world to assist with philanthropic funds.

~~In past years, our philanthropic contribution has levelled off to a minor~~  
Rider - Page 2 - to replace paragraphs 1 and 2 marked X

~~In past years our philanthropic contribution has levelled off gradually from total responsibility for the humanitarian programs to a minor (approximately 1/3) share and the people of Israel, without obligation to do so, but because we did not meet our full responsibility, have gradually increased their help by contributing the major (2/3) share of these costs.~~  
In past years, our exertions in order to undertake the major if not full responsibility. Hence we are continuing the Emergency Fund to seek the extra scores of millions required to meet these needs.

We see Israel faced today with an emergency situation which has been described by many Israeli officials as being more critical in many ways even than was the situation in May 1967.

#### RE-ARMED ARABS THREATEN TO RE-OPEN WAR

First, there is the continuous refusal of the Arab world to talk peace or make any gestures toward sitting at the peace table. Even the so-called "moderate" approach of King Hussein of Jordan, while in the United States in November, contained a refusal to recognize the State of Israel. As for Nasser, his position is almost beyond words to describe. The day after the UN Security Council passed its resolution on which it had worked for almost five months, Nasser addressed his National Assembly for the first time since the June war and said that there would be no recognition of Israel, no permission for her to sail the Suez Canal, and

renewal of hostilities to regain lost territory at a time when Egypt would be ready. The language from the Syrian side was even more clamorous and truculent. Syria even refused to attend the Arab summit meeting called for January in Rabat to deal with the UN resolution and emissary.

Second, there is the ominous fact, reported in the press openly throughout the world, of the Russian shipments of planes, tanks and other material to Egypt and Syria in approximately the same amount as were lost by these countries in the June war. These Arab armies, in other words, are re-stocked and re-equipped to their former strength. They are no longer the shattered and broken armies of June. In addition, there is the openly reported fact of the presence of thousands of Russian advisers in Egypt, who are responsible for training, planning, organization, maintenance of equipment and many more military functions. Thus Russian manpower and supplies have put Egypt and Syria back into a very threatening posture, within a remarkably short period of time.

Third, there is the evacuation of the civilian population on the Western side of the Suez Canal, from the towns of Port Said, Kantara, Ismailia, Suez, Port Tewfiq and others, and their replacement by military personnel and equipment. Tens of thousands of Egyptian troops and hundreds of tanks are poised along the length of the Canal.

Fourth, there is the almost daily border crossing from the Syrian and Jordanian side, representing again the type of harassment which heated the atmosphere so violently last April and May. There is the destruction of property and loss of life as a result of the armed incursions made by large bands of guerrilla raiders called El Fatah. Their movements are often covered by mortar and artillery barrages, and these fights have sometimes escalated to the point of involving aircraft.

Fifth, there is the recent announcement by the National Liberation Front that after the British evacuation of Aden, the independent government which would be called South Yemen People's Republic would blockade the entrance to the Red Sea against Israeli shipping at a point called the Island of Perim, in the Bab-el-Mandeb Straits, more than a thousand miles south of Sharm-el-Sheik. Any such blockade would obviously be a war-like move. Most observers discount the announcement - and do not feel it has any meaning, either political or military. On the other hand, it is simply another token of the belligerency which exists in the area, and so far

no other Arab government has disowned it as an irresponsible statement. It, therefore, must stand on the record as another matter of possible concern.

### ISRAEL'S STRENGTH IS ONLY WAR DETERRENT

These facts, and many others, have led to a continuation of the state of tension. As a result of this condition, Israel has decided there is no choice but to restore her armed strength, which suffered losses in the Six Day War, at least to a pre-June level, if not higher. Strength may be the only deterrent to further conflict.

Let me add a word here on the question of deterrence. This whole concept is psychological as well as physical. If your enemy believes you are strong enough, he will hesitate. His belief is based upon his intelligence reports and his estimates of what you will do.

What happened in May and June? Why did Egypt keep escalating from one war-like act to another - throwing out the UN Force, blockading Tiran Strait, packing the Sinai full of troops and tanks? Did she think Israel would take all this lying down - surrender, as it were? Or did she think that even if Israel chose to fight, there was not enough strength to be effective? Whatever she thought, one thing is clear - she was not deterred from her path by any fear of Israel's power. In other words, the size of Israel's armed forces, number of aircraft and heavy equipment, did not represent a sufficiently credible deterrent.

To be a deterrent to an enemy, an opposing force must be credible to him - and that means, in simple language, it must be big enough and powerful enough to keep him at bay.

What Israel possessed in May-June was apparently not big enough. She is weaker today than she was then - particularly in aircraft. Therefore she is embarked on a tremendous purchasing program, in order to make up for the losses of June, and then to increase very considerably, so that her strength will be sufficiently credible and the Egyptians will hesitate a long time before starting another round.

On the other hand, if deterrence does not work, and war breaks out again - sooner rather than later, as some people think, then the Israeli program of re-arming becomes all the more vital to its security.

## PRIORITIES IN ISRAEL'S HUMAN NEEDS

Parallel and simultaneous with all this, we must look at the other set of problems, the humanitarian and social.

1. IMMIGRATION -- First, there is the continuous new immigration which went on all through the 1967 period of war, pre-war build up, post-war tension, and for 1968 is expected to bring an even larger flow, perhaps reaching the figure of 25,000 persons, who will come mainly from the North African Moslem countries, where Jewish life was seriously disturbed as a result of the war. Libyan Jewry fled almost in its totality to Italy. Already hundreds have migrated from Italy to Israel and the total will probably rise into thousands as time goes on. Moroccan Jewry fled in thousands to France, and again the transmigration is bringing many to Israel.

2. ABSORPTION -- Second, there is the uninterrupted problem of continuing to absorb the immigrants of earlier years, whose process of integration always proceeds slowly until adequate funds have been expended over a period of years so that an immigrant is gradually brought up to the full standard of a rooted citizen. It is still accurate to say that there are more than a quarter million of previous years' immigrants for whom the process has been nowhere near completed. The whole gamut of social services is required. For some, vocational retraining is necessary. For some, Hebrew language schools are necessary. For some, literacy in any language must be achieved. For some, chronic illness must be met with adequate health facilities. For some, blindness and mental ailments and physical handicaps require sophisticated and expensive solutions. For some, pure and simple cash welfare relief is required. One of the leading social workers in Israel has estimated there are 300,000 people living below the poverty line in the country.

3. HOUSING FOR IMMIGRANTS -- Third, housing remains a great problem for thousands of large immigrant families who are living in two rooms, or sometimes even one, with 5, 6, or 7 members, grandparents and babies all crowded together. This situation must be improved by adding rooms or moving families to larger quarters.

4. AID TO 400 FARM SETTLEMENTS -- Fourth, there remains as yet incomplete the task of achieving economic viability for hundreds of agricultural settlements into which tens of thousands of immigrants were placed. Initial investments were made - gradual progress has been the pattern. The land yielded fruit to those who slowly transformed themselves into farmers - and more than one hundred of these

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villages have actually attained economic independence. Yet there are 400 more whose struggle still goes on - and these still require the necessary subsidies for another period of time until they too shall be self-sufficient. In recent years, American philanthropic funds devoted to this program have gradually been reduced, largely because there was not enough money available to care for everything, and this program was selected for cutback. The entire load fell upon the government, although the Jews outside of Israel and not the government of Israel had the ~~primary~~ responsibility for carrying this burden. It is obvious now that we must redress the situation and re-assume as large a share for this item as possible.

5. YOUTH SERVICES -- Fifth, there is the whole area of youth services - which requires everything from buildings, to trained group workers, to youth leaders and counsellors, to sports instructors, to vocational workshops, to whatever is necessary in order to absorb the mental and physical energy of a teen-age population in limbo between school graduation (14, for many) and induction into the army (18, for all). To use the term juvenile delinquency might conjure an incorrect image, for the problems in Israel in this area are nowhere as severe as they are in the United States. Nevertheless, this term must be used, for there is a type of conduct occurring which only this term can describe - and the most strenuous efforts must be made in the field of youth services to replace idleness with idealism, and boredom with character-building programs.

6. EDUCATION -- Sixth, there is the most important and most expensive matter of all - education. What the government of Israel has assumed as its legal responsibility, it must perform. This includes all primary education. But, above and beyond, what it is obligated to do by law, the government also voluntarily subsidizes the cost of higher education, including secondary education and university. It is in this area that our philanthropic funds can make an enormous and perhaps decisive contribution under these present circumstances. For it is obvious that as the defense expenses mount astronomically, something must give way - and the most vulnerable area is education. If the standards of education were to be cut back, tremendous damage would occur. At the cost of whatever exertions, we must feel responsible for this matter, which it is legitimately within our ability to undertake.

I should like to note at this point the extraordinary pioneering job being accomplished by a handful of men who are helping solve this matter of education. A precious handful, through the Israel Education Fund of the UJA, have understood and acted with vision.



By no means have all the problems even been enumerated, let alone expounded. In the course of our deliberations, you will hear and have before you a mass of details about all the above matters, and others, such as: the whole question of development towns, with all their weaknesses which cry out for solutions; the national problem of illiteracy; the serious matter of the aged; the festering problem of urban slums; the urgent need for larger numbers of trained social workers; and a host of other social and human needs all remain on the agenda, requiring attention.

And behind all of this, exists the economic fact of thousands of unemployed. Although this situation is improving, and there is every earnest hope that in the year ahead it may be substantially solved, still at this moment there are many severe effects, even including the fact, as noted in a recent small article in the Jerusalem Post, that there are children in Israel not receiving an adequate diet.

#### ISRAEL'S HUMANITARIAN NEEDS ARE OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The shape of events becomes clear. Heavy rearmament, building of shelters, administering the occupied territories, the cost of reconstruction, rehabilitation and economic dislocation will go on month after month, taking hundreds of millions of dollars. This is the problem and obligation of the people of Israel, and to this they have determined to apply all their resources. Immigration, absorption, education, social welfare will go on month after month, taking hundreds of millions of dollars. The totality of this undertaking must be the responsibility of world Jewry, because Israel's people no longer are able to contribute to it.

What is the time-table? In the political and military arena no one really knows what will happen. What decision will be reached in the Arab world? Will they, at the summit meeting scheduled to be held in December or January, emerge from the sterility of negativism which marked their last conference in August at Khartoum and which found expression in those three principles of no recognition, no negotiations, no peace? Will they sense that regional cooperation opening the possibilities for economic growth, cultural exchange, elevation of living standards, lie immediately ahead as concrete advantages if the final treaties of peace are signed? What does peace mean after all? Eban defined it so beautifully - "By peace I mean not only the opposite of war, but an order of relations beginning with mutual acceptance and evolving into a community of states reconciling their full and separate sovereignty with a widening process of cooperation." Every state in the area, not only Israel, has so much to gain from this concept of peace that its desirability should be obvious to the simplest schoolboy.

## ARAB WORLD STILL REFUSES TO END HOSTILITIES

Or will they repeat the obdurate refusal, the truculent opposition which seems to be the almost Pavlovian Arab reflex? There appears to be so far no break in the obstinacy. Some say Nasser is ill - diabetic - and really weary of the struggle; yet he remains in office and enunciates the policy of no peace. The very day after the UN Security Council finally passed its resolution, concluding five torturous months of debate and discussion, and obtaining the votes of both Russia and the U.S. as a matter of fact, the unanimous votes of all 15 members, Nasser spoke for 2-1/2 hours before a packed meeting of the National Assembly. He repeated the same formulae - withdrawal by Israel, refusal to allow Israeli shipping through the Canal. The press reported that there was sustained applause whenever he struck a defiant note. He said there could be no political solution except through military strength. He said the Egyptian nation must choose its own moment for the next military round instead of having the battle thrust upon it. He said, "We must choose the time and place. The naval battle of Port Said shows what we can do."

The responsible world press came down on him hard for that speech. The N.Y. Times editorialized the next day that he had retreated to a "position of belligerent intransigence that seriously compromises the prospects for peace," that he was defying the spirit and letter of the UN resolution, and that it would serve the cause of peace if he would keep quiet.

Four days later the Cairo Radio said that there had been mistakes in translating the speech which had led to misunderstanding in the world press. This is an old trick, which fools no one. The Cairo Radio reported that Nasser did not say he will never allow Israeli ships to pass through the canal and yet, according to the Israeli monitors who listened to the speech in Jerusalem, he twice declared this ban and was wildly applauded.

According to Cairo Radio, Nasser said "Egypt is striving for a peaceful solution by diplomatic means and that only if these fail, would Egypt rebuild its armed forces." According to the Israeli monitors of the original speech, Nasser said Egypt would do its all to increase its military power and that diplomacy was useful only insofar as it was backed up by force. He said "It is my firm belief that what has been taken from us by force can be restored only by force." This was met with loud and lengthy applause.

As for Hussein and the Jordan position, the very same day that the UN

resolution was passed, the Jordan Parliament met and called upon the King to re-arm the nation's forces with weapons "from any source." The speeches indicated an increasingly favorable attitude toward a standing Russian offer to supply the army and airforce. This means a very fast arms buildup could occur - and Israel would then be surrounded on all sides again by re-equipped enemies.

And that, really, is the main point. These countries still consider themselves enemies. There is no move toward peace because the psychology of realism does not yet exist. The mentality is that of a wounded animal, hurt in pride as well as in body, licking its wounds, planning its revenge, thinking of the next fight. The Arab concept of Israel as an alien state which has forced herself into a neighborhood where it is not wanted is supported by a second Arab concept that time and continuous fighting will succeed in ejecting the alien. The striking historic example which the Arabs employ is that the European Christian Crusaders with all their force managed to last only two hundred years and were finally expelled.

This mentality is not conducive to the reasoned approach of dealing with realities, recognizing facts, accommodating and adjusting. Unless a miracle occurs, therefore, one can expect nothing practical to come from the UN resolution or the mission of the UN mediator.

#### LONG HARD PULL LIES AHEAD

And, therefore, we must expect a continuation of the status quo. A long hard pull lies ahead. Israel's policy is to seek firm peace treaties to replace the fragile armistice agreements which have existed from the beginning, which have been broken, and which have resulted in constantly shifting borders. True, the borders of today are the best Israel has ever enjoyed, for there is no single village in the country today within the range of Arab artillery. But still these are only cease-fire lines. In Eban's words "a permanent and mutually recognized territorial boundary is our only possible destination." Pending that, which requires dialogue, negotiation, recognition and solution of outstanding problems, Israel has decided to sit where she is and wait.

To sit and wait does not suggest inaction. Holding the occupied territories means administering them. Life goes on. Schools must be kept open - teachers must be paid. Roads must be built - Arab labor must be kept busy. Idle hands make mischief. Telephones must be strung. Supervision must be instituted at every level - from big towns like Nablus to the smallest villages. Health and food and

water and police and all the normal services must be maintained and even improved. To sit and wait means to work like beavers in these new territories keeping life going, trying to develop friends, win over local politicians for more effective cooperation. Israel may have acquired over a million new Arabs to worry about and care for - but she has not acquired any new Jews who can help administer the affairs of this population. The same Israeli manpower must be stretched even thinner to carry out the new duties. So sitting and waiting is not easy.

Yet Israel has determined that there is no alternative. The world has been given to understand in what is probably the clearest language ever employed in the field of international diplomacy that Israel will not simply withdraw from these territories without the quid pro quo of peace treaties. As a matter of fact, there is no real pressure from any source, certainly not from the United States, for her to withdraw unconditionally. The world expects her to maintain this position and her own population expects it and is prepared for a long pull.

We must also understand clearly that during this waiting period, which may very well lead not to peace, but to renewed warfare, there will probably be the continuation of border skirmishes, guerrilla raiding, planes shot down, shipping attacked and lives lost - all of which have characterized the past six months.

It seems to me then, that all is clear. With no movement toward peace talks, with large and swift Arab rearmament, with almost daily battles on land, sea and air - it is difficult, in a sense, to know whether one should say the war is still going on, or the war will break out again. Israel therefore has decided to act under the rule that survival is the first responsibility of an organism, human or social. She lost aircraft and must replace them, lost tanks and must replace them, expended ammunition and must replace it.

She has determined to make these decisions and perform quickly those acts which will place her in a status of greatest possible strength again to face this long and uncertain future. The historic process is incomplete. The shape of the nation is not yet finally drawn.

#### UJA - WORKING IN THE CAUSE OF JEWISH SURVIVAL

Again, historically speaking, our role is clear. Long ago we American Jews committed ourselves to the cause of Jewish survival. We swore allegiance to the principle that every single soul was precious to us - and expanded ingenuity trying

to reach Jews in every corner of the globe with help and hope. We swiftly seized upon the method of migration and shuttled Jews all over the world to find new and safe homes. We learned early the importance of placing a skilled trade in a man's hand as a tool for his independence. And we created the network of organizations whose devotion and skill would achieve these objectives...The UIA, JDC, the NYANA, the UHS, and the ORT.

The JDC has worked more than half a century to uphold this principle, and has done so magnificently. Its areas of work shift, as needs shift, across the decades and across the continents. Western Europe is largely reconstructed today - but France still requires help because of the large North African refugee influx. Conversely, the needs in North Africa may be expected to diminish in the years ahead - and gradually only Morocco will remain as an area of major concern. In Poland the work must close down, but in Rumania new opportunities are opening. Iran remains a program of steady need - fully one-fourth of the Jews in that country receive help of some sort. And Malben in Israel will have mounting requirements as the percentage of aged in the population increases. With a totally global view, watching the problems as they ebb and flow, constantly shifting its emphasis, the JDC does its work, knowing it is expressing the will of American Jewry to be its brother's keeper.

And so it is with the ORT, constantly straining to educate more students - performing a beautiful service of life-building - requiring more support each year. And so it is with the UHS, seeking new havens, helping families re-unite, always on call. And so it is with the NYANA, absorbing Jewish immigrants into metropolitan New York so quietly and effectively as to be almost invisible - doing its work exactly as one would wish - serving the individual to make his adjustment into this bewildering city.

This family of organizations is one of which every contributor to the UJA can be quite proud.

*Begin \** Above and beyond all this, we know that the greatest single instrument by which to guarantee Jewish survival is an independent and sovereign state which <sup>can</sup> ~~could~~ offer home, freedom and opportunity. ~~Through the UIA and the Jewish Agency we have poured indescribable amounts of love, energy and money.~~ That State whose fragile framework really holds within it the fate and future of so much of the Jewish people is constantly being tested under fire, and so is our resolve.

(To its shores we have brought <sup>- 11 -</sup> over a million imperilled Jews and to meet task and their absorption we have poured through the UIA and the Jewish Agency

If our own resolve is being tested, let us know realistically that we are our only and truest ally.) The DeGaulle episode is a frightening example, if we ever needed another, that the roots of misunderstanding about us go indeed very deep. When it seems that ancient shibboleths have been laid aside, ancient prejudices discarded, ancient cliches abandoned, suddenly we find again, even in enlightened circles, the gross and vulgar obscenity surfacing once more. We are shocked by the resurrection of Dreyfusism - but there it is. The Jewish people in the world stand alone - <sup>most</sup> depending <sup>largely</sup> on their own self-esteem. Let the lesson be learned well by the Jews of the new left, the alienated, intellectual crowd and the internationalists all of whose vague yearnings for a world free of war cause them to sacrifice purely Jewish interests. shide we may have many friends in the

### ORDEAL FOR ISRAEL'S PEOPLE IS NOT FINISHED

Most Jews of the world stood firm in June. We knew what we wanted. Our reaction was chemical and electric. Our very deepest emotions were touched. Our reflexes worked swiftly. We were afraid of destruction. We were angry at another genocide. We felt pride in success. We felt love for our people in Israel. An unprecedented height of world-wide Jewish unity was welded by the flaming arc of fire, and an unprecedented generosity produced large funds to care for the human needs of those whom <sup>we had brought Israel in the years gone by.</sup> Now we wait - tense - <sup>uncertain</sup> ~~poised~~. The ordeal for Israel's people is not finished. There may very well be more fighting - small scale we hope - larger scale possibly. The question is how we will react. What we did in June so well was a quick flash of raw emotion. What we do now will show the hard will of a millennial people determined to mold history and make it conform to our deep and passionate desire to live and create and fashion in our own image a world whose outlines were drawn by our ancient prophets and whose future exists to be shaped for the benefit of all mankind. Do we have the hard will?

We were born in the Middle East, which both legend and science have selected as the cradle of man. It was either in the Garden of Eden, somewhere in the Fertile Crescent, or the Olduvian Gorge, somewhere in the African Rift, that man first appeared. We were among the first men - and we shall be among the last men - and our ~~part~~ <sup>goal</sup> is not ~~for~~ some small ~~unimportant~~ piece of rocky soil - but our ~~task~~ <sup>historic purpose</sup> is to enable <sup>the Jewish people to</sup> live creatively at the crossroad of the continent where we were born. a portion of the Jewish people to

A long wait for peace? - nothing. Another war? - nothing. ~~Love~~ <sup>Love</sup> and treasure we shall continue to give - for I believe the hard will exists - the will to hold and ~~crumble in our hand the clods of free soil and~~ <sup>to</sup> bring forth ever new generations of dreaming, creating Jews who shall stretch for the highest stars and some day attain them.

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\* Above and beyond all this, we know that the greatest single instrument by which to guarantee Jewish survival is an independent and sovereign state which <sup>CAN</sup> ~~could~~ offer home, freedom and opportunity. To its shores we have brought over a million /and a quarter imperilled Jews and to that task and their absorption we have poured, through the UIA and the Jewish Agency, indefrivable amounts of love, energy and money. That State whose fragile framework really holds within it the fate and future of so much of the Jewish people is constantly being tested under fire, and so is our resolve.

If our own resolve is being tested, let us know realistically that while we may have many friends in the world, fundamentally we must always learn to depend upon ourselves for ultimate and unqualified support. The DeGaulle episode is a frightening example, if we ever needed another, that the roots ~~are~~ of misunderstanding about us go indeed very deep. When it seems that ancient shibboleths have been laid aside, ancient prejudices discarded, ancient cliches abandoned, suddenly we find again, even in enlightened circles, the gross and vulgar obscenity surfacing once more. We are shocked by the resurrection of Dreyfusism - but there it is. The Jewish people in the world must depend largely on <sup>ITS</sup> ~~their~~ own self-esteem. Let the lesson be learned well by the Jews of the new left, the alienated, intellectual crowd and the internationalists all of whose vague yearnings for a world free of war cause them to sacrifice purely Jewish interests.

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A long wait for peace? - nothing. Another war? - nothing. Love and treasure we shall continue to give - for I believe the hard will exists - the will to enable those Jews who shall live there to hold and crumble in their hands the clods of free soil and to bring forth ever new generations of dreaming, creating Jews who shall stretch for the highest stars and some day attain them.



Goodell remarks:

The whole point from a legal point is that you are reporting factual situation as it exists in Israel as the reason for an EF. Because of all these conditions that are confronting Israel, Israel cannot contribute to humanitarian causes and therefore the whole job has to be done by UJA.

✓ Page 2 - Line 4 - delete "No more need be said."

✓ Page 3/ - 6 - second para. - Should read: To be a deterrent to an enemy, an opposing force must be credible to him, etc.

✓ Page 6 - 3rd para - should read 1 - On the other hand, if deterrence does not work, and war breaks out again, - sooner or later, as some people think, then the Israeli program of rearming becomes all the more vital to its security.

✓ Page 8 - bottom of page - delete "and some to all, etc. up to word criteria." Sentence should read: "But, above and beyond, what it is obligated to do by law, the government also voluntarily subsidizes the cost of higher education,"

✓ Page 9 - line 10 - Goodell suggests you delete "nation-building."

✓ Page 10 - 1st para. - should read " The shape of events becomes clear. Heavy re- armaments, building of shelters, the costs of reconstruction, rehabilitation and economic dislocation will go on month after a month, taking hundreds of millions of dollars. This is the problem and tge obligation of the people of Israel and to this they have determined to apply all their resources. Immigration, absorption, education, social welfare will go on month after month, taking hudreds of millions of dollars. The totality of this undertaking must be the responsibility of world Jewry because Israel's people no longer are able to contribute to it"

Page 10 - 2nd par- Line 2 - What discussion will be reached in the Arab world?

Page 10 - 2nd par - Line 4 - After 12th - "change the conclusion reached at their last conference in August at Khartoum that found expression in the three negative et. c"

Page 10 - second par - Line 8 - lie immediately ahead as concrete advantages if final treaties of peace are signed?

Page 13 - 2nd par - last line - Israel has decided to sit where she is and wait.

Page 14 - par 1 - Line 1 - Yet Israel has determined that there is not alternative.

Page 14 - par 1 - Line 7 - to maintain this position and her own population etc.

Page 14 - par 1 - line 8 - delete - and we, Jewish brethren etc. ( sounds like military support)

Page 14 - par 2 - last three lines to be deleted - sounds like contribution to military purpose.

Page 15 - 1st par. - 4th line - Israel therefore has decided to act etc.

Page 15 - 2nd para. - She has determined to make those decisions etc.

Page 15 - 3rd par. first line - Again, historically speaking, our role is clear. We must assume the total humanitarian burden because the beleaguered Jews of Israel are no longer able to share in it. Long ago, etc.

(Goodell suggests that the above is the basis for the 1968 campaign, as he sees it)

Page 16 - Par 3 - line 2 - delete "our collective"

Page 16 - Par 3 - line 3 - delete "And into the creation and improvement of that instrument we poured) and change to -  
"To its shores we have brought hundreds of thousands of imperilled Jews and to that task and their absorption we have given indescribable amounts etc."

Goodell's reason for change is that we do not give money to create State of Israel.

Page 16 - Par 3 - last line - really holds within it the fate and future of so much of the Jewish people is constantly etc.

Goodell feels that word "entire" may create political problems in US

Page 17 - 1st par. Delete first line.

Page 17 - 1st par. line 8 - The Jewish people in Israel must depend mainly on the Jewish people outside of Israel.

Page 17 - 2nd par. Line 1 - Delete second sentence.

Page 17 - 2nd par. line 4 - Delete - We felt pride in success. (Goodell says it sounds too military)

Page 17 - 2nd par. line 4 - We felt love for our people in Israel. (Delete next 2 sentences) And unprecedented height etc.

Page 17 - 3rd par. Line 1 - Delete word "poised" - use "anguished"

Page 17 - 3rd par. Line 1 - Third sentence - There may be more fighting, etc.

Page



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Page 18 - second line - passionate desire that those of us who have been brought to Israel and found a haven there shall live, etc.

Page 18 - 2nd par. line 6 - but for people who wish to live creatively.

Pg 18 - last par. first line "Blood and" is out. Treasure we shall continue to give for the human needs that claim our love, for etc.

Par. 18 - third line from bottom - will to sustain the people we brought to Israel so that they can hold and crumble in their fist clods etc.

Page 18 - second line from bottom - delete "fighting"

Remarks from Boukstein

I think the speech is overweighted with war and problems of war.

✓ Page 2 - 10 lines from bottom "the" should be "our"

✓ Page 3 - first par - as changed in pencil. Boukstein comments - the people had no choice but to assume. It was not their choice.

7. Page 5 - last paragraph - out

7. Page 6 - All out up to aircraft (as shown)

Boukstein comments - Does not add anything to his thesis, which is quite OK. They overweigh the military aspect of his statement and logically if you eliminate what I suggest, it continues very well.

✓ Page 8 - 7th line - Change "withdrawn" to "reduced"

✓ Page 8 - 10th line should read: The entire load fell upon the government, although the Jews outside of Israel and not the government of Israel had the prime responsibility for carrying this burden.

✓ Page 9 - 1st line - strike reference to secondary education (as shown)  
Boukstein comments - Government is not responsible for secondary education, as stated in IRS statement re IEF.

✓ Page 9 - 4th line - should read - even including secondary education and ~~fix~~ university, because philanthropic funds were not sufficiently available.

✓ Page 9 - 6th line - Boukstein suggests that you delete sentence beginning with "For it is obvious that as the defense expenses, etc. up to nation-building and people-building process. He says - We are not engaged in nation-building.

✓ Page 9 - last par. -line 3 - "national" out

✓ Page 15 -bottom of page - You make no reference to UIA - Boukstein suggests youj add paragraph about Jewish Agency.

✓ Pg 17 - par 3 - The sentence "There will certainly be more fighting" should be deleted. Boukstein suggests: "There may very weell ~~xxx~~ be more fighting"

✓ Page 9 - end of first par. - Boukstein suggests you add: In the course of our deliberations you will hear and have before you a mass of details about all these matter.

Boukstein says this statement will give him legal coverage against any criticism by Goodell or any other lawyer.

W.D.

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During the exciting days and electric atmosphere of the emergency period of May - June, no one took time to thank anyone else. Every person involved in that utterly magnificent action was performing his own deeds of generosity and expected no thanks, hence gave none. As the tempo of the activity gradually subsided, it became apparent that most people had really conducted themselves most nobly - and each one looked at his neighbor with new respect. At last there is a moment when one can say "Thank you."

I should like now to pay my respects to the women of America; the leaders and workers in the Women's Divisions of the community campaigns; the officers of the many national women's organizations who rose above parochialism and gave their support to this one united Emergency Fund; and above all, to the National Board of the Women's Division of the United Jewish Appeal, under the driving leadership of Mrs. Harry L. Jones and Mrs. Marvin Stang. The way in which Jennie found the strength after weeks of extraordinary work, to make that lightning trip to Israel when the war ended, was the perfect indication to me that the women were in this campaign as deeply as the men. As a matter of fact, post-mortem discussions have shown that in many communities the women were carrying most of the brunt of the campaign on the telephone.

Many have asked me what I considered the main factors which motivated the American Jew to respond as he did. There

are basically four: love, fear, anger, pride.

a) Love for Israel is deep in the hearts of the Jewish people. It is not always expressed - and sometimes it would even appear on the surface that there are ideas and issues which seem to divide the Jews in Israel from the Jews outside. But none of this can obliterate the very deep mystical tie which binds every Jew to the ancestral homeland.

b) Fear that something might happen to Israel galvanized every Jew to act. After almost two decades of independence, Israel has become part of the consciousness of every Jew. He may not think of her every day, but she is a fixed part of his life and thinking. He has grown accustomed to having her as part of his world, and the thought of losing her was too much to bear. He wanted to do everything possible to keep her alive. Twenty years ago, she was a novelty, a sort of unreal dream - come true. Today she is so much a part of him, that if she were to go down, he would go down with her. The loss of Israel would have meant the loss of Jewish existence everywhere on earth.

c) Connected with this was the angry reaction that never again, after Hitler, could Jews be killed or harmed by an enemy without the entire Jewish people rising to the support of the threatened portion of the people. If it was not possible to help in 1942, then certainly 23 years later, it would be absolutely unforgivable if we didn't rally, swiftly and strongly, to show the world the true meaning of the unity of the Jewish people. The response was a way of saying - "Don't anyone ever touch us again."

d) Pride in the achievement of the Israel Defence Forces played an overwhelming part in the response. The favorite phrase was "Israel's lightning victory makes me feel ten feet tall." The speed and scope of the six-day war gave every Jew in the world a renewed sense of dignity, strength and purpose.

Where do we stand now, and what problems must we face? It is clear to everyone that we have many difficult months ahead. The Arabs refuse to talk peace, continuing the fantasy that they did not lose this war, but merely suffered a temporary setback. They are receiving Russian planes again, which encourages them in their intransigence. And so the first problem continues to be military. Israel must remain partially mobilized, at considerable expense; must expect additional casualties from border incidents; must maintain a strong posture; buy more equipment to replace what was lost, and guard a territory now three times larger than the Israel of June 5. The support and maintenance of a military establishment to perform all these tasks is a tremendous financial drain.

Second, there is the problem of territory. Since the Arabs will not negotiate peace treaties, Israel must sit in control of all the occupied territory. Military governors have been appointed for some of the territories, and, de facto, it is becoming Israel's responsibility to see that life goes on for the Arab peoples in these areas. That means schools and hospitals and roads and commerce and the whole complex mechanism of daily life. It is being done, of course, but let us not blithely assume it is easy. Great sums must be

spent and, perhaps more important, this task imposes a strain on the already burdened leadership group. After all, Israel acquired many things in the war, but not more administrators and teachers and other trained personnel.

3

Third, there is the Arab population in these territories - both the settled Arab farmer, as in the former West Bank of Jordan, and the Arab refugee, as in the Gaza Strip. All together, the total of all categories is 1,300,000 new Arabs residing in these occupied territories. One need not look very far into the future to understand the implications of this. But even for the present, this matter is enormously difficult and complicated. If the shopkeepers in El Arish strike in protest against Israel, what do you do? Neither the loose hand of unconcern nor the heavy hand of mass arrest is the answer. The golden mean must somehow always be found, and this requires tact, patience, skill and calm nerves.

4

Fourth, there are many unresolved economic problems. Production must be resumed at full-scale; exports must be increased to close the balance-of-trade gap; new investments must be attracted so that new industries can be developed; markets must be found abroad for new products, and looming over all these problems is the still heavy unemployment. There are tens of thousands of men without work, and this situation becomes most aggravated when ex-soldiers are involved. A soldier finishes his regular two and one-half year period of service, is discharged, goes back to his hometown, and cannot find a job. Or a reservist who has served several months is demobilized, goes back to his family, and is out of work. This is particularly serious - but it is also bad



enough for the ordinary civilian. Public works projects are being developed and emergency work is being provided for most men. As unsatisfactory as this is, it is still better than nothing. It costs millions per month to provide this help.

⑤ Fifth, let us not forget that there remain the old social problems which the war did not solve or cause to disappear. These problems we know about rather well because we have studied them for the past two years: the absorption of large immigrant families; the inadequate housing; illiteracy; juvenile delinquency, and all the other ills in the 21 development towns. Some progress has been made - but not really very much up to now. These matters must and will be tackled seriously.

*absorption*

We have rejoiced at the thrill of witnessing a united Jewish people make a remarkable demonstration of strength. At the same time we obviously realize that we cannot relax, for the problems which remain are numerous and serious.

It is clear that the campaign which lies ahead will again require tremendous output of devotion and energy. The exhilaration at the victory of 1967 must be matched by the dedication of 1968, to produce a result which will give Israel the strength to hold out for a long time until the solutions begin to emerge.