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Speech notes. 1968.

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Syria

YARIV - Excom - 29 Feb 6

had 90 planes
today 130

no qualitative
improvement

more tanks

more soldiers

Egypt

almost all units rehabilitated
15 brigades along Canal
80-100,000 men
600 tanks

total tanks 800 - they had 1000 before war

air - most crucial

E. says own air force destroyed by surprise.

90% restored

They have dispersed their aircraft - using
roads as runway - improved their warning system.

Jordan

will get stuff from U.S. - Iraqi

Their weakness for next months will be in air

Sabotage

This is not like guerilla war in Vietnam
we can cope with it
we have our roos in jail.

There is no limit in manpower + motivation +
money + material

but they cannot enlist the cooperation of the
west Bank Arabs.

we will have to live with this problem
for years

This problem is not due to the war - or
occupying territories - but is permanent
as long as Palestinian problem exists.

We believe time is on our side.

Contact with Arabs in occupied territories
proves this. There is chance of reaching an
understanding, because we are in contact
with them for first time. Gradually they
are getting used to us. They realize they
can't destroy us.

Extension of military service

Augmentation of regular forces

Building camps + digging in - communication, fortification

Pressure on us has not abated for a second.
We all these problems of preparing for future

We have to make up our deficiencies
and be stronger.

We can get almost everything we
want if we can pay for it. Even Phantoms
will depend on internal American political
pressure.

We have a great chance of getting into a
situation from which we can proceed to peace.

We have to be patient - not give up
too early - in face of all political - military
pressure.

We must be militarily as strong as possible
so no threats will frighten us.

We must develop a political offensive.

We must be ready for the use of force,
which they will use if they feel they cannot
achieve a political solution.

Syrian army almost entirely (80,000)
between Damascus + Kuneitra. 500 tanks

We will not get Mirage as long as
DeGaulle lives. He will not forgive us for
rejecting his advice.

Keep Golan heights

Keep Jordan river as defence border (not necessarily political border)

Keep gas passage through Sal S + Suez Canal

Recognition of Israel ^(be more friendly) - peace treaty

Gaza strip

Draw a line through Sinai (give up oil wells)

Jerusalem united - free religious access

Refugees - settle outside Israel - with reparations

Political action in U.S.

a. Administration - hold firm

b. Public Opinion - we have lost advantage of being underdog

FROM: Benjamin Hanft
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FOR RELEASE HIGH HOLY DAY EDITIONS

THE GLORY AND THE RECKONING

by Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice Chairman
United Jewish Appeal

(Ed. Note: Herewith is an analysis of the motivations that stirred the recent response -- the greatest in history -- by the Jews of America and the free world on behalf of the people of Israel, as well as the costs of victory.)

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."

Only to a people with a past of 2,000 years of dispersion and oppression, interspersed with rare moments of glory, glory like the establishment of the State of Israel, glory in its magnificent humanitarian achievements, as well as its valor, would a simple heartfelt "thank you" for a duty so nobly done, suffice.

No other people could have responded more magnanimously, or in a more timely fashion. Just as the military historians will be filling volumes analyzing the strategy and tactics that brought about this swift and stunning victory of the Israelis over the Arabs, so will our social historians never cease writing about this phenomenal outpouring of generosity by the Jews of the free world -- led by the Jews of America -- in support of the people of Israel. This truly will be a

memorial unto all the generations.

As the UJA has been the driving force behind this vast effort, it must naturally serve as a primary source for the historians. It is for their benefit -- and for ours -- that I cite what I consider are the main factors which motivated the American Jew to respond as he did. They 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 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. 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 by an enemy without the entire Jewish people rising to the support of the threatened portion of the 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 speed and scope of the six-day war gave every Jew in the world a renewed sense of dignity, strength and purpose.

PROBLEMS IN THE MONTHS AHEAD

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

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 1,250,000 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 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.

UNEMPLOYMENT IS SERIOUS ECONOMIC DRAIN

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, goes back to his hometown and cannot find a job. Or a reservist 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.

Fifth, let us not forget that there remain the old social problems which the war did not solve or cause to disappear. 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.

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

It is clear that the campaign 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 until the solutions begin to emerge.

#

9/18/67

F. Response Greater Than in 1948

- a.) More Emotional (upsurge of voluntary action)
- b.) More widespread (covered more people)
- c.) More Speed (4 weeks)
- d.) More money

II. Reasons Behind This Response: love, fear, anger, pride

- a.) Deep love for Israel
- b.) {
 - b.) Israel has now become part of the consciousness of the Jew
 - c.) Fear of destruction
 - ~~e.)~~ Reaction against Shohm? - "Don't anyone touch us again"
 - d.) Pride in achievement

III. Extraordinary Role of Sapiro-Pincus

IV. " " " Professional Staff & Lay Leaders - CJPRF

V. Use of Technology

VI. Effect on future campaigns

Plan - 6 June to Security Council

dangerous and noble ordeal

It is my conviction that men and nations do behave wisely once they have exhausted all other alternatives. Surely the other alternatives of war and belligerency have now been exhausted.

The first principle must be the acceptance of Israel's statehood and the total elimination of the fiction of its non-existence.

The second principle must be that of the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Israel in recent days has proved its steadfastness and vigor. It is now willing to demonstrate its instinct for peace. Let us build a new system of relationships from the wreckage of the old. Let us discern across the darkness the vision of a better and a brighter dawn.

from Herbert A. Friedman

Since June war

on Jordan border alone

15 dead + 59 wounded

in 41 exchanges of fire, 22 sabotage acts,

27 mine operations

Arab 200 dead + 700 wounded
(estimate)

total Israeli dead - close to 200
or almost 25% of number killed in
actual war.

Our obsession is with life
and with building. For 20
years we have lived with no
peace - and we have done a
lot.

~~Are the seminars
for lunch? When
do they begin?
12:30 lunch -
I was there~~

1. Do everything in your power
to prevent situation slipping
toward war.
2. Build while doing that -
don't lose resolve
3. Don't fall into trap of
delusion of giving up freedoms you are seeking to defend

We have not asked anyone to shed blood
in our defense. We have asked for access to the
means of defending our invulnerability -
and paying for it - all this designed
to try to block the road to war.

1. FRIEDLANDER LETTER - SHOWS SACRIFICE WHICH JEWS HAVE MADE TO LIVE AGAIN
2. WE (BECAUSE WE ARE ONE PEOPLE) FOUGHT FOR OUR LIVES AND FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE
3. THE GRIM AND GLORIOUS DAYS OF JUNE HAVE ADVANCED BROUGHT US TO A NEW POINT OF POSSIBILITY IN WORLD TERMS - HOLD RUSSIA - TIGHTER LINKAGE WITH U.S.
4. THIS EMERGENCY IS REACHING A HEIGHT BOTH IN DANGER AND IN OPPORTUNITY
 - A. DANGER IS CLEAR - LONG PULL AHEAD CAN DAMAGE, UNLESS WE SUPPORT
 - B. OPPORTUNITIES ALSO CLEAR -
 1. To define borders in peace
 2. To go forward to economic stability
 3. To unite our people

WHAT
DO WE
DO ABOUT
BOTH THE
DANGERS
& THE
OPPORTUNITY?

5. YOU HAVE THE DUTY TO OFFER LEADERSHIP
" " " ABILITY " PROVIDE IT

6. GREATEST OPPORTUNITY OF ALL IS TO CONTINUE
THE MARCH UPWARD OUT OF THE DEPTHS OF
DESTRUCTION, AND TO MAKE THE JEWISH PEOPLE
FREE AND STRONG AGAIN, SO THAT HUMANITY
CAN BENEFIT, AS IT ALWAYS HAS IN OUR
GOLDEN AGES OF CREATIVITY

7. IF YOU DO YOUR TASK, YOU WILL SING WITH
JOY AND PRIDE, AND THE DEAD WILL BLESS YOU -
THE 6 million and The 7000.

~~8.~~

8. STEFAN ZWEIF SAID:

"THE WRITTEN WORD HAS NEVER, IN TIMES OF TENSION AND DOOM, THE STRENGTH OF WARM AND LIVING SPEECH, THE VOCAL CALL TO ARMS"

THIS IS NOT A TIME OF DOOM, BUT A TIME OF TESTING. SOUND THE ^{VOCAL} CALL TO ARMS - LET EVERY VOICE SHOUT A LOUD RESOUNDING CALL WHICH WILL AWAKEN OURSELVES, AWAKEN THE COUNTRY, ~~AND~~ ^{TO} LET ALL TO MEET OUR CHALLENGE, KNOW THAT WE SHALL FIND THE STRENGTH ^{TO} RISE ~~IN GLORY~~ ^{VIBRANT} AND LIFT THE JEWISH PEOPLE TO NEW HEIGHTS OF LIFE AND ETERNAL GLORY.

LETTER SHOWS SACRIFICE WHICH JEWS HAVE MADE TO LIVE AGAIN

WE FOUGHT FOR OUR LIVES AS JEWS -

WE FOUGHT FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE AS ISRAELIS.

THE GRIM AND GLORIOUS DAYS OF JUNE HAVE
BROUGHT US TO A NEW POINT OF POSSIBILITY

THIS EMERGENCY IS REACHING A HEIGHT BOTH IN
DANGER AND IN OPPORTUNITY

- A. DANGERS CLEAR - LONG PULL CAN
DAMAGE, UNLESS WE SUPPORT
- B. OPPORTUNITIES ALSO CLEAR

1. To define the borders in peace
2. To develop economic stability
3. To unite our people

WE ARE OUT OF DEPTHS OF DEGRADATION

WE ARE SURGING FORWARD IN A NEW BURST OF CREATIVITY
AND THE WORLD WILL BENEFIT FROM US AGAIN, AS IT HAS
IN PAST

YOU WILL SING WITH JOY AND PRIDE AND THE
THE 6 million dead and the 7000 dead
DEAD WILL BLESS YOU, IF YOU MAKE THE JEWISH
PEOPLE STRONG AGAIN.

YOU HAVE THE DUTY TO OFFER LEADERSHIP -

YOU HAVE THE ABILITY -

STEFAN ZWEIG QUOTE -

AWAKEN YOURSELVES
AWAKEN THE COUNTRY

LOUD
RESONATING
CHALLENGE
WE ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO LIVE

Davar 5.5.68

Interview with Mr. P. Saphir

Mr. Saphir said that the people have more money now because of the renewed economic activity and because since April people pay less taxes, and the absorption law has been cancelled. The present security loan gives the public good conditions in the long run.

I am not the only one to decide about raises in ~~max~~ wages but I shall be strongly against it. We shall surrender neither to the teachers nor to the engineers. If it is true that some industrialists pay additional moneys "under the table", I would use all possible measures to stop them.

He said that before the Economic Conference there were big worries about the economy but now we are very optimistic. Three ~~big~~ central ~~industrial~~ enterprises will be set up by the initiative of the conference.

A re-insurance company. This will enable our economy to be more independent, and use less dollars.

A special insurance for small investors, which will mainly be for Olim of the middle class and which will insure their ~~xxxi~~ money.

And an investment Company of 100 million dollars., which will be set up within 2-3 years. The Company will float shares each of 100,000 dollars. He said there is a will to help Israel, both with experience and money, and he said that in a meeting with leaders of the Magbit in one of the European countries they said that they will enlarge their contributions, even if it means the selling of property.

There is no item in the budget of the government that has been enlarged more than the participation of the government in the upkeep of the universities. Therefore the criticism is quite wrong. In 1963/4 the government participated by 30 millions and in the coming year it will come up to 130 million pounds. That means that within the last 5 years the gov. participation increased by four and within that period the number of students at the universities was doubled.

The government's participation in scientific research, ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ was increased in the last five years from 23 million pounds to 62 million pounds.

Talking about the defence budget he said that it is now 2 milliards and 200 million pounds and it increase within the last five years by four.

All the steel needed for the big pipeline is already in the country.

Rasscos losses were 72 million pounds.

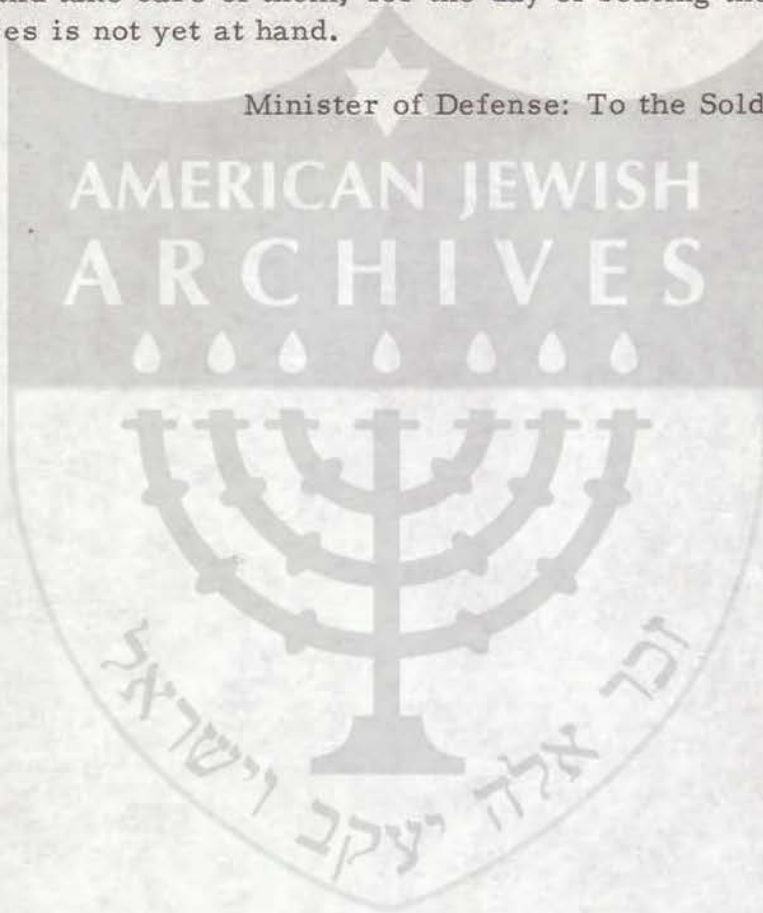
8 million pounds ~~xxxxxxxx~~ go for security expenses of the settlements in the Jordan Valley.

The forecast of this year's export is one milliard and 50 or a hundred million dollars.

We have vanquished the enemy. We smashed their battalions and frustrated their connivings. But deliverance came to us at a high price. The best among our comrades, the most daring among our fighters, the most precious of our sons fell in this war. The sands of the desert and the boulders of Galilee are steeped in their blood. We achieved victory, but our homes are in grief.

Soldiers of Zahal! The battle has died down, but the campaign is far from over. Those who rose up against us have been defeated but they have not made peace with us. Return your swords to their scabbards, but guard and take care of them, for the day of beating them into ploughshares is not yet at hand.

Minister of Defense: To the Soldiers; 12.6.67



Aharon Megged, a prominent Israeli author, reflecting sentiments of the nation, wrote on the outbreak of the war:

"Steadfast and confident, totally mobilized, the nation listened to the first thunder of artillery, the first air raid sirens.

"Our armed forces will be accompanied not only by armor, aircraft, artillery and seapower, but also by the spirit of this ancient land, by the tongue of the Book to which it gave birth, by the memory of the seers whose prophecies this Book has recorded, the heroes who died for it, the legends, the songs, the love for what has been achieved here in the past 70 years, with sweat and blood, with noble spirit, inspired by the best in human aspirations, and striving toward labor and peace.

"With our armed forces will go the love of this people, ingathered from many dispersion, a people with the impress of generations-long suffering on its countenance and the wounds of the latest holocaust still raw in its flesh, a people whose remnant found its way here, seeking peace and rest.

"With our forces will go everything that we hold dear, everything which we have drawn from the wealth of this soil - the rocks, the books, the trees, the children, the sagas, the legends.

"All these are possessed of great power, stronger than the hatred of the foe, than its vengeful drive, its savagery.

"Aware of the absolute righteousness of our cause, and aware of them who come to throttle us, to trap us in their deadly snare, who threaten us day and night with annihilation and who now move to make good their threat, we now have no alternative but to rise against this foe, to shake him off our body and to deal him a blow from which he will never recover, deal it with all the force of our will to survive.

"Hence the steadfastness. Hence the confidence."

Aharon Megged: Steadfast and Confident; Lamerhav

6.6.67

Jedioth Achronoth 29.3.68

Interview with General Bar-Lev

The operation in Karame was the first of its kind in our military history. An operation of such size and such objectives has never been carried out by us between the wars, this was not an act of retaliation but of prevention. It came to avoid plans of hundreds of Fatah who were getting organized 3.5 Km from the Jordan, to act on a big scale. In order to destroy their bases and to kill as many of them as possible we had to enter onto an area where the Jordanian army had its defence positions and to neutralize them. The operation achieved all its aims: The armoured force that entered from the south from the Allenba Bridge reached its position and so did the armoured force that came from the north, the Damia bridge. This force built an additional bridge as an alternative crossing. Those two forces did not make it possible for any Jordanian forces from outside to reach Karame. And so it was possible for the forces that entered Karame to take it, to clear it to capture the Fatah and to demolish their arms depots without being disturbed by outside factors. The fourth force was sent to the hills east of Karame by Helicopter to avoid the running away of Fatah people from the town. They were already on their way to the hills when seeing our paratroopers they turned back. Then we saw that they turned west towards the Jordan and we sent a force that caught them. The enemy's artillery was silenced by our own and by the air force and it caused us almost no casualties at all. We had only 2 or three casualties from that and this on the west bank. Another thing which shows how well the artillery was neutralized is by the easyness with which our forces returned home on three roads. When the operation was planned it was thought we would remain in the area for 24 hours and return under cover of darkness, but that proved unnecessary. In Karame itself our forces got no artillery fire, neither were the Helicopters bothered much. Our forces started to cross the Jordan at 5.30 in the morning but the Jordanian Army was so surprised that only 45 minutes later did it start its artillery fire. that was at 6.08. The air force was sent six minutes later, at 6.14 in sufficient strength and large scale. We knew that there were many anti aircraft positions in the area and so our planes were ordered to bomb and not to use Napalm which would have necessitated low flying. Only away from the artillery were our planes allowed to dive on the targets. Six Jordanian tanks which were trying to come to the help of Karame were hit by that air force. An American reporter told me that he was trying to get from Amman to Karame but was caught for one hour on the road because of our planes who were bombing the area. The Jordanians were surprised to see us that day because although they knew we were going to strike and were on the alert for the past fortnight they thought we would strike in another area. In Karame they thought we would make a retaliation action only, at night and for this they were prepared. They sent out ambushes every night to the Jordan but when we came in the morning at broad daylight they were surprised. That accounts for the easy crossing our forces had and that only 45 minutes later their artillery started to fire.

The Jordanian army had three armoured divisions and with 48 tanks, eleven artillery batteries and nearly two infantry units. *Brigades*
Those forces were concentrated in fortifications on the Gilead Heights. There were also some nearer positions in the strength of a division and a company. But those we finished. We entered the area with over a thousand people although the Jordanians said we had 15,000.

To a question as to why the armoured forces were not allowed to conquer the hills and if by doing so lives could have been saved Gen. Bar-Lev said that the armoured forces had to block ~~the~~ and to see to it that the Jordanian Army did not come to Karame. They did not have to take the hills or any other positions apart from those that were on the way and those were taken without any losses. The southern armoured force had two positions in front of him each one made up of two battalions on each side of the road. ~~It~~ Conquering them would have needed more forces and cost more lives. And our aim was to prevent those forces to come to Karame only. This was done by engaging them in a duel of tanks and they did not come to Karame. The northern armoured force which came from the Damia bridge also had to reach this place. It came on the enemies position from the back and the Jordanians were so surprised that they hardly resisted. This force too reached the blocking point without casualties.

The leaflets and the announcement over Kol Israel that we are not coming to conquer but shall retreat after we have finished our task came first of all in order that the Jordanians won't say they have defeated us and thrown us back. The announcement on the Radio came at 7 o'clock in the morning. That means after all our forces

have already reached their positions and we were already for one hour engaging them in the artillery duel. If the Jordanians stopped on the hills and fought back, they did not do that because of the announcement over the Radio. Anyhow they did not believe us, because when Hussein asked for assistance from the Arab states over Radio Amman he said that "this might be the last time you hear us". So he did not believe we won't move any further.

The leaflets were distributed in order to save ordinary citizens and because we thought that if the Fatah in Karame will see the armoured force blocking them in the north and south and our paratroopers closing in on them in the east they would see that the Arab Legion can't reach them and might surrender. Because of the heavy fog, the leaflets were dropped only a few minutes before our paratroopers took the hills in the east of the town. For that reason some of the terrorists might have escaped. Maybe their commander escaped that way and maybe he was killed. Our paratroopers killed some 40 of those that were escaping and maybe Abu Amer was among them. Our losses were incurred by the fight with Fatah people, about one ~~third~~ third, three people as I said were killed on the west-bank and the rest of the casualties were among the people, securing the area of operation.

Three of the dead had to be left in the burned out tank. We had to leave the tanks in order not to have more casualties while extracting them, the three missing we reported were the three dead soldiers in the tanks. The red cross reported to us that Jordan has one dead soldier and some remains of the other two and that they are ready to return them. We on our part have returned to them our prisoners of the Legion.

The only restrictions that were put to us was that the press was not coming along with the units. We did not want a lot of "noise" to be made around the operation. That might have been a mistake. Our public is used to a lot of "noise" and details about each one of our actions and when this is missing, rumours are starting to spread and questions are asked. But there were no restrictions that could have influenced the operation of made the battle more difficult.

I do not think that politically the operation harmed us as much as we thought that it might but this is also not the main point our problem ~~is~~ are the terrorists and as we have not one good measure that will ensure their destruction we have to use a number of methods and measures some defensive and some offensive. Today it is hard to say what might have happened had we not acted in Karame and killed over 300 Fatah. It is hard to know how many casualties the Fatah's "spring offensive" would have brought us. We can only look back and see that within the last three months 24 Israeli's were killed by Fatah's actions, and 86 wounded. During that period we killed 60 Fatah. Our casualties in Karame were about the same as ~~what~~ during the last three months but in Karame we killed about 300 Fatah. If we killed that number ~~of~~ out of 500-600 frontline fighters we have done them great harm. We have also inflicted upon them a moral blow by proving that they are not safe inside their own bases. The legion has suffered a serious blow. According to our information they have lost 30 tanks as against four of ours. Other sources, non Israeli say he lost 48 tanks and other armoured vehicles. Hussein told of 20 dead at first and later the Jordanians said 40. We believe the casualties are much higher.

We have to be prepared that the terror will go on and the fight against it will go on. Today we have to count with different numbers than last year, when some 30-40 terrorists were active. We also know that the Legion gives her assistance to them.

In their orders of operation for the "spring offensive" they had to make ~~what~~ acts of sabotage at the "Hadassa" Hospital, the Knesset, Haifa Harbour, Mt. Scopus, traffic to Eilath etc. They were also planning to kidnap people, mainly army personell in order to exchange them for Fatah prisoners.

The price of Karame was high, but one has to understand that this was a war and the losses did not happen because of any shortcoming or restriction from above whatsoever.

The publick was shocked because they are used to acts of retaliation and for that the casualties would have been high but not for on operation on such scale.

As for the future, the Ftah is a basic problem and it will stay as long as there is no political arrangement. We can keep their operations on a low standard relatively by different methods.

We have not used all the methods we know and we are still weighing. If we find the right reaction to every problem and if we use a wide range of measures we shall be able to keep their acts at a minimum.

One of the measures we are trying out are defensive measures on a large scale like mines etc.

Gen. Bar-Lev thinks the Fatah organization may grow but will never reach the size of a guerrilla army. First because the people do not cooperate with them and because they lack certain qualities necessary to a guerilla war.

Return to H. A. F.

1. The response of the Jews of the United States to the crisis of 1967 in Israel was even greater than their response in 1948. This statement may seem shocking, yet the evidence which leads to this conclusion is definitive.

a) ^{In 1967} There was a more emotional response. It was as though there was an explosion of sentiment, which spread like a fire. People followed the details of the pre-war tension, the war itself, and the post-war debate in the United Nations as never before. They read every word in the press, watched television for hours, ran to every meeting that was called by the U.J.A. They did not wait to be asked, but volunteered. A whole book could be written on the human interest stories.

b) There was a more widespread response. More people than ever before came forward to be identified with helping Israel. Tens of thousands of people who never gave money before volunteered now. Madison Square Garden was filled to capacity with 18,000 people on a few days notice. So was the Hollywood Bowl which overflowed with 28,000. So were mass meetings and rallies all over the country, ^{and all over the world} ~~This had never been done before.~~ ^{happened} ~~certainly not in the last 19 years.~~

c) There was a faster response. This entire campaign was organized and 90% completed in four weeks. When we compare this to the 1948 campaign, let us not forget that the latter took the entire year. Here people made their decisions and announced their gifts in hours, or at most a few days.

d) There was a larger response in money. The UJA received in 1948 the sum of 147 million dollars. In 1967 the four week emergency campaign produced more than that, and the regular campaign of 1967 (conducted between January and May) produced an additional 55 million. Therefore the total amount this year is much more than the total amount then. In addition the majority of the 1948 campaign money did not even come to Israel, but went for the Jews in the camps in Europe. So Israel, received from the campaign of 1967 more than 3 times as much as she received from the campaign of 1948.

2. The reasons which lay behind this response can be properly analyzed only in an essay of great length, but there are four basic words somewhat as follows: love, fear, anger, pride.

a) Love for Israel is deep in the heart 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 Israel from the diaspora. But none of this can obliterate the very deep mystical tie which binds every Jew to his ancestral homeland.

b) Fear that something might happen to Israel galvanised 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. 20 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 felt 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 25 years later, it would be absolutely unforgivable if we didn't really, 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 I.D.F. played an overwhelming part in the response. The favourite phrase was "Israel's lightning victory makes me feel ten feet tall". The speed and scope of the 6 day war gave every Jew in the world a renewed sense of dignity, strength and purpose.

3. An extraordinary role was played by Sapir and Pincus. It is no exaggeration to say that the amount of money raised resulted from their inspiration, and more ~~urgently~~ importantly, from their hard practical work. Had they not come to the United States, a large sum would have been raised, but there is absolutely no doubt in my mind that it would not have been as much. They worked with a good plan - stopping in Europe first, so they could spur the Americans on by telling what the Europeans were willing to do, which was so extraordinary. They worked unbelievably long hours, they reacted swiftly to new situations. They were good soldiers and took orders, flying where they were told, and canvassing endlessly. They set an example by their leadership. They stayed on longer than anyone thought they would which indicated to everyone how important the work was. If these two men remained in America during the war, that showed how much significance they attached to the American front.

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4. The quality of work performed by the professional staff of the U.J.A and the Executive Directors of the Communities and their staffs, was never better. Skills acquired during years of experience and training were available when needed. It was like an army suddenly called upon to perform at its highest peak. The regular campaign was still in its final stages in most cities. Men had worked very hard for six months. Normal campaigning is not easy - and yet the staff threw themselves into this new battle without a moment's rest, and without regard for the clock. The length of a day's work came to have no meaning. There was absolute devotion.

Not enough praise can be given to the lay leaders. Men left their businesses for days and weeks. After giving large gifts, they came to the U.J.A or Federation offices, in New York and in every city, to offer their time. They made thousands of phone calls, attended hundreds of meetings, flew ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ wherever they were asked to, they simply could not do enough.

In this connection, a very special recognition must be accorded Mr. Edward Ginsberg, who left his home and office in Cleveland, and spent almost two weeks at U.J.A Headquarters, both before and during the war. He was a tremendous tower of strength, and as the lay leader in charge when this effort began, provided inspirational leadership. The name must be noted of the efforts of Mr. Fisher, who was out of the country during the first few days of this campaign, but who, upon return, threw himself completely into the work.

Lay leaders and professional workers, the U.J.A and the CJFNF, worked in closer harmony and with more unity, than had ever before been seen in the organized American Jewish community.

5. A word must be said about the assistance given to this campaign by the bold use of certain technical devices:

a) Telex network was established connecting U.J.A Headquarters with over 50 community offices, plus UIA, JDC and CJFNF. The estimated time given for the physical installation of the teleprinter machines all over the country was 7 - 10 days. Indeed it was accomplished in approximately 40 hours. This communications link proved invaluable in maintaining a high pitch of excitement.

b) A brand new audio-visual device called Sony Videorecorder was employed, by means of which messages were recorded on tape, with voice and picture of speaker, copies made in 2 hours, and sent by plane in a few more hours by special messenger service, everywhere throughout the country. Such messages were made by Sapir, Pincus, Eban, Meir, Fisher, Ginsberg and others.

c) A telephone network was established, reaching into 400 communities, for simultaneous transmission of the Ginsberg, Jones, Bell speeches after their return from Israel, a few days following the war's end.

d) Special letters were sent out, totalling 120,000, to selected names taken from the memory banks of the computerized lists which UJA started to accumulate earlier in 1967.

e) Simultaneous advertising was undertaken in the public press of 25 large cities - plus 40 Anglo-Jewish weeklies.

6. A final word should be said regarding the effect of this emergency campaign on future campaigns. They can only benefit. Feelings for Israel were deepened. New levels of giving were established. The serious threats to Israel's economy were understood. Knowledge that a long political struggle lies ahead is clear. The economic and financial implications of this are obvious. More money will be needed in the future. In addition, thousands of new contributors were added to the lists for the first time, and some of these may be expected to continue to contribute. The size of this emergency campaign will not effect future campaigns adversely. The contrary is more likely to be the effect.

7. I submit this report with great pride in the work which was done.

W.D.

HAF

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 25 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 *absorption*
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.

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.