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"The Campaign Theme for 1969: The Emergency Continues."
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"THE CAMPAIGN THEME FOR 1969: 'THE EMERGENCY CONTINUES!'"

ADDRESS OF

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal

UJA PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE

New York Hilton Hotel

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I am here to set forth the basic line of the campaign for 1969. I can do it in one sentence: The line for next year is the same as the line for this year -- "The Emergency Continues."

What happened was that an American Jewish community, unwilling in May and June of 1968 to undertake a third Emergency Fund in 1969, swung over by September and agreed to it. And no miracles took place; no drugs were used to hypnotize anyone. What took place was a comprehension and an understanding. What changed the minds of hundreds and hundreds of lay leaders around the country was the simple comprehension of the historic facts of the situation.

Point number one is that there is no peace. That's the underlying foundation of the whole situation. The advertisements we have prepared speak of war. They speak very bluntly and very openly. "On the Sixth Day, the War Ended. On the Seventh Day, the War Began." "Peace is Hell." "Israel's 365 Day War."

What are we talking about? We're talking about the fact that on June the 10th everybody thought the war was over. I kept saying no and no. And a lot of other people kept saying no and no. And finally that thought is beginning to sink into everybody's consciousness. There isn't a single solitary shred of movement toward peace.

I'd like to give you just one simple analysis of what happened this week. How long did it take Israel to react to the Russian's so-called peace proposal? The next day. Russia says we've got a peace plan: Israel should withdraw. We'll talk, maybe, about whether there'll be free passage in the waterways. We'll see, maybe, about whether the Egyptians promise that they won't try to annihilate Israel. The four points appear on the front page of the New York Times, lead story page one, right column. The reporters caught Mr. Eban at the airport in Paris and asked for his reaction. And he said, "nyet." He didn't say I have to read the text. He

didn't say I have to go back to consult with my government. He said, no! And the next day on the front page of the New York Times: "Eban Rejects Russian Peace Proposal." Because it isn't a peace proposal. Because there's nothing in it that talks about making a peace treaty. Because there's nothing in it that talks about borders. Because there's nothing in it that talks about recognizing the sovereignty and the existence of the State of Israel.

The Israelis have a very strong line. They want a firm peace treaty, negotiated, and spelling out the details. If they soften, if they weaken, if they settle for anything less than precise definitions of borders and agreements, they may find themselves in future conflict. But by holding hard and saying no, that is the only way they'll ever break through to some sort of ultimate peace and ultimate security and ultimate guarantee of survival and not have to fight all the time. They may have to fight again anyway. So, if you're going to have to fight again anyway, you fight over something that's worthwhile, namely your independence.

Now I give this to you as an example of the fact that the Israelis know all the ins and outs of all the tricky proposals. Their answer to anything that's not right down to the "nut," namely a peace treaty, guaranteed borders, firm recognition -- their answer, if they continue to hold this strong line, is going to be no concessions. So there is no peace. The Arabs basically know it. The Russians basically know it. And certainly the United States Government knows it. Therefore, what you're going to have is a continuation of war by any other name. And it will fluctuate depending upon what the circumstances are.

Did you ever stop to think, for instance, that the Suez Canal was quiet for ten months? When did the shooting start on the Suez Canal? After Czechoslovakia. The Russians show that they don't care about world public opinion. They move a half a million men into Czechoslovakia. The Arabs say ah, okay, the Russians want to play it strong, we'll play it strong, and they start shooting along the Canal and they try to send men across the Canal. They succeed in kidnapping an Israeli soldier. They plant mines on the Israeli side and they blow up half-tracks. They're willing to start an artillery duel, 10,000 shells coming across in the matter of a few hours. That was some day's work the other day.

There's no cessation of Al Fatah terrorism. The new electrified fence is stopping them. They're taking very heavy casualties. They admit it in their own publications. They can't get across very well, but they keep trying. So they start shelling the towns. When they started shelling Bet Shean a week or ten days ago, that was a new dimension. The hostilities were escalated one step.

Whether it's down on the Canal or whether it's up in the Valley - whether it's urban terrorism in the cities, bombs in Tel Aviv or in Jerusalem, you have a war on your hands. I'm not interested in any of the semantics of whether it's a "big war" or a "little war." The fact that Israel is still in a war is shocking and extremely hard for people to grapple with. I understand the psychological and the emotional resistance behind this. Israel won the war. What do you mean we're still in a war? That, I say, is what we have to try to overcome.

Now we overcome it by showing them exactly what the situation is. If we can take a couple of thousand workers over there, we show it to them. If we can't take them over there, we will have to show them with some of the figures which have now been released by Mr. Pincus and by Mr. Sharef, the Minister of Finance, when they spoke at the CJFWF meeting, and by Mr. Sapir, when he spoke at the UJA Cabinet meeting. Figures are beginning to emerge.

I met with Mr. Sapir just two days ago and had a long talk with him as to what we could actually put down in black and white on a one page mimeograph fact sheet to send out to you. There are three or four key figures. The main figure is the money which they are spending on defense, which demonstrates more than all the oratory in the world the extent to which this war has got Israel by the throat. The anticipated income from the Israeli taxpayer in the fiscal year 1969 is anticipated to be somewhere between 3.3- billion Israeli pounds, possibly up to 3.6 - billion pounds. The high figure is an optimistic one. If the economy grows and they can take a bigger bite of the taxes from an expanding economy, they'll have a few hundred million pounds more.

The defense budget is over 3 billion pounds. It is thus perfectly fair to say that for the entire population of two-and-a-half million Jews, the Government of Israel has almost no money for everything that those people need - the police and the firemen and the garbage collectors and the schoolteachers and everything else that the government has to do to meet domestic, humanitarian needs. Here's a simpler and blunter way of saying this: There's barely a nickel for anything other than defense. That's how high the defense costs have soared.

So, you have a country which is throttled in 1969 as it was not in '68, as it certainly was not in '67, and you have zero dollars for anything else except to defend your life. And none of this, gentlemen, calculates the cost, the actual cost of an outbreak of large hostilities. There, the cost is measured in shells expended, in equipment and property destroyed. Not to mention lives.

Now I have the detailed breakdown of these expenses: how much the electric fence costs - and how much the air bases in the Suez cost - and how much it costs

the Navy to keep the lines open to Elath. And what the cost is of airplanes and tanks. I have all the costs.

I also have the costs of the other things for which there is no money available - the human welfare costs - the social service costs - the health, education and welfare costs. The total of these runs to \$365 Million. They simply haven't got it - and it's our responsibility anyhow, in the first place, because it always was, to assume the humanitarian burden for the one-and-a-quarter million refugees whom we brought to the country.

I'd like you to know that today three per cent of Israel's population is in uniform. In American terms, do you know what that would mean? Six million men. There are 200 million people in America. We haven't got six million men in uniform and we're fighting a full-scale war in Vietnam, as well as maintaining commitments to NATO and elsewhere. We have only 3½ million men in uniform. Do you realize what it means to take three per cent of the total population out of the economy?

Their military costs are chewing up 20 per cent of their gross national product. The gross national product is about 15-billion pounds. Three billion pounds is twenty per cent of that. Do you know what it is in the United States? It's ten per cent. Suppose we had to devote twice as much money to our Department of Defense as we do? The Department of Defense in the United States has a \$70-billion budget. Suppose we were spending \$140-billion? What would that do to the economy of this country? What would it do to the fabric of the democracy of the country? The Israelis take all this.

Now I'm a very hard-sell person but I can't sell harder than the facts sell themselves and these are the facts. There's a \$365-million bill for H.E.W.. We have that same bill in 1968. This year, we paid for most of those things. We paid 80 per cent of the health costs in the country. We paid 86 per cent of the higher education costs in the country. We paid 90 per cent of the housing costs in the country. We paid 60 per cent of the welfare costs. We paid 50 per cent of the aid to unemployed. This is what the Emergency Fund money is doing in 1968.

But 60 per cent and 50 per cent and 80 per cent will not be enough next year because the figures for 1969 require us to do 100 per cent of everything. That's the reason that '69 is so much greater in its demand than '68, or certainly than '67. I can't change these facts or figures. They speak for themselves. Your job is to make them speak so that the people understand these facts and figures. This is what I keep saying over again is the communication gap. You close that gap by informing the people of these things. And then we have to depend on what their mood is, their sentiment, their convictions, their ideology, their attitudes. But first they've got to know the figures.

And let's not forget that the JDC needs more and the ORT needs more. We have to understand those details as well. You've got the Czechoslovakian problem. You know what that left in its wake? Do you know how the caseload soared in Vienna, with its implications on the HIAS?

ORT has already asked the JDC for more money in 1969, and legitimately so. There is a rising need for student loans, and vocational training for teenagers is one of the most crucial needs in Israel because where are they going to get the mechanics to man the assembly lines five years from now. And you know perfectly well what the whole UJA philosophy has been for thirty years: the people of Israel are Israelites and children of Israel, whether they live in Morocco, whether they live in Czechoslovakia or whether they live in Poland; whether it's an uprising in Czechoslovakia or an uprising tomorrow in Morocco; whether you get some unexpected anti-Semitic twist, as you got in Poland this spring. So who knows in what country somebody else will say it? In November, the twist? Or in January, the twist? We're talking, therefore, about a campaign in 1969 that is bigger than anyone thought a few months ago, because a few months ago was before Poland and before Czechoslovakia and before the growth of Arab intransigence.

We're trying to close the communication gap with you, the professional community of America, first. In New York ten days ago we met with many, many executive directors who came to the CJFWF session. There's our own meeting this weekend. Tomorrow afternoon we're having in our office about 25 executive directors from the Northeastern communities. Thursday, I'm meeting in Chicago with about 15 executive directors from the Midwest. Thursday, Irving Bernstein will be in Dallas with about 15 executive directors from the Southwest. Friday, he will be meeting with about 10 executive directors in Atlanta. The professional community of this country has to be oriented.

The entire professional community of this country has to go on one or other of the weekly flights to Israel that we have arranged. The United Jewish Appeal will pay half the cost of every single professional going on one of these flights and his community will pay the other half. We have proposed that to the communities already. It will cost us \$345 for every one of you. It'll cost your community \$345 for every one of you. And every one of you ought to be on one of those flights in December or January. Better if you go with a group of lay leaders from your own town.

If we can close that gap with our inside family on the national level, then you will close it with your top inside family on the local level. And you will be surprised at the comprehension and the understanding that men show. They're not

talking about "crying wolf" any more. What they're saying is that they didn't understand. They didn't know. They didn't realize. And that's it.

Just think of something: we're here in September, 1968. June of '67 was what? Sixteen months ago? What's happened in 16 months? You had the fantastic Emergency Fund, number one. You're having this very successful Emergency Fund, number two - better than any other country in the world is doing. And you've got an affirmative climate for Emergency Fund number three all within 16 months. And the Regular Campaign of '67 went over that of '66. And the Regular Campaign of '68 went over the one in '67.

If anybody wants to toy around with the word "maturity of the American Jewish community" anymore, then he's playing semantics. It is mature, and don't treat it any other way. They understand when you can open their minds and give them the total picture. What's happened here in 16 months is phenomenal. For we stand up here and talk about more than \$300-million worth of human needs - and have the boldness to think that maybe we can meet them (our American share of them would be over \$200-million because the Jews in the rest of the world will raise the balance) and still nobody flinches. You go to them with the facts, and you go to them driving hard with emotion, and you go to them with the sense of the historic dimension of Israel and you'll find them responsive. You go to them cold, and you go to them in a pedestrian manner and you'll find them unresponsive.

I'm telling you that our goal can be achieved because there's the capability here to achieve it. Basically what I'm telling you is that if we talk again about the historic reality of the situation -- if there's going to be a war, there's going to be a war whether we raise money or whether we don't - then they'll give with all they've got. And they understand a very simple thing - they understand that a war against Israel is not a war of conquest. It isn't that Egypt wants to conquer Israel. It's openly stated in Egypt's own words that it is a war of annihilation. Annihilation! Not even the Nazis alleged that. All they alleged was they wanted to annihilate Jews. But they didn't say they planned to annihilate France and Holland and Belgium and all the other countries they wanted to conquer.

So the Israelis know what's at stake. And the Jews in the United States have to be made aware of what that stake is. With the right kind of comprehension and the right kind of dedication and the right kind of drive, we can make them aware of it. They'll respond. It's a fight for life. And it can be won. And the primary responsibility for winning it is yours -- the professional community. Yours. That means yours and mine. We are the front-line soldiers. We better do it right.