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We Shall Not Falter



Delivered by
HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice Chairman

to the
United Jewish Appeal
Annual National Conference

December 13, 1968

New York Hilton New York City

WE SHALL NOT FALTER

Our history is never placid. We go crashing from one huge crisis to another - a tiny people, frenetic without wishing to be, yearning to be quiet, doomed to the sometimes disorderly but always creative confusion which genius entails.

Many nations achieve independence through the stroke of a pen, and the new flag is raised in ponderous dignity, and the new ministers and ambassadors look about uneasily to see if their seams are straight, and they assume their duties.

Not so this Jewish nation - reborn out of a crucible of agonizing fire and six million ghostly screams; reborn out of shot and shell which tore away six thousand more; reborn in such blood as could have drowned the infant; reborn with pain. This nation was reborn through a combination of sheer physical labor, spiritual regeneration, sense of purpose and a very special skill at arms, which amazes some as being a new Jewish vocation, but is not really so if you stop to think of it. David the warrior King created the First Jewish Commonwealth; the Maccabees fought hard to preserve the Second, and the handful of pilots who saved the Third early last summer were in their same tradition.

In spite of this skill at arms, the Jewish people is not militaristic and our first and deepest tradition is the concern for peace, the plowshare rather than the sword, the messianic dream of a world without war. In today's deadlock, the search for peace characterizes Israel's position. A state of Israel not actively seeking peace would not be a Jewish State. But it is really rather Kafka-esque that the victor should have to beg and plead and pursue with diligence the elusive treaty. In other wars, the victor imposes his peace treaty and that is that - or, less harshly, the victor helps the vanquished to his feet, but nevertheless sets the terms of borders, disarmament, etc. This is the only known situation in which, one-and-one half years after a war is over, the defeated party refuses to negotiate, and the victorious party sits in the sometimes ludicrous position of having to worry about his public relations because his foe says he is not being generous enough.

I. EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE

It is safe to say, without being chauvinistic, but simply because the record cannot be denied, that Israel has made every conscientious effort short of unconditional withdrawal, to find the way to peace.

1. At first Israel said she would talk only to the Arabs, face to face, on the theory that no middle-man could be an honest broker. The two sides met on the battlefield. They would have to meet at the conference table. Gradually she backed off, and compromised, and agreed to talk indirectly, through Jarring, the UN mediator, rather than directly.

2. At first Israel would not give any indication of her position, on the various territorial questions, saying that when the parties sat down to the negotiating table, that would be time enough to reveal cards. Gradually, she has made statements to the effect that the cease-fire lines do not necessarily have to be the permanent political borderlines. So she is saying, in effect, that she will negotiate in good faith and is prepared to make territorial adjustments.

3. In his speech of 8 October to the UN, Abba Eban offered as one of the conditions to peace, a willingness to call a conference on the refugee question, even without a final peace settlement. This was certainly a concession, on a humanitarian basis, to get one of the vexing problems out of the way - and not let this festering problem continue unsolved just because there was a general political deadlock.

4. In that same speech, he said that Israel was willing to "dispose" of her troops in the occupied territories. Without indicating it in words, he was nevertheless hinting at the fact that troop withdrawal, at least partial, might be possible, if the Arabs would come to a firm treaty. This was really going as far as it was possible for Israel to go, without agreeing to unconditional withdrawal. In the face of this hint the Arabs cannot allege that they would be going to the peace table blind. This concession, in a way, is the most remarkable Israel has made.

5. The willingness to maintain the very liberal occupation policy, is itself an indication of Israel's desire for peace. The Arabs are allowed self-government, with their own schools, and their own newspapers (one of which openly calls for Israeli withdrawal.) The open movement of goods and people across the Jordan River bridges (altered now because of the recent Jerusalem explosion) allowed a normal economy to function. The Israel army is hardly in evidence, especially in the West Bank.

II. ALL EFFORTS HAVE THUS FAR FAILED

Nothing emerged from all of this. The Arabs fall back always on two positions - either Khartoum of September 1967 or the Security Council Resolution

of November 1967. At Khartoum, two and a half months after their debacle, the Arab states defined a policy of no peace with Israel, no negotiations with Israel, no recognition of Israel. This policy of blind hatred, sterile diplomacy, and neurotic refusal to face reality still remains in force - and every once in a while Nasser repeats it, saying that Egypt still stands on Khartoum.

The other foundation stone of their policy is the interpretation they place on the Security Council resolution. It was a total resolution, calling for both sides to make peace, to agree on borders, to guarantee territorial integrity, open shipping, and, of course, Israeli withdrawal from occupied areas. But Egypt interprets this resolution to mean that first Israel must withdraw, then perhaps discussion may commence. Israel refuses - saying this is unconditional withdrawal. Hence the deadlock.

The Jarring mission continues. Somehow everyone wants this thin appearance of sanity to be maintained. Mr. Eban went to Cyprus just a few days ago, to try again. Then the Swedish diplomat went to Cairo and ran into the usual stone wall. Warily the mission will be resumed after the holidays. No one wants to be accused of stopping the effort - but so far absolutely nothing is coming out of it.

Thus, while there is no single move toward peace, there are many moves toward war.

III. MILITARY SITUATION GROWS MORE SERIOUS

1. The Russian build-up in Egypt and Syria goes on at an alarming rate. There seems to be no end. Both Arab countries have by now been resupplied far beyond last June's levels. This is not only quantitative - some reports say 50% increase in aircraft - but also qualitative - far better aircraft, such as MIG-21's and even MIG-23's. Vast numbers of artillery pieces are lined up along the Canal - and large numbers of missiles have been introduced into the area. Rockets have been supplied, and have reached the hands of the Fatah guerrillas. Russian personnel abound - figures vary between 2000 and 5000 - referring both to civilian and military instructors and advisers. There are said to be about 100 Russian pilots flying with the Egyptian airforce.

2. The Russian fleet build-up in the Mediterranean has reached such proportions as to have evoked comment already from both NATO and US Sixth Fleet HQ. The Russians have over 50 vessels now in the Mediterranean - about the same number as the US - but this has all occurred inside of one year. They use Alexandria and Port Said in Egypt, Latakia in Syria, and Mers-el Kebir in Algeria. The Eastern Mediterranean is becoming a Russian lake.

3. The Egyptians are shelling across the Canal now, with impunity. Some crossings have been made in person, with very small commando bands, to kill, kidnap, plant mines on the Israeli side. These are reconnaissance probes.

Twice recently very heavy artillery barrages have taken place, as though to try out the whole chain of guns along the hundred miles of the Canal's length.

4. The matter grows more serious from the Jordan side as well. The Fatah operations increase in intensity. Balked somewhat by the effectiveness of the electronic fence which has been completed at such great expense, and which prevents their crossing in person, they now shoot across with Russian Katyusha rockets, large calibre and long range artillery. They have attacked targets all the way from north to south - villages in the Beth Shean valley, the potash plant at Sdom, the very center of the town of Eilat. They have an arrangement with the King, whereby they submit to Jordanian authority in regard to some important matters, such as the licensing of their vehicles, and have their own hand, in return, regarding such unimportant matters as which kibbutzim to shell. Children sleep in shelters now, every night, in the 26 villages of the Beth Shean and Jordan Valleys.

5. The Iraqi have resumed their belligerency. They never signed the armistice treaty of 20 years ago, let alone last year. They are even legally in a state of war with Israel, and maintain a full division of 12,000 men on Jordanian soil. This division has 122mm. long range guns and sits back around Irbid firing death and destruction at will. These batteries were attacked about ten days ago by the Israel Air Force in an effort to silence them. They will undoubtedly soon be operational again.

6. Acts of urban terrorism continue to occur, the latest being the Agrippa St. explosion in the Jerusalem market about three weeks ago. These episodes are absolutely unpredictable as to time or place or intensity. It can be a small bomb in a cinema - still enough to cause many deaths through crowd panic; or larger bombs near a bus station - enough to wound scores; or a half ton of dynamite which kills a dozen and maims a half-hundred more. The type of weapon is almost infinite in possibility - the place of explosion cannot be known in advance. These dead and wounded the urban guerrilla will always be able to claim. It takes nerves of steel to live in this atmosphere - yet the Israelis do. They absolutely disregard the whole business and go about their business in the most normal way imaginable. They neither panic, nor stay away from crowded places, nor in any way alter the daily routine. If they did stay away from the cinema, and market, and bus station - the whole country would slowly become paralyzed and a frightened people would be hiding at home. This is what the terrorists want. They achieve exactly the opposite - because the Israelis are a "dafke" people - a "just because" people. "Just because the saboteur tries to bomb the cinema and force me to cower at home, I won't."

7. Nor is the north spared. For years the Lebanese border was quiet - now in the past few months ten episodes have broken out - nothing as serious or widespread as in other places, but noteworthy because they occur at all. It was too much to hope that this area would remain still - although, frankly, the

action is always most unexpected. And also in the north, on the very Golan Heights themselves, from Kunetra down to El Hamma, there have been many cases lately of saboteurs coming across the lines, planting mines, trying to sabotage traffic and the many new settlements being planted on the Golan.

Since the Six-Day War Israel has suffered 259 dead and 1005 wounded from enemy gunfire. All the borders of Israel are now aflame and all her enemies - from Iraq in the distant East to Algeria far westward - have troops mounted against her. Behind them all hulks the great Russian bear whose real intentions are not accurately known.

IV. ISRAELI POLICY SAYS STRENGTH MUST BE BUILT UP - TO DETER, OR FIGHT AGAIN IF NECESSARY.

1. In the situation described above, coupled with the constant threats of a fourth round, a final war of annihilation, it has not been difficult for Israel to determine her policy. There is no agonizing national debate. Her policy is all very clear and even simple: pursue peace with patience and persistence; at the same time prepare for war. The additional advantage of this policy is that by building up the strength required to fight, if necessary, one might just succeed in deterring that fight altogether. A posture of deterrence comes only from strength; weakness is a quick invitation to slaughter.

2. A central point in her policy is that losses in aircraft of the June war - and the many losses since - must be made up. This has not yet been achieved. Some slower American Skyhawks have been delivered to replace the faster Mysteres and Mirages which were lost. She feels this is simply not good enough, and that fast American Phantoms must be forthcoming - and quickly. She feels that only they - and nothing else - can serve as the possible deterrent or the combat equal. Technical negotiations regarding their sale are said to be almost completed. Even when this will shortly be done, delivery is months away, and 50, they say, are not enough.

3. What is said regarding aircraft is equally applicable to tanks and armor. While some captured Russian modern equipment has been absorbed and remodelled so that it is compatible with other equipment and ammunition; still the basis of the Israel armored force is the Patton and Sherman tank, many of them 25 years old, and light French AMXs. They are simply not good enough to stand up to the tremendous Russian T-55s. And so Israel states her need for hundreds more of British heavy Centurions and Chieftains and heavy American tanks.

4. Manufacturing capacity of military industry has been expanded considerably. New plants are being opened constantly - new products are being designed, engineered and produced in quantity. Ammunition of all sizes, mortars, electronic equipment, guns of all kinds are now produced inside Israel - and expansion is intended to include heavier and heavier items as time goes on.

5. The vast catalog of needs is almost endless - fortifications along the Canal to protect her boys against shelling; helicopters to pursue Fatah who try to cross the border; increased police to be on the alert for urban terrorists; fast Navy boats to keep Elath and Tiran open; a tremendous shelter-building program in the Beth Shean valley, where the children have been sleeping underground for a year now; and on and on this goes.

6. Let this whole chapter be summed up in a few shocking, overpowering facts:

a. Twenty percent of Israel's entire Gross National Product for fiscal 1969 will be consumed for defense. This is twice the comparable American figure.

b. These defense costs will consume almost the entire income available from Israeli internal revenue.

c. The defense costs for fiscal 1969 will be 2-1/2 times those of fiscal 1967, the year in which the war was fought.

d. This defense cost is minimal, because it contains nothing for Phantoms or capital outlay for plant construction. It is clear that the total will be much larger before the fiscal year has ended.

V. THE JEWS CONTINUE TO COME - LIFE CONTINUES TO BUILD

Out of this cold recital of the hot facts of war and peace, what picture do you have of Israel? Does she seem like Sparta - lean and stony Sparta, preoccupied only with acts of war, her whole culture and economy devoted to war, her philosophy and ethics conditioned by the needs of war? Or does she seem like beleaguered Troy, manning her ramparts and waiting nervously for the enemy to come crashing through? Or does she seem like some medieval city-state whose people slowly crumble under the burden of maintaining a large army, whose economy stumbles, whose alleys slowly fill with refuse so that disease and hunger bring more death, and finally morale collapses, activity ceases, sloth controls and people sit and wait numbly for the end?

The fantastic wonderful exciting vibrant fact of life in Israel today is that nothing daunts the spirit and resolve of the people to go forward as though there were no war. The daily shootings do not deflect anyone for one moment. The single most important fact is that immigration goes on - and at a rate higher than last year. No greater affirmation of faith could be stated in any terms - than this single simple statement of fact. Jews all over the world know intimately the conditions of Israel's daily warfare - they know they are moving into a war zone - and yet they come - undeterred and undismayed because the motives propelling them are stronger than any fears or worries.

And so the work to receive the newcomers goes on like mad. Some estimates say that as many as 40,000 may come in 1969 - conservatism might indicate a figure of 35,000. But this is larger than for any of the past several years - and requires a big push in housing, and every allied venture in the absorptive process. Now, however, the support the Jews in Israel gave to the UJA sponsored life-saving and life-building programs is not available when the life of the nation is to be secured.

People in Israel today are tired. Men are serving longer periods in the reserves. Heads of businesses thus have personnel problems and must make complicated adjustments. Everything seems to require doing at once. Now in December as a house building spurt soaks up available labor, the orange crop ripens and requires picking by thousands of seasonal hands. The shelter building and the pipe building and the military plant building and the export industries and the tourist industry all require longer hours from the same managerial class and it is clear that the country is straining almost every muscle.

Yet at the same time, the absorption process for immigrants goes full steam and even improves, as smoother patterns of operation evolve. The job-finding process improves as people with the slightest skills find work and become quickly productive. The special centers for absorbing professional people - giving them a family residence for six months while they digest the Hebrew language, so that they may quickly get down to the business of earning their living in their professions, thus contributing their best to the standards of the country - are going through trial runs and settling down as new useful devices.

There seems to be a tremendous beautiful mood - all mixed up - with war fatigue and physical strain and tiredness and overwork - which nevertheless says that there shall be no diversion from the main purpose for which the country was created. The sense of national purpose is strong - there is no anxiety as to direction - there is no malaise - there is no lack of faith. All know what must be achieved.

The quality of the Israeli society must be strengthened and nurtured. One does not fight only to survive. How one survives is as important in a value-oriented culture as whether one does. Education and literacy and the whole child and the book and the technical knowledge are the highest values of Israeli society. They are pursued fiercely in the midst of war. Healthy bodies as well as minds are a high priority - with clinics and sports and gymnasia and well-baby care and nursing mother instruction for backward immigrants and a whole paraphernalia of institutions and personnel devoted to this goal. A cultural environment is constantly growing in the development towns, as committees and town councils breed more self-confidence, learn what to demand, begin to get more help - so that everything from music to youth clubs to cinema to travelling theater to libraries becomes increasingly possible.

All of this will find its most profitable expression, both for the individual and the state, when a genuine sense of "citizenship" blossoms, for then motivation will not merely be a fight-to-the-end attitude against an enemy, but rather a genuine pride in the special worthwhileness of the Jewish society being built in Israel. That, after all, is the objective.

The costs for 1969 of working toward this objective can be given in a few salient figures. The following amounts of free philanthropic dollars will be required:

Social Welfare Service, including Immigration and Absorption	\$100,000,000
Health Services	50,000,000
Education (non-compulsory: pre-kindergarten, Secondary, vocational)	75,000,000
Institutions of Higher Learning	35,000,000
Youth Care and Training	6,000,000
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements (excluding occupied areas)	24,000,000
Immigrant Housing	<u>75,000,000</u>
	\$365,000,000

VI. WE CARE FOR JEWS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

As life goes forward so purposefully in Israel, rightfully are there Jews in other countries and continents who bid for a share of our attention, love and money. One umbrella covers the widely scattered remnants in Africa, Europe, Asia - and that cover is the prestigious JDC.

Since the Six Day War, JDC has had to cope with one crisis after another. The virulent outburst of anti-Semitism in Poland, the flight of 3,000 Libyan Jews to Italy, the post-June exodus of about 25,000 Jews from Morocco and Tunisia to Israel and France, were all major events involving hard work to care for many needs. These developments certainly destroyed any feeling of security that may have existed among the Jews of Eastern Europe and the Moslem countries. The Jews in these areas have been aptly characterized as "the other casualties" of the Israel-Arab war. The terror and repression that followed the outbreak of hostilities in June 1967, including rioting, pillaging and economic boycott, reduced the total remaining population in the Arab and Moslem countries to under 150,000 persons.

In Morocco the Jewish population has by this time dropped to less than 50,000 and may very well be reduced in half again within a few years' time. In 1969, JDC will give some form of assistance to 20,000 of these 50,000. Nearly three out of four of the recipients will be school children; there will also be support for dispensary and other medical assistance, feeding programs including food parcels and a program of care for the aged. This past year 2,000 aged, sick and handicapped Moroccan Jews received cash relief grants inadequate to maintain them at even the minimum standard of health and decency.

The new requirements generated by the post-June 1967 influx of North African Jews into France (including many Egyptians and some Lebanese) fall on top of an already substantial load among the sizeable numbers who have come to France from East European countries during the past decade or so. The composite monthly caseload for cash relief in France averages nearly 5,000 persons per month, most of them North Africans but including Egyptians and East Europeans as well.

In Eastern Europe, two far-reaching events affected JDC in 1967. First - a unilateral decision on the part of the Polish Government terminated ten years of continuous JDC services on behalf of repatriates from the Soviet Union, as well as indigenous aged and handicapped Jews in Poland. At the time the program of the JDC was brought to an end, more than half the remaining 20,000 Jews in Poland were recipients of some form of JDC assistance. Now many of these Jews are leaving, under the shock of the open anti-Semitism declared in March.

The other event took place in Rumania. Eighteen years elapsed between the time the JDC was ordered by the local authorities to cease its activities in Rumania and the point at which, in 1967, the Rumanian Government granted JDC permission to resume assistance to the more needy among the 100,000 Jews who remain.

Plans for 1969 foresee a minimum requirement of \$1,500,000 for Rumania. This amount will suffice to allocate monthly cash grants of about \$14 each to a little under 3,500 persons. But there are another 4,500 aged, sick and indigent Jews in need of cash relief to whom JDC will not even be able to provide a minimum grant. Special winter relief grants (fuel, warm clothing) will go to about 6,000. Another 1,500 will have their meager resources supplemented with parcels on the four major Jewish holidays in the course of the year. Special one-time Passover grants will be extended to 6,000 cases. This is over and above the more widely spread distribution of matzoth, matzo meal and wine. Close to 1,500 persons eat in kosher canteens located in Bucharest.

And lastly there was the unexpected shock of Czechoslovakia. By the beginning of December 1968, some 4,000 of Czechoslovakia's 14,000 Jews had fled that country. Of this number, more than 2,700 had come to the JDC office

in Vienna for assistance of one kind or another. Up to this moment, assistance to Czech Jews has cost more than \$400,000.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

What does the whole story connote and portend? It is a story of pride in victory which has brought heavier burdens and greater danger. It is a struggle on four main fronts:

1. The political front - to achieve peace, keep friends, make allies.
2. The military front - to hold the lines, fight the guerrilla, prepare for another war.
3. The economic front - to hold wages and prices, prevent inflation, expand the GNP, increase exports, close the dollar gap.
4. The human front - to develop a moral society, with a purpose; to develop a Jewish society, absorbing refugees and making them citizens; to create a model culture in harmony with our unique tradition.

The complexity, ferocity and sheer volume of demands made by these simultaneous struggles would intimidate many a larger and more powerful nation and a less indomitable people. With the Jewish people the challenge simply spurs us on sharply. All these struggles will succeed - and to succeed require money to fuel the operations. The money to defend and preserve freedom the Jews of Israel will produce; our tax exempt dollars cannot be used for that purpose. The money to build and preserve human values the Jews of the free world can and must produce. The money will be spent on various programs and in various ways, according to what has been the traditional framework. Our United States philanthropic dollars will, as always, be spent on the great programs of health, higher education and welfare for immigrant absorption, programs that we initiated and now more than ever before must continue to maintain.

It must become the clear and unmistakable duty of free world Jewry alone to sustain the humanitarian programs essential to the people of Israel during this twilight-zone period. The sum needed is known - about 350 million. The experience of 1967 shows it can be done. The most necessary ingredient is will. Will. Will. The power of will.

Beyond all the problems to be solved - beyond the technical matters of money and aircraft and immigrants and houses - beyond economics and politics and international weakness by the UN and nationalistic blindness by the UAR - beyond the things which daily concern us in the fast-paced arena of Jewish and Israeli affairs - there is the one main issue to be searchingly examined over

and over, for it is this reality whose absence or presence will really determine the solution to all the vexing questions. The main issue, of course, is the existence of will. We affirm and re-affirm, in the face of God and man, that our will shall not falter. We shall win every single struggle on every single front. Of this let no man on earth be in any doubt. Let no one doubt either the cost of blood and treasure.

"There's no use trying," Alice said, "one can't believe impossible things."

"I daresay you haven't had much practice," said the Queen. "When I was your age, I always did it for half-an-hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."

The song "The Impossible Dream" is the theme song of the Jewish people.

Moshe Dayan spoke on this identical theme recently in an autobiographical mood. He told of his parents who wanted to come to Palestine to be farmers, and their friends said it was impossible. He referred to the plan for illegal immigration which was derided by those who said it was impossible to fight the British on this matter. He analyzed the wars, in which Israeli chances were said to be impossible because of Arab superiorities in men and equipment. And he concluded that this whole list of impossibilities made him believe that whenever someone said a thing was impossible, this thing would come to pass.

Exactly the impossibilities became achievable objectives when there was enough will power.

Our people is magnificent because it was never without determination and resolve. Our majesty derives from a transcendent sense of destiny, backed by an incredible stubbornness. This double characteristic, belief in a cause and fierce effort to realize it, has marked our progress through all the centuries. Now in the Third Commonwealth, re-established, but still in danger, we must manifest with supreme skill our twin capabilities. No one can help us, save we ourselves.

Masefield, the English poet, said: "Love is a flame to set the will on fire." How deep is our love for people, faith, ancestral home? So hot will be the flame - and thus so strong will be the will.

Pericles shouted to his Athenians when they weakened: "You should not covet the glory unless you will endure the toil." The glory is thrust upon us. It is our destiny. We are willing to accept it - and we will toil.

Yes - O Blessed generation - endure the toil; even more - give thanks for the toil, revel in the toil, perform the toil - and perform it well - for then ye shall have the glory, the honor and the glory, of bringing Israel and her children to a safe harbor wherein every man shall be at ease and the nation will find the peace it has sought from its earliest beginnings.

COUPON BOND

*file
no reply
necessary*

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December 31, 1968

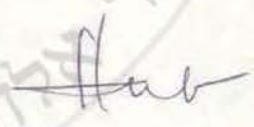
Mr. Herbert A. Friedman
United Jewish Appeal, Inc.
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York 10019

Re: 1969 Annual Conference
Speech

Dear Herb:

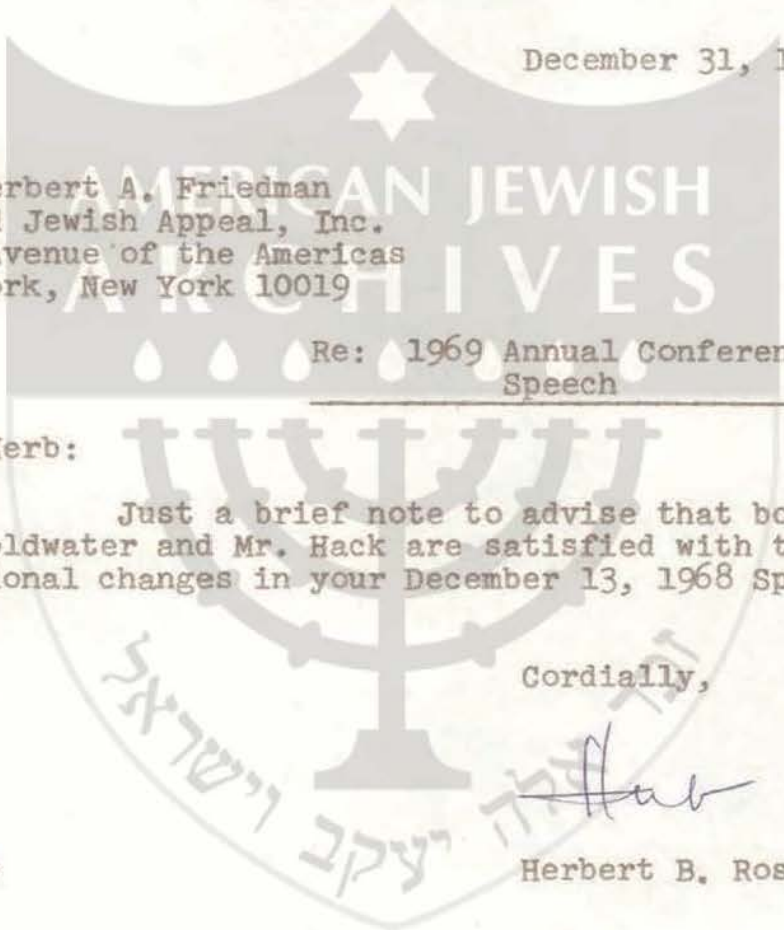
Just a brief note to advise that both
Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Hack are satisfied with the
additional changes in your December 13, 1968 Speech.

Cordially,



HBR/js

Herbert B. Rose



18 December 1968

Mr. Herbert B. Rose
Goodell, Moss & Rose
535 Fifth Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Herb:

I have your letter of 17 December with the suggested changes in my speech which were made by Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Hack.

I have made these changes just as you and they have suggested and I am sure everyone will be pleased and satisfied.

With many thanks for your help, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HAF:gb

Herbert A. Friedman

GOODELL, MOSS & ROSE
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December 17, 1968

Mr. Herbert A. Friedman
United Jewish Appeal, Inc.
1290 Avenue of the Americas
New York, New York

Dear Herbert:

In accordance with our understanding I have reviewed your December 13, 1968 speech in the light of the additional changes Mr. Goldwater and William Hack of Mr. Boukstein's office suggested be incorporated prior to printing and formal distribution. Enclosed are xerox copies of pages 4, 6, 7 and 10 of the edition of the speech that was available for distribution at the Saturday night dinner indicating such changes.

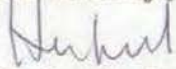
I suggest that the last sentence in paragraph 6 on page 4 be put in quotations since it purports to be a statement by a typical Israeli.

The changes on pages 6 and 7 are intended to meet Mr. Hack's request that the speech not specifically refer to UIA or the Jewish Agency. His objection, as I understand it, is that the role of the UIA and the Jewish Agency is not clear in the context of the speech and that consequently he would prefer that there be no reference to either organization.

The change on page 10 is intended to satisfy Mr. Goldwater's request that the speech contain an affirmative statement that UJA contributions are not utilized for military purposes.

If the changes meet with your approval I will communicate with Mr. Goldwater and Mr. Hack to determine whether the speech as so modified is satisfactory to them.

Cordially,


Herbert B. Rose

HBR/T
Enclosures

5. The Iraqi have resumed their belligerency. They never signed the armistice treaty of 20 years ago, let alone last year. They are even legally in a state of war with Israel, and maintain a full division of 12,000 men on Jordanian soil. This division has 122mm. long range guns and sits back around Irbid firing death and destruction at will. These batteries were attacked about ten days ago by the Israel Air Force in an effort to silence them. They will undoubtedly soon be operational again.

6. Acts of urban terrorism continue to occur, the latest being the Agrippa St. explosion in the Jerusalem market about three weeks ago. These episodes are absolutely unpredictable as to time or place or intensity. It can be a small bomb in a cinema - still enough to cause many deaths through crowd panic; or larger bombs near a bus station - enough to wound scores; or a half ton of dynamite which kills a dozen and maims a half-hundred more. The type of weapon is almost infinite in possibility - the place of explosion cannot be known in advance. These dead and wounded the urban guerrilla will always be able to claim. It takes nerves of steel to live in this atmosphere - yet the Israelis do. They absolutely disregard the whole business and go about their business in the most normal way imaginable. They neither panic, nor stay away from crowded places, nor in any way alter the daily routine. If they did stay away from the cinema, and market, and bus station - the whole country would slowly become paralyzed and a frightened people would be hiding at home. This is what the terrorists want. They achieve exactly the opposite - because the Israelis are a "dafke" people - a "just because" people. "Just because the saboteur tries to bomb the cinema and force me to cower at home, I won't."

7. Nor is the north spared. For years the Lebanese border was quiet - now in the past few month's ten episodes have broken out - nothing as serious or widespread as in other places, but noteworthy because they occur at all. It was too much to hope that this area would remain still - although, frankly, the action is always most unexpected. And also in the north, on the very Golan Heights themselves, from Kunetra down to El Hamma, there have been many cases lately of saboteurs coming across the lines, planting mines, trying to sabotage traffic and the many new settlements being planted on the Golan.

Since the Six-Day War Israel has suffered 259 dead and 1005 wounded from enemy gunfire. All the borders of Israel are now aflame and all her enemies - from Iraq in the distant East to Algeria far westward - have troops mounted against her. Behind them all hulks the great Russian bear whose real intentions are not accurately known.

IV. ISRAELI POLICY SAYS STRENGTH MUST BE BUILT UP - TO DETER, OR FIGHT AGAIN IF NECESSARY.

1. In the situation described above, coupled with the constant threats of a fourth round, a final war of annihilation, it has not been difficult for Israel

b. These defense costs will consume almost the entire income available from Israeli internal revenue.

c. The defense costs for fiscal 1969 will be 2-1/2 times those of fiscal 1967, the year in which the war was fought.

d. This defense cost is minimal, because it contains nothing for Phantoms or capital outlay for plant construction. It is clear that the total will be much larger before the fiscal year has ended.

V. THE JEWS CONTINUE TO COME - LIFE CONTINUES TO BUILD

Out of this cold recital of the hot facts of war and peace, what picture do you have of Israel? Does she seem like Sparta - lean and stony Sparta, preoccupied only with acts of war, her whole culture and economy devoted to war, her philosophy and ethics conditioned by the needs of war? Or does she seem like beleaguered Troy, manning her ramparts and waiting nervously for the enemy to come crashing through? Or does she seem like some medieval city-state whose people slowly crumble under the burden of maintaining a large army, whose economy stumbles, whose alleys slowly fill with refuse so that disease and hunger bring more death, and finally morale collapses, activity ceases, sloth controls and people sit and wait numbly for the end?

The fantastic wonderful exciting vibrant fact of life in Israel today is that nothing daunts the spirit and resolve of the people to go forward as though there were no war. The daily shootings do not deflect anyone for one moment. The single most important fact is that immigration goes on - and at a rate higher than last year. No greater affirmation of faith could be stated in any terms - than this single simple statement of fact. Jews all over the world know intimately the conditions of Israel's daily warfare - they know they are moving into a war zone - and yet they come - undeterred and undismayed because the motives propelling them are stronger than any fears or worries.

And so the work to receive the newcomers goes on like mad. Some estimates say that as many as 40,000 may come in 1969 - conservatism might indicate a figure of 35,000. But this is larger than for any of the past several years - and requires a big push in housing, and every allied venture in the absorptive process. ^{But now however} the support the Jews in Israel gave to the ^{WIA sponsored} life-saving and life-building programs ~~[of WIA]~~ is not available when the life of the nation is to be secured.

People in Israel today are tired. Men are serving longer periods in the reserves. Heads of businesses thus have personnel problems and must make complicated adjustments. Everything seems to require doing at once. Now in December as a house building spurt soaks up available labor, the orange crop ripens and requires picking by thousands of seasonal hands. The shelter building and the pipe building and the military plant building and the export

industries and the tourist industry all require longer hours from the same managerial class and it is clear that the country is straining almost every muscle.

Yet at the same time, the absorption process for immigrants goes full steam and even improves, as ~~[the Jewish Agency works out]~~ smoother patterns of operation. The job-finding process improves as people with the slightest skills find work and become quickly productive. The special centers for absorbing professional people - giving them a family residence for six months while they digest the Hebrew language, so that they may quickly get down to the business of earning their living in their professions, thus contributing their best to the standards of the country - are going through trial runs and settling down as new useful devices.

There seems to be a tremendous beautiful mood - all mixed up - with war fatigued and physical strain and tiredness and overwork - which nevertheless says that there shall be no diversion from the main purpose for which the country was created. The sense of national purpose is strong - there is no anxiety as to direction - there is no malaise - there is no lack of faith. All know what must be achieved.

The quality of the Israeli society must be strengthened and nurtured. One does not fight only to survive. How one survives is as important in a value-oriented culture as whether one does. Education and literacy and the whole child and the book and the technical knowledge are the highest values of Israeli society. They are pursued fiercely in the midst of war. Healthy bodies as well as minds are a high priority - with clinics and sports and gymnasias and well-baby care and nursing mother instruction for backward immigrants and a whole paraphernalia of institutions and personnel devoted to this goal. A cultural environment is constantly growing in the development towns, as committees and town councils breed more self-confidence, learn what to demand, begin to get more help - so that everything from music to youth clubs to cinema to travelling theater to libraries becomes increasingly possible. All of this will find its most profitable expression, both for the individual and the state, when a genuine sense of "citizenship" blossoms, for then motivation will not merely be a fight-to-the-end attitude against an enemy, but rather a genuine pride in the special worthwhileness of the Jewish society being built in Israel. That, after all, is the objective.

The costs for 1969 of working toward this objective can be given in a few salient figures. The following amounts of free philanthropic dollars will be required:

we worked out.

1. The political front - to achieve peace, keep friends, make allies.
2. The military front - to hold the lines, fight the guerrilla, prepare for another war.
3. The economic front - to hold wages and prices, prevent inflation, expand the GNP, increase exports, close the dollar gap.
4. The human front - to develop a moral society, with a purpose; to develop a Jewish society, absorbing refugees and making them citizens; to create a model culture in harmony with our unique tradition.

The complexity, ferocity and sheer volume of demands made by these simultaneous struggles would intimidate many a larger and more powerful nation and a less indomitable people. With the Jewish people the challenge simply spurs us on sharply. All these struggles, to succeed, require money to fuel the operations. The money to defend and preserve freedom the Jews of Israel will produce; the money to build and preserve human values the Jews of the free world ^{can and} must produce. The money will be spent on various programs and in various ways, according to what has been the traditional framework. Our United States philanthropic dollars will, as always, be spent on the great programs of health, higher education and welfare for immigrant absorption, programs that we initiated and now more than ever before must continue to maintain.

our tax-exempt dollars cannot be used for that purpose. But

It must become the clear and unmistakable duty of free world Jewry alone to sustain the humanitarian programs essential to the people of Israel during this twilight-zone period. The sum needed is known - about 350 million. The experience of 1967 shows it can be done. The most necessary ingredient is will.

Beyond all the problems to be solved - beyond the technical matters of money and aircraft and immigrants and houses - beyond economics and politics and international weakness by the UN and nationalistic blindness by the UAR - beyond the things which daily concern us in the fast-paced arena of Jewish and Israeli affairs - there is the one main issue to be searchingly examined over and over, for it is this reality whose absence or presence will really determine the solution to all the vexing questions. The main issue, of course, is the existence of will.

"There's no use trying," Alice said, "one can't believe impossible things."

"I daresay you haven't had much practice," said the Queen. "When I was your age, I always did it for half-an-hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast."