



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

MS-763: Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman Collection, 1930-2004.

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995.

Subseries 1: Sermons, Speeches and Writings, 1949-1982.

Box
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Folder
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Speech notes. 1976-1978.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

Congressional Talk

23.2.28

Jack Kemp
Morry Amitai

1. One must understand background.

a. Warsaw Ghetto fight - They
1943 couldn't agree - Dangers of
disunity

b. Exodus struggle
1947 - how hard it was to
win independence

c. Pre-emptive strike - 1967
(taking your fate in your own hands)

d. Caught by surprise - 1973
necessity of friends - but fragility
of depending on them - refugee
problem

2. Settlements seem to be issue -

They are really not.

a. Self-determination

b. Total evacuation

3. Airplanes

a. Package deal approach bad -
Vance justification Feb. 21

b. Israel being offered less
than she asked for:

offered: 25 F-16 and 5 F-15

asked: 150 F-16 and 40 F-15

c. Main problem is the
60 F-15 to Saudi.

range (unrefueled) 2800

could be given to Iraq, or
anyone else - to hurt us.

We are told that delivery
would not be until 1981 - and
operational not until another year.

But this is small comfort.

Carlson - L.A.
Cedenberg - Mich.
Young - St. Pete
Fry - Orlando



1. Thrust toward Peace
its price
2. Thrust toward War
3. Confrontation with U.S.
4. New Economic Policy - toward capitalism
more production for export - less consumption for import
5. Closing social gaps: housing, education
6. Improving immigrant absorption -
new Russian wave must be produced
7. Religious pluralism needed, to prevent
drift toward secularism
8. Electoral reform needed - to make
Knesset responsive to citizenry.

Nationalism 1865 onward

1. Moses Hess - Rome + Jerusalem
2. Pinsker - Auto-Emancipation
3. Herzl - Jewish State

Immigration to new world - 1881 onward

Pioneering Chelutzim to Palestine - "

Balfour Declaration - 1917

Holocaust - 1933-1945

War of Independence - 1948

Honored Rabbi

break through or disaster

HIGH DRAWD - PRECIPITANT

- 1) RISKS FOR SADAT - lost other Arabs - lost internal support - Paken personal risk M-Akka Iraqis
- 2) RISKS FOR BEGIN cannot be too generous - or too tight-fisted

3) US VIEW
 afraid of losing Geneva expectations + caution

4) WE HAVE TO GO ON DOING OUR BUSINESS
 (BUILDING A STATE) - Russian Jews - education - slum housing aged

FLEXIBILITY + GENEROSITY

CONSERVATISM IS NOT THE ORDER OF THE DAY

WHAT TO GIVE? (4000 gifts 55000 families) ECONOMIC AREAS

GUIDELINES
 [WE HAVE TO DO MORE - YOU HAVE TO ALSO !!!]

YOU COME WITH YOUR MIND MAKEUP - RAISE IT.

PERORATION

A. Analysis of Present Position

ASSUMPTION that we are ^{mentally} on way to peace is incorrect.

I. TABLE STAKES

1. Egypt's Gamble - 5 ambassadors withdrawn - ^{Iraq, Syria, Algeria} So. Yemen, Russia - Libya
 - PLO rejects Egypt
 - no support from Saudi & Jordan
 - no Israeli concessions at Jamatia
 - now new settlements near Yamit

2. Israel's Gamble - Sharm

- that self-determination could turn into independent state
 Begin said few days ago - "we don't beat around the bush. We shall not agree to such a mortal danger."

II. CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ISRAEL-U.S. SEEMS TO BE DWINDLING

1. No pressure now for Geneva
2. No support for PLO - Carter said few days ago - "PLO has barred itself from any immediate prospect of participation in a peace discussion" because of its uncooperative negative attitude.
3. Not pushing independent state & homeland
4. BUT - he is still very close to Sadat position;
 - a. self-determination for Arabs in West Bank
 - b. withdrawal to 1967 lines (with very minor adjustments)

III. ISMAILIA FAILED

1. Israel would not agree to Sadat two principles; withdrawal and Palestinian "self-determination" for West Bank & Gaza
2. Israel would agree to "self-rule" & "home rule" - with retention

2 4

of its troops. Begin made his dramatic trip to U.S. to obtain Carter support for his position - but U.S. was cautious. Israel will relinquish Sinai - even Sharm.

IV. GAP between "Independent state" or "self-determination" and "home rule" or "self-rule". This must be closed

V. WILL BEGIN GIVE? - B.G. would have given
Is there any "mellowing of the hard-liner"?
Will he be a De Gaulle - "an unassailable nationalist leader with the wisdom to foresake nationalist delusions"?

Is this momentum toward peace "a possible dream" or war?
Begin's present popularity is 78%.

VI. NEXT moves - 3 months with 2 negotiations - therefore summer ~~it~~ may be crucial.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE - ^{Egypt + Israel} Foreign Ministers plus Vance
in Jerusalem 16 Jan

MILITARY COMMITTEE - Defense Ministers in Cairo

VII. ISRAEL MUST BE BOLD FLEXIBLE + GENEROUS

Dayan knows it - so does Yadin - Eban said: "I don't think I. + E. can reach agreement without the principle of regarding the West Bank territory as negotiable."

B. Ineluctable Logic of the Campaign

I. Military Budget

- a. Same, if peace (at least for several years)
- b. More, if war

II. Peace budget - restitution, reparations, resettlement

(even if we balance our refugees against Arabs)

III. Social Budget - for our own people, whose demands

Ghalochin's ^{new} budget [quote] will escalate, and whose patience will wear thin, justifiably.

IV. IMMIGRATION

re Soviet refugees - CJFUF at Dallas in Nov. 77 predicted 2x Soviet Jews would come to U.S. in 1978.

What will that be? Atty Gen. Bell has announced 5000 will be permitted to enter by May 1, 1978.

- Israel has taken about 110,000 since 1971 - U.S. has taken about 6000.

C. ISRAEL MUST BE KEPT STRONG TO FACE PEACE

Baltimore " " " " - Care for your aged, your families, your Russians, your schools

D. OUR DUTY IS CLEAR - U.S. Jews can do much more

J.A. "Budget of Desperation" "SILVER PLATTER"

WE ARE WATCHING A FANTASTIC TV SPECTACLE

Sometimes loss sight of reality

Miami

1.12.77

~~THIS COULD BE BREAK-THROUGH~~

HISTORIC CROSSROADS

pregnant with possibilities

something will be born
as we move toward
peace or to war?

TRICOLI
Cairo Dec. 14

MANY FEARS

1. Russia fears a separate Egypt-Israel deal leaving Syria + itself isolated
2. U.S. fears a loss of Geneva, although Carter is now more enthusiastic about Cairo meeting, after N.Y. Times called him a "Sphinx"
U.S. also fears that a separate E-I deal might leave Egypt isolated in the Arab world, thus vulnerable
3. Syria fears that I. will become an economic magnet to the Arab world -
4. Israel has ^{her own} no fears - but is faced with challenges and stepping ^{into new waters}

WE MUST BE BOLD, FLEXIBLE, GENEROUS

CAN ONLY DO THIS IF WE CONTINUE TO BE STRONG

SADAT CAME TO US BECAUSE WE ARE STRONG

YOU HAVE HELPED CREATE THAT STRENGTH

MIAMI IS
GROWING INTO
A GREAT
COMMUNITY

NOW IS TIME TO BE EVEN STRONGER - GIVE MORE

THIS COULD BE BREAK-THROUGH TO PEACE, BUT

we must continue with nation-building -
Immigration, Education (George Wise tribute), etc.
we must produce more - consume less.
You must give more - in money + political support

Baltimore + others
Nov. 77
onward

1. WATCHING TV SPECTACULAR

This is not reality, but image.

2. NO DOUBT, AT HISTORIC CROSSROADS -

prement - giving birth to war or peace?

3. GAME IS NOW AT STABLE STAKES -

higher gain, but higher loss

4. PRESENT STATUS

a. Anger in Tripoli

b. calm in Cairo, preparing for 14-12

c. coolness in Amman + Riyadh

d. careful thought in Jerusalem

5. MANY FEARS

a. Russia fears separate E-I deal,
which would leave herself + Syria isolated.

b. U.S. fears loss of Geneva - so
now must back bilateral talks

c. Syria fears that Israel, in peace,
will become economic master of Arab world.

6. SADAT HAS CUT WITH RADICAL ARABS -
recalled 5 ambassadors, plus Russia
Iraq, Syria, Algeria, So. Yemen, Libya

7. BALL IS NOW IN ISRAELI COURT -
WE MUST BE BOLD, FLEXIBLE
and GENEROUS

8. WE CAN ONLY DO THIS IF WE
CONTINUE TO BE STRONG, SADAT
CAME TO US BECAUSE WE ARE STRONG.

9. YOU HELPED CREATE THAT STRENGTH
NOW IS TIME TO BE EVEN STRONGER -
GIVE MORE FOR PEACE

we also must give more - and we shall
produce more - consume less - continue with
NATION-BUILDING.

SADAT OFFERS ISRAEL
"PEACE WITH JUSTICE";

BUT CALLS FOR
RETURN OF OCCUPIED
LANDS

BEGIN HAILS HIS
"COURAGE"; ASKS

WIDER TALK

Chess game —
opening moves —
how will it develop

recognition of Israel implied

- 1) withdrawal, including Jerusalem
- 2) Palestinian homeland
(no mention of PLO)

S. called traitor

Significance was in the symbolism

COMMUNIQUE

- 1) move to Geneva
- 2) meet again, in Washington, or elsewhere
- 3) no threats of war

Lido Beach C.I.
12.11.77

Coming on up to 30th year

years of fire and glory -
death and rebuilding

strange moment now -
pause before next war
quiet in eye of storm



you have two heritages - they
blended - exercise them both
American freedom to express yourselves
Jewish yearning to be free
from time of Moses - we have
been trying to be a free people living
in a free land

① Confrontation with President's diplomacy -
tense contest -
don't be afraid to wage it; but be responsible

② Understand the other major full texts reads

- a) Defense
- b) Development
- c) Immigration
- d) Social gap - poverty

③ Tell story of Munich - read poem

④ Restoration.

Puerto Rico
14.11.77

1. PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION
ARMS-

2. WHAT MUST A GOOD JEW DO ?

- a.) Build strong community -
day school - my school
- b.) work in politics - AIPAC
- c.) work to raise money -
1 million \$ community
- d.) run big community mission to Israel
- take a jumbo full -

3. WHAT ABOUT OUR FUTURE ?

Sevela says "doomed"
Is he right? No !!
Positive factors in our future

- a.) More population + growth
- b.) Jewish dream of model state

4. MUNICH 1933 - 1972 -

Kaddish - 1973 war

DO YOUR DUTY - BELIEVE IN YOUR PEOPLE

Speech to Boston mission - 15.10.77

- Mixture of first-timers & many-timers requires word of warning & apology:
 - to first-timers: forgive me for references you might not understand ^{or allusions}
 - to old-timers: forgive me for cliches you might hear.
- Your Kippur was reminder - 4 years ago this week
- Nature of this war: for existence, not territory
- Present confrontation with U.S. (serious)
 - possibilities of Geneva
 - " " war
- Struggle to build a good society here.
- What we expect from you.

Peroration - conclusion

SYDNEY AUSTRALIA
Nov-76 f.

After the Holocaust, a nation exhausted by fire and fear lifted its eyes to the challenge of its own aspirations and decreed its independence at the moment of its greatest weakness.

What more blindly heroic act of faith ~~can~~ ^{could} there be?

Yet, as in all great epics, the ~~small~~ hero-nation seemed to expand into larger-than-life size and coped with the challenge. The will to live, mandated in the Torah as *וְיָרָא אֱלֹהִים* overtook the exhaustion and inertia.

The lesson is clear - every obstacle can be overcome by the power of will.

Accompanying this act of will
 there must be a sense of passion -
 grand passion. The building of a state
 to house our nation is not a luxury -
 not merely something we would like to
 have - but is something we need, as
 every man needs the life-producing forces
 of ^{food and air} ~~land~~ and sex, to maintain his existence

And ~~lastly~~ ^{thirdly} the passionate will ^{act of will and sense of passion}
 must be accompanied by a feeling for history.
 Israel is the center of the existence of every
 Jew in the world, wherever he is scattered.
 What does Israel mean to every Jew in
 Australia and the Diaspora? Israel gives
 him an ideal on which to focus and rescues
 him from the temptation of selfishness;

Israel provides him with a security cover; gives him pride; links him to his people and gives him a community. One man alone is nothing and one city alone is often lost in the ~~with~~ vastness of the wider world surrounding us. All of us linked together form a network of ^{cells} ~~cells~~ which grow into a living organic whole.

The ^{real} tragedy of the Holocaust is ^{not only} that we lost 6 million individuals. Perhaps more importantly, 2000 communities were destroyed ^{with all their apparatus} ~~never to rise~~ again and those which remain, ^{therefore, live} ~~are~~ under

The urgency of compensating for those which shall never rise again.

The will and the passion and the historic sense must all be translated into goals & targets for the

4

Three years ahead - so when you meet again you can have a measuring rod by which to ~~know~~ judge success in future.

Since the UAT ~~is the type of~~ ^{has a} organization whose function ^{which permits} requires it to deal in specific and tangible criteria, let me suggest ^{concrete} targets in three areas.

First, in the area of money to be raised, let me suggest that ~~the~~ by the time of the next Triennial Conference in 1979, Melbourne + Sydney each should have achieved an annual campaign total of \$ 7.5 million and the rest of the states 1 million.

I would also dare suggest ~~now~~ ^{get} to ~~lay~~ down now an even further goal, ^{such} should be that by the time of Triennial conference three

5

years hereafter, 1952, the annual ~~total~~ ^{total} for the two great cities should be \$10 million each and 3.5 for the other states - a federal total of 23.5 million which would ^{then} make it a campaign worthy of the deep Jewish feelings of this warm community.

In the second area, of education to be achieved, ~~the~~ specific targets should be set of the number of books to be read and reported on, by each writer, so that his personal knowledge of ~~Zionism~~ ^{Zionism}, Judaism, ^{and} Israel will constantly be deepened. ^{Greater} Knowledge will lead to greater commitment which will lead to larger financial results. Beside books, there must be constant refresher lectures by qualified persons inside Australia & from without;

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walkend seminars and retreats; day-long
11.6 'n', study days; films, and
training sessions. Education is a constant
process, but it can be quantified into
specifics - so many books to be read and
courses attended.

The third area for ~~imp~~ increased
effort is missions to Israel.

(describe 3,500 U.S. + 400 British ^{Oct} Nov 76)

I would like to recommend that there be
planned and organized an annual Jumbo-load
in Jan.-Feb period, ¹⁹⁷⁷, so that people will
return invigorated to start that year's
campaign. In the process of the enthusiasm
which undeniably is generated, new workers
~~etc~~ will be recruited and old workers refreshed.

7

~~A nation~~

Stand with us — and this will encourage us even more than the monetary value of your gifts.

You give us courage, with your money.

Courage wins freedom

A nation builds itself slowly — is wounded — heals — rebuilds — just like an organic cell which slowly expands, builds strength, differentiates its functions, specializes and gradually forms a whole organism.



Zeev Sher

- Goal number #1 is a strong educational ^{system} (2)
- " " #2 is social welfare. If state cannot provide for aged and sick, it fails.
- " " #3 is development. Exports increased and we must continue this trend, by expanding our industrial capacity. But this is difficult.

We introduced 60 measures in 75 to reduce standard of ~~life~~ living (and thus control inflation) 77 will see further reductions.

with increased taxes + reduced standard + inflation, what can be the Israeli mood?

Zev Star
Hasbrouck Heights
15.1.77



Herb Friedman

on one hand - we are becoming stronger -
especially more

But we are not independent - because
we rely too much on U.S.

Defense
Development
Abrogation of Immigrants
Closing Social Gap

} four
concurrent
goals

Fiscal 77 budget will be very poor -
representing weaknesses - 122 b.

40% decrease

$$F-15 - \$25m \times 25 = 625m$$

$$F-16 - 16m \times 200 = \$3.2b$$

army budget cut - on amenity side

debt per capita is \$2500 - 10 times more than any
other country in world.

We can cut budget ^{only} in social welfare,
education, development. And in these very
areas, our very future depends.

Options offered by U.S.

1. Palestinians part of Jordan delegation
2. " " " unified Arab group
3. Defer Palestinian question to start of conference
4. " " " " later in conference

Israel accepted first option
Arabs did not accept any option,
but leaned towards 2

Pan-Arab idea had been
suggested by Syria
Israel rejects this.

PLO thinking of accepting 1 & 2
in order to be present

Substance - US principles

1. peace treaties
2. withdrawal to 67
3. Palestinian entity



Local problems

Montreal
Aug. 1977

Major problems

War + Peace

1. Lack of agreement with U.S. on approaches to peace, which will result in, either:
2. Gradual U.S. withdrawal of support (Israel go it alone)
3. Actual US pressure on Israel to cooperate + compromise
4. Probably no Geneva - or at best, a hollow shell, no results
- 5. Therefore, possibly disillusionment, frustration - increasing chances of war.

Economics

1. Hopefully some improvement - slowing inflation, but basically, no growth in economy
2. Budget still horrendous - deepening debt. Must cut consumption - i.e. standard of living
3. Therefore, more capital inflow needed

Oleyn

1. Down - which causes psychological depression - but even 20,000 people cost $\approx 250,000,000$ (5000 families at $\$50,000$ per family)

Social Gap

1. And what about taking care of earlier people? Slums, illiterates, youthful delinquents

Morals down

Morale down

Now is time to rally - money support is more than money - is a demonstration of faith + belief. Dollars before a war vs. after

How

1. Make own gift
2. Solicit in person
3. Use a rated figure
4. Present the case well + forcefully
5. Don't be afraid of offending



Government Budget - Apr 1, 77 - Mar 31, 78
(12 Billion)

<u>Expenditure</u> (in billion)			<u>Income</u> (in billion)		
Defense	41.625	(34%)	Revenues - taxes	66.7	(54%)
Debt service	30.250	(25%)	Revenue - other*	26.950	(22%)
Interest	14.750		national insurance		
Principal	15.500		bond issues		
			profits - bank of Israel		
			deficit		
Development	12.000	(10%)	Revenues in foreign currency**	28.850	(24%)
housing	4.550		Israel bonds	3.080	
other	7.450		US defense loan	14.630	
Social Services	38.625	(31%)	A.I.D.	.250	
health, educ,			support assistance	6.920	
welfare, local	122.5	(100%)	supplier food	.100	
authorities			German loans	3.870	
export subsidies			world bank loans		
food					
				122.5	(100%)

Notes

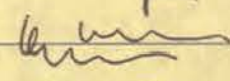

* at least ^(1980 or 66%) ~~half~~ of this represents borrowings
 ** at least ²⁰ ~~(70 or 70%)~~ of this represents borrowings

Balance of payment
(in billion)

	1975	1976
Exports	4.180	4.640
Imports	8.280	7.860
Deficit in balance	4.1	3.2

Total foreign debt
(in billion)

1975	7.8
1976	9.0

on this



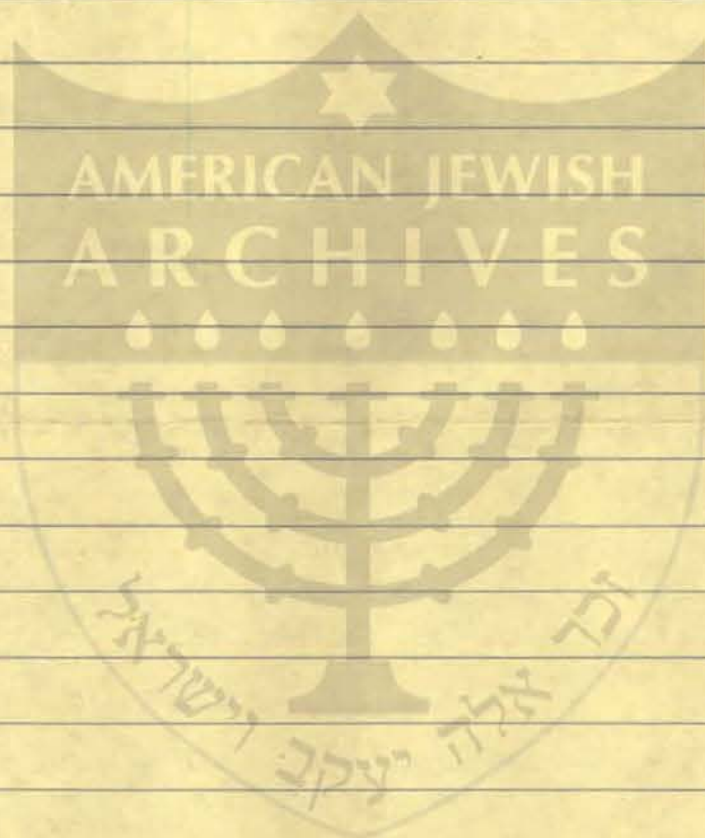
from KIPPUR WAR

Four years of gloom - anxiety - self-castigation.

Now facing confrontation - very very serious.

Four concurrent goals

Defense ; Development ; Immigration ; Social Conf.



MOSHE DAYAN: STORY OF MY LIFE

On the Yom Kippur War

More weapons were involved and the fire was more intense over short fronts and in a brief period of time in this campaign, than in any other campaign, at any time, anywhere in the world.

In World War II, the French had 2000 tanks on the Maginot Line. The Germans attacked with 5000 tanks. At El Alamein, in the Western Desert, Montgomery had 1030 tanks and Rommel about 600. In the Yom Kippur War, the Arabs attacked with more than 5,500 tanks. On the Suez front the Egyptians used double the number of tanks employed by Montgomery, and in the north the Syrians attacked with a force equal to that which Germany sent against France. Both the attacks were carried out simultaneously, with the most sophisticated types of tanks, and on extremely short fronts.

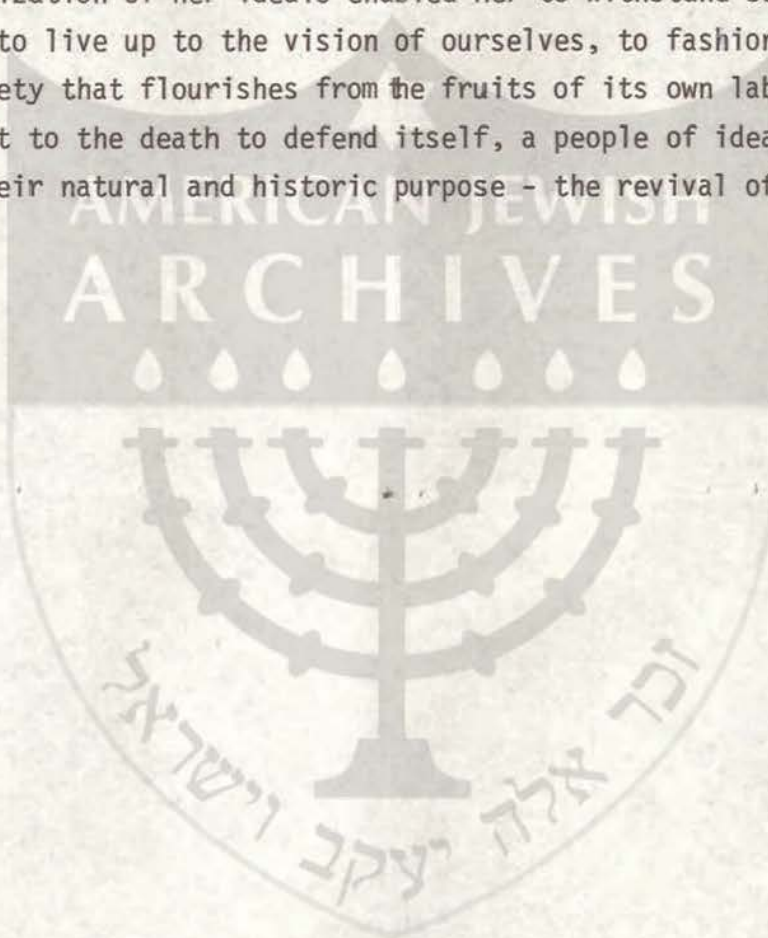
After the war Israel had to make a reappraisal of the military strength required to preserve her capacity to meet a future Arab attack. Even if all the arms markets were open to Israel she would have to determine with great care the limits of the burden she could bear. How many tanks, planes and regular troops could we afford to maintain without collapsing under the economic weight of procuring and supporting them?

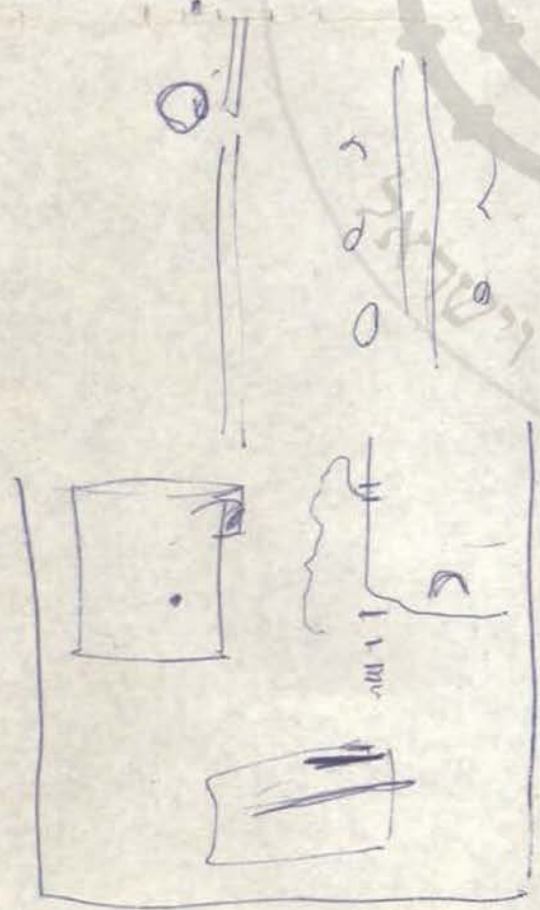
According to the figures published by the Institute of Strategic Studies in London, Israel maintains in peacetime an army whose size and cost, in proportion to her population and economy, greatly exceeds those in other countries. According to the Institutes figures for 1974-75, Britain, with a population of 56.4 million, maintained 900 tanks and 500 combat aircraft; and France, with a population of 52.4 million, had 950 tanks and 461 planes. Israel, with a population of 3.3 million, had 2,700 tanks and 461 warplanes. In further contrast, Egypt, Syria and Jordan and Iraq, with a total population of 58.6 million, maintained 6,600 tanks and 1189 combat aircraft.

I believe that the extent of Israel's military strength has virtually reached its quantitative limits. It will be difficult for her to go on and on enlarging her army, acquiring many more planes and tanks at vaster cost, with their increasing sophistication, and tying down the young men on military service, while at the same time continuing to meet our constructive civilian goals of social and economic development, integrating the new immigrants, settling the land, creating new industries, and expanding our educational and health services. Therefore, the way in which Israel must secure a balance of forces against the Arab world, which grows in strength with extraordinary speed, lies

in improving the quality of her weapons, a quality which should ensure that any Arab attempt to destroy Israel will involve the destruction of the attackers.

Our military victory did not wipe out the hostile political reality in which we are living and against which we are struggling. But Israel herself and her readiness to persist in the realization of her ideals enabled her to withstand such a reality. Our foremost duty is to live up to the vision of ourselves, to fashion a pioneering state, a creative society that flourishes from the fruits of its own labor, a courageous state prepared to fight to the death to defend itself, a people of ideas and ideals striving to achieve their natural and historic purpose - the revival of the Jewish nation in its homeland.





~~Benny Hagan - Defiant~~
~~Kopf n. Schatz~~