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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.

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Speech notes. 1981-1982.

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

July 81

Outline of Campaign Speech

I. Begin is not Israel

1. Pre-empt the anti-Begin sentiment by immediate discerning. You are not a hater of Israel - depending on party line. You are an individual Jew, trying to help.
2. Antipathy toward Begin, for whatever reason - bombing in Beirut; deal with Aqaba; causing crisis with U.S.; cabinet appointments; inability to cure raging inflation; election tactics of give-away; longrange plans to annex the West Bank with disregard for local Arab feelings or Jewish character of Israel; etc. etc. - is no excuse for punishing Israel by abstaining or withholding.

~~3. You are~~

II. Begin is not forever - Israel, we hope, is.

III. Think of Israel's needs - social, educational, financial

IV. Think of Israel's danger - This is constantly growing

V. Think of Israel's achievements

1. agriculture, industry, military strength, health, immigrant absorption
2. Syria's examples of - a) Ulpur Akiba - 3 groups - immigrants (Kisim, Hebrew), Arabics (Hebrew), Arabics (Hebrew)
- b) 2 Israeli women + 2 Arab men (Baiz, Kamalich) preparing, flay
- c) Kibbutzanim who didn't desert under recent fire.

VII. ~~Think of Israel's future~~ The ideals which motivated ^{Israel's} birth. - search for freedom + sovereignty

VI. ~~Think of how the fact of Israel's existence has altered the strength + pride of the Jewish people.~~ ^{outlet of} Timmerman today vs. Argentinian fascism compared to silence of 45 years ago.

VIII. ~~Then think of Israel's future - and how glorious it could be.~~

IX. ~~Lastly, think of your part.~~

BASIC SPEECH OUTLINE

2. U.S.-Russian Confrontation - arms ; space ; oil ; Afghanistan to Hormuz
 U.S. can depend only on Egypt, Saudi, Israel
 Egypt weak
 Saudi obstinate
 Only Israel reliable + strong.

∴ Israel's strength important as item of defense for west.
 Israel is in middle of super-power confrontation - unbelievable but true!!

3. U.S. looking for bases

Oman - Mutrah air base ; Masirah Island

Diego Garcia - airstrip

Ras Banas (Egypt-Red Sea) - naval

Somalia - Berbera ; Mogadishu

Kenya

∴ Of all of this, Israel is best technically, and politically, because Egypt + Saudi refuse to give bases.

15. ~~THE~~ ISRAEL in middle of Cockpit of History, willy-nilly

a.) Russia has millions facing China on the Yalu

b.) Russia has millions facing NATO in Western Europe

c.) BUT Russia facing south from Afghanistan is greatest
 flash point of world danger

d.) Russian surrogates are in place: Cubans in Ethiopia; East Germans in South Yemen

4. ISRAEL'S OWN GEO POLITICAL - MILITARY POSITION IS PERILOUS

~~(see at)~~

a.) Western Europe

pro-PLO; German sales to ^{Iraq + to} Saudi in offing; French sales to Libya, Iraq

b.) Iran

slight improvement - German For. Min. Genscher coming in Jan; Mitterand in Feb.

civil war; danger to 40,000 Jews

c.) Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Libya

attack

d.) Saudia

overthrow of monarchy; joining in attack

e.) Pakistan

"Islamic bomb" reactor on stream by Oct. 1982

f.) Egypt

final turn-over April 26, 1982

g.) PLO

turning into army with heavy equipment, not just gang of terrorists

5. ISRAEL + U.S. NEED EACH OTHER

tension over AWACS must be transcended

Israel's strength must be maintained, by America + Israel's own efforts.

6. ISRAEL'S STRENGTH DEPENDS ON MANY FACTORS, beside Arms

a. Economic 1.) her budget is strained - 1/3 goes for

defense; 1/3 for debt service (she owes

about 17 b. - comparable to full year GNP); highest per capita debt in world; only 1/3 left for services + investment in infrastructure

2.) cost of peace is high - 2.4 b. for oil alone

17 b. invested in Sinai - 10 b. airfields

5 oil fields
2 roads + settlements
[This is her whole debt] → 19 b.

- b. SOCIAL - 1.) Project Renewal must succeed
- 2.) Ashkenazic - Sephardic tensions must be solved
- 3.) Religious civil war must be cooled down

7. U.S. JEWRY MUST ACCEPT MORE RESPONSIBILITY FOR IMMIGRATION, EDUCATION, YOUTH ALIYAH, SETTLEMENTS (Jewish Agency) in order to relieve people of Israel. This is our historic duty - and we have not kept up our end.

Specific tasks for 1982 - + 78 million

8. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR JEWS WORLD-WIDE

Specific tasks for 1982 - + 9 million for JDC

9. WE ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR INCREASED ^{community} NEEDS AT HOME
Inflation + U.S. Gov't cuts

Specific tasks for 1982 - \$ 23 million for local Federations

TOTAL + 110 million, over 550 in 1981 = 660 = 20% increase

10. PERORATION

select a piece - and write from there.

FOR JACK BENNETT

Oct 21
In board to Reno
Friday

Dear Jack -

Enclosed are some exact figures for your fact sheet that you want to send out.

I. Expenditures in Israel of Jewish Agency (USA) money
for 1981/82 - if ca. 400 million is available - if not cuts will be made accordingly

	<u>million \$</u>
1. Immigration and Absorption	67
2. Education - Kindergarten through university	62.3
3. Social welfare programs - youth to elderly	36.2
4. Housing - for immigrants	13.7
5. Rural settlements	73.
6. Youth Aliyah	53.5
7. Debt Service - interest + principal	60.
8. Administration & Finance	7.
	<hr/>
	372.7

1980/81
II. Expenditures of USA money in rest of world through JDC (Joint)
approx. 40 million

	<u>million \$</u>	
Israel (mostly on aged)	11.6	
* Italy (on Russian migrants)	11.5	
* Austria (on Russian migrants)	3.	
Packages (43,000 @ \$175 each)	7.5	(we never publish in print where these packages are going)
Rumania	3.6	

Hungary	1.2
France	3.0
Muslim Countries	5.2
Latin America	.6
Ethiopia	.6
Misc. (Poland, Yugoslavia, Spain, etc.)	1.1
OPERATING + SERVICE EXPENSES	3.2
(N.Y. Headquarters + overseas)	
	<hr/> 52.1

* Contribution from U.S. Government

Refugee Relief Program	<hr/> 13.3
USA Cost	38.8

For 1981/82 budget will be about +2 = 41 m

Full scale operations would take 9 mill more, if we could raise the money.

III. In 1981, USA ^{will have} raised - gross - approx. \$550 mill

For 1982, additional amount required:

	<u>mill \$</u>
for Israel (Through Jewish Agency)	78
for JDC	9
for local Federations	<u>23</u>
	+ \$ 110 mill

Thus - approx. 20% additional in 1982 over 1981.

Houston figures almost exactly same:

1981 - approx. 7.1 m. (base)
 1982 - goal 8.5

+ 1.4 = 20% increase

IV. ISRAEL GOVERNMENT BUDGET 1981/82

\$ billion

7.9	-	defense
7.6	-	debt service
4.75	-	subsidies on basic commodities
2.57	-	civilian services
2.93	-	investment in infrastructure
<u>25.75</u>		

Defense	-	1/3	} These items inflexible, subject only to increase, not decrease
Debt service	-	1/3	
All other		1/3	

I. Miscellaneous Data

1. Israel's foreign debt - approx. \$ 17 bill., of which \$ 7 to U.S. Government; balance to World Bank, IMF, commercial banks, bondholders. No foreign debt ever defaulted.

2. Israel's GNP. - approx. \$ 20 bill.

3. Israel's per capita debt highest in world - approx. \$ 4400 for every man, woman, child

4. Per capita cost of defense - comparison of 1980 figures:

Japan	\$ 87
Canada	157
France	349
Germany	396
Russia	560
U.S.	560
Israel	1050

~~5. Price of Peace~~

VI

Price of Peace

Since 1968, Israel has invested ^{\$} 17 billion in Sinai, which is being forfeited under Camp David agreement:

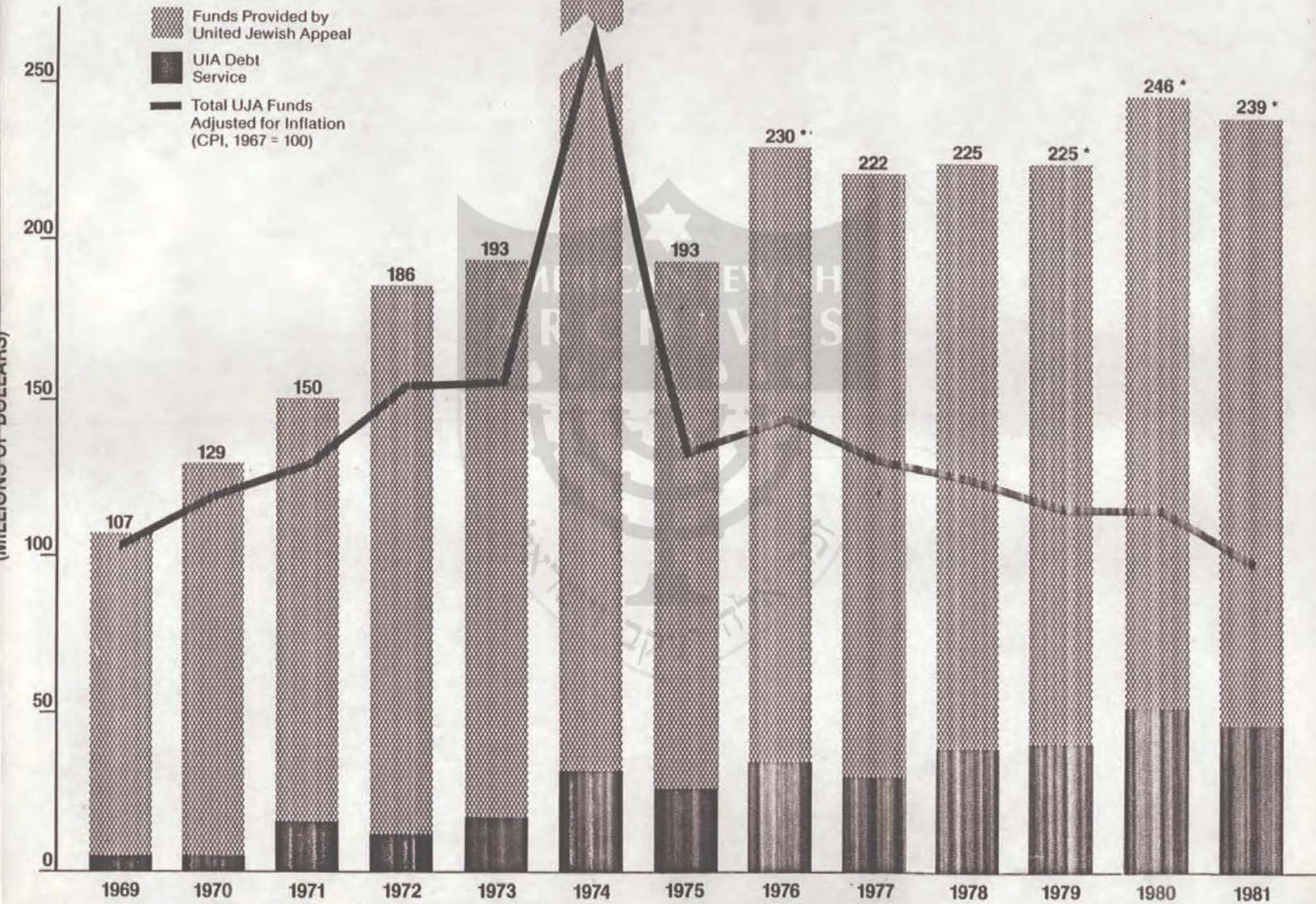
Air fields, bases + facilities	\$ 10 billion
Oil Fields	5
Roads + Settlements	2
	<hr/>
	\$ 17 bill.

This total is approx. equal to Israeli entire foreign debt

Cost of ^{imported} oil to Israel today ^{\$} 2.4 billion annually, compared to almost 0 four years ago. Israel could be energy-independent today, if she had ~~to~~ not agreed to return the oil fields ^{to Egypt} as a price of peace.

United Israel Appeal

-  Funds Provided by United Jewish Appeal
-  UIA Debt Service
-  Total UJA Funds Adjusted for Inflation (CPI, 1967 = 100)



* Byer Estate Proceeds: 1976 — \$2,000,000; 1979 — \$1,000,000; 1980 — \$32,000,000; 1981 — \$7,000,000

(FISCAL YEAR ENDED MARCH 31)

Before getting into
details of 1982 -

Let's remind
ourselves what we're

trying to do -

build a land
rebuild a people's image
of itself

rescue remnants
local community - create pride for one
more generation of survival

Quote B.G.

Then get into current
situation

JDC 1982 budget = \$ 39.5

\$/ m

11.2

— Israel

8.8

Relief in Transit

5.8

Eastern Europe

5.3

AMERICAN MOSLEM CENTRIES

3.9

ARCHIVES
Western Europe

35.0

misc.

1.8

36.8

36.8

spent on program

2.7

" " administration

39.5

39.5

J.A.
1982



\$ million

Immigration + Absorption	77
Education	25.983
Higher Education	36.3
Social Programs	36.263
Housing	13.788
Rural Settlement	73.
Youth Aliyah	53.568
Other Functions	15.874
Debt Services	60.
Finance + Admin.	7.020
Reserve	1.204

400,000



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SOME
PROFILE OF A CRITICAL NEEDS - JEWISH AGENCY - POTENTIAL CUTS
DREADFUL

1. YOUTH ALIYAH

1981 -	19,000 Kids	\$ 53 m	
1982 -	17,500 " (or maybe only 15,500)	<u>43 m</u>	- 10

2. SETTLEMENTS

1981 -	{ consolidation - 130 older settlements establishing - 82 new settlements over 3 years	18 m	
		<u>43 m</u>	
			61 m
1982 -	consolidation (they may die)	7 m	
	new (They especially in south - must be born)	<u>46</u>	
			<u>53</u> - 8

3. IMMIGRATION

1981 -	28,000	\$ 76 m	
1982 -	20,000	<u>57</u>	- <u>19</u>
	(no student & elderly help)		
	(cancelling singles hostels)		- <u>37 m.</u>
	(what if more - Iran, Russia - ?)		

Instead of cuts, there must be an increase + 78 m



United Jewish Appeal

1982 CAMPAIGN

Profile of Needs

1. JEWISH AGENCY

A. 1980-81: Year of Denial

Last year, the Jewish Agency was able to carry out its ongoing life-support programs only by borrowing \$81 million, bringing it up to the final allowable limit, at severely high rates of interest.

One reason for this painful fiscal struggle was a shortfall in income from UJA, far from enough to meet minimum human need. It was a year of denial:

- *Far fewer teenagers than planned could be admitted into Youth Aliyah programs;
- *Only two new pre-settlements were completed for pioneering young families in the Galilee;
- *No new resettlement units were added in the Besor Region of the Negev for Sinai settlers being displaced under the terms of the peace treaty with Egypt;
- *Workshop programs bringing dignity and productiveness to the elderly were cut back;
- *Not a single older agricultural settlement received the support needed to achieve self-dependence.

B. 1981-82: No Room for Shortfall

With rising costs and the erosion of inflation, the Agency would need \$462 million this year to reverse that process of denial and carry out its full responsibilities as our lifeline agent in Israel.

A realistic appraisal of expected income, however, has limited the proposed 1981-82 budget to \$390 million.

(This is based on an anticipated immigration of 20,000 -- matching last year's level. There are some hopeful projections that this number may rise, up to 28,000 -- requiring an additional \$10 million.)

The Agency has carefully and realistically calculated its expected income to meet this budget. From all sources, including the campaigns of free world Jewry, it can count on only \$345 million.

That means the Agency will still have to borrow \$45 million, in a stutterstep process, as old loans are partially repaid during the year. Any sudden emergency would be unanswerable, causing untold human suffering.

Even if achieved, the \$390 million will mean a year of even greater human denial:

*Another 1,000 youngsters will be left out of the Youth Aliyah program;

*No new pre-settlements will be started in the Galilee, and the courageous pioneer families holding footholds on remote hilltops will face another winter in temporary facilities;

*The resettlement units in the Besor Region will remain at the seriously inadequate number of eight, right up to the treaty-mandated day of displacement;

*More cutbacks will have to be made in the workshop program for the elderly;

*And the long-delayed plan to bring 150 older agricultural settlements to self-dependence may have to be abandoned -- perhaps permanently.

C. Making the Difference

The 1982 campaigns of free world Jewry must begin to reverse this downhill process of denial. They must prevent the continuation of borrowing at crippling high interest rates. They must make up the total difference between the expected \$345 million income and the \$462 million needed to meet minimum human needs in full.

That total difference -- between another year of denial and a turning point year of minimum need fulfillment -- is \$117 million.

Our traditional two-thirds share of this increased, global regular campaign responsibility is \$78 million.

D. Project Renewal

Project Renewal is an integral part of making the difference in Israel between denial and the chance of fulfillment. It is as supreme a test of our campaign capacity as our regular effort.

In 1981-82 -- after three years of planning, gearing up, starting grass-roots programs, establishing linkages between American communities and distressed neighborhoods -- the time has come to turn the process, the structure, the hope, the good will and the expectations into a steady and continuous flow of funds for approved, measurable programs.

Cash flow from the \$92.4 million pledged for Project Renewal to date has been dangerously thin. Funds for programs already approved could conceivably run out by the end of July, 1981. That cash flow must be significantly increased - and reinforced by a vigorously renewed solicitation effort throughout the 1982 campaign period.

2. JDC

This year's JDC budget -- for maintenance of its worldwide lifeline to remnant and distressed Jewish communities, its vital Jewish reorientation services to migrant Soviet Jews, and its brilliant complex of innovative programs in Israel making a substantial difference in the lives of the young, the elderly and the handicapped -- is \$40.3 million.

As in the case of the Jewish Agency, this is a "realistic" budget, based on expected income. It falls far short of meeting the rising costs of existing programs; it will, in fact, lead to reductions in JDC's crucial package program, clothing distribution and other services that truly sustain life and hope at a very basic human level. It leaves no room for further demands based on the continuing process of opening doors in Eastern Europe. And it could conceivably lead to phasing out programs in Israel before their time.

A true needs budget to meet rising costs, avoid human denial, reach into more areas of remnant Jewish life and sustain JDC's brilliant, innovative programs in Israel at their most effective level, would call for a minimum of \$9 million more than last year.

3. DOMESTIC NEEDS

Federations now allocate over \$200 million for national and local services. In 1981 it was estimated that an additional \$22 million was required in this area. But at that time many programs were supplemented by Government funding. Now we must anticipate that this source will be curtailed, particularly in services to the aging, poverty level families, and CETA personnel.

In 1982, Federations face new challenges in funding local community programs for Jewish people whose needs must be met in the following areas:

Jewish Education

Jewish education is indispensable for sustaining the next generation of committed Jews. Yet fewer than 10 percent of our high school youngsters now participate in Jewish educational programs. Creative Jewish education, led by dedicated, gifted teachers, is needed to bring our children back into the Jewish classroom.

The Jewish Family

The Jewish family is the basic building block of our community. But Jewish families are showing signs of strain. The need for counselling services to prevent family dissolution is growing. Rising divorce rates have created a new service population -- the single-parent family. The strength of Jewish family life must be restored through community support systems.

The Aging

Cuts in Government funding greatly affect the lives of our aging. Each year a larger percentage of the Jewish community is 65 or over, and many live at the poverty level. Community programs in housing, transportation, nutrition and medical care must be expanded to serve the growing needs of our aging men and women.

College Youth

During these critical years of young adulthood, our college-age youth are exposed to assimilationist and anti-Zionist trends on many campuses. Shortages of funds have already caused the reduction of some programs. A vital Jewish presence on campus must be insured.

Soviet Jewish Resettlement

Soviet Jewish resettlement is a dramatic chapter in the history of North American Jewry. Through the efforts of Federations and local agencies, and CJF, innovative community-wide programs are being developed to aid Soviet Jews in building new lives. Programs of Jewish content and acculturation are critical in this transition.

Community Relations

The rising number of anti-Semitic acts in many communities reflects disturbing trends. Our community relations agencies must have the support necessary to intensify their vigilance.

Current projections indicate that a minimum increment of \$23 million in the 1982 Campaign for local and national services will be required to meet the escalating needs of Jewish people served by Federations and their agencies. That figure may increase as the full impact of Government budget cutbacks is felt.

4. TOTALITY OF NEED

A. Regular Campaign

The increased regular campaign need for 1982 is the sum of reversing the pattern of denial in our Jewish Agency programs in Israel (\$78 million), meeting in full the challenges and opportunities we face in the JDC world (\$9 million), and continuing and enhancing the work of community-building at home (\$23 million).

The regular campaign must therefore raise a minimum of \$110 million more than last year.

Since our 1981 regular campaign total is currently projected at about \$550 million ...that means a potential 1982 regular campaign goal of =====
\$660 million.

B. Project Renewal

Beyond that minimum regular campaign achievement -- and as a matter of equal and simultaneous priority -- we must significantly intensify our fundraising and cash collections for Project Renewal. The question is no longer whether it will work, but how well we will let it work.

1982
1933

JAN. 30 - ¹⁹⁸² HITLER - 49 years - Jubilee year
ROOSEVELT - 100 years - birth

INTERNATIONAL

1. NO AUTONOMY AGREEMENT ON WEST BANK by APR 26
3. SINAI TURNOVER WILL BE CONCLUDED
4. TROUBLE WITH DIFF-HARD SETTLERS
2. CREEPING ANNEXATION DE FACTO OF WEST BANK
5. CONTINUED TENSION WITH ~~WESTERN~~ U.S.
6. UPCOMING VISITS ^{NEAR NEXT FEW MONTHS} FROM EUROPE (Mitterand, Genscher, Carrington)
WILL BE CRUCIAL

MILITARY

1. TENSION ON GOLAN
2. POSSIBLE TROUBLE WITH SYRIA (OR IN LEBANON)
3. DANGER FROM IRAQ
4. JORDAN ACQUIRING RUSSIAN EQUIPMENT
5. RUSSIAN THREAT TOWARD IRAN + PERSIAN GULF
6. INTERNAL DISCUSSION ABOUT BUILDING LAVIE
7. LIBYA-BACKED REACTOR IN PAKISTAN - "ISLAMIC BOMB"

ECONOMIC

1. INFLATION RATE FOR 1982 DOWN - POSSIBLY 100%
2. INDUSTRIALIZATION UP - IN SOPHISTICATED PRODUCTS

3. STANDARD OF LIVING UP - EXCEPT FOR POOR

4. SOCIAL BUDGETS BEING CUT

DOMESTIC POLITICAL

1. BEGIN MAY WANT ELECTIONS THIS YEAR

4. ~~3~~ RELIGIOUS TROUBLE

5. ~~4~~ EMIGRATION RISING

2 LABOR PARTY IN TOTAL DISARRAY

3. SHARON PUSHING TO #2

Condorcet eulogy of B. Franklin:

"He pardoned the present for the sake of the future"

5. Heavy arms in area have
doubled since 1973.
More than Warsaw pact countries
More than Nato.

6. Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi
9000 tanks - 1400 aircraft -
6000 artillery pieces.
Add Egypt & Libya - those
figures go up to 14,000 tanks
almost 2000 planes - 9000 artillery

7. Weinberger now wants to make
Sale to Jordan - to blunt
Russia. Even Peres joined
Begin in protesting.

8. Israel edgy - war is in the air.
Sharon doctrine for danger
points: a. Lebanon
b. Iraq - Syria
c. nuclear - Pakistan
d. PLO speech
9. Arabs don't see Russian
danger - only Israeli danger.
Israel understands U.S.
concern. Why doesn't U.S.
understand that Israel is
loyal ally? This is frustrating.
10. Egyptians say they see a
shift in support of U.S. Jews.
because of anti- Begin sentiment.

11. Are you shifting?

12. You must do your duty.

13. Economic problems

14. Social welfare problems -
Project Renewal.

Budget Cuts
Fed. assistance 22m.

30% increase

SPEECH OUTLINE - May 1982

1. ISRAEL SHOULD GET HIGH MARKS FOR SINAI WITHDRAWAL, which was not A HAPPY, but a willing one; yet somehow, doesn't.

2. ANGUISH and HOPE mark the Third Exodus from Sinai:

December 1948 - April 1949
October 1956 - March 1957
June 1967 - April 1982

3. LATEST WITHDRAWAL HAS MEANT:

A. Strategic Sacrifices - bases
- ground and air space for training
- early warning

B. Economic Costs \$10 billion - military installations
5 - oil field development
2 - civilian settlements
17

C. Psychological Trauma - Ancient Hebrew Identity was forged in Sinai: Passover and Ten Commandments

4. Israel did it because PEACE WITH EGYPT, largest and most important Arab state, was worth it. Israel hoped there would be start of Peace Process. *Instead, possibilities of war are still very strong in the area.*

5. Irving Kristol, writing recently in "Washington Post", points out there is no peace process - rather there is a "war process". Neither Saudia Arabia nor Syria has indicated any interest in a real settlement. There is just a lot of diplomatic chatter. The most powerful force in the Middle East today is Islamic fundamentalism, which is not interested in peaceful co-existence with a Jewish state or with Christian minorities or even with less militant varieties of Islam. There is bitter hostility against Western Christendom, of which America is the most powerful representative and of which Israel, ironically enough, is seen to be an integral part.

Khomenism is not part of a peace process. The war process continues between fundamentalist Islam and all western influence. Ironically, so-called moderate Arab states like Jordan and Saudia will be engulfed by it, not only Israel. The U.S. should be working harder to stop it - and should be basing itself firmly on the ground in the Middle East, specifically close to the Persian Gulf, and not depending upon occasional flimsy appearances of a Rapid Deployment Force or an aircraft carrier.

6. ISRAEL HAS EVERY RIGHT TO EXPECT that the world acknowledge the sacrifices it has made and the risks it has taken for peace. That acknowledgement should be embodied in a diplomacy by the free world - U.S. and Western Europe - to persuade the Arab world to accept Israel's existence and follow Egypt's suit. A Jewish State finally free of inexorable hatred and war would know how to be generous in peace.

BUT THINGS DON'T SEEM TO BE GOING THAT WAY.

7. ISRAEL IS WORRIED ABOUT:

- a. American withdrawal of "strategic concensus" idea
- b. American tilt toward Saudia Arabia and Jordan - AWACS and arms
- c. Slippage of support in Western Europe
- d. Relentless ideological assault by UN and Th ird World
- e. Build-up of nationalism in West Bank

8. TOUGHEST PROBLEMS LIE AHEAD:

- a. Jerusalem (Egyptians won't even meet there)
- b. West Bank requires hard decisions
 1. military occupation not good permanent solution
 2. civil administration as fig-leaf for military won't work
 3. building more settlements will only infuriate further
 4. SO - Israel must either annex or withdraw

9. AMERICAN JEWS (and non-Jewish friends) MUST SUPPORT AS NEVER BEFORE.

Th is is absolutely not the time to leave Israel in the lurch -
 or to punish her because of policies you might not like.
 Israel is trying to expand the economy. Her exports in 1981
 were miraculous - about \$5.5 billion. And she is trying to
 cushion the people against the inflation.

MONEY =
 MORALE
 at this
 point

10. ISRAEL NEEDS EXTRA HELP TH ROUGH PROJECT RENEWAL.

Your project of \$750,000 to help the elderly in Hatikvah is crucial. It will provide ½million meals on wheels over the next five years; transportation of aged and infirm to centers for company; medical and dental care; and alarm systems connecting each apartment to the central office, to call for help.