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Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10019

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

28 March 1968

Dear friend,

The Six-Day War ended more than 9 months ago. The new baby, peace, could have been born by now. But it was never conceived. One of the parents-to-be refused to cooperate.

I am writing this letter to re-state my belief, expressed openly and for many months already, that Israel is faced with continuous struggle, death, bloodshed, heartache for a long time to come; that terrorism, sabotage and perhaps even open warfare are to be expected; that the road to a settlement is twisting, unpaved, filled with pitfalls, no end clearly in sight; that the people of Israel are imbued with fantastic courage, perseverance, resolute will and a sense of destiny; that the Jews of the United States must be steadfast, patient, persistent of support and must hold absolutely bedrock firm in the face of whatever will happen. A great people, passing through an historic trial of major dimensions, will win out to its objective if there be no failure of nerve.

I. MILITARY AND POLITICAL EVENTS

1. EBAN - (12 MARCH) - NO PEACE

In a press conference on the above date, Mr. Eban said:

"The position is clear. The peace effort of the United Nations has not advanced and responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the UAR. Egyptian official spokesmen have let it be known, publicly and otherwise, that the UAR rejects the UN proposal to convene the UAR and Israel for a conference in which they would negotiate a mutually accepted peace settlement.

"The United Arab Republic's policy is as follows: The UAR rejects the principle of binding engagement, a commitment establishing a peace agreement with Israel.

"The UAR does not intend to meet Israel representatives in order to negotiate a settlement of differences with Israel.

"The UAR rejects the idea of explicit recognition, the acknowledgement of Israel's statehood and sovereignty.

"If the Suez were now opened, the UAR would resume its previous policy of refusing free passage for Israeli shipping through the Canal.

"The UAR policy continues to be governed, as Nasser has said, by the decision of the Khartoum conference, namely 'No peace, no negotiation, no recognition.'

"That policy of the UAR is, as described, not a matter of conjecture or interpretation. It is definite knowledge.

"We hope in due time the UAR will think again and agree to meet us in order to negotiate a firm, binding peace. We are still ready. My statement in the Knesset on February 26, stands intact as the statement of Israel's policy. It is essential to understand why there has been no progress so far. This is because the United Arab Republic does not accept the principles of peace, agreement, free navigation, negotiation, and the establishment of a secure recognized boundary to be worked out by the parties concerned."

In his policy speech in the Knesset on 26 February, Mr. Eban had again asked for negotiations, and declared that at the peace table "Israel will put forward serious and responsible proposals in harmony with the interests and national honor of all concerned...He who takes the decision to make peace in the name of the Arab people will be regarded by posterity as someone who redeemed the honor and raised the prestige of the family of Arab peoples."

It is remarkable how Israel patiently and steadily keeps suing for peace, meeting with Mr. Jarring, dropping broad hints of its willingness to make concessions, which are implicit in every negotiating process; and does not withdraw in annoyance or sullenness or despair in the face of continuous and obdurate Arab rejection.

2. TEKOAH LETTER TO UN - (18 MARCH)

Not only is there no peace - but there is steady firing. On the above date, Yosef Tekoah, Israel's Permanent Representative to the UN, wrote a letter to the Secretary-General, which he asked to be circulated to all member governments, in which he documented the continuous violations of the ceasefire by Jordan. This list does not exhaust the total number of acts of sabotage, killing, marauding and shelling, but is confined strictly to those episodes for which Israel holds Jordan responsible.

"1. On 4 March 1968, at approximately 2345 hours, an Israeli civilian vehicle was ambushed and attacked by marauders from Jordan on the Beth Shean-Semakh road. An Israeli civilian was seriously wounded.

"2. On 5 March, at approximately 1000 hours, Jordanian positions opened fire on an Israeli patrol 3.5 kilometres north of the Umm-Short Bridge in the Jordan Valley. Fire was returned. At approximately noon, the Jordanian positions fired several mortar shells at Israeli forces in the same area. Fire was returned. Artillery and mortar fire was opened again by Jordanian positions in the same area later that night. Israel forces returned fire.

"3. On 7 March, at approximately 2100 hours, infiltrators from Jordan ambushed and shot at an Israeli army vehicle approximately 3 kilometres east of Kibbutz Magen, south of Lake Kinnereth. Two Israeli girl civilians and two soldiers were wounded. Fire was returned by Israeli forces and as the marauders retreated, nearby Jordanian positions opened fire, which was returned.

"4. During the night of 8-9 March, bands of infiltrators from Jordan attempted to carry out acts of sabotage in the Beth Shean Valley and attacks on Kibbutz Tirat Zvi. Israeli forces repelled them. Jordanian positions opened mortar and machine-gun fire to cover the retreat of the marauders. Fire was returned. Two Israeli soldiers were wounded. Two of the attacking marauders were killed. A rifle of the Klatchnikoff type, bazookas and several bombs and grenades were found in the area.

"5. On 10 March, at 2200 hours, an Israeli military jeep was hit by a mine laid in a track 2 kilometres south of Timna, north of Eilat. Four soldiers were wounded. Tracks of four persons led from the scene of the mining eastward to the cease-fire line with Jordan.

"6. On 11 March, at approximately 2300 hours, a band of five infiltrators from Jordan clashed with an Israeli patrol approximately 2 kilometres north of Al-Mandasa Bridge in the Jordan Valley. In the ensuing exchange of fire, three of the marauders were killed. As the gang withdrew, Jordanian positions across the Jordan River opened artillery covering fire. Fire was returned by Israeli posts. The exchange of fire continued for approximately two hours. Rifles of the Klatchnikoff type were found at the scene together with a bazooka, bazooka shells, demolition charges. Shooting from Jordanian positions continued until 0230 hours. One Israeli soldier was wounded.

"7. On 12 March, at approximately 1100 hours, Jordanian positions opened fire across the Jordan River on Israeli forces, 3.5 kilometres south of the Umm-Short Bridge. Fire was returned. The exchange of fire lasted until 1215 hours.

"8. On 12 March, at 1550 hours, Jordanian fire was opened across the Jordan River on Israeli forces on the western bank, 3 kilometres south of Al-Mandasa Bridge. At approximately 1630, small arms and mortar fire was again opened from the same positions in the same direction. Israeli forces returned fire.

"9. On 14 March, at 1350 hours, an Israeli civilian was killed in the Beth Shean Valley when his vehicle hit an anti-vehicle mine laid in a track 1.5 kilometres south of Beit Yosef. Tracks of three men were found to lead in an easterly direction to the cease-fire line on the Jordan River, 1 kilometre away.

"10. On 15 March, at approximately 1030 hours, a military vehicle ran over an anti-vehicle mine which had been laid west of the

River Jordan, north of the Al-Mandasa Bridge. One soldier was wounded. Another mine which was found at the site was cleared.

"11. On 15 March, at approximately 1620 hours, a tourist vehicle ran over a mine laid in the road near Beer-Ora, north of Eilat. Three persons in the vehicle were wounded, two of them seriously. The tracks of three persons leading to the cease-fire line were found.

"12. On 15 March, at approximately 2145 hours, an Israeli army patrol encountered a group of saboteurs which had crossed the River Jordan about 15 kilometres north of the Damya Bridge. The gang was repelled. In the ensuing clash, artillery and mortar fire was opened from Jordan territory to cover the withdrawing gang. Fire was returned. One Israeli soldier was wounded. At the site 2 Klatchnikoff-type rifles, 1 bazooka and 2 bazooka shells and mine-laying tools were found."

"It is clear from the above that in the several instances mentioned in the letter of the Permanent Representative of Jordan, as well as in others to which he does not refer, the responsibility for the incident rests squarely with Jordan. In each of these cases, fire was returned by Israeli forces to repel marauders coming from Jordan, to silence Jordanian fire giving cover to retreating infiltrators or in self-defence against other unprovoked attacks from Jordanian positions.

"These Jordanian violations of the cease-fire emanated from Jordanian territory and received encouragement and support from Jordanian authorities, including members of the Cabinet. The Government of Israel accordingly holds the Government of Jordan responsible for them.

"I have the honor to request that this letter be circulated as an official document of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

(Signed) Yosef TEKOAH
Permanent Representative of Israel
to the United Nations"

3. SCHOOL BUS EPISODE - (18 MARCH)

On Monday afternoon, 18 March, an episode occurred which threw all of Israel into shock and rage. Some 12th grade pupils from Herzlia High School were on a bus and hike outing throughout the Negev. They reboarded their buses and about 100 meters short of the main road from the Timna Copper Mines to Eilat, they struck a mine. The school doctor and a 22-year-old escort guide were killed in the explosion. Twenty-eight of the children were wounded.

An eye-witness account by Mrs. Yehudit Hardouf, the school's teacher of art history, follows:

"We had just got on the buses after a day's hike through the Red Canyon. Everybody was laughing. We were in very good humor, as we had a good trip all day. Then all of a sudden everything went dark. I didn't feel anything for a moment. Then I felt as though I were flying. There was awful smoke. I was covered with blood. Children were screaming. Everyone was jumping out of the windows. My path was blocked by the bodies of the fatally injured. Later, the tour guide helped me out the back door. I was only slightly wounded, though I was bleeding heavily, from my face and legs.

"A nice boy was holding me up. A girl pupil was trying to comfort me. There were children lying in a row. Some asked if their legs were still there."

Mrs. Hardouf said she had "no words to describe how wonderfully the children behaved immediately after the blast. They were calm and quiet. You did not hear a child complain."

The fact that the buses reached Red Canyon without incident, and struck a mine only on the way back makes it appear that the youngsters may have been under observation by the mine planters and that the mine was laid only after the buses had entered the area. If this is so, it involves a deliberate attempt on the lives of school children, and if that is so, then it is easy to understand the fury which gripped the population.

4. DAYAN-YARIV PRESS CONFERENCE - (18 MARCH)

On this same fateful day, at approximately the same hour as the bus accident down in the South, Defense Minister Moshe Dayan was speaking at a press conference in Tel Aviv, accompanied by the Chief of Staff, General Bar-Lev, and the Director of Military Intelligence, General Yariv. Dayan gave his reason for calling the press conference in these words:

"I feel that we are facing something like a new wave of terror initiated by the Fatah (guerrilla raiders) mainly from Jordan... We take it very seriously and thought that we should bring the facts here and review the nine months that have passed since the end of the war."

He then called on General Yariv, who said:

"Once Jordan was only a transitory stage for sabotage activity. Today it serves as the main base of operations for the sabotage organizations...As to the saboteurs, we are not speaking about isolated groups that are perhaps difficult to locate and identify. We are speaking about groups that roam about in significant numbers. We are speaking about hundreds of persons, we are speaking about bases quite well organized and extremely well known by everyone on the East Bank, and there is no reason to doubt that the Jordanian authorities, which are quite efficient, know about them...If we know them quite well, it is quite correct to assume that the Jordanians know them at least as well as we do."

General Dayan then resumed the narration, showing how the sabotage movement had grown.

"Roughly I can say that in the year before the war, the group engaged in crossing the border and mainly laying mines here along the Syrian and Lebanese border at that time, and the Jordanian, numbered something like 30 or 40, or at times when it reached its peak, two such groups, 30 to 40 on the Northern border and an equivalent group on the Jordanian border. Now, I would say we are not exaggerating if we figure out that besides the 1,000 El Fatah detainees that we now have in prison here - that is to say, we have 1,500 but I assume that the real El Fatah members that will have to be brought to trial, besides those detained as suspected, is around 1,000 - I should say a similar number, more or less, are free, most of them on the other side of the Jordan, a couple of hundred probably spread all along the border, between Akaba and the Lake of Tiberias. 500, 600 something like that on the Jordanian side and probably a few hundred here and there, coming and going from Syria. So I suppose we would be right in saying we are facing an organization with an active part of around 2,000. Not all of them active, of course, but in camps in Jordan, in caves, villages and towns here, and half of them in prison in Israel. That is the comparison in numbers between the previous year and this time.

"Now last year, 1966, during the entire year, we killed 8 and captured 1. This year we captured 1,500, but of this 1,000 actual El Fatah members, and 90 killed. This year we had 168 casualties, killed and injured, Jews. And there were also 72 Arabs injured and killed this year by the terrorists, in Gaza when they threw bombs. Last year there were no Arab casualties in Israel but there were 58 Jewish casualties. So the total number of casualties this year runs to 240."

When asked whether he thought reprisal raids against Jordan were pointless, since the government of Jordan apparently could not control the sabotage groups, Dayan answered:

"I do not believe in reprisals or retaliation, this is not the point, but I think we have to do our best in order to obtain a cease-fire, and if we are fought, we have to fight back. This is not in order to retaliate or for revenge, but just to preserve the best peace under the circumstances that we can."

5. KARAMEH RAID - (21 MARCH)

Beginning at 5:30 in the morning, an attack was launched across the cease-fire line in order to destroy Fatah bases from which terrorists stage their attacks. General Bar-Lev said that his troops were under orders not to harm civilians and noted afterwards that to his best knowledge, not one woman or child was hurt in the 12-hour attack. Arab border residents received leaflets prior to the action which instructed them to remain indoors, pile their weapons outside, and informed them that Israel "will hurt no one who did not hurt us."

In the action several Fatah camps were destroyed, supplies blown up and captured, prisoners taken, and heavy fighting developed with participation of both the terrorists themselves and regular Jordan army forces. The toll on the Israeli side was 24 dead, 3 missing and about 70 wounded; Fatah dead about 150, Fatah captured about 140 and Jordanian dead about 100. Some Israeli armored vehicles were lost and one plane was shot down, but the pilot was saved. Jordan lost about 45 tanks.

Prime Minister Eshkol, visiting the wounded at Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem, to which they were evacuated by helicopter, within minutes of being hit, said: "It is sad indeed to see the wounded, but it is inspiring to see how high is their morale despite their injuries. Talking to them as they lay in bed, I was inspired to see that every soldier understands what he is fighting for and why he is suffering."

Deaths in the battle included the 22-year-old nephew of Information Minister Israel Galili, and 20-year-old Benzion Netter of Kibbutz Degania, whose father was killed in the 1948 War of Independence.

In a statement to the Knesset later that day, Prime Minister Eshkol summed up the Israeli position:

"Jordan cannot expect that, on her part, she will be free to carry out aggressive acts against Israel, of her own choice, while Israel will not be entitled to enforce her right of self-defence. As long as Jordan will maintain the cease-fire, the border will remain quiet on both sides. If Jordan violates her obligations, the Government of Israel will fulfill its duty to defend the lives of its citizens, their security and well-being."

6. HUSSEIN REACTION - CALLS FOR ARAB SUMMIT AND DEFENDS FATAH

Even though not an Arab hand was lifted to help him (neither Egypt, nor Syria, nor Iraqi troops stationed in Jordan did anything to help Jordan during the 12 hours that Israel operated on her territory), or perhaps because of this fact, King Hussein the very same day sent messages to all Arab chiefs of state urging an immediate meeting of Arab leaders "to face the gravest situation the Arab nation has ever known."

Nasser responded immediately, and made what the New York Times called "an appeal for a Pan-Arab military alliance and offensive against Israel." Nasser said the Arabs should join forces to face the "battle of destiny and honor" on Israel, which would be "a protracted cruel struggle."

Replies in the affirmative have also been received from Libya, Lebanon, Kuwait, Iraq, Yemen and the Sudan. No reply has come as yet from the two countries which have been the major opponents of an Arab summit - Syria and Saudi Arabia.

Two days after the fight, the King held a news conference in Amman, in which he was questioned about his policy toward the Arab commandos. He defended the role of the guerrilla fighters, by saying that neither he nor

his government would accept responsibility for the safety of Israel. Then he went even further, by identifying himself with this form of commando raiding. When asked if the dead at Karamah were fedayeen (the Arabic word meaning "those who sacrificed themselves"), King Hussein said: "Very possibly. It's difficult to distinguish, as far as we are concerned, you might say we are all fedayeen."

7. SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION - (24 MARCH)

It did not take the United Nations Security Council very long to pass unanimously its resolution condemning Israel. As was pointed out by many observers, the Council is loaded with at least five states which do not recognize Israel and vote against her on almost any issue. These are Russia, Algeria, Hungary, India and Pakistan.

The important thing about the debate, however, is the struggle which developed around the issue of also deploring "all violent incidents in violation of the cease-fire." This clause referred to Arab sabotage incidents, and the bitterly anti-Israel forces did not want it included. They wanted the resolution to be solely a condemnation of Israel. The Western powers insisted that the guerrilla violence, as well as the Israeli attack, be censured. Ambassador Goldberg argued hard and successfully for the inclusion of the clause.

During the course of the debate, the Jordanian representative attacked the UJA, referring to a dinner of the UJA of Greater New York, held the evening before.

The official text of the press release issued by the Security Council reads as follows:

"Mr. El-Farra (Jordan) observed that the tragedy affecting Jordan 'had been exploited by some American politicians last night for their own ends.' Last night more than \$16 million was collected for tax-exempt funds for Israel, he said. Nobody had mentioned the attack on Jordan; everyone had competed in praising Israel.

"The representative of Jordan said he was certain that the founders of the United States had a different idea regarding 'a sister democracy' than Israel. The continued tax-exempt contributions were being used for war and destruction and 'are feeding Israeli aggression in our area.'

"Mr. El-Farra said he hoped that certain United States politicians would begin to see the truth."

"Arthur J. Goldberg (United States) said his delegation rejected as unwarranted the remarks of the representatives of Jordan and Syria about the activities of private American organizations. The United States had a pluralistic society. It had Jews and Arabs in its population, who had a constitutional right to their own activities. Only Government actions,

not the actions of private individuals, were the concern of the United Nations.

"George Tomeh (Syria) exercising his right of reply, said that the Status Law of Israel of 1952 made the Zionist organization a part of the Israeli Government. When that part of the Zionist organization in the United States collected tax-free money for Israel militarism, then questions could be raised as to its activities, he said. He asked the representative of the United States, as a legal man, what he had to say on this.

"Mr. Goldberg (United States) speaking under the right of reply said that the representative of Syria had asked him some questions. He would assure the representative of Syria that United States tax laws were enforced impartially as regards all groups and 'across the board'."

8. AFTERMATH - REVELATION OF FATAH FUTURE PLANS

On Sunday, 24 March, Prime Minister Eshkol told the Cabinet that information obtained as a result of the attack on the Karameh camp had revealed plans for widespread terrorism about to be carried out from that camp and other bases in Jordan.

Questioning of the 138 captured terrorists revealed that Fatah planned an intensified wave of terror later this month. This included plans to blow up Hadassah buildings on Mt. Scopus, the Knesset, military government headquarters in the West Bank, cut vital communications, roads and links, and kidnap citizens as hostages for Fatah prisoners.

Fatah weapons were put on display in Tel Aviv, including 120 mm. mortars with a 5-mile range, Soviet, Chinese and Czech machine guns and rifles, bazookas, flame throwers, sabotage and explosive material.

The press in Israel was unanimous in its willingness for Israel to accept UN condemnation, while attempting to ensure the safety of its citizens by attacking the Fatah bases. Even the Communist paper justified the attack.

Defense Minister Dayan said, from his hospital bed, that the battle was of major importance and was part of a campaign, perhaps a long one, that would continue until some decision was made with the Arabs. He said: "We have no alternative but to fight back if we don't want to lose the military and political gains of the Six-Day War. Thousands of Arabs are prepared to fight us actively, in cooperation with the Jordan Legion, under the auspices of King Hussein and with the encouragement of Nasser and Syria."

Fatah leaders who returned to Karameh after the attack told a UPI reporter that the Arab terrorists intend to "complete our task - the political and social disintegration of Israel within three years."

II. IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION

Wars and battles are fought with an enemy determined not to let Israel live, and yet in the midst of the shelling and firing, the basic *raison d'etre* of Israel goes forward - the life-saving and rescue of immigrants who arrive by ship and plane almost every day. During January of this year 2,200 persons came in; during February, 1,717; and for March the number will also be around 2,000. Since last June, until now, the total is 19,000. And the pace is increasing, as more people seek the security of a homeland, even one under fire. This simple fact illuminates, more than all words can, the meaning of Israel for Jews who wish the dignity of a homeland and the honor of independent citizenship.

The economy, even though constantly disrupted by the process of men being called away from the farm, the lathe and the office to do national military service, is nevertheless slowly recovering from the pre-and-post-war recession. Unemployment is decreasing, prices are steady, tourism is improving, exports are building up. The total picture is obviously not rosy yet, and the social welfare needs, on top of the security needs, add to a staggering burden, yet the nation's economy is holding its own.

Next week the long-planned Economic Conference is due to open in Jerusalem, with more than 500 business leaders from all over the world convening in a dedicated effort to help improve the economic picture. Emphasis will be placed upon expanding Israel's productive capacity by investment in capital plant, and increasing Israel's exports by finding new markets throughout the world for her products.

The "normal" business of taking in more Jews, making useful citizens of them, and building a stronger economic infrastructure to absorb them will go on unabated, almost as though the diplomatic impasse and military explosiveness did not exist. What a remarkable tribute to Jewish optimism!

III. THE CAMPAIGN

Months ago this entire situation was foreseen by those leaders of American Jewry in the Council of Federations and Welfare Funds, as well as in the UJA, who anticipated that another large Emergency Fund would be necessary in 1968, and who voted for its establishment. It was clear to those who looked with open eyes that the people of Israel would be unbelievably burdened by security requirements since no peace was in the offing, and that world Jewry would have to bear its full responsibility for the immigration, absorption, housing, education, farm settlement and social welfare programs which had to be maintained at a high level of support if the historic role of life-saving was to continue.

An ordinary campaign would not be adequate. Even a strongly increased regular campaign would not be sufficient. The only solution would be for a generous people to assume once again, as in 1967, the challenge imposed by huge giving. The problem was so large that another Emergency

Fund was the only proper response - and so free men freely volunteered to try again to rise to a massive responsibility.

The events of the past few months have certainly demonstrated that the assessment was correct - the situation is deadly serious - and an earnest effort has been made by the largest contributors, those who gave the most last year, to match and even increase their 1967 gifts. These are the very men, who, because of their tremendous munificence of a year ago, might legitimately have been the ones to ask for relief, to ask others to take their place. Instead, their very performance has been the most fantastic.

Look at these figures. Throughout the communities of this country (excluding New York City, whose data is still unavailable because its first large meeting was held just this past week and thousands of gifts must be analyzed) there were 358 gifts last year of \$50,000 and over, counting both the regular and emergency fund gifts combined. Of these 358 gifts, 232 have been reported in, as of this time. The combined total is \$23,231,575 for 1968 compared to \$26,636,472 for 1967. I think this is a tremendous achievement - and shows that the most heavily committed men have managed, on the average, to repeat almost 90% of their record-high pledges of last year.

There are thousands and thousands of gifts which have not yet been completed, in the \$5,000 to \$50,000 range. I am speaking to those men now, urging and pleading that they out-perform the upper group, that they stretch farther, work on themselves harder, re-analyze and re-appraise the needs over and over again, to be certain to make the correct decision.

If the Arab Ambassadors think enough of the American Jewish contribution to attack it, and attempt to obliterate it, shouldn't you place as much value on it as they do? If they understand its crucial importance, shouldn't you?

This campaign must be hard-hitting, thorough, pervasive, reaching all the people who came forward last year. Let there be a boldness to match last year's swiftness - let there be a long-range vision to match last year's intuition - let there be a stamina to match last year's spontaneity.

Every bell must be rung - every house and office reached - every man and woman, yes, and child, too, asked. There was almost a complete mobilization last year - so must it be again, and even more so. Every tool and technique should be polished - all publicity employed - every pulpit resound - all voices raised.

There are those who say that the high and glorious days of last June provoked a mood that cannot be duplicated. That may be so. Yet now we must decide to do with our heads what last year we did with our hearts. The mood may not be duplicated - but the determination should be.

Leaders of American Jewry! The goal of this campaign is more than simply money. If you prosecute the campaign with vigor, greater funds will surely be gathered - but perhaps more important there will be demonstrated the hard will of this powerful community to sustain morale and muscle for the long pull ahead.

We must remain alert - there must be no sag of will power - no failure of nerve - no loss of faith. Do not doubt or fear. Whatever events the months ahead will produce, let there be among us a deep and quiet steadfast courage - a knowledge that we will meet what is required - and a firm conviction that the people of Israel shall live - each man supporting the other - all united, ever toiling toward the elusive goal of peace.

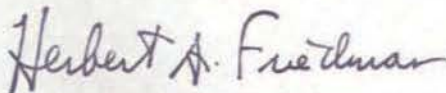
Let neither friend nor foe doubt for one second that the Jewish people have crossed a great divide in this century - never again to fall backward into defeat or persecution, but only to forge forward in its search for its destiny of freedom, with honor. The chamber of gas and the furnace of flame are gone forever. There is nothing that can ever frighten us again. Only the green and verdant fields of a free land beckon to a fruitful future. To reach this the Jewish people must be prepared to endure all.

In the silence of my own soul, I speak and say that even though the trumpets of war are not stilled, and I know that there is danger ahead, I will be strong and resolute, I will sacrifice if need be, for I surely am convinced that the future for my children and myself depends upon me alone and my will.

I think often of the prophetic words of Dayan, spoken on the 12th of June, 1967:

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

Sincerely yours,



Herbert A. Friedman

Personal Letter

From

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, N. Y. 10019

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

3 December 1968

Dear friend,

Think back. What did you believe after the Six-Day War? Did you breathe easily and think that now finally peace would come - that at last it would be obvious that Israel was here to stay - that the Arabs would recognize this and make those adjustments, both mental and physical, which would permit peaceful co-existence? If you felt that way, you were with the majority. Most people thought that the speed, thoroughness and completeness of that victory represented an utter finality which would no longer be challenged. It would be utterly and finally crystal clear to the Arabs, the Russians and the whole world that Israel could not be destroyed by force and therefore her enemies should accommodate to her existence, recognize her, agree to a definition of borders, settle the future of the refugees, and get on with the business of living together.

The reply to these hopes was swift and cruel. Less than three short months after the victory came the Khartoum conference of the Arab world in which they pronounced their doctrine of sterility - no recognition, no negotiation, no peace.

Did even that strike a dark blow of foreboding into your heart? Not really - if you were typical. Because in September most people were still aglow with the events of June, and could not believe that the Arabs would act as though the Six-Day War had never occurred. You probably thought that those words of Khartoum were some proud but meaningless face-saving symbols, which, once uttered for the record, would then give way to a series of discussions and negotiations leading toward a settlement.

Only a few of us emerged from the euphoria of June to warn by September that basically nothing had changed - that there was a long fight ahead - that we should take the Arabs at their word - that there would be no peace - but more war. Only a few were realists enough to make the analysis that the war was not a final victory, but another battle in an historic process not yet concluded.

Today the easy illusions are finished. Today it is clear for all to see that war is nearer than peace; that much more fighting is our fate; that great patience will be required, and fortitude, and courage - not of the quick-flash variety but of the deep rock-solid enduring type, to sustain the Jewish people as it continues the struggle for national independence.

There is no need to rehearse the swift events of the past 18 months. The story is too well known. It can be summarized in two sentences. On the military front, the Egyptian armies are restored to far beyond the numerical strength of last 4 June: What the Israelis destroyed, the Russians have replaced - and more. The diplomatic front has been essentially a stale-mate, with many maneuverings, but no substantive moves. So the surge, or the imperceptible swing, is toward war, and not peace.

- 26 August - Egyptian commando unit crossed the Canal, killed two Israeli soldiers, kidnapped a third.
- 8 September - a massive Egyptian artillery barrage of 10,000 shells fired across the Canal.
- 26 October - another barrage, using both artillery and missiles, along the entire length of the Canal - 15 Israelis dead, 34 wounded.
- 2 November - firing of Katyusha rockets into Elath.

This short list does not include the air clashes and dogfights which occur frequently, nor the Fatah attacks along the Jordan River which occur daily, nor the terrorist acts such as the grenades thrown at worshippers in front of the Patriarchs Tomb in Hebron, wounding more than 50.

No one could believe that urban terrorism would reach the heights it did in Jerusalem, just a few days ago. The shock of that outrage, which caused 12 deaths and injured 55 more, will long be felt. The ferocity of the attack, the utter disregard for women and children, the deliberate attempt to start panic and rioting in a crowded public market all mark this as the beginning of a new and intensive phase of the guerrilla warfare. No one can tell where it will go from now on. The Israeli police and public were unbelievably remarkable in their restraint.

In the face of all this, Abba Eban offered Israel's nine point program for peace in a major speech to the U.N. General Assembly on 8 October. It was so obviously a sincere effort to open a path toward conversations and negotiations that it was generously applauded by many delegations in the hall. Yet, the immediate Arab response was totally negative. Two days later Nasser said that Egypt would resort to force in the absence of an "honorable" peace settlement, by which he means unconditional withdrawal. He wants unconditional withdrawal, or he threatens war. The same day, in the U.N. the Egyptian Foreign Minister rejected the approach of Eban's speech. One by one the points have been rejected - the final repudiation on point six, settling the refugee problem, coming on 7 November. So, only a month after the proposals were made, they have been rejected and discarded. Let me list the nine points, so that you may recall them and give them at least a decent burial in your mind.

1. The Establishment of Peace: The situation to follow the existing cease-fire has to be a just and lasting peace, duly negotiated and contractually expressed, committing both parties to the proposition that their 20-year-old conflict is at a permanent end.

2. Boundaries: Within the framework of peace, Israel would be willing to replace the cease-fire lines by permanent secure and recognized boundaries with each of the neighboring Arab states, and to carry out the disposition of forces in full accord with the boundaries agreed upon under the final peace.
3. Mutual Non-Aggression: The instrument establishing peace should contain a pledge of mutual non-aggression.
4. Open Frontier: The concept of freedom of movement for people and goods could include free port facilities for Jordan on Israel's Mediterranean coast and should include mutual access to places of religious and historic association.
5. Freedom of Navigation
6. Refugees: A conference could be called in advance of peace negotiations to chart a five-year plan for the solution of the refugee problem in the framework of a lasting peace.
7. Jerusalem: Israel would like to discuss appropriate agreements concerning the Holy Places of Christianity and Islam with those traditionally concerned.
8. Acknowledgment and Recognition of Sovereignty, Integrity, and Right to National Life
9. Regional Cooperation

What lies behind the peremptory Egyptian rejection? The answer is given very clearly in a statement issued by the Embassy of Israel in Washington on 1 November. "It is clear that Egypt's behavior is rooted in that country's new sense of strength provided it by the Soviet military pressure which, in essence, involves a return to the hazardous conditions which prevailed before, and led to the Six-Day War.

"Israel is capable of withstanding and responding to such pressure. The new policy of Egyptian aggression has, however, greatly jeopardized the existing cease-fire, has undermined the prospects of a peace settlement, and has thrown the Middle East into a renewed phase of heightened military tension. Israel's policy is to resist this attempt and to continue to strive for a basic solution of the crisis and the establishment of a just and lasting peace."

The UJA Annual Study Mission was in Israel in October. Almost 400 persons travelled the country, pursuing diligently an itinerary which took them from the Suez Canal to the Golan Heights. They slept in tents in the Sinai Desert, and heard the MIG aircraft flying over Ismailia. They looked into the underground shelters protecting the children in the kibbutzim of the Beth Shean Valley, and heard the sound of mortar fire a few kilometers distant. They saw and heard the face of war. There were no semantic discussions over the word "Emergency." Everything was quite clear.

Here are the words of some of the leaders of the country who spoke to the Mission members:

YIGAL ALLOU, Deputy Prime Minister

"In 19 years, the Arab States have put us to the test on the battlefield three times. We begged them to put our goodwill to the test just once around the conference table. They would discover a good neighbor with good intentions, with a generous approach to the settlement. But I am afraid that peace is not within our reach.

"Today's problem is no less dangerous and complex than it was before, during and immediately after the Six-Day War. An urgency is still with us, because now it is a war of nerves. Can we or can't we keep calm and stay where we are as many years as needed until peace is achieved? Although we have many friends in the world, we have only one ally and this is the Jewish People. We have before us a very difficult time with very difficult tasks. Let us, all of us, live up to our responsibilities."

MOSHE DAYAN, Minister of Defense

"As far as the Army is concerned, the first thing that we have to do now is to hold the line, the front line, the Suez Canal line, the Jordan line, the Golan line - and to hold it with strength. Everybody knows that we are ready to negotiate the cease-fire lines and to replace them by permanent borders but only under agreement.

"The second thing that we have to do, at the same time, is to fight the Fatah, the terrorists. It is very important that we should not lose this guerrilla war. I do not have to tell you what is happening to bigger powers when they do not win guerrilla wars.

"The third thing is that, at the same time, we have to get prepared just in case the Arabs start another all-out war. This is the duty of the forces, and they will do it.

"The last point that I want to make is a more optimistic one and that has to do with my personal memories. Every time wherever we wanted to reach a goal, we were told by the others, and sometimes by our own people: 'We are sorry. It is impossible. You will not get it.' I don't remember Herzl but reading what happened to him, nobody ever believed that his ideas could come true. It was an impossible idea. And later on, when my parents came here and they wanted to become farmers, nobody at that time believed that Jews could become farmers.

"And then when we had to have Jewish settlement, it was impossible. And when we had to have Jewish immigration, it was impossible. And really, how could it be possible to fight the British Navy and to win. But immigration did come.

"By now I see that from one impossible to another impossible, we are sitting from the Suez Canal to the Golan, with our troops and with our settlements and with Jerusalem and with you here. It seems every time we wanted to get something and other people said: 'But it is impossible' - logically, at that time they were right. I know we can't prove that we can get peace - they tell us that it is impossible, that we can't do it.

"But, being brought up on such impossibilities, I do believe that we shall get the present impossibles too, and this is my last point. Although we have to be prepared to go on living under tension and hardships for a long time, at the bottom of my heart I believe that we shall overcome the present impossibilities too."

ZE'EF SHAREF, Minister of Finance

"We are now living in a period of limited warfare, but let's be clear on one point. From the defense burden on the economy and on the society of Israel, this is a full-fledged war and not a limited one.

"We want peace, but more than getting peace, we have to insure our very existence, and so long as this is denied, we are in a war-like situation. And thus we come to the conclusion that we may have to be ready for another round and afterwards be ready again.

"The traumatic effects of the dangerous days preceding the Six-Day War, with their threat of annihilation, brought home to us - as nothing else could ever before - our dependence on you and our other brethren. We knew - we felt it to the marrow of our bones, that we were not alone. It was a warm fine feeling and we cling to it."

LOUIS PINCUS, Chairman of Jewish Agency

"This tiny country, with few natural resources, struggling with its million and a half immigrants who arrived destitute and are just gradually getting on their feet, has to spend 20% of its gross national product in order to be able to meet this kind of arms race in which we are involved. Since 1967 we are spending almost three times per year what we spent that year - nearly three times as much on national defense. This is a crippling burden in terms of foreign currency.

"Thus it really boils down to a very simple thing. When the soldier is in the Golan or Sinai outpost, whether he is a parent or a son, has he got to worry? Is his aged parent cared for? Is there hospitalization for his sick relative? Are his children in school? That's what the home front means to that soldier. And I have told you, by these figures I cited, that the home front will not be maintained in anything like proper proportions unless there is a realization translated into action that the Jews of the world know that this ongoing crisis is...perhaps the last stand for survival before ultimate victory."

A SENIOR ARMY OFFICER

"I think that war between us and the Arabs is almost inevitable. If we stay where we are, there might be a chance that there is not going to be any war, because we are going to be just too strong for them and the Soviet Union might not be able to be so free as to really help them out. We are ready to fight to the last man - never mind who is going to threaten us - and not to give up what has cost us so much to achieve.

"I know one of the problems you have to contend with is the question of emergency - again an emergency? - still an emergency? - how long is it going to last? And I would like to make this final point. This is going to be a long emergency, a tough emergency.

"I can pledge without pretending anything, without pretending to be the spokesman for any great body - but as a simple Israeli soldier - I can pledge to you: We are ready for this emergency come hell or high water. We shall not waver. From you we ask understanding and then everything will come by itself."

EDWARD GINSBERG, General Chairman of the UJA, in reply to Mr. Eshkol, who was ill and did not attend the closing dinner, but whose message was given by Dr. Yaacov Herzog, the Director General of his office:

"We're going to go back to America. We're going to galvanize the American community into action. We're going to mobilize the greatest volunteer organization of philanthropy that has ever been put together. And we're going to go out and make sure, loud and clear, that the message of Israel is made known to every single Jew in America.

"In our travels and in our meetings we heard many speeches, and I don't mean to deprecate or detract from any single speaker, but two things stood out in my mind. One was what President Shazar said to a small group of our officers. He said: 'If you do in 1969 what you did in 1967, then perhaps, hopefully, we won't have to do what we did in 1967.' It doesn't need interpretation. If we respond in the measure that is required and we provide the wherewithal to take care of all of the social needs, the human needs, in the fields of education, health, welfare, immigration and absorption, then this country can tend to its own business of security. To this, I promise you, we dedicate ourselves.

"The other thing that was said to us was in response to a question, which, as you all remember, I asked the Minister of Defense: 'We're in this thing together. What role do we play? What do you ask of us?' And he said: 'Just be Jewish. If you are Jewish, you'll do the right thing. If you're Jewish you'll understand that when one Jew is in trouble, another Jew knows what to do.'

"I would only ask you to take this message back to the people of Israel. The Jews of America were Jewish; they are Jewish; and will continue to be Jewish until this job is done."

Now let me try to summarize the salient facts relating to the Israel situation:

1. No possibilities at present of effective peace negotiations.
2. A tremendous re-armament of Egypt by Russia, to higher than pre-war strength, aided by thousands of Russian technicians, including pilots, backed by the biggest navy the Russians ever have had in the Mediterranean.
3. Constant sabre-rattling and threats of renewed war by Egypt.
4. An Israeli defense budget for 1969 more than twice as large as 1967 - an amount equal to almost the entire income available from internal sources in Israel.
5. This defense budget will consume 20% of the GNP (comparable figure for United States is 10%).
6. An increased foreign currency deficit in 1969 due to arms imports.
7. Fully 3% of the entire population under arms (comparable figure for the U.S., even with Vietnam and NATO commitments, is only 1½%).
8. Large numbers of aircraft, helicopters, tanks, armored personnel carriers, ammunition must be purchased and manufactured.
9. No money left over, after sky-rocketing defense needs have been met, to handle the social needs of the immigrant population. Traditionally it has been our American Jewish philanthropic responsibility. Actually we have never fully assumed it and always asked the Israeli government to help us. Most years they undertook a much greater burden than we did. This year they absolutely cannot. The Jews in the free world must raise enough money to pay the entire philanthropic cost, which is listed below:

| | |
|--|----------------------|
| 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 | 75,000,000 |
| | <u>\$365,000,000</u> |

10. The share of this to be borne by United States Jewry requires an Emergency Fund of approximately \$200,000,000, in addition to the Regular Campaign. This is more than was raised in 1967.

One word about immigration. It is substantially on the increase. The total into Israel for the year 1967 was 17,301. It looks like the total for 1968 will be over 30,000. The September number was 4,046 and the October number was 2,970. It has been many years since there were such monthly figures.

The projection for 1969 is being maintained at a 30,000 annual level, although there are many in the planning department and the Treasury of the Jewish Agency who think that the actual figure may run closer to 40,000. It is ironic, and yet wonderful that during a war situation immigration should rise, with increased requirements for money and trained personnel. This seems so typical of Jewish history.

Two sub-missions went to Morocco and Rumania, to witness the work of the JDC in those countries. Dr. Sidney Edelstein, of Englewood, New Jersey, a member of the National Executive Committee, reporting on Morocco, offered the following information:

- a. Jewish population - approx. 50,000, many aged and infirm
- b. Average income - approx. \$200 per annum per person
- c. Moral and spiritual condition - low
- d. Much poverty

"One of the very wonderful things that the Joint does is a Kindergarten program which takes place in two or three of the main towns in Morocco. These are run partly by local committees, and a large part of the funds come from the Joint. We attended such a school in Marrakesh while the children were there. We were told that these were poor children. We saw them, they were dressed cleanly, they were singing, everything was very lovely. They had their milk, they had their food, they had a hot lunch. We were told that these were the poorest of the children, but at least they got one good meal a day, were given the proper influence in terms of education, and then went home. The hope was that what happened during the day would make up for what would happen at home.

"There was one bright-eyed little girl with very deep, dark eyes, a very beautiful child dressed in a very lovely red dress. She stood out - seemed the brightest and happiest - and we all sort of fell in love with her. We thought that maybe we've been put on - after all, these kids looked pretty nice. But later that afternoon, we went to visit some of the poorest people in the ghetto, and we walked into one of the dirtiest, ugliest places that you can imagine. It was a family - the father was a beggar, the mother a little bit dirty - we went in there, and began to feel terrible that people live in such conditions. All of a sudden out comes this little girl. This was where this little girl lived. And we said, if the Joint can give this little kid food, a chance to be in a different world, if something will happen that will make this kid not like the others - a citizen for Israel or another part of the world someday - then let us do all we can for the Joint.

"In summing things up, we saw the following: we saw a Jewish community which will disappear from Morocco. We saw a community which needs help - spiritual help, help for the very old, help in educating the children, help in meeting health requirements for their people, until they can move to another place. We know the program there is constantly being examined. We know that we must support, must continue the wonderful work of the Joint, until every Jew has been brought out, until the community has disappeared."

Mr. Melvin Dubinsky, President of the Jewish Federation of St. Louis and a National Chairman of the UJA, headed the delegation which went to Vienna and Rumania. They saw in Vienna the wonderful work of the JDC in handling the emergency situation of about 2500 Czechoslovak Jews who were trapped by the crisis which engulfed their country in August and September. These people were housed and fed and helped in the half-century old tradition of the "Joint." Then the mission moved on to Rumania, and excerpts from Mr. Dubinsky's report follow:

"The pre-war Jewish population of Rumania was 800,000. Half were exterminated by the Nazis. 300,000 left for Israel. 100,000 are presently living in Rumania. Over 50% of them are 55 years and older. For 18 long years you and I together, through the JDC, couldn't do a thing for them because we were not permitted to work in Rumania. Now I must say that for the past 18 or 19 months we have been working there and we have a 1968 budget of \$1,100,000. You never spent your American dollars any better for any philanthropic endeavor any place in the world, in my judgment.

"An elderly person - 60, 70, 80 years old is given a direct subsidy of only \$15 a month. We are giving him 5 food packages a year - each package costs us exactly \$3 with two bottles of oil, a little flour, a little sugar, a few noodles, a few dried biscuits, a few condiments and a few other necessities that have to keep some elderly person going. And he gets exactly \$40 a year for clothing. And we are able to give him \$10 for a little fuel during the year. And during the Passover holiday he gets his matzos. And he gets some little medical attention. If you add it all together, we are giving him a total grant of less than \$250 a year.

"From what I saw in Rumania, looking at the people and talking to the people, it is next to impossible for them to stay alive on this sort of an allocation. It just can't be done. What are we going to do about it?

"Although we are giving clothing to 6,500 people and we are passing out 5 food packages a year to 6,500 people, nonetheless I can tell you that there are probably anywhere from five to ten thousand or more worthy cases in Rumania of forgotten people who need help and assistance.

"Now let me say this in conclusion. I think the Joint Distribution Committee has a great problem. With their budget of \$1,100,000 we are not able to nearly meet the needs that exist today. So, on behalf of my entire delegation, I am saying to you who are here today what we are requesting of you. I think that we should make available to Rumania tomorrow another million dollars, no matter what we have to do - whether we have to borrow it from the bank, whether we have to readjust budgets, whatever we have to do.

"On Simchat Torah we attended the synagogue. The men of our delegation sat on the bimah. I just want to describe to you what I saw with my eyes as I looked out at the congregation. Here were old, bedraggled people, dressed in rags...clean, but dressed in rags. There were tears in their eyes - tears because of the holiday and tears not because the rich Americans came there as a delegation, but because they felt that their brothers in some part of the world were concerned with their problems - concerned enough to come and visit with them and stay there a few days. This is what I saw in their faces.

"And when we were handed Torahs during the service and we marched around the synagogue, the tears were streaming down their faces. They kissed us on our hands, on our faces as well as the Torah. They said: 'God bless you' and 'thank you' and every adjective imaginable, in Hebrew, Yiddish and English. I can tell you that there isn't a person in this audience who could be strong enough to go through this sort of experience without the tears coming to his eyes.

"And I say to you: Don't forget them, remember that they are there and help us do something to see that in their remaining days - whether they come to Israel tomorrow or next week or next month or next year, or whether they remain to die in Rumania - that we, as American Jews, cherished their memory and did everything possible to keep the remnants of Jewry alive."

The members of the mission were overwhelmed by the totality of their impressions. They saw Israel at war - they saw their own duty very clearly. They responded in two specific ways - by passing a resolution expressing in strongest terms the need for an Emergency Fund again in 1969 which must be larger even than 1967; and by making their own commitments in the spirit of the resolution they had passed, thus avoiding the hypocrisy which sometimes accompanies the easy passing of resolutions.

Their commitments are interesting to analyze - and I record them here in a three-year sequence. The following represents 140 gifts, on an exact comparison, from the identical people:

| | <u>1967</u> | <u>1968</u> | <u>1969</u> |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Regular Campaign | \$1,985,000 | \$2,161,000 | \$2,328,000 |
| Israel Emergency Fund | <u>4,003,000</u> | <u>3,868,000</u> | <u>4,546,000</u> |
| | \$5,988,000 | \$6,029,000 | \$6,874,000 |

Yes - it was actually possible - and actually occurred that a group of already top contributors saw it as their unavoidable responsibility that they give even more than they had given at the emotional height of June 1967.

As the trumpets and drums sound again in Cairo, as the Jarring mission loses momentum, as the area appears to become more explosive, we Jews of America, profoundly and willingly linked to the fate of our people, must know how to act. In June 1967 we reacted chemically, swiftly, fiercely, massively. There was little, if any, cautious cerebration. The demand is now being made of us to understand this historic struggle in depth - to realize that the only meaningful power is our staying power.

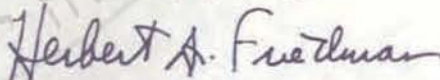
A generation ago the beleaguered island of Britain repulsed the Nazis through the incredible energy and courage of a handful of boys who shot the invaders out of the skies. In our day the existence of the Third Jewish Commonwealth also may depend on a few hundred planes and pilots. It is strange to think of what a thin life-line this is. But there is one fundamental fact which alters this easy historical analogy. Had Britain lost her battle in the air, had she been invaded and occupied by land, had her ships been swept from the seas, none of this would have meant the destruction of the country or the decimation and dispersal of her people. She might have been occupied even for years, as were France, Holland, Belgium and many other nations, but the enemy had no intention of obliterating her, and eventually the accumulation and thrust of power in the free world would have liberated her, as in fact occurred.

With Israel, the situation is totally different. Her enemies do not seek merely to occupy, control and exploit her. Their stated purpose is to annihilate, eliminate, extirpate the very name of the country from the area - and scatter the population. This is what happened to the Second Jewish Commonwealth, after Rome. We swear with all our might that this shall never happen again. And from this oath comes the resolve that there dare not be one battle lost, in any far-off desert or mountain range, for then Jerusalem itself is no longer safe.

Israel shall live, and from that determination comes the stamina, the stubbornness, the courage to defy all odds and all threats. As Ambassador Itzhak Rabin recently said: "The test is not only how strong we will be, but how we will develop even in the face of all burdens. We must continue the task and real work of developing the economic, social and educational framework of our modern Jewish state. This is our real purpose."

Every Jew in America, certainly every leader, will say Amen to that and get on with the task of meeting 1969.

Sincerely yours,



Herbert A. Friedman

Herbert A. Friedman