The original documents are located in Box 130, folder "Feb. 24, 1974 - Speech, B'nai Zion American/Israeli Friendship Dinner, New York, NY" of the Gerald R. Ford Vice Presidential Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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B'NAI ZION AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP

NNER, GRAND BALLROOM OF THE NEW YORK HILTON,
W YORK, NEW YORK, SUNDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 24,

THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT HONOR YOU HAVE
BESTOWED UPON ME WITH THE AWARD OF THE 1974
AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP GOLD MEDAL. I WILL
TREASURE THIS MEDAL AS A CHERISHED TOKEN OF A
COMMITMENT TO THE FRIENDSHIP OF OUR NATION
WITH ISRAEL. BUT I TRUST I HAVE YOUR
PERMISSION TO SYMBOLICALLY SHARE IT WITH THE

Hold midd awards - John F. Klumby Typelan B. Johnson-Weepl Scott, I HAVE OFTEN HEARD THAT ZIONISM MAKES
FOR BETTER AMERICANISM. ACCORDINGLY, LET
ME OFFER AMERICAN ZIONISTS SOME OF MY
THOUGHTS ON THE EVOLVING RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN OUR OWN COUNTRY AND THE STATE OF
ISRAEL.

WE MEET AT AN HISTORIC MOMENT. THIS
IS THE EVE OF SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER'S
RETURN TO THE MIDDLE EAST. DR. KISSINGER
IS NOW SEEKING THE DISENGAGEMENT OF ISRAELI
AND SYRIAN FORCES AS A FURTHER STEP IN THE
PROCESS OF PEACE-MAKING ENSUING FROM THE
AGREEMENT CONSUMMATED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND
EGYPT FOR SEPARATION OF CONTENDING ARMIES AT
THE SUEZ CANAL.

DR. KISSINGER JUDGED VERY ASTUTELY
THE MOMENT WHEN EGYPT AND ISRAEL WERE BOTH
READY TO GO FROM A STATE OF PERMANENT
HOSTILITY TO A STATE OF POSSIBLE ACCOMMODATION. HE CONVERTED THAT READINESS INTO A
FORMULA THAT BOTH COUNTRIES COULD ACCEPT.
WE PRAY THAT THIS CAN NOW BE DONE WITH REGARD
TO THE CONFRONTATION ON THE SYRIAN-ISRAELI
FRONT.



I AM PLEASED TO NOTE THAT AMERICAN DIPLOMATS RECENTLY RETURNED TO SYRIA AFTER MORE THAN SIX YEARS OF SEVERED RELATIONS.

THIS CAN ONLY ENCOURAGE PARTISANS OF PEACE.

WE ARE, OF COURSE, ADDRESSING OURSELVES
TO THE ISSUE OF ISRAELI PRISONERS OF WAR
HELD BY SYRIA. I RECALL ALL TOO VIVIDLY
THE TORMENT OF AMERICANS OVER THE UNKNOWN
FATE OF OUR P.O.W.'S IN NORTH VIETNAM.
HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS INDICATE THAT
SYRIA AND ISRAEL SHOULD EXCHANGE FULL LISTS
OF PRISONERS AND THAT BOTH SIDES PERMIT
RED CROSS VISITS TO P.O.W. CAMPS.



DR. KISSINGER HAS ALREADY CONVEYED
SOME INITIAL SYRIAN IDEAS ON DISENGAGEMENT
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL. THE ROLE OF
THE UNITED STATES IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS IS
NOT TO IMPOSE AMERICAN IDEAS ON THE OTHER
PARTIES, BUT RATHER TO WORK WITH THEM TO
FIND SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS THAT BLOCK
MOVEMENT TOWARD A LASTING MIDDLE EAST PEACE
SETTLEMENT.



WE REMAIN HOPEFUL FOR THE LIFTING OF
THE ARAB OIL EMBARGO. OUR CONVICTION IS THAT
THE FREE FLOW OF COMMERCE FACILITATES THE
ECONOMIC STABILITY OF ALL COUNTRIES AND
STRENGTHENS THE CAUSE OF PEACE. THE
UNITED STATES WANTS FRIENDSHIP WITH EVERY
NATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. WE HARBOR MALICE
TOWARD NONE.



THIS ADMINISTRATION IS PROUD OF THE ROLE IT PLAYED IN HELPING TO BRING ABOUT THE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IN OCTOBER, THE SIX-POINT AGREEMENT TO CONSOLIDATE THE CEASEFIRE IN NOVEMBER, THE CONVENING OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE IN DECEMBER, AND THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT IN JANUARY. WE ARE PLEASED THAT DISENGAGEMENT TO LINES SPECIFIED IN THE SUEZ CANAL AGREEMENT TOOK PLACE ACCORDING TO SCHEDULE.

DR. KISSINGER'S PEACEMAKING IS

NOURISHED BY THE NEW CLIMATE THAT EXISTS IN

THE WORLD. THIS IS THE CLIMATE THAT ENSUED

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S COURAGEOUS INITIATIVES

IN VISITING PEKING AND MOSCOW AND FROM THE

UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED THERE AND IN

SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGES. THIS IS THE CLIMATE

THAT FLOWS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S EXTRICATION

OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE WAR IN VIETNAM.

I AM VERY PROUD THAT AMERICAN DIPLOMACY
RELIEVED THE DANGEROUS GLOBAL PRESSURE POINT
AT THE SUEZ CANAL. EGYPT AND ISRAEL NOW
HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO IMPLEMENT A SCENARIO
OF PEACE, STEP BY STEP, IN SUCH MANNER AS TO
BUILD MUTUAL CONFIDENCE.

ALL THE CREDIT DOES NOT BELONG TO AMERICAN DIPLOMACY. A LARGE SHARE ACCRUES TO THE COURAGE, GOODWILL, AND VISION OF LEADERS IN BOTH EGYPT AND ISRAEL.

DR. KISSINGER'S GENIUS WAS IN

NARROWING THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE PARTIES

WITHOUT IMPOSING A FORMULA FROM THE OUTSIDE.

HE ACTED AS A GO-BETWEEN FOR THE TWO SIDES.

THIS IS FAR BETTER THAN COERCION OR PRESSURE.

IT ENHANCES AMERICA'S MORAL STANDING WITH

BOTH PARTIES, INCREASES OUR INFLUENCE, AND

DECREASES THE CHANCES OF AMERICAN MILITARY

INVOLVEMENT.



PRESIDENT NIXON MADE A COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE THE NECESSARY DEFENSE CAPABILITY ISRAEL. HE WAS MINDFUL OF THE DANGEROUS FL OF SOVIET WEAPONS TO EGYPT AND SYRIA. PRESIDENT KEPT HIS WORD. THERE WAS NO CREDIBILITY GAP IN ISRAEL WHEN THE U.S. AIR FORCE RUSHED TRANSPORT AFTER TRANSPORT OF ARMS TO TEL AVIV DURING AND AFTER THE OCTOBER Inchatally fortunately we had the much making CSA transport.

WAR., TO FINANCE THE AIRLIFT AND OTHER ASSISTANCE, THE ADMINISTRATION SPONSORED A \$2.2 BILLION EMERGENCY AID BILL of the Conques responded.

RA FORD LIBRARA

THIS ADMINISTRATION REMAINS COMMITTED TO A MILITARY BALANCE TO PRESERVE PEACE.

PRESIDENT NIXON PLEDGED IN 1968 THAT
THE UNITED STATES WOULD SEEK TO IMPOSE
NEITHER ARBITRARY SETTLEMENT NOR UNILATERAL
CONCESSIONS. HE SAID THAT WE WOULD USE OUR
GOOD OFFICES ONLY TO ASSIST THE PARTIES TO
THE CONFLICT TO FASHION THEIR OWN SETTLEMENT.
HE KEPT HIS WORD.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE BECAUSE I FEEL HONORED
TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH AN ADMINISTRATION THAT
BEGAN MAKING PEACE POPULAR IN AN AREA WHERE
ANXIETY AND DEATH HAVE STALKED FRONTIERS FOR
OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY. THAT IS WHY AN
AWARD FOR AMERICA-ISRAEL ACHIEVEMENT BELONGS
MORE PROPERLY TO OTHERS THAN TO THE NEW
VICE PRESIDENT.

PRESIDENT NIXON. YOUR ORGANIZATION IS

GREATLY CONCERNED OVER THE PLIGHT OF SOVIET

JEWISH CITIZENS WHO WANT TO EMIGRATE TO

ISRAEL. AAS HE ADVANCED THE CONCEPT OF

DETENTE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, PRESIDENT

NIXON INTERCEDED ON BEHALF OF SOVIET JEWRY.

SOME 35,000 SOVIET JEWS HAVE FOUND NEW HOMES

IN ISRAEL.

THERE IS NOW RENEWED INTEREST IN THE FATE OF SOVIET WRITERS AND POETS -- JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH -- WHO VOICE DISSENT WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. THE NECESSITY FOR DETENTE, AS WE CONCEIVE IT, DOES NOT REFLECT APPROVAL OF THE SOVIET DOMESTIC STRUCTURE. WE LOOK WITH SYMPATHY AND GREAT APPRECIATION UPON FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION IN ALL SOCIETIES, meluling our own.

STATES IS RELIEVED THAT THE DISTINGUISHED WRITER,
ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, (SOL-ZEE-NEET-SEEN) HAS
FOUND A HAVEN OUTSIDE THE SOVIET UNION. IT
APPEARS HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN WILL BE ABLE TO
JOIN HIM -- BRINGING WITH THEM HIS VALUABLE
BOOKS AND PAPERS.

I HAVE GREAT ADMIRATION FOR MR. SOLZHENITSYN AS A CREATIVE ARTIST AND SHARE THE SYMPATHY OF ALL AMERICANS FOR HIS PRESENT SITUATION. WE STAND FOR UNIVERSAL FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THOUGHT. WE REGRET LIMITATIONS IMPOSED ON THESE FREEDOMS ANYWHERE.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY, HOWEVER, IS BASED
ON A RECOGNITION THAT THE UNITED STATES AND
THE SOVIET UNION SHARE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY
BECAUSE OF THEIR NUCLEAR POWER. WE HAVE ALWAYS
MADE CLEAR THAT OUR SEARCH FOR A STABLE PEACE
DOES NOT MEAN APPROVAL OF THEIR DOMESTIC
SYSTEM. THE QUEST FOR A SECURE PEACE MUST
AND WILL CONTINUE.

TOWARD STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS AND MUTUAL AND BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS WILL BE SUCCESSFUL IN PRESERVING THE PRESENT BALANCE AND IN FURTHER REDUCING THE THREAT OF WAR.

MEANWHILE, THE ADMINISTRATION HAS JUST PRESENTED TO CONGRESS THE FIRST DEFENSE BUDGET IN OVER 10 YEARS THAT NEED NOT PROVIDE FOR THE SUPPORT OF AMERICAN FORCES UNDER FIRE.

of in combat.

TO HAVE PEACE, WE MUST HAVE STRONG ENOUGH DEFENSES TO DETER AGGRESSION. A VIABLE DEFENSE BOLSTERS OUR DIPLOMACY. THE REALISTIC DEFENSE BUDGET SUBMITTED THIS MONTH REINFORCES THE CREDIBILITY OF AMERICAN POWER.

WE LEARNED MUCH FROM THE TRAGIC
MIDDLE EAST WAR LAST OCTOBER. SPECIFIC
MATERIAL SHORTAGES WERE BROUGHT TO LIGHT
DURING THE CRISIS. THE NEW BUDGET WOULD
INCREASE OUR AIRLIFT CAPACITY TO DEPLOY
FORCES OVERSEAS IN TIME OF EMERGENCY.

OUR FORCE STRUCTURE IS MUCH SMALLER
THAN IT HAS BEEN SINCE THE KOREAN WAR. IT
HAS BEEN REDUCED BY ALMOST 40% FROM THE 1968
VIETNAM PEAK.

MEANWHILE, THE SOVIET UNION IS

PLACING NEW EMPHASIS ON SEA POWER. SOVIET

NAVAL FORCES ARE GROWING AND ARE MORE AND

MORE FREQUENTLY DEPLOYED IN AREAS OF SERIOUS

INTERNATIONAL CONCERN.

PEACE IS OUR GOAL. ITS ACHIEVEMENT REQUIRES THAT WE BE STRONG ENOUGH TO NEGOTIATE WITH CONFIDENCE. WE MUST INSURE THAT OUR GOODWILL IS NOT MISCONSTRUED AS LACK OF WILL.

AN ERA OF PEACE IS WITHIN REACH -- FOR THE SUPERPOWERS AS WELL AS THE MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES. TO REACH THAT OBJECTIVE, WE HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO MAINTAIN A STRONG DEFENSE.

Basic requirements:

1) We must have the power.

2) Any every must have we have that power.

3) Breng must have we will use that power 4) WE, must be willing I was power.

THE REAL INTERESTS OF ARABS AND ISRAELIS, OF RUSSIANS AND AMERICANS, REQUIRE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE.

LET THERE BE PEACE FOR ISRAEL, THAT LAND WHERE THE PROPHETS DREAMED THAT NATION SHOULD NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION.

LET THERE BE PEACE, AS WELL, FOR THE ARABS WHOSE POVERTY AND FRUSTRATION DESERVE BETTER THAN MISSILES AND JETS.

INSTEAD OF THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION BECOMING ITS GRAVE, LET THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION GIVE RISE TO TWO PEOPLES, ARAB AND JEWISH, EACH IN THEIR OWN LANDS, WITH COMMERCE AND TRAVEL FLOWING ACROSS PEACEFUL BORDERS, AND WITH A NEW SENSE OF MUTUAL RESPECT IN KEEPING WITH OUR DREAM OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN UNDER THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

I THANK YOU.

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD

AT THE B'NAI ZION AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP DINNER

Allrow

Allrow

Allrow

Rev for 1. 21

It is with deep appreciation that I thank you for the great honor you have bestowed upon me with the award of the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal. I will treasure this medal as a cherished token of my commitment to the friendship of our Nation with Israel. But I trust I have your permission to symbolically share it with the Administration that I represent.

I have often heard that Zionism makes for better Americanism. Accordingly, let me offer American Zionists some of my thoughts on the evolving relationship between our own country and the State of Israel.

We meet at a historic moment. This is the eve of Secretary of State Kissinger's return to the Middle East. Dr. Kissinger is now seeking the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces as a further step in the process of peace-making ensuing from the agreement consummated between Israel and Egypt for separation of contending armies at the Suez Canal.

Dr. Kissinger judged very astutely the moment when Egypt and Israel were both ready to go from a state of permanent hostility to a state of possible accommodation. He converted that readiness into a formula that both countries could accept. We pray that this can now be done with regard to the confrontation on the Syrian-Israeli front.

I am pleased to note that American diplomats recently returned to Syria after more than six years of severed relations. This can only encourage partisans of peace.

We are, of course, addressing ourselves to the issue of Israeli prisoners of war held by Syria. I recall all too vividly the torment of Americans over the unknown fate of our P.O.W.'s in North Vietnam. Humanitarian considerations that Syria and Israel exchange full lists of prisoners and that both sides permit Red Cross visits to P.O.W. camps.

Dr. Kissinger has already conveyed some initial Syrian ideas on disengagement to the Government of Israel. The role of the United States in these negotiations is not to impose American ideas on the other parties, but rather to work with them to find solutions to the problems that block movement toward a lasting Middle East peace settlement.

Dr. Kissinger has stated that prolongation of the Arab cil ambargo "must be construed as a form of blackmail." I can tell you tenight that the United States has no intention of submitting to blackmail or of imposing unilateral pressure or israel for one sided concessions. The most recent polls indicate that the American people verwhelmingly support Israel's rights although and citizens are error of the Arab citizens in obtaining goal in Americans descently do not link the energy shortage with any notion of pressure their Covernment on an side in a included dispute

We remain hopeful for the lifting of the Arab oil embargo. Our

conviction is that the free flow of commerce facilitates the economic stability of all countries and strengthens the cause of peace. The United States wants friendship with every nation in the Middle East. We harbor malice toward none.

This Administration is proud of the role it played in helping to bring about the cessation of hostilities in October, the Six-Point Agreement to consolidate the ceasefire in November, the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference in December, and the disengagement agreement in January. We are pleased that disengagement to lines specified in the Suez Canal agreement took place according to schedule.

Dr. Kissinger's peacemaking is nourished by the new climate that exists in the world. This is the climate that ensured from the President's courageous initiatives in visiting Peking and Moscow and from the understandings reached there and in subsequent exchanges. This is the climate that flows from the President's extrication the United States from the war in Vietnam.

I am very proud that American diplomacy relieved the dangerous global pressure point at the Suez Canal. Egypt and Israel now have the opportunity to implement a scenario of peace, step by step, in such manner as to build mutual confidence.

All the credit does not belong to American diplomacy. A large share accrues to the courage, goodwill, and vision of leaders in both Egypt and Israel.

Dr. Kissinger's genius was in narrowing the distance between the parties without imposing a formula from outside. He acted as a

go-between for the two sides. This is far better than coercion or pressure. It enhances America's moral standing with both parties, increases our influence, and decreases the chances of American military involvement.

from a position of woolkness. We associated with not be expected to getiate appropriate arms supply to Israel This Administration is committed to a military balance to the position. We resent the massive arms for ail deal associated by some in Western East a second that the desired to unset the last the last the last to unset the last the last

President Nixon made a commitment to provide the necessary defense capability to Israel. He was mindful of the dangerous flow of Soviet weapons to Egypt and Syria. The President kept his word. There was no credibility gap in Israel when the U. S. Air Force rushed transport after transport of arms to Tel Aviv during and after the October war. To finance the airlift and other assistance, the Administration sponsored a \$2.2 billion emergency aid bill.

President Nixon pledged in 1968 that the United States would seek to impose neither arbitrary settlement nor unilateral concessions. He said that we would use our good offices only to assist the parties to the conflict to fashion their own settlement. He kept his word.

I cite the record of the President and the Secretary of State because I feel honored to be associated with an Administration that began making peace popular in an area where anxiety and death have stalked frontiers for over a quarter of a century. That is why an award for America-Israel achievement belongs more properly to others

than to the new Vice President.

Let me say another word about President Nixon. Your organization is greatly concerned over the plight of Soviet Jewish citizens who want to emigrate to Israel. As he advanced the concept of detente with the Soviet Union, President Nixon interceded on behalf of Soviet Jewry.

Some 35,000 Soviet Jews have found new homes in Israel.

There is now renewed interest in the fate of Soviet writers and poets -- Jewish and non-Jewish -- who voice dissent within the Soviet Union. The necessity for detente, as we conceive it, does not reflect approval of the Soviet domestic structure. We look with sympathy and great appreciation upon freedom of thought and expression in all societies.

I can tell you tonight that the United States is relieved that the distinguished writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, (SOL-ZEE-NEET-SEEN) has found a haven outside the Soviet Union. It appears his wife and children will be able to join him -- bringing with them his valuable books and papers.

I have great admiration for Mr. Solzhenitsyn as a creative artist and share the sympathy of all Americans for his present situation. We stand for universal freedom of speech and thought. We regret limitations imposed on these freedoms anywhere.

Our foreign policy, however, is based on a recognition that the United States and the Soviet Union share a special responsibility because of their nuclear power. We have always made clear that our search for a stable peace does not mean approval of their domestic system. The quest for a secure peace must and will continue.

It is my hope that negotiations toward strategic arms limitations and mutual and balanced force reductions will be successful in preserving the present balance and in further reducing the threat of war. Meanwhile, the Administration has just presented to Congress the first defense budget in over 10 years that need not provide for the support of American forces under fire.

To have peace, we must have strong enough defenses to deter a viable defense bolsters our diplos

realistic defense budget the credibility of American power.

We learned much from the tragic Middle East war last October. Specific material shortages were brought to light during the crisis. The new budget would increase our airlift capacity to deploy forces overseas in time of emergency.

Our force structure is much smaller than it has been since the Korean war. It has been reduced by almost 40% from the 1968 Vietnam peak.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is placing new emphasis on sea power. Soviet naval forces are growing and are more and more frequently deployed in areas of serious international concern.

Peace is our goal. Its achievement requires that we be strong enough to negotiate with confidence. We must insure that our goodwill



is not misconstrued as <u>lack</u> of will.

An era of peace is within reach -- for the superpowers as well as the Middle Eastern countries. To reach that objective, we have no alternative but to maintain a strong defense.

The real interests of Arabs and Israelis, of Russians and Americans, require peaceful coexistence.

Let there be peace for Israel, that land where the prophets dreamed that nation should not lift up sword against nation.

Let there be peace, as well, for the Arabs whose poverty and frustration deserve better than missiles and jets.

Instead of the cradle of civilization becoming its grave, let the cradle of civilization give rise to two peoples, Arab and Jewish, each in their own lands, with commerce and travel flowing across peaceful borders, and with a new sense of mutual respect in keeping with our dream of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I thank you.

1. BENJAMIN, Burton 2. BEUTEL, Bill 3. CHANCELLOR, John 4. CRONKITE, Walter 5. CURTIS, Philip 6. DAY, James 7. FARINET, Gene 8. GUGGENHEIMER, Elinor 9. HEWITT, Don 10. ISELIN, John Jay 11. JARVIS, Lucy 12. JENKINS, Carol 13. JENSEN, Jim 14. LEONARD, Bill 15. LEWIS, Anthony 16. MATTIELLO, Matthew	CBS NET NBC NBC CBS CBS CBS N.Y. Times Breakfast Series CBC-Canada WDR - Germany NBC ABC Light 2 Films BBC - London ABC	Ancorman/Correspondent, Eyewitness News Ancorman/Correspondent, Evening News Ancorman/Correspondent, Evening News Ancorman/Correspondent, Evening News Producer, Bekind the Lines Producer/Reporter, Day at Night News Producer, Today Show Ancorwoman, Straight Talk Executive Producer, 60 Minutes President, NET Chanel 13 Executive Producer, Documentary Correspondent, 6th Hour News Ancorman, Six O'Clock Report Vice President, CBS News Columnist Chairman-Founder
22. WEBSTER, David 23. WESTIN, Avram		Director, North America Executive Producer, Documentary Correspondent, Speaking Freely News Editor, Evening News Vice President, Documentary Director, North America Vice President, Documentary/News Executive Producer, Behinf the Lines

National Academy of Television Arts & Sciences

25. BUNIN, Elinor Trustee 26. FORD, John Charles Officer

27. LAMONT, Elaine Assistant Director

28. POLK, Lee Officer

29. POWER, Jules
30. MAYNARD, John Mr. Maynard is Publicity Director of Factor

Mr. Maynard is Publicity Director of Eastman Kodak and has sponsored several of the Breakfast and received no publicity from it for Eastman Kodak.





America-Israel Friendship Award

BNAIZION

VOLUME XLVII · FEBRUARY, 1974 · NUMBER 4



In honor of
Vice President

GERALD R. FORD

In recognition of his outstanding contributions to the furtherance of America-Israel friendship



Program

66th ANNUAL AWARD DINNER

in tribute to

HON. GERALD R. FORD

Vice President of the United States

RECIPIENT OF THE 1974 BNAI ZION AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP GOLD MEDAL AWARD

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1974

NEW YORK HILTON HOTEL

Introduction of Dais

RAYMOND M. PATT

Co-Chairman

Bnai Zion Foundation

National Anthems

JOSEPH W. GREENLEAF

Member, National Admin. Comm.

Invocation

RABBI SHEPHERD BAUM

National Vice President

Invocation	National Vice President
I	DINNER
	DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE Chairman, Dinner Committee
	HON. HERBERT TENZER President, America-Israel Friendship League
	Hon. Louis Lefkowitz Attorney General of the State of New York
	RABBI ISRAEL MILLER Chairman, Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations
	HON. ABRAHAM BEAME Mayor of the City of N. Y.
	Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson Chairman, World Zionist Organization American Section
	HON. SIMCHA DINITZ Ambassador of Israel to the U.S.
	HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER President, Bnai Zion
Response	Hon. Gerald R. Ford Vice President of the United States
Benediction	RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM The Jewish Center of Kew Garden Hills

THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON

January 28, 1974

The unanimous selection of Jerry Ford as the recipient of the 1974 Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award is an appropriate tribute to the qualities and achievements that equip him so well to be the Vice President of our great country.

Jerry's deep-rooted commitment to the friendship between our country and the State of Israel has been further enhanced by the humanitarian compassion and civic concern that characterize so many of your organization's programs.

It is most fitting that you honor him, and I know that I speak for all the members of my Administration when I express my deepest personal respect for the accomplishments that earned him your prestigious recognition.

Hon. Abraham J. Multer, President Bnai Zion 136 East 39th Street New York, N.Y. 10016

Greetings from Israel



by Ephraim Katzir

President of the State of Israel

Y sincerest congratulations to America's distinguished new Vice President the Honorable Gerald R. Ford, on the presentation to him of the 1974 Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award. This is indeed a most appropriate tribute to a staunch and perceptive champion of the cause of strengthening the bonds of friendship between Israel and the United States.

I take this opportunity also to send greetings from Jerusalem to all our friends assembled at the 66th Annual Award Dinner of Bnai Zion.

by Golda Meir

Prime Minister

T gives me great pleasure to extend my warm greetings to Bnai Zion on the occasion of its presentation of the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award to the Vice President of the United States, the Hon. Gerald R. Ford. It is indeed appropriate that Bnai Zion pay tribute to a great American leader whose whole career bears testimony to his profound humanitarianism, his fearless support for freedom everywhere and his genuine friendship for Israel. We, in Israel, share in the salute to the Hon. Gerald R. Ford who has done

so much for the fostering of America-Israel friendship. It is in this spirit that I join in extending to him my warmest congratulations and greetings from Jerusalem.

by Abba Eban

Minister of Foreign Affairs

REGARD it as a singular privilege to be afforded this opportunity, both for myself and for all of Israel, to express our deep sense of appreciation to the Honorable Gerald R. Ford, Vice President of the United States, for his support of the efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the people of the United States and the people of Israel, a cause which is being furthered by Bnai Zion, the American Fraternal Zionist Organization.

In his unswerving and meaningful championship of the State of Israel in its struggle for peace and security, Vice President Ford has earned our infinite gratitude, reflecting as he does the monumental vital aid and sympathy which the State of Israel is fortunate to receive from his great country at all times.

The entire people of Israel join with me in extending to the Vice President sincerest good wishes in his high office and heartfelt congratulations on his highly merited selection as recipient of the 1974 Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award.

BNAI ZION VOICE

H. Z. Quittman, Managing Editor Melvyn Parness, Business Manager

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Greetings from U. S. Leaders

by Carl Albert

The Speaker, U. S. House of Representatives

AM delighted to know that my friend and distinguished former colleague, Vice President Gerald R. Ford, is being honored with the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award in recognition of his efforts to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the United States and Israel. My congratulations to the members of Bnai Zion on an ideal and outstanding selection.

Jerry Ford in over a quarter of a century in Congress proved himself a faithful and stalwart friend of Israel. He did this because of his deep commitment to human values. I can state on the basis of a close personal contact with Jerry Ford that he represents the very embodiment of the best in our Judeo-Christian traditions.

by Hon. Hugh Scott

Monority Leader, United States Senate

A S the 1971 recipient of this most prestigious America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award, I am especially pleased to add my hearty congratulations to this year's distinguished guest of honor and my good friend, Vice President Gerald Ford.

I find it most fitting that two fine public servants, Bnai Zion and Jerry Ford, have teamed up for this 66th annual Award Dinner. Jerry has promoted the increased friendship of America and Israel since coming to Congress over a quarter of a century ago. I am as confident as those assembled tonight that as vice president he will continually uphold the principles and convictions of all Americans who support a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

As one of the oldest organizations of its kind in America, Bnai Zion has also continually pushed for needed reforms in areas that have long been neglected by America. Today, Bnai Zion and Jerry Ford are joined in their cooperative efforts in bringing productive additions to our working relationship with Israel. I commend your efforts and the efforts of all concerned Americans.

by Hon. John J. Rhodes

Minority Leader, House of Representatives

SINCERELY regret I cannot be present to extend in person my congratulations to the Vice President on the well deserved tribute he is receiving this evening.

We are indeed fortunate to have in that high office a man who has a great depth of understanding of the problems which confront us, both domestically and internationally, and one who possesses the leadership capabilities and legislative knowledge to do something about them.

The Vice President has a profound sense of responsibility for the well being of his fellow men, both at home and abroad. As a dedicated humanitarian, he has demonstrated deep concern for the conflict Israel is now enduring, and it is therefore most fitting that Vice President Gerald R. Ford has been selected to receive the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award.

by Hon. John Scali

The Representative of the U.S.A. to the United Nations

AM delighted to hear that Vice President Gerald R. Ford is receiving the Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award.

His work on domestic and international questions in the Congress won him the respect and admiration of all who became familiar with it. Now he has undertaken new and even more onerous responsibilities in assuming the office of the Vice President of the United States. The award he is to receive is a fitting tribute to the courage and dedication which have marked his career, and a token of the confidence, and the support of the American people.

I would like to join with the members of Bnai Zion in offering Vice President Ford my congratulations and warm best wishes.

from the entire Israeli Official Community in New York

by David Z. Rivlin

Ambassador, Consul General of Israel

I T gives me great pleasure to extend to Dr. Harris J. Levine, to the President of Bnai Zion, Justice Abraham J. Multer, and your distinguished officers the heartfelt felicitations of the Consulate General of Israel and the entire Israeli official community in New York on the occasion of your 66th Annual Award Dinner.

We salute your guest of honor, the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Gerald Ford. As one of the foremost leaders of this great nation and a champion of freedom and humanitarian causes throughout the world, Vice President Ford has been outstanding also as a friend of our Jewish people and the State of Israel and a long-time staunch supporter of our struggle on behalf of Jewish brethren in plight and in quest for freedom and security.

It is a particular honor for me to join with the distinguished members of your organization and his many admirers in the tribute to Vice President Ford as the recipient of your 1974 Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award.

BNAI ZIONITES!

GIVE YOUR MAXIMUM

TO THE

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AND

ISRAEL BONDS

PERSON TO PERSON WITH

Vice President Gerald R. Ford

by Trude B. Feldman

(Our White House Correspondent)



PHOTO BY O. ATKINS

Vice President Gerald R. Ford (second from right) in the Oval Office of the White House, with President Richard Nixon, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and General Alexander M. Haig, Chief Domestic Advisor.

O accept the sudden thrust of the national spotlight demands courage.

To welcome it demands honesty.

Gerald Rudolph Ford did accept this spotlight with both courage and humility; and did indeed welcome an unprecedented and gruelling trial by his peers in the United States Congress. Friendship for the moment forgotten, political affiliations aside, Congress was determined that history should not find it lacking in its responsibility to the Nation; it conducted stringent hearings to determine Gerald Ford's fitness to be the fortieth Vice President of the United States.

He won by an overwhelming majority.

In his opening statement at those confirmation hearings, Ford said: "Truth is the glue that holds government together, and not only government, but civilization itself."

Only two months ago—on December 6th—after he was sworn in as Vice President, Gerald Ford added: "Love of America and faith in the goodness of this country is the power which unites all of us, those who govern and those by whose consent we govern, as we pray for better tomorrows in a peaceful world. . . ."

The recipient of this year's Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award is a man who practices what he preaches.

According to Robert T. Hartmann, Ford's long-time Chief of Staff, the then Vice Presidential nominee stressed candid cooperation from the outset with the committees investigating him.

"Give them anything they want," Ford said. "I'm not afraid of the truth."

Gerald Ford is a dynamic personality, known for his enthusiasm and determination. His compassion and sensitivity have won him accolades from constituents in Michigan for a quarter of a century.

In an age when respect for government officials has been waning, Ford is held in high esteem and attests to the integrity of some of our Nation's leaders. He is a man who exemplifies traditional virtues and lofty ideals.

Equipped with the necessary charisma and experience, Ford will no doubt enhance the Presidential team. He wants to "close the book" on the circumstances that catapulted him to the Vice Presidency and get on with the vital business of the Nation.

"It's high time we got out of the rut of despair and selfdoubt and back onto the high road of progress," he said. "Once we do that, America is bound to succeed."

Mr. Ford went on to say that ours is the same country and the same President that managed to achieve an honorable end to America's longest war. "This is also the same country and the same President that have built new and promising relationships with the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, representing over a billion people. And this is the same country and the same President that just helped to negotiate a settlement in the Middle East after a generation of hatred and violence.

"None of those things happened by accident," he added. "They happened because a wise and good people were led by a wise and good President."

ND in his first exclusive interview on the Middle East since taking office, Vice President Ford predicted "that President Nixon's 'maneuverings' in that area will go down in the annals of great diplomacy."

He called the agreement of disengagement a "major step forward" by President Nixon. "It's one of the greatest things that could have happened, not just for the Middle East, but for the world," Ford emphasized.

Mr. Ford said that a new chapter in the search for peace was written, when, for the first time in the long and bitter history of the Arab-Israeli conflict, both sides have agreed to direct talks—the kind of talks that may eventually remove this "menace to world stability."

Ford is optimistic about the conference in Geneva, adding that the atmosphere there is "definitely" conducive to a peace settlement.

"The mere fact that they are continuing to negotiate instead of condemning one another is a good sign," he said. "It's an amazing display of statesmanship by all parties. They now have a direct channel of communications. They'll be discussing long-standing disputes that have led to war and the threat of even wider war. No one underestimates the difficulty of finding solutions to these problems, but the whole world is hopeful.



The Gerald Fords at home. Standing (left to right): Steve, Susan and Jack. Seated: Mike, Mrs. Ford and Vice President Ford. Their dog responds to the name of "Sugar."

"I believe there is now an unparalleled opportunity for success in the search for a just and lasting peace."

Ford said he's also optimistic that the Arab oil embargo will be lifted within a relatively short time.

Asked if he favors a counter boycott, he said that is not necessarily a wise policy. "Arab nations, others, as well as the U.S., ought to recognize it as an interdependence," he responded. "If oil is turned off in an Arab country, it may cut down on production of food in the U.S. And if food production is cut down in the U.S.—we, being the bread basket of the world—other nations and other peoples may suffer. We don't do it deliberately. But, if we don't have enough oil for our tractors, there isn't enough food production to feed people.

"Close an oil valve in the Middle East and you threaten to shut down a farm tractor in our Middle West. Halt the tractor and some people in the world will hunger for bread."

The energy crisis, according to the Vice President, involves much more than just a domestic challenge for the U.S. "Of equal urgency is the challenge of the crisis to the concept of economic interdependence in the world, a challenge involving all nations. Our interest in this global problem is no less than that in our own domestic problem."

The Vice President added that a "strong Israel is a real guarantor of the survival of responsible governments whose lands are rich with oil. Radical regions would exploit the oil in radical ways.

"We are faced with a domestic gasoline shortage. America is running out of gas and we're increasingly dependent on Middle Eastern sources," he said. "It's my conviction that we must not permit any regime in the Mideast to have Uncle Sam over a barrel of oil."

If you were President today, what course would you follow in the Mideast?

"The first thing I'd do," Vice President Ford told me, "is to support Dr. Kissinger one hundred per cent. In my honest judgment, no Secretary of State in my lifetime has had the public support in the United States to the extent that Dr. Kissinger has. If he makes a decision in the resolution of the Mideastern problem, I believe the American people, by an overwhelming majority, will support his decision, because he's the one who put the negotiations together. And he's the one person in the history of that area who is able to talk to both Arabs and Israelis, and have the faith of both.

HE American people know that Dr. Kissinger is trying, unselfishly and objectively, to find an answer that will protect Israel on the one hand, and the Arabs on the other. So if they can reach an agreement



Gerald R. Ford being sworn in at the House of Representatives by Chief Justice Warren Burger in the presence of President Nixon. Mrs. Elizabeth Ford holds Bible.

and Dr. Kissinger assures us it's a fair compromise, I believe Americans will support him."

The Vice President continued:

"I do know that both Israelis and Arabs trust him as a brilliant man and as the Secretary of State under President Nixon. It's almost a phenomenon how strongly he is trusted abroad. It's really amazing how Arab leaders meet with him one day and don't object to his meetings with Israeli leaders the next day,or vice versa. Has any other Secretary of State been as successful in this regard?"

Just prior to our interview, Mr. Ford had had a 45minute personal briefing from Dr. Kissinger. He said he expects a similar briefing every two weeks; and in the interim, daily briefings from the CIA; and frequent briefings from General Brent Scowcroft, Deputy Assistant to The President for National Security Affairs.

Although he had not visited Israel (a scheduled trip was cancelled when his wife took ill), Ford has been a staunch supporter of the Jewish state throughout his Congressional tenure. "I did, and do now, support military help and weapons for Israel in order to keep a proper military balance," he said. "But now it would be helpful if we can get some agreement between both Israel and the Arab nations and between the Soviet Union and ourselves, to reduce the weapons build-up in the Mideast."

Ford said America-Israeli friendship must be fostered because both this friendship and this policy serve the cause of peace. He congratulated Bnai Zion "for having as a cardinal tenet of its program the furtherance of friendship between the two countries. America-Israel friendship is rooted in the traditions of both peoples who share a common bond based on the Judean-Christian heritage. The ardent support of our country for the cause of the national restoration of Zion can be traced back to the Colonial days when the Puritan fathers manifested



Vice President Ford discussing Mid-East situation with Senate Minority Leader, Sen. Hugh Scott, recipient of the 1971 Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Award.

their love for the Hebraic culture, continuing to the present time as we stand on the threshhold of the bicentennial of our Independence."

"The United States must continue to give Israel the backing necessary to maintain the credibility of our friendship," he added. "The central aim of our policy in the Mideast must be to prevent events that would cause a breakdown in the emerging structure of world peace. Our ultimate and over-riding objective is a permanent and just peace in the Mideast. This is in America's national interest; and we are firmly committed to doing everything we can to help achieve that objective.

"I feel we have followed a constructive course in the Mideast. We have avoided 'instant' solutions. We know that 'instant' solutions lead to 'instant' wars."

President Ford recalled that every American President of the 20th century has supported the Zionist dream of a Jewish national home. "Both of our major political parties are committed to Israel's survival," he said. "It's vital that this bipartisan backing of Israel continues. Our backing should continue through military credits, supporting assistance, and grants to resettle immigrants. Those who truly care about Israel's survival must express bipartisan support through actions, not only by words. We must retain our unity since unity strengthens the hand of our President in his efforts to promote peace."

Turning to Soviet Jewry, Mr. Ford said the suspension of the education tax imposed on Jews seeking to emigrate means nothing unless the Soviet Union actually allows Jews to depart, as it has done to some degree under worldwide pressure.

"Discrimination and harassment of Jews in the Soviet Union has long been a subject of serious concern to me," he said. "I've stated this often and have made it known to the President and to top Soviet leaders.

"However, there is a point beyond which one sovereign country cannot involve itself in the internal policies of another sovereign country."

ERALD R. Ford, born July 14, 1913, at Omaha, Nebraska, spent his childhood in Grand Rapids, Michigan. He earned a B.A. degree in 1935 from the University of Michigan and received his law degree from Yale University Law School in 1941. He was admitted to the Michigan State Bar and also to practice before the U.S. Supreme Court.

During his high school years, he won all city and all state football honors. While earning three varsity letters, he was a member of the University of Michigan's undefeated national championship teams of 1932 and 1933. Michigan's most valuable player in 1934, playing center.

In 1942, he entered the U.S. Navy, serving 47 months on active duty in World War II.

In November, 1972, Ford was re-elected to his 13th consecutive term as a Member of Congress, having served the Fifth district in Michigan since January 3, 1949. He maintained an attendance record of over 90 per cent throughout his 24-year tenure.



Gerald Ford at Bnai Zion Award Dinner in 1970 in honor of Dr. Harris J. Levine. From right to left: Hon. Herbert Tenzer and David Rivlin, Israel Consul General.



PHOTO BY W. OATE

Our White House correspondent Trudy Feldman seen here interviewing the Vice President exclusively for the Bnai Zion Voice.

He was chosen Minority Leader of the House of Representatives at the opening of the 89th Congress in 1965. He served as a member of the Republican Leadership in Congress since January 1963; was chairman of the Republican Conference of the House during the 88th Congress and had been a member of the House Republican Policy Committee for over nine years.

Mr. Ford was nominated by the President on October 12, 1973, to succeed Spiro T. Agnew as Vice President. His nomination was confirmed by the Senate on November 27th by a vote of 92 to 3, and by the House on December 6th, by a vote of 387 to 35. A few hours later, he was sworn in as Vice President, the first person to be so selected according to provisions of the 25th Amendment to the Constitution.

Ford married Elizabeth Bloomer in 1948. Their four children are: Michael Gerald, 23, a Seminary student; John Gardner, 21, a Forestry student; Steven Meigs, 17; and Susan Elizabeth, 16.

Mrs. Ford said she was first attracted to "Jerry" when they both belonged to the NAACP in Michigan.

In a luncheon interview at Washington's Mayflower Hotel, Mrs. Ford recalled: "He was a handsome, blond bachelor, and I admired all his efforts on behalf of and participation in civic affairs. He was a practicing lawyer, but found time for minority groups, United Givers Fund, Red Cross, etc."

Betty Ford added that he has a tremendous ability to work long hours . . . "a necessary quality for his new position.

"I think he'll make an important contribution to the administration, to the country and to the world because his experience in politics has given him a complete understanding of the world at large—and he gets along well with all kinds of people."

Ford has three brothers: Thomas, who is a legislative

audit coordinator in the State House in Michigan; Richard, manager of the Ford Paint and Varnish Co. in Grand Rapids, Michigan; and James, an optometrist in Grand Rapids.

Tom Ford told me that his brother Jerry is the only person "I know who has no enemies.

"I've tried to watch Jerry to determine how he manages this in today's world, but I can't put a finger on it. He'll come into a room and within a matter of four to five minutes, he unwittingly is the center of attention. Yet, 'he's so humble about it all.'"

Betty and Jerry Ford's close personal friends in Washington are Peggy and William G. Whyte. They have known each other for 20 years.

Whyte, Vice President, United States Steel Corporation and a golfing partner of Ford's, described the Vice President as a "very open and trusting" person who is an "independent thinker."

Mr. Whyte said that "Jerry is not impressed with his own importance. He's a down-to-earth guy and won't let his new position go to his head. No matter how high he climbs on the ladder of success his set of principles will be the same; and should he become our next President, he certainly has the capacity to rise to the occasion."

The Whytes added: "The Fords are real solid citizens; we're not only fond of them, but we have great respect for them."

Melvin R. Laird, former Defense Secretary and Presidential Counsellor, who is now Senior Counsellor for National and International Affairs at Readers Digest, said that Bnai Zion is to be commended for their selection in honoring Gerald Ford.

"There is no one who understands the Middle East problems, and will seek solutions as effectively as will Jerry Ford," Laird stated.

Rep. Glenn Davis (Wisc.) said that a "commitment to Jerry Ford means a lot. He promised to be at a fund raising dinner *before* he was nominated. He came over to me at his White House reception following his nomination just to assure me that he would be there. . . ."

The outstanding athlete—like the competent politician—must be alert, disciplined and capable of endurance. He must be able both to direct and to follow directions.

Ford, an able athlete and eminent statesman, has already proven to be a real asset to the Presidential team. Because he understands the Congressional team members, he is well fortified to encourage them, garnering their best qualities and uniting them in the worthy goal of service to our Nation, and to mankind.

What Is Meant by A Jewish State?

by Abba Eban Israel's Foreign Minister

T is hard to believe that less than three months have passed since Yom Kippur. The world in which we lived before that day, recedes further and further into a distant haze of recollection. The war has shaken Israelis out of the images and ways of thought in which they had lived for over six years. Nothing now seems more discordant than the slogans and vocabulary that seemed adequate at the beginning of October. All these became suddenly obsolete in a single week. We are summoned almost overnight to a far-reaching reconstruction of our conceptual world.

The paradox is that the agonized national debate goes forward within the objective reality of triumph. There has been no decline in the typical Israeli virtues—tenacity, courage, responsibility, self-sacrifice, pragmatic resourcefulness and above all—an immense power of recuperation.

If these qualities had failed we would have been overwhelmed. Because they existed our forces were able to embark on a brilliant thrust which pushed the tide of aggression away from our gates. Without these successes in the field there would have been no cease-fire, and the Arab governments would not have agreed to negotiate at a peace conference. My experience tells me this: whenever I hear a cease-fire being seriously discussed at the United Nations, I know that Israeli forces are doing very well. When Israel was hard-pressed and in peril the idea of a cease-fire was regarded by most delegates at the U.N. as an eccentric joke.

Yet, when all is said and remembered this is a victory without celebration. In other arenas of combat little counts except the final result: and if the final result is victorywho cares how the score stood at half-time? But war is not like any other form of rivalry or competition or conflict. Here the hazard is nothing less than human lives. So Israel looks sadly on its own victory. We understand that the perils of the first week are just as much a political reality as the triumph of the subsequent days. The period of initial danger is still alive in the universal recollection. It has in some degree modified the standards by which

The above are excerpts from an address which Israel's Foreign Minister delivered to American Jewish leaders at a recently held conference held in Jerusalem, sponsored by the Conference of Presidents of major Jewish organizations of which Bnai Zion is a constituent.



Israel Foreign Minister Eban shown here receiving award at annual Bnai Zion Dinner in his honor on Feb. 8, 1959 Right to left: Hon. Abraham J. Multer, Dr. Harris J Levine and Nathaniel S. Rothenberg.

the world appraises the Israelis and Arabs-and by which they appraise each other. It appears that the uniquely Israeli victory and a hundred per cent Arab defeat—was

Arabs and Israelis should not have constructed their images of what they and we are in accordance with that particular encounter. I still hold that our nation retains a remarkable preponderance in those elements of strength which counterbalance the quantitative superiority of those arrayed against us. But if the gap is wide, we should not believe that it is unlimited.

The sudden need to achieve a new proportion in our relationship to our environment is chastening enough. But it is not our only, or even our primary ordeal. When we speak of a sense of irreplaceable loss we mean the thousands of lives lost and crippled. Let this be clear: nothing else is irreplaceable, and therefore nothing else can be put on the same level of discussions as this. The tanks and aircraft and guns can be replaced—and by the grace of our partnership with the United States, they have been replaced. The money can be replenished. The lost production can be made up. With the transition from

war to a more stable order of relations, many political positions can be regained or fortified.

Families in Israel are not coming together to mourn a tank or a plane or an African Embassy or a depleted exchequer. We have many categories of adversity to overcome: but we should be false to our humanistic values if we evaded the uniqueness and centrality of the specific anguish arising from the loss of the only thing that can never be replaced. It may be comforting for some and convenient for others to consider this human tragedy in the context of other disappointments from which no loss of life has ensued. But our Jewish instinct commands us to see the spectacle of death as an experience of unique scope. It involves responsibilities and moral predicaments that cannot be emulated or shared in any other context whatever.

THE October War brought us face to face with the crisis of our human vulnerability. Anyone who reads or writes about Jewish history comes up against this preoccupation again and again. The special pathos of Jewish history lies in the immense place occupied by the problem of being Jewish and yet staying alive. The Israelis who have given their lives in this war compound a previous toll-of those who were lost in 1967 and 1956 and 1948, and in the attrition and violence in between. And these memories are enacted against the dark and unforgotten background of the Holocaust with its six million martyrs. There is no other national experience even remotely similar to this. Perhaps this is one of the factors crushing extent of our 1967 triumph—a hundred per cent that makes Israel's security obsessions, so hard for others to grasp. And even when the right of individual Jewish not an authentic or permanent reflection of the real survival has been secured in some places and some generations, we have stood before the other Jewish predicament: how to survive in our collective identity, in our own image, our own frame of values, our own particularity, our own faith and tongue-in short, our own nationhood. How rarely have the twin rights of individual and collective survival been a matter of course for Jews for any length of time.

In a country with these memories and these conditions, it is not surprising that the national security doctrine should be the decisive element in the nation's life and policy. Since 1967 our security doctrine was clear. We had sufficient preponderance to deter any likely assault, or if an assault took place to defeat it with such speed and, therefore, with such little cost as to strengthen our power of deterrence still further.

So long as this appraisal of the military balance was valid, all the other aspects of Israel's official policy were at least intellectually coherent whether anyone accepted them or not. Israel's policy, diplomacy, posture, as well as her social and domestic priorities all fell into place.

Once the first link in the sequence of assumptions failed to stand firm, nothing else is solid, and the whole chain comes under the need of review.

The review cannot afford to stare into the future and turn its back on the past. "He who does not remember the past is doomed to repeat it." The truth is that even our pre-war policies were sometimes undermined by being taken out of their own balance and proportion. A doctrine based on absolute confidence caused the national style and rhetoric to become overly strident. Domestic rivalries led to the proliferation of maximalist statements. Israel's rights and claims, legitimate in themselves, were often proclaimed in a vacuum, without a due attempt to bring them into harmony with the rights and claims of others. It was properly recognized—as it still must be that previous borders must be changed or adapted in such manner as to give Israel a strong chance of withstanding the first momentum of an assault. The October experience. if anything, reinforces this principle. But this does not mean that it was right for many Israelis to present the position of boundaries as the sole condition of security, rather than as one of its conditions.

An integral security doctrine would include, along with the territorial component such elements as the balance of forces, the vigilance and spirit of defenders, precision in organization, the technical productivity of the economy, the moral quality of the public sector as a whole, the ability to draw strength from external connections. It was not everywhere realised that without these our security would be undermined, no matter what boundaries we had. Those who listened to what was said from many platforms might have attributed to us-quite wrongly-the fallacious belief that a list of the places which we would never abandon constituted in itself a total and adequate statement of our national policy. The style of the national rhetoric became an immensely important element in the formation of policy and in determining Israel's policy abroad, including places where vital security interests could be affected by decisions outside our sovereign control. It was not always taken into account that policy should be directed not only to making the enemy unable to fight us again, but also to the hope of making him unwilling to fight us again. The logic of war is power, and power has no inherent limit. The logic of peace is proportion, and proportion implies limitation. Deterrence and persuasion are not incompatible. But their combination implies a certain restraint.

EANWHILE on the fringes of our political spec-LVI trum some illusions were sprouting fast. (Alas, they did not always remain on the fringes. They sometimes invaded the center.) These were not at all inherent in our official policy but they often threatened to swamp and

silence the official voices. I mean the illusion that the cease-fire could exist indefinitely in a diplomatic vacuum, with no constancy of political activity. I mean the illusion that a million Arabs would be kept under Israel control forever provided that their economic and social welfare was impressively advanced. The illusion that Zionism forbade a sharing of national sovereignty between two nations in the former Palestine mandate area. The illusion that Israel's historic legacy was exclusively a matter of geography and not, also, and principally, a heritage of prophetic values of which the central value was peace. The fallacy that to see anything temporary in some of Israel's positions west of the Jordan was tantamount to alienation from the biblical culture. The fallacy that a nation could not be strong unless it demonstrated its toughness in every contingency.

We should not underestimate the provocations from outside which made all these things understandable. The task before us today is to rebuild our concepts and our style in the sequel of the terrible drama that we have lived. This does not mean that we should jettison everything from our past attitudes, whether valid or not. I see a real peril both in extreme tangental departures and in continuing inertia. But it does mean that the windows should be opened for I believe that there is a new air to breathe. We should not abandon the idea of strategic depth to protect our populated centers. But there is a versatile range of methods by which this can be achieved—sometimes, but not always, by territorial change. The problem can be aggravated if we think of erecting vast population centers deep in Sinai-and then look for additional strategic depth to defend them-and so on to infinityor absurdity.

These and other problems will arise in the new context of the peace conference. There is no reason to be rhapsodic about this prospect—for the intrinsic difficulties are immense, and dialogue does not make peace inevitable. It does, however, make it less improbable. Our national Jewish experience makes it inevitable that in most situations we should be more aware of risks than of opportunities. But the duty of leadership must sometimes transcend the national experience and not be committed to it to the point of inertia.

Our task is to bridge the gap between our nation's experience and its vision, between our tradition and our future. The peace conference must be approached as an opportunity and not only as a danger. The readiness of Arab states to break a long inertia and to enter a civilized negotiating context could of course turn out to be illusory. But it could also be significant and even revolutionary. Only a positivist approach can put the issue to a valid test. We should construct a model of a Middle East without enemies, a community of sovereign states united



A friendly conversation near the Western Wall.

in a regional devotion. The prospect may be far, but the architect makes a picture of the finished structure before he begins arduously to build.

Israeli society in the coming months with our characteristic intensity. I could wish that they might be discussed with some calmness and coolness even with some tenderness and mutual compassion, for grief has struck in every camp and every party. There is an excessive personalization of the public debate. This also belongs to the particular heritage of the past decade. For the future let us recognize that virulent gossip is no substitute for candid analysis. Leadership has the duty of creating an atmosphere conducive to the expression of diverse and sometimes disconcerting ideas.

I have thought long and deeply about what is meant by a Jewish state. When we say that a state is "Jewish" we do not only make a demographic definition: we also pass a moral judgment. Israel is wounded by its ordeal and laden with many burdens. There is the burden of defense, of economic recovery. The welcome burden of immigration and housing, the burden of social construction, the burden of a difficult political journey, all of it uphill. Frankly, these burdens are too heavy for us to bear alone. Why should we bear them alone? After all, whatever we have built and defended here, we have defended and built together and for each other-in the service of our common security and our common pride. Israel's question is whether you will help us bear these burdens. That is Israel's question. The answer is in your hands.

The Real Meaning of U.N. Resolution 242

by Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg

Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N.

Resolution 242 which was adopted unanimously by the United Nations Security Council on November 22, 1967, has decisively affected the tenor of Middle East developments ever since. It continues to be brought up on the international arena whenever peace negotiations between Israel and the Arab states are mentioned and will undoubtedly be invoked during the forthcoming peace conference in Geneva.

The "November 22 Resolution" called for withdrawal of Israeli forces "from territories" (not "from all territories") "of armed conflict," termination of current claims of belligerence, and acknowledgment of sovereignty and integrity of each state in the Middle East. The resolution also affirmed the necessity of guarantees for freedom of navigation, and of a just settlement of the refugee problem.

In the following article, based on excerpts of an address he delivered at the American Jewish Committee's convention on May 15, 1969, Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg, former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., recalls why the U.S. approved the resolution.



In an address on June 19, 1967, shortly after the end of the Six-Day War, President Johnson set forth the essentials of peace in the Middle East. Briefly summarized, these principles are: the recognized right of national life; justice for the refugees; innocent maritime passage; limits on the wasteful and destructive arms race; political independence and territorial integrity for all.

With respect to the last item — independence and integrity—the President observed: "The principle can be effective in the Middle East only on the basis of peace between the parties. . . . What they need are recognized boundaries and other arrangements that will give them security against terror and destruction and war." Later in the same speech, the President said: "Certainly troops must be withdrawn, but there must also be recognized rights of national life."

As U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., I expounded and elaborated upon these principles in a series of policy statements, both in the Security Council and the General Assembly. And when the U.S. voted in favor of the Security Council's Resolution of November 22, 1967, it was because, as I said at the time, "the . . . resolution . . . is entirely consistent with the policy of my Govenment as set forth by President Johnson in his statement of June 19, and as stated by me in the several interventions I made to this Council. I reaffirm that policy without any reservation today." It is important that we recall this amid the consultations now going on.

The premises underlying our support for the Resolution were these:

What the Middle East needs is a real, just and lasting peace, accepted and agreed upon by the parties— a peace under which Israel's right to live as a sovereign state within secure and recognized boundaries will be accepted and respected; under which Israel's Arab neighbors will be equally assured of the same rights; under which no nation in the area will be deprived of viability or security. Something more is needed than the present shaky cease-fire—something more than the fragile, muchviolated armistice that prevailed for 19 years. As we said (and it is an important premise), to return to the situation as it was before the 1967 war is not a prescription for peace but for renewed hostilities.

Qur second premise was this: The U.N. Charter's requirement that each nation must accept the right of others to live necessitates that the Arab states explicitly renounce any state or claim of belligerency. As long ago as 1951, the Arabs' belligerency was found by the Security Council to be inconsistent with peace. Of all the claims of peace, our Government held, none is more fundamental than the right of a sovereign state to have its existence and independence respected. This right, specifically provided in the U.N. Charter, was not respected in the case of Israel for 20 years, as we all know.



Hon. Arthur J. Goldberg addressing a Bnai Zion conference in 1960.

Withdrawal of Israeli troops, we held, should be in the context of, and pursuant to, a peace settlement accepted and agreed upon between the parties. Such a settlement will necessarily entail agreement on secure and recognized boundaries, ensuring the right of both Israel and her Arab neighbors to live in peace, free from threats or acts of force.

The Resolution of November 22, 1967, in its first operative paragraph, explicitly treats at the same time with both of these vital necessities of peace: on one hand, the withdrawal of Israeli forces; on the other hand, termination of the Arabs' claims of belligerency, together with respect for, and acknowledgment of, Israel's sovereignty and her right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

In linking these principles, the Security Council realistically acknowledged that the Arab states could not be left free to assert the rights of war while Israel was called upon to abide by the rules of peace—that to seek withdrawal of troops without agreement upon secure and recognized boundaries would be just as fruitless as to seek agreement upon boundaries without withdrawal. History shows that if boundaries are to be secure, they cannot be determined unilaterally, or imposed from the outside; they must be worked out and recognized by the parties themselves, in the process of making peace.

Our fourth premise was that free and innocent passage through international waterways must be assured for all nations. What principally precipitated the conflict in June 1967 was the United Arab Republic's decision not to permit Israeli flag ships to pass freely through the Straits of Tiran. It is a plain fact of life—and we said so in the U.N. debates—that a return to peace will require agreement between the U.A.R. and Israel concerning free-

dom of navigation for Israeli shipping, not only in the Straits of Tiran but in the Suez Canal.

Back in 1951, the international community tried to guarantee freedom of passage for all shipping, including Israeli shipping, in the area; but the guarantee could not be made good because the U.A.R. did not agree on this vital point. The continued closing of the waters in question to Israeli flag ships, let alone cargoes destined for Israel, is inconsistent with a state of peace and with normal respect for maritime rights under international law.

There must be justice for the refugees. And all nations must address themselves to this problem: Israel (perhaps better than she has done in the past), the Arabs (perhaps better than they have done in the past) and all other countries. They must seek, with new energy and new determination, to ease the plight of those made homeless by wars and conflicts, whether long ago or recently. In this connection, it is pertinent to recall that Jews as well as Arabs were dispossessed as a result of these conflicts. Today, Jews are disadvantaged in certain Arab countries, and at the same time are restrained from emigrating—to their peril, as events have shown.

The time is long overdue for a realistic and humanitarian solution, in which all countries concerned, as well as the world community, will equitably participate. Israeli concessions with respect to refugees should be balanced by Arab willingness to assume a fair share of responsibility for them. The Western countries should help even more generously than they have and should welcome refugees from the Middle East.

Finally, it was a clear premise of the U.S. vote on the November 22 Resolution that the parties to the conflict must be parties to the peace. It is they who, sooner or later, must make a settlement. As President Johnson said at the time: "The main responsibility for the peace of the region depends upon its own peoples and its own leaders. . . . What will be truly decisive in the Middle East will be what is said and what is done by those who live in the Middle East." Other countries can help; but the time when even great nations could impose their will on small ones is long past.

FUNDAMENTALLY, the resolution is not self-executing, nor can it be implemented by unilateral action. It states general principles and envisions "agreement" on specifics; the parties must put flesh on these bare bones. The time is overdue to replace the semantic stalemate over "implementation" with steps toward peace.

No good can come from any attempt to impose a settlement. The time is long overdue for the parties to the continuing conflicts in the Middle East to abjure hatred and to move toward peace.

MORDECHAI MANUEL NOAH

A Forerunner of the Cause of America-Israel Friendship

by Joseph Fraenkel

NE of the forerunners among the early American Jewish settlers in promoting the cause of American friendship for the Jewish people in their aspirations for the national restoration of Zion was a native born Philadelphian—Mordechai Manuel Noah.

Born on July 19, 1785, (he died March 22, 1851, in New York) he was brought up by his maternal grandfather to become—like his father—an American patriot and noble Jew. Like Theodor Herzl, founder of modern Zionism, he studied law, was interested in the theatre and turned to journalism. His plays were produced on the stage and his articles were published in various papers. Noah was a gifted orator and became involved in politics. He learned how to use pistols and once fought a duel.

Noah was well known as the editor of several papers and as a politician. He refused nomination as American Consul to Riga, but in 1813 he accepted the appointment of American Consul to Tunisia with a special mission to Algeria. After some adventures he arrived in Tunis where some 20,000 of the country's 60,000 Jewish population lived. They were confined to ghettoes (mellahs), oppressed and abused, forced to dress in black and to pay a heavy capitation tax. Despite their sufferings these Jews resisted assimilation and remained firmly attached to their ancient faith.

Wherever Noah stopped he noted the sad situation of the Jews. He himself also fell victim to anti-Semitism. After successfully accomplishing a special mission—the release of some Americans who were held in enslavement in Algeria — he experienced anti-Semitism from an unexpected quarter, not in the circle of the Bey of Tunisia but from the Secretary of State, James Monroe, who dismissed Noah as the American representative because "The religion which you profess would form an obstacle to the exercise of your Consular functions."

The U.S. Administration was embarrassed and tried to disclaim this statement. Although rehabilitated the wound never healed. A few years later, when it was proposed that Noah become High Sheriff of New York, anti-Semitic voices were raised against the man who was again to play an influential role in the political life of America. He continued to publish articles, edit papers and propagate tolerance. If an American Jew could be removed from his post because of his religion, how much worse was the situation of Jews in Europe and Africa? Russia was leading in the mistreatment of Jews and their position was tragic. In Germany the new "Hep-hep" movement



Mordechai Manuel Noah

(abbreviation for "Hierosolyma est perdita"—"Jerusalem is perished") encouraged incitement against the Jews.

Noah became increasingly absorbed in the Jewish problem. He believed in the return of the Jews to Jerusalem and in the restoration of the Jews to Eretz Israel. But until the Jews recovered their ancient land and were again in possession of Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed and Jaffa, he wanted to create a shelter in America where Jews from countries of oppression could settle. He hoped that Jews would thus learn there the techniques of administration and prepare for the final restoration to their ancient heritage, as events of his time predicted.

N September 15, 1825 Noah issued a "Proclamation to the Jews" inviting them to come to "Ararat" which he intended to establish on Grand Island on the Niagara River. He asked the Jews, the Karaites, the Samaritans, the Jews of India and Africa and even the Indians "being in all probability the descendants of the lost tribes of Israel," to come to Ararat, "the city of refuge for the Jews." Noah described his plan in the Proclamation. He also called upon Jewish communities to collect annually "three shekels" from each Jew to help emigrants buy agricultural implements and to "re-establish in Palestine the Government of the Jewish Nation." He even appointed a few Chief Rabbis and eminent Jews as

an executive authorized "to aid and assist in carrying into effect the provision of this, my Proclamation."

A great number of people joined a colorful procession. The foundation stone for Ararat was laid; Noah addressed the gathering and read the "Proclamation to the Jews."

And then a strange thing happened: the world press, except for Czarist Russia, published reports, information and even the full text of the Proclamation. For an hour or two the non-Jewish public listened to the appeal of Mordechai Manuel Noah that the Jews, notwithstanding that an "asylum Ararat" was planned, should demand the return of the Holy City of Jerusalem and the re-establishment of a Jewish Government. A lightning flash told the world that the Jewish problem was a territorial one.

The London Times published the full text of the Proclamation—about 250 lines—and in its comment Noah was ironically called "Mordechai Moses" instead of Mordechai Manuel.

Some of the Chief Rabbis mentioned in Noah's Proclamation protested against his ideas: they were to become the "Protest Rabbis" of 1825. Seventy-two years later, after the publication of "The Jewish State" by Theodor Herzl, "Protest Rabbis" again denounced modern Zionism. In 1825 some people considered Noah "crazy" and made fun of him.

At that time the Jewish population of America numbered about 3,000, of whom 1,000 lived in New York. Twenty years later the Jewish population increased to 50,000. They came mainly from German-speaking countries, not to settle in Ararat, but in "free and powerful America." Later the great Jewish immigration from countries of stress began.

Noah, although disappointed with the Ararat project, continued his activities for the restoration of Zion as a national Jewish homeland and explained his views to the Jewish and non-Jewish public. The Jewish people must start to emancipate itself; the time for fulfillment of the promises of the prophets was drawing near; political events in Syria, Egypt, Turkey, and Russia would facilitate the return of the Jews to their Jerusalem: the Jews would purchase the land for the sum of 12 to 13 million dollars and the rightful possessors of Palestine would again unfurl

BNAI ZION'S THREE PILLARS:

> AMERICANISM FRATERNALISM and ZIONISM

the standard of Judah on Mount Zion. With the cooperation and under the protection of England, Noah predicted, the Jewish Land would once more be in possession of the Jewish people. Jewish agriculturists from the Ukraine, Walachia, Poland, Germany and from the countries of the Danube, Dniester and Moldavia, would re-awaken Palestine's fertility.

In 1892 Colonel Albert E. W. Goldsmid, the "Chief of the English Hovevei Zion," was persuaded by Baron de Hirsch to go to the Argentine to take control of the Baron's colonies. There he prepared the Jewish colonists for "their return to Palestine." Goldsmid used to say, "everything has a beginning, even the alphabet; it begins with A (Argentine) and ends with Z (Zion). Noah's work also began with A (Ararat) and ended with Z (Zion)."

In his "Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews" delivered at the Tabernacle on October 28 and December 2, 1844, published with a map of the Land of Israel (New York, 1845), Noah mentions his letters to Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of American Independence, and to President John Adams, and their sympathetic replies to his ideas for the rebuilding of Zion. Noah opened the illustrious chapter of American friendship for Zion Reborn. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams were the first American Presidents to become Philo-Zionists, to be followed by every American President in the twentieth century. Mordechai Manuel Noah, the visionary, laid the foundation stone of Ararat—but he saw only Zion.

ON THE WESTERN BANK OF SUEZ



Samson David Evans (Evan-Zohar), a Bnai Zion member, shown here serving as a gunner in an American Patton tank on the West Bank of the Suez Canal during the Yom Kippur war. He is the oldest son of Eva and Sam Evans, a member of the National Executive Board of Bnai Zion. Their second son Gideon is a student in the Yeshiva University College, and youngest son, Doron Arye is studying in the Yeshiva University High School. The entire family of five are members of Bnai Zion.

BNAI ZION VOICE

50th ANNIVERSARY OF TURKISH REPUBLIC

How Jews Fare In Modern Turkey

by Saul Buch

Today, 25,000 Jews live in Turkey. Twenty-five years ago, when Israel was founded, there were 80,000. At the start of the present century there were nearly half a million. How long will it be before the once large and illustrious Jewish community of Turkey is but a memory?

This attrition is not the result of anti-Semitism. Turkey has kept the promise she made when, 50 years ago, her independence was recognized by the League of Nations in the Treaty of Lausanne. Then, minority rights were granted her Jewish population. They for their part renounced these rights on being assured that the existing equality of all citizens, irrespective of race or creed, made them unnecessary. And such rights, apart from some few dark periods, have been and are unnecessary.

This was a far cry from the days of Byzantium when after visiting Constantinople in the 12th century that wandering Jew, Benjamin of Tuleda, wrote: "So the Greeks hate the Jews, good and bad alike, and subject them to great oppression and beat them in the streets." However, when Mehmet II conquered Constantinople in 1453 he granted religious freedom to the city's not inconsiderable Jewish population. Turkish Jewry experienced so pleasant a life that by 1479 Rabbi Isaac Zarfati dispatched a circular to all Jewish communities in Germany and Hungary urging them to come and settle in Turkey.

The invitation was ignored but soon after Turkey was to become a haven

The above article is reprinted from the London Jewish Chronicle.

Modern Turkey is this year celebrating the fiftieth year of its Independence. It is widely believed that Mount Ararat where Noah's Ark came to rest and the Biblical site Haran where our ancestors Abraham and Jacob sojourned are situated within the borders of modern Turkey. The following article vividly depicts the situation of the Jewish community in that country today and the friendly relationships between the Jews and the Turkish people.

for the persecuted Jews of Spain and Portugal. They flocked eastwards in their thousands and by the beginning of the 16th century there were nearly 100,000 Marranos in Turkey.

The 16th century marked the zenith of the Ottoman Empire and the heyday of Turkish Jewry. Joseph Nasi—the Great Jew — and his aunt Donna Gracia Mendesia were extravagant patrons of Hebrew arts and wielded such great influence at Selim II's court that they made him demand that Pope Paul IV release Marranos, imprisoned in Italy.

But in the 17th century a decline commenced and continued until the 19th century. So much so, that Evliya Celebi, the 17th century chronicler of Constantinople, could write of its Jewry: "Their youth are the worst of all the devotees of debauchery."

It was also during that century that Turkey was rocked by the self-proclaimed Messiah, Sabbatai Zevi.

Returning to Turkey from Palestine, where he was spurned by the rabbinate, Sabbatai announced he would march on Constantinople and depose the Sultan, who thereupon promptly threw him in jail. Exasperated by his arrogance Mehmet IV offered Sabbatai

the choice of death or conversion. Sabbatai chose the latter and embracing Islam formed that strange sect known as the Donmeh ("Convert").

Today, there are no such colorful figures in Turkish Jewry as Sabbatai. The Turkish Jew seems to be losing himself in hazy anonymity. At present, there are no Jews in Parliament, let alone in the Government and since the founding of modern Turkey, Jewish members of Parliament have been rare. There are no outstanding Jewish figures in the professions, the arts or the sciences. The Turkish Jew is in commerce: but then, who is not in commerce in this cross-roads between Europe and Asia?

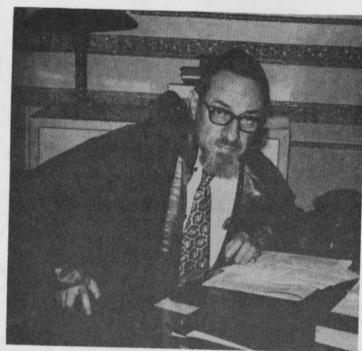
THE absence of Turkish Jews from public life is not the result of any repressive measures however. Since the foundation of modern Turkey any outbursts of anti-Semitism have brought a sharp reminder from the country's leaders that the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne will be implemented. Thus, in the wake of the death in 1938 of Kemal Ataturk, Founder of Modern Turkey, attempts to incite anti-Semitic disturbances were quickly scotched by Ismet Inonu, the new President. He revoked a police

order to expell foreign Jews, and issued a declaration that Jews were equal citizens and that Turkey was proud to have granted asylum to prominent persons who had been forced to flee barbarous persecution. However, this did not stop him, in 1942, from stripping Turkish Jewry of its fortunes through a capital gains

Yes, there is anti-Semitism in Turkey but some of it is xenophobia directed, not against the Jew per se, but against the stranger. It is the forceful expression of the personal pride of a still young country remember this is but the 50th anniversary of modern Turkey-which has recently liberated itself from powerful foreign domination.

The most vitriolic anti-Semitic campaign of recent years was mounted a few years ago by Bügün, a daily newspaper with the fifth largest circulation (about 50,000) in the country. At that time the Turkish President declared: "Each and every one of Turkey's 42,000 Jews is as much a Turkish citizen, entitled to the same rights and liberties, as any of the 31 million Turks. If one hair on the head of one Turkish Jew is touched it would be considered no less a violation of liberty and freedom than the harming of a hair of any other Turk." He went on to add however that Turkey is a democracy and permits freedom of speech and therefore Bügün could not be censored. He did curb the anti-Zionist student riots which occurred at the same time as the Bügün diatribes.

Turkey does not belong to the Arab League for the simple reason that the Turks are not Arabs. The widespread belief that it does appears to arise from the fact that the vast majority of Turks are Moslem; that when the Ottoman Empire was at its apogee it included Egypt and Palestine and their Arabs; and that Turkey is a Levantine coun-still found in Adana, Mersin and try. In fact, Turkey has normal diplomatic relations with Israel: El Al has close to Syria—and in Milas, Tekirdag, offices throughout Turkey and the Canakkale and Gelibolu.



Turkey's Chief Rabbi Dr. David Asseo

London Jewish Chronicle can readily be purchased in the major cities.

Incidentally, anyone looking for a bargain in Penguin and Pelican books might do worse than visit Cohen's bookshop just around the corner from the Chief Rabbi's office in Instanbul. They still have a goodly supply of these books from the days when they cost 30 cents each.

At the time the Bügün affair was at its worst Fiddler on the Roof was playing to "full house" notices in Istanbul and then in Ankara. The Turks are great theatre lovers, but how could they possibly comprehend, let alone enjoy, Tevye and his talit?

OST of Turkey's Jews live in and around Istanbul today. There is also a community of 2,500 in Izmir—the former Smyrna—and there are 600 Jews in Ankara, the capital. Communities of between one and two hundred dwell in Bursa and Edirne and even smaller groups are Iskenderun—all along the south coast

Each of these communities still has at least one synagogue and some limited poultry but no meat Shechita. For Instanbul's 25,000 Jews and those of Izmir Kashrut is no problem, although the cry here as everywhere is "It is so expensive!" Five of Izmir's 12 synagogues are still in use, a daily minyan being held in two. Izmir also has a primary school. Of the scores of synagogues which formerly existed in Istanbul 20 are still in use and in most of them there is a daily minyan.

There are two Jewish primary schools and a Lycée in Istanbul. Until three years ago there was a rabbinical college. At Balat, where Istanbul Jews lived in days of old, there is a 125-bed Jewish hospital. Most of its patients are elderly Jews-I was introduced to one lady who I was assured was 110 and another of 103-anl all the physicians are Jewish. (There are 75 Jewish doctors in Turkey.) The nursing staff, on the other hand, is entirely Moslem.

In Istanbul there are three Jewish youth and social clubs. A report of a Jewish country club in the Princes' Islands—this is where rich Istanbulis

BNAI ZION VOICE

are Jewish.

About 1,500 Istanbul Jews are Ashkenazim but apart from their own synagogue (in which however the chazan is Sephardi) there is no separation of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities. Rabbi David Asseo, who went to rabbinical school on the island of Rhodes (when it belonged to Italy) is the Chief Rabbi of all Turkey.

There is also a community in Istanbul of 200 Karaites, a Jewish sect, who have their own synagogue, their own cemetery and little contact with other Jews of the city. Their numbers are dwindling: their identity being lost.

The reduction of Turkish Jewry from 80,000 to 25,000 in the last quarter-century represents the movement of population from the Anatolian plain, first to the large Turkish cities and then, at the rate of about 100 per month, to Israel. Throughout Anatolia there is mute evidence of former Jewish communities. In Tokat, in the northern part of central Turkey, is a shuttered dilapidated synagogue: for the Jews of Tokat are no more. Then, in Diyarbarkir, a magnificent walled city in south-eastern Turkey, there is a Torah Scroll in the museum. It is sad to observe for nobody has any idea of its value.

OWEVER, even as the synagogues of Anatolia have fallen into disuse and disrepair, a great old synagogue has arisen like a Phoenix. The 2nd-7th century CE synagogue at Sardis, close to Izmir, has been extensively restored and enormous effort and money have gone into this. Not only is the Sardis synagogue rich and ornate but it is huge, about 300 feet long and 60 feet wide. (Compare this with the ancient Capernaum synagogue in Israel which is 80 feet long and 55 feet wide.)

Much of the money for the restoration of the Sardis synagogue has come

have their summer homes—turned out from USA Jewry but it is Moslem to be only a rumor. Its origin: the workers who have lovingly raised the majority of the members of the Buyuk ancient columns which support the ark Ada—the largest island—country club and bimah and who, with great care, have laid rich marble revetments on the walls.

> All through this region of Turkey in the score or more Greco-Roman cities which have vielded to the excavator's spades, the not-so-mute stones tell of Jewish communities who lived here in classical times. For instance, we learn that more than 2,000 years ago the Jews of Laodicea collected monies to send to Jerusalem. However, in 62 BCE the gold was confiscated by the Governor of the city and turned over to the public treasury.

Adjacent Hierapolis boasts one of the most extensive ancient necropoli in Asia minor with tombs raging from simple sarcophagi to sumptuous mausoleums. A unique feature of this necropolis is the stephanoticum - a sum of money left to an official body, the interest to be used to lay a wreath on the donor's tomb each year on a specified day. One inscription tells of a Jew who requested that this be done on Pesach and Shavuot.

majestic 25,000-seat second-century CE Roman theatre of Miletus, 100 miles south of Izmir, is the inscription: "Place of Jews also called the Godfearing." Inscriptions at Side, where Anthony sported with Cleopatra, testify that here there were at least two synagogues. Unhappier days are evoked at ancient Seleucia close to the present frontier with Syria. Here, during the reign of Vespasian and Titus, a vast tunnel was quarried out of solid rock to divert the flow of a river. Much of the work was done by Jews taken prisoner at the fall of Jerusalem.

Also close to the Syrian frontier but further east is the village of Haran which, with its bee-hive mud-huts and fields of wheat stretching to eternity, is surely unchanged from Biblical days. It was here that Jacob acquired wealth. He fled to Haran from the wrath of Esau; lived at the home of his uncle Laban: and married his beloved Rachel. And even before that Abraham had settled here with his family on his journey from Ur to Canaan.

And it was at Haran, too, that Abraham met the Lord for the first In some seats of the fifth row of the time and was promised the covenant.



Premier Golda Meir with U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger during latter's visit to Israel.

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- Central Sick Fund which provides medical services to white collar workers through five clinics and 2 polyclinics in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Ramat Gan and other parts of the country.
- Kfar Bnai Zion, one of the most successful and self-sufficient settlements in Israel, now entering the 27th year of its founding by Bnai Zion. Its population exceeds 500. Recent additions financed by Bnai Zion Foundation include synagogue, community House and Maccabi Sports Center.
- Artists colony in Ein Hod which has developed as one of the major tourist attractions in Israel. Its College for artists was recently accredited by the Israeli Ministry of Education. Noted for its ceramic studios, a new special studio is now being built to bear the name of Bnai Zion.

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- Financial support to interfaith groupings and to clergy and students of all denominations for scholarships and study tours to Israel.
- · Promotion of America-Israel friendship through dissemination of educational and informational material stressing historical link between both democracies; enlistment of support for Israel among Labor movement and all other sectors of American society; presentation of coveted annual Bnai Zion America-Israel friendship Gold Medal award to eminent American statesmen who have rendered distinguished service to the cause of strengthening the bonds of friendship between both countries. Recipients of award include former Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson; former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott and this year-Vice President Gerald R. Ford.
- Financial support for counteracting anti-Israel propaganda on campuses to American Professors for Peace in the Middle East, American Zionist Youth Foundation, Youth Institute for Peace in the Middle East; the presentation of bound volumes of Near East Report annually to over 1000 libraries in American universities.
- Financial support to Jewish Day schools, seminars and other institutions of learning seeking to advance the Hebrew language, history and culture; Gold and Silver medal awards to students in high schools and colleges for proficiency in Hebrew.

THE AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE



The America-Israel Friendship League is dedicated to the promotion and development of mutual friendship and understanding between the people of the United States and the people of the State of Israel through the interchange of cultural, artistic and scientific knowledge between both democracies.

The League is a non-profit non-sectarian organization with its membership open to all, irrespective of race, creed or religion, who subscribe to its principles.

Its prime objective is designed to strengthen the common heritage of liberty, equality and human dignity which bind together both countries. America-Israel friendship not only holds great benefits for the people of Israel but it also holds great benefits for the American people.

We are of the firm belief that the aims of the America-Israel Friendship League contribute immeasurably toward the establishment of an enduring world peace by conveying to the nations of the world the meaning of the ideals of democracy and freedom which are so deeply rooted in the life of the American people and of the people of Israel.

To accomplish the aforementioned purposes, we are engaged in the following program of activities:

The presentation of lectures and seminars with the participation of leading scholars, historians and educators on current issues relating to events in Israel and the Middle East and in all other international spheres of concern to both countries;

Distribution of Informational and educational material on Israel and the Middle East to institutions of higher learning, mass media, religious groups, industry and Labor movement;

The enlistment of interfaith support and encouragement of Study Missions to Israel by clergy of all denominations, educators and student groups;

Publications and reprints of material and articles dealing with major aspects of events in the Middle East;

The expansion of the facilities of the America-Israel Friendship House as a Center of information and dissemination of cultural material and as a community forum for a free exchange of ideas;

Presentation of America-Israel Friendship Awards to outstanding Americans who have rendered distinguished service to the furtherance of good will and understanding between the peoples of both countries.

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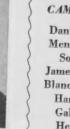


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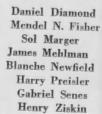
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who, through Bnai Zion labored with unflagging devotion for Medinat Yisrael and our people everywhere!

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from her dear Friends

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She was a shining example of devotion and dedication to the cause of Israel and the Jewish People.



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IN SALUTE

TO THE

Heroic People of Israel

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IN HONOR OF

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In Memoriam

* Deceased

To my Beloved

Wife REGINA, Son ABRAHAM PARENTS

Five Sisters and Two Brothers
AND THEIR FAMILIES

who died at the hands of the bestial Nazis.

CHARLES NEWTON

Greetings to . . .

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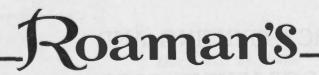
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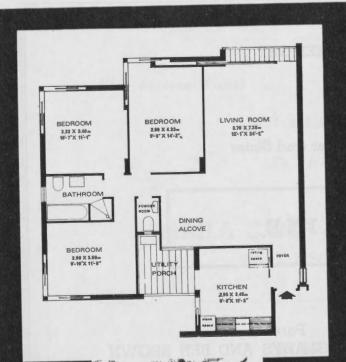
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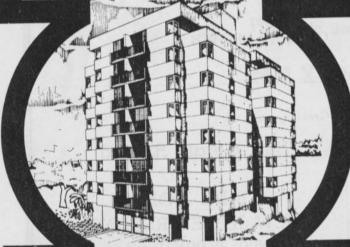
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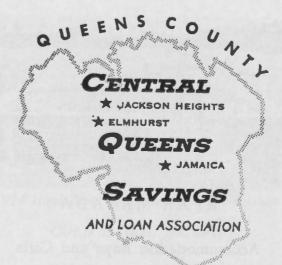
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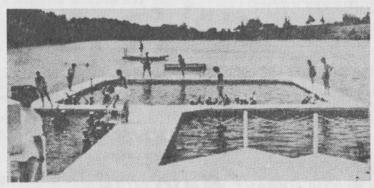
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Now to tachlis:

For your own background information I wish to inform you as follows:

- 1. Bnai Zion, the American Fraternal Zionist Organization, has been founded in 1908 and is now considered one of the fastest growing Zionist and Jewish fraternal organizations in the country with a nationwide membership of close to 30,000 Jewish families. Its program is dedicated to Americanism, fraternalism and Zionism and parallel with its activities on the American scene in the furtherance of educational and youth program it has to its credit the establishment and maintenance of over 50 constructive and lifesaving projects in Israel. The latter are financed by the Bnai Zion Foundation.
- 2. Bnai Zion has evolved in the past decade as one of the most potent factors in American Jewish life being a constituent member of such organizations as the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations, American Section of the World Jewish Congress, American Zionist Federation, etc. etc.

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2 years and of

Ford of the following items:

the presidency of former Congres headquarters of the League which Israel Friendship House in New York is dedicated to the promotion and development of mutual friendship and understanding between the peoples of the United States and the State of Israel through the interchange of cultural, artistic and scientific knowledge between both democracies. One of the honorary sponsors of the League is <u>Vice President Ford</u>.

- 2. Praise for State Supreme Court Justice Abraham J. Multer, President of Bnai Zion who during his tenure as Congilian was in the front rank as a champion of the cause of Israel; Dr. Harris J. Levine, Chairman of the Bnai Zion Foundation who has been active in the Zionist movement for over half a century and Herman Z. Quittman, Executive Vice President of Bnai Zion, a Zionist veteran who is considered one of the foremost dynamic executives in Jewish life, and Mr. Tenger.
- 3. Among the major projects in Israel which the Bnai Zion has established and which will be a beneficiary of the dinner are: the Bnai Zion Home for Retarded Children in Rosh Ha'ayin which is providing care and rehabilitation to close to 500 children and the diagnostic and evaluation center for disadvantaged patients located in Kfar Hashwedi near Jerusalem. These projects which in addition to the chain of medical clinics and other life saving institutions are being financed by the Bnai Zion Foundation.

On the American scene the Bnai Zion Foundation is extending financial support to interfaith groups and clergy and students of all denominations for scholarships and study tours to Israel. It also promotes Hebrew culture for the study of Jewish history.

4. Former recipients of the annual Bnai Zion America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal Awards include the late Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson, former Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey who received the Award last year, Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott and other distinguished American statesmen in tribute to their efforts in furthering America-Israel friendship.

I believe that the aforementioned information will suffice. Should you be in need of any additional material, do not hesitate to call me.

It is needless for me to point out about deadlines. If we receive the excerpts of Vice President Ford's address by February 20th, it will give me ample time to process it for distribution to the mass communications media.

Again with best wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:rk

1.5. I Sweerly hope you will be able to come to the affair. Reese advise me

SBE PAGES 11-12)

Address by David Rockefeller
Chairman of the Board
The Chase Manhattan Bank
Centennial Convocation
Colorado School of Mines
February 9, 1974



LIVING IN AN ENERGY-SCARCE WORLD

I'M DELIGHTED TO HAVE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE
IN TODAY'S CONVOCATION. FROM THE IMPRESSIVE ROSTER OF GUESTS
WHO HAVE BEEN WITH YOU THESE PAST TWO DAYS. I CAN SEE THAT YOU'VE
HAD A MOST INTERESTING AND PRODUCTIVE EXPERIENCE — AS WELL AS
A LOT OF STIFF COMPETITION FOR ANY SPEAKER TO FOLLOW.

THERE IS, OF COURSE, A SPECIAL EXCITEMENT IN BEING PART OF THE ONE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SCHOOL OF MINES -- AN INSTITUTION RENOWNED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS A CENTER OF LEARNING FOR MINING AND MINERAL TECHNOLOGY.

IN MY OWN CASE, I ALSO HAVE TO ADMIT TO A CERTAIN LAYMAN'S

SENSE OF AWE ON THE OCCASION. BEING TRAINED MYSELF IN ECONOMICS,

I PARTICULARLY VALUE A CHANCE TO ASSOCIATE WITH EXPERTS NOTED FOR

THEIR PRACTICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS. AS YOU MAY KNOW, IT HAS BEEN SAID

BY SOME THAT ONE COULD STRETCH OUT ALL THE WORLD ECONOMISTS

END-TO-END AND NEVER REACH A CONCLUSION!

ALTHOUGH I WOULD HESITATE TO PASS SO HARSH A JUDGMENT ON MY FELLOWS IN THE ECONOMICS PROFESSION, NEVERTHELESS, VIEWING THE MANY SERIOUS PROBLEMS WE FACE, THERE IS ONE CONCLUSION THAT ALL OF US, INCLUDING ECONOMISTS, CAN REACH: NAMELY, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE WORLD WILL BE INCREASINGLY RELIANT IN THE YEARS AHEAD ON ENGINEERS AS CREATORS OF TECHNOLOGY. AS WE FIND OURSELVES LIVING MORE AND MORE IN A WORLD WHICH IS RUNNING SHORT OF ENERGY AND OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES, WE HAVE TO BE GUIDED TO A FAR GREATER DEGREE BY EXPERT ADVICE ON BOTH THE LIMITS AND THE POTENTIAL OF TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION.

MANY HAVE LONG SOUGHT TO BRING CONCERN WITH OUR DWINDLING RESOURCES CLOSER TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIOUSNESS, THOUGH THEIR AUDIENCES HAVE BEEN VERY SMALL IN NUMBER AND RELUCTANT TO RESPOND. IT WAS SOME 40 YEARS AGO THAT HUMORIST WILL ROGERS WAS REMINDING THE NATION THAT, WHILE THE PIONEER WAS USUALLY THOUGHT OF AS A HERO, HE COULD ALSO BE SEEN AS A MAN WHO CUT DOWN A TREE AND NEVER PLANTED ONE, AND WHO PLOWED UNDER GRASS THAT PERHAPS SHOULD HAVE BEEN LEFT UNDISTURBED.

FROM LONG BEFORE ROGERS' TIME, WE HAVE HAD A HISTORY OF OFTEN WASTEFUL AND SHORT-SIGHTED CONSUMPTION OF OUR RESOURCES AND A MISDIRECTION OF THE BENEFITS OF TECHNOLOGY.

SINCE WE'VE DONE PRECIOUS LITTLE ABOUT EITHER, THE

ENERGY CRISIS MAY PROVE TO BE A BLESSING IN DISGUISE -- THOUGH, AS

ONE COMMENTATOR HAS NOTED, A BLESSING THAT IS EXCEEDINGLY

WELL DISGUISED!

AMERICANS ARE FINALLY REALIZING THAT OUR PROSPERITY AND OUR LIFE-STYLE DEPEND ON ENERGY AND OTHER RESOURCES WHICH HAVE LIMITS.

AND ON TECHNOLOGIES WHICH ARE NOT MAGICAL BUT ALSO HAVE LIMITS

AND REQUIRE VAST INVESTMENTS. Now, PERHAPS AT LONG LAST, THE NATION WILL BE PREPARED TO TAKE THE VERY DIFFICULT STEPS THAT ARE NECESSARY TO ANY REAL SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF BOTH SHORT- AND LONG-RANGE RESOURCE SHORTAGES. TODAY I SHALL CONFINE MYSELF TO A DISCUSSION OF THE SHORTAGE OF ENERGY, ALTHOUGH SHORTAGES IN OTHER NATURAL RESOURCES ARE ALSO VERY ACUTE.

IN APPROACHING THE ENERGY CRISIS, I BELIEVE THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE CRITICAL STEPS WE MUST TAKE.

FIRST WE MUST SHARPLY CURTAIL OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS

THE GROWTH OF OUR ENERGY USAGE AND FOCUS ENERGY ALLOCATIONS ON THOSE

AREAS MOST CRITICAL FOR THE COUNTRY'S OVERALL ECONOMY.

SECOND, WE MUST STRESS MUCH MORE THAN WE HAVE IN THE PAST,

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN MEETING LONG-TERM ENERGY NEEDS. TOWARD THIS END,

WE MUST DEVISE BETTER WAYS TO MAKE VITALLY NEEDED CAPITAL AVAILABLE TO

THE EHERGY INDUSTRY, AS WELL AS TO EVALUATE REALISTICALLY THE TRADE-OFFS

BETWEEN OUR ENERGY AND ENVIRONMENTAL PRIORITIES.

FINALLY, WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT, WHILE SELF-SUFFICIENCY
IN ENERGY, AS IN ANYTHING ELSE, GIVES ONE A SENSE OF INDEPENDENCE
AND SECURITY, THE ENERGY PROBLEM IS A GLOBAL ONE WHICH WILL DEMAND
GLOBAL, AND NOT PAROCHIAL, SOLUTIONS. THUS, WE MUST COOPERATE WITH
OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD IN FINDING MORE UNIVERSAL ANSWERS.

ON THE FIRST POINT, WE ALREADY KNOW THAT THE OIL EMBARGO AND PRICE RISES BY THE OIL-PRODUCING NATIONS HAVE TAKEN A CONSIDERABLE TOLL.

WE AT CHASE PROJECT A PERIOD OF ECONOMIC RECESSION DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE YEAR BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. IN LARGE PART DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE IMPACT OF THE EMBARGO.

THE EMBARGO, HOWEVER, WAS ONLY A WORSENING FACTOR IN AN.

ALREADY BAD SITUATION. FOR SOME TIME NOW, WE HAVE BEEN MOVING TOWARD.

A SERIOUS STRAIN ON OUR ENERGY CAPACITY, AS CONSUMPTION HAS CONTINUED

TO INCREASE RAPIDLY WHILE OUR MAJOR DOMESTIC SUPPLIES, FOR VARIOUS

REASONS, HAVE NOT KEPT PACE.

FOR EXAMPLE, AT A TIME WHEN DOMESTIC RESERVES OF NATURAL GAS
HAVE BEEN STEADILY DWINDLING, THE ARTIFICIALLY LOW, GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED
PRICE OF GAS IN THE UNITED STATES HAS DISCOURAGED NEW INVESTMENT BY THE
INDUSTRY TO FIND NEW GAS AND OIL SOURCES.

BY THE SAME TOKEN, VERY LITTLE NEW OIL REFINING CAPACITY

HAS BEEN ADDED IN THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, IN PART DUE TO THE

UNWILLINGNESS OF STATES AND REGIONS TO PERMIT THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW

REFINERIES BECAUSE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS AS WELL AS UNCERTAINTIES

SURROUNDING NEW AUTO POLLUTION CONTROL STANDARDS, AND IN PART DUE

TO THE DELAY OF THE ALASKA PIPELINE WHICH REDUCED THE RATE OF GROWTH

IN DOMESTIC PRODUCTION.

FURTHERMORE, ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS AND COMMUNITY OPPOSITION

HAVE BOTH BLOCKED THE BUILDING OF NEW NUCLEAR ENERGY FACILITIES AND

ENCOURAGED THE USE OF GAS AS A REPLACEMENT FOR COAL AS A FUEL.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, OUR DOMESTIC GENERATION OF ENERGY,

COUPLED WITH EXPECTED IMPORTS, IS NOT LIKELY TO BE SUFFICIENT TO SUSTAIN

A GROWING, HIGH EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY THROUGH 1974, 1975, AND 1976,

REGARDLESS OF WHAT HAPPENS TO MIDEAST OIL IMPORTS!

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF ALLOCATION AND VOLUNTARY CONSERVATION
MEASURES SO FAR ADOPTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION MAY BE ENOUGH TO GET US
THROUGH THE PERIOD OF THE EMBARGO'S IMMEDIATE EFFECTS AND THE NORMAL HIGH
ENERGY DEMANDS OF WINTER. IN ADDITION, SHARPLY HIGHER GASOLINE PRICES

WILL PUT MODERATE DOWNWARD PRESSURE ON DEMAND AND ACCELERATE CHANGES
SUCH AS THE ALREADY NOTICEABLE SHIFT TO SMALLER CARS.

ALL THESE FACTORS, HOWEVER, WILL NOT PRODUCE MIRACLES. IN THE MONTHS AHEAD, WE WILL HAVE TO BITE THE BULLET A GOOD DEAL HARDER THAN WE ARE AT PRESENT.

TO PROTECT THE BASE OF OUR ECONOMY, WE MUST FURTHER REDUCE GASOLINE AND HEATING OIL CONSUMPTION DRASTICALLY AND DIRECT THAT ENERGY TO THE MOST ESSENTIAL USES. THIS MAY EVEN REQUIRE RATIONING AS THE ONLY EFFECTIVE -- AND FAIR -- MEANS OF ACHIEVING THE CHANGE, IT IS IMPORTANT TO NOTE, THOUGH, THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID A MAJOR ADVERSE EFFECT OF THE OIL EMBARGO ON INDUSTRY, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO REDUCE PRIVATE USE OF AUTOMOBILES BY 25-30%. However, Anything over A 15% REDUCTION WOULD SEVERELY IMPAIR PEOPLE'S ABILITY TO GET TO WORK AND SHOP.

THUS CUTTING BACK CAR USAGE ENOUGH TO BE REALLY EFFECTIVE IS NO PANACEA.

THIS BRINGS ME TO THE SECOND MAJOR STEP TOWARD LIVING IN AN ENERGY-SCARCE WORLD -- THE HARD TASK OF DEVELOPING NEW AND EXPANDED ENERGY RESOURCES IN THE UNITED STATES.

ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY HAS GREAT EMOTIONAL APPEAL,

ESPECIALLY IN VIEW OF THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE

CURRENT CRISIS. And the present deprivation will doubtless make it

EASY TO GET UNIVERSAL AGREEMENT THAT SOMETHING SHOULD BE DONE TO

GUARANTEE A MORE SECURE SOURCE OF DOMESTIC ENERGY IN THE LONGER-TERM.

THE QUESTION OF WHAT SHOULD BE DONE, HOWEVER, WILL ELICIT CONSIDERABLE

CONTROVERSY.

I NEED NOT DWELL BEFORE THIS AUDIENCE ON THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS
OF ACHIEVING GREATER SELF-SUFFICIENCY. WITH HIGHER PRICES OF CRUDE OIL,
WE MAY BE ABLE TO DEVELOP MORE ECONOMICAL METHODS OF EXTRACTING OIL AND
GAS FROM COAL, OUR MOST ABUNDANT FOSSIL FUEL RESOURCE. WE CAN FURTHER
DEVELOP NUCLEAR POWER WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY GENERATE UP TO 35% OF
OUR NECESSARY ELECTRICITY IN ANOTHER DECADE. WE CAN LEARN TO TAP OUR
HUGE SUPPLIES OF OIL SHALE SUCH AS THOSE HERE IN COLORADO. WE CAN
PURSUE RESEARCH INTO MORE EXOTIC POWER SOURCES SUCH AS SOLAR ENERGY
AND THE CONVERSION OF HYDROGEN, THOUGH SUBSTANTIAL BENEFITS HERE ARE
PROBABLY FOR A MORE REMOTE FUTURE. MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE CAN ENCOURAGE



NEW DISCOVERIES AND INCREASED PRODUCTION OF OIL AND GAS, INCLUDING GREATER EMPHASIS ON OFFSHORE WELLS.

IN ALL OF THESE CASES, IT IS IMMEDIATELY OBVIOUS THAT TOUGH
CHOICES BETWEEN ENERGY GENERATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL PRIORITIES MUST

BE MADE. THE EFFECTS OF STRIP-MINING FOR COAL, THERMAL POLLUTION.

FROM NUCLEAR ENERGY, AND THE RISK OF SPILLS FROM OFFSHORE DRILLING

ARE ALL IMPORTANT ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERNS. BUT THESE CONCERNS.

CAN ALSO BE VIEWED AS OBSTACLES TO DEVELOPING THE ONLY

RESOURCES WE HAVE AS A NATION TO MEET MORE FULLY OUR ENERGY NEEDS

ON OUR OWN.

ABANDON OUR NATIONAL GOALS TO ACHIEVE RIGOROUS ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS.

AT THE SAME TIME, I AM CONVINCED THAT WE MUST RECOGNIZE MORE CLEARLY

THAN WE HAVE THE COSTS INVOLVED IN TERMS OF NATIONAL SECURITY, VITAL

SERVICES, AND JOBS. IN MY JUDGMENT WE MUST AVOID SENSATIONAL SLOGANS

AND MUST WEIGH VERY CAREFULLY THE COMPLEX RAMIFICATIONS OF THE OPTIONS

AVAILABLE TO US. WE SHOULD STRIVE FOR A SENSIBLE BALANCE BETWEEN OUR

ENERGY NEEDS AND OUR ECOLOGICAL CONCERNS.

EQUALLY IMPORTANT AS A FACTOR IN MEETING DOMESTIC ENERGY
NEEDS, WE MUST FACE SOME TOUGH DECISIONS INVOLVING THE AVAILABILITY
OF CAPITAL FOR THE U.S. ENERGY INDUSTRY.

No matter what new sources are developed, oil will have to supply at least 50% of this country's vastly increased energy needs up to 1985. As things stand today, the U.S. will have to import half its total crude oil consumption by that year, as compared with only a third at present. Furthermore, our greatest reliance will be on Middle Eastern and North African supplies.

THIS NOT ONLY HAS POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS INVOLVING A DEPENDENCY
THAT MOST AMERICANS FIND DISTASTFUL IF NOT UNACCEPTABLE, IT IS ALSO
A MONSTROUS ECONOMIC PROSPECT. EVEN AT THE OLD PRICES OF A FEW MONTHS
AGO, THE COST OF SUCH AN IMPORT LEVEL WOULD BE \$25 BILLION ANNUALLY,
AN IMPOSSIBLE BURDEN ON THE U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS AND, CONSEQUENTLY,
A DISRUPTION TO ORDERLY WORLD TRADE AND MONETARY STABILITY. AT THE NEW
PRICES, THE COSTS WOULD BE ASTRONOMICAL -- PERHAPS PROHIBITIVE.

HOWEVER DIFFICULT, THE ONLY TENABLE OPTION IS TO ENCOURAGE

A NEW AND IMPROVED DOMESTIC OIL PRODUCTION. HERE, THE MAJOR CHALLENGE

FOR THE U.S. OIL INDUSTRY WILL BE FINDING WAYS TO FINANCE THE HUGE

NEW INVESTMENT THAT IS INVOLVED.

ECONOMISTS AT CHASE ESTIMATE THAT TO MEET THE ANTICIPATED

CONSUMPTION OF THE YEARS FROM 1970 TO 1985, OUR DOMESTIC PETROLEUM

INDUSTRY WILL NEED SOME \$450 BILLION IN FINANCING. THIS ENORMOUS

AMOUNT CAN COME, OF COURSE, FROM ONLY TWO SOURCES -- INDUSTRY EARNINGS

AND BORROWINGS.

I'LL HAVE MORE TO SAY IN A MOMENT ABOUT BORROWINGS, BUT IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT EXTERNAL SOURCES OF CAPITAL CANNOT MEET ANYTHING LIKE THE ENTIRE NEED. SOME LARGE PORTION OF NEW INVESTMENT OUTLAYS WILL HAVE TO BE MADE OUT OF INCREASED INDUSTRY EARNINGS.

THIS WILL INEVITABLY MEAN HIGHER PRICES FOR DOMESTIC PETROLEUM PRODUCTS RANGING FROM CRUDE OIL TO GASOLINE AND DERIVATIVES. BECAUSE OF THE CRISIS, THE ENTIRE ENERGY INDUSTRY HAS BECOME CLOSELY REGULATED,

AND THE PRICES OF PETROLEUM PRODUCTS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN STRICTLY

CONTROLLED BY GOVERNMENT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. IT WILL BE UP TO WASHINGTON, THEN, TO DECIDE, AFTER THE IMMEDIATE CRISIS HAS BEEN "WEATHERED," IF THE INDUSTRY IS TO RECEIVE THE NEEDED INFLOW OF CASH TO SUSTAIN THE NEEDED OUTFLOW OF INVESTMENT.

THE POLITICAL TEMPTATION WILL BE ALL TOO GREAT TO GIVE CONSUMERS A SUPPOSED "BREAK" BY HOLDING PRODUCT PRICES DOWN.

AMERICANS WILL DO WELL TO SHUN SUCH "BREAKS," HOWEVER, FOR THEY WILL PAY DEARLY FOR THEM IN ENSUING YEARS.

ANOTHER SOURCE OF ADDED INCOME FOR INVESTMENT THAT IS UNDER

PUBLIC POLICY CONTROL WOULD BE INCREASED TAX INCENTIVES FOR OIL

EXPLORATION AND OTHER ENERGY DEVELOPMENT. Unfortunately, THE DRIFT

OF POLITICAL SENTIMENT OVER RECENT YEARS -- AND, INDEED, IN RECENT WEEKS

HAS BEEN AGAINST SUCH TAX DEVICES AS THE OIL DEPLETION ALLOWANCE.

THE PRESENT PROSPECT IS THAT THE DEPLETION ALLOWANCE MAY BE ELIMINATED

ALTOGETHER.

ONCE AGAIN, PERHAPS THE ENERGY CRISIS WILL BE A BLESSING
THE DISGUISE IF IT SERVES TO BRING HOME TO AMERICANS WHY NEEDED TAX
INCENTIVES ARE NOT "LOOPHOLES." THERE IS A CLEAR AND IMMEDIATE

NECESSITY FOR LESS FANTASY AND MORE FACTS IN DETERMINING AN APPROPRIATE AND REALISTIC TAX STATUS FOR THE OIL AND OTHER ENERGY INDUSTRIES.

WITHOUT ADDED FUNDS FROM THESE AND OTHER SOURCES, IT

WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO UNDERTAKE THE MASSIVE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

REQUIRED FOR A GREATER DEGREE OF ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY.

EVEN UNDER THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES, ANYTHING APPROACHING

SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN ENERGY IS A LONG WAY OFF -- PROBABLY AROUND 1990!

THE COST, IN ANY EVENT, WOULD BE ENORMOUS AND WE MUST ASK OURSELVES

HOW FAR IN THIS DIRECTION WE REALLY WANT TO GO. MOREOEVER, EVEN IF WE

WERE TO ACHIEVE THIS GOAL, THE IMPACT OF ENERGY SHORTAGES

ON OTHERS WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE PROFOUND ECONOMIC, TRADE AND POLITICAL

RAMIFICATIONS THAT WILL AFFECT US AS WELL.

IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE ENERGY CHALLENGE IS GLOBAL.

REQUIRING NOTHING LESS THAN GLOBAL SOLUTIONS. I WOULD LIKE TO CLOSE

WITH A FEW OF THE DIRECTIONS I SEE THOSE SOLUTIONS TAKING.

FIRST, WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE REST OF THE WORLD -INCLUDING OUR FRIENDS IN EUROPE AND JAPAN -- HAS FAR HEAVIER DEPENDENCE
ON OIL IMPORTS THAN WE -- AND NO CHANCE FOR SELF-SUFFICIENCY. WE MUST
STRENGTHEN TRILATERAL TIES AMONG EUROPE, JAPAN AND NORTH AMERICA IN AN
EFFORT TO FIND SOLUTIONS FOR ALL COUNTRIES.

SECOND, THE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF THE OIL INDUSTRY WORLDWIDE

ARE INCREASING EVEN FASTER THAN OUR DOMESTIC NEEDS. AT CHASE, WE

ESTIMATE A GLOBAL FINANCING REQUIREMENT FOR THE INDUSTRY EXCEEDING

\$1.3 TRILLICH FOR THE PERIOD 1970-1985! FUNDING THIS REQUIREMENT,

OBVIOUSLY, WILL REQUIRE THE CLOSEST INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN

A NUMBER OF WAYS.

THIRD, A TRULY GLOBAL APPROACH INCLUDING THE COMMUNIST

COUNTRIES SHOULD ENABLE THE WESTERN NATIONS TO DRAW UPON IMPORTANT

ENERGY RESOURCES SUCH AS NATURAL GAS IN THE U.S.S.R. AND OTHER PARTS

OF EASTERN EUROPE. THIS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH OUR POLICY OF DETENTE

AND EXPANDED EAST-WEST TRADE.

FINALLY, WHEN PEACE AND STABILITY HAVE BEEN RESTORED TO

THE MIDDLE EAST, THE POLITICAL CLIMATE SHOULD AGAIN MAKE POSSIBLE

A CLEAR VIEW OF THE MUTUAL INTEREST OF THE LARGE OIL-PRODUCING

NATIONS AND THE LARGE OIL-CONSUMING NATIONS IN A FAIR AND UNINTERRUPTED

MARKET FOR OIL.

THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD LIVING IN AN ENERGYSCARCE WORLD IS INSURING THE FAIR AND RESPONSIBLE ALLOCATION OF ENERGY
AMONG THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. WHERE OIL IS CONCERNED, THE LARGE
PRODUCERS AND LARGE CONSUMERS WILL HAVE TO SIT DOWN TOGETHER AT SOME
POINT TO RESOLVE THEIR DIFFERENCES AND AND WORK WITH ONE ANOTHER ON THE
ALLOCATION QUESTION, AS WELL AS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN ENERGY INDUSTRY
THAT WILL KEEP PACE WITH THE NEEDS OF ALL NATIONS.

AN INDISPENSABLE INGREDIENT NEEDED TO ACCOMPLISH THIS IS THE MEANS TO FINANCE VAST NEW INVESTMENTS BY THE WORLD'S ENERGY INDUSTRY.

THIS IS IN PART A PROBLEM OF MARSHALING LARGE AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL IN THE RIGHT PLACE AT THE RIGHT TIME. IN THE FACE OF CAPITAL



SHORTAGES AGGRAVATING A MOUNTING GLOBAL CRISIS IN ENERGY, THE NATIONS

OF THE WORLD HAVE FOR YEARS SERIOUSLY RESTRICTED THE FLOW OF THAT

MOST BASIC RESOURCE TO THE POINTS OF GREATEST NEED.

IN THIS REGARD, IT WAS VERY ENCOURAGING TO NOTE LESS THAN

TWO WEEKS AGO THAT THE UNITED STATES ENDED SEVERAL MAJOR CONTROLS OVER

THE MOVEMENT OF DOLLARS ABROAD. HOPEFULLY, THIS WILL BE AN ENDURING

STEP TOWARD THE ELIMINATION OF ALL BARRIERS TO THE FREE FLOW OF

CAPITAL FUNDS ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. CONTROLS ARE A TWO-WAY STREET

AND THE DEMISE OF THESE AMERICAN RESTRICTIONS SHOULD LEAD TO INCREASED

FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, AS WELL AS MORE AMERICAN

INVESTMENT ABROAD.

THE HIGHEST PRIORITY MUST BE GIVEN TO ENCOURAGING UNIMPEDED

ACCESS TO CAPITAL GLOBALLY. THE U.S. TAX SYSTEM, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN

MAKE INTERNATIONAL INVESTMENT MORE ATTRACTIVE BY ELIMINATING WITHHOLDING

TAXES ON INTEREST AND DIVIDENDS FROM FOREIGN INVESTMENTS IN THE U.S.

THIS WOULD STIMULATE AN INFLOW OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR ANY OTHER NATION WILL BE ABLE TO COUNT ON A SECURE ENERGY SUPPLY OVER THE LONG TERM WITHOUT FACING UP TO THIS FUNDAMENTAL CHALLENGE.

OF COURSE, A CLOSELY RELATED PROBLEM IS WHERE TO FIND THE HUGE AMOUNTS OF FUNDS NEEDED. I MENTIONED WITH REGARD TO THE U.S. OIL INDUSTRY THAT BORROWINGS WOULD NO DOUBT ACCOUNT FOR A SIZABLE PORTION OF THE NEED. AND THIS IS TRUE OF THE INDUSTRY WORLDWIDE. BUT WHERE BEYOND TRADITIONAL SOURCES CAN FUNDS BE FOUND?

ONE ANSWER IS TO LOOK TO THE HUGE EARNINGS OF THE OIL PRODUCING

NATIONS -- WHICH ARE GROWING SO LARGE AS TO CREATE A MONETARY THREAT

UNLESS SOME CREATIVE SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND. BASED ON A RECENT TRIP

TO THE MIDDLE EAST, I BELIEVE THESE NATIONS CAN BE PERSUADED IT IS IN

THEIR INTEREST TO PUT A PORTION OF THEIR EARNINGS TO USE FOR THE

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY INDUSTRY.

THEY HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SUPPLY MUCH OF THE CAPITAL

NEEDED TO EXPAND VASTLY THE HORIZONS OF OUR ENERGY TECHNOLOGY

AND PRODUCTION OVER THE COMING DECADES. BY THE YEAR 2000, THE WORLD

FOR ITS ENERGY NEEDS. AND THE FULL-SCALE DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE SOURCES IS ONE OF THE ENERGY INDUSTRY'S GREATEST -- AND MOST CAPITAL-EXPENSIVE -- CHALLENGES. THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS SHOULD WELCOME THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PRODUCING NATIONS IN THIS GIGANTIC. BUT ESSENTIAL ENDEAVOR.

ASSURE THE OIL PRODUCERS OF AN AMPLE RETURN ON A LONG-TERM BASIS.

I THINK THEY WOULD SEE THE WISDOM OF SUCH AN INVESTMENT. THEY REALIZE

THAT THEIR OIL RESERVES ARE LIMITED AND THAT THE HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS

OF DOLLARS THEY WILL HAVE EARNED FROM OIL SHOULD BE WELL PLACED BY

THE TIME THESE RESERVES ARE DEPLETED -- FOR OTHERWISE THESE ARE

RESOURCE-POOR COUNTRIES.

BOTH OIL PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS SHARE A RESPONSIBILITY

TO FUTURE GENERATIONS TO ASSURE A CONTINUED SUPPLY OF ENERGY FROM

NEW SOURCES. WE ARE NOW DEPENDENT FOR OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING ON

SETTING A MATCH TO PRECIOUS RESOURCES THAT TOOK MILLIONS OF YEAR TO

COME INTO BEING AND ARE CONSUMED IN AN INSTANT. SURELY, WE MUST ALL

ACCEPT THE BURDEN OF FINDING SOME REPLACEMENT FOR WHAT WE USE.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS DIPLOMATIC AND OTHER PROBLEMS TO OVERCOME,
BUT CREATING SOME KIND OF CREDIT POOL MECHANISM THAT WOULD MAKE A

PORTION OF THE OIL EARNINGS OF PRODUCING NATIONS AVAILABLE TO ENERGY

COMPANIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT WOULD CONSTITUTE

A GIANT STEP TOWARD FULFILLING THIS RESPONSIBILITY.

SHORT-TERM CONSERVATION, BUILDING SELF-SUFFICIENCY,

COOPERATING ON GLOBAL ASPECTS OF A GLOBAL PROBLEM -- THESE, THEN,

ARE SOME OF THE STEPS TOWARD LIVING IN A ENERGY-SCARCE WORLD I BELIEVE

WE MUST BE PREPARED TO TAKE.

THEY ARE BY NO MEANS EASY, HOWEVER, AND WILL DEMAND HARD WORK, SACRIFICE AND GREAT EFFORT FROM ALL OF US -- AND ESPECIALLY.

FROM THE HIGHLY TRAINED SPECIALISTS OF THE SCHOOL OF MINES AND THEIR.

PROFESSIONAL COLLEAGUES EVERYWHERE IN THE WORLD.

RECENTLY, I READ IN THE PRESS OF ONE MAN WHO HAS DEVELOPED A UNIQUELY IMAGINATIVE APPROACH OF HIS OWN TO THE ENERGY CRISIS.

He's a 92-year-old dentist in Florida and his solution is to stop talking for four days a week, because, as he says, "We lose more energy through the mouth than anywhere else!"

WITH THAT ADMONITION IN MIND, I'LL SIMPLY CLOSE BY

SAYING THAT, WITH REGARD TO ENERGY, WE'VE BEEN BOTH A PRODIGAL

AND A LUCKY NATION. OUR LUCK, LIKE OUR OIL, IS NOW RUNNING OUT.

GIVEN A REASONED STRATEGY AND SERIOUS DETERMINATION, HOWEVER, I AM

CONVINCED WE CAN TRANSFORM THE CURRENT CRISIS INTO A REAL OPPORTUNITY

FOR NATIONAL GROWTH AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION.

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REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT GERALD R. FORD AT THE B'NAI ZION AMERICA-ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP DINNER NEW YORK HILTON - GRAND BALLROOM NEW YORK, NEW YORK SUNDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 24, 1974

ADVANCE FOR RELEASE IN MONDAY A.M.s

It is with deep appreciation that I thank you for the great honor you have bestowed upon me with the award of the 1974 America-Israel Friendship Gold Medal. I will treasure this medal as a cherished token of my commitment to the friendship of our Nation with Israel. But I trust I have your permission to symbolically share it with the Administration that I represent.

I have often heard that Zionism makes for better Americanism. Accordingly, let me offer American Zionists some of my thoughts on the evolving relationship between our own country and the State of Israel.

We meet at an historic moment. This is the eve of Secretary of State Kissinger's return to the Middle East. Dr. Kissinger is now seeking the disengagement of Israeli and Syrian forces as a further step in the process of peace-making ensuing from the agreement consummated between Israel and Egypt for separation of contending armies at the Suez Canal.

Dr. Kissinger judged very astutely the moment when Egypt and Israel were both ready to go from a state of permanent hostility to a state of possible accommodation. He converted that readiness into a formula that both countries could accept. We pray that this can now be done with regard to the confrontation on the Syrian-Israeli front.

I am pleased to note that American diplomats recently returned to Syria after more than six years of severed relations. This can only encourage partisans of peace.

We are, of course, addressing ourselves to the issue of Israeli prisoners of war held by Syria. I recall all too vividly the torment of Americans over the unknown fate of our P.O.W.'s in North Vietnam. Humanitarian considerations indicate that Syria and Israel should exchange full lists of prisoners and that both sides

(more)

permit Red Cross visits to P.O.W. camps.

Dr. Kissinger has already conveyed some initial Syrian ideas on disengagement to the Government of Israel. The role of the United States in these negotiations is not to impose American ideas on the other parties, but rather to work with them to find solutions to the problems that block movement toward a lasting Middle East peace settlement.

We remain hopeful for the lifting of the Arab oil embargo. Our conviction is that the free flow of commerce facilitates the economic stability of all countries and strengthens the cause of peace. The United States wants friendship with every nation in the Middle East. We harbor malice toward none.

This Administration is proud of the role it played in helping to bring about the cessation of hostilities in October, the Six-Point Agreement to consolidate the ceasefire in November, the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference in December, and the disengagement agreement in January. We are pleased that disengagement to lines specified in the Suez Canal agreement took place according to schedule.

Dr. Kissinger's peacemaking is nourished by the new climate that exists in the world. This is the climate that ensued from the President's courageous initiatives in visiting Peking and Moscow and from the understandings reached there and in subsequent exchanges. This is the climate that flows from the President's extrication of the United States from the war in Vietnam.

I am very proud that American diplomacy relieved the dangerous global pressure point at the Suez Canal. Egypt and Israel now have the opportunity to implement a scenario of peace, step by step, in such manner as to build mutual confidence.

All the credit does not belong to American diplomacy. A large share accrues to the courage, goodwill, and vision of leaders in both Egypt and Israel.

Dr. Kissinger's genius was in narrowing the distance between the parties without imposing a formula from the outside. He acted as a go-between for the two sides. This is far better than coercion or pressure. It enhances America's moral standing with both parties, increases our influence, and decreases the chances of American

military involvement.

President Nixon made a commitment to provide the necessary defense capability to Israel. He was mindful of the dangerous flow of Soviet weapons to Egypt and Syria. The President kept his word. There was no credibility gap in Israel when the U. S. Air Force rushed transport after transport of arms to Tel Aviv during and after the October war. To finance the airlift and other assistance, the Administration sponsored a \$2.2 billion emergency aid bill.

This Administration remains committed to a military balance to preserve peace.

President Nixon pledged in 1968 that the United States would seek to impose neither arbitrary settlement nor unilateral concessions. He said that we would use our good offices only to assist the parties to the conflict to fashion their own settlement. He kept his word.

I cite the record of the President and the Secretary of State because I feel honored to be associated with an Administration that began making peace popular in an area where anxiety and death have stalked frontiers for over a quarter of a century. That is why an award for America-Israel achievement belongs more properly to others than to the new Vice President.

Let me say another word about President Nixon. Your organization is greatly concerned over the plight of Soviet Jewish citizens who want to emigrate to Israel. As he advanced the concept of detente with the Soviet Union, President Nixon interceded on behalf of Soviet Jewry. Some 35,000 Soviet Jews have found new homes in Israel.

There is now renewed interest in the fate of Soviet writers and poets -- Jewish and non-Jewish -- who voice dissent within the Soviet Union. The necessity for detente, as we conceive it, does not reflect approval of the Soviet domestic structure. We look with sympathy and great appreciation upon freedom of thought and expression in all societies.

I can tell you tonight that the United States is relieved that the distinguished writer, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, has found a haven outside the Soviet Union. It appears his wife and children will be able to join him -- bringing with them his valuable books and papers.

I have great admiration for Mr. Solzhenitsyn as a creative artist and share the sympathy of all Americans for his present situation. We stand for universal freedom of speech and thought. We regret limitations imposed on these freedoms anywhere.

Our foreign policy, however, is based on a recognition that the United States and the Soviet Union share a special responsibility because of their nuclear power. We have always made clear that our search for a stable peace does not mean approval of their domestic system. The quest for a secure peace must and will continue.

It is my hope that negotiations toward strategic arms limitations and mutual and balanced force reductions will be successful in preserving the present balance and in further reducing the threat of war. Meanwhile, the Administration has just presented to Congress the first defense budget in over 10 years that need not provide for the support of American forces under fire.

To have peace, we must have strong enough defenses to deter aggression. A viable defense bolsters our diplomacy. The realistic defense budget submitted this month reinforces the credibility of American power.

We learned much from the tragic Middle East war last October. Specific material shortages were brought to light during the crisis. The new budget would increase our airlift capacity to deploy forces overseas in time of emergency.

Our force structure is much smaller than it has been since the Korean war. It has been reduced by almost 40% from the 1968 Vietnam peak.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union is placing new emphasis on sea power. Soviet naval forces are growing and are more and more frequently deployed in areas of serious international concern.

Peace is our goal. Its achievement requires that we be strong enough to negotiate with confidence. We must insure that our goodwill is not misconstrued as <u>lack of will</u>.

An era of peace is within reach -- for the superpowers as well as the Middle Eastern countries. To reach that objective, we have no alternative but to maintain a strong defense.

The real interests of Arabs and Israelis, of Russians and Americans, require peaceful coexistence.

Let there be peace for Israel, that land where the prophets dreamed that nation should not lift up sword against nation.

Let there be peace, as well, for the Arabs whose poverty and frustration deserve better than missiles and jets.

Instead of the cradle of civilization becoming its grave, let the cradle of civilization give rise to two peoples, Arab and Jewish, each in their own lands, with commerce and travel flowing across peaceful borders, and with a new sense of mutual respect in keeping with our dream of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God.

I thank you.