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ITINERARY FOR U.J.A. NEWSPAPERMEN'S MISSION

September 2nd - 15th, 1971

THURSDAY, September 2nd

10:20 a.m. Arrival Lod Airport LY 300
 Transfer to Tel Aviv

6:30 p.m. Cocktails and Dinner
 Briefing by Lionel Paitan, P.I.O

Overnight Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv

FRIDAY, September 3rd

7:45 a.m. Breakfast

8:15 Leave hotel for JDC/Malben

9:00 Visit JDC/Malben, Briefing by Harold Trobe,
 Director-General JDC/Malben

10:30 Leave for Ashdod

11:00 Visit Ashdod Absorption Center, and meet
 with newcomers.
 Briefing on Immigration and Absorption
 by Mr. Bar Giora, Deputy Director
 of the Department of Immigration

Return to hotel
 Lunch at hotel

Afternoon Free

7:30 p.m. Dinner at hotel

9:30 Meet with Mr. Dan Patir in his home

Overnight Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv

SATURDAY, September 4th

FREE

7:30 p.m. Dinner with Colonel Shlomo Gazit

Overnight Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv

SUNDAY, September 5th

8:00 a.m. Breakfast with Colonel Joseph Calev,
 Army Spokesman

10:15 Visit Army Base

Noon Visit and Lunch at Women's Army Base
 Return to Tel Aviv
 Dinner and Evening Free

Overnight Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv

MONDAY, September 6th

7:00 a.m. Breakfast
7:45 Leave hotel for airport
8:30 Fly to Suez Canal
Visit Bar Lev Line
Return to Tel Aviv
Dinner and Evening Free

Overnight Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv

TUESDAY, September 7th

7:00 a.m. Breakfast
7:30 Leave hotel for the Beit Shean Valley, drive
via Wadi Ara to Beit Shean Valley
9:30 Visit Army Stronghold along the "Hot Line"
10:30 Meet with Mayor of Beit Shean
Drive to Haifa
1:30 p.m. Lunch at Technion with Members of Faculty
5:00 Arrive at hotel
7:30 Cocktails and Dinner with Women Scientists of
Technion
Overnight Dan Carmel, Haifa

WEDNESDAY, September 8th

7:00 a.m. Breakfast
7:30 Leave for Gadot and Golan Heights
9:30 Visit Kibbutz Gadot (Meet with Avi Malkin)
10:30 Drive up to Golan Heights and Visit Army Base
Lunch
Drive to Safed
Visit Town and Art Colony
Return to Haifa
Dinner and Evening Free

Overnight Dan Carmel, Tel Aviv

THURSDAY, September 9th

7:30 a.m. Breakfast
8:15 Leave hotel for the Druze Village, Usufia
9:00 Meet with Kemal Mansur
Leave for Nazareth,
12.00 Noon Meet with Arab Notables
Lunch in Nazareth
Return to Haifa
3:30 p.m. Visit University of Haifa and meet
with Arab-Jewish Panel
Dinner and Evening Free

Overnight Dan Carmel, Haifa

FRIDAY, September 10th

7:30 a.m. Breakfast
 8:00 Leave for Jerusalem
 9:00 Visit Caesarea and view excavations
 Drive via West Bank to Jerusalem
 Lunch in Jerusalem at hotel
 Visit Western Wall and Old City
 Return to hotel
 Dinner and Evening Free

Overnight ~~King David~~, Jerusalem
INTERCONTINENTAL

SATURDAY, September 11th

7:30 p.m. FREE
 Dinner with Michael Elitzur, of the
 Foreign Office
 Overnight ~~King David~~, Jerusalem
INTERCONTINENTAL

SUNDAY, September 12th

8:00 a.m. Breakfast with Eliezer Shmueli
 Visit I.E.F. Denmark School
 11:00 Attend Memorial Ceremony At Yad Vashem
 1:00 p.m. Visit the Knesset
 Lunch at hotel *HAF*
 Visit Beit Lechem, Mt.Scopus, and Ramat
 Eshkol
 Return to hotel
 7:30 Dinner with Minister N. Peled, Minister
 of Absorption

Overnight, King David, Jerusalem

MONDAY, September 13th

6:30 a.m. Breakfast
 7:00 Drive to Ellenby Bridge
 8:00 Arrive Allenby Bridge
 Return to Jerusalem
 11:00 Meet with the editor of "El Kutz" news-
 paper
 5:30 - *HAF* Lunch at hotel with Simcha Dinitz, Political
 Advisor to the Prime Minister
 7:30 p.m. Dinner
 9:30 Meet with Ronnie Medzini at his home

Overnight King David, Jerusalem

TUESDAY, September 14th

9:00 a.m.

Meet with General Vardi

Free

8:00 p.m.

Closing Dinner

Overnight King David, Jerusalem

WEDNESDAY, September 15th

Leave hotel for Lod Airport and Departure



NB Tentative arrangements have been made to meet Mr. David Ben Gurion on either Saturday 4th September, or Saturday 11th September.

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UJA NEWSPAPERMEN'S MISSION
ITINERARY AND NOTES
SEPTEMBER 2nd-15th, 1971

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SEPTEMBER 1st

New York, JFK Airport: - Briefing on the Mission by Raphael Levy, Director of Public Affairs, United Jewish Appeal. (United Jewish Appeal is the major American Agency raising funds in behalf of immigrants to Israel, distressed Jews in other overseas areas and Jewish refugees coming to the United States. It raises these funds through local UJA's and local Jewish Welfare Funds and Jewish Federations. The Appeal is the combined fund-raising arm for the United Israel Appeal, representing the Jewish Agency for Israel in the U.S. - the philanthropic agency that assists immigrants coming to Israel; The Joint Distribution Committee, a 57 year old American organization assisting distressed Jews throughout Europe and other overseas areas, and The United Hias Service which aids Jewish refugees who come to the United States.

Today the main beneficiary of UJA's annual campaign is the Jewish Agency for Israel, serving the greatest area of need. (FOR AN EXTENDED BACKGROUND ON THE UJA, PLEASE SEE THE "HISTORY" SUPPLIED YOU IN THE KIT YOU RECEIVED AT J.F.K.)

R.L. noted that September 1st marked an anniversary - the start of World War II 1939, when Hitler invaded Poland - that had a grim connection with Israel that the members of the Mission were about to visit. Hitler's attack on the Jews, first of Germany and then of the other countries he took over, lead directly to the formation of the United Jewish Appeal. Shocked American Jews, with varied views on Palestine, put aside those differences and began a combined effort (the UJA) to save and rescue as many Nazi-threatened fellow-Jews as possible. They sought to bring them to any available safe haven. Hitler's invasion of Poland led directly to the annihilation of more than three million of Poland's original three and a half million Jews - - and his further conquests and fighting brought death to a total of some 6,000,000 Jews - - one of every three Jews in the world (in 1939). A planned program of extermination carried out in such infamous Nazi concentration camps as Auschwitz (Poland), Matthausen (Austria), Dachau (Germany) accounted for most of these deaths. More than anything else this incredible barbaric attack by a supposedly civilized people upon Europe's Jews - - simply because they were Jews - provided much of the emotional motor power - the determination - and passion among Jews and concerned non-Jews' that eventually culminated in 1948 in the establishment of the Jewish State.

R.L. noted that the State of Israel is approaching its 25th anniversary year (1973)- and that the Israel the Mission members would find would be very different from the Israel that came into being in 1948 following the end of Hitler. He said the Mission would see a land still beset by real problems, but also a land moving ahead. Nevertheless, underlying today's Israel, the perceptive observer could detect the existence of the spirit of '48.

That spirit he said - is summed up in the slogan "never again". In short, never again will Jews - in Israel and outside Israel - let innocent fellow Jews anywhere be crushed or murdered by tyranny, without doing all they possibly can to save or assist them.

Mr. Levy further noted that in view of the present situation in Israel, the people of Israel can no longer contribute to the philanthropic burden of receiving thousands of immigrants, and providing them with Social Welfare and related help including immigrant housing. These humanitarian costs have always been regarded as the traditional responsibilities of the Jews of the free world outside of Israel (including the Jews of the United States) but have never been fully met by them. (In former years, the deficit incurred in these areas by the Jewish Agency, was met by Government funds. Now free world Jews, especially in the U.S. have been asked to bear the full burden of such immigrant aid and social services.

(See history of U.J.A. supplied you in your JFK kit).

R.L. next briefly projected the role of United Jewish Appeal in 1972 in the context of Israel's present situation in the face of an uncertain cease-fire, marked by a menacing Russian presence in the Middle East, and continuing official Arab hostility. These have confronted Israel with a war of attrition - not necessarily a shooting war of attrition - but one being fought on various social and economic fronts.

R.L. said that Israel was trying simultaneously to:

- Maintain her security (which means constant heavy expenditure and reinforcement).
- Develop her economy, with a view toward achieving eventual self-support.
- Take in, and absorb new immigrants, including immigrants still coming from areas of tension and distress.
- Develop a common and free society ^{OF} ~~but~~ these immigrants (who have come from more than 72 countries throughout the world - and who have widely varied backgrounds, and in the instance of many of the Jews from Asian-African countries , a limited acquaintance with 20th century life and thinking.

And finally - - find the road to meaningful peace.

Benjamin Abileah , Consul for Information of the Israel Consulate in Los Angeles, and a Mission Member, now spoke on various issues of Israel policy.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

The Mission arrived in Israel and was transferred to the Dan Hotel, Tel Aviv. At dinner, we were briefed by Lionel Paitan, Deputy Director of the Israel Government Press Information Office - - who spoke about filing and related features.

FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 3

The Mission visited the JDC-Malben Home for the Aged in Rishon-Le-Zion. From Harold Trobe , Director General of JDC activities in Israel, we learned that the JDC meets the needs of some 300,000 people still in various countries}. ADDITIONALLY - this '57 year old American Jewish relief organization was invited by the Israel Government in 1949, at the time of mass immigration, especially from the D.P. camps, to take up the responsibility for certain categories of social cases among the incoming newcomers, ^

Israel , in its Proclamation of Independence, May 14, 1948 (the 5th of Iyar, 5708), (see: PP 8 & 9 , Facts About Israel, 1971) proclaimed the "Law of Return," stating "The State of Israel will be open to Jewish immigration and the ingathering of exiles...."

Some 1,400,000 refugees and immigrants have entered the State since 1948, the greatest part of them helped by funds provided by American Jews through UJA (and furnished the Jewish Agency). But this non-selective immigration brought with it many aged and many social cases - - people who could enter as a matter of right, but who represented a burden on the State.

The JDC-Malben Home at Rishon-Le-Zion, has 250 destitute aged from 14 countries. Their average age is 81. We spoke to Esther Fishler, a 90 year old resident from Focsani, Rumania. She and her husband had gone into hiding during the Hitler period and he had died. She was now in Israel, alone and without surviving family.

Harold Trobe told us that Israel, whose population was once considered a "young population", is now beginning to face the problem of aging. There are 6,000 beds for the aged in the country, not all in ideal institutions - - but the country needs 8,000. Malben alone cares for 2,400. (FOR FURTHER DETAILS SEE MATERIAL SUPPLIED YOU IN OUR VISIT).

MID MORNING SEPTEMBER 3

The Mission visited an Immigrant Absorption Center in Ashdod. (Ashdod is Israel's man-made southern port and a newcomer's Development Town). There are some 40 such centers throughout the country, established and maintained by the Jewish Agency with United Jewish Appeal ^{#UJAs} to speed the entry of new immigrants with professional training into Israeli life. Newcomers stay in such centers for five to six months, "living, sleeping and eating" Hebrew and learning about the country. They are also helped meantime to find suitable future employment and an apartment. During the stay at the Absorption Center a married man or woman with a family receives support for himself (or herself) and family.

At the Ashdod Center, the Mission was briefed by Naftali Bar-Giora, Deputy Director of the Department of Immigration and Absorption of the Jewish Agency. We learned there are generally about 200 to 290 people in the Center, living in 90 apartments at Ashdod.

Since statehood, as previously noted, Israel has taken in some 1,400,000 immigrants and refugees from more than 70 countries. For 1971 Israel and the Jewish Agency anticipates a total of 50,000. A similar number is being budgeted for 1972. Present newcomers are still arriving from various countries of stress in Europe. (Please do not mention Eastern European countries of migration, other than the Soviet Union, or similar countries in the Arab world, by name). We were told that about 10,000 profession immigrants are today absorbed every 6 months, or about 20,000 a year.

It costs the Jewish Agency (and therefore the UJA) about \$15,000 to settle and initially absorb a family of four persons. This includes transportation to Israel, and related costs, housing and the simplest of home furnishings; a minimum five-month stay in an Absorption Center for professionals requiring it, initial pocket money and other vital services.

At Ashdod the Mission visited classes where intensive Hebrew instruction was underway, with pupils from a dozen different countries. (Note: you can give Western Countries, such as the United States, Canada, Great Britain and France by name. But again - except for mentioning the Soviet Union by name - do not give the names of other East European countries, or those of various Arab countries, from which the immigrants have come.) More important, we met with a number of recent immigrants from the United States, and from the Soviet Union.

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 3

We were the guests of Mr and Mrs Dan Pattir, 91 University Street, North Tel Aviv. Mr Pattir is an editor of Dayar, and his guests included the editors of Ma'ariv (Evening) and Yediot Achronot (The Daily News) and their wives, and an American couple - Bob and Esther Zeitlin - now settled in the country. (Bob Zeitlin is a former American scientist, who is now selling real estate and apartments in Israel).

SATURDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 4

The Mission dined with Brigadier General Shlomo Gazit, Coordinator of the four Military Governments in the Administered Territories, namely: West Bank, Gaza - Northern Sinai, Southern Sinai and the Golan Heights.

Note : General Gazit's remarks may be used as information acquired by you, but should not be attributed to him directly or indirectly.

General Gazit made the following points:- Since the Six Day War, 2 million Arabs have come under Israel Military Administration. (Israel's population as of June 4th was 2.4 million Jews, plus 285,000 Arabs (Israeli citizens) plus a scattering of Christians and other religious groups.

* ABOUT 500,000 IN THE WEST BANK, AND NEARLY 300,000 IN GAZA.
THE OTHER TWO AREAS ARE LARGELY EMPTY WITH ABOUT 100,000 REFUGEE ARAB

Israel had a long artificial border of 950 miles. The current cease-fire borders are only 600 miles long. They are natural borders and easier to maintain.

The General stressed that Israel is not an imperialist nation, but is faced with the simple fact that its Arab neighbors have refused to recognize its very existence since 1948. Since the Six Day War - Israel had been faced with a new and different problem - that of military administration in occupied territory. Its policy in the West Bank and other territories takes into account that the future of Jewish-Arab relations and peace in the Middle East depends very much on the manner in which the Military Government treats the Arabs. That policy has been summed up in the phrase: "We don't expect them to love us, but we hope they will come to understand that they can live with us." With this policy the possibility of eventual peace becomes more meaningful.

In the West Bank, the most heavily populated region, the Israel Authorities act according to the former Jordanian law. Civil courts give their judgments according to Jordanian law. The school curricula are the same as previously, with the exception that "hate passages" deriding the Jews have been eliminated from the school text books. Arab students who graduate secondary school can and do sit for entrance examinations for colleges in Egypt and other Arab countries, and are permitted to attend these colleges. The bridges remain open to trade between West Bank Arabs, and Jordan and other Arab areas. Visitors may come and go - and this year 100,000 summer visitors have visited their fellow Arabs and families in the West Bank. They came and saw for themselves both Israel and their own people and drew a new impression.

Israel's policy in the West Bank, may be summed up as: a minimum of military presence; 'no curfew'; no travel permits needed within the West Bank itself; open bridges to the East Bank, (Allenby and Dania Bridges), local law; and economic assistance and guidance where desired to improve the standard of living of the local population. Under this policy West Bank farmers have vastly improved their output and economic position. They are now selling much of their products in European markets (as well as to their former local and outside Arab markets) and are getting many times more for their products.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 5th

MORNING: The Mission had breakfast at the Dan Hotel, with the Army spokesman of the Israel Defense Force.

NOTE: IT IS IMPORTANT THAT MISSION MEMBERS ABIDE BY THE MILITARY SECURITY MEASURES AS REQUESTED BY THE OFFICE OF THE ARMY SPOKESMAN. REMEMBER, ALL MILITARY BRIEFINGS WERE "BACKGROUND BRIEFINGS". ACCORDINGLY DO NOT USE FULL NAMES OR DIRECT QUOTES FOR ANY OFFICER (OTHER THAN COLONEL DEBORA TOMER OF THE WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS) WHO BRIEFED US, OR DIRECTLY ATTRIBUTE YOUR INFORMATION TO HIM. ADDITIONALLY, SAY INSTEAD, "RELIABLE MILITARY SOURCES INDICATED ... OR " IN THIS WRITER'S OPINION, ISRAEL'S MILITARY LEADERS PROBABLY," ETC FINALLY DO NOT GIVE SPECIFIC FIGURES OF ISRAELI MILITARY STRENGTH IN A GIVEN POSITION OR SPECIFIC DESCRIPTIONS OF MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS WHICH YOU MAY HAVE OBSERVED FOR YOURSELF AT SUEZ, THE GOLAN HEIGHTS AND OTHER VITAL DEFENSE POSITIONS.

Our speaker noted that Israel was now in the 5th year after the Six Day War, a war that nobody had wanted or expected.

However, the Egyptians under Nasser had made many commitments (such as moving large forces up to the Israel-Egyptian border in the Sinai, and closing off the Gulf of Aqaba) that had almost made war inevitable. He said that the Egyptians, after these commitments could not withdraw as if nothing had happened.

The speaker expressed the possibility that Egypt's current president, Sadat, has made commitments from which he may not be able to withdraw, and which could possibly lead to conflict once more. He stressed that this was not a probability but was a possibility.

The speaker then traced the course of events since the Six Day War.

The war itself - June 5th through June 10th - saw the almost complete destruction of the Egyptian army, along with its modern Russian equipment. (It also saw the defeat of the Jordanian, Syrian and Iraqi forces). This was not only a blow to Nasser, but to the Russians for it raised implications as to the credibility of Russian arms and Russian training.

In the speaker's opinion the period directly after the Six Day War ^{PREVIOUS} ~~was the~~ the best opportunity to achieve peace. But the immediate aid and assistance offered by the Russians to reorganize and re-equip the Egyptians destroyed the chance to bring the two main contenders together.

Today, the Egyptians are ^{ABOUT} 100 percent stronger than they were on the eve of the Six Day War - both in terms of equipment and personnel. Soldiers are not demobilized in the Egyptian army according to the speaker. They go in, but they don't go out.

Our speaker indicated that in the beginning of 1969 Nasser had apparently decided that the Egyptians had regained enough strength to try to regain what they had lost in June 1967. In Spring of 1969 Nasser declared a "War of Attrition" adding that he no longer recognized the "cease-fire", which had been adopted by the Security Council in June, 1967 at the end of the Six Day War.

The "War of Attrition" had as its objective to inflict as many casualties on the Israeli forces holding the Canal as possible, thereby forcing the Israelis to retreat from the Canal, or to bring reserves (which would have weakened the economy). This was conceived by the Egyptians to be the first stage of their effort to regain the territories which Israel had taken during the Six Day War.

Our speaker pointed out that there is a big difference in the way both sides hold the line at the Canal. (The Egyptian positions are not according to the Russian doctrine, based on massive and static lines. The Egyptian first line is at the Canal itself. There is another line about 6 kilometers back. And there is still another line more or less in the area of Cairo. All three lines extend a distance of 100 miles from one end of the Canal to the other, without any gap. On the Israeli side of the Canal, the Israelis make no attempt to commit massive forces to their positions. They hold the area by small forces, backed up by highly mobile equipment. The Israeli position consists of a series of strong points. Accordingly it is possible that Egyptian forces can make crossings now and then, of a limited nature. But if anything starts, or anything crosses the Canal, the Israeli back-up system begins moving in a matter of minutes and takes care of the situation).

When the War of Attrition began, the Egyptians had some 800-900 artillery pieces deployed along their front line. There were days when the Israelis received as much as 15,000 shells per day, on a single stretch of the Canal. The Israelis started suffering heavy casualties which, since they put a high value on every life, and are barely 3 million in number, had a most depressing effect on Israeli morale.

With 5-10 casualties a day the feeling in the country was almost a feeling of mourning. Our speaker indicated that "The Egyptians know the Israeli nature," and know how the Israelis both appreciate human life and do their utmost not to suffer casualties. They knew - and know - that the Israeli forces are comparatively very small. They were aiming through the "war of attrition" to get the Israelis to move back, and simultaneously call up the reserves, which would be a blow to the economy". ✓

The War of Attrition changed in July 1969. Israel now introduced its Air Force into the battle and began to use it as a "flying artillery". This was very effective and economical in terms of lives.

The Air Force knocked out the then existing SAM 2's - about 7 batteries - along the Canal. Simultaneously they hit ground targets, including gun replacements. Now the Israelis instead of being the targets, became the attackers. By January 1970, the Air Force had opened up the way to the heart of Egypt. It began bombing targets of a military nature deep in the Egyptian heartland. By this they were frustrating the plan to first build up the Egyptian forces in the Canal area and then cross over in a major war.

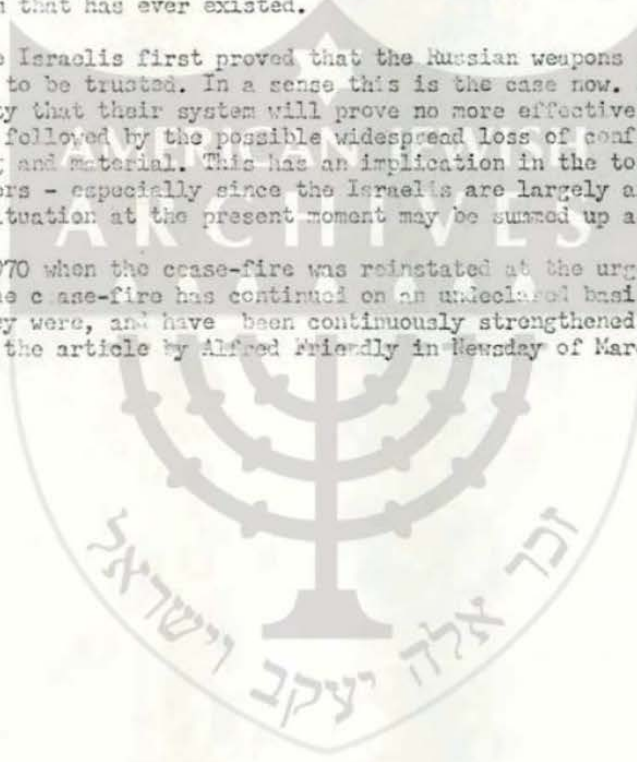
The Egyptians and Russians realized their plan had failed. The decision was now reached for the Russians to enter actively into the defense of Egypt, using Russian personnel for many tasks, including pilots for interceptor aircraft, plus pilots to fly on operational missions and do surveillance, reconnaissance, etc. (but only over Egypt). Additionally they introduced new missile bases, gradually moving forward from Cairo and the Aswan Dam, (and sometimes by great leaps) setting up a new air missile system. They introduced more sophisticated SAM 2's plus the lower hitting SAM 3's. (They have since introduced SAM 4's and 6's).

By August 9, 1970, two days after the U.S. initiated cease-fire became effective, the Israelis found themselves faced with about 45 missile batteries of the three types of SAM'S (SAM - 2's, advanced SAM 2's and SAM - 3's), probably the densest air-to surface system that has ever existed.

In early 1969 the Israelis first proved that the Russian weapons system as manned by Egyptians is not to be trusted. In a sense this is the case now. Facing the Russians is the possibility that their system will prove no more effective today than it did in 1969 and 1970 - to be followed by the possible widespread loss of confidence in Russian military thinking and material. This has an implication in the total global confrontation of the major powers - especially since the Israelis are largely armed by American equipment. The situation at the present moment may be summed up as follows:

Since August 7, 1970 when the cease-fire was reinstated at the urgent initiative of the United States, the cease-fire has continued on an undeclared basis. The Egyptians are stronger than they were, and have been continuously strengthened.

(See APPENDIX A the article by Alfred Friendly in Newsday of March 30, 1971).



SEPTEMBER 5th-MID MORNING :

The Mission visited an Israel Defense Force (IDF) Armor School , "somewhere in Israel".

Here we heard from Colonel Ami, the Commander that the purpose of the school was to train men and officers in the use of highly sophisticated equipment in the shortest time possible. They have been so successful that industry is now sending people to study the school's methods of training personnel. The Colonel indicated that the Israel armor ~~forces~~ constantly studies and analyzes what others do in using armor and in training people - - and evaluates and learns from them. But underlying the philosophy of the school is the Armor Corps slogan: "The Armor is Iron. But the steel is the man."

(Note: All men under 29 and women under 26 are called up at 18 for regular service in the Israel Defense forces. Men serve 36 months , women 20 months, the exact term depending on the conscript's age on recruitment , or with newcomers, on arrival. Physicians (men and women) may be called up to the age of 34. Married women, mothers and pregnant women are exempted. Exemption is also granted to women on the grounds of religious conviction, their military duties being replaced by national service as teachers, nurses and so on.

(Also at the declared wish of their communities, Druzes and Circassians are drafted for service, and not a few Moslems and Christians volunteer.)

(After completing regular service, men and childless women are in the Reserve Service until ages of 55 and 34 respectively. Until they are 40, men report for 31 days, training annually and from then on until they are 55 for 14. Commissioned and non-commissioned officers serve seven extra days every year.)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THE ISRAEL DEFENSE FORCES SEE: FACTS ABOUT ISRAEL
1971 - pp 81-82.

SEPTEMBER 5th - NOON :

The Mission had lunch with Colonel Devora Tomer, Commander of the Israel Women's Army Corps at Camp Deborah (named for the prophetess) and Lieutenant Colonel Zvia Schneider, Camp Commandant. The Women's Army is known as "CHEN" - a mnemonic for the Hebrew "Chail Nashim" - - or Women's Force. In Hebrew, "CHEN" also means "grace".

(NOTE - - both speakers may be quoted, and their names used.)

Colonel Tomer told the Mission that Israel's girl soldiers are not trained to serve as combat troops (although women actually fought in the defense of their settlements in the Independence War of 1948.) Instead they are trained to serve the Defense Forces as secretaries, drivers, nurses, technicians, radar operators, intelligence personnel, parachute packers and other back-up personnel to relieve male manpower for actual fighting.

Large numbers of the girl soldiers also serve as teachers - - especially in areas settled by new immigrants where there is a shortage of teaching personnel. They not only serve to teach immigrant children - - many work with adults in the home, teaching newcomers - - especially from more backward African-Asian countries about modern methods of caring for the home and children, and how to read, write and speak Hebrew.

At the Camp we met Sergeant Anne Lapkin - - formerly of Chapel Hill, North Carolina - very much an American - and very much an Israeli, at one and the same time. She told how the family - after a stay in Israel during which her father taught Economics in the Hebrew University (on a Fulbright Scholarship) had each independently decided that they wanted to live in Israel. Now all are back - - two brothers - - herself, her father (head of the Economics Department at Haifa University) and mother.

Q:"And why are you in the army ? "

A:"Let me put it this way: Because this is my piece of turf ."

SEPTEMBER 5th -MID AFTERNOON

The Mission met with David Ben-Gurion, first Prime Minister of Israel, at his book-filled home in Tel Aviv:

(For biographical data on Mr Ben-Gurion, please note Appendix B, attached).

Earlier (Saturday) we had been told by Miss Esther Herlitz, of Israel's Foreign Ministry, of the country-wide celebration which is being planned to honor Mr Ben-Gurion on the occasion of his forthcoming 85th birthday.

Mr Ben-Gurion's birthday will fall on October 6 (by our calendar) or the 17th of Tishri, 5732, by the Hebrew Calendar. Mrs. Meir heads the Committee of 200 who will participate.

Miss Herlitz: "You realize that we regard Ben-Gurion as one of the greatest Jews that ever lived. I found myself very involved last night in an argument over the question was there anyone as great as him since the days of Moses.. We came up with the names of King David, King Solomon and Herod but not many more.

(But in addition)"he is one of the remaining giants of the statesmen of the Second World War. In fact there are very few left...President Truman is an obvious name...but Churchill is gone and Adenauer and De Gaulle are gone .. and most of this generation.

"The celebration committee consists of some 200 men and women of Israel... parliamentarians, professors, writers, some government officials... but mainly people who have gone a long way with Ben-Gurion.

"He will be in his kibbutz on his birthday .. to which he retired when he left the Government. He has his main library there, and he concentrates on his writing writing his memoirs, and Jewish history.

"Because so many people actually want to see him in the country and because of his age.. the celebrations will actually be spread over two months.

"On his birthday there will be a celebration down at Sde Boker attended by members of the Government, high dignitaries and community leaders from all over."

(Mr. Ben-Gurion chose to settle in Sde Boker because he believes that the Negev - comprising nearly two thirds of Israel's land-mass (as of May, 1967) must be developed. He sought to demonstrate by personal example, that the Negev desert can be conquered and made habitable.

At Sde Boker there has been established the Midrasha - a series of schools covering the primary and secondary grades and college level studies - to which students come to learn ways and means of coping with the desert and making it liveable and productive. BOTH

At our meeting, Mr Ben-Gurion listed three things he would like to see in the Israel of the future: HAVE

1. That Israel should have 6 million Jews.
[He foresaw that not all the Jews would come back to Israel, but that with 6 million -plus Jews, Israel would become the center of the Jews in the world.]
2. He wished to see an Israel in which the Negev desert is conquered and settled. (The Negev, in contrast to the Sinai desert which the Mission saw, has large areas of potentially habitable territory. Much of the soil is loess which has blown off the top of Jordanian mountains for generations. It needs water and people. The water however must come by solving the problem of producing fresh water through inexpensive desalination. Israel is already using about 95% of her available natural water supplies .
3. Finally, he wished for Peace. Mr Ben-Gurion expressed his own ~~belief~~ BELIEF that peace will come to the Middle East within the next decade.

NOTE: SEE THE ATTACHED TRANSCRIPT OF MR BEN GURION'S REMARKS, APPENDIX C.
IN HIS INTERVIEW WITH US HE ALSO COMMENTED ON ISRAEL'S PAST ACHIEVEMENTS. HE BEGAN ^{By} NOTING THAT ISRAEL'S FIRST ACHIEVEMENT WAS TRANSFORMING JEWS INTO A "NORMAL" SOCIETY WITH ITS OWN FARMERS, INDUSTRIAL WORKERS AND SKILLED WORKERS.

ISRAEL'S

IF HE HAD HAD TIME HE PROBABLY WOULD HAVE COMMENTED ON OTHER ACHIEVEMENTS, WHICH IN HIS VIEW INCLUDE THE REVIVAL OF HEBREW AS A LIVING EVERYDAY LANGUAGE, THE INGATHERING OF NEARLY 1,400,000 JEWS SINCE STATEHOOD, AND THE CREATION OF AN ARMY AND A PEOPLE WHICH KNOWS HOW TO DEFEND ITSELF.

ADDITIONALLY MR BEN-GURION WOULD HAVE STRESSED, AS HE ALMOST ALWAYS DOES, THE NEED FOR PEACE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AND HIS DEEP DESIRE THAT ISRAEL PROVIDE MORE AND BETTER EDUCATION FOR ITS PEOPLE ON EVERY LEVEL. IN MR. BEN-GURION'S VIEW THE ISRAEL OF TOMORROW WILL NOT BE A GREAT NATION IN TERMS OF SIZE AND POWER BUT IT CAN BE AN IMPORTANT AND MEANINGFUL NATION BY BECOMING -IN ISAIAH'S WORDS - "A LIGHT UNTO THE NATIONS".

SEPTEMBER 5 - EVENING:

THE Mission met with Mr. Zelig Chinitz, resident representative of the United Israel Appeal, representing the Jewish Agency in Israel.

(The UIA is the major beneficiary of the UJA. See the History of UJA supplied you in your JFK kit.)



Mr. Chinitz projected Israel's economic situation and the role of UJA 1971-72 in the face of an uncertain cease-fire, continued Arab hostility and an ever-increasing Russian presence in the Middle East.

Mr. Chinitz supervises the disbursement of UJA funds in Israel in accordance with IRS regulations in Washington. Funds collected by the UJA are tax deductible because they are used for humanitarian and philanthropic activities.

Mr Chinitz said that he would seek to put the program of the UIA - the major beneficiary of UJA funds- within the context of Israel's current overall situation. He said Israel's situation at the present on the surface was quite paradoxical. On the face of it, things seem to be going along quite well. Exports have increased there is no unemployment. One cannot but fail to be impressed by the boom in construction, and the expansion of commercial enterprises. "Therefore, one can ask, Why do we seek to continue a UJA Israel Emergency Fund - now, some five years after the Six Day War? The answer is - to put it bluntly - while business is good in Israel the Government is broke. As I have said many times before, unless the Jews of the world stand behind Israel in its present situation, we run the risk of bleeding to death financially."

Mr Chinitz noted that Israel in her fifth year after the Six Day War still faces a tremendous burden of defence costs. The defence budget for 1972 is 31% of Israel's Gross National Product. This compares to the United States defense budget of approximately 9.8% of the GNP even though the US has approximately 250,000 troops still in South-East Asia.

Israel's Defense budget is five times as large as it was in 1967, the year of the Six Day War. The Defense Budget plus Israel's debt service exceed the total tax revenue of the Israel government. This means that the Israel government, in order to maintain vital services such as transportation, police and other statutory obligations, must resort to borrowing. This tremendous drain manifests itself in the Balance of Payments deficit:

In 1969 Israel's balance of payments deficit was \$ 920,000,000
In 1970 " " " " " " " is \$1,261,000,000
In 1971 (provided there is no shooting to break the present 13 months cease-fire)
Israel will end with a balance of payments deficit of between:
\$ 1 billion 400 million and \$1 billion 500 million.

This anticipated balance of payments deficit is directly related to Israel's defense expenditure over and above whatever credits have been extended by the United States.

It is in this frame of reference that the Israel Government has turned to the Jewish Agency "the address in Israel of world Jewry" saying:

"You must bear the burden of the entire humanitarian cost of immigration and absorption that goes on at the rate of 40-50,000 newcomers a year".

Mr Chinitz noted that to fully integrate an immigrant costs \$22,000, and involves providing a job, re-training, an investment for housing, etc.

"The second obligation is to pick up the slack with regard to providing absorption help for some 300,000 immigrants who were brought here earlier, and who still remain in need of extensive absorption services."

These still unabsorbed citizens are unproductive citizens for one reason or another. They need help.

Before the Six Day War, the Israel Government provided 2/3 of help for immigration and absorption as against 1/3 from world Jewry, which was actually supposed to supply the total help. This was done through taxes ON ISRAEL'S PEOPLE.

Since the Six Day War, the entire burden has fallen on the Jewish Agency and World Jewry, and this means providing welfare, health, education, higher education, youth care, aid in the agricultural settlements and housing. And all this together places an obligation on the Jewish Agency (FOR 1972-73) of \$645,000,000. (SEE: COMPARATIVE 1971-72 AND 1972-73 FIGURES - APPENDIX D)

Mr Chinitz said Immigration can not be stopped since it is impossible to say to people who have the chance to get out now from certain areas, "wait until Israel is in a better position to take you in."

Mr Chinitz also noted that the lifeblood of Israel's economy is immigration. Israel's economy must be helped to grow at a rate faster than its defense budget. "To increase exports you need 'expertise' .. people who can tell you what items to make and who can make them and sell them. Israel, therefore has to become a kind of Switzerland, strong in know-how, and the people coming in at this moment are that kind of know-how.

IN THIS CONNECTION RECALL THE MISSION'S VISIT TO ASHDOD ABSORPTION CENTER AND THE HIGH CALIBRE OF TRAINING OF MANY OF THE IMMIGRANTS WHO WERE ENGINEERS, CHEMISTS, COMPUTER EXPERTS, TECHNICIANS OF VARIOUS KINDS, ETC.

"It is only with the increase of people can you increase production. Immigration is therefore the life blood of ^{THE} Israeli economy at this moment.

"The second question that is often asked of Israel is if you face a financial dilemma why do you allocate such large sums for social services, housing, health and welfare?"

Mr Chinitz noted that social services cannot be delayed in such areas as housing and education. These are also indirectly related to Israel's capacity for survival. He said "one of the reasons why Israel emerged successfully from the Six Day War is no secret. Modern warfare is a complicated business. The soldier in the field must be able to do two or three things simultaneously: - fire - make a calculation - give an order etc. The average Arab soldier cannot do this. The Israeli soldier can. But this talent is not learned when you are 17 or 18. It is learned in a classroom at the very beginning. No one knows when the next round will come. Dayan says we should take Sadat's speech seriously. The fifth round (if you count the War of Attrition) ^{COULD} commence next spring."

* FISCAL YEAR

Mr Chinitz noted that the Arabs, with their manpower pool of 80 million people to draw from, do make progress. Therefore Israel in its educational process must continuously think not just of tomorrow but also of the day after tomorrow. Israel can survive in a sea of Arab hostility - only if it maintains its qualitative superiority. The technology gap must remain wide. This is only possible with education - intensive education.

Mr Chinitz gave what he termed a set of "disheartening figures" as he talked about the educational standing of the Jews from Afro-Asian countries, representing 53 % of the population.

In the first grade, this group provides 63% of the children. By the 9th grade, it represents only 49% (school is mandatory in Israel through the age of 14. An effort is being made to extend mandatory schooling to the age of 16, but Israel doesn't have enough money.)

While 47% of the Afro-Asian community starts high school, only 27% graduate.

Afro-Asians make up only 14% who go to college.

In graduate school, one finds only 8% of students belonging to the Afro-Asian group. Most Jews have always put a high premium on education. By tradition they are **THE "People of the Book"**. They see the current short fall in educational attainment among Jews of Afro-Asian origin group as a threat to Israel's capacity to survive.

Mr Chinitz gave equally disheartening figures regarding housing.

60,000 families of 400,000 persons lives in conditions of 3 or more persons per room, dwellings whose size ranges from 400 to 500 square feet.

There are 23,000 young couples who are waiting for housing and this figure increases by 10,000 each year. (this count is for all young couples, not just those of Afro-Asian origin).

Mr Chinitz noted that in the last 4 years when 79,000 young people married, there were only 13,000 apartments available for them.

Meanwhile 14,5000 families live under dangerous conditions in abandoned Arab houses.

There is a five year plan to meet the housing problem but ~~however~~ **THE PROBLEM** is way beyond Israel's present ability to solve, ~~however~~ money is forthcoming from the Jews of the free world.

"Everyone is turning his attention to the housing problem in Israel and this is a problem that can be solved with money ." In the area of welfare 115,000 families receive welfare aid in one form or another.

In the health area, Israel has a shortage today of 5200 hospital beds.

Mr Chinitz said that the more the country grows, the more **NECESSARY IT IS THAT** attention ~~must~~ be given these matters and the government is trying to respond.

Mr Chinitz said "we have done great things here in the Jewish Agency with the support of World Jewry. But we just haven't done enough!"

"In the face of Israel's great social needs", Mr Chinitz said "the UJA will launch still another Israel Emergency Fund for 1972. This will be UJA's Fifth Consecutive Israel Emergency Fund."

The UJA together with free Jewish communities throughout the world, who will be launching similar emergency funds, will try meet **4** Jewish Agency Budget of Needs - total : \$645,000,000.

PROPOSED JEWISH AGENCY BUDGET OF NEEDS FOR 1972 - 73

Immigration and Absorption	\$46,750,000
Social Welfare Service for Immigrants	\$54,750,000
Health Services for Immigrants	\$79,575,000
Housing for Immigrants	\$198,370,000
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements	\$52,050,000
Youth Care and Training	\$30,870,000
Education (non statutory)	\$52,870,000
Institutions of Higher Learning	\$88,000,000
Interest on Borrowed Funds-	
Amortization of Debt	\$38,600,000
Administration	\$ 3,165,000
Total	<u>\$645,000,000</u>

Of the above amount it would be the responsibility of American Jewry to try raise \$450,000,000.

NOTE : FOR A BACKGROUND EXPLANATION OF ABOVE BUDGET ITEMS, MEMBERS OF THE MISSION ARE STRONGLY URGED TO CHECK THE PAMPHLET SUPPLIED YOU IN YOUR JFK KIT ENTITLED "THE JEWISH AGENCY IN ISRAEL: UJA DOLLARS AT WORK". THE BUDGETARY FIGURES GIVEN IN THAT PAMPHLET ARE FOR THE YEAR 1971-72 . THESE SHOULD BE DISREGARDED IN FAVOR OF THE FIGURES GIVEN ABOVE FOR THE FORTHCOMING YEAR OF CAMPAIGN 1972 (AND THE BUDGETARY YEAR 1972-3). BUT THE BACKGROUND INFORMATION IS USEFUL AND IN MOST INSTANCES REMAINS VALID.

Meanwhile, Mr Chinitz added the following comments by way of explaining the needs represented in the budgetary table just given.

Immigration and Absorption

The sum budgeted represents the costs of bringing an anticipated 40,000 to 50,000 immigrants to Israel next year and providing them with initial absorption. Such absorption encompasses teaching the immigrant Hebrew, retraining him vocationally, provide him rental subsidy in some cases, and giving him other assistance.

PROVIDING HIM HEALTH INSURANCE

Welfare Services

Mr Chinitz noted this is related to ^{THE} 115,000 families in need of social welfare assistance on which he commented previously.

Health Services

This includes general and mental health - clinics and hospital services. Included is the fact that Israel is short of 5,200 hospital beds.

Education

This item is for non-statutory education and includes pre-kindergarten services for 40,000 children. It also includes secondary school ^{AND OTHER} scholarships. Israel provides free universal education only to the 9th grade. About 60% of the youngsters in high school get full scholarships, while others get partial scholarships. All items in education budget are for non-statutory responsibilities - in short expenses beyond those already assumed by the government, UNDER ISRAEL LAW.

Institutions of Higher Learning

Represents among other things, the maintenance costs for Israel's seven major institutions of higher learning: Hebrew University-Jerusalem, Technion, University of Haifa, University of Tel Aviv, Bar Ilan University, University of the Negev-Beersheba, Weizmann Institute of Science. These institutions have 45,000 students today. This contrasts with the fact that 10 years ago ISRAEL HAD 12,000 UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

Youth Care and Training

This item provides assistance for children who come here without their parents and for children who come from disadvantaged homes. They are put in special youth centers, youth aliyah homes and Kibbutzim.

Absorption in Agricultural Settlements

Since 1948 the Jewish Agency has established close to 500 settlements. SETTING THEM WITH NEW IMMIGRANT. Some 50,000 people are now living on these new farms, producing items for both local consumption and export. They play a major role in helping Israel to produce more than 80% of its food needs. The budget exists because of the 500 settlements, 200 still need support for they are not yet fully consolidated.

Immigrant Housing

This is housing for 40,000 - 50,000 immigrants who are expected to come, plus young couples. The rest of housing costs ^{THE} are in the government budget.

Interest on Borrowed Funds-Amortization of Debt

Mr Chinitz called this "a very painful item". It derives from the fact that the Jewish Agency has a very large debt. This represents expenditures down the years since 1948. But Jews of the free world did not raise enough money to meet the needs which faced the Jewish Agency annually and for which the Jewish Agency in turn had to borrow.

The per capita debt in Israel is the highest in the world - IL 4000 or approximately \$1000. Mr Chinitz said "we have a joke in this country that when a boy is circumcized at birth, the religious functionary performing the ceremony announces: "You are now a full-fledged Israeli and you owe Chase Manhattan IL4000."

"There have been 13 months of cease-fire and Israel's situation is certainly better than last year when the Russians were moving the missiles up to the Canal " he said. "But the people understand that the deterrent still must be the purchase of arms and accept the heavy taxation and the financial sacrifices that go with them.

However, Israel's fiscal position is somewhat worse than last year.

One: the deterrent weapons now cost more.

Two: immigration from Russia is continuing.

Three: Meeting the poverty situation in Israel can no longer be delayed, especially in the areas of housing and education.

Four: The Jews of the free world didn't raise enough ^{ALTHOUGH} ~~say~~ they raised more than in any other previous year, including 1967.

Mr Chinitz noted that the total tax payed by the Israeli citizens equals 42% of Israel's GNP. This means, in a sense, that almost half of the country's total wealth goes to taxes.

Q: What does this mean on an individual basis?

A: ^{SAY} A man with a wife and two kids earns \$400 monthly, (which is a very good salary). Thanks to his deductions, he takes home \$268. The very least that the Jews of the free world can do is to pick up the free slack* for those who have come here already or for those who will come.

* HUMANITARIAN RESPONSIBILITIES.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6

THE Mission departed from Sde Dov airport by plane for Bir El Themada. We travelled by bus through the Mitla Pass and saw scattered about some of the burnt out trucks, scattered tanks, and other military equipment left by the fleeing Egyptian forces in the terrible destruction inflicted on them in the Six Day War, following their rout in the northern Sinai. We stopped briefly at an IDF army base and then we were taken to a forward Israeli post directly on the Canal, in the area of the Egyptian city of Suez, and Port Tawfiq.

It was apparent that the Israeli positions on the Bar Lev line ^{make} economical use of troops. On the Egyptian side however, the situation is apparently much different. We were told "wherever you throw a stone, you'll hit a soldier."

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 7

MORNING: The Mission proceeded by bus from Tel Aviv via the Wadi Ara to the Immigrant Development town of Beit Shean. Here, a five man Committee appointed last November by the Government, following the breakdown of the local governing council, is helping Beit Shean solve its many problems.

The population of Beit Shean is 10,500 people, more than 60% of them from North Africa, 10% from other non-European communities in Asia and 30% from Europe or born in Israel.

In addition to the problems of a typical immigrant development town - education, cultural isolation and related matters, the situation in Beit Shean has been aggravated by serious security problems.

The town is on the Jordan Valley 'Hot Line' - an area which includes in addition some 25 kibbutzim and moshavim (small-farm-holders settlements) with a total of about 30,000 inhabitants, which have all been under intermittent Arab military attack, since June 1967. (Jordanian regulars, Iraqi troops and El Fatah). Beit Shean has been shelled numerous times since the end of the Six Day War, and has had to ~~build~~ ^{BUILD} deep bomb shelters, numerous and large enough to accommodate the entire population.

Throughout the town we ^{ALSO} saw "security rooms" that have been recently attached to small houses.

These are rooms of reinforced concrete in which the people in the house can take immediate shelter during a surprise bombardment. (The Government has built some 2,300 security rooms in various border settlements and immigrant development towns. One purpose of these shelters is to re-inforce a feeling of security among the population in the border areas, so that they will stay, rather than run. About 1000 people left Beit Shean after the heavy shelling of last summer, but many have now returned, reassured by the security rooms).

The mayor of the town, actually, the administrative official appointed by the government to help the town straighten out its difficulties, was Jacob Schriebaum. He is actually the Comptroller of Jerusalem - a very able civil servant, who now spends three days a week working in Beit Shean, for which he does not get paid.

He was assisted by the town secretary, who is a hired official, Menachem Gilad. Mr Schriebaum thought it would take 2-3 years to get the town functioning on its own again. He said he was in touch with ~~those~~ ^{those} young people he thought would make future leaders of the town and was seeking to show them how to function in a democratic society.

He added, however, that he in turn, was learning from the people of the town, saying that the Jews of Afro-Asian origin had a traditional and very real respect for their elders. They want their old people to be with them.

In the course of visiting the town we went into a pre-kindergarten school where we saw youngsters of 3 and 4, largely of North African origin learning and playing.

Mid Morning : We visited Kibbutz Tirat Zvi - a religious kibbutz on the "Jordan hot-line."

To the east of Tirat Zvi is the Jordan ^{RIVER.} Beyond the Jordan rise the mountains of Gilead. Nearby are the mountains of Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan fell on their swords following defeat at the hands of the Philistines.

After Saul's death, the Bible relates; "The Philistines put his armor in the house of Ashtoreth and they fastened his body to the wall of Beit Shean." When the people of Jabesh-Gilead on Mount Gilead got word of this "all valiant men arose, and went all night and took the body of Saul and the bodies of his sons from the Wall of Beit Shean. . . And they took their bones and buried them under a tamarisk tree in Jabesh and fasted seven days" . . . (1 Sam 31:10).

At Tirat Zvi, we were met by Yitzhak Fuchs, executive secretary. (He has been at the kibbutz for 11 years; originally he came from Brooklyn).

Mr. Fuchs spoke about the security problem of Tirat Zvi and other settlements on the border. Additionally, he spoke about kibbutz life and especially kibbutz life at Tirat Zvi. Finally, he spoke briefly about the religious activity at his kibbutz.

He said that the Tirat Zvi had been settled 34 years ago by two groups - Jews from Eastern and Western Europe, both religious. The area was originally malarial. The mean temperature is 110-120 F. in the shade. He added "I use the word mean temperature advisely." Tirat Zvi has the distinction of recording the highest temperature of any place in Israel: 132 degrees F. in the shade.

Mr Fuchs told how the settlement has been under attack twice, ^{THE FIRST TIME} ~~was~~ in 1938. The Arabs were beaten back. The attack came as part of an Arab plan to drive the Jewish settlers out directly before an investigation was to be carried out by the Peel Commission. The Commission planned to recommend the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish sections. The attempt was unsuccessful.

In 1948 Tirat Zvi suffered the first attack on any Jewish settlement in the country. The idea again was to look for easy pickings. They had decided that we religious Jews represented a kind of 'weaker sex'."

The attack came in the early morning and the attackers outnumbered the members of the kibbutz by 10:1.

"There followed what we religious Jews consider a miracle, though the meteorologists would call it an occurrence. At any rate, there was a sudden rainburst out of proportion to what one would expect by way of rainfall at that time of year.

The Arabs were stuck in the mud as we fought them. Some left with their boots on and ^{MANY} ~~others~~ left without their boots. The date is celebrated in this kibbutz as a holiday. It was the Sixth day of Adar by the Hebrew calendar (or February 15th, 1948.)

"During the Six Day War, nothing much really happened here, except that my toilet was sacrificed ^{TO THE} ~~cause~~. It was blown up by a direct hit ^{by} an Arab shell. It was the only direct hit on the kibbutz. Fortunately, ^{my} ~~my~~ family WERE in the States at the time. (I AND MY

Mr Fuchs told us that Tirat Zvi, while a farming community also has a salami factory and extensive fish ponds. To produce salami and other meat products, it raises 55,000 turkeys per year. It imports the beef which is mixed with the turkey meat for salami.

The salami factory accounts for 52% of the kibbutz's gross income - about IL. 5 million. The kibbutz also has 250 acres of fish ponds and raises carp, mullet and St. Peter's Fish. It has 250 acres in cotton, and also grows alfalfa, pomegranets, dates, olives, wheat, grapes, etc. In short, Tirat Zvi has 3000 acres under intensive agriculture.

Mr Fuchs said that kibbutz takes advantage of its heat since ^{its} agricultural products ripen before similar crops in other parts of the country. It can get them to the market while prices are high. The kibbutz grows the Mexican variety of wheat which is half high, and the Japanese variety, which is dwarf. It is seeking to grow its own strains. Its current wheat yield is 1.8 tons per acre.

Speaking of his kibbutz, Mr Fuchs called it a "totally democratic society". He described the workings of the community, in which members vote and direct the kibbutz affairs, calling ^{it's} ~~it~~ "government by committee". He noted that Tirat Zvi's population was already in its third generation.

"There is a committee to represent just about every human activity here. The finance committee, the cultural, the synagogue, the agricultural committee.... you name it!" He added that no two kibbutzim are alike.

"In Tirat Zvi we observe Jewish religious law. The Sabbath is observed strictly and there is a minimum of activity. But guard duty has to go on."

He indicated that the drug culture, fortunately is not a serious problem in Israel but Israeli youth has come in contact with it, as it has been brought in by some of the thousands of volunteers who have come in from Europe and ~~THE U.S.~~ **THE U.S.** annually to work on the kibbutzim.

Next we toured the kibbutz grounds and saw, amongst other things, security rooms and deep shelters, erected to protect present settlers against possible Arab attack.

After the Six Day War, the first shells ^{WERE} from Iraqi - Jordanian soldiers stationed across the Jordan. Later came the Fatah who sought to infiltrate - to bombard the area with Katusha rockets, and to blow up installations.

Tirat Zvi has not been hit as heavily as Kfar Ruppin, a neighboring kibbutz. But the constant tension has made it necessary for the Israel Government to spend millions of Israeli pounds to build the deep shelters, and to take other precautionary measures.

The young children ^{OF TIRAT ZVI} have just recently been taken out of the deep shelters. In these shelters they slept every night for more than three years.

Tension along the Jordan has relaxed somewhat since King Hussein has reasserted his control over the northern areas of his kingdom, once the province of the Fatah. Across way from Tirat Zvi and Kfar Ruppin, Jewish settlers can now see the Arab farmers again. They have moved back into an area which until recently held only Fatah. The Jews regard this as a good sign. But they have not relaxed their guard. The deep bomb shelters and other equipment stay ready in case of need.

TUESDAY SEPT. 7 (AFTERNOON AND EVENING)

The Mission journeyed to Haifa and lunched with members of the Haifa Technion, Israel's M.I.T. (For further information re the Technion, see the material distributed to you at lunch.) In the evening we dined again, at the Dan Carmel Hotel, with members of the Technion's research and teaching staff.

Among other things, during our visit to the Technion we heard from Professor Avraham Kogan, Professor in the Department of Aeronautics Engineering. Born in Soviet Russia in 1921, Dr. Kogan has resided in Israel since 1944. He is a graduate of the Hebrew University with a Master of Science in Physics and Mathematics, and received his Doctorate in Aeronautics Engineering at Princeton University. In 1966 he was awarded the Rothschild Prize in Technology. Dr. Kogan is internationally known for his scientific research in the field of Water Desalination, now incorporated in the Kogan-ROSE Process.

Dr. Kogan described the steps by which he hopes to utilize an improved multi-stage flash distillation method to produce large quantities of desalinated water at a commercially feasible rate. At present the most successful plant produced desalinated water at a cost of about 80 cents a thousand gallons, which is too high for all but special situations. The target now is 30 cents a thousand gallons. The driving force behind the system will require an atomic energy plant (to heat it up). The Technion is now erecting a pilot plant to test Kogan's latest improvements in the multi-stage flash distillation process.

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 8

MORNING : The Mission travelled by bus to the Golan Heights. Our first stop was at Kibbutz Gadot ("River Bank"), a kibbutz sitting under the heights. We were briefed by a member of the Kibbutz. He told us how Gadot had been shelled off and on by the Syrians for nearly 19 years until the Six Day War. Shelling became particularly heavy in April 1967 and every building in the kibbutz was damaged by Syrian shells. People had to resort to the deep shelters which had been built as protection.

But even during the worst periods, Kibbutz members never gave up their above-ground houses. Years before, Kibbutz members had taken a decision not to "live underground, like animals" They built deep shelters, putting their children in the shelters regularly but entering them themselves only when the shelling became heavy.

Gadot is typical of a long line of settlements in the upper Jordan Valley which existed for 19 years under the Syrian guns. We got some idea of how exposed they were when we travelled up the Golan Heights and looked down directly into Gadot from Murtafa which once housed a tank with a heavy calibre gun that had Gadot as its special target.

The main crop of the kibbutz is cotton. Additionally, the kibbutz grows apples and pears and other fruits. It has 150 milk cows and produces 180 tons of chicken a year.

The lifting of the Syrian siege of Gadot has had a positive change on its children. Bit by bit, they have learned that they can play away from their bomb shelters. Their paintings reflect their new found security. Whereas formerly they painted dark colours and concentrated on war scenes, they now paint in bright colors and show flowers and happy scenes.

(For further information about the kibbutzim and the kibbutz movement see "Facts about Israel".)

MID MORNING : We visited an Israeli army camp on the Golan Heights, and were briefed by the Colonel. During this visit we learned that the Syrians have approximately 1000 tanks along the current border: (Russian T 55's and T 54's). They also have Soviet SAM 2 batteries, newly installed. They additionally have some 500 guns, 122 mm. long and short range. Israeli positions are also under attack by commandos. But on the Syrian front, the commandos (Saika) are considered to be under Syrian army control.

In a clash between Syrian and Israeli military forces in July 1970, the Israelis destroyed 30 tanks and drove the Syrians back, using the Air Force, artillery and armor. The battle took place in the general area of the front-line position, which we visited. One reason why the Syrians are comparatively quiet is that Israel's forces are less than 50 miles from Damascus.

The Heights were taken with extremely heavy losses by Israel Defence Forces on the 5th and 6th days of the Six Day War. The initial assault began at noon, and had to go directly up the slopes. We learned also that the Golan had been mostly a Syrian military area; the population for the most part ran away in June 1967 with the Syrian army. There had been about 50,000 - 60,000 persons on the Golan - the army, and people connected with the army. Now only 7,000 Druze remain in the area. (See: Facts on Israel, for information on the Druze). Some 12 provisional settlements have been set up on the Golan - most of them in the southern area facing the border of Jordan.

LUNCH : The Mission dined at Kibbutz Ein Gev, on the eastern shores of the Lake of Galilee.

Thursday September 9

MORNING: The Mission visited the Druze village of Isfiya high on Mount Carmel, adjacent to Haifa. Here we were received at the home of Mr Kamal Mansour, a Druze, and a graduate of the Hebrew University who is one of the advisors on minority problems to Israel's president, Zalman Shazar. (For further explanation of the Druze Sect, see "Facts About Israel"). Druze citizens of Israel (men only) serve in the Israel Defense Forces at their own request.

Mr Mansour noted that Israel's Arabs and Druze are represented in the Knesset by 7 members and that the Deputy Minister of Welfare is an Arab.

He said "In Israel we have many problems, but we know that the taxes we pay are for our security." He expressed the view that if the Arabs would meet the Israelis in face to face discussions, the two groups in the Middle East would be able to find a way to live in peace. He noted that many other world areas with markedly differentiated populations and political systems have provided examples of how differing peoples can live side by side. He cited the cases of East and West Germany and France and Germany. He noted that India and Pakistan had met to discuss the critical Kashmir problem and had settled their differences.

Mr Mansour said: "This is the way of the 20th century - to discuss, to talk, to have a chance of talking to each other. I don't say we don't have problems, but if we meet face to face we can do something about it." Mr Mansour belittled the idea that peace could arrive in the Middle East through the imposed decisions of the four major powers.

He declared "In Israel today I think that all of us think that peace is good for all of us, because war is against all of us." Mr Mansour said that the name Isfiya means "very windy days". There are about 5,000 people in the village, 1,000 of them Christians and Moslems and 4000 Druze. "We are living here as brothers".

Mr Mansour described the improvements that have come to his village under the State of Israel. Today it has schools, electricity, paved roads, whereas formerly it lacked these.

The village has 60 telephones whereonce it had one. It now has running water. It has three schools, two primary and one vocational training school, plus several tractors, and two clinics. It now has a paved highway to Haifa.

MID-MORNING

Mission members visited the New Basilica of the Annunciation in Nazareth. We toured Old Nazareth. In contrast to the new immigrant town of Upper Nazareth, Old Nazareth is an entirely Arab city. Its 32,000 inhabitants are full citizens of Israel. 50 percent of them Moslem, 50 percent Christian

The position of the Arabs in Nazareth has improved decidedly since 1948 when it became an Israeli city. These improvements included a higher standard of living, resulting from increased employment and increased earnings. Arab workers in Nazareth are Histadrut members (Israel's Labor Union) receiving the same compensation for the same work as is provided Jewish workers in Israel.

Genuine social changes are now appearing in the town. More than 800 females from Lower Nazareth are working in factories and schools. Formerly it was scarcely heard of in a Moslem family that a woman should go out to work.

There is only one law in Israel for Arab-Israelis, and Jewish-Israelis alike. The only exception to this is that Military service is not compulsory for Israeli Arabs, on the theory that they can not be asked to fight their fellow Arabs.

Nonetheless, Israel does have one Christian-Arab, and one Moslem - ~~ARAB~~ regiment each, composed of volunteers. However, while the Arab position has improved materially there are psychological problems which still make the Israel Arab's lot an uneasy one. One citizen declared not long ago, "so long as there is no peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors, we in Israel will always be somewhat suspect by the Israelis".

Nonetheless, Nazareth is showing that Jews and Arabs can live side by side. It should also be noted that Nazareth has about 10,000 children of whom 60 percent are in Government schools where the language and teachers are Arabic. The remainder are in religious schools, maintained by various religious Missions. Of 24 Elementary schools, 12 are government and 12 are missionary schools. Nazareth has 5 Secondary schools, one of them maintained by the Municipality - the others church schools. It also has an ORT Vocational School. ORT - (the Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) is a world famous vocational training institution which gets its major funds from the Joint Distribution Committee, a constituent Agency of the United Jewish Appeal.

At Nazareth we heard from three prominent citizens of the town: Radin Balqash - Town Clerk, Azar Atul, Director of the Olive Marketing Board of the Israel Ministry of Agriculture, and Antoine Shaheen, Director of the Israel Government Tourist Bureau for Nazareth.

The three talked of the need for peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors. They condemned the Arab leadership which refuses to recognize that the time has come to sit down and find a way to peace.

LATE AFTERNOON: THURSDAY SEPT. 9.

The mission returned to Haifa to visit that city's new Haifa University, and especially members of its Arab-Jewish Institute. (En route we stopped to plant trees in the Balfour Forest.)

At the University, we learned that the University was founded in 1963, following an agreement with the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The municipality of Haifa undertook the administrative responsibility for the University, while the Hebrew University undertook academic responsibility. Until the advent of Haifa University, there was no institution capable of serving Israel's northern areas on a general academic level. In three years, the University will become fully independent and self-governing. In addition, links between the University and the Haifa Technion (Israel Institute of Technology) which trains engineers, technologists, scientists and architects.

Currently the University numbers some 500 faculty members and 4,500 students. Most of the students are Israelis. Included in this number are 350 Arabs and Druzes - the largest number of such students in any institution of higher learning in the country - perhaps two-thirds of them.

The University is now putting special stress, in several ways, on finding ways and means by which Arabs and Jews can communicate, understand each other and live together. The point of view of the administration and faculty alike, is that the growth of mutual understanding is necessary as a means of achieving an enduring peace in the Middle East. The Haifa University has 300 Arab university students, more than half of the total college population in the country. At the University, we next met with:

Eliazer Rafaeli, Vice-President and Director General of the University - Tel Aviv born, and a veteran of the War of Independence - studied at Columbia - came to Haifa from the Hebrew University; Mr Mahmoud Abassi, Arab and member of the Faculty of the Arab-Jewish Institute; Mr Selim Zeydan, student at the Institute and a Druze from the village of Isfiya; Dr Gabriel Warburg, Chairman of the Department of Islamic Studies.

Various members of our session brought out some of the achievements and the problems that face the university in its attempts to further Arab Jewish understanding.

Mr. Rafaeleli spoke of the fact that Israel has always had people who believe that a solution can be found for Arab-Israeli understanding on a person-to-person basis. He said we started here by encouraging Arabs to come to the university. He noted that Haifa University has already graduated its Arab first PH'D. He said Arab and Jewish students share dormitories where they live side by side, an experiment that has not provided any serious arguments.

He added, "we are not working here because we are 'do-gooders'. We are here because it is a necessity for Israel -because it makes sense that we should live together.

Mohammad Abassi - as an Arab - expressed the opinion that the help that the Israel Government is giving to the Arab schools in Arab territories is not enough. He said the place to begin solving the Arab-Jewish problem lies in the village Primary school and that there should be better teachers and more schools. He said too, that there should be more Arab students in High schools and universities.

Mr. Rafaeleli replied that he felt Mr. Abassi was right - but that Israel suffers ^{FROM} a shortage of competent Arab-Israeli teachers. (who teach in Arabic). He said that he did not believe that Haifa University should lower its entrance standards to take in more Arabs. Instead, a way must be found to raise the ^{KNOWLEDGE} of the Arab applicants up to an educational level where they can meet these standards. Last year, he said, Haifa University had 260 applicants from Arab high schools and only 12 had been able to pass the entrance examinations. He said the others who showed some promise, but who did not have suitable training were invited to enter the University on a non-matriculated basis. The University was willing to help them through a preparatory course. But 150 Arab-Israeli students given this opportunity, only 30 had accepted. Traditional Arab pride prevented them from admitting to their friends and family that they were not able to enter the university immediately.

Mr. Rafaeleli noted that the University has the largest number of Arab girls - 22 - than any university in Israel. He noted that it was not easy to enlarge this number because most Arab families are reluctant to let their girls be exposed to the dangers and temptations of the outside world. This was confirmed by Mr. Zeydan who said that his fiancée was now attending the university but that it had been most difficult to secure the support and approval of the elders of Isfiya that she should do so.

Mr. Rafaeleli noted that two influences delay the intellectual growth of Arab students and to an extent, the growth of the Jewish student of Asian-African origin.

The first is the fact that such ^{HAVE} students ^{ALL} grown up in a patriarchal society where the child does not ask questions - instead he accepts the authority and the decisions of his father, or grandfather, or the head of the clan.

The second is the Arab school system and Arab society has created a diligent student but not an enquiring one. An Arab student studies by memorizing. He knows by heart the material he was asked to learn. But on coming to the university he is told he must learn to think for himself - to be critical - to evaluate things for himself, to question what he reads. This proves to be a difficult problem for most Arab students and emotionally disturbing one.

Salim Zeydan - the Druze - complained bitterly that the schools which teach minorities, at least ^{Druze} Druze minority - are not serving the purpose of making effective Israeli citizens from their pupils. He said he had never learned modern Israel history, that his Hebrew instruction had been very poor, that in short he didn't really get any 'Israeli' education.

Dr Warburg said the purpose of Israel education was not to make common amalgam of all its people but to let the different elements of the country preserve their own traditions and cultures.

Mr. Abassi took an entirely different view from Salim Zeydan. He was against the further 'Judaizing' of Arab schools. He said that the Arabs had an old and important culture of which they were proud and which Arabs want to see preserved. He emphasized that this does not prevent Arab and Jew from being able to live together. Adding, there is a saying in the country: "He who does not think that the Arab-Israel conflict cannot be solved has no heart. But he who thinks that it will be solved quickly has no head."

Mr. Rafueli closed the meeting by - among other things - inviting members of the Mission to send him names of Arab professors in the United States who might be persuaded to teach at Haifa University or ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} to speak to such professors or instructors themselves. He asked the Mission to point out the possibilities that exist of both working toward and contributing to the improvement of the Arab lot in Israel and to the establishment of true peace between Arab and Jew.

FRIDAY - SEPTEMBER 10

The Mission left Haifa and journeyed to Jerusalem, stopping at Caesarea to view the excavations, then driving through the West Bank by way of Tulikarn, N. bus, Ramallah and East Jerusalem. After lunch at the Inter-continental Hotel, Mission members visited the Western Wall and the Old City.

SATURDAY EVENING SEPTEMBER 11

The Mission dined with Michael Elitzur, Director of the North American Division of the Israel Ministry for Foreign Affairs. (Mr Elitzur is a veteran of the Foreign Service. He has been with the Ministry since its inception and is a veteran who has held many key posts, at home and abroad. He was born in Leipzig, came to Israel in 1933, was educated in the Foreign Training Institute and the National Defence College).

MR ELITZUR SPOKE FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION ONLY. HE SHOULD NOT BE QUOTED DIRECTLY. THE INFORMATION HE GAVE US THERE SHOULD BE DESCRIBED AS REPRESENTING THE THINKING OF HIGH ISRAELI OFFICIALS.

Mr Elitzur began by describing the relationship of international situation to the Arab-Israel situation. He said we have here a 'three tiered confrontation' (in the Middle East).

First is the matter of Israel in its relation to the Big Powers. Of the Powers active in the Middle East, some are more active than the others.

Second is the relationship of the big powers to each other.

The Middle East is part of a "game" among the Big Nations that has existed for more than 100 years, - the 'Eastern question' OF THE 1800's,

Today the United States has replaced England and France and it has fallen upon the US to take up the traditional role of these powers..

But There has been an important change ~~has occurred since~~ At the time of the Congress of Berlin no major power cared what the people of the Middle East themselves felt about - decisions affecting their future. Now the Egyptians, the Israelis, the Iraqis, the Syrians and others, all have a much louder voice in such decisions, decisions that affect their future - ^{HAVE} and a great share in the solution of their problem.

A third change, Mr. Elitzur indicated, was in the relationship of the Middle East nations to each other.. Some of the largest armies ~~ever put together~~ were formed by the British and Germans meeting in the battle at El Alemein in 1942.

Only 15 years later, in 1956, in Sinai the contending Egyptian and Israeli forces - especially armor - surpassed El Alemein in size.

In 1967 the amount of material used and lost, ^{IN} in the Sinai was ^{BY THE EGYPTIANS ALONE,} even larger than '56. Now, the Egyptian armor ~~alone~~ is 170% as compared with the baseline of 1967.

Mr Elitzur said additionally, the attitudes of the great powers towards the Middle East have changed greatly in the last few generations.. He feels that peoples of the large nations would not be ready to do today what was done to small nations by the great powers not so many years ago.

All this is part of the changing equation of the Middle East . Nevertheless the international influence of the great powers on the Middle East is still very great and grave.

The world is now witness to the Middle East thrust of the Soviet Union. It came after the European political-economic situation was more or less frozen following World War II. The economic recovery of Western European nations since World War II, and similar advances, limited the ability of the Russians to expand their influence in Western Europe . The Russian then began to turn their attention ~~to~~ ^{THE} "undefined, gray area ~~of~~ the Middle East".

The slow but steady thrust by Soviet Union into some of the Arab countries would have come about even if Israel had not been "invented".

The question that faces Israel is whether she can stand up against her Arab adversaries (who can count on Russian support) and ^{it} includes the question to what extent can Israel depend on armament and similar help from the West, which means for all practical purposes the United States.

Israel knows that securing American help cannot and must involve any American military intervention in the Middle East. "No more Viet Nam," so to speak. "This is a basic understanding of each Israeli in his right senses."

Since the Russians are currently engaged in a number of very significant negotiations with the United States, which are to their own self interest: Berlin . . . the Salt Talks . . . Nuclear ~~Weapons~~ Limitation . . . ETC. . . Mr Elitzur felt that they are not eager to take greater risks in the Middle East than necessary.

The Russians also know, on the basis of bitter ^{THAT} experience - that the Egyptian capability in war is limited - and the Egyptian army is not a force to be 'unleashed with impunity' in another war. (Mr. Elitzur indicated that Russians are believed to have between 15,000 - 20,000 people in Egypt-including 100 Generals - as pilots, crews for sophisticated weapons and advisors.

Therefore it is Israel's impression that the Egyptians are not being advised at the moment by the Russians to take the military road to the settlement of their dispute with Israel.

^{THIS BEING CASE THE} ~~Therefore~~ the Egyptians are looking for political settlement. But their notion of such a settlement is ^A different from the Israeli idea of political settlement.

Mr. Elitzur said this does not mean that the Egyptians cannot surprise all of us, and ~~do~~ do something illogical.

Against an illogical action Israel feels nobody is able to assure ~~their~~ ^{HER} security. ~~They~~ feel that the best insurance is to be able to discourage any attempts to illogical action by making the odds so great that it would be too difficult for Egyptian Hawks to opt for war.

^{ISRAELIS} One matter that Israel cannot hide from America "in all friendship" - is that they feel that the long delays in the deliveries of aircraft, which they have experienced in 1971, are unfair. They cause concern. It takes time between the moment that the US decides that it should provide certain aircraft, and their arrival in Israel since planes "are not something you take off the shelf".

Secondly, the delay can be interpreted by the Russians and Egyptians "as a political signal" that the United States is not truly interested in its declared principal of maintaining a balance of arms in the area.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 12

The Mission met with and was briefed on education in Israel by Eliezer Shmueli, Deputy Director General of the Israel Ministry of Education. Mr. Shmueli dealt specifically with the special efforts being made by the Israeli Government to close the cultural and educational gap between Jews of the African-Asian origin (Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Libya, Iraq, Iran, Yemen, etc.) and those of Western origin. (For figures on the gap which shows up in the countries' school system, see ^{THE} presentation made by Zelig Chinitz, page 12.) He noted that about one third of the Israel population, more than 800,000 students, are enrolled in schools as follows:

650,000 students in Elementary schools
140,000 students in Secondary schools
45,000 in Institutes of higher learning.

He told us that Israel has free compulsory education from the 1st through 9th grades - and is making very heavy use of scholarship funds to almost all high school students to 10th grade. It hopes next year to push free high school to 11th grade (3rd year high school) the minimum required schooling for all children.

Israel is one of the handful of nations that has universal free compulsory education through the primary grades. And it is far ahead of many older and more financially capable countries in supporting and making available high school and university education.

Mr. Shmuely discounted the phenomenon of Israel's 'Black Panthers'. He said they represent a very small percentage of Israel's young people.

The authorities are making serious efforts to overcome the conditions which give rise to Black Panthers on several levels.

One of these will be the attempt to improve housing conditions for Oriental Jews - who generally have large families, but very small flats.

The second is a program which has opened military service to about 200 young men who were formally rejected because they had police records.

Without having done military service it is almost impossible for a young man in Israel to get a decent job.

Third is the great effort being made by the Government educational authorities together with the Israel Education Fund of the UJA, to provide pre-kindergarten training for underprivileged youngsters, to ^{PLACE} gifted youngsters of the Oriental group in special high schools ^{WHERE THEY} get full living help and scholarship aid, and to encourage young Asian-African Jews to go to college through a broad scholarship program.

The Mission next visited the Denmark High School. This was set up by the Israel Education Fund of the United Jewish Appeal in the Katamon district of Jerusalem. It honors the people of Denmark who heroically to save 6,000 Danish Jews from Nazi extermination.

RECORDED



NOTE: Unfortunately it was not possible to provide the Mission with extended summaries of remarks of all the people we heard in Jerusalem. For your information, we list here the main events of the Missions stay, (in addition to those already listed), while in Jerusalem.

SUNDAY SEPTEMBER 12

- 11 a.m. Memorial visit to the Yad Vashem, erected to the memory of the 6 million Jews who perished at the hands of the Nazis.
See: Israel Guide by Zeev Vilnay, page 111 for further details.
- 12.30 p.m. Conference with Mayor of Reunited Jerusalem Teddy Kollek. He spoke about the problems both ordinary and international, that face him in the job of civic services for his community, which he described Jerusalem as "singular". There is no other city like it."
- 2.30 p.m. Meeting with Pinhas Eliav, senior member of Israel's Foreign Office and Director of its United Nations Desk. Mr Eliav spoke about Israel's recognition that Jerusalem occupies a special place in the religious beliefs of not only the Jews but Christians and Moslems as well and Israel's determination to provide easy access to the shrines and full religious privileges to people of all three faiths.
- 7.30 p.m. Dinner with Cabinet Minister Natan Peled, Minister of the Department of Immigrant Absorption. Among other things Minister Peled (who spoke mainly on the record) described the continuing movement of Jews to Israel from the Soviet Union.

MONDAY SEPTEMBER 13

- 8 a.m. Visit to Allenby Bridge where the Mission saw Israel's "open bridges" policy in operation.
- 5.30 p.m. Meeting with Herbert A. Friedman, Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. Rabbi Friedman spoke of the three major issues which confront the people of Israel at this time.

war
immigration and
poverty

Rabbi Friedman who has recently moved to Israel with his wife and two young sons. He is an authority on Jewish needs overseas and Israel. From Israel, he continues his activities as UJA's executive in charge of fund-raising. Born in 1918 in New Haven, Rabbi Friedman is a graduate of Yale and was ordained at the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute for Religion (reformed). As a Chaplain with the U.S. 9th Infantry Division in Germany in 1945 he helped to spearhead efforts to assist the newly liberated Jewish survivors of the Hitler death camps. He served later as Assistant Advisor on Jewish Affairs to General Joseph T. McNarney, Commander of the United States Occupation forces in Germany. Here he came in contact with two major UJA agencies - - the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, then engaged in providing relief and care for nearly 250,000 Jewish displaced Persons (in the D.P. Camps); and the Jewish Agency for Palestine which sought to bring them to pre-State Israel, despite the British embargo against immigration into that country. He became the executive head of the UJA in 1955.

The UJA has raised more than \$2 billion since its founding in 1938 to rescue Jews threatened with death by war and tyranny, or in need of immigration, welfare and other humanitarian aid. Rabbi Friedman has played a major role in raising this massive sum, probably the largest voluntary outpouring by a given segment of the American community in history.

TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 14

8 p.m. Mission closing dinner.

WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 15

7.55 a.m. Mission Departed by El Al Israeli Airlines for the United States.



APPENDIX A

News Day 3/30

Soviets Flex Egypt's Muscle: Survey

By Alfred Friendly

LA Times/Wash. Post News Service

London—Russia has sent 200 of its pilots and 150 advanced MIG-21J fighter-interceptors, ranked as the best fighter in the world, to the United Arab Republic and supplied it with \$2.5 billion in military aid last year, according to the authoritative Institute for Strategic Studies' annual survey.

The document, to be published today, points out that the sheer volume of military support is without precedent and that "never before had the Soviet Union injected anything like the quantity of sophisticated military equipment into a non-Communist country in such a short time." Also, with the exception of the 1962 Cuba missile crisis, the report said, USSR never has deployed such large numbers of its own

military personnel outside the Warsaw Treaty countries. They total 12,000 to 15,000 in SA-3 missile crews and 4,000 "advisers."

Nevertheless, the annual survey suggests in a sophisticated argument that the intent of that intervention or at least the effect, was to lessen, rather than increase, the likelihood of conflict. It induced greater caution by Israel at a time when it was bombing Egyptian targets at will, as close to Cairo as five miles, and, by implication, greater caution on the U.S.

"It also removed from the UAR the shadow of effective surrender and replaced it with a feeling of new strength," the survey said. "The Egyptians found themselves able, at last, to afford flexibility in their reaction to proposals for peace, while the Israelis, as their military options diminished and the risks attached to them in-

creased, found themselves urged by prudence in the same direction . . . More substantial and more direct Soviet involvement thus seemed to combine the purposes of defense and deterrence, even if at the cost of increasing the risk of Soviet embroilment if the cease-fire should end and deterrence fail."

In all, according to the Institute's cataloging, the USSR has put \$4.5 billion in military aid into Egypt since the six-day war of 1967. Besides the MIG-21J interceptors with greater speed, longer range and better armament than the earlier MIG-21C or D models, it has supplied ZSU-23-4 four-barreled 23mm. anti-aircraft guns, previously furnished only to Warsaw Pact allies; improved SA-2 missiles; and about 75 to 85 SA-3 missiles (presumably all manned by Russian crews) with far better lower altitude capabili-

ties. Also, there have been reports of sightings of the SA-4 missiles before the end of 1970. In all, there are about 500 to 600 surface-to-air missile launchers covering the western approaches to the canal, 200 of them within 19 miles.

The survey said that the Soviets had established six airfields controlled exclusively by their troops between the Nile and the canal since last March. If, in fact, the Soviet supply constituted an "outflanking" of the U.S., the report argues, "there was little to suppose that this was the motive." Instead, Russia was faced with the possibility of losing control of a "client" which would have been on the point of desperation had the Israeli air attacks continued. Instead, its policy seemed to have had "a more powerfully restraining influence upon both Israel and the UAR than any other party was able to exert."

APPENDIX B.

BEN GURION, DAVID; f. Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, Government of Israel; Hebrew publicist; Hon. Doctor of Law, Brandeis Uni. Boston (1960); b. Plonsk, Oct 16, 1886; m. 1917 Paula Munwess; 1s; 2d.; Educ.: Religious school, Istanbul University (Faculty of Law). Active in Zionist labor movement from early youth; settled in Israel, 1906, exiled as Zionist by Turkish admin. 1915 went to U.S.A.; helped raise Jewish Legion and served in its ranks under Gen. Allenby; co-organizer, Jewish Labor Party (Mapai) and General Federation of Jewish Labor (Histadrut); its secretary 1921-35; Chairman, Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1935-48. following U.N. Partition Resolution, 1947 elected Chairman, National Council (in charge of security and defence); proclaimed Independence of State of Israel, May 14, 1948; Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, 1949-53 and 1955-63; Dr. h.c. of Hebrew Letters, Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Bialik Literary Prize for Judaica, 1952 Dr h.c. of Philosophy Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1957; Dr. h.c. of Philosophy Rangoon University, 1961, Dr h.c. of Architecture, Technion, Haifa. Author of "Self-Government of Villagers", 1914; "The Labor Movement and Revisionism", 1933, "From Class to Nation", 1933; "The Struggle" (5 vols) 1947-50; "Israel at War", 1950, "Vision and Implementation", (5 vols) 1951-57; "Rebirth and Destiny of Israel", 1954 (N.Y. Phil. Libr.); Hebrew translation of Sombart's "Studies on Socialism in the 19th century"; "The Sinai Campaign" (Hebrew) 1959; "Israel: Years of Challenge" (in English), 1963 "Ben-Gurion Looks Back"; "Dvarim Kehavaya-am", etc; essays and articles.

Memo From Raphael Levy

September 4, 1971
Dan Hotel

Dear Herb:

I'd like it very much if you could be the speaker at the closing dinner of our current newspapermen's Mission at the K.D. -- 8:00 P.M. -- ^{TUESDAY} September 14 th.

By the time we reach Jerusalem and the closing dinner-- we will just about have seen it all. The Army, the Political Issues, the Arabs, the Immigration story, the Economics of Israel, etc-- we will have ^{AND HEARD} ~~seen~~ it all-- or just about. ^{SEEN}

So what do you speak about?

Well, I always guard the closing dinner jealously, and if I have a speaker ^{I TRY} pick him very carefully-- because I want just one thing out of my group: emotional commitment.

It's the night I turn over as much as possible to the group itself-- and if the Mission has jelled, and gone right, they respond.

~~Directly~~ ^{DIRECTLY} Through an attempt to be humorous by putting on a kidding skit-- or by speeches (brief) that some of the boys make on their own-- they tell you what the visit has meant to them (and tell themselves.) It's the night, too, that I (over)

give them my "There is a part of this land that is a part of you -- and you are a part of it" speech (which takes about 10 minutes.)

^{AGAIN,}
So what do you talk about?
Do I dare make a suggestion:

Perhaps you talk personally-- why you as a very successful American executive-- with a deep feeling about America-- made up your mind that you were going to live in Israel. ^{PERHAPS YOU TALK ABOUT} Some of the things you saw and were involved in and never forgot in Germany and Berlin, (Half-- perhaps more of this group, are World War II veterans. ^{PERHAPS YOU SAW HERE} ~~of the things~~ that excite you and move you, ^{and} that have meaning for you as an American as well as a Jew, etc.

Some of the boys are already talking about Israel reminding them of what America was like a hundred years ago-- with stars in its eyes, ~~xxxxxxx~~ and purpose and self-belief and faith in the common man. So I think (or have the chutzpah to think) you ~~re~~ spelling it out for them in your own terms-- ^{AS YOU CAN} quietly-- reaching for the emotional gut-- will ~~xxxxxx~~ be verbalizing [^] some of the things that (I hope) will be going through their minds by then. And you'll be getting across to them that they can make a REAL contribution to the cause, just by telling people back home how they feel about it all (if they feel that way.)

MORE

Memo From Raphael Levy

Page 2.

(SATURDAY SEPT. 3)

At this point this Mission is still struggling to get [^]off the ~~xxxxx~~ ground.

We missed you or Zelig at the opening meeting.

The Absorption Center was only partially successful, and Malben just so-so.

A great night last night (Friday night) at Dan Patir's-- where Dan invited the editors of Ma'ariv, Yediot, Ha'aretz, and some transplanted Americans-- and everybody had a ~~great~~ ^{MARVELOUS} time ~~xxxxx~~ exchanging shop talk, ~~and talking with~~ ^{positives, customs OF THE COUNTRY} some pretty wives.

Today a puncture-- B.G. couldn't see us. (But will see us, hopefully, tomorrow.)

But from here on ~~ixxx~~ in the Mission should pick up some steam as we get ~~xxxx~~ out from under the Shabbat-- and I think it will jell.

Best regards-- also to Francine.

P.S. Zelig has agreed to come over tomorrow night (Sunday), and do the economic~~s~~-costs-- what-UJA-needs story. The boys need it, and are asking for it.

MEMBERS OF THE NEWSPAPERMEN'S MISSION

SEPTEMBER 1 - 15, 1971

H. WESLEY BOGLE is Managing Editor of THE NEW BRUNSWICK (N.J.) HOME NEWS. He was a general assignment reporter, Sunday Editor and City Editor before becoming Managing Editor. Prior to joining THE HOME NEWS, he served as editor of two weekly newspapers, the Ramapo Valley Independent in Suffern, N.Y., and The Metuchen Recorder in Metuchen, N.J. As an undergraduate at Columbia University, he majored in architecture and the fine arts. During World War II and the Korean War he saw active duty as a patrol plane commander in the U.S. Navy. He is a retired Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Naval Reserve. He has been active in numerous civil activities including the Metuchen Planning Board, the American Red Cross, the YMCA and Little League Baseball. An avid bowler, he has been a director of the American Bowling Congress since 1968 and of the American Junior Bowling Congress since 1969. He is a past president of the New Jersey Associated Press, a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and of Sigma Delta Chi.

CHARLES K. CONNOR has been Managing Editor of the CHARLESTON (West Virginia) DAILY MAIL since 1969. Before becoming Managing Editor, he served with the paper 20 years, as reporter, columnist and assistant managing editor. He was with the U.S. Army Signal Corps during World War II and saw service in North Africa. He is a native of Huntington, West Virginia and a graduate of Marshall University.

JOHN CROWN is the Associate Editor and a columnist of the ATLANTA (Georgia) JOURNAL. He joined the Journal in 1947, following combat service in the South Pacific in World War II, as a United States Marine. For the Journal he covered the police beat, City Hall and the State Capitol. He was recalled to active duty in the Marine Corps in 1951 and saw duty as an officer in Korea. He was promoted to rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and for several years was editor and publisher of the Marine Corps Gazette. In 1963, after retiring from active duty in the Marines, he returned to the Journal where he served as assistant city editor, city editor and editorial associate, before being appointed to his present post in 1969. He is a native of Decatur, Georgia and is a graduate of Emory College. Additionally, he is a member of the Marine Corps Association, Sigma Delta Chi and the Atlanta Press Club.

M. JAMES DEAN is the Executive Editor and Chief Editorial Writer of the SANTA ANA (California) REGISTER -- a member of the Freedom Newspaper group. He joined the Register in 1962 as news editor, becoming executive editor in 1971. A newspaperman for 25 years, he began his career as a reporter with the Tyler (Texas) Courier-Times. He became managing editor of the Pampa (Texas) Daily News, in 1954, and later editor of the Lima (Ohio) News. Additionally, he has served with the Houston Chronicle as copy editor and later as assistant city editor. A veteran of World War II he saw service in the Pacific with the U.S. Army Signal Corps. He is a past president of both the Ohio Editors Association and the Orange County (California) Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi. His writings have won awards in Texas, Ohio and California. He has covered assignments in Canada, Mexico, South America and the Far East, including Vietnam, as well as throughout the United States.

J. EDWARD GRIMSLEY is the Editor of the Editorial Page and a columnist for the RICHMOND (Virginia) TIMES-DISPATCH. A member of the Times-Dispatch staff since October, 1953, he was an urban affairs and political reporter before becoming Editorial Page Editor. His articles have won state and national prizes. He is a graduate of the College of William and Mary and a member of Sigma Delta Chi. A collection of his columns has appeared in a book entitled "Coming Through Awry."

LOUIS C. HARRIS is Editor of the AUGUSTA (Georgia) CHRONICLE and the Executive Editor of both the Chronicle (M) and its sister paper, the Augusta Herald (E). Additionally, he is vice-president of South Eastern Newspapers which operates the two publications as well as additional papers in Savannah, Athens (Ga.) and Juneau, Alaska. He has been a newspaperman for 40 years, serving with papers in the Southeast and in Pontiac, Michigan. He was the Public Relations Officer of the 12th Air Force Command of the United States Armed Forces during World War II, and as Public Relations Officer with the U.S. Occupying Forces in Austria. Under the auspices of the Southern Association of Nieman Fellows he has reported on the impact of Japanese textiles on the American economy. Additionally, he has written on NATO installations at the invitation of the U.S. Air Force, and has visited and reported on his findings in South Africa, Rhodesia, Kenya, Thailand and Vietnam. He is currently President of the Georgia Associated Press, has served as President of both the Georgia Press Association and the Georgia Associated Press News Council, and is a member of both Sigma Delta Chi and the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

JAMES E. JACOBSON is the Editorial Page Editor of the BIRMINGHAM NEWS. He joined the News as an editorial writer in 1959 and was named editorial page editor in 1966. In addition to editorial writing, he has done extensive special assignment reporting for the News, including national political campaigns and conventions in 1964 and 1968 and overseas assignments in 1967 and 1969. His 1967 assignment included the Middle East (Israel and the occupied territories immediately after the Six-Day-War) and Southeast Asia. In 1969 he reported from the U.A.R., Jordan and Lebanon in addition to making a return visit to Israel. A native Alabamian and a graduate of the University of Alabama, he served for four years in the U.S. Air Force during the Korean War. He was named Alabama Journalist of the Year in 1968.

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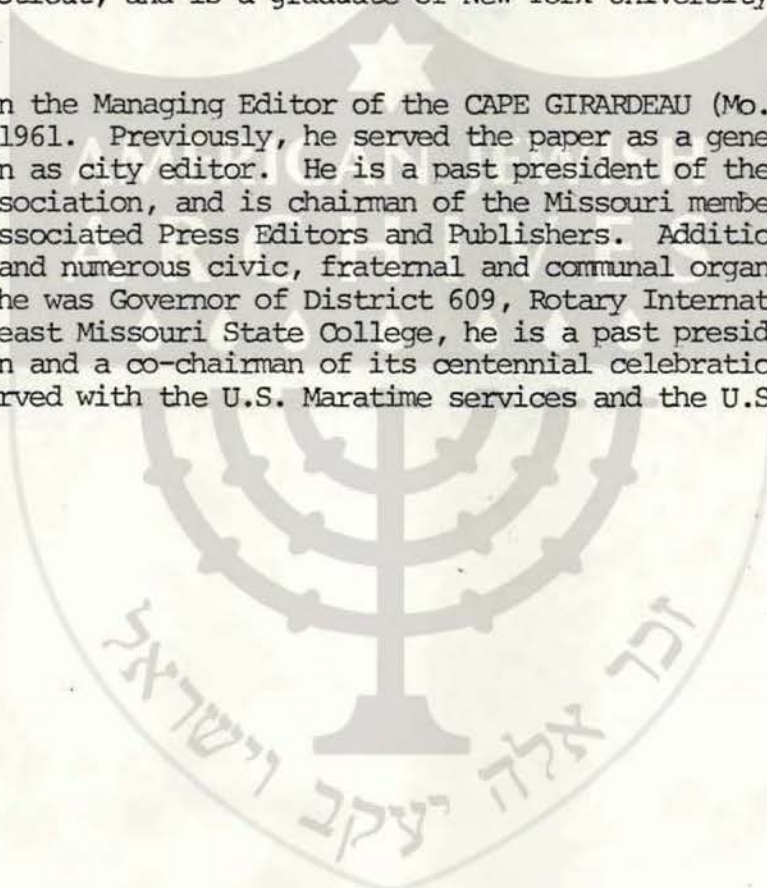
JAMES E. O'BRIEN is Chief Editorial Writer for the NEWS-JOURNAL papers of Wilmington, Delaware. A 1943 graduate of the Marquette University College of Journalism, he joined the staff of the Fond Du Lac (Wisconsin) Commonwealth-Reporter and later, of the Racine (Wisconsin) Journal-Times. For the next 26 years, he was successively sports editor, government and political reporter and, for 18 years, editorial writer. In November, 1969, he joined the News-Journal papers as associate editor of the editorial pages. He was named chief editorial writer on January 1, 1971. He is a member of the National Conference of Editorial Writers, was a district chairman for the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Wisconsin, and the winner of a community service award from the Racine (Wisconsin) United Fund.

JAMES B. WILSON is the Executive Editor of the STAR-NEWS NEWSPAPERS of Wilmington, North Carolina. He began his career as a reporter in Wilmington, then joined the Baltimore Sun and returned to the Star-News in 1950. Since that time he has held positions as Managing Editor of the Star, Managing Editor of the News, Associate Editor and Assistant Executive Editor. He was appointed to his present position in January of 1970. He studied journalism at the University of North Carolina and served in the Merchant Marine as an engineer in World War II. He is a member of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, a member of the Board of Directors of the United Fund and a trustee of the Wilmington Recreation Foundation.

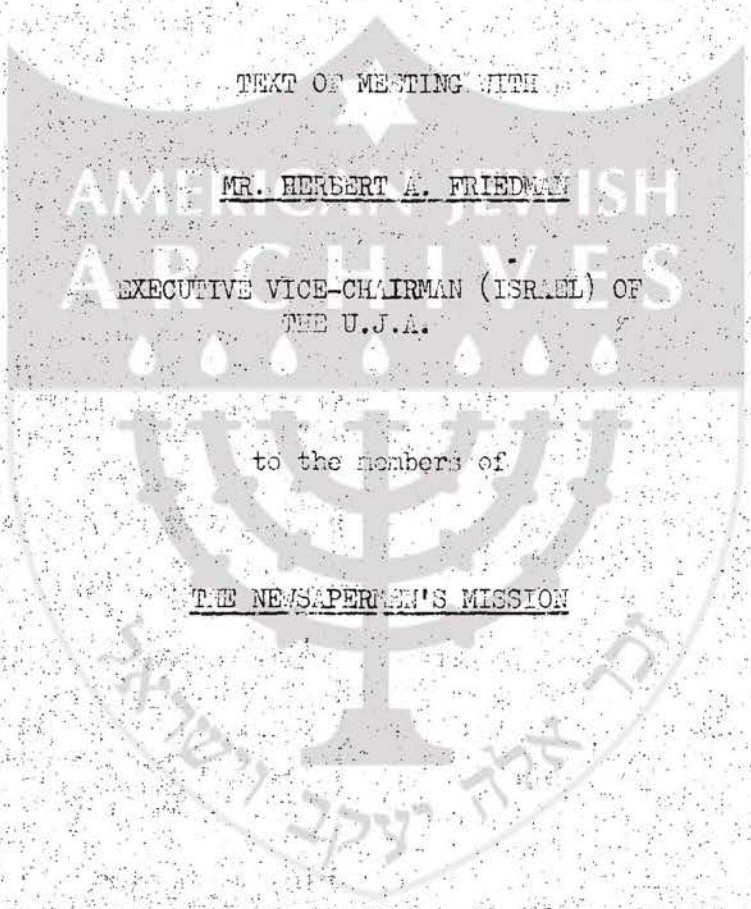
BENJAMIN ABILEAH is a Consul of Israel with the Consulate General in Los Angeles. He has been a member of Israel's Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1962. Prior to coming to Los Angeles, he served as First Secretary and Charge d'Affaires of the Israel Embassy for the Philippines, in Manila, and as Economic Officer for the Israel Embassy for Cyprus. Born in Tel Aviv, he was educated in Israel and the United States. From 1950 - 1955 he studied Business Administration at the University of Missouri. He was active as a businessman in Israel, before joining the Foreign Office. From 1948 - 1950 he fought in his country's War of Independence as a member of the Israel Defence Forces, and took part in the battles for Jerusalem and the Negev.

RAPHAEL LEVY is the Director of Public Affairs for the nationwide UNITED JEWISH APPEAL and the Mission Leader. He has been a newspaperman, film maker and public relations executive. He was the UJA Director of Public Relations from 1951 through 1967, and served previously as the Publicity Director of two UJA member organizations, the Joint Distribution Committee and the National Refugee Service. During World War II, from 1943 to 1945, he was News Editor of the Master Radio Desk of the U.S. Office of War Information in New York. He directed publicity for the International Conference on Jewish Relief and Rehabilitation (Paris, 1948) and the 1953 Jerusalem Economic Conference. On the occasion of David Ben-Gurion's 80th Birthday visit to the United States, in March 1967, he was in charge of press liaison. Two films for which he served as script writer and Executive Producer, "Jews of Morocco" and "Children of the Exodus", received First Prize as Best Film of the Year, 1964 and 1967 respectively, awarded by the National Council of Jewish Audio-Visual Materials. He was born in Connecticut, and is a graduate of New York University.

JOHN BLUE has been the Managing Editor of the CAPE GIRARDEAU (Mo.) SOUTHEAST MISSOURIAN since 1961. Previously, he served the paper as a general assignment reporter, and then as city editor. He is a past president of the Southeast Missouri Press Association, and is chairman of the Missouri members of the Missouri-Kansas Associated Press Editors and Publishers. Additionally, he is active in Rotary and numerous civic, fraternal and communal organizations. During 1963-1964 he was Governor of District 609, Rotary International. A graduate of Southeast Missouri State College, he is a past president of its Alumni Association and a co-chairman of its centennial celebration planned for 1973-1974. He served with the U.S. Maritime services and the U.S. Army in World War II.



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TEXT OF MEETING WITH

MR. HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
EXECUTIVE VICE-CHAIRMAN (ISRAEL) OF
THE U.J.A.

to the members of

THE NEWSPAPERMAN'S MISSION

25.11.71

FOR YOUR USE ONLY

25-11

Gentlemen, let me try to be much more down to earth and more practical. I don't know every place you've been and I don't know every person you've seen - so that technically speaking I can't really sum up for you everything you've done up to now. But I would like to try and create my own grouping for you and then fit the things you've seen and you've heard into that root brick and see if it makes sense. It's an overall outline.

We are faced here with three basic problems. And I'll attach three words to them and the words all require elaboration. Number one - war. Number two - immigration. Number three - social welfare problems - or one word for the three is poverty. And we try to work on all three problems at the same time and on each one as though the other two didn't exist and that's really the trick. And if you understand that, then you understand everything that goes on here. You have to be concerned with a war against poverty in the Katamon section of the city of Jerusalem. And you try to apply yourself with equal diligence to both problems. Now that's a fundamental difference between this country and any other country in the world I know, because usually what happens is that when a country becomes involved in a major problem like a war that goes on year after year, decade after decade, other things begin suffering. In the United States that Vietnam war, which drained so much money and energy and occupied so much attention for so many years, began to cause a hemorrhaging of support for the problems in the big cities and the problems in the big cities began to go unattended more and more and more and more and they multiplied and they got more difficult to solve and that has an effect on the morality of the country. And that's not good. People begin to lose faith in the sense of national purpose - I think that's part of what the whole question is all about in America today.

Well, in this country there is no such question. Nobody questions what the national purpose of this country is and that is why you have such a very high state of morale on the part of everybody. The national purpose is to try to survive and if the war is to be resumed, you have got to literally stay alive and the national purpose at the very same time is to try to make sure that you chip away at the social problems of the people at the bottom of the heap and to try and figure out how to improve education and vocational training and health and housing, and the fights and the debates are just as serious on that issue as on the major issue of war or peace.

That 's an overview that you have of this country. While the two problems go on, the war outside and the war inside against poverty, the third problem goes on of immigrants coming in all the time, and you fight that war as if nothing else existed. And the people who are concerned with the immigrant absorption fight their battle so fiercely as if they couldn't care less what's happening on the Suez Canal. One thousand people a week come into this country week in and week out and those 1,000 people, damn it, have got to have buses to meet them at the airport and an empty flat to put them into and a bed and chairs to give to them and the guys in charge of that whole operation don't give one damn - they are not interested in hearing anything at all about the problems of the poverty-stricken guys trying to live on the 100 bucks a month. Somebody else is trying to solve that. There's an absolutely monolithic, almost ferocious attack on each problem by the people responsible for the problem. And that's excellent, because the 1,000 people a week get the care, and better or worse they get settled and they get housed and they get fed and they get employed and they get put into schools to learn the Hebrew language and you have got to keep building those schools and you have got to take care of the wife and

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the kids for six months while you teach the guy the language, because you figure that that's the shortcut route - teach him the language so that he can earn his own living and in six months he's off the relief rolls and he's on the taxpayer rolls. And that's the way it should be - get him independent, get him standing on his own feet - there's no welfare in this country - nobody gets handed out welfare payments - philosophically we don't believe in that. Philosophically what we believe in is giving a man a chance to make his own living - that's what makes a human being out of him. But if in order to do that you have got to teach him a new vocation and you have got to invest six months or a year in him, then you invest it. You put in the six months once in your lifetime for that guy and you put him on his feet for the rest of his life. So you never can take a short-sighted view of something. You give it a long view. And all the people who are responsible for that do that to the utmost of their ability and all the pressures ultimately converge on the Minister of Finance, because the guys in the Defense Ministry fighting the war come and ask for what they need and the guys in the Immigration and Absorption Department come and fight and ask for what they need and the guys fighting on the social welfare front demand what they need, and the Minister of Finance sits there like a Zeus on Mount Olympus trying to decide, and right now he is in the process on shaping his 1972 budget.

The total requests that everybody brought in to him from all the ministries for all purposes came to something like 5½ billion dollars - the budgetary request for 1972 - fiscal 1972 - which begins April 1st. And he says, okay follows, take your requests back, you have got to fit everything into four billion. And he starts out working with an overall figure of 4 billion dollars and he says, go ahead, cut this, prune this and cut that and bring me back a second estimate, bring me back a third estimate. He's done something quite unusual. He informed the Parliament two days ago that he will not be ready for the first reading of the budgetary bill on December 3rd, which is when he is mandated to bring it in - it's got to have three readings before it passes and he informed the Speaker of the House a couple of days ago that he wouldn't be ready, because the budget has just got to be cut down to the bone, he can't handle anything more than 4 billion. And the requests all have to be pared and so he's informed the Speaker that they won't get to the first budget reading till the middle of January and they won't get to the last budget reading until March 30th, the day before the fiscal year is due to begin. That's an indication of the sweat that we're in right now, because if you're trying to do these three things all at the same time, there just isn't enough money to do it, there just simply isn't.

Tax revenue from all sources will come in at about 2 billion dollars, and if he's got to spend - even if he can get a cutdown to four billion - he's got to finance the rest of it by borrowing. The national debt in this country is 3½ billion dollars, which is a per capita figure of about 1300 dollars on the head of every man, woman, and child in this country and it's the largest per capita debt in the world, in the world. And there's only one way it's going to go and that's up. And let me explain that.

Let me go back a little bit in depth in each of these three problems and then I'd like to open the thing for questions. - Number one. As far as the war

is concerned, we don't see any end to it. And that's a sweeping statement which maybe will look funny in print. The way this war will end is when the Arab states in this area, but predominantly Egypt, agree to recognize the existence of the State of Israel. That's all that's required. This war does not maintain itself episode after episode over any other reason. There are no territorial reasons - it's not a fight over territory. There are not economic reasons - it's not a fight over trade routes. All of the usual reasons that motivate wars don't exist here. And that's what most people simply don't understand. What this war is all about is the right to survive, the right to exist.

Now there are really two basic positions inside the Arab world. One position is there is no need for a Jewish state at all. Jews are a religious group and they are not a national group, there shouldn't be a Jewish state at all, and we are not going to permit one to exist. The other Arab point of view is - you can call it more modern if you want - okay, the Jews want to have a state, fine, let them have a state, but not here in this region of the world. Let them have a state someplace in Europe - they are basically a European people, Russians, Poles, Germans, Rumanians, Hungarians, or let them have a state in Africa - a lot of Jews come from Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia. Or, if the United States is so damned Jewish, let the Jews have a state in part of New Mexico or Colorado. A black panther leader once told me, he said, okay, you guys want to have a state, New Mexico's empty, what the hell do you have to go have a state out there in the Middle East for? And the Arab position that reflects that says, we understand you suffered a lot under Hitler, so we understand you want to have your own sovereignty and your own independence - fine - but you have intruded in an area of the world in which you don't belong. And we kind of scratched our heads, because that sounds very tough gut to us and we say, what do you mean we don't belong, we started here.

There isn't much point in trying to psychoanalyze the Arab position, but right now, whether its extreme or whether its moderate, it all boils down to one thing - they have not yet historically come to acknowledge the fact that a Jewish state is here to stay in this region. The day that they come to that conclusion peace will break out like a beautiful blossom, because there isn't any reason to have a war. I'm afraid that's still a long time off and this is what I mean when I said I don't see any end. Many people still operate in the Arab world under the mentality of the Crusader analogy which they make. They make a very strict analogy of the period of the Crusaders from the 10th to the 12th Century and their analogy is very simple - those Christians came in here to this part of the world, they didn't belong here either, they sent their knights and their armour and Richard the Lionheart and it took us 200 years to knock the Jews out of the box, okay, we'll do that too. So you see, what has to change is that one basic, simple, fundamental fact. One has to change the fact that they will psychologically acknowledge the fact that there can be a Jewish state inside this area - we are surrounded by 14 Arab states - without the Arab states and their legitimate desires being harmed in any way.

This is what we keep trying to tell them through all kinds of intermediaries, third parties and so far it is not working. So every once in a while the

convulsion starts inside the Arab world, like it's now starting again, and I think we will have an outbreak of fire fairly soon now. But that's my personal opinion, it's no official opinion. Everybody's got his own opinion. Mr. Peres, the Minister of Communications, spoke yesterday and expressed the same point of view. Mr. Eban has been - yesterday he spoke to the British Ambassador and tomorrow he's speaking to the American Ambassador. Maybe he's trying to get that point across that there is something in the atmosphere. We think Mr. Sadat is starting to box himself in by his own letter.

But whether there's an outbreak of firing or not, is really irrelevant to the economic question involved, because the cost of defense in this country, whether ceasefire or fire, the cost of defense in this country is so extraordinarily high. And there's a relatively small difference in expense between ceasefire and fire. Once you start to fire the difference is the shell which you expend - not much else.

The purchase of the planes and tanks etc. goes on and on while the cost of the defense is as high as it is. The cost of defense in this country runs 27, 28% of the GNP, the highest in the world. With all the Vietnam expenses, the American cost of the war in the United States never got above 9, 10% of the GNP. I think if the Vietnam war ever got up to 25% of the GNP then you would have seen a revolt in the United States a thousand times stronger than we had.

So if you understand the war in that context, then you won't get upset by periodic jittery headlines. We don't, we look at the thing quite in the historical perspective.

We have been sitting on the Canal now for 4½ years. We said, fine, we would withdraw, we'd be glad to withdraw. To where? Draw the border you recognize that border, that will be the border of our State - fine, that's exactly what we want. This state has no borders. For 23 years there have been no borders to this country. There are armistice lines, there are ceasefire lines, there's got to be an agreement once and for all. There is a border to this country - that means they'll recognize that that's your border - fine. We are not going to disagree on where that border is. They say withdraw, we say where to. They don't say where to. And this is what the thing's all about. So when he says O.K. I can't get you damned Jews to withdraw by diplomatic pressure, which he's been trying to put on, then I'll get them to withdraw by military pressure. But he can't do that, and we think he knows it. But this is what I mean when I say he's getting boxed in. The oratory gets going, and the rhetoric gets going, and he's told his troops twice now that he has made an option for war. So you know, he's got to get off that limb. He's got to climb down. We would be glad to help him any way we can. We sure have nothing to gain from war. We are not interested in taking Cairo. We don't want to go anyplace. We only want to stay where we are. We don't have to, but we are going to. And the whole world has got to understand that, too. That we'll just sit there. We've been sitting there for 4½ years, we'll sit there 24½ years if we have to. We can afford it. The only thing which can break us is the cost of the thing.

Now, our only other options would be if we can't handle the cost of defense to begin to cut down on the two other things we are trying to do. The immigration,

and the war against poverty, and we are determined not to cut those down either, because, let me shift over to the second point of immigration now. This state wasn't created for fighting wars. That's not our primary purpose. This state was not born to become a Sparta, a small beleaguered nation, fighting for its existence all the time. Developing nothing but a military economy. This state has a huge great raison d'etre for its existence, and that is extending the hand to the fellow man in need, and the Jews can get out of the Soviet Union by God after 55 years of Russian revolution. They have to have a place to get to. That's the purpose of the existence of the State of Israel. Anybody in trouble, anywhere on earth isn't going to wind up in a gas chamber any more, they will wind up in a free democratic society.

If somebody says, what's the purpose and the meaning of the State of Israel, well that's it in one sentence. So you know, if the war costs get too much, somebody always pops up with the suggestion: well, okay, what the hell, cut down a little bit on the immigration. You don't have to take in every Jew, tell them to wait. And boy that's when the hat will go up. That's when the hair goes up on everybody's head. Tell them to wait! If a Jew has got nerve enough to walk into a police station in Russia, and ask for an emigration visa, and he looks at the desk sergeant right in the eye, and the guy says why do you want to leave Russia, isn't that your homeland. He says, yes it's my homeland, but I don't like it here. You tell that to a cop. Man, he'll throw you in jail for three years. So you give him a different reason, you don't say you don't like it in Russia. What they say is, yes this is our homeland, yes, but we have another homeland, and I've got some relatives in that homeland and I want to join them. One cousin of mine died a thousand years ago, and another cousin of mine was born 2,000 years ago. And I want to go to that other homeland. It takes nerve, you have to go through the police. So if a guy goes through all that, are we going to say to him, don't do it, wait. Stay in Kiev for a couple more years - stay there. It's absurd. So, we keep opening, opening, opening, the immigration routes, and I think by now there are a few figures you should know. The total number of Jews in what we call countries of oppression, that's just a generic title, which refers to Communist Bloc countries and Moslem countries. The total reservoir of Jews in all those countries, outside the Soviet Union, is about 400,000 men, women and children. Those 400,000 Jews in the course of the years ahead, are all going to come here. Because they want to, and we'll take them as about as fast as we can handle them, and as fast as we can handle them is about 1,000 a week, 50,000 a year, which is a great pace for us, and if we cut it down to 500 a week, I don't think that God or anybody with a moral voice in the world would say that we are being selfish, I think even 500 a week is an unselfish thing.

But, ok, we've set a target for ourselves. So within 8 or 9 years these people will be taken in. Now, then you've got the second factor which is the Soviet Union, because there we don't know what's going to happen because there what you've got is a miracle of Jewish spiritual renaissance which has occurred. It's really a miracle. Because if you think of it in terms of what the Russian authorities have tried to do since 1917, its now 54 years, what they tried to do is stamp out any feeling of religion, or nationalism, so any Jew today, younger than the age of 54, was born under the Soviet regime. And any Jew younger than the age of 54, who stands up and says I am a Jew, I want to go

to Israel, represents a terrible defeat for them. They climb the wall, they really do. Because they say, my God, we were training them in our point of view, and here he kicks over the traces and he wants out.

So I can understand the rage of the Russian authorities at this. But they can't understand that a miracle has taken place, and that is probably attributable to the Six Day War. We are not sure of the causes, but that's probably it, where there was a rebirth of Jewish internal feeling of being Jewish, and wanting to identify and wanting to relate back to the source of Jewish life, which is here, and therefore, the logical thing is to come here and bring your family. Incidentally, you come out of a communist country into a democratic free country, incidentally, but it's a great incidental by-product of this whole thing.

We haven't got a clue, really no clue as to how many Jews would ever have come from the Soviet Union. That other number, 400,000 that's a fixed number, that's a finite number. If I say all of them will come here, take 80 or 90% of them that will come, and we can pretty well predict that, but of the Soviet Jewish population, you can't predict a thing. We just know that the desire is strong and we know that the Soviets are giving in under the pressure of world-wide demonstrations, and we know that the numbers are growing larger and larger, and it's running now into the thousands for 1971, the biggest year ever, and 1972 might be more.

So I can't give you numbers. Whether we would have to expect one day a million, or half a million, or a million Jews out of the Soviet Union, we know it, it's a historical process that we hope will continue.

The only thing is that they could close it in one minute if they want. But it doesn't pay. Our analysis is that we think they have come to a conclusion that it doesn't pay not to let the Jews out because their Jews are by now for them nothing but a problem. The rest of the world raising so much hell, so much fuss, that in the long run maybe the best way to solve it is to get rid of them. To the hell with them. 250 millions, what the hell are 2 million Jews, let them out. If they would come to that conclusion, obviously we would be delighted, but we are not sure they will.

The trend happily today appears to be towards larger numbers and therefore, you know one thing about Jews - I don't know if you know it - they are the optimists of the highest degree. The first 100 Russian Jews that came in - people here were already making speeches, well we think it will be a million. We are a very difficult people in many ways, we can be kind of nasty and obstreperous with each other, we argue, you can't get two Jews to agree on anything, except what the third Jew will give to the UJA, and that's a saying that we have - two Jews will always tell a third guy how much to give - beyond that we are a kind of a fighting - I think that comes out of the creativity - we are very mercurial. Well, let me not try to psychoanalyze us, but one thing we are great optimists. And so we're going on the premise that the Soviet Jews will also get their chance to come here in large numbers and from the immigration point of view we have to think years and years and years ahead in terms of building six or eight or ten thousand houses a year. If you're getting

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50,000 people you need 10,000 houses. If you were to get 100,000 people, you need 20,000 housing units a year. Well, that gets to be big even for countries like France and Germany and England, let alone what it's going to represent for us here. But this is the way our minds go and this is the track that we're on and we'll go on that track.

The third problem is the problem of trying to elevate the sub-standard portion of our population and I'll give you two figures and with this I'll be through. We estimate that there are about 10% of the people living in this country below the poverty line. In a way that's excellent because it means 90% of the people have made it, more or less, to a degree. Now what do we mean by the poverty line? We define the poverty line in this country - I'm not sure if it's right - I think it's too low a definition, but right now this is where it stands - at 25 dollars per month per person. So you have a family of four persons trying to live on 100 dollars a month, they can't make it, they just can't make it. That isn't going to pay for shoes for the kids, it isn't going to pay for meat on the table, it isn't going to pay for school fees. The family is in trouble. Deep serious trouble. There is really no minimum wage in this country, but if there were a minimum wage, it would come out to be for an average worker around 500 pounds a month - that's all it would be anyhow even if there were one by legislation, so it doesn't make much difference that there isn't one. The facts are just about what the law would be anyhow. So minimum wage is no damn solution to anything. What we have to try and figure out is how we can solve the problems by supplementary means to the guy's income. There are two basic things about poverty which we feel have to be altered - if we can alter these we can break the poverty cycle and we won't have a second generation of poverty. You see, the problem of welfare is, you are not breaking the cycle and handing out welfare, well, that man's son is going to need welfare 20 years later anyhow. And what you have to do is try to solve the fundamental problems and there are two things you have to do.

Number one, we have got to try to improve the housing, because overcrowded, tenement, slum kind of housing results in bad social conditions inside the family, it results in tension between husband and wife, it results in violence, it results in loud language, fighting inside the house in front of the kids. It involves kids running away from home, juvenile delinquency, it involves the beginning of prostitution. We are starting to see it here. Very small faint statistics are beginning to appear to indicate that these social problems are beginning to develop and we want to sit on them hard and fast before they start in any major dimension.

So if we can take a family out of overcrowded housing and put them into more spacious quarters, you can organize the whole system better, you can have a table in the corner where a kid can sit and do his homework. You see, I tried to think - Ray said I lived in New York for a long time. From my point of view there's only one way to solve Harlem and that's to burn it - burn the damn thing down - it will clean out the rats, it will clean out the drug pushers, it will clean out the fly-bitten rooms in which people live without water, without toilets, without heat, and I really believe that the condition of a man's house has a great deal to do with the whole state of his attitude towards life. Well, nobody's going to burn down Harlem, which is why I don't see any solution, I honest to God don't. Harlem is just too big to solve. In a very tiny way

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what we're trying to do here is to improve the housing situation, and again we set standards - three persons per room - a density of three persons per room is considered overcrowded housing and that's the family that you try and move into a larger flat. Three persons per room - kitchens don't count - so if you say a guy's got two rooms, what he's got is a kitchen, a little toilet - and two rooms. So in those quarters if six people are trying to live, that's too much.

and we have a constant fight all the time as to how much new housing we can build to remove slums and to move poverty families into bigger quarters. And there again it's a tug-of-war with the other thing. And new immigrants come in - they need housing - and you can only build a certain amount a year, so if you give it to the new immigrants, if you give it to the old poverty-stricken immigrants who came 15 years ago - because, by the way, who are these people, the 10% on the bottom - they are also immigrants - but they came here maybe 15 years ago and they have been living on the bottom of the heap and they're the ones by the way, who are now yelling discrimination - that's another interesting aspect of the thing. You heard about the formation in this country of a group called the Black Panthers. They are Mostly Moroccan kids who were trying to protest against the overcrowded housing in which they were living and they were claiming discrimination because they said, the Russian Jews, they get good housing, we are living in lousy housing, this country prefers Russian Jews to Moroccan Jews - we're black - discrimination. And we're going to protest and we're going to make strikes and we're going to yell and we're going to give ourselves a name that's going to get us newspaper attention. So they gave themselves the name Black Panthers.

A humorous footnote - when it was pointed out to them that the Black Panther movement in the United States had become strongly anti-Israel and anti-semitic, they were quite shocked to hear that, because they hadn't intended any such implication, so they changed their name to Black Panthers - parenthesis - blue and white. The national colours to make sure that everyone would understand that they are patriotic Israelis.

These Moroccan families who came here 15 and 20 years ago are predominantly the ones living in the overcrowded housing and that's one thing we are in the process always trying to change and improve. The second way we feel that poverty can be licked is by education and here is something where the old Jewish tradition of emphasis on knowledge and learning really comes into play, because what you do here is - we are trying to develop an educational network from the bottom up. We are very strong on three and four year olds - prekindergarten - Operation Headstart in the United States was copied from here - three and four year old kids, if they go to pre-kindergarten, what you'll do is cut dramatically the rate of dropouts ten years later in high school, because they learn to read and recognize letters and recognize colours and learn to deal with abstract concepts when they are three and four years old, then they won't drop out when they're 14 years old because they fall behind in their work.

So we're working on every level from the three year old up to universities. We have seven universities in this country - it's not a bad start for a small population. We have 45,000 students in colleges and universities in this country. High school is not free - that's a problem - how to keep these kids through high

school so that they will learn a trade, and a vocation is something on which we are spending a lot of money - trying to provide scholarships. So the work on the poverty front deals really basically with trying to improve housing and trying to improve education and these are what we call the social services.

Now go back and summarize it. If you have got question of buying Phantom airplanes or you have got a question of paying to get Jews from Russia to settle here or you have got a question of giving high school scholarships to kids of African and Asian origin, that they shouldn't feel discriminated against and so that they should be able to progress in life, which of the damned three things do you do? Or in which measure do you do each of the three things? That's like sitting like Solomon, because you do all three things, but the question is in what measure. So I would say if you had to sum it up the priorities go in terms of defense, number one and immigration, number two and social welfare problems, number three. And the more money that we can pour into this thing from the outside, the more we can be sure that the social welfare problems will get greater attention. The less money we pour in, then it's the social welfare problems that are going to suffer the most. I think maybe I'll quit now and not try to give any more figures or any more statistics, because this is the big overview. I would just like to conclude with what I started way back at the beginning, talking about a kind of a dream.

You must realize that lying underneath, way deep down underneath the whole idea of the State of Israel is a concept of social justice which goes way, way back to the Bible. That concept of social justice is one which is expressed in a few sentences. Isaiah talks about man shall not lift up sword against man and you shall beat your swords into ploughshares - it's an enormous dream. We fight wars, but dream of peace. You find in Jeremiah the sentence, about the Ethiopian is the same unto me as the home born - and he really meant it. And when the Nigerians or the Senegalese come to this country and they come here in their thousands - it isn't just a couple of Presidents walking in to try and make peace suggestions - there are thousands of African blacks in this country all the time coming here in preference to Russia or America or China or anyplace else to study different things, because they feel that what they learn here they can take back and apply to their problems in their countries in Africa. And they come here with a vision in their eyes, and conversely we send them the best of the technicians that we can afford - we haven't got any money to give them - we haven't got any foreign aid programme we can give them. We spend 10 million dollars a year on helping countries on the outside - so there isn't any money - but what we can give them are technicians. We have almost a thousand of our best people abroad. We sent three guys into a village in Nigeria and try to teach soil conservation, the use of phosphates, nitrogen, fertilisers, increase food growing. It's a simple thing, but it's going to save an awful lot of lives. We try to teach nursing. I was once driving down the main street of Leopoldville in the Congo and a big cop stops the car, sticks his hand in the window and says, Shalom. A hundred Congolese cops were trained out here, after the terrible civil war in the Congo ten years ago, and now you go through Leopoldville and there's the semblance of law and order there because there are 100 cops on the street who have some sense of law, and stability and right and wrong and have the right manner of talking to people. I am not saying that that's - come on, I know how to put things in perspective - but every small beginning is something.

That's a dream that motivates this country, the dream of peace and the dream of equality between men of all colors and the dream of justice, thus shalt not cheat the widow and the orphan. Everybody on earth has got his rights. And you got to respect them and help every man to realize them.

O.K., then, you have an enormous dream like that which pushes you, motivates you from generation to generation, because you are shooting for something. And that really is part of understanding the mystique of the Jews. The mystique of the Jews is that they yearn for something which goes far and beyond themselves. Because what is dreamt of here is the setting up of a model state, and a model state which will be good for the people living in it, whatever we'll have here, 4 or 5 or 6 million people, we'll never get much bigger than that. It will be like Norway, or Switzerland, or some country of that level. So you don't just do something to create a society for that group of people living in your state, but you do create a society which could possibly serve as a beneficial help and example to other struggling societies in the world, also trying to achieve higher standards.

If you demonstrate to them how it can be done, the kibbutz movement is being taught in Ethiopia, the Nahal movement, how you take soldiers and you turn them into farmers, you don't just have them sit on the border and waste their time guarding a border, its sterile. While they are sitting there guarding the border you make them farm. That would be nice wouldn't it, between the Sudan and now where the guerilla warfare is going on on the border, if the soldiers sat there and farmed. It has a tendency to reduce firing.

Its little tiny things like that. In Haiti, one of the most underprivileged nations in the whole world, we got three guys teaching them how to grow carp in fishponds. They are going to eat gefilte fish in Haiti for the next ten years, but its the highest protein food in the world and maybe we can cure rickets.

The guy's a dictator, no damn good, but his people are human beings and if they ask you to come and teach them how to grow food, you teach them how to grow food. And that's what we call a Jewish ethic. We can help other people.

So that dream is a very strong one and that also is what helps keep this place afloat. So you always have to calculate in terms of what's going on in Israel, that you are dealing with a stubborn people, and they are stubborn because they have a mission in mind, and a goal in mind and a dream in mind. And people like that are always going to be stubborn. They are going to try to get it.

If the whole of the Western World understands that, about Jews and about Israel, then they'll be a lot more comprehension and if people don't understand that about us then they'll be mystified by us. O.K. you look like you have a question.

Question:

What about the cries of discrimination. Are they justified?

Herb Friedman

Oh, hell no. Look at it this way, hell yes, there is a basis for complaint in terms of the families that are living in bad poverty conditions, but there is no basis for complaint on the charge of discrimination. There is no discrimination against Moroccans - that's ridiculous. Moroccan Jews coming here in 1971 get the same kind of housing as the Russian Jews coming in 1971. Where this whole discrimination bit came up is over the chronology. When the Moroccans came in the 1950s they got what was available, maybe only a tent. And the Hungarians and Germans got the same. And later, when Israel could build tin shacks, everyone got a tin shack. And then Israel built apartments of 350 square feet and that's what everybody got. So the housing problem is chronological, not one of discrimination. And it isn't 100% monolithic Moroccans.

Question:

What are the problems of the Arabs in Israel?

Herb Friedman

The Arabs in Israel, both the ones from '48, what we call the old Arabs, and the new Arabs of after the Six Day War, they are not a problem, neither one of them. When you suggest that we have a big problem with them, we really don't. First category is about - I don't know - about 300,000 people who never fled in the '48 war and who in the course of this time are Israeli citizens by choice - identical standards - there are no two levels of citizenship here. The guy joins the Histadrut - the Labor Union - gets \$18 per day, if he's a Jew or an Arab, or a Druze, or a Christian, or a Caucasian or whatever he is - he is a citizen of Israel for everything.

There was a time back in the beginning when in 1949, 51, 52 where the Arabs living, let's say, in the Galilee or in Nazareth, a heavy Arab population, or in Haifa, a big Arab population, did have a problem, because they used to have to carry military government cards in order to travel in other parts of Israel and it was tough in the beginning. They could complain in the beginning that they were being looked at with a little bit of suspicion, and I think they were. Let's face it, but by now it's all wiped out.

The 300,000 are integrated. Your post-67 Arabs - by the way let me finish that part of the sentence - it could still be better - it could still be better - you still have to break down suspicion, let's be very honest with each other, and efforts have got to be made and a person who is making very strong efforts in that direction is none other than Mrs. Ruth Dayan. She is the chairman of a committee to try to find Arab-Jewish understanding. Open up dialogues. The new university up at Haifa has got an institute there, I don't know if anybody told you - oh you were there - O.K., so you make little steps in the direction of trying to improve the situation. I don't want to give you the impression it's 100% perfect, but I do say flatly and unequivocally, it's no problem. And it goes in the direction of constant improvement.

Question:

Could you give us a breakdown on the people living in poverty?

Herb Friedman

Oh, the great majority of them are Asian-African - we don't use the word Oriental - its Asian-African because those are the two countries from which they came. And the minority are European in origin.

Question:

What are the figures?

Herb Friedman:

I don't know its 90/10, 80/20 - I just don't really know. Its heavy Asian-African. And light European.

And this - the poverty stricken element of the population is what we call multi-problem. Multi-problem families. Bad housing, illiterates, low earning rates, juvenile delinquency among the kids. The only thing which is missing is drugs. Thank God.

Question:

Don't you have a big drug problem?

Herb Friedman

No, that's still kind of what we call sensational. Or exotic. Kids at Eilat, experimentation in the intellectual artistic circles - hashish - yes, I'm told its much better than marijuana, I'm told its much cheaper, but its a fringe, its peripheral, its not important.

Now, so the old Arabs are really no problem. They really aren't. The post -67 Arabs are even more of a phenomenon. They are two kinds, one in the West Bank - about 650,000 people, one group in Gaza, about 300,000 people, and they are completely different. In the West Bank, with 650,000 people after 4½ years, I call it a phenomenon because it is so quiet, it is so peaceful. You know, when the terrorist movement - the Fatah Movement - was at its height a couple of years ago, they never could get a foothold in the West Bank, and couldn't find places where they could get food or water, or get a base of operations. They always had to come in from across the river. It's a phenomenon. Why in the hell didn't the 650,000 Arabs in the West Bank provide a base for guerilla operations of large dimensions against Israel. Why were they so quiet, docile and peaceful? I'll offer you some reasons, we think these are the reasons. Number one, the Israeli occupation has been deliberately and specifically invisible. You drive through that whole West Bank, you won't see an Israeli soldier, but they are there. You saw 12, O.K. I've been picked up. There are battalions and brigades - you won't see them, and they stay out of the way on purpose. Number two, the Open Bridges policy. I don't know if you are familiar with that - you will see it on Sunday morning. The system is very simple - every Arab in the West Bank is free to go across the bridge, on the Jordan River there are three or four bridges.

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Take a bus into the city of Amman, buy some explosives, put them in his car, go back across the bridge and try to use them. We try to examine the car, we don't catch everybody. We don't close the bridges. We take the chance. To encourage those people to have a feeling that they are not living with the heavy boot of some kind of occupation army on them.

You can go across the bridge, go to Amman, take an airplane, go to Kuwait, get to work in the oilfields, send money back home to the folks in the old country to support them. We don't touch the mail, we don't interfere with your money, we don't go into your bank, we don't do anything. We let these Arabs go across the bridge, into Amman, take an airplane, go to Cairo, pick up all the anti-Israel poison they want, fly back, spread it to others by words of mouth, we don't touch them. Nothing. That Open Bridges policy gives the Arabs on the West Bank the feeling that they are absolutely free, either to remain where they are, or to go into the Arab world, and they go back and forth and back and forth all they want. Well you know, how do you judge it? Last year the farmers of the West Bank, with the free choice of where to sell their vegetables - take it across the bridges and sell it in Jordan or take it down into Jerusalem and sell it here - 80% of their trade is with us on a voluntary basis. So I don't know, I think it's working. They don't provide a base for the terrorists, they don't make trouble, they are in school. We pay the teachers, we offer employment - there's no unemployment for the first time in the West Bank, and as a matter of fact we have got 30,000 Arabs in the West Bank coming into old Israel every day to work and if we could get 50 we would take 50 and if we get 100, we would take 100. The biggest industry in this country is construction, because we are always building houses for people, so they are in the building industry, from bricklayers up to surveyors and engineers.

They get regular Histadrut wages. They are not citizens of Israel, but they get the same regular Histadrut wage. So you know, we look at everything in this West Bank setup. They want to have a university in the West Bank - we are talking to them now, we say yes. Last year they wanted to have it in Ramallah, now they want it in Hebron. The Mayor of Hebron was in the office of the Minister of Education when I was there two days ago with a group from Baltimore, and he kept that group waiting while he finished with the mayor. He comes in and the first thing he says to the group is, I had the damndest struggle with this mayor, he wants the university in his town. We are willing to let him have it and he says to us, is there some way that we could pay the teachers by check from Amman, because the Arabs in Amman are giving them a hard time - why are you willing to have a university in Hebron and take Jewish money to pay for the teachers? So the Minister of Education, who doesn't know too much about finance, is trying to figure out how the hell to work it to open up a bank account in Amman to pay the teachers. But here the mayor of the town of Hebron in the West Bank is dying to negotiate with the Minister of Education to get a university. It makes sense, doesn't it. So we have lots of examples like that going on all the time with this West Bank group who seem to indicate to us that we have no problem with them. In terms of an eventual peace settlement, if that group ever wanted to form their own state, it's also okay with us.

Now you know, I'm not the one who makes political decisions in this country, so I give you my personal opinion - personal opinion - nothing official - that if the West Bank were ever given back to Jordan, the Arabs living in it now wouldn't like that. And we may wind up with a very anomalous situation where they may ask to be annexed to us, and what are we going to do then? You know that's going to be the problem - the problem will be if we suddenly wind up with 550,000 more Arabs who want to be citizens of this country. I'm joking, but you know that that joke five years from now may turn out very

close to reality. So in terms of using the word problem, they are not a problem at all - they are developing and improving and their health standards are improving and the whole life in the West Bank is getting better and better.

Question:

Is there poverty in the West Bank?

Herb Friedman

Of course, because it starts from a hell of a lot lower level. If you talk about poverty in the West Bank - the standards in the West Bank were horrible - 19 years of Jordanian rule, no growth, no development, nothing. Nobody brought anything in there, the Jordan Government certainly didn't, no other Arab governments did, no, they were living in 17th or 18th century standards. So sure, it's still a lower level than Israel is, but you know you close that gap in 20 years, maybe less. You can close a 200 year gap in 20 years.

Question:

Do you feel any responsibility for closing it?

Herb Friedman

We're spending about 60 million bucks a year of money we haven't got so I think we do feel a sense of responsibility for closing it. We are spending that kind of money in the West Bank every year. Now let me differentiate between that and the Gaza Strip where there are about 300,000 Arabs where it's exactly the opposite - there's a problem and the problem is because they were treated like animals by the Egyptians for so long that they are still very, very brittle and very sensitive and very uptight and very hand-grenade throwing. The only place in Israel where there is any violence in steady constant measures is the Gaza Strip - shootings, hand grenades, mines, internal vendettas, one Arab guerilla gang fighting against another, Arab shooting Arab, both of them trying to shoot Jews. And we are making very, very much slower progress there because of the very hostile population there.

The Mayor of Gaza City is a friendly guy. Before he took that job as the mayor of Gaza City he went around to Cairo, Damascus, Beirut and Amman to tell everybody - I'm taking the job, don't shoot me - to tell it to other Arabs. So there, you know I can't offer you any such picture at all, there we have got a long, long struggle on our hands. The one concrete step we finally have been able to make, again with our theory of trying to improve housing, is to try to move people out of the camps in Gaza - some of the people live in houses in town, that's okay - the bad terrorism emanates from the people who live in camps where they were put by the Egyptians and maintained by the United Nations. So what we're trying to do is - and the camp life is horrible, camp life is animal life - so what we're trying to do is take them out of the camps group by group as we can and put them into housing. Now the town of El Arish was a big, well-developed Egyptian town and it's empty, it's sitting in the Sinai and it's empty. Why the hell should it sit there empty? So we are taking families from Gaza who want to move into good individual housing into the city of El Arish and offering them employment. So far, I think something like 2,000 families have been transplanted and when you can empty

out some of the camp shacks, and shacks is not even the word - they are like little rabbit warrens - little hatches - and if you drive a bulldozer through, so you open up a road of three-four meters wide, and get some light and some air in there, and also cut down some of the hiding places where the terrorists can hide, maybe slowly but surely you will do two things at one time. You will rehouse some of the people which is to their advantage, you'll lower the camp population, you'll then decompress it, defuse it a little bit. So roads are being bulldozed through parts of the camps now. I think that that's going to be an eventual solution.

Question:

You mentioned the 1,300 dollars per capita national debt. Now is that a paper thing which includes debts to the United States - what does it mean?

Herb Friedman

No, no - it's a very real thing. The reason that this country is able to get as much credit as it can, as it does get, is because it repays every single debt. In 23 years of the existence of this country there isn't a single solitary debt which has ever been defaulted. We it's not paper - this 3.4 billion dollars of money is owed to the United States Government, the World Bank, the Export Import Bank, Lloyd's Bank in London, the Chase Manhattan Bank, Bank of America, San Francisco, holders of Israel bonds - that's a debt, it has got to be paid.

The annual carrying charge on this debt is about 200 million dollars in interest - on an average of around 7-8%. And you have got a debt service charge in this country of over 500 million dollars a year and you want to know something - that comes before defense. Because if you don't pay your debt, man, you get no credit. And that you do number one - you pay Peter so you can borrow from Paul, but if you don't pay Peter, you can't borrow from Paul. So that's clear.

Question:

Does the 60 million dollars spent in the territories include salaries of Israelis?

Herb Friedman

Administrative salaries of Israeli personnel, almost none, there is not much of an administrative bureaucracy, it's mostly services. It includes Arab school teachers - we pay the Arab school teachers. So their salaries are in there, but that's good because it keeps the school teachers employed and it keeps the kids in school.

Question:

Does it include welfare payments?

Herb Friedman

No, we don't have welfare payments - I said that before. UNWR is still there, they provide some food, not enough, but that's the whole problem with the United Nations.

Question:

What is the population difference between Israel and the Arabs?

Herb Friedman

We are 2½ million now, and they are 100, so if we get to be 7, they could be maybe 200 - they will be by then. We think it's not a factor of numbers at all, when you talk about skills, when you talk about commitment, motivation. I will put it very simply. If they develop enough skills and they develop enough motivation and if they can get enough political allies and decide that they really want to steamroll us, they could do it. Let me put it the other way - I haven't said a word about Russia in this whole thing as their military ally, but she sure is and she sure made a liar out of Mr. Rogers, because Mr. Rogers say - as of November 1st Russia has halted in the Middle East and there's no damn reason for America to sell any more Phantoms to Israel. As of November 1st. November 3rd the delivery of the Tupalovs began and from November 3rd to the 25th, the last three weeks they have been delivered into Egypt - we think we know the exact number - intelligence is pretty good. They were delivered in Egypt by ship into Alexandria or by plane at Cairo West - we think we know what comes in - it's just got to be that way.

The number of Tupelov bombers that have come in from Russia in the last three weeks with long-range stand-off air-to-ground missiles with a range of 100 kilometers so that they can just sit way there over the Mediterranean, never come across our air space at all - it makes a liar out of Mr. Rogers. The balance has shifted badly to our disfavor. Now the question is, are the Russians going to turn those bombers loose with their own Russian pilots - all the Mig 23s have got Russian pilots, most of the Mig 21s have - so the question is, how deeply are they going to come in? So now you have the factors - with increased Egyptian skill as the years go on, with increased Egyptian commitment as the years go on, with increased political allies feeding them equipment, and Russia will forever - she's put in 4 billion dollars since the Six Day War, she'll put in four more - why not? The question comes about the size of offensive they would ever want to mount against us. Or I'll give you a different kind of example. I said we were going to be, say, like a country like Norway. Just don't forget one thing. The Nazis occupied Norway for 4 years, but that didn't wipe out the country. Never forget that. When you have a certain kind of morale on the part of people - I mean those Norwegians were like rocks - the Nazis couldn't break them. I think that any occupying Arab force would find the Jews here the same way. So the long range hypothetical military possibility of defeat and occupation does exist - of course it does. If there is one thing we are, that is realistic. But you can be defeated and you can be occupied, and you can still resist, you can live to see another day.

Question:

Do you read the novels of Eli Wiesel? Its very popular, especially among Jewish students in Connecticut, and he centers the whole idea that Auschwitz is probably the futile point of the 20th century. The whole idea that Auschwitz is probably the futile point and that Biafra, etc. How do you cope with that philosophy?

Herb Friedman

I am not sure I understand the question, but I'll answer it and if I'm off the point, tell me. There is only one thing we can do about it, never permit it. Its no genocide if you don't go to the oven. If you just fight. So you get killed, you go down, but you fought.

From the floor:

In other words, you are basing the dream on the fact that you can overcome hostility...

Herb Friedman

Sure, we believe it, we believe that the condition of the human animal is to try to become more human than animal. We believe in progress. and we believe in growth. We believe - every man is either your potential friend or your potential enemy.

From the floor:

It seems that its a long-range shot.

Herb Friedman

It sure is. You can't teach your enemy - look my friend - you can't teach your enemy - Jesus said, Turn the other cheek, and he said it 2,000 years ago in this city, now that's long range. and all you do is keep turning the other cheek and every once in a while you don't turn the other cheek, and you swat.

We don't really turn the other cheek. Teach your enemy what - teach your enemy to love you. Try teaching your enemy to love man. Try teach your enemy to love its own people. You know what one of the strongest things is, that bugs us? We are 2½ million people, in this country, and a quarter million of them are in poverty conditions. We agonize for them. There are 33 million people in Egypt. And 31 million of them live in poverty. And the son of a bitch spends billions of dollars each year on war, and doesn't give a Goddam about 30 million of his own people. So we are going to teach him to love us? It's so fantastic. No effort to cure disease, no effort to cure poverty, the Nile floods, you get some food for a few months, the Nile recedes you have drought for nine months. Every disease in the world. No cure - nothing. You just keep hocking your cotton crop all the time and buying Russian planes and storing them up on airfields.

Its ridiculous. You don't give a damn for your own people. He's got to learn a love of his own people before he learns to love his enemy.

Question:

Aren't you saying that eventually events must put Israel in a threatening position?

Herb Friedman

So all we say is, we will try to see that it doesn't happen. I mean the net result is either despair that you can never improve the human condition, or the net result is that we are going to improve.

From the floor:

I wanted to believe what you are saying. Yesterday going up to the University of Haifa I left with a real empty feeling that - I don't know if the rest of you did - but that there is a bandering around here, and that there is no real - I just maybe missed the affect - it seemed to me that there was a lot of talking, just we do in groups in the United States, liberals in communities - they talk talk talk and contemplate their navel, but that's all they ever do.

Herb Friedman

Well that's not all we ever do, because from our talk usually, not always, usually emerges some kind of concrete little program, even modest, but some concrete program emerges. And you start with two or three villages, and slowly it spreads, and if you nurture it it does spread.

From the floor:

You are talking about millions of Egyptians. When you talk about tiny little examples...

Herb Friedman

Americans tend to quantify. Why are you worried about millions? You know, let's get one village and let five Arabs go to Cairo and say, you know those Jews really have an idea. And ten years from now five more Arabs will say, you know Ben Gurion's argument, you are going to see him - maybe he'll give you this thing. He says, Ben Gurion believes, we're going to have peace with the Arabs. There are 90,000 university graduates in Cairo today, 90 thousand. So he says, he can't believe that there are already 90 thousand university graduates, that they are not going to begin to have an effect on the Arab mentality, and in ten years they are going to convince the Arab government leadership that war is sterile and that peace is better. Now the man's 85 years old and he sits there with that kind of optimism in his head. I think that 90,000 is not nearly enough, but there will be, pray God, that the Egyptian society will develop another couple of universities, and you will have a million people who graduate university. So it may take 20 years, it can take 40 years.

From the floor:

You know, the Second World War was between highly educated people.

Herb Friedman

You are just too pessimistic. I don't understand this is a despair amongst the young people which always mystifies me. If the net result of saying that there's Auschwitz and therefore there's no way for man to learn how to be humane to his fellow