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

Series H: United Jewish Appeal, 1945-1995. Subseries 4: Administrative Files, 1945-1994.

Box Folder 8

Campaign. Planning documents. Budget. 1970.

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

(1) Dear John -You are by now undoubtedly aware of the huge responsibility which the with has undertaken and I am price you are also aware of the magnificently positive response to taking place day by day as community often community is being visited and asked to accept its fair show of this imprecedented target of "soo william." Some communities have undertaken to ruise Three times as much in 1971 is bey did This year. what has triggered of # such a suft and affirmative reaction? I really believe it is because our present-day Jenich leadership to matured to me fort that it can recognize a moments of danger and offortunity. Interest trade mough semance brull is in trouble. we recognize it. we shall exect omselves to whetever extent we also know what can be home to mitigate that trouble, we shall do it. Much of Ac hed me give you a short review of the

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events unfolded. D Six weeks ago I was called to broad to consult with the Mer and others on a new situation: anerican willingress to rell Irrael arms, tout upon the President' understan President Nixon had come to the conclusion that the Russian intervention with missites, miles and filots was persons enough to warrant new soles to westablish the balance. Hundreds y millions of edlars of planes, tanks, and aircraft invisites and electronic equipment was being approved. Et the come the almost by cornidere, Mr. Pincue, in prefacing In the reorganization muchy I be Jenish agency due to take place in august, had drawn up a list of the necessary health. education welfar immigration, housing and other senses regimed - and that list totalled over 600 million.

It was perfectly obvious that Israel had to take advantage of the new spiritumity to

protect its surreal and it was equally obvious that he have find whilian securces until have to be totally by us instead of partielly. Been De a sufflementary define hudget of more than 300 million was quitty pought and afferived by the Present in Ingust. This resulted in the following pacts:
1. Defense bridget for 1970 would be 1.45 billiout y a total bridget of 3.15- on 45 % 3. This defense holy et words represent super De 30% of the empre GNP 2. This defense bridget consumed 90% of total tax revenue - "1.45 billion out These are staggerity numbers and indicate clearly That I wall had I reached The limit of its ability to do any more then handle The defence burden plus the secure charge in its Left, which too constantly increasing.

Mr. Sam Rokberg, I he dowel bond Organization who came over for the consultations when I did, and Mr. Mar Fisher president of the CIFEF, whom I consul discussed all this by them the transoceense telephone several times, came to the identical conclusion that the american Janush community must be called upon to bear This load which was its traditional responsibility anyton, . In Those prehiming meeting in Jenselem me tentatively agreed to divide the hinder as follows: 400 million from UJA in the U.S. and 200 from Keren Hayesod, in the nest of the world - which would take come of the De Jenish agency budget of 600 which Mr. Pinon mes preparity; and 1400 from the Isal Brond organization to enelle the development bridget of Servel to proceed in the industrial expansion to earn more dellars. This would mean I so where the a world-will total Jenish response in both arees, the fee dollars and Bond dollars of one billion. I I good that I would have to return to he United States to consult colleague, and communities a meeting of UTA officers was talk in hig. on July - and a meeting of executive livedons I communities was hell in los angeles or July -Both meetings, quickly gresping the Jacks, approved The proposals discussed in Jenselen a few Ray Rachin. Ino groups of community leaders, comprising more then 100 individuels from 40 c. Ats then visited Inacl, at the personal mortation of the Prime Minister at the end of august. Their fuglesse was to exertain this new set of facts at post hand for Demacties. The a few day, Day wet with the Mrs. herr Mr. Chan Mr. Dayan Mr. Safer M. Pinces ben. Burker and many other. The cease fre game It a mondeight offendershy to go all me way to De Suez Canal Bell by behighten to grash that situation risually. These seem became parsimetely consided of the necessity of for massive action on our pool by american Jerry.

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Since their return, They are speaking in their communities and they globe on Sept - at a large needy invened by the CIFUF & discuss This while subject. It was the unanimous sense of That meeting that a compaign in The dimension of 500 million was required for 1971 to meet brails needs plus De necessary local and martinal senses sufferted by the heefle French & Federations. Then after man spok for it. and in city often c. In where gusta-acceptance macking are taking place night after my ht men are standy and saying that assumption of responsibility in general terms must be translated into pasmal terms of an individual's got. That trings me to me fort of

addressing you, personally as a member of the hatimel Executive Committee of the UJA. You know perfectly well that the note of leaders hip is both archives and expensive

You are willing to do the most most much and make he best contribution, relatively speaking. of this has been there up to now it intime Loubly true now that such unprecedented sums are required. Exactly when everyone elses might falter for a moment, because De task might seem impossible The true leader must be at his strongest and most self-impolent and work he hardest and give he most thus displaying a posture of faith and conviction that he test is indeed attainable. Leadership is the most frecious when & manifested at the beginning of a di-triult operation. be are having a meeting of the Executive Committee on October 5. It is our hope that as many members as forsitle will be ready to announce Their own 1971 gift at That meeting. Such early action on our put will Spur Me metion to suitter and higher response.

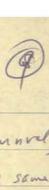
he will get the face for the hatimal Study Mission, which will leave for Soracl about shortly Recepter 500 persons strong. If we make he with level gifts, The members of he Study Mission will have an example to Jollow. and Dat It is hard to Kim what level to sedi ask you for as I can't before, you are already among the most generous men in the country. Some of you may not be able to double your gifts. Some may be able to do more; wery with so his very best of Dos I am sure, and we shall be grateful. Some min will undoubtedly have to dip into capital. Some may already be doing so, and will have to dy further, if possible. I am some everyne will do his best, for There is a bond of camaraderic between us which motivates us to achieve me highest. We are intimately engaged in



This struggle of the fields of brack for surver, for we too are the children of Israel, in the same mystical sense. This is a moment of help buy protection, and It mough being strong to work toward peace Please understand with you head and your heart Please struggle es I all of is are to work rest a decision before Ochher 5 meeting Please reach for the stars. Sincerely,

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Sincerely,

LES J. BENSLEY

We hear you, Israel

United Jewish Appeal

1290 Avenue Of The Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019 PLaza 7-1500 Cable Address: UJAPPEAL, New York

FYI

Dear

EXECUTIVE STAFF AND FIELD REPRESENTATIVES 17, 1970

SENT TO MEMBERS OF 1970 UJA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

AMERICAN JEWISH

You are by now undoubtedly aware of the huge responsibility which the UJA has undertaken for 1971. I am sure you are also aware of the magnificent positive response taking place day by day as community after community is being visited and asked to accept its fair share of this unprecedented target of \$500,000,000.

Our present day Jewish leadership has recognized this as a moment of danger and a moment of opportunity. Israel is in trouble. We recognize it. We understand it. With that understanding comes a commitment for each of us to assume a personal responsibility in a vast undertaking.

Israel must take advantage of America's willingness to sell arms. It is a new opportunity for Israel to protect its survival. Because the numbers are staggering, Israel has reached the limit of its ability to do little more than handle its defense burden: a defense burden which consumes thirty per cent of its gross national product and ninety per cent of its total tax revenue.

This means that the needs of the home front which are projected at \$600,000,000 by the Jewish Agency must become our total responsibility.

I feel compelled to write to each of you personally as a member of the National Executive Committee of the UJA. I know perfectly well that the role of leadership is both arduous and extensive. fact that you have accepted this role is testimony to your devotion, dedication and love of Israel. You have always responded magnificently both in work and giving. If this has been true up to now, it must become doubly true now that such unprecedented sums are required. We must be strong, confident, and work the hardest and give the most, thus displaying a posture of both faith and conviction. The goal is attainable if we will it and are willing to sacrifice to insure its attainment.

continued -

September 17, 1970

We are having a meeting of the National Executive Committee on October 5. It is our hope that as many members as possible will be ready to announce their own 1971 gift at that meeting. Such early action on our part will spur the nation to swift and higher response. We will set the pace for the National Study Mission which will leave for Israel shortly thereafter 500 persons strong. If we make the correct response, the members of the Study Mission will have an example to follow.

It is hard to know what each person should give. This is really a matter for each to determine subjectively. You are already among the most generous in the country. Some of you may not be able to double your gift, some may be struggling with your present gift, but some may be able to even more than double and should. We will have to dip into capital, but can anyone question a higher purpose or motivation than a capital investment in human life, because frankly that is what we are talking about -- that is the object of our concern -- people, human beings who are Jews and for whom there is no other source of help but fellow Jews. I am sure that everyone will do his best. Already several seven-figure gifts have been announced and some are twice the previous amount, several six-figure gifts have been recorded double and triple the year before. Our leadership is responding with fantastic emotion and responsibility.

We are intimately engaged in the struggle of the people of Israel for survival. It is no less our struggle for survival. Survival means sacrifice. This is the moment to help. This is the moment when each of us must wrestle with our hearts, our minds, our souls and if we do that, there can be no question of the outcome. Each of you will do his utmost. This is all that we ask. I look forward to seeing you on October 5.

Sincerely,

signed

EDWARD GINSBERG

EG: MS

Irving Bernstein

September 2, 1970

TO: HAF

Attached, for your attention, is a column from the August 30 New York Times.

Herb Rose was upset with Pincus' statement underlined at the bottom of the column which seems to indicate that UIA had no control of monies previously spent.

ARCHIVES

IB:SS

Cash for Nondefense Items Sought From World Jews

By PETER GROSE

Special to The New York Times JERUSALEM, Aug. 29-Plans for Israel's forthcoming appeal to the world's Jews for \$1-billion next year for nondefense needs of the country were outlined this week at a meeting of the newly reorganized Jewish Agency.

The agency has severed Its ties with the World Zionist Organization and has become an independent body in which foreign fund-raising executives share an equal role with Zionist leaders.

President Zalman Shazar, Premier Golda Meir and other leaders attended a ceremony Thursday night to mark this new relationship between the Jews of Israel and those of other countries.

Though the foreign contribu-Though the foreign contribu-tions are to be earmarked for-health, education and social-welfare projects, it is Israel's soaring defense costs that have prompted the new appeal for more than double the amount sought in any previous year.

Most Goes for Defense

Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir reported that at present 85 per cent of the taxes paid by Israelis were used for defense purposes.

were used for defense purposes. Somebody has to absorb the cost of the social services that the Israeli Governmint can no longer afford, he said.

Since Israel was founded in 1948, Jews in other parts of the world have underwritten the costs of absorbing immigrants into Israel on the ground that access to Israel was a service to all Jews and the costs should not have to be borne entirely by those who have already settled here.

ready settled here.
Over the years, however, foreign contributions are said to have never amounted to more than 60 or 70 per cent of the costs of absorbing immi-grants. The Israeli Government has made up the difference from tax revenues;

For the coming year, when the defense budget will be \$1.43-billion, four times what it was in 1966. Israel is asking Jews abroad to absorb the entire cost of the services they undertook to support

of the services they undertook to support.

When the Jewish Agency was founded in 1929, it was designed as the executive arm of the World Zionist Organization in the British mandated state of Palestine.

More Influential Body

After the formation of Israel, the Jewish Agency became a considerably more influential body than the World Zionist Organization, carrying out the practical functions of absorbing immigrants into the new

state.
In recent years the large fund-raising organizations, principally in the United States, have been the mainstay of the agency, yet had no direct voice in its management.

Immediately after the six-day war in 1967, the agency's chairman, Ayre Pincus, opened dis-cussions with Jewish leaders abroad—both active Zionists and those who supported Israel but stayed aloof from the Zionist movement—toward a re-organization that would take account of the changed relationships.

"We are now giving the Diaspora a much greater op-portunity of being involved in our problems at the decision-making level," Mr. Pincus said this week, adding, "Previously the fund-raising organizations just collected the money and sent it to the Jewish Agency to our budget and the fixing of our priorities, we will be taking into counsel with us our part-ners who will be the persons responsible for producing the

WORKING REQUIREMENTS for \$500 m. CAMPAIGN

- 1. Israel Government decision, concerning magnitude, with reference to request for long-term credits.
- 2. Visit to Mixon by American group to inform him of scope of campaign.
- 3. Co-ordination with Bond Ogranization closest copeeration needed.
- 4. Agreement with CJFWF, including visits to communities to accept quotas .
- 5. Cooperation from top Israelis to come to US as often as required.
- 6. Cooperation from top Israelis for all special projects which will be created.
- 7. Provide a cover for the \$500 m.
- 8. Eliminate all other Israelie campaigns in the US
- 9. Use concept of total world-wide Jewish responsibility i.e., \$500 m. free money US; \$500 m. bonds; \$200 m. free money rest of world; and biggest share of all, additional Ha 1 Bill. from Israeli Jews.
- 10. No other plans or schemes to be introduced during this periol
- 11. Meeting on 30 June 1971, to review where we stand, and plan additional steps, such as large-scale borrowing, on credit of UJA, if required.

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RANDOM THOUGHTS AND PLANS

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2. Sell exec. dir. at Los Angeles and Coronado, 28 July - 3 Aug.

3. Sell at CJFWF, and then visit top 21 communities 14-25 Sept. with top-rated Israeli delega tion (Pincus plus Elazar) + HAF or EG

- 4. Saturate New York. Whole different campaign must be planned mass approach (TV spots, car cards, billboards, etc.); rabbis; trades (with quotas, priming meetings, etc.) Riklis as sole charman.
- 5. Retain fund-raising luch and dinner 10 Dec. Eliminate Conference 11-12. Introduce closed-circuit program possibly evening 10th using setting of fund-raising as background (let them see it all over country and get impact). Program should be GM, MD, some films from Israel, EG, MS and MMF.
- 6. Push Operation Israel to limit set up greatly enlarged professional staff (plus guides), and permanent lay leader structure to handle.
- 7. Bring small selected groups to CM every week or as frequently as possible.
- 8. Bring Israelis for residence in communities to help with daily solicitations and parlor meetings. People selected (50) must be briefed intensively.
- 9. Build much bigger staff take over some from other campaigns which will be frozen.
- (Elyclet in LA weeken)

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for Quota-setting meetings held during Sept. 1970 for 1971 campaig AMERICAN IEWISH

HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

General speaks first

- 1. Escalation due to Russian intervention, since Jan. 70
- 2. Israeli response to Russia 79 days of stealy bouly.
- 3. Dangers of continued Ruman buildry Rung clase fire which alters brush statege position.

Civilian speaks next RICAN IEWISH

- 1. Cease-fire was accepted in basis of genus lescre for peace, plus assurance of awerean continuous flow of sufflice.
- 2. Francial cost of flow of sufflies.
- 3. Cost of circum surver as well.

American quels lest 375

- 1. Fill-in on Golda's request for 1 billion Can Jews afford to pay for Mis war until peace ares: and her invitation to 40 tops cities.
- 2. asks for the quita and explains the trackpunds.
 3. Unges attendance at telecast, where officeble,
- 3. Unges attendance at telecast, where opplicable or come to h.y., to hear Colda's personal report. Sibrilarity of 4.5. Jenny behind Doract.

THE HUMAN CONSEQUENCES OF THE "FREEZE ON ISRAEL'S HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE SERVICES

Since the Six-Day War, because of the constant increase in Israel's defence burdens, there has been a virtual freeze on Israel's health, education and welfare services. Israel could not think in terms of augmenting its facilities and programs even to the extent of keeping up with immigration needs and natural increase in population, let alone improving the quality of its resources.

Some examples:

- HOUSING -- 165,000 families 25% of Israel's Jewish families and a larger percentage of the population -- live in sub-standard, often slum, housing.
- -- 6,500 young couples are still waiting for apartments in public housing, and the number is increasing at the rate of 200-300 per month.
- -- Some 200,000 families live in conditions of 2 persons per room; of these 66,000 families live 3 to a room.
- -- With today's financial resources, Israel is hard put to keep up just with the demands of immigrant housing. Slum clearance, making present apartments bigger, housing for young people coming back from military service -- these must all remain low on the priority list.
- AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT -- Annual income per rural family runs about 20% below urban families, and keep in mind that rural families are bigger.
- -- The hill and border settlements, so important to Israel's security, are earning 40% less per family than urban families. For example, in Avivim the Lebanese border (remember the school bus demolished by terrorists?), the average income per family is not even \$1,300 per year, less than half the national average income!
- -- What is needed is substantial investment in industries suitable for the rural sector, and particularly for the hill and border settlements. But the freeze is on....

HIGHER EDUCATION -- The culturally disadvantaged sector of Israel's Jewish population, those from the Moslem countries, represents 60% of the primary school population but only 12% of the university population. Part of the problem is failure to qualify (see GENERAL EDUCATION below), part of it is that many just can't afford it.

-- It is estimated that the universities had to turn away some 6,000 qualified applicants for admission this past year. Not enough facilities, faculties.

But we have frozen university expansion

GENERAL EDUCATION -- To bridge the cultural gap between the Oriental and Ashkenazi communities, Israel instituted, from the very beginning of its Statehood, special programs at various levels of schooling. The programs work, but

- -- While 56,000 children are receiving pre-kindergarten training (something like Operation Headstart) at least 12,000 children who need it don't get it.
- -- The "long school day" program (extra classes for those who need them) takes care of about 2/3 the primary school children who need them.
- -- 134,000 children are currently enrolled in secondary schools, and half of them require total scholarships (about \$300 per year). But more children are and will be entering high school, because of natural increase and immigration and the extension of compulsory education to the tenth grade.

And the Ministry of Education, like all other ministries except Defence, has had to cut its budget ...

SOCIAL WELFARE -- 68,000 persons in 17,500 family units are receiving welfare allowances. These are the unemployables and persons with marginal skills. The average allowance per person is just over \$10 per month.

-- Some 30,000 elderly persons not eligible for Israel's National Insurance (Social Security) receive allowances averaging \$32 per month for single persons, \$50 per month for couples.

These levels are frozen

HEALTH SERVICES -- Optimum hospital occupancy is about 85%. In Israel we're running 135% in general hospitals, 117% in mental hospitals. That means overcrowded wards and beds in the corridor.

-- Israel should be building and replacing at least 1,200 beds per year for the next ten years.

But hospital building in the public sector is frozen. Besides, if we had the beds, operating budgets are frozen, in some instances cut

Which brings us to Israel's own financial capacity to do something about all this. So let's look at:

INCOME AND POVERTY: Taking \$100 per month as a poverty level for a family of four, about 14% of Israel's families, representing 20% of the Jewish population, live below the poverty line.

-- With the new taxes and defence loans, the net incomes of Israel's families today put an even larger percentage below the poverty line.



September 1, 1970

Jewish Agency, Jerusalem. representable 10% at the downstance of israels continue, representable in the downstance of israels and the continue of the co

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AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

Don't depend on anybody.

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OTHER DESIGNATION

FACT SHEET - BASIC PRESENTATION

Confidential

Not for distribution in any form. For your use only.

- I. RUSSIAN P'ESENCE, in arms and men, on operational duties, as well as advisory, has increased since Jan. 1970, to point where Pres. Nixon said in June that Middle East was a greater danger to world peace than Southeast Asia.
 - 1) <u>Bussian arms</u> supplied to Egypt since Six Day War total:
 - \$ 580 million, given for nothing, as replacement for destroyed material
 - \$1000 million, sold on ten years credit, 2 years grace, 2% interest, at 1/3 cut price

Total \$1 billion, 580 million.

- 2) Russian men nobody really knows any longer, but with full MIG operational squadrons, SA-2 and SA-3 missile sites, radar installations, plus all previously known advisers, there are probably 10-15,000 Russians in Egypt.
- 3) Russian missiles
 - a) The Russians have become deeply involved in Egyptian air defense. By end of June, they had brought 12 to 15 SA-2 batteries (6 launchers each) plus 3 to 5 SA-3 batteries (4 launchers each-with 2 missiles to each launcher) into area cose to Canal. They had also brought fighter squadrons to airfields close to Canal.
 - b) The Russians are not "a little pregnant". Once they took a decision to enter air defense, they must go all the way, including sending their pilots up to intercept. They make one move after another very gradually. Slowly they will move forward with missiles, and when there are no more Israeli planes over the Canal, they will move artillery forward and hammer Israeli ground defenses, make it hard to rebuild, cause many casualties, and finally try to cross. Even to take only a few kilometres on east bank would be worthwhile for them.
 - c) Israel has some electronic and other defenses against the SA-2, but there is thus far no adequate defence against the SA-3. Several Phantoms have been lost to these missiles. Each missile costs approx.
 \$100,000 and the Russians have fired as many as 60 on one day or \$6 million worth. It is a wonder

that not more Israeli aircraft have been lost.

d) The missile sites are interspersed-SA.2 and SA.3 covering each other - in a zone approximately 20 miles west of the Canal. Were these sites to be moved forward to the Canal itself, Israel would be in great danger, forced in effect back from the Canal. Cross-Canal landings would then be possible. It is obvious that these sites must be removed or destroyed at any cost, by any means.

II. ARAB MILITALY BUILD-UP

- 1) On Egyptian front, Israel is out manned 12:1, and out gunned 24:1.
- 2) The Iraqis have two divisions and 400 tanks in Jordan.
- 3) Syria keeps 100,000 mc in the short line between Kuneitra and Damascus (approx.40 miles), plus 1000 tanks, which was the size of the entire Egyptian force in the Sinai desert threatening Israel in May 1967.
- 4) Enemy sircraft fighters only (figures for bombers and other aircraft not given here).

at end of Six	Day War	Today
Egypt Syria	50 45	550 260
Jordan	<u>0</u> <u>95</u>	40 850
(6)	Tanks	7

at end of S	ix Day War	Today
Egypt	300	1600
Syria	350	1000
Jordan	100	450
	750	3050

III. ISRAELI DEFENSE

1. The defense budget for 1967(year of actual war) was IL 1.25 billion (approx. \$360 million). The defense budget for 1970 started at IL3.8 billion and will probably finish at IL 5 billion (approx. \$1,440 million) - or 4 times as much as the year of the Six Day War.

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Year	Defence (current	budget prices)	Defence budget as % of GNP	Defence budget as % of total Governmental budget
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(original)	3.8	1086	23	40
1970/1	5	1428	30	45

3) The dollar cost and sources of direct imports for defense were:

Year	Total Imports million 3	from the USA million 8	Share of USA
1967/8	200	46.8	24
1968/9	305	122.5	40
1969/70	395	269	68
1970/71 (original) 1970/71	510 735	385 611	70 83

- 4) The causes of the rise in defence expenditures are:
 - a) The rapid build up of Arab forces as demonstrated in the following table.

	Prior to 6 day war	At present	Expected in Feb. 1972	
Armour	100%	170%	220%	
Air Force	100%	204%	280%	
Artillery	100%	121%	155%	

b) Accelerated intensification of Israeli front line activities:

Fiscal Year	Tot	al
	million IL	million \$
1967/8	68.1	19.5
1968/9	185.8	53
1969/70	488.2	140
1970/71	827.8	236

c) The rising cost of weapon system as illustrated below:

Tanks	<u>IL</u>	/ F	\$		
Shermans	250,000	=	70,000	appro	ox.
Centurion	500,000	=	140,000	appro	ox.
Modern tank	1,000,000	0=	280,000	appro	ox.
Aircraft	1956				
Ouragan			0.2 mi	llion	dollars
Mirage			1.3	"	11
Phantom			3.7	11	-11

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- a) on March 1970 Soviet pilots started operational flights in Egypt. The Egyptian army, encouraged by this development, stepped up its ground activities. To meet the new threat several measures were undertaken. These included heavier bombing and shelling of Egyptian positions, strengthening of Israeli fortifications and the improvement of warning systems. Additional expenditures of 300 million IL (almost \$100 million) were required.
- b) In June, the Egyptians and the Soviets moved forward their anti-aircraft missiles, and other troops. The direct Soviet involvement forced Israel to speed up the military preparations, that is, to increase the procurement of aircraft, anti aircraft missiles, ammunition, armour, electronic equipment etc.

The total cost of the increase in equipment and supply is about \$625 million, of which about \$250 million are payable in the current fiscal year.

6. What are the possible effects of the cease-fire on defence expenditures?

Since the Arabs are arming very rapidly, and since hostilities may break out at the end of the cease-fire period(and even before) Israel must prepare for this contingency.

It is therefore, necessary to:

(a) strengthen fortifications

(b) build up inventories of air bombs, heavy and light

ammunition, spare parts etc.

- (c) in general, build up Israel's strength, so Egypt will be deterred from breaking the cease-fire again, or if she attacks, to meet the possibility of a renewed all out war.
- The present budget calls for the purchase in 1970 of approximately \$500 million worth of arms and supplies.
- 8. Additional arms can be, and will be purchased, during the balance of fiscal 1970 and 1971, for approximately 625 million. This will include Phantom and Skyhawk planes, tanks, heavy guns, troop carriers, anti-aircraft, hawk batteries, and other equipment. This fact is of crucial importance. The cease fire does not affect the delivery of these weapons, although exact timetable of delivery may vary depending on circumstances. Israel will get this equipment and that is the basic reason for this sharp cost increase.
- 9. These arms must be paid for. Some long-term credits are available but not for very large amounts. The limits of Congressional authorizations are being researched carefully to ascertain the maximum credits possible, but even if these were to be granted, it is estimated that the total would not go much beyond \$200 million. In this connection it must always be remembered that Israel's foreign currency debt, which is a heavy mortgage on the next generation, is already in the vicinity of \$2.5 billion.

10. Since it is usually difficult to buy abroad, Israel must increasingly develop its own ability to produce. Enfore the six day war, military goods and services were bought in Israel for H400 million (\$130 million). Today Ministry of Defence is buying annually H1.25 billion(\$360 million) and in next few years will reach H2.0 billion (\$570 million). But this requires a huge infrastructure which means tremendous capital investment.

IV. FINANCIAL FACTS

1. It is now estimated, after revisions made since the beginning of the fiscal year in April, that the Israel Government budget for the fiscal 1970/71 will look as follows:

S A	1970/71	VEC	
A	Expend. (H Pillion)	Income (IL Billion)	
Defence Services	5	5.7 3.5	Tax revenue Internal loans (mainly from bonds bought by Israeli public and banks).
ervices	1,6	1.8	External loans (from banks and institutions
rvices	1.9	11.0	outside Israel)
	Services ervices nt)	Expend. (L Pillion) Defence 5 Services 1.7 ervices 1.6 rvices .8 rvice 1.9	Expend. (H Fillion) Defence 5 5.7 Services 1.7 3.5 ervices 1.6 1.8

- 2. Defence costs will consume almost 90% of tax revenue.
- 3. The economy keeps growing, the people of Israel keep paying more taxes, buying more Government bonds, subscribing to more compulsory loans, and yet the defence costs mount in such tremendous volume as to consume almost 90% of the entire tax income and almost one third of the entire GNP. No country in the world bears such a burden. In American equivalent terms, the GNP is around \$900 billion, and the defence cost is around \$80 billion, or less than 10%. Imagine the effect in the United States if the defence cost were 30%, or well over \$300 billion.

- 4. Israel has today more than 20% of its entire labor force in uniform, and in the defence industries. It is obvious what a destrictuve effect this has on the total economy.
- 5. Another way to look at the terrible burden of defence is in terms of the balance of payments. For fiscal 1970, it is estimated that the gap between imports and exports will be \$1 billion 200 million. Of this amount \$760 million will be directly attributable to defence purchases.

	Balance of payments (in million S)				
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
TOTAL IMPORTS (of which for	1,317	1,479	1,876	2,200	2,700
defence)	(159)	(324)	(347)	(425)	(760)
TOTAL EXPOITS	872	950	1,180	1,325	1,500
DEFICIT	445	529	696	875	1,200
DOLLAR RESTRVES at beginning of year	643	621	715	663	400
RESERVES, as % of IMPORTS	(49%)	(42%)	(38%)	(30%)	(15%)

In other words, by the end of 1970, the dollar reserve will be dropping to the dangerous point of being able to cover only 1/6 or 2 months worth of imports.

6. It is interesting to note that in regard to the US-Israel balance of payments, Israel is currently spending more money in the US than it is receiving from the US in all categories. For 1970 it is estimated that Israel will spend in the US \$300 million more than Israel is receiving from the US.

V. JEWISH AGENCY NEEDS BUDGET 1971

(figures rounded-out)

	<u>s</u>
Immigration and Absorption	50,750,000
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements	42,000,000
Social Welfare services	41,000,000
Health Services	72,000,000
Employment AMERICAN JE	N S 10,750,000
Housing	178,500,000
Youth Aliyah ARC	7,500,000
Education	69,250,000
Higher Education	80,000,000
Debt Services	38,000,000
Administration, Comptroller, Reserves	11,750,000
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These figures are based upon an immigration for 1971 of 40,000 - 50,000 persons.

CONCLUSIONS

- In fiscal 1970 Israel's defence costs will be four times as much as during the year of the six day war.
- 2. Even if the cease fire on the Suez Canal, is maintained, defence costs will be reduced only marginally, because of the continuation of all expenditures, and the purchase of heavy equipment from the United States. In addition, war on the other fronts also continues.
- 3. As one high-ranking officer put it: "If the cease-fire is to lead to peace, it will be because Israel maintains her strength. Then perhaps the Arabs will understand the futility of their war of attrition. If, on the other hand, the Israeli position deteriorates, there is no incentive for the Arabs to negotiate. Israel's strength is her trump card. If the cease fire were to lead, by some miracle, to peace, the worst we will have done is to have spent one billion dollars to insure peace. Would not that be the greatest bargain in the world?"
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\$1000 million, sold on ten years credit, 2 years grace, 2% interest, at 1/3 cut price

Total 31 billion, 580 million.

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g which 810 is defense 1971 in 3 -month cease - fire - we will spend more or wad reconstruction. on bombs we will spend less. But it wind help budget because we will have to stockpile. 6-month. will

9st all 50 Phantome Dus calendar year 120 tanks equivalent Mis year so lo guns troop carriers 150 me asked for more planes - equivalent of Johnson They promised, but no contracts yet although first new planes supposed to come in Sept. probably draggy because of Janoy Hanks & until Jan.

\$ 300 regular /13t out of 625 additional 250 will be parol until 1 Apri 71, and 250 dury rest psalyer

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1970/71	827.8	236

c) The rising cost of weapon system as illustrated below:

Tanks	ĪĪ—		<u>s</u>
Shermans	250,000	=	70,000 approx.
Centurion	500,000	_	140,000 approx.
Modern tank	1,000,000		280,000 approx.
Aircraft			
Ouragan			0.2 million dollars
Mirage			1.3 " "
Phantom			3.7 " "

- 5. Ressons for the recent additions to the defence budget:
- a) on March 1970 Soviet pilots started operational flights in Egypt. The Egyptian army, encouraged by this development, stepped up its ground activities. To meet the new threat several measures were undertaken. These included heavier bombing and shelling of Egyptian positions, strengthening of Israeli fortifications and the improvement of warning systems. Additional expenditures of 300 million II (almost \$100 million) were required.
- b) In June, the Egyptians and the Soviets moved forward their anti-aircraft missiles, and other troops. The direct Soviet involvement forced Israel to speed up the military preparations, that is, to increase the procurement of aircraft, anti aircraft missiles, ammunition, armour, electronic equipment etc.

The total cost of the increase in equipment and supply is about \$625 million, of which about \$250 million are payable in the current fiscal year.

6. What are the possible effects of the cense-fire on defence expenditures ?

Since the Arabs are arming very rapidly, and since hostilities may break out at the end of the cease-fire period(and even before) Israel must prepare for this contingency.

It is therefore, necessary to:

(a) strengthen fortifications

(b) build up inventories of air bombs, heavy and light ammunition, spore parts etc.

- (c) in general, build up Israel's strength, so Egypt will be deterred from breaking the cease-fire again, or if she attacks, to meet the possibility of a renewed all out war.
- 7. The present budget calls for the purchase in 1970 of approximately \$500 million worth of arms and supplies.
- 8. Additional arms can be, and will be purchased, during the balance of fiscal 1970 and 1971, for approximately 625 million. This will include Phantom and Skyhawk planes, tan's, heavy ours, troop carriers, anti-aircraft, hawk batteries, and other equipment. This fact is of crucial importance. The cease fire does not affect the delivery of these weapons, although exact timetable of delivery may vary depending on circumstances. Israel will get this equipment and that is the basic reason for this sharp cost increase.
- 9. These arms must be paid for. Some long-term credits are available but not for very large amounts. The limits of Congressional authorizations are being researched carefully to ascertain the maximum credits possible, but even if these were to be granted, it is estimated that the total would not go much beyond \$200 million. In this connection it must always be remembered that Israel's foreign currency debt, which is a heavy mortgage on the next generation, is already in the vicinity of \$2.5 billion.

10. Since it is usually difficult to buy abroad, Israel must increasingly develop its own ability to produce. Before the six day war, military goods and services were bought in Israel for H400 million (\$130 million). Today Ministry of Defence is buying annually H1.25 billion(\$360 million) and in next few years will reach H2.0 billion (\$570 million). But this requires a huge infrastructure which means tremendous capital investment.

IV. FINANCIAL FACTS

1. It is now estimated, after revisions made since the beginning of the fiscal year in April, that the Israel Government budget for the fiscal 1970/71 will look as follows:

	A	1970/71	VFS	
		Expend. (E Pillion)	Income (H Billion)	
Welfare	Defence Services	5 1.7	5.7 3.5	Tax revenue Internal loans (mainly from bonds bought by Israeli public and banks).
Economic s (developme		1.6	1.8	External loans (from banks and institutions outside Israel)
Other se		1.9	11.0	

- 2. Defence costs will consume almost 90% of tax revenue.
- 3. The economy keeps growing, the people of Israel keep paying more taxes, buying more Government bonds, subscribing to more compulsory loans, and yet the defence costs mount in such tremendous volume as to consume almost 90% of the entire tax income and almost one third of the entire GNP. No country in the world bears such a burden. In American equivalent terms, the GNP is around \$900 billion, and the defence cost is around \$80 billion, or less than 10%. Imagine the effect in the United States if the defence cost were 30%, or well over \$300 billion.

- 4. Israel has today more than 20% of its entire labor force in uniform, and in the defence industries. It is obvious what a destrictuve effect this has on the total economy.
- 5. Another way to look at the terrible burden of defence is in terms of the balance of payments. For fiscal 1970, it is estimated that the gap between imports and exports will be \$1 billion 200 million. Of this amount \$760 million will be directly attributable to defence purchases.

	Balance of payments (in million 0				
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
TOTAL IMPORTS (of which for	1,317	1,479	1,876	2,200	2,700
defence)	(159)	(324)	(347)	(425)	(760)
TOTAL EXPOITS	872	950	1,180	1,325	1,500
DEFICIT	445	529	696	875	1,200
DOLLAF RESTRVES at beginning of year	643	621	715	663	400
RES RVES, as % of IMPORTS	(49%)	(42%)	(38%)	(30%)	(15%)

In other words, b the end of 1970, the dollar reserve will be dropping to the dangerous point of being able to cover only 1/6 or 2 months worth of imports.

6. It is interesting to note that in regard to the US-Israel balance of payments, Israel is currently spending more money in the US than it is receiving from the US in all categories. For 1970 it is estimated that Israel will spend in the US \$300 million more than Israel is receiving from the US.

V. JEWISH AGENCY NEEDS BUDGET 1971

(figures rounded-out)

With the same of the same	<u>s</u>
Immigration and Absorption	50,750,000
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements	42,000,000
Social Welfare services	41,000,000
Health Services	72,000,000
Employment AMERICAN JEV	10,750,000
Housing ARCH	178,500,000
Youth Aliyah	7,500,000
Education	69,250,000
Higher Education	80,000,000
Debt Services	38,000,000
Administration, Comptroller, Reserves	11,750,000
The same	\$ 601,500,000
7.	

These figures are based upon an immigration for 1971 of 40,000 - 50,000 persons.

This year 380

CONCLUSIONS

- In fiscal 1970 Israel's defence costs will be four times as much as during the year of the six day war.
- 2. Even if the cease fire on the Suez Canal, is maintained, defence costs will be reduced only marginally, because of the continuation of all expenditures, and the purchase of heavy equipment from the United States. In addition, war on the other fronts also continues.
- 3. As one high-ranking officer put it: "If the cease-fire is to lead to peace, it will be because Israel maintains her strength. Then perhaps the Arabs will understand the futility of their war of attrition. If, on the other hand, the Israeli position deteriorates, there is no incentive for the Arabs to negotiate. Israel's strength is her trump card. If the cease fire were to lead, by some miracle, to peace, the worst we will have done is to have spent one billion dollars to insure peace. Would not that be the prectest bargain in the world?"
- 4. The Israeli citizen, bearing one of the heaviest tax burdens in the entire world, will produce enough revenue just barely to cover the defence costs, with almost nothing left over. As immigration continues, at an annual rate of 40,000 to 50,000, the entire responsibility for the philanthropic burden, must be met by free world Jewry, not partial response, as has been the case in the past.
- 5. The UJA for 1970, in both the Emergency Fund and Regular Fund, will achieve more than 200 million in pledges, which will be a 30 million dollar increase over 1969.
- 6. For 1971, it will be necessary for the UJA to attempt to reach 400 million dollars, in both the regular and energency funds. In addition there are the local and national budgets for the communities outside New York City, which will comprise almost 100 million dollars for 1971. This means that the total campaign effort must be for 500 million dollars. A tremendous effort will be made by the free Jewish communities in the world, as well. The Keren Hayesod countries will make the effort to reach 200 million dollars in 1971, which is more than double the current performance of 1970.

The UJA slogan for this campaign, will be "SURVIVAL MEANS SACRIFICE".

		197	0	1971
		1-96	٩	470
USA + Canada		3500	,	10 000
Latin America		4000		4500
France		6000.		7,000
North Africa		4000	4000	
Britain		2000		
Europe other c	- tai	2000		2000
	00000	2500	14	2500
Turkey	AMERICA	3000	H	3000
Persia	ARCH	2500	S	2000
India	0 0 0			
South Africa		1000		1000
Australia		500		.200
Poland	15	1000	5/	300
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The state of the s				0000 2
Market State				
	Walter India			

Huge Soviet Artillery Pieces Among Arms Sent to Egypt

By William Tuohy

CAIRO, Aug artillery pieces in the Soviet work is, therefore, in place. arsenal have recently arrived in Egypt and are being deployed in cutting edge of the Egyptianthe field.

these are the 203-mm guns that effort is shifting to resupply and fire an extremely powerful shell consolidation of existing posts. at least 20 miles.

ed near the Suez Canal but would honor the cease-fire as such. presumably be moved up if the cease-fire ended.

These new weapons are among a large variety of Soviet military hardware that has been arriving in Egypt in recent days and weeks, reliable sources report.

The equipment is being moved through the port of Alexandria from Soviet ships. A few days ago, a long trainload of flat cars pulled out of Alexandria, sources say, laden with equipment for the SAM-3 low-level air defense mis-

Included among the items were missile carriers, launchers and service machinery to maintain the complex missile system, which has been deployed in recent days on both sides of the cease-fire, standstill line, 31 miles west of the Suez Canal

Another new weapon added to the growing list of sophisticated Russian military hardware in Egypt is the ZSU-23/4 anti-aircraft battery, which has been seen only in Poland outside the Soviet Union itself.

This four-barrelled, radar-controlled, armor-mounted weapon can fire at the extraordinary rate of 4,000 rounds a minute.

It is still manned only by Russian gunners and was designed to protect the SAM-3 low-level missiles. The SAM-3 is deployed in conjunction with the high-level, ground-to-air SAM-2 missiles.

As far as is known here, this weapon has not been deployed outside the Egyptian heartland, where it is used to guard the SAM-3 sites at Alexandria, Cairo, Aswan and the big air bases,

At the same time that Russian equipment has been flowing into Egypt, observers have noted a significant decline in the number of big cement trailer-truckers that had been diverted from normal construction jobs to military sites.

The conclusion drawn here is that most of the concrete pads for the SAM-3 missile sites have been

26.-The largest | poured and the basic defense net-

Observers believe that Russian air defense system is now Authoritative sources say that established and that the Soviet

Despite the buildup of armament The guns are expected to be and the reported installation of manned by Egyptian artillerymen SAM sites east of the standstill after training by their Russian line, most senior Western observers advisers. They are not yet deploy- here believe that Egypt intends to

Reliable reports suggest that the total Egyptian casualties in June and July may have reached 3,000 a month. Russians were killed, too, it is known.

Because of the losses suffered by ground troops and the air force, Egyptian military leaders are believed here to be anxious to use the 90-day cease-fire period to rest, retrain and refit after the concentrated Israeli attacks of the last three months.

C Los Angeles Times



Golda - 2a any 70 Had any other county but d.S. proposed the class-fire we worldn't have accepted it. We have a letter fur us gray as emurares We didn't scrept the coun for because our army couldn't take it any horgen we would be committy a crime of we were introverted with a hope for feace and didn't face reality, he must be prepared for anst - outbreak of fighty again. The tap is open

Hil ads XI Gift Figures in thousands

PARTICIPANTS -- FLIGHT #2

10	ABRAMS, Samuel L.	-	Harrisburg	-	KOENIGSBERG, Sol	-	Kansas City
-	ABZUG, Sidney	-	Buffalo	12.	KROOT, Ben	-	Indianapolis
95	BELZ, Jack S.	-	Memphis	. 65.	LAPPIN, Robert	-	Lynn
	3/2 2 12 2			12.5	LARNER, Martin J.	-	Indianapolis
42.5	BERKLEY, E. Bertram	-	Kansas City	. 80.	LATTER, Shepard M.	-	New Orleans
25.	BRYEN, William	-	Camden, N.J.	5.5	LEFCOE, Sanford L. E LEVIN, Martin	r.	- Norfolk Newark
52.	COHEN, Lawrence	-	Greensboro	30.	LEVITCH, Leon	-	Louisville
19.	COLE, Lewis		Louisville	15.	LEVITT, Herman	-	Dayton
-	COLWIN, Peter B.	M	ERICAN	JEV	LEVY, Herbert LIEBERMAN, Jack	1	Memphis Memphis
33.	CUMMINS, Millard DEGEN, Louis		Columbus Denver	V	MINTZER, Oscar A.	-	Oskland
50.	DIEFENTHAL, Stanley		·New Orleans	80.	NEWMAN, C.M.	-	Omaha
60.	DOMONT, Ben	-	Indianapolis	5.5	OBLETZ, Clarence	-	Buffalo
-	DORNER, Albert	-	Seattle	TI	The same		7 19
5.	DWORSKY, Robert A.	-	St. Paul	6.	PERTZIK, Marvin	-	St. Paul
-	DUBIN, Bernard	-	Camden, N.J.	15.	RAUCH, Gerald	-	Houston
125.	EDELSTEIN, Sidney FRANK, Irvin	5	Englewood Tulsa	21.	RIBAKOFF, Eugene J.	-	Worcester
6.	FRANKEL, Harold	T	Camden	20,	ROSE, Robert	-	Oakland
-	GOLDSTEIN, Albert	-/	Houston	24,	ROSENBERG, Malcolm M		Roanoke
12.5	GOODMAN, Ben	-	Columbus	12.	RUBIN, Leonard Z.	-	Englewood
14.	GORDON, Haskell	-	Worcester	7.5	RUBIN, Robert Dr.	+	Norfolk
12.	GOULD, David	-	Worcester	100.	SCHEAR, Herbert	-	Dayton
15.	HELZEL, Leo B.	-	Oakland, Calif.	40.	SCOTT, Peter SEGAL, Albert	-	Newark Charlotte
25.	HOFFMAN, Robert	-	Lynn	45.	SIMON, Marvin	-	Norfolk
-	HURSH, Albert	-	Harrisburg	20.	SIMONS, Maurice	-	Lynn
27.5	ISAACSON, Max	_	Dayton	10.	SMITH, Edward A.	-	Kansas City
2.5	KAPLAN, Arthur Dr.	-	Norfolk	200.	SOSLAND, Morton I.	-	Kansas City
50.	KAPLAN, Raymond	-	Englewood	20.5	STERN, Edward F., Sr		Seattle

95. STRELITZ, Leonard - Norfolk

12. STROUM, Samuel N. - Seattle

12. SUSSMAN, Sidney - Camden 20. TUCKER, Richard B. - Denver 50. WEINER, Sol B. - Houston

7. WESTON, Harris K. - Cincinnati

/S. WINKLER, Edward J. - Louisville

/ 00. WOLF, Irving - Denver

7/. ZACKS, Gordon - Columbus

2.7 ZECKHAUSER. J. Milton - Buffalo

75. ZIPURSKY, Morley - Omaha



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List of participants
gifts in thousands next to each name.

CLOSING STATEMENTS OF

THE HON. ABBA DBAN, FOREIGN MINISTER OF ISRAEL AND EDWARD GINSBEEG, GENERAL CHAIRMAN OF THE THE UNITED JEVISH APPEAL Jerusalem, August 28, 1970

Mr. Eban: In 1970 and 1971, the Arabs and Soviets are relying upon Israel's economic exhaustion. In the last four of five months, more of their literature has been devoted to the possibility of Israel's defeat by economic exhaustion than in all the three years that went before.

Their intelligence people have all the fighters and they make the calculations. They say to themselves: "Well, how are the Israelis going to pay for all this? If we keep up our missiles, they'll need not 50 but 75 Phantoms. They'll need not that many Skyhawks, but twice as many. They'll have to start buying all kinds of complex electronic devices and anti-missiles; they'll have to keep a large mobilized force in being. Their tanks which defeated us in Sinai are beginning to get mated. Well, they'll have to go to M48's or M60's or Chieftains. In all of these things, their budget will become so inflated that either their military capacity will collapse, or their economy will collapse. We have got them by the throat."

There is more optimism in the Arab world about Israel's destruction by economic exhaustion than by any other means. You would be surprised by the enormous amount of discussion in Arab publications about American Jews and about the Jewish community. I could give you, perhaps I will have to do it, articles in the Arabic press on this question of whether the American Jews are going to get tired, and how they are involved in the new isolationism and in this flight from commitment.

This is something that has been watched very closely, and it has a very direct effect upon our political position. In Washington, they take our Jewish temperature all the time. They want to know if Jewish support of Israel is going up or down. If it goes up, then the Administration has to be more favorable to Israel, and if it goes down, then they can be more neglectful.

I don't know if you understand the political and security aspects of the enterprise in which you are involved. It has now become much more central than ever before. And if they see in Washington that American Jewry is not prepared to take these big targets, then they'll say: "Well, if American Jewry, with its sentimental attachments and memories - if it is not prepared to make the major effort for Israel's survival, why should non-Jewish America make any greater effort?"

Just because he is not a friend of Israel I was very struck by William Fulbright's message about sentiment - that whether one likes

it or not, there is a American sentiment about Israel, and this might create a convitment. In other words, even he has come to understand that Israel's preservation weighs upon the American conscience in a very special way. But the degree to which it weighsupon the American conscience is directly related to the degree in which it weighs upon the Jewish conscience.

I think the chances of being sold or of making our way depend not only upon our own political efforts and military strength, but also upon our general posture within American society, and fundamentally opun our position within the American Jewish community. The index of that position is going to be a practical one. I think that what the Administration will do about arms or about economic or political support will have a mathematical relationship to what it sees the Jewish community doing or not doing.

I leave you with that thought, and I don't want to make frightening definitions. But we have met here in different ways almost every year, but never with the sense of greater a stake for Israel. We have laways talked about an Arab atmosphere. You were at the Suez Canal today. The missiles across that small waterway are not Arab missiles, and they are not activated by Arabs. In other words, if the cease-fire and the peace effort collpses, the prospect of a confrontation between Israel and the Soviet Union becomes real. And please don't believe in the inevitability of Israeli victory. I believe in it; it is a concept of history - Netzach Israel - but with all that belief, it is also useful to have a few weapons in the arsenal. And if it is the Soviet Union that is at issue, the question of whether the United States pounds its fist on the table or not is going to be vital, and this is something which you have just as much power of affecting as anybody else.

Here, without victory, there is no survival. That is the special character of our wars - survival for life, for home or nation; no survival for anything that we love or cherish. I don't advocate a gloomy diagnosis of our situation. But the balance is utterly different from what it was before, and the prospect and danger have been as great. I think that is a very harsh reality, and I hope that is going to be your chief impression of what you see and hear in Israel.

Mr. Ginsberg: Friends, I'd like to presume upon you for a few minutes, because I have to go home tomorrow, and I won't be with you tomorrow, and what I would normally say tomorrow night, I must say tonight.

The Foreign Minister said the Arabs are talking about economic exhaustion, and he discussed the relationship of American policy to the reaction of the American Jewish community. You are going to hear specific figures tomobrow - they are staggering. The items are available. There is an agreement to make them available. The one question is: Can it be paid for? You know, for years we used to say: "If they only sell us the arms. We are not asking to give us anything, just sell to us. Now they have put it on the line to us that they are prepared to do it. It would be a tragic moment in our history if at

that moment we were not ready to put it on the line.

We have a great responsibility. You were brought here not to be asked for your money, but rather for your understanding. We ask that you search your minds and your hearts to come up with the answers. You are all involved, or you would not be here. You came at the invitation of the Prime Minister - to see, to learn and to apply your mature judgement to what you see and what you hear. It is not just a matter of what each individual does in terms of his own giving. That is, of course, important - but you are charged with a greater responsibility, and that is to go home and articulate to the people of America the seriousness of the situation.

We talked for many years as though there were no question of the survival of the State of Israel. We talked in terms of that survival being assured. It was only a question of what price we would have to pay for that survival. Now, however, we are faced with the reality of the situation - survival. The campaign theme this year is "Survival Means Sacrifice". Three simple words. But I think they dramatize the whole situation succintly - "Survival Means Sacrifice". The people of Israel make sacrifices which you cannot measure. Our sacrifice is substance.

We are going to all of the communities of America, and hopefully we will articulate the problem. What I am saying to you tonight is that each of us has a grave responsibility, because we have reached a turning point in history. You have to go home, and you have to be heard, and you have to tell the communities of America what you have heard tonight and what you have seen today and yesterday. There is now a whole new dimension - we have a great stake as Jews; Jews living in America. It is as meaningful for us there that there is a Jewish State as it is meaningful for the people here.

We came together in Jerusalem last night to sign a document which said that the Jews, the non-Zionists and the Zionists (and I don't know how you differentiate today - we are all Jews), are embarked upon a new era of collective unification of Jewry. Fortunately, we have America, and I think we are a most powerful voice there. We have to make that voice heard, and the way to make it heard is by our deeds. Let's go home, and let's tell the people what has to be done. We are going to launch the greatest campaign in our history, because the stakes are the greatest in the history of our people. Thank you.

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Chairmen: There will be two or three individuals who will be leaving within a matter of minutes, not because they want to but because the airplanewill not wait, and that's the Dallas delegation which for some reason prefers to fly through the night— I think so that they can get back to play golf tomorrow afternoon.

Ah, that's better. Since they're starting the campaign tomorrow then we can expect a cable by about Tuesday or Wednesday with the first results! There are others who are taking planes at 4 o'clock in the morning and others at 6 in the morning so it's going to be quite a night. I think it began beautifully by this lovely garden party and there are really no words with which to thank our hostess. (applause).

There's a warmth and a personal quality about this kind of hosp@tality which simply cannot be matched so there is no sense in attempting to describe it. It's the kind of thrilling experience which all of us will remember.

We are graced with the presence of several ministers of the Government and I'm not sure that everyone is aware that they are here. I should like, therefore, to take cognizance of their presence and this also should make us feel just that bit more important that they came to spend the evening and have dinner with us. There are here five ministers of the Government: the Minister of Justime, Mr. Shapira; the Minister of Tourism, Mr. Kol; the Minister of Occupied Territories, Mr. Perez; the Minister of Pelice, Mr. Hillel, and the Minister of — I think it's Housing but I don't know since things are changing so quickly — Mr. Zev Sherif. Yes, it's Housing.

The Director General of the Prime Minister's Office is here, Dr. Yaakov Herzog, and the Political Advisor, Mr. Simcha Dinitz. 1-2

To all of you, I can simply say that the rest of the guests are some Jews from some cities in America who came on very short notice at the most gracious invitation of the Prime Minister.

They accepted her invitation quickly, they have worked hard in a matter of 50 or 55 hours, they've had an unbelievable itinerary and the climar of it is now at this moment.

There's no point in any introduction whatsoever except to say we are honored and thrilled to be in the presence of Golda Meir whose words we await now with great eagerness — the Prime Minister of Israel. (applause)

Golda Meir. Frime Minister of Israels My good friends, first I want to thank you very heartily for having accepted my invitation. It was not just coming in next door to a good neighbor and I appreciate that you have taken the time and the effort to travel for many thousands of miles to come here.

I realize, although I would like to flatter myself, that you came because I invited you. But I doubt if I were in Hong Kong if you would make the trip to Hong Kong. So I must admit, happily, that the reason for your coming is because I happen to be in Israel and I invited you to come to Israel. And to come to Israel at a time when we are always happy to have you here, but at a moment it is most important that you do come and that you are here.

I'm only sorry that you can't take more time out — well, I understand that the Dallas delegation can't postpone the campgign from tomorrow morning, so they have to go. I wish that you could have taken more time out, for one thing you wouldn't be so rushed and you'd see a little more. I don't say hear more. I ms given a list of the people that you already listened to and I marvel at your capacity of listening to speeches but you'll come back again. For many of you, maybe for most of you, this is not the first trip

and anybody that makes a first trip to Israel — for instance, like Ratner is here for the first time. (heughter) For the last couple of months I think that this is the first time that's he's here.

Anybody who comes here for the first time, it's certainly not the last time. He comes often.

Friends, I don't want to take much time because I must leave time for you to ask questions, if they have not already been all answered by my colleagues who have addressed you and the people in the Israel Defence Forces and everybody whom you've met and who has spoken to you. I want to say in as few words as I possibly can what is it that is so particular about this moment when you are here. Why have we asked you to some and why have — I might as well tell you the secret, you probably already know it — why are we going to ask you to do what we hope you will do after you leave Israel.

On the surface, it seems as though this doesn't make too much sense, to come to Israel at a time of cease-fire when the guns on the Suez Canal are quiet for the first time in many, many months, when you were down there I understand you saw our boys I don't know whether with their feet in the canal or not but quiet, peaceful. This isn't the way it looked two or three weeks ago.

Why now, of all times to ask Jews in the United States and Jews all over the world for an effort that is on the first look at it, almost impossible? And yet, if you will allow me to say, since I know you people, it will be possible, like everything else about Israel. The greatest thing about Israel is that the impossible has been accomplished. It's not good enough for us to do the possible as all other people do. We are challenged with the impossible and only to the extent that we have overcome the im-

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possible have we been successful and only to that can we account the fact /
that we are here.

what is it? I don't have to tell you people that there is no greater wish and deeper prayer coming out of the depths of the hearts of every man, woman and child in Israel than peace. That's what we want. That's what many of our young people have given their lives for — not for war, and not for conquest but they have given their lives in order to try and guarantee peace to this land and to this people.

So now we have it. We have a cease-fire. Ordinarily, normally this is the first step to peace. You have a cease-fire, you negotiate, it may take time, you come to a peace agreement and then you've selved your problem. Why is it that we consider this one of the critical hours since the Six Day War? Why is it that as you go through the country, as you have seen Israelis — those that spoke to you and maybe those you had conversations with — that I doubt that you have found any Israeli who is light-hearted, at a time of cease-fire although cease-fire only on one front.

On the Lebanese front, of all fronts that for 20 years was quiet and was really a good neighbor, now it has become one of the worst parts of our borders. And of course, the Jordanian border was never quiet nor is it now. They don't even leave us alone when they are fighting and shooting among themselves, in Amman, as they did last night.

You were in Kfar Ruppin and I'm sure you saw and you heard the story of Kfar Ruppin and it's only one of the places. But, true, the Suez Canal is the most serious border, it's the most serious enemy, it's the biggest enemy on the other side of the Canal.

Being big, Namser being what he is, is the leader of all the Arab states and since it is quiet there one would have assumed that we

A-5

are relaxed and optimistic. I'll tell you a secret. A few minutes ago at this table somebody was trying to — he won't admit it — but he was trying to brief me how I should put this thing to you. I didn't say it was Herb Friedman, did I? (laughter and applause)

And I said to him — well, you've found out the sewret now — I said to him, "Herb, you know me. I can't say anything to any people, to any audience except what I think is exactly the thing as it is." And as it is, is that the Government with a heavy heart, decided to participate in the United States' peace initiative and to agree to the cease-fire although the cease-fire is a 90 day cease-fire. Never mind, legally, it isn't for only 90 days because in '67 the Security Council decided on a cease-fire and the fact that Nasser has violated the cease-fire doesn't break the legal part of it, but this is all nonesense.

We never wanted a limited cease-fire, and now we accepted it because it is part of the United States' initiative. I tell you frankly, if any other country had come forth with an initiative of this kind, worded as it is, with the elements in it as it is, with a 90 day cease-fire — here sit five of my colleagues, I think they will bear me out — we would not have accepted it.

Right, Mr. Minister of Justice?

I want to tell you another secret. Had the official presentation that was made to us by your Government, had it been only that and if after that there wasn't a letter from your President where he tried to put some of my doubts to rest, where he tried to give his interpretation — this cannot be published so please, to telling you this off the record and I'll take this out of the tape afterwards — but I did get a letter from him with assurances with spelling out certain things, thateremained doubtful in the official

presentation from the State Department — answering some questions.

If that letter hadn't come, I doubt very much whether the Israel

Government would have accepted it.

But why did we accept it? After all? Because there is the magic word "peace" and we felt that we would not be representing our people in the way that they want us to represent them, we would not be speaking for them if, when there appears the <u>alightest</u> hope, maybe this may lead to peace, and if the Government had said "No, we don't participate in it."

So, this was our problem. We have very little faith in it.

We know our neighbors. The way the thing was worded was not something that increases our faith in the possibility of peace, and yet, we decided that maybe, after all the doubts and after everything that almost speaks against it, maybe after all there is a hope.

One of the reasons, for instance, that creates doubts in our minds — we won't be sitting with the Egyptians or the Jordanians, not even under the aegis of Dr. Jarring. He will speak to one, then he will speak to us and then he will speak again to the other one, then he will speak to us and you don't sign a peace agreement through somebody. We hope that if our Arab neighbors are really serious about this and really have peaceful intentions, then at some point we must sit together and argue this thing out among ourselves.

After all, it's borders between us and Egypt and between us and Jordan. We have to agree to these borders. Another thing — we're not — Shimon Perez was announced here as the Minister of Occupied Territories. I'll tell you what his activities in occupied territories is — to make the life in the refugee camps more livable than their Arab hosts cared about for 20 years, to

have economic development in the occupied territories, whether we remain in all of them and in parts that we won't remain, that their life even afterwards will be easier and better and more human than it was until now!

This, among other things, is what Shimon was occupied with and will be in the future although he will have full responsibility for a very important ministry beginning next week. But he consented, and I asked him to go on with this work in the occupied territories because it is people and not just territories. There are people there and these people were ill-treated by their own people and until we came and things picked up.

They've never had it so good. Itddoesn't mean that they love us.

But still, as human beings we feel that that's what we should do. We don't want territories. We didn't fight the war for expansionism. This is really a vile misinterpretation of what the problem is. The problem is that we want borders that maybe will make it more difficult not for our Arab neighbors to fight us, because if they fight us on any borders we can fight back. That's not what we want.

So what? Are we out to win another war? We want borders that will be more difficult for them so that maybe they'll think twice and three times and ten times before they try it again. I said the other night at the Bond meeting I had at the beginning of last week — I sat, as I do from time to time with the general staff headquarters, the generals — and we talk very freely there. They don't mix into politics, into government policy, but one of them said and he expressed something that every one of us feels. He's been through all the wars from before the State, born in Israel, like all our children.

He said, "I've been through all these wars and through everything that happened on the borders between one war and another war. All I want is to try and feel that at least I have made it more difficult that my son will also have to go to war."

Many of us are sending our grandchildren now to the Army.

My grand-daughter is going to the Army next month. My daughter and my son have been through everything since they were 12 years old. And now my grand-daughter is going to the Army and two boys from my family have gone into the Army last week. This is the third generation. And all we want are borders — there are no absolute guarantees on any borders but still there's a difference if we're up on the hill or if we're down below and the Syrians are up on the hill.

This is what we are struggling for. Tour President said it in one word: defensible borders for Israel. And we want these defensible borders to be agreed upon with our neighbors, not with Dr. Jarring. And as long as our neighbors won't be in the same room with us, they won't even be in the same city with us —. Dr. Jarring wanted this to be conducted on the foreign ministers level. But God forbid that the Foreign Minister of Egypt should come to New York at the same time when the Foreign Minister of Israel is in New York for these talks. Not with him! But through Dr. Jarring. No! He will arrive only when the United Nations meet.

This is the spirit. Does it spell peace? Every day we hear from Egypt that the first thing that must happen is that the Israelis must pull back to the '67 borders. The noises that come from there, the articles that we read in their papers, the speeches that we listen to, the way they are <u>beginning</u> to conduct the negotiations before we have even started — <u>nothing</u> spells a hope for peace. And yet, we go into this with reall honest desire to do everything within <u>our</u> means to try and see maybe

this miracle will happen. But, we would be not only foolish but we would be committing a crime to our people, to you, to the whole Jewish people, if we were lulled into a state of mind where we did not feel it absolutely essential to be well prepared if war should break out again.

Friends, the war on the 5th of June, 1967, broke out between us and the Arabs. When the cease-fire was announced, the war was being fought practically between us and the Egyptians and the Russians. It's one thing to have the Egyptians. It's quite another thing to have the Egyptians and the Russians, —with the most sophisticated and modern equipment and Egypt against us.

I want you to realize, we did not accept the cease-fire because the Israel Defence Army felt it cannot go on any more. That's not true. The situation was such that our Army could have gone on as successfully as it was before, certainly paying a bitter price. But, for instance, no sooner was the cease-fire agreement signed — this too, I want to expand — what does it mean it was signed? It wasn't signed between us and the Egyptians. The Americans said to us that the Egyptians agree to this and the Russians agree to this, and therefore we agree.

We asked a question, they went to the Egyptians, they went to the Russians, they brought the answer back to us, but there was the cease-fire agreement which contained certain articles.

Naturally there is cease-fire and a very important item in the cease-fire was "stand-still" on both sides. No new installations, no new building, no new construction of sites for missiles, etc.

Only a few hours after the cease-fire was agreed to, 12 o'clock two weeks ago Friday night, and on Saturday we already saw that missiles were being moved.in. Since then more and more missiles were put in, more and more construction sites for more missiles in direct violation of the cease-fire agreement and we are still negotiating with the United States Government but we can't negotiate directly neigher with Egypt or with Moscow. We're negotiating with the United States Government, demanding of them that they should see to it that everything that was brought in after the cease-fire agreement came into force should be cleared.

My God, we're not going to sit on this side of the Canal and see the missiles on the other side coming closer and closer up to the Canal so that if the fighting starts again we will be at a disadvantage with bigger guns coming in from Russia, an airlist, a constant airlist from Russia into Egypt with bigger guns that can reach much farther than before the case-fire with bigger shells.

With this picture before us, we would be committing a crime if we became so intoxicated with this hopeful peace that we didn't see realities. And the realities that fighting may be renewed, after 90 days. I am not prepared to guarantee to anybody that it will even take 90 days. It may be 90 days and by that time we will be really in negotiations that peace will look much nearer than today. And it may be next week, 10 days from now, two weeks from now. Nobody can tell.

We have to be prepared for the worst — to hope for the best to pray for the best and be prepared for the worst. If we were not prepared there would be no hope — never mind for the best — there would be no hope for anything. It is only to the degree that we were always prepared that the other side may attack that we are still here.

This is our dilemma, one more side of it. We are dependent 100% — to be exact, maybe 98% — on the supply of what you call hardware from the simplest things, except the things that we produce in this country ourselves, until the most sophisticated,

upon your country. Your country is the biggest friend you have, the best friend we have. If you ask me, I would like the United States to be our good friend and three or four or five more friends like that. It's not good to be dependent on one friend like that. Believe me, we've had that experience before.

We had one friend before. It's not good. And I can't say that it's wrong or immoral. That's not the thing. But the United States has interests of its own and if it thinks that we ought to do this, and since we are almost entirely dependent upon it for our very existence — as we call it in a popular form "the tap is turned off."

And when the tap is turned off, no equipment is coming in while on the other side there is a constant airlift because the interests of Russia are to become stronger from day to day in Egypt. Never mind that they don't care about Egypt or the Egyptian people but for their interests! It takes us an awful long time to negotiate certain items among them tanks, among them planes and among them things we need to fight against the missiles.

Now, at this moment, the tap is open again. Our Cabinet
Ministers, according to the functions that they are responsible
for, when the tap is off Dyan is gloomy. When the tap is on, it's
Sapir's turn. And all of us, those that are not Byan and not Sapir,
we're always gloomy. When Byan is gloomy we're with him and when
Sapir is gloomy, we're with him.

Now the question is, if you accept that this is our duty—
on two fronts, on one those that will be negotiating and the entire
Cabinet behind them to do everything that these negotiations lead
to peace, and on the other hand with just as much devotion and as
much sincerity and as much realism to see that we are prepared if
and when the shooting begins again. If you accept that, and believe
me there is not one word of exaggeration in this, then when there

A-12

is a possibility after long negotiations of getting this stuff over here, God forbid that we should create a vacuum because we haven't the money to pay for it.

And I hate to tell you how much these pleasures cost. It's heartebreaking. Because we always think, my God what we could have done with this country with this money. What we could have built! What problems we could have solved here! Jews have been in terrible dangerous situations throughout history.

Most of the time, money could not save them. Why? Only with money you can't win wars. You need people and you need a base and thank God that we are living in a period where we have a base and we have people. After you've seen not only the Army—and believe me the boys and girls in the Army are fantastic. Everytime I see one of them, no matter what he does, I feel so small. And I know what some of them do, I know to what most

of them want to volunteer. There are some services for which only volunteers are accepted. And the problem of our Army is not how to get people to volunteer. The problem of our Army is how to pick the people from all those that volunteer.

Not the easiest jobs, not the safest jobs. So we have these, we have a base, we have this people. You've seen them in Kfar Ruppin. What can you expect more of a people? Each family could have picked itself up and not go to the United States — simply go to Tel Aviv. It's safer in Tel Aviv than in Kfar Ruppin. And no one budges.

What else can you expect? This is the people, this is the land. These are its children. These are its soldiers. And we still have to fight for our lives and for our peace but we don't run. And we don't want anybody to protect us, not even senator Fulbright.

We want the possibility of protecting ourselves if necessary —
protectable borders and the wherewithal to protect ourselves.

That's all. So the United States Government is a friendly government and the President is a friendly president and there are
many people in the world that love us and are sorry for us when
they think that we're to be thrown into the sea and the day afterwards they say "Uh-huh. So they weren't thrown into the sea! Well
now, what are they doing? Occupied territories and — what is
this?" And we have you. There's the people of Israel and there
are you. That's a lot. That's an awful lot.

If we're together, and we've been together— with some of you for decades; with some of you never so much as after the Six Day War. And what you've done in the Six Day War and what some of you have done way back in '48.

There's a young man here who says, "I hear you're talking about '48, '49 - I only heard stories of that when I was a child."

But here he is. His children will no more because his children will tellthem about it what he is doing now. And I hope that has children will now be hersing about war in Israel. This is it. together we have to gight for peace. Together we have to see to it that the missiles an the other side of the Canal are removed. You're going back to your country. You have to make your voices heard. I'm not saying that you should make demostrations against your Government or against your President, but that shayfeel that this would (?) the Israelis feel that it spells a terrible danger for them. We did not consent to a one sided cease-fire. Both sides are obligated to respect the cease fire. What they have done is against this agreement, they have to remove it and the Americans are responsible for it. You have to make your voices heard and to tell whomever you can tell to what the Israelis expect and what they're worried about. And then there is something that only you can do. I know that you can't give us money to buy arms, but we're spending a lot of money for many other things. We have now levied heavier taxes on our people. I don't feel sorry for them, I advise you not to feel sorry for them. Never mind, that we can take. We've had worse times. And if necessary there'll be more taxes. That's not the problem. The problem is that they're not taxed in dollars and Israel pounds are wonderful but your Government won't accept them in payment for Phantoms and other things.

We need you with us at this time as you never were before and you were wonderful before but you must be much more wonderful at this hour. I hope that next time you come we'll speak of everything else but not of war and not of arms. But you are realists just as we are, and as long as it is necessary, if we pool together we will reach peace. If we're prepared and if we're strong.

Again, I want to thank you very, very much and I want to take this opportunity at the end, where is she ?, I went Lou Kedar, everything that was a doc tonight was due to her, as many good things

that she does 20 hours a day with me. She's called my personal assistant but she's almost my boss, telling me what I should do and what I shouldn't do. And when I listen to her advice it's always the right thing to do. So thank you very much.



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Near-Disaster in Mideast

Despite a near-tragedy of errors that almost derailed the most hopeful Mideast peace effort since the 1967 war, it now appears that the cease-fire will hold and that talks will open soon — the overriding consideration.

But, two weeks after the fighting along the Suez halted, it is evident that Egypt has achieved an important military advantage and that Washington has responded to Israel's legitimate protests in a less-than-creditable fashion. Not one of the parties has covered itself with glory. But the performance of the United States, in the first test of its crucial role as guarantor of the military balance, raises serious questions about its ability to bring to fruition the imaginative initiatives it set in motion.

In private assurances and in a news conference statement July 31, President Nixon told Israel it could agree to the standstill cease-fire "without fear" that it would "run the risk of having a military build-up occur" on the Egyptian side of the Suez Canal.

This pledge was based, in part, on American warnings to Moscow and Cairo that it would regard gravely the movement, under cover of the truce, of Soviet-built antiaircraft missiles to sites so close to the canal that they could be used to shield Egyptian cross-canal invaders from counterattack by Israeli planes. Some Soviet assurance came back that no such movement would be made if both sides accepted the American proposal for talks and a ninety-day standstill.

Prior to the cease-fire, 72 consecutive days of intensive Israeli air bombardment—culminating in the dropping of 1,200 bombs on Aug. 7, the last day of hostilities — had thwarted all Egyptian efforts to move SAM-2 batteries into the critical zone eighteen miles or closer to the canal.

Today twelve to fifteen Egyptian-manned SAM-2 batteries are sited in that zone. Most of these highly mobile missiles are believed to have been moved in during the night of Aug. 7-8, after which the cease-fire made them immune to Israeli attack. Whether they arrived before or after the midnight deadline, it is plain that the work of installing them and fortifying the sites continued—in violation of the standstill—in the following days.

American and Israeli Intelligence failures both contributed to the ensuing contretemps, but the critical failures were American. Strangely, neither country took any aerial photographs of the cease-fire zone on Aug. 8. More important, no American U-2 photos had been taken on the eve of the cease-fire, thus ruling out any clear basis of comparison with post-truce photos

Despite warnings from experts weeks ahead that proof of violations would be difficult, Washington gave Israel firm assurances about enforcing the truce. Israel, recognizing the risk, pressed for the cease-fire to take effect in daylight hours on Aug. 7. But midnight was agreed to, under American pressure.

When the Egyptian build-up was detected two days later, Washington first expressed doubt that a cease-fire violation had occurred, then implied that the Israelis were trying to block negotiations and finally stated on the record that "some evidence" of violations existed but that it was not conclusive.

Meanwhile, conceding privately that Egypt had taken serious military advantage of the cease-fire, Washington is shipping Israel air-ground missiles and other antimissile site weapons and electronics similar to those the United States has used effectively against SAM-2 sites in North Vietnam. What is not clear at this point is whether any effort is being made to hold Cairo or Moscow to their pledges before the cease-fire.

Israel understandably now fears American "peace at any price" tactics when substantive issues come up in negotiations with the Arabs. A settlement is vital. But a return to the pre-1967 conditions that brought war would be disastrous. The fumbles of recent days suggest that such a disaster—or failure in the negotiations — could eventuate unless all parties to the truce strictly adhere to the cease-fire commitment.

AMERIC ARC

הסוכנות היהודית לא"י THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL

Needs Budget for 1971/72 צרכים בשנת החקציב

(\$ 1000-1)

	1971/72	1970/71	
GRAND TOTAL	601,713	356,397	ס"ה כללי
Immigration and Absorption	50.743	42,758	עליה וקליטה
Social Welfare Services	40,857	25,171	סרותי סעד
Health Services	72,000	37,714	שרותי בריאות
Employment	10,857	2.000	תעסוקה
Housing	178,571	108,000	סיכון עולים
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements	41,914	37,245	התיסבות
Youth Aliyah	7,486	6,600	עלית הנוער
Education	69,286	4,857	חנוך
Higher Learning	80,000	60,543	למוד גבוה
Debt Services	38,171	21,943	סלוק חובות
General Administration	3,771	3,086	אדמיניסטרציה כללית
Comptroller's Office	243	194	המסרד לבקורת
Pensions	2,571	2,200	פנסיות
Reserve	5,243	4,086	רזרבה



THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL הסוכנות היהודית לא"י NEEDS BUDGET FOR 1971/72 צרכים בשנת התקציב

(\$1,000=)

IMMIGRATION & ABSORPTION	50,743	עליה וקליסה
Servicing of Immigrants	5,800	הכנות לעליה
Documentation and Related expense	es _{13,428}	תיעוד והוצאות מיוחדות
Transportation	9,429	הסעת עולים ומטענים
Initial Care of Immigrants and Financial Aid	14,429	קליטה ראשונה וסיוע כספי
Ulpanim, Hostels and Absorption Centres	7,371	אולפנים, מעונות ומרכזי EWIS אולפנים, מעונות קליטה
Head Office A	286	המשרד הראשי
Social Welfare Services	40.857	שרותי סעד
General Assistance	4,571	שרותים כלליים
Relief Payments	18,000	מכסות סעד
Old Age Grants	13,429	מענקי זקנה
Building Homes for Handicapped	4,857	בנית מוסדות למפגרים
Health Services	72,000	שרותי בריאות
Hospitalization of General cases	11,714	אספוז כללי
Hospitalization of Mental cases	6,571	אשפוז חולי נפש
Ambulatory Treatment	20,000	טפול אמבולטורי
Health Insurance	1,143	בטוח רפואי
Treatment of Chronic cases	1,714	טפול בחולים כרוניים
Allocations to Hospitals	8,000	תמיכות לבתי חולים
Building of Hospitals	22,858	בנית בתי חולים
Employment	10,857	ת ע ס ו ק ה
Sheltered Workshops for Elderly and Handicapped (Hamshakem)	4,285	תעסוקה לקשישים ומוגבלים (המשקם)
Vocational Training	6.572	הכשרה מקצועית

Housing	178,571	שכון
(includes housing for young couples and slum clearance)		(כולל שכון לזוגות צעירים וחסול משכנות עוני)
Absorption in Agricultural Settlements	41,914	התישבות חקלאית
Youth Aliyah	7,486	עלית הנוער
Education	69,286	חנור
Scholarships for Secondary Sch	001s ₄₄ ,858	שכר למוד מודרג HSIWE
Pre Kindergartens	6,571	V F S גני ילדים טרום חובה
Meals in Schools	2,857	הזנה בבתי ספר
Care of Children	8,000	סדור ילדים במוסדות
Ctudent Authoritus	5,714	מינהל הסטודנטים
Student Authority	2,114	3 52 1100H 7H3 2
Allocations to Institutions	1,286	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות
		77
Allocations to Institutions	1,286	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות
Allocations to Institutions Higher Learning	1,286 80,000	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות חנוך גבוה
Allocations to Institutions Higher Learning Debt Services	1,286 80,000 38,171	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות ח <u>נוך גבוה</u> סלוק חובות
Allocations to Institutions Higher Learning Debt Services General Administration	38,171 3,771	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות חנוך גבוה סלוק חובות אדמיניסטרציה כללית
Allocations to Institutions Higher Learning Debt Services General Administration Comptroller's Office	1,286 80,000 38,171 3,771 243	הקצבות למוסדות חנוך ותרבות חנוך גבוה סלוק חובות אדמיניסטרציה כללית המשרד לבקורת

Aircrafts:

Ouragan 0.2 million dollars
Mirage 1.3 "

Phantom 3.7 " "

4

Reasons for the recent additions to the defence budget:

- a. On March 1970 Soviet pilots started operational flights in Egypt. The Egyptian army, encouraged by this development, stepped up its ground activities. To meet the new threat several measures were undertaken. These included heavier bombing and shelling of Egyptian positions, strengthening of our fortifications and the improvement of warning systems. Additional exependitures of 300 millions IL were required.
- b. In June the Egyptians and the Soviets moved forward their anti aircraft missiles, and other troops. The direct Soviet involvement forced us to speed up the military preparations, that is, to increase the procurement of aircrafts, anti aircrafts missiles, ammunition, armour, electronic aquipment etc.

The total cost of the increase in equipment and supply is about 625 million dollars, of which about 250 million dollars are payable in the current fiscal year. All together, the rise in the defence budget in 1970/71 is about 1 billion IL.

What are the possible effects of the cease-fire on defence expenditures? Since the Arabs are arming very rapidly, and since hostilities may break out at the end of the cease-fire period (and even before), we must prepare for this contingency.

We therefore, have to:

- (a) Strengthen our fortifications
- (b) Build up inventories of air bombs, heavy and light ammunition, spare parts, etc.
- (c) In general, keep up efforts to build up Israel's Defence Forces to meet the possobility of a renewed all out war.

A cease-fire will become economically meaningful only if it develops into a true peace.

- 6. What if the U.S. government extends sufficient credit to cover the heavy procuremnet cost?

 Generous credit arrangements on the part of the U.S. government will relieve the immediate pressure on Israel's foreign currency resources. However, it adds a heavy burden in the years to come on an economy already heavily in debt (Israel's foreign debt now exceeds 2200 million dollars).
- 7. What is Israel doing to mobilize the economic resources required for the war effort?

In the last year several measures have been undertaken. These included:

- a. Heavy taxes over 30% of Israel's GNP. Consequently, Israel now has the heaviest tax rates.
- b. Voluntary and compulsry bonds at the rate of several hundred millions per year were issued by the Israeli government.
- c. Wages have been partially frozen.
- d. A major portion of the existing industrial capacity has been diverted to war production.
- e. Productive capacity of defence related industries has been rapidly expanded.
- f. Military research and development efforts have been accelerated.
- g. 20% of the Israeli manpower is now directly and indirectly engaged in the war efforts.



1967/8

1968/9

1969/70 (original) 1970/71

Background Information On Defence Expenditures

2 Development of the defence budget:

Year	Defence budget (current prices) million IL	Defence budget as % of GNP	Defence budget as % of Government budget
1965/6	971	8.9	22.1
1966/7	1222 1.2	10.2	25.2 11.4
1967/8	1953 2.0	15.5 16	30.0 35
1968/9	2500 2.7	17.4 19	33.4 42
1969/70	3335 3-3	20.7 21	40-5 Yo
1970/1(original)	(3825) (3.8)	(21.9) (2)	(38.6) 40
1970/1	4848 √	26.5 30	42.6 YS
3. The dollar cost	and sources of direct i	mports for defence was:	
Year	Total Imports million \$	Imports from the USA	Share of USA

46.8

122.5

269.0 385.

3. The causes of the rise in defence expenditures are:

199.1 200

306.2 305

395.0 5\0 735.0

a. The rapid build up of Arab forces as demonstrated in the following table:

	Prior to	At present	Expected in February 1972
Armour	100%	170%	220%
Air force	100%	204%	280%
Artillery	100%	121%	155%

b. Accelerated intensification of front line activities.

Fiscal Year	Total	(million IL)
1967/8	68.1	
1968/9	185.8	
1969/70	488.2	5 /
1970/71	827.8	

c. The rising cost of weapon systems as illustrated bellow:

Tanks	
Sherman	250,000 IL
Centurion	500,000 "
Modern tank	1,000,000 *

40

LIST OF EQUIPMENT -
Instruction for use:
Instructions for use: 1. Not to be given to anyone 1. Not to be put in writing
2. Exact numbers not to be used, in original projectation
3. If pressed, during question period, ask indulgance of audience
not to reveal.
4. If pressed by top lealer aside on grivate individual basis,
tell him me he figures.
AKCIIIVES
Busiz list
24 Phantons
100 SKyhawks
5 helicopters
250 tanks of
150 troop carriers
4 Hank batheries 273
electoris anti-missite equipment
Replacement 115t
15 Phentoms
30 SKyhanks
150 troop causes
24 heavy guns

Meeting in Prime Phinister's Office - 4 P.M. - 19 July 70 - Lanted until 7.85 P.M. - resurred at dinner at her residence - 8 P.M. - 19.30 P.M. Present: Prime Primister; Char, Sofir; Sofhir; Dullyin; Dinstein; Chesa Tsur; Pincus; Dinitz; Herzy; agma; Rivlin - E6, HAF, IB, Rothberg, les Bernstein Presentation. Sofir.

Defence bridget is the component in 1: 1962 - 460 m.
1966 - 150
1970 - 650

Total defence budget, as fresented at 1967 - I 1.25 b. (including #) beginning of budgetary year 1970 - I 1.25 b. (confineed)

Four morths after budgetay year has started we are already discussing a new amount of £ 1 b. Total for the fiscal year will therefore be almost £ 5 b.

Defense is 27-28 % of GRP, including all invisible & inducet costs

Is railis will be asked to do more los will impose this year a few hundred willion more it, since we thou defense is going up \$16. more than anticipated. Tower will be \$1% above \$3000 per month, and very heavy up to that food.



Additional arms are next the years will be 625 (y which 206 is in 2472)

24 Phantons

(00 Skyhewks

5 heliophers

250 tanke

150 troop camers

4 Batteris Hanks

clackrones RICAN IEWISH

Plus: reflecements: 15 Phantons (165t 4) S

30 Skyhewks

150 troop camers

24 heavy guns

Defense bridget for 7422 will begin almost & 5 b., (which will contain fact of this 425 m)

I Loud Know when it Pries more dangerous - in they 1967 or today.
Today we Jack Russians, not only arebs.

Debts by the end of his calendar year will be \$2.5 b. - and by end 1971 at least \$3.0 b.

we need now, in order to get Prough this year and next year, an additional 500-600 m., in order not to weather the reserve position (forwardly effect. \$4000)

Golda

Can the Jewish people afford this wan in not?

we never deemst me would have to find millions on items we got

just last week. (Electronies).

Possibilité y large longtern cuedit ne not good.

Relationship between by compaign and webits is a for twe one. One will keep the other,

AMERICAN IEWISH

IT. Meeting in Lt. Gen. (nes) Tsvi Tsur - 21 July 70

1. The \$625 new handware is during the period of next to months - two fiscal years - until 1 Afr. 72. Breakdown's 500 for approved list; and 125 for replacement test.

- 2. Of This list, tank, Hawks books, trusp carriers, heliphers have been approved folius
 24 Phantoms and 16 Skyhanks, timetable of nihvae delivery has not yet been
 astallished but will be besed in deplomate negotiations. 84 Sky hanks will
 be approved next fiscal year, we believe.
- 3. Re electronis, we don't know what he US. has developed eyenst he S4-3 we don't even know what me need. They are sending various things to try out. Russian missiles cost 100,000 each and they smethers send of 50-60 at a time.

4. Rumans supplied Egypt in last 3 years:

1. 090 h. on ten years well, 2 years gree, 24. interest, 1/3 cut in price.

\$ 1.675 billion

5. In last mee years we bought \$ 1.25 b.

6. By Jan. 72 arales will have tripled heir airforce.

7. I don't think Russian, will attack.

8. most important my is he nake at which he defence budget is granty: (has tripled in few years).

1 Afor 70 defense budget was \$3.8 b.

By so July This has already increased by 1.0 6.

For fiscal 7472 we will submit budget of 5.06. (and it will undoubtedly grow away the fiscal period)

9. We are buying abroad this fixed year (fight the new transactions)

340 m in U.S. and 160 in Europe, but this portion is jetting

more difficult, requiring singsting especially from Otaly - France.

10. Since it is product, all were largerous to buy abroad we must develop our our ability to produce. Before the war, we bright military products and senses in Servel for 2 400 m. Today we are buying I liet b. In next few years we will seach 2 20 b. But this takes a huge infrestructure.

11. Morale - my son is gorry to the army. It is ashamed to go to an ordinary unit. It is trying to get it to a afecial commands unit.



III. Meeting with C/s Havin Barber - 21 July 20 This is our most difficult time since he was We are Chalutzin with the SA-3. Americans mont of help but look Kur how. Sterker in St a few months ogo deleged menufacture of centerinderses. bol lost 5 planes in a few days. (Egyptiens only the shout 4). If They more forward, we will have to destroy he sites it any cost. SA-3 are used to fratest SA-2 in clusters. Sax. (18 July) - we destroyed 3 SA-2 butteries. They fried 60 missiles we lost one flere. We are not transcully fearful as on 30 May 67, when we comed see They were ready to abtack. Ron Peker story - man with a fixure - was given year of to stroly yter commerder was Killed, he puil, give me the squadion. US. want a real political arrangement - but local want canal open without peace. U.S. mont fight Russia, but they will read us everything They have against missiles. of U.S. Russia agree folitically they might fut fressure on as, of not, U.S. will support a strong brack position along he canal. of Russians main thin fromt level of force years tus, we can hold. If they ircuese, I don't know

All this, without contemplating a crossing. I don't think U.S remed like busin to cross. All our efforts now are to freend crossing.

If we con't fly fuely - Copylet & Russia might try a crossing.

II. Meeting with hig. ben. aheron fair - 23 July 70

The SIX-Day War arose out of a Meat to our existence. We had no alternative. It was a black + white situation.

The victory did not change the aret attitude (merely gave is some advantages) - in anot mind, the goal is still there - annihilation, or at best refusal to recognize our existence.

When they couldn't get us to withclow, by photocal means, they tried again physically, by force. In Warch 69 they started attacking again and in May 69 have reportioned the classifice, Raunched the war of attention, waged nearly clong the Canal. This military build-up and fremme was enfected to lead to our forced withdrawel.

We reponded with our his Force - hitting them more and more. It was a foregone conclusion that the Russians would have to come in. But only when we had an aversian airforce, not a French did we really accelerate. This was Dec. Jan 69-70. One Sky hank does not of a Mysteres.

Runians then got inwhold in Egyptian airdefense, weepons systems flus areas. This will shouly bring them to Canal street. (They are not mere yet.) We believe there was tacit Runian American understanding ident defense of Cairo, alexanders a assum than. But when Runian folds aughted an operational role, and missibes were flected close to Canal, Nixon felt he had been balli crossed. This caused his recent strong statements of suffert by mile.

by end of June May brought 12-15 SA-2 botteries (6 launcher each), flux 3.5 SA-3 batteries (4 launchers each - w/h 2 missiles to each launche) into area dose to Canal. Then May also brought Russian planes to airfield close. This nothwork of missible sites and planes is still about so miles west of Carol. What heppens when they more closer? Then we are in trouble.

be went in Three times to hit missile sites - and lost 4 Phendins. We can handle this - but at a terrible cost of men - equipment.

The Rumans are not a little pregnant. Once they took a decision to enter air defence, they will send of their planes to intercept. They make one more after another very gradually. Storely they will more forward with missiles - and when there are no more lorseli planes over the Canal, they will move artillery forward and harmen our ground defences, make it hard for as to retailly cause many casualties - and finally try to cross - even to take only so kin. on east bout is worthwhites

This military fremme will be accompanied by a flatical game. The Russian consume to Rogers will pound positive enough to cause U.S. to premue brack to accept, by chaving some flexibility. America would limited clear-fire; might force decall to accept; small might have to. This is called - "playing the game." We are afrest because during the 90 day case fire, they can broky the missibes forward.

and strength

	Transled Six-Day Wan	Tolay
Egypt-	so fight awayt	To
Syria	45	260
Inda	0 -	40
というない。	95 finter analyt	850 fight wingt
	AMERICAN JEWISH	
Espt	30. RCHIVES	1600
Squir	3500 0 0 0 0 0	1000 (mot deplayed 1000 (between Intrastus
John	(00	450
	750 tank	3050 tents
Tanai	BIGGER TO PUBLISHED	400 (located in Jordan)
Tragii		3450
CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	The state of the s	

Egyft has 12-1 manformer superiority; and 24-1 artillery superior along Carrel

sum-up

- 1. acute danger + putter day Canal fighty Russia
- 2. tedageen carry on even me externe.
- 3. By military build-up in Syra + Jordan
- 4. Hardule we can get but always morey puller
- 5. Minimum settlement terms; Sharm, plus a line to the north

military presence in Gaze - along Jordan Pines

AMERICALAN JEWISH

6. Morde - I pegle feel that the government is making every reasonable effort to find peace, and can't pegle will have high morele, and will entitude to accept war, tite, etc.

I. Meeting with they be author 23 July 70

We have an answer + the S-2; no answer to the S-3.

The americans have no answer either but are the most advanced in our thinkedge of the characteristics of this missile. The U.S. is noting head to find a studion be cannot combat a fully specifical Runian air defense live along entire card. Only a matter of time before me tangle with Runian pilots. They are of theorem - only 70 Km. from front line.

Victorium short 6500 missiles in 3 years.

VI. Weeting with anahun agam, Dir Gen, history of Finance 43 July 70
Grif fr 1970 mill be If 17.5 6.
70/71 Defense Bulget
t supplement .500 (to be advanced us. 71/22)
4.325
+ additional 1.025 (will be written into budget, due to increased needs)
A 5.350
+ indirect
5,700 (or 5.2 of your don't count me constantly soon above)
Even 5,2 as 10 g GNP - 30%.
These figures are as of 30 July 70 - 4 months I current fiscal year.
lyth & months still to go, Trese figures could go even higher.
X 6 X C C C I + 1 X L
2) Foreign Cernency Component of Defense of original 70/71 Defense budget of £ 3.825 b frequencing was 570 m. of additional & 1.025 b will be 206
A ellitered to 1015 to - will be 201
716
Indirect (in I ocal production for defence requiring freign currency 104
* 820 m.
CAO MI

3.) Futue Bu	get preferre		
	1970/71	1871/22	
original	3.825	4.200	
additional	500	500	
	4.325	5.200	
Seplement	1.025	300 - ? can't fredict	20
indirect	AMSSOIC	AN JEWISY00	
	5.700	H 1 5.900	
	0 0 0	0 0 0 0	
If one	fm 71/72	rises from It 17.5 6. to It 19.0 b.	
defens	e will be more	e men 30% - and affending what	
The second secon		ment could pen be as high as 35%	
10	15		
	172		
4.) Defense es 20	4 Tax Revenu	u (roughly)	
	69/70	70/71	
fax revenue :		5.8	
defense	3.4	5.2	
	80%	90%	
	0-70		

52) TOTAL BUDGET In If billion					
		69/70			70/11
		INcome		Exper	
Defense		4	Tax Revenue	2.5	5.8
welfare services	1.6	3	Internal loans	1.7	3,7
(development)	1.6	1.2	External loans	1.6	1.5
other services	,3			. 6	
Delt service	1.3	AME	RICAN	JEWIS!	
	8.2	18.2	CH	FIL, o	11.0
HARL OF	SE WE	-		777	
			F S S		
6.) Foreign anneney Problem					
6.) Foreign Currency Problem Foreign currency required fraguehases # 625 m.					
Antifated defect, after all foreign current mome					
		ated and acc			300
		Known	requiremen	t	825
			0		
	any may 1	len will	advergely.	effect, and even	tuelly
	wife our	t, freign	converg s	esewer (410 m	tuelly . is of 30 July 70)

might pave too m. in 90 days if all function are quiet ie we work save morey, but smill build strets. Un we are estin aliearly developing