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Kansas City, Mo. speech. 18 January 1960.

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RABBI FRIEDMAN IN KANSAS CITY, JANUARY 18, 1960

Many of you have asked what I thought of the weird manifestation of anti-Semitism now sweeping the world.

I shall attempt to answer your question briefly.

One can look at these ugly incidents in one of two ways. These episodes are either disconnected sporadic contagious acts of individuals, or well-organized centrally directed efforts.

In the first instance, we may assume that misdeeds of a hoodlum or an irresponsible demagogue in one place were copied by another hoodlum or crank in another place.

Social misbehavior is contagious. And since the "good earth" abounds with delinquents and fools, we are witnessing a crazy pattern of anti-Semitic demonstrations popping up in every corner of the globe.

It is one hypothesis.

The other presumes the existence of a central anti-Jewish source, backed with funds that enabled it to plan, launch and coordinate the "outbreaks" of anti-Semitism currently sweeping the Universe.

I do not know which of the two hypotheses is correct, and I am not alone. Some people say that these episodes are unrelated and unconnected. If something happens in Antwerp, something happens in Stockholm, in Sydney and in Phoenix, where I was yesterday.

All we must do, is to remain alert and vigilant, and make sure that nothing happens in Kansas City or in Dallas or Duluth or in Denver. If it does happen, however, call the proper authorities immediately. I do know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States of America has already been called in on more than half a dozen cases and is cooperating with speed, effectiveness and obvious concern. If these incidents are acts of disgruntled individuals, then we can hope

it will die out as quickly as it flared up. If, however, it is an organized and coordinated scheme, then we are obviously faced with a much more serious problem than simply disparate and disconnected events.

It has been suggested that these acts emanate from Cairo under the sponsorship of a man by the name of Joachim Van Leer, and I should like each of you to remember the name of this "ex-Nazi", who with 200 others of his kind is now living in Egypt. If it's true that the hard core of Nazi fanatics prompted the present outbreak of anti-Semitism, then we are dealing with a vicious, revengeful, conspiracy of Hitlerites "in exile."

We will have to wait for time to tell us what the answer is to either one of these two propositions. We need not wait however, in order to urge that two things be done.

No. 1 -- Governments everywhere should quickly and clearly and cleanly state abhorance of these events as the government of West Germany has done. I make no apologies for West Germany. This thing started in Cologne on Christmas Day. It started out of the seeds which gave rise to the tragedy of our generation.

I can't speak for the people in West Germany or even for their government. I do know about the chancellor. Mr. Adenaur is a pious Catholic. Next to his office in Bonn he has a private chapel. Each morning he says mass at 7:00. It is not a front. It is not hypocritical; it is serious, honest. This is the act of a man who at 84 need put on no pose or posture. When the Cabinet of the West German Republic last Sunday considered this question, stated its position, it did so in an obvious effort to try to stamp out in its own country this maniacal conduct. Only one other government on the face of this earth has met as a governing body to discuss the issue of anti-Jewish incidents, and that was the Government of Israel.

I would suggest very humbly that the Cabinet of the United States spends a few moments on this question, expressing the shock of the Government of the United States that these things could take place upon our soil.

The second step, I believe, could be made quickly by all the great church groups of America in emulating the example of the United Lutheran Church which, a few days ago, met in formal conclave and stated its position in pristine, simple but moving words, mainly that Christianity is the derivative of Judaism, and when you insult the Father, you insult the Son. It need be no more complex than that -- a simple thing that can go deep into the hearts of people. It must not be only the United Lutheran Church of America that raises its voice. For that matter, it should be every organized Church group in the United States and all over the world where Christianity prevails as the dominant religion. The leaders of the moral force of mankind should state clearly what they feel about the ugly acts.

These two measures -- governments condemnation, and churches condemnation -- will go far to stamp out anti-Jewish manifestations.

If it is a misbehavior of delinquents and hoodlums, gangsters and sensation-seekers; - the mania will die out as quickly as did the hula hoop. But if it is serious, then all the more reason for the government and the church to speak out against it. For if its serious -- then you and I are faced with a proposition similar to that of 1933. However, I must point out a significant difference between now and then.

In 1933 we did not understand the seriousness of modern anti-Semitism, -- and we do understand it in 1960. And while you and I did very little about this in 1933, we laughed at the one man, Rabbi Steven Wise, who walked down Fifth Avenue, at the head of a group of people, in protest -- and we told him that he was doing something wrong and dangerous. We were slow to awaken then -- we have no right to be slow in awakening now -- especially if this is a worldwide coordinated plot. It is all I can tell you, because its all I know.

I do believe that each of us need simply be alert, cautious. Wild and extravagant statements are obviously not in order -- and the leaders of the major Jewish organizations have been very statesmanlike in not rushing into the press with the first ideas that come to their mind. -- Hysteria is certainly not called for; there is no need for panic.

What is required is cautious, alertness, dilligent attention with a steely, firm resolve inside every one of us that if the incident mushroom into something important we will act concertedly and quickly and without hesitation; and with that, we can let it rest.

Now I would like to talk about the matters that I am more qualified to deal with about. Someone said -- [I'm not sure if it was Ben or somebody in the introduction] -- that the good thing about 1960 is that we stand, perhaps, at a moment of transition in our approach to our international problems. Transition in the sense that we have, for many years, been operating under the gun -- of crisis after crisis, emergency after emergency, and that under the impetus and the stimulus of this kind of external event, we've hardly had time to analyse what our "long run" position is. Stop to think of what happened in the last few short years -- the heavy Fedayeen raids in Israel in which the borders were not safe or secure; the constant infiltrations and the murders there followed by the retaliation raids conducted by Israel against her neighbors; and on all the inflamed borders of the world; the Hungarian revolt breaking out, and her people running across.

I'll never forget standing on that bridge at Andow on a cold winter day -- as 1956 let into 1957 -- watching the wraith-like figures coming thru the fog.

Egypt throwing out her Jews -- I stood on the dock in Naples on January 1, 1957, and met the first ship that came in -- 1,000 people -- the little red cross flag flying and a french-speaking red cross official acting as the front man for us, bringing one by one the tragic and broken figures of men and women who'd lived all their lives and were now thrown out;

The war itself in Israel, the Sinai campaign, standing there as I did, watching the troops going out on parachute drops,

And people trying to get out of Morocco, and people trying to get out of Persia,

And then the gates of Rumania opening and then closing, and then Jews pouring from Russia into Poland and coming out of Poland in streams down through Vienna over to Naples and through Trieste and through Belgrade.

Through me, your surrogate, you have stood in a dozen danger places on this inflamed globe in the last half decade, and you've tried to pick up the tragedies of people who were put through crisis and torment, torture and difficulty, and all the indignities of psychological fear and deprivation that causes men to wonder whether they live on a civilized planet or whether they live in a beastly jungle. This is a half decade which we've come through and if we've talked to you about crisis or emergency or pressures it is because we've had no choice.

History has dealt us the cards this way. Now, for this seemingly brief and fleeting moment, we have the eerie sensation of standing in a quiet day. As we look at the horizon, it seems, somehow, as though nowhere, there is a fire burning, and with this precious moment of respite, this breathing spell, we must work very quickly to analyze where we stand. Because I can promise you as sure as you and I are together in this beautiful room that before 1960 is gone and away in the past, you and I will be talking again about great and burning issues which will flare up, I promise you that.

In a moment of quiet, you can cast your eyes back and you can get a new prospective. Therefore, seize this moment with me, and let us see where we stand. What exactly have we been trying to do?

What we've tried to do is a two-fold job. We've tried to rescue the people of Israel so it could receive the people. This is the unbreakable link between the land and people. We're living through a century of migration. Your parents and mine came to these shores at the beginning of the 20th century. Our children may leave these shores in space ships long before the end of the 20th century. I'm firmly convinced they will. This is one of the most incredible, hundred-year periods that the whole mankind and the whole Jewish people has ever lived thru. 3,000,000 of us gushed out of Eastern Europe: Poland, Russia, Hungary, Rumania. I call them all the same, came here. In a short 40 or 50 years five and a half million of us live in this country, in circumstances of a golden age, under the most benevolent democracy that man has ever created. Probably both the fate of America and our own fate are linked with each other.

And in the middle of that same period of fruition and growth and building accumulation of money and power and freedom and ease and education and health -- in the middle of that, 6,000,000 of us were done to death. And after all these ashes settled, and the smoke evaporated, a frantic period of running, running, running, running, on the face of the globe continued of which this Cyprus thing is a speck. I was in Cyprus. I was in Nicossea, Caralp, all the camps where we had our people. It wasn't only Cyprus. There were 65 camps in Germany and Austria where I served for two years. There were 20 camps in Italy. There were camps on the littoral of the Meditterrian and North Africa. There were camps and camps and people moving and we have lived on trains and planes and boats and ox carts.

It has been a century of migration. Your parents and mine migrated freely. For a decade and a half now your contempories and mine have migrated not freely but under duress and compulsion.

But a migration must come to an end. The rescuing of our people from oppression and discrimination will be completed when we have finally taken all those who want to or have to leave their present residence now and go to the new land of resettlement.

The new land of resettlement has been in the main Israel. I must say, that with funds you've given, many hundreds of thousands have been resettled in other free lands: Canada, Australia, South America, United States. We've taken almost one million people into Israel in 11 and a half years. In these first 11 and a half years we've taken there almost one million people and we've taken elsewhere another 200,000. What a geourous rescue from the jaws of death.

There are some 800,000 Jews whom we must resettle. Obviously, they do not include the Jews of the Soviet Union, concerning whom I could talk to you for many hours, but concerning whom I have nothing good to say. Their future is indeed dark. As we calculated Jews in areas of danger or difficulty or oppression or spiritual suffication there are on the face of the whole globe no more than 800,000. You can see how far we've come along the path of solving this question. And I include in that all of North Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria. - all of Asia, Persia, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Kabul, - all the queer

corners of the exotic places of this earth, - where there are little remnants of Jews who yearn to go to one place where they'll be free. And I include in this all of the Jews living in satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Czechoslovakia. All told, 800,000 people and if everyone of them were able to leave, if everyone of them wanted to leave, if everyone of them could leave (and not everyone of them is able to or wants to or can) we would have a maximum problem on our hands of 800,000 more people.

In this great century of migration, and we've already handled a million four hundred thousand. So we're two thirds of the way home. And you and I must have a clear and firm determination whether there is a crisis or whether there is no crisis, whether something burns in the headlines or whether nothing burns and its quiet; You and I must have burned into our hearts and souls the fact that if we have taken so far a million four hundred thousand of our brethren, these 800,000 still left and waiting, are no less worthy. And any man who tires when the job is still only two-thirds done is an ignoble son of his people.

There is no doubt in my mind, I am thoroughly convinced, I know you well in all your multitudes of millions around this America for I see you in every city. I know you well: you will not tire. You will go with this to the day when I will come to you and say: every Jew is at peace and rest, there is no more migration to be done. And we will have finished with that one item on the agenda.

The second item on our agenda with which I think we will also be finished in not too many years to come, is the item of bringing help, succor and assistance to Jews in countries from which they cannot move or will not move.

Harry, I think it was somebody read in his paper about the boy in Morocco (its now 5:00 in the morning there), who will awake in a few hours and will go to school and get his one hot lunch. We feed 30,000 children in Morocco, the only hot meal they eat during the day. 30,000 children. Every day of every month of every year, for ten years now, for ten more if we have to. 25 countries on the face of this earth receive administering care and help through the JDC of the monies that you pour

into the treasury. And we shall not stop this until there is no Jew anywhere who is in need of anything.

I believe that will come to an end too because as the process of migration works its way out, the process of providing relief and help in a given country also works its way out.

The third, the big item on the agenda, is the building of the land. When I said that we are obligated to rescue every son of Israel and also are obligated to build the land of Israel to receive them.

The building of the land of Israel is the issue which takes the most gigantic vision and the most incredible strength and the greatest patience. For this requires our constant on-going love and affection and intellectual comprehension until that day comes also when I will come to you and say "she needs nothing any more." Even after that happens, by the way, we will conduct one last campaign, namely to pay off all the banks.

That is the day that Mr. Eshkol, the Secretary of the Treasury of Israel calls "Messai plus one". What exactly is the problem in this Israel?

Are we two-thirds of the way home, there, one third of the way, half the way, no way? Well, here we are with this. A million people. We have a simple criterion by which we judge when a man no longer needs help, and when he's on his own feet. I think you'll agree with it. When he doesn't need any more money from the relief rolls but when he begins to pay his own taxes in Israel, that means he's on his own feet to the extent that he's making his own living. And then he switches from the relief roll to the tax roll, we're through with him. We want it to happen quickly and so does he.

Two-thirds of these million people we brought into Israel in the last 11½ years are on the tax rolls, good, eh? One third of the way to go. It is, of course, without new immigrants. If for the moment we were to stop the clock and say there would be no more immigration to Israel, what will our problem be at the moment? It would be one of some 350,000 persons there, whom we have brought to Israel. Now never forget this.

We brought them. We're responsible for them -- nobody else. Israel has been our dumping-ground for our Jewish conscience. Israel could very well have said no. Bigger countries said no. Equally humanitarian countries have said no. The United States has said no, "You can't come into the United States if you have Tuberculosis, present or past." Israel has never said "no" to anybody -- sick, one leg, no legs, TB, trachoma, blind, epileptic, 82 years old, 2 months old, it doesn't make any difference; Israel says very simply "Ladies and gentlemen of the Jewish world, If you want to help rescue and save the oppressed of the country for which 600,000 of us fought, (hebrew word) please do." Our door is open. Exploit us. Dump your refuse into us, take Hungarian Jews who don't want to come here.

I stress this because you and I are morally responsible for bringing immigrants into Israel. They have operated with a heroic grandeur of the ancient Jewish tradition of loving sons and loving neighbors by saying "Our door is open." But we have been the initiators -- we have been the activists -- we have been the "committees", we've committed ourselves.

Now we've told these 350,000 people that they could go to Israel, and we would take them, we'd support them, we would help them. And these 350,000 people are living in Israel, today, either without houses, or without jobs. Or without farms, or without schoolrooms for the children, or without the requisite number of hospital beds per thousand of population. Or -- and I could go on listing the numerous "withouts" --

Now I've given you a picture of contrast. We have done a magnificent job in 11 1/2 years of taking care of people in 25 countries, of taking care of the crisis and the emergency, and even of managing to absorb 2 out of every 3 refugees in Israel. The inadequacy of the job has been that our absorption process has lagged by this 1 out of 3. We want to give these people houses. A house is 240 square feet. That's what we do. How big's your kitchen? We put six people in the 240 square feet. A little red tile roof and white slab, and that's better than living in a tent or a tin hut or a canvas shack. We've got 60,000 people living in impossible conditions for 5, 6, 7 years. They've waited long enough. If we have got this breathing spell,

When we have to, we must, build houses for them.

We have put people on farms and they did not want to go on farms; -- let's not deceive ourselves -- you wouldn't either. If you were thrown out of Kansas City and you wound up somewhere in some strange part of the earth, and by past experience you are an urbanite, you would be in a predicament. You don't know how to go out and pick cotton, and plant potatoes, and neither do I. And neither do they, these Jews from Warsaw and from Berlin and from Vienna. And when they are out there on those bloody, blistering hot farms, and they're willing to do it. And we? We don't provide the cow, or the tractor, or the irrigation, or the electric power or the many other important items badly needed to make that farm work. -- We are inadequate.

I don't think that it's necessary for us to say (hebrew word) more than this. We're not inadequate because we want to be. I think once we understand a problem, we rise to it. And I think if you understand this problem you'll rise to this campaign in 1960 and the campaigns of 61 and 62 and 63 -- and slowly, but surely, we will clean out these pockets of slums and defficient farms and all the breeding places of vice and juvenile delinquency -- none of which we want to see in that blessed land. And if we go at this with dilligence and with understanding, and with heart and with head -- then in 2,3,4 years we'll clean up this whole backlog of the "unabsorbed one-third" of the present refugee population -- and we will, at the same time, try to keep up with the new refugee influx, as it will inevitably occur, we will not fall behind again.

There is one danger in the course of these next few years I should like to point out to you -- because I am appealing now very much to your intellectual comprehension of the whole picture.

Certain sources of income that we have will dry up in the next few years. The reparations that the German government has been paying at the rate of \$57,000,000 per year, will cease in three more years. This will leave a big gap. State of Israel Bonds which have been sold and which are extant in the hands of purchasers to the tune of \$400,000,000 -- everybody in this room holds them -- will come due in 1963.

Or (if there are any 10-year bond purchasers here) -- in 1961 -- next year. It hardly seems possible that Israel began floating her bonds 10 years ago -- sold her first ones in 1951. Israel will have to start paying them back in 1961, or, if they're 12 year bonds, in 1963. From that time on Israel would have to meet its financial obligations.

It's quite clear that unless you and I want to check out of this whole picture, you and I must maintain our standards of giving, vigilance, belief, conviction, dedication, and patience for the next -- now don't pin me down -- for the next, well, we've been at it for eleven and a half -- since Israel's been born -- we've been at it 22 years, this is the 22nd campaign of the UJA -- for 10 years before Israel was born...Let me make you this promise -- it would not be 22 more years. That I promise you. Will it be 18, will it be 7 -- I do not know -- I just know this -- in the midst of a world which has seemed so cruel sometimes, and so purposeless, to quote George Kennan -- so stupid and so silly, so filled with killing and blood and pain -- and a world in which man sometimes seems so frantically eager to try to run away from the planet of his birth -- to find more peaceful life, maybe, out there among the stars -- In a world in which we seem torn, and twisted, and ridden and beaten by all kinds of pressures and influences on us -- in this funny, crazy, coked world, you and I can have this much pleasure.

People are alive who would not be except for us. Israel is here, and it would not be except for our help. The future lies in our own hands, and 20 years ago, others slew us and we had nothing to say about it. They cannot any more.

In a crazy world don't these things seem to be priceless diamonds which we carved out for ourselves. By God, what we have done. We have taken Jewish destiny into our own hands. We have said they shall build a state there that shall be a model for mankind and the young nations of Asia and Africa go there to learn. At the Hebrew University every day there are hundreds of people from Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Burma. The little people, the disinfranchised, the weak, the newly emancipated nations go to Israel, for they have the feeling and the instinct at their

fingers that the old words of the Bible are true, and that Torah, (Torah means
Torah
science and learning, and knowledge and morality)/comes from Zion.

While they may never have read the Bible, while they may never have heard that phrase, but deep down in their hearts men yearn for something better on this earth. And they know that now they can go to certain places on the globe and find that "better." And they look to Israel, as the source of that better. What's it worth? Was it worthwhile for us to work hard?

It is worth all the money that we've ever given or will give and all we need do is take that home with us in the midst of all this turmoil. Take him, the seeking man, with you. And when you are alone in the still of the night, and as you give yourself to the silent thought, at this unique moment, when man is capable of creating goodness, he makes himself like an angel.

That you have done.

That you can do.

That you will continue to do.

Year after year. And as you do, your children and mine will come to us some day and say "Okay, good. Pop, you did a good job in your life."

What's that worth? ---

Thank you very much.

RABBI FRIEDMAN IN KANSAS CITY, JAN. 18, 1960

When a certain mood ~~comes~~ over a group, as the mood has obviously come over you, from this simple, as it was described to us, but meaningful presentation, words following that will seem rather flat.

All of us have been swept up in the incredibly powerful drama ~~of~~ of which these few scenes merely evoked a memory. And all of us are terribly aware at the moment that in the womb of history there is more drama being created. It was not my purpose to talk tonight, for it's not without my purview, function or competence to make any comments upon or analysis of the weird manifestations of anti-semitism which ~~is~~ ^{are} sweeping the world.

So many of you however have asked what I thought of this that I shall take two minutes to say what I think of it and then dismiss it, to go on to the major themes which I should like to discuss.

One must look ~~at~~ this in one of two ways. These episodes are either disconnected, sporadic, contagious, one hoodlum or one irresponsible demagogue in one place copying that which another man does in another place. With no more meaning than that, namely a crazy quilt pattern popping up in every face on this globe; or one must view this as a coordinated organized, planned scheme emanating from one central source backed by ~~fund~~ funds which enable it to sweep the globe.

I don't know which one of the two ~~is~~ is the right answer to give you. I don't think anybody does. There are those who say that these episodes are unrelated and disconnected. If something happens in Antwerp, something happens in Stockholm and something happens in Sydney, and something happens in Phoenix, where I was yesterday.

And that all that we must do is remain alert and vigilant and make sure that nothing happens in Kansas City, or, if it does, or in Dallas or Duluth or in Denver, if it does to call the proper authorities immediately. And I do know this, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States of America has already been called in on more than half a dozen cases and is cooperating

with speed, effectiveness and obvious concern. If it is this, then we hope it will die out as quickly as it flared up. If, however, it is some organized, and coordinated scheme, whether it has been suggested emanating from Cairo under the sponsorship of ~~that~~ a man by the name of Johann Vonleer, and I should like each of you to remember that name, an ex-Nazi who with 200 others of his kind are now living in Egypt. If its emanating from that core of finatics, with money as had been suggested by Dr. Goldmann, which was spirited out of Germany in 1945 in the last days of the debacle, then we are obviously faced with something very much more serious than simply ~~disparated~~ and disconnected events.

We will have to wait for time to tell us what the answer is to either one of this two propositions. We need not wait however, in order to urge that two things be done.

No. 1 -- Governments on the face of this earth should quickly and clearly and cleanly state this ~~abhorrence~~ ^{abhorrence} of these events as the government of West Germany has done. I make no apologies for West Germany. This thing started in Cologne on Christmas Day. It obviously started out of the seeds which gave rise to the tragedy of our generation.

I can't speak for the people in West Germany or even for their government I ~~do not~~ know about the chancellor. Mr. Adenaur is a pious Catholic. Next to his office in Bonn he has a private chapel, each morning he says mass at 7:00. This is not a front, this is not hipocratical, this is serious, honest. this is the act of a man who at 84 need put on no pose or posture. When the Cabinet of the West German Republic last Sunday attacked this question, stated its position, it did so in an obvious effort to try to stamp out in its own country this manical conduct. Only one other government on the face of this earth has met as a government, and that was the Government of Israel.

I would suggest very humbly that the Cabinet of the United States would spend profitably some few moments on this question, expressing the shock of the Government of the United States that these things could take place,

upon our continental soil. The second thing that I think could be done quickly is that all of the great, great church groups of America should emulate the example of the United Lutheran Church which, a few days ago, met in formal conclave and stated its position in pristine, simple but moving words, mainly that Christianity is the need derivative of Judaism, and when you insult the Father, you insult the Son. It ~~should~~ be no more complex than that -- a simple thing that can go deeply into the hearts of people. It should^{not}/be only the United Lutheran Church of America that ~~will~~^{should} raise its voice -- it should be every organized Church group in the United States and all over the world for that matter, where Christianity at least prevails as the dominant religion. But the leaders of the moral force of mankind should state how they feel about this. These two things -- governments speaking, and churches speaking -- will go far to stamp this out if it simply is a group of delinquents and hoodlums and gangsters and sensation-seekers: the mania will die out as quickly as did the hula hoop. If it's serious -- then all the more reason that government and church should speak. ~~Two things -- governments speaking and churches speaking -- will~~ For if its serious -- you and I are faced with a proposition with which we were not faced in 1933 because we did not understand it in 1933 -- and we do understand it in 1960. And while you and I did very little about this in 1933, we laughed at the one man who walked down Fifth Avenue -- Rabbi Steven Wise, at the head of a group of people, in protest -- and we told him that he was doing something wrong and dangerous. We were slow to awaken then -- we have no right to be slow to awaken today -- if this is a worldwide coordinated plot. That's all I can tell you, because its all I know. ~~We~~ I think each of us need simply be alert, cautious. Wild and extravagant statements are obviously not in order -- and the leaders of the major Jewish organizations have been very statesmanlike in not rushing into the press with the first ideas off the tops of their heads -- hysteria is certainly not called for; there is no need for panic. What is required is cautious, alert, dilligent attention with a steely, firm resolve inside every one of us that if this thing mushrooms into something important we will act concertedly and quickly and without hesitation, and

with that, we can let it rest.

Now I would like to talk about the things that I am more qualified to talk about. Someone said -- I'm not sure if it was Ben or somebody in the introduction -- that the good thing about 1960 is that we stand, perhaps, at a moment of transition in our approach to our international problems. Transition in the sense that we have, for many years now, been operating under the gun -- of crisis after crisis, emergency after emergency, and that under the impetus and the stimulus of this kind of external event, we've hardly had time to analyze where we stand in the long run. In the last few short years, stop to think of what happened -- the heavy Fedayeen raids in Israel in which the borders were not safe or secure; the constant infiltrations and the murders there which were followed by the retaliation raids which Israel conducted against her neighbors; and on all the inflamed borders of the world; the Hungarian thing breaking out, and the people ~~hr~~ running across; I'll never forget standing on that bridge at And^{over} on a cold winter day -- as 1956 let into 1957 -- watching the wraith-like figures coming thru the fog -- Egypt throwing out her Jews -- I stood on the dock in Naples in Jan. 1st, 1957, and met the first ship that came in -- 1,000 people -- the little Red Cross flag flying and a French-speaking red cross official, acting as the front man for us, bringing one by one the tragic and broken figures of men who'd lived all their lives and were now thrown out; the war itself in Israel, the Sinai campaign, standing there as I did, watching the troops going out on parachute drops, leaving the country finally, during that week of war on a french aircraft that brought me back to the United States -- and people trying to get out of Morocco, and people trying to get out of Persia, and then the gates of Rumania opening and then closing, and then Jews pouring from Russia into Poland/~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ and coming out of Poland in streams down thru Vienna over to Naples and thru Trieste and thru Belgrade and opening camps in Athens and in Pierrevayes, ~~and~~

You thru me, your surrogate, have ~~stared~~ stood in a dozen danger places on this inflamed globe in the last half decade, and you've tried to pick up the pieces of people who were put thru crisis and torment and torture and difficulty, and all the indignities of psychological fear and deprivation that causes men to wonder whether they live on

a civilized planet or whether they live in a beastly jungle. This is a half decade to which we've come and if we've talked to you about crisis or emergency or this pressure, or that pressure, its because we've had no choice. History has dealt us the cards this way. Now, for this seemingly brief and fleeting moment, we have the eerie sensation of standing in a quiet day. It seems, somehow, as though nowhere, as we look at the horizen, is there a fire burning, and with this precious moment of respite, this breathing spell, we must work very quickly to analyze where we stand, because I can promise you as sure as you and I are together in this beautiful room that before 1960 is gone and away in the past, you and I will be talking again about great and burning crisis which will flare up, I promise you that.

Therefore, grab this moment with me, and let's see where we stand, as it looks relatively quiet. What have we been trying to do, exactly? In a moment of quiet, you can cast your eyes back and you can get a new prospective. What we've tried to do is a two-fold job, quite simply. We've tried to rescue the people of Israel wherever they were in trouble, and we've tried to build the land of Israel so it could receive the people. This is the unbreakable link between the land and people. We're living thru a century of migration. Your parents and mind came to these shores at the beginning of the 20th century. Our children may leave these shores in space ships long before the end of the 20th century. I'm firmly convinced they will. This is one of the most incredible, hundred-year periods that the whole mankind and the whole Jewish people has ever lived thru. 3,000,000 of us gushed out of eastern Europe: Poland, Russia, Hungary, Rumania, I call them all the same, came here. In a short 40 or 50 years five and a half million of us live in this country, in circumstances of a golden age, under the most benevolent democracy that man has ever created. Probably both the fate of America and our own fate linked with.

And in the middle of that same period of fruition and growth and ^{building} accumulation of money and power and freedom and ease and education and health -- inside in the middle of that, 6,000,000 of us was done to ~~death~~. And after all those ashes settled, and the smoke evaporated, a frantic period of running, running, running, running on the face of the globe continued of which this Cyprus thing is a speck. I was in Cyprus. I was in ^{Nicosia} Nikrocea, ^{Corallo} Karaoulos, all the camps where we had the people. It

wasn't only Cyprus, it was 65 camps in Germany and Austria in which I served for two years. It was 20 camps in Italy. It was camps on the ^{littoral} ~~littoral~~ of the Mediterranean and North Africa, it was camps and camps and people moving and we have lived on trains and planes and boats and ox carts.

~~For a decade and a half now,~~ this has been a century of migration. Your parents and mine migrated freely. Your contemporaries and mine have migrated not freely but under duress and compulsion.

But a migration must come to an end. The rescuing ^{of} ~~the~~ the people wherever they are and cannot live either as a human beings, or as Jews must and will come to an end when we have finally taken all those who want to or have to leave their places of residence ^{present} ~~now~~ to the new land of resettlement.

The new land of ~~resettlement~~ has been in the main Israel. I must say with the monies you've given, many hundreds of thousands have been resettled in other free lands, Canada, Australia, South America, United States. ^{Bar} We've taken almost one million people into Israel in 11 and a half years. We'll be 12 years old next May. In these first 11 and a half years we've taken ^{their three} ~~in~~ almost 1 million people and we've taken elsewhere on the face of the free globe another ^{2,000,000} 200,000. What a geourous rescue from the jaws of death.

There are if you exclude the Jews of the Soviet Union, concerning whom I could talk to you for many hours, but concerning whom I have ~~nothing~~ good to say. ~~Their~~ future is indeed dark and black. Outside of that category of the shadowy, there are on the face of the whole globe as we calculated Jews in areas of danger of difficulty or oppression or spiritual suffication no more than 600,000. You can see how far we've come along the path of solving this question. And I include in that all of North Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, all of Asia, Persia, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, **Kabul**, all the queer corners of the exotic places of this earth; Where there are little remnants of Jews who yearn to go to one place where they'll be free. And I include in this all of the Jews living in satilite countries behind the Iron Curtain, Poland, Hungry, Roumania,

Czechoslovakia .

~~French~~ All told, 600,000 people and if everyone of them were able to leave, if everyone of them wanted to leave, if everyone of them could leave and not everyone of them is able to or wants to or can , we would have a maximum problem on our hands of 600,000 ~~more~~ people.

In this great century of migration, and we've already handled a million three. So we're two thirds of the way home. And you and I must have a clear and ^{firm} determination whether there is a crisis or whether there is no crisis, whether something burns in the headlines or whether nothing burns and its quiet. You and I must have burned into our hearts and souls the fact that if we have taken so far a million three hundred thousand of our brethren , these 600,000 still left and waiting, are no less worthy. ^{And} ~~and~~ any man who tires when the job is still only two-thirds done is an ignoble son of his people.

There is no doubt in my mind, I am thoroughly convinced, I know you well in all your multitudes of millions around this America for I see you in every city. I know you well, you will not tire. You will go with this to the day when I will come to you and say every Jew is at peace and rest , there is no more migration to be done. And we will have finished with that one item on the agenda.

The second item on our agenda with which I think we will also be finished in not too many years to come. And that's the item of bringing help and succor and assistance to Jews in countries from which they cannot move or will not move.

Harry, I think it was somebody read in his paper about the boy in Morocco its now 5:00 in the morning there, who will awake in a few hours and will go to school and get his one hot lunch. We feed 30,000 children in Morocco, the only meal they eat during the ~~day~~. 30,000 children, we are 500 in this room. Every day of every month of every year, for ten years now, for ten more if we have to. 25 countries on the face of this earth receive administring care and help through the JDC of the monies that your pour into the treasury. And we shall not stop this until there is no Jew anywhere who is in need of

anything.

Well, I think that will come to an end too because as the process of migration works it way out, the process of providing relief and help in a given country also works it way out.

The third, the big thing on the agenda, is the building of the land. When I said that we are obligated to rescue every son of Israel and also obligated to build the land of Israel to receive them.

The building of the land of Israel is the thing which takes the most gigantic vision and the most incredible strength and the greatest patience. For this requires out constant on-going love and affection and intellectual comprehension until that day comes also when I will come to you and say "she's needs nothing any more." Even ~~when~~ ^{after} that happens by the way, we will conduct one last campaign, namely to pay off all the banks.

Secretary of the
That's the day that Mr. Eshkol, the/Tresuryr of Israel calls Messah plus one .
What is the problem exactly in this Israel, are we two-thirds of the way home, there, one third of the way, half the way, no way. Well here we are with this. A million people. We have a simple criterion by which we judge when a man no longer needs help, and when he's on his own feet. I think you'll agree with this. When he doesn't need any more money from the relief rolls but when he begins to pay his own taxes in Israel, that means he's one his own feet to the extent that he's making his own living. And when he switches from the relief roll to the tax roll, we're through with him. We want that quickly and so does he.

~~Two~~-thirds of these million people we brought into Israel in the last Israel in the last $11\frac{1}{2}$ years are on the tax rolls, good, eh. One third of the way to go. Without talking about new immigration. If there were to be no new immigration to Israel, and there will be because I told you there are six hundred thousand more people waiting up to a maximum, without Russia and nobody knows what that will bring. But if for the moment we were to stop the clock and say there would be no more immigration to Israel, what will our problem be at the moment,

It would be one of about 350,000 people there, whom we have brought. Now never forget this. We brought them. We're responsible for them, nobody else. Israel has been our dumping-ground for our Jewish conscience. Israel could very well have said no. Bigger countries said no. Equally humanitarian countries have said no. The United States has said no, 'You can't come into the United States if you have Tuberculosis, present or past.' Israel has never said no to anybody -- sick, one TB, leg, no legs, ~~sick~~, trachoma, blind, epileptic, 82, 2 months, it doesn't make any difference: Israel says very simply 'Gentlemen and ladies of the Jewish world, If you want to help rescue and save and if you want to use our facilities, the country for which 600,000 of us fought, (hebrew word) please do. Our door is open. Exploit us. Dump your refuse into us, take Hungarian Jews who don't want to come here -- and after they sit and they wait for two or three years in camps in Vienna, and no one else will take them on the face of the earth -- if they want to come here, we will take them even though ~~they~~ ^{we} are only their fourth ~~choice~~ or their fifth choice.

I stress this because you and I are morally responsible for bringing immigrants into Israel. They have operated with a heroic grandeur of the ancient Jewish tradition of loving sons and loving neighbors by saying 'Our doors is open.' But we have been the initiators -- we have been the activists -- we have been the committers, we've committed. ~~Now~~

Now we've told these 350,000 people that they could go to Israel, and we would take them, we'd support them, we would help them. And these 350,000 people are living in Israel, today, either without houses, or without jobs. Or without farms, or without schoolrooms for the kids, or without the requisite number of hospital beds per thousand of population. Or without without without without. Now I've given you a picture of contrast. We have ~~done~~ done a magnificent job in 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ years of taking care of people in 25 countries, of taking care of the crisis and the emergency, and even of managing to settle in Israel 2 out of every 3 refugees. The inadequacy of the job has been that our absorption process has lagged by this 1 out of 3. We want to give these people houses. A house is 3 240 square feet. That's what we

do. How big's your kitchen? We put six people in the 240 square feet. A little red tile roof and white slab, and that's better than living in a tent or a tin hut or a canvas shack. We've got 60,000 people living in impossible conditions for 6,7,8, 9 years. They've waited long enough. If we've got ~~this~~ breathing spell then we've got to build houses for them. And we've put people on farms and they didn't want to go on farms -- let's not kid ourselves -- you wouldn't either. ^{If} you got thrown out of Kansas City and you wound up somewhere in some strange part of the earth all you know how to do is live on the city. You don't know how to go out and dig cotton and plant potatoes and neither do I. And neither do they, those Jews from Warsaw and from Berlin and from Vienna. And when they're out there on those bloody, blistering hot farms, and they're willing to do it, and we don't provide the cow or the tractor or the irrigation or the electric power or the something or the something to make that farm work -- we are inadequate.

I don't think that it's necessary ^{for us} to say (hebrew word) more than this. We're not inadequate because we want to be. I think when we understand a problem we rise to it. And I think if you understand this problem you'll rise to this campaign in 1960 and 61 and 62 and 63 -- and slowly but surely we will clean out these pockets of slums and backward farms and breeding places of vice and juvenile delinquency, none of which we want to see in that blessed land. And if we go at this with dilligence and with understanding and with heart and with head -- then in 2,3 4 years we'll clean up this whole backlog of the unabsorbed one-third of the present refugee population -- and we will at the same time try to keep up with the new refugee influx, as it will inevitably occur, and not fall behind again. There's one danger in the course of these next few years I should like to point out to you -- because I am appealing now very much to your intellectual comprehension of the whole picture. Ce Certain sources of income that we have will dry up in the next few years. The reparations that the German government has been paying at the rate of \$57,000,000 per year, will cease in three more years. This will leave a big gap. State of Israel Bonds which have been sold and which are extant in the hands of purchasers to the tune

of \$400,000,000 -- everybody in this room holds them -- will come due the first ones in 1963. Or, if there are any 10-year/^{bond}purchasers here, in 1961 -- next year. It hardly seems possible that Israel began floating her bonds 10 years ago -- sold her first ones in 1951. She's got to start paying them back in 1961, or, if they're 12 year bonds, in 1963, and each year now, with the prudence ~~that's~~ that's become her -- for she is determined to meet her every obligation to the last dollar of principle and interest, even putting aside reserves. When you put aside reserves to meet your debts, you don't have operating money now -- her credit must be kept intact. Of this there is no doubt, not a person in this room would disagree. Anybody in this room want to see her default? Therefore, she will put these reserves aside -- she will pay these obligations, her name will remain bright and shiny, as it is with the World Bank and the Exim Bank and the ~~Cultural~~ Agricultural Bank, so that she can borrow again and her credit will be ever good -- but to pick up the gap of the when the German reparations cease coming in and when the bond repayments have to start being made, and when the dollar gap between exports and imports needs to be shrunk continually, and that dollar gap is now 300,000,000 per year. †

It's quite clear that unless you and I want to check out of this whole picture, you and I must maintain our standards of giving, vigilance, belief, conviction, dedication, and patience for the next -- now don't pin me down -- for the next, well, we've been at it for 11 and $\frac{1}{2}$ years since Israel's been born -- we've been at it 22 years, this is the 22nd campaign of the UJA -- for 10 years before Israel was born. Let me make you this promise -- it won't be 22 more years. That I promise you. Will it be 21, will it be 18, will it be 7 -- I don't know -- I just know this -- in the midst of a world which has seemed so cruel sometimes, and so purposeless, quoting George Kemmon -- so stupid and so silly, so filled with killing and blood and pain -- and a ~~manxw~~ world in which man sometimes seems so frantically eager to try to run away from the planet of his birth -- to find more peaceful life, maybe, out among the stars -- In a world in which we seem torn, and twisted, and ridden and beaten by all kinds of pressures and influences on us -- in this funny, crazy, cockeyed world, you and I can have this much quiet pleasure. People are alive who wouldn't be except for us. Israel is here, and it wouldn't be except for our help. The future lies in our

own hands, and it wasn't 20 years ago, others slew us and we had nothing to say about it. They can't any more.

In a crazy word don't these things seem to be priceless diamonds which we carved out for ourselves. By God, what we've done. We've taken Jewish destiny into our own hands. We've said they shall build a state there that shall be a model for mankind and the young nations of Asia and Africa go there to learn. At the Hebrew University every day there are hundreds of people from Guineau, and ~~Gauna~~, Nigra, Libera, Burma, Zudan. The little people, the disinfranchised, the week, the newly emancipated nations go to Israel for they have some how the feeling and the instinct in their fingers that the old words of the Bible are true, that Torah, Torah means science and learning and knowledge and morality. Torah comes from Zion.

~~xxxxxxx~~ While they may never have read the Bible, while they may never have heard that phrase, deep down in the heart of man he yearns for something better on this earth, its the knowlege that he can go to certain places on the face of the globe and find that better. And that look to Israel, ~~xxxxx~~ ^{as} the source of that better. What's it worth? It's worth all the money that we've ever given or will give and all we needdo is take that home with us in the midst of all this - - - - - Take him with us in the midst of all this booming, the silent thought, when man is capable of creating goodness, he makes himself like an ~~xxxxx~~ ^{angel.} That you've done. That you can do. That ~~xxx~~ ^{you'll} continue to do. Year after year and as you do your children and mine will come to us some day and say "okay"good, Pop you did a good job in your life." What's that worth.

Thank you very much.