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United Jewish Appeal National Conference speech. 10 December  
1961.

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

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Dec. 61

62 goal - 95 mill.

Switch in Israeli image - i.e. tourists now

think she is rich

emotional plea -

last TP on pg. 7 - to the end

1) Yertushenko's poem - Beli Yar

pg. 11

2) predicting Russian migration in 61

3) peroration - no more wandering Jews

*HAF Speeches*

ADDRESS BY RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Executive Vice-Chairman

24TH ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

United Jewish Appeal  
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel  
Sunday, December 10, 1961

I would like to talk to you now about some of the larger and more historic implications of what we are attempting.

Perhaps to put it into a different perspective, in order for us to be equipped this year to do what is required of us, it is quite clear that after many, many years of hard work a new budget of energy is going to be demanded of us.

Each year we have come to our renewed task at this Annual Conference willing to work again as obedient and disciplined soldiers, going through the motions as we have learned them through many years of fund-raising. And each year we are quite convinced that we, as good and free Jews in this richest of all Jewish communities in two millenia, are doing or will do what is expected of us.

Then suddenly, something happens and all of us in the panoply of power and persuasion of oratory which this magnificent group of men up here represents come to you and seem to impose upon you a fantastically high-pressured, new, supercharged responsibility and each one of you says, "Yes, we take it for granted."

Each one of you could accumulate this little set of newspaper clippings of the last few days that I have: MOROCCAN JEWS LEAVE WITH PASSPORTS. And you could say: "Yes, we know that story."

THEODOR HERZL BRINGS IN NEW IMMIGRANTS

"The largest single group of immigrants to come to Israel for some time, 500 persons arrived in Haifa on Friday aboard the ship Theodor Herzl. The Zim Navigation Company has commissioned the ship to carry immigrants during the winter months leaving one deck for regular passengers."

To this you could say: "This proposition is reminiscent of the time of the beginning of the State when special ships were used to transport newcomers."



We are aware of that. We read the story about the Jewish professor in Paris, a Professor Zerror, a surgeon on the Algiers Faculty of Medicine, who was attacked and shot at, luckily missed. His cook was severely wounded by four bullets fired into the window.

We read the story of what Mr. Eshkol said in the Parliament the other day in Israel, when in answer to a question, when he was asked how Israel is going to finance the big wave of immigration, he talked about (and I give this to you with pardonable pride) the role which the United Jewish Appeal must play and has played in the years gone by). You, every single one of you, were cited in the Parliament of Israel just a few days ago. You were applauded for what you have done. But you were charged with the responsibility of doing more.

You, all of you, could have read this notice:

"Jewish youths in Oran, in Algeria, seized a Moslem terrorist who threw a grenade into a cafe in the Jewish quarter of Oran.

They tried to lynch him. Jewish boys tried to lynch this terrorist who threw this grenade. Two Jews were wounded in a cafe bombing in a later series of attacks in this strife-wracked French colony."

All of you could have read the notice of the plans that were announced for the housing of new immigrants in Israel, by the Minister of Development and Housing who will speak to you tomorrow morning, Dr. Josephthal.

You can read these and the other clippings and you could say, "Yes, we do not doubt your story. The story is apparently one in which a simultaneous series of explosions has occurred in the Communist world and in the Moslem world, so that the release of large numbers of Jews appears to be imminent.

Each one of you could say, "Yes, we agree. 95 million dollars seems to be minimal as far as this is concerned. This is no extraordinary taxation of our resources; every Phil and Ben and Paul in this room possessed of large amounts of money could divest themselves of another ten or twenty or thirty, and each one of/ <sup>them</sup> of/



is able to name some other Ben or Phil or Paul, who should do the same, and would admit that this would not be an unusual request."

If you admit the validity of the story and if you admit the capability of the community to match the need what then represents the major obstacle in the response?

And these men here with perspicacity and with campaign knowledge based upon years of experience have all brought out the obstacles. They talked to you about the fact that some people said we don't want to raise our base of giving.

Fine, we provide you with an answer to that: Give it to the Special Fund.

They talked about the fact that some people say we don't want to take this whole burden upon ourselves. "Can't Israel do anything?"

Fine, you have gotten the answer to that one. You all know what Israel is doing. You heard the stories about the extra taxes which are being imposed. You have heard the stories about the compulsory loan which is being demanded from the people of Israel.

You heard the stories about the prosperity in Israel, and you have said to yourselves I am sure, even if you haven't verbalized it; "Why can't they do more there?"

I would like to make a simple statement here and hope I will not be misunderstood. The prosperity in Israel is real, but we have done a terrible disservice by switching the image too quickly from an Israel in 1951 which was pauperized and people who were hungry, to an Israel which is rich in 1961.

You all remember how we used to talk about Israel; "There isn't enough food."

Eshkol used to say that Israel's most expensive commodity was the disappointed tourist who came back from there and said "there isn't enough toilet paper. And there aren't enough good hotels. And the frozen fish from Norway sticks in our throats."

Once he wished the American tourists would not come because they used to return and say how bad things were, and now they come in 1961 and talk about how



good Israel is, and the great hotels, and the food, and ask "what do they need from us?"

The switch in the image, the picture of the country, has been too radical, too quick, not gradual enough.

We are not sufficiently sophisticated to understand that Israel still may be a country in which there may be all the signs of growing economic progress on the surface, but still have an enormous gap between exports and imports -- a huge dollar debt -- a tremendous and overburdening security problem and an as yet unsolved water problem which contains the possible seed of another war.

I am not derogating or deprecating by one iota, the fantastic achievements which have been made in the Israel we love so much. And yet I would suggest very carefully and very respectfully that if you think it is all peaches and cream there, and if you are prepared in your minds and in your hearts to say that Israel's great steps forward now exonerate you from responsibility, then I humbly submit that you are unworthy of your previous traditions.

If suddenly you say, "yes, good. There is extra immigration. Fine. But why can't they do more about it themselves? Aren't they getting more prosperous?"

The answer is yes, they are. But are they getting prosperous enough so that they should pay three dollars for every three dollars of the expense of immigration? If they are paying two dollars out of every three of the expense as they are now, isn't that enough?

How much more would you saddle them with?

And what would be left to do to sustain and maintain our own pride in our participation in this enormous historic venture? How little should we do and try to get away with? That, it seems to me, is the answer to the question. "Can't they do more?" No, they can't; nor should they.

Then comes the objection -- and I am ticking off all the things that you hear -- comes the objection again, "What is so different about this? Why call this an emergency? I don't like the term emergency. Why isn't this normal?"



Aren't we doing this every year?"

Yes, good friends. There is nothing different in 1962 from 1952, or what will be in 1972, except, perhaps, the volume, the size of the flow of immigration with which we are faced in 1962.

There is absolutely nothing different, and if you don't want to call it an emergency, don't.

The word "emergency" comes from the root of the word to emerge -- something emerges into your consciousness and takes up the forefront of your attention.

People are emerging from behind curtains, iron and silken. They are emerging into our consciousness and becoming objects of our concern purely and simply in quantity, not quality.

There is nothing different in the quality of the problem. There is only something different in the quantity of the problem. And in terms of the quantity of the problem, if we have a double or a triple or a quadruple problem, in terms of numbers, and you don't want to call that an emergency, then please don't.

On the other hand, caution, caution about the use of language because you do not wish to be accused of sensationalism, caution which inhibits, is ignoble and cheap.

Caution -- let us not call this an emergency -- cannot be an excuse for paralysis or immobilization or giving on last year's level. Because that would be ignoble.

You cannot hide behind caution and say. "This is simple, let us not get excited about it."

Therefore, don't get excited about it. Just double your gift without getting excited. Don't get excited in 1963 or 1965, because whoever says this is a long-term problem is quite correct.

Immigration is a long-term problem. You all know the dimensions of it. You all know perfectly well that in the last 13 years now that we have a place to which



Jews can go, we have taken a million Jews into Israel and about 300,000 to other countries, so we have saved a million 300 thousand people most of whom would have been dead had we not rescued them. And if that last 13 years of effort gives you any satisfaction at all, and causes you to think of what lies ahead in the future, then I will tell you very simply that, excluding the Soviet Union, we are not talking about even another three-quarters of a million.

There is much less left to do than we have already accomplished, much less. So if one says "let us be mature, let us take the long historic look," fine, I am all for that. Let us take the long historic look. We will be at this job of immigration for another decade or more if we truly assume the burden of the completion of the task of the 20th century, which is: to change the Jew from an object and a creature whom others can destroy at will, into a creature who has control of his own destiny and his own fate and his own future.

We are transforming him from one image to another, and if we have less to do than we have already done, no one need be frightened. And if you choose to say "Let's be mature, and let us take the long look," good. But then again if we are worried about what we will give in 1972 and this caution inhibits us from making the extraordinary increase that must be asked in 1962 then we are not being fair, then we are using the processes of history as an excuse for our failure to act at any one moment in that historic process.

History is a process. But it has ebbs and flows. And when a great opportunity comes, we seize it. Or if we don't, it passes us by.

Then, when we lose it, we weep, as we shall weep for what we may fail to do in the present emergency. We shall exult, if we find within ourselves the courage and the capacity to make the burst of energy which will enable us to say at the end of 1962, "No weeping. We met and matched and paid for every Jew who could get out in 1962."



Only when each one of us can say that, can he sleep peacefully.

All the arguments, all the obstacles to giving, if we accept the validity of the story and if we accept our own capacity and if we know we have the resources, then all the obstacles that we raise to giving are really only logical or intellectual, or sometimes I think illogical, because they are based upon reason and one can easily find all kinds of reasons for putting up obstacles.

I suggest that we go back to the realm, to the area of the heart and the soul and the spirit with which we have lived for lo, these thousands of years... We have not been a people who lived by the head alone.

The Greeks were the great masters of logic. The Romans were the great masters of law. The Jews were the great masters of faith and hope and powerful conviction, passionate dedication to certain ideals.

This is what sustained us through many a dark century, through many a dark continent. We lived by a dream, and nothing but a dream, and we found within ourselves the mechanical means to make the dreams come true.

This argument is the only way we can face 1962 or 1972, or any year, until we have completed the task of the century.

We go by this dream based upon two ineluctable propositions. The proposition that the survival of the Jewish people is the most single important thing to which we can devote ourselves, and the second proposition that the survival of the Jewish people is not for us alone, for the twelve million of us on this great scattered planet, but the survival of the Jewish people is indispensable for the survival of democratic and free mankind.

This is a bold and awesome thing to say, sometimes easily misunderstood.

We do not fight for our own poor lives: Fifty thousand more Jews from Morocco -- So what? We fight for the collective life of the Jewish people, not just the individual life, because the collective lives of the Jewish people are mandatory for the furtherance of freedom in the world for everybody.



There would be no Christianity were it not for us. There would be no democracy were it not for us. There would be no social background in the world if it were not for us. There are many of you who will challenge these great broad historic generalizations, I know that. The reason for our place on the stage of history is that we mean to carry forth until some great messianic future. This is the reason why we were able to outlast all of the torment and all of the torture and all of the murder and all the fire and all the blood.

Yes, they shall not destroy us. We can only destroy ourselves. We shall live if this dream burns brightly in us. And in addition to ourselves there is one great segment of the Jewish people, cut off and separated from us now, three million them, but in whose hearts there also burns this same dream.

I should like to remind you of the Russians and I should like to read to you the poem which was written some weeks ago by one of the greatest poets in the Soviet Union, not a Jew, a young man by the name of Yevgeny Yevtushenko. He wrote a poem called "Babi Yar."

Babi Yar is the name of a ravine near Kiev. Today, the day on which the verdict on Eichmann is in process of delivery in Jerusalem -- when they are judging Eichmann about something that happened twenty years ago, remember what happened at Babi Yar.

Twenty years ago at Babi Yar -- forty thousand Jews were machine gunned on the edge of a cliff on top of a ravine and the bodies tumbled into it, and then the bulldozers covered it over with sand. It was one of the great dark events in the history of our people. And today, twenty years later, the young Russian poet writes about the fact that over Babi Yar there is not even a stone or a memorial.

Yevtushenko, not Jewish, expresses the feeling in his heart that the Russian people have taken no cognizance of this great wound that was inflicted upon the Jews and says not only that, but that the Russian people carry in its heart still, to this day, a deep and potentially dangerous anti-Semitism. Yes, this young poet, a Communist, was reading a lesson to his fellow-Russians, telling them how badly



he felt. The poem was written in Russian: I read to you the translation by Marie Syrkin:

No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;  
Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.  
Such dread comes over me; I feel so old,  
Old as the Jews. Today, I am a Jew...  
Now I go wandering, an Egyptian slave;  
And now I perish, splayed upon the cross.  
The marks of Nails are still upon my flesh,  
And I am Dreyfus whom the gentry hound.  
I am behind the bars, caught in a ring,  
Belied, denounced, and spat upon I stand,  
While dainty ladies in their lacy frills,  
Squealing, poke parasols into my face.  
I am that little boy in Bialystok  
Whose blood flows, spreading darkly on the floor.  
The rowdy lords of the saloon make sport,  
Reeking alike of vodka and of leek.  
Booted aside, weak, helpless, I, the child  
Who begs in vain while the pogromchik mob  
Guffaws and shouts: "Save Russia, beat the Jews!"  
The shopman's blows fall on my mother's back.  
O my own people, my own Russian folk,  
I know you international at heart;  
But often those unclean of hand have dared  
To brandish your most pure and lofty name.  
I know the goodness of my native land.

How vile that anti-Semites shamelessly  
Preen themselves in the title they defile:  
"The Russian People's Union."

Now, in this moment, I am Anne Frank,  
Frail and transparent as an April twig,  
I love as she; I need no ready phrases...  
Only to look into each other's eyes!  
How little we can smell, how little see...  
Leaves are forbidden us, the sky forbidden...  
Yet how much still remains; how strangely sweet  
To hold each other close in the dark room.  
Then come? No, do not fear. These are the gales  
Of spring; she bursts into this gloom.  
Come to me; quickly; let me kiss your lips...  
They break the door? No, no, the ice is breaking.  
On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees  
Like Judges loom and threaten...  
All scream in silence; I take off my cap  
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.  
And I too have become a soundless cry  
Over the thousands that lie buried here.  
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.  
None of me will forget.

Let the glad "Internationale" blare forth  
When earth's last anti-Semite lies in earth.  
No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,  
But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate  
Detest me like a Jew.



O know me truly Russian through their hate!

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What he was saying was true Russians like all true men on earth should take the poison of anti-Semitism out of their hearts. A great plea coming out of a part of the world that we call unbenighted.

Back in the USSR when that poem was composed, I would like you to know that on the second day of Succoth in every one of the forty-nine synagogues in the Soviet Union, that poem was read as part of the prayers in the afternoon service. The Jews had heard about it and got hold of copies of it and passed it around by writing hand-to-hand.

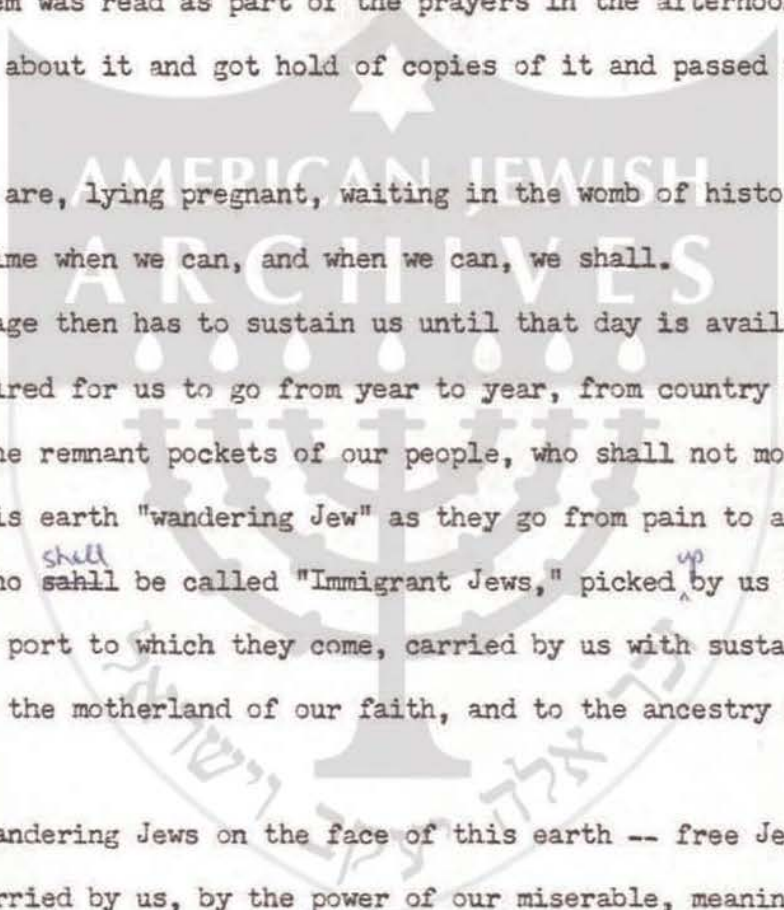
Here they are, lying pregnant, waiting in the womb of history for us to come to them at a time when we can, and when we can, we shall.

What courage then has to sustain us until that day is available to us? What energy is required for us to go from year to year, from country to country, cleaning out the remnant pockets of our people, who shall not more be called upon the face of this earth "wandering Jew" as they go from pain to anguish to blood to torture, but who shall be called "Immigrant Jews," picked up by us with tender loving hands in every port to which they come, carried by us with sustained emotional brotherhood to the motherland of our faith, and to the ancestry from which we all derive.

No more wandering Jews on the face of this earth -- free Jews, going as immigrants, carried by us, by the power of our miserable, meaningless money, sustained by the conviction of an enormous ideal and dedicated to the proposition that when our children ask us: "What did you do in the years and in the time that Israel was born and that the Jewish people was re-born?" -- we will be able to say that we did not stand by, nor were we found wanting, but that we answered with an enormous resounding "Yes, we shall save and we shall rescue and we shall build, because we want to."

# # #

My belief in immigrating of Russian Jews - decade or time ahead





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RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN, Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

All of you realize, we have changed the format of the many year old annual program of the UJA where we used to begin on a Friday afternoon and then adjourn until Saturday night, because we couldn't do anything during the Shabbaths, and the program was fragmented so that there was not a long continuous period for discussion which we have enjoyed last night and today.

Because of the change in format it seems that we have been sitting together a long time consecutively, and it seems that we heard many speeches.

It seems that we are all fully conversant. We had a period this morning in which to ask questions. We had a period this afternoon in which to ask questions, and it would seem that we have full knowledge of the subject, a full appreciation of the dimensions of the response required of us, and, therefore, we have exchanged ourselves psychologically and have apparently reached the conclusion of the conference.

This is so far from being the case that I would like to talk to you now about some of the larger and more historic implications of what we are attempting.

Perhaps to put it into a different perspective, in order for us to be equipped this year to do what is required of us, it is quite clear that after many, many years of hard work a new budget of energy is going to be demanded of us.

~~As we have approached each year after year, each year with new zeal and with new courage, each year with dedication and knowledge of that which we seek to do.~~  
we have come <sup>each year</sup> to our renewed task at this annual conference willing to work again, <sup>as</sup> obedient and disciplined soldiers, going through the motions as we have learned them through many years of ~~orthodox technique~~ of fund-raising, and each year <sup>we are</sup> quite convinced that we, as good and free Jews in this richest of all Jewish communities in two millenia, <sup>are doing or will do -</sup> shall do what is expected of us.



Then suddenly, something happens and all of us in the panoply of power and persuasion of oratory which this magnificent group of men up here represents come to you and seem to impose upon you a fantastically high-pressured, new, supercharged responsibility and each one of you says, "Yes, we take it for granted."

Each one of you could accumulate this little set of newspaper clippings of the last few days <sup>that</sup> I have: Moroccan Jews leave with passports <sup>and you could say</sup> "Yes, we know that

story." <sup>reads a headline!</sup> Cabs <sup>under both sides</sup> "THEODOR HERZL brings in new immigrants," The largest single group of immigrants to come to Israel for some time, 500 persons arrived in Haifa on Friday aboard the ship THEODOR HERZL. The Zim Navigation Company has commissioned the ship to carry immigrants during the winter months leaving one deck for regular passengers."

<sup>OLD</sup> TO <sup>this you could say!</sup> "This proposition is reminiscent of the time of the beginning of the State when special ships were used to transport newcomers."

We are aware of that. We read the story about the Jewish professor in Paris, a ~~man~~ Professor Zerror <sup>see name for spelling</sup>, a surgeon on the Algiers Faculty of Medicine, who was attacked and shot at, luckily missed, his cook was severely wounded by four bullets fired into the window.

We read the story of what Mr. Eshkol said in the Parliament the other day in Israel, when in answer to a question, when he was asked how <sup>Israel is</sup> they were going to finance the big wave of immigration he talked about <sup>and I give this to you with pardonable pride</sup> on the role which the United Jewish Appeal must play and has played in the years gone by.

You, every single one of you, <sup>were</sup> ~~was~~ cited in the Parliament of Israel just a few days ago.

<sup>But</sup> You were applauded for what you have done. You were charged with the responsibility of doing more. You, all of you, could have read this notice: Jewish youths in Oran, in Algeria, seized a Moslem terrorist who threw a grenade into a ~~cafe~~ <sup>cafe</sup> in the Jewish quarter of Oran, they ~~tried to lynch him.~~ <sup>to</sup>

*under both sides*



*It they tried to lynch this?*

Jewish boys tried to lynch this terrorist who threw this grenade. Two Jews were wounded in ~~the~~ <sup>a cafe</sup> bombing in a later series of attacks in this strife-wracked French colony. *Development over*

All of you could have read the notice of the plans that were announced for the housing of new immigrants in Israel, by the Minister of Housing who will speak to you tomorrow morning, ~~Dr. Joseph Gold~~ <sup>Dr. Joseph H. Gold</sup> *1*

You can read these and ~~the~~ the other clippings and you could say, "Yes, we do not doubt ~~the~~ <sup>your</sup> story. The story is apparently one in which a simultaneous series of explosions has occurred in the Communist world, <sup>and</sup> in the Moslem world, so that the release of large numbers of Jews appears to be imminent.

Each one of you could say, "Yes, we agree. 95 million dollars seems to be minimal as far as this is concerned. This is no extraordinary taxation of our resources, every Phil and Ben and Paul in this room possessed of large amounts of money could divest themselves of another ten or twenty or thirty, and each one of them is able to name some other Ben or Phil or Paul, who should do it, <sup>it's some, and</sup> ~~we~~ would admit that this <sup>would</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>be</sup> not an unusual request."

If ~~we~~, you admit the validity of the story and if you admit the capability of the community to match the need what then represents the major obstacle in the response?

And these men here with perspicacity and with campaign knowledge based upon years of experience have all brought out the obstacles. They talked to you about the fact that some people said we don't want to raise our base of giving.

Fine, we provide you with an answer to that. Give it to the Special Fund.

They talked about the fact that some people say we don't want to take this whole burden upon ourselves, "Can't Israel do anything?" Fine, you have gotten the answer to that one. You all know what Israel is doing. You heard the stories about the extra taxes which are being imposed. You have heard the stories about the ~~the~~ compulsory loan, <sup>vs</sup> which ~~is~~ being demanded from the people of Israel.

You heard the stories about the prosperity in Israel, and you have said to



yourselves I am sure, even if you haven't verbalized it, why can't they do more there. 7"

I would like to make a simple statement here and hope I will not be misunderstood. The prosperity in Israel is real, but we have done a terrible disservice by switching the image too quickly <sup>from</sup> <sup>(in 1951)</sup> an Israel which was pauperized and people <sup>who</sup> were hungry <sup>in 1951</sup> to an Israel which is rich in 1961.

You all remember how we used to talk about Israel. "There isn't enough food." Eshkol used to say that <sup>Israel's</sup> the most expensive commodity was the disappointed tourist who came back from <sup>there</sup> Israel and said "there isn't enough toilet paper, and there aren't enough good hotels, and the frozen fish from Norway sticks in <sup>our</sup> throats, and he wished the American tourists would not come <sup>because they used to return over</sup> in 1961 because they used to come back and say how bad <sup>is how bad things were</sup> Israel was, and now they come in 1961 and talk about how good Israel is, and the great hotels, and the food, and what do they need? <sup>from us?</sup> The switch in the image, the picture of the country has been too radical, too <sup>quick</sup> sharp, not <sup>gradual</sup> graded enough.

We are not sufficiently sophisticated to understand that <sup>Israel</sup> still <sup>still</sup> may be a country in which there may be all the signs of growing economic progress on the surface, but <sup>there</sup> still <sup>is</sup> an enormous gap between exports and imports, a huge dollar <sup>debt</sup> debt, a tremendous <sup>and over the years deriving</sup> security problem <sup>and</sup> and as yet unsolved water problem which contains <sup>possible seed</sup> the <sup>seed</sup> of another war.

I am not derogating or deprecating by one iota, the fantastic achievements which <sup>Israel</sup> have been made in the <sup>place</sup> place we love so much. And yet I would suggest <sup>to you</sup> very carefully and very respectfully that if you think it is all peaches and cream there, and if you are prepared in your minds and in your hearts to say that <sup>Israel's</sup> the great steps forward now exonerate you, then I <sup>from responsibility</sup> humbly submit that you are unworthy of your previous traditions.

If suddenly you say, "yes, good, there is extra immigration, fines, but why can't they do more about it themselves? Aren't they getting more prosperous?"

The answer is yes, they are. But are they getting prosperous enough <sup>so</sup> that they should pay three dollars for every three dollars of expense? <sup>the</sup> If they are paying two dollars out of every three <sup>as they are now</sup> of the expense, <sup>if income is that?</sup> isn't that enough?

How much more would you saddle them with?



And what would be left to do to sustain and maintain our own pride in <sup>our</sup> participation <sup>do our</sup> of this enormous historic venture? How little should we <sup>try</sup> to get away with? That, it seems to me, is the answer to the question, <sup>can't they do more?</sup> "can't they do more?" No, they can't; nor should they.

Then comes the ~~obstacle~~ <sup>objection</sup> again — and I am ticking off all the things that you hear — comes the ~~obstacle~~ <sup>objection</sup> again, "What is so different about this? Why call this an emergency? I don't like the term emergency. Why isn't this normal? Aren't we doing this every year?"

Yes, good friends. There is nothing different in 1962 <sup>from</sup> ~~than~~ in 1952, or, 1972, except, perhaps, the volume, the ~~flow~~ <sup>size of the</sup> ~~amount~~ with which we are faced in 1962. <sup>what would he</sup>

There is absolutely nothing different, and if you don't want to call it an emergency, <sup>of course for us</sup> don't.

<sup>the words</sup> "Emergency" comes from the root of the word to emerge, something emerges into your consciousness and takes up the forefront of your attention.

People are emerging from behind curtains, ~~iron or silken. They are emerging from behind curtains, iron or silken.~~ They are emerging into our consciousness and becoming ~~an object~~ of our concern purely and simply, in quantity, not quality. ~~There is nothing different about~~ ~~Iraqi Jewish 1951~~ ~~in 1951~~ ~~of pray~~

There is nothing different in the quality of the problem. There is only something different in the quantity of the problem, <sup>members,</sup> and in terms of the quantity of the problem, if we have a double or a triple or a quadruple problem, in terms of ~~the~~ and you don't want to call that an emergency, then please don't.

On the other hand, <sup>sensationalism</sup> caution, caution about the use of language ~~so that~~ you do not wish to be accused of ~~cautionism~~, <sup>because</sup> caution which inhibits, is ignoble and cheap.

Caution, ~~cautionism~~ — let us not call this an emergency — cannot be an excuse for paralysis or immobilization or ~~action~~ <sup>action</sup> on the ~~same~~ last year's level. Because that <sup>would be</sup> ignoble. You cannot hide behind <sup>caution</sup> ~~cautionism~~ and say this is simple, let us not get excited about it. <sup>Therefore</sup> Therefore, don't get excited about it. Just double your gift without getting excited. Don't get excited in 1963 or 1965, because whoever says this is a long-



term problem is quite correct.

*I mean etc. etc.*  
 This is a long-term problem. You all know the dimensions of it. You all know perfectly well that ~~we have taken~~ in the last 13 years now that we have a place to which Jews can go, a million Jews into Israel and ~~300,000~~ *350,000* to other countries, so we have saved a million 300 thousand people ~~who~~ *most of whom* would have been dead in ~~their long numbers~~ had we not rescued them, and if that last 13 years of effort gives ~~one~~ *any* satisfaction at all, and causes ~~us~~ *us* to think of what lies ahead in the future, then I will tell you very simply that ~~outside of~~ *I. L. Ruben* the Soviet Union we are not talking even about another three-quarters of a million.

There is much less left to do ~~than~~ *there* we have already accomplished, much less, and so, if one says "Let us be mature, let us take the long historic look," fine, I am all for that. Let us take the long historic look. We will be at this for another decade or more if we ~~assume~~ *truly* the burden of the completion of the task of the 20th century, which is to change the Jew from an object and a creature whom other ~~can~~ *5/* can destroy at will, and turn ~~him~~ *into* ~~into~~ a creature who has control of his own destiny and his own ~~future~~ *future* and his own future.

We are transforming him from one image to another, and if we have less to do than we have already done, no one need be frightened. And if you choose to say "Let's be mature, and let us take the long look," good. But then again if ~~you~~ *we* are worried about what ~~you~~ *we* will give in 1972 and this caution inhibits ~~you~~ *us* from making the extraordinary increase that ~~we~~ *must be asked* ~~we~~ *we* are asking in 1962 then ~~you~~ *we* are not being fair, then ~~you~~ *we* are using the processes of history as an excuse for failure to act at any one moment in that historic process.

History is a process. But it has ~~moments~~ *opportunities* and the moments have ebbs and flows. And when a great ~~moment~~ *opportunity* comes, we seize it. Or if we don't, ~~then~~ it passes us by.

Then, when we lose it, we weep, as ~~we shall~~ *in the present emergency* we shall weep for what we may fail to do ~~in the present emergency~~. We shall exult if we find within ourselves the courage and the capacity to make the burst of energy which will enable us to say at the end of 1962, "No weeping. We met and matched and paid for every Jew who could ~~be taken~~ *GET* out in 1962. ~~we were not~~ *we were not* responsible by our failure to act for leaving ~~him~~ *him* behind."



Only when each one of us can say that he <sup>can</sup> sleep peacefully, ~~as I say, wanted Paul to do~~ Only then can we sleep peacefully if we say that, and if we do that, and if we know that.

All the arguments, all the obstacles to giving, if we accept the validity of the story and if we accept our own capacity and if we know we have the resources, then all the obstacles that we raise to giving are really only logical or intellectual, or sometimes I think illogical, because they are based upon reason and one can easily find all kinds of reasons for putting up obstacles.

I suggest that we go back to the realm, to the area of the heart and the soul and the spirit with which we have lived for lo, these thousands of years.. We have not been a people who lived by the head alone.

The Greeks were the great masters of logic. The Romans were the great masters of law. The Jews were the great masters of faith and hope and powerful conviction, passionate dedication to certain ideals.

This is what sustained us through many a dark century, through many a dark continent. We lived by a dream, and nothing but a dream, and we found within ourselves the mechanical means to make the dreams come true.

This argument is the only way we can face 1962 or 1972, or any year, until we have completed the task of the century.

We go by this dream based upon two ineluctable propositions. The proposition that the survival of the Jewish people is the most single <sup>in history</sup> thing to which we can devote ourselves, and the second proposition that the survival of the Jewish people is not for us alone, for the twelve million of us on this great scattered planet, but the survival of the Jewish people is indispensable for the survival of democratic and free mankind.

This is a bold and awesome thing to say, sometimes easily misunderstood.

We do not fight for our own <sup>love</sup> ~~separable~~ lives. Fifty thousand more Jews from Morocco, <sup>to</sup> ~~do~~ what? We fight for the collective life of the Jewish people, not just the individual life, <sup>because</sup> and the collective lives of the Jewish people is mandatory for the furtherance of freedom in the world for everybody.

There would be no Christianity were it not for us, there would be no democracy were it



not for us, there would be no social backgrounds in the world if it were not for us; ~~and~~ there are many of you who will challenge these great broad historic <sup>generalizations</sup> ~~generations~~, I know that.

The reason for our place on the stage <sup>of history</sup> is that we ~~will~~ <sup>mean to</sup> carry forth <sup>until</sup> some great messianic future, ~~in which we will be here to the end of time, because there~~ <sup>this is the</sup> ~~is a~~ reason why we <sup>have</sup> are able to outlast all of the torment and all of the tortures and all of the murder and all the fire and all the blood.


Yes, they shall not destroy us. We can only destroy ourselves. We shall live if this dream burns brightly in us, <sup>in addition to ourselves there</sup> and there is one great segment of the Jewish people, cut off and ~~far~~ separated from us now, three million of them, <sup>but</sup> in whose hearts there also burns this same dream.

I should like ~~while we talk about 1962 with Moroccans and Algerians and~~ <sup>the Russians</sup> ~~Russians~~ to remind you of ~~Russians~~ and I should like to read to you ~~this poem~~ <sup>the</sup> which was written some weeks ago by one of the greatest poets in the Soviet Union, not a Jew, a young man by the name of Yevgeny Yevtushenko. He wrote a poem called Babi Yar.

Babi Yar is the name of a ravine near Kiev. In ~~1941, exactly twenty years~~ <sup>ago</sup> today, the day on which the verdict ~~of~~ <sup>is</sup> Eichmann ~~may be~~ in process of delivery, ~~at this moment, nine o'clock in the morning in Jerusalem, and I don't know whether~~ ~~the court has met yet.~~ today is the day on which the verdict was ~~to have been~~ <sup>in Jerusalem</sup> given. Today when they are judging Eichmann about something that happened twenty years ago, you ~~will~~ remember what happened at Babi Yar <sup>at Babi Yar</sup> twenty years ago ~~when~~ <sup>or</sup> forty thousand Jews were machine gunned on the edge of a cliff on top of ~~the~~ ravine and the bodies tumbled in ~~and the bulldozers covered it over with sand,~~ <sup>to it, and then the covered</sup> ~~it was~~ one of the great dark events in the history of our people. ~~And the young Russian poet writes today,~~ twenty years later, <sup>Babi Yar</sup> about the fact that over ~~that~~ <sup>there</sup> ~~is~~ not even a stone or a memorial.

<sup>Yevtushenko</sup> ~~He~~, not Jewish, expressed the feeling in his heart ~~about the fact~~ that the Russian people <sup>have</sup> had taken no cognizance of this great wound, that ~~had been~~ <sup>was</sup> inflicted upon the Jews and <sup>sure</sup> not only that, but that the Russian people carry in its heart, still,



to this day, <sup>is</sup> deep and ~~possibly~~ potentially dangerous anti-Semitism <sup>yes</sup> ~~so that~~ this young poet, a communist, was reading a lesson to his <sup>fellow-</sup> Russians, telling them how badly he felt. 

The poem was written in Russian; I read to you the translation by Marie Syrkin:

No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;

Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.

Such dread comes over me; I feel so old,

Old as the Jews. Today, I am a Jew ...

Now I go wandering, an Egyptian slave;

And now I perish, splayed upon the cross.

The Marks of Nails are still upon my flesh.

And I am Dreyfus whom the gentry hound,

I am behind the bars, caught in a ring,

Belied, denounced, and spat upon I stand,

While dainty ladies in their lacy frills,

Squealing, poke parasols into my face.

I am that little boy in Bialystok

Whose blood flows, spreading darkly on the floor.

The rowdy lords of the saloon make sport,

Reeking alike of vodka and of leek.

Booted aside, weak, helpless, I, the child

Who begs in vain while the pogromchik mob

Guffaws and shouts: "Save Russia, beat the Jews!"

The shopman's blows fall on my mother's back,

O my own people, my own Russian folk, *more*

I know you international at heart;

But often those unclean of hand have dared

To brandish your most pure and lofty name.

I know the goodness of my native land.



How vile that anti-Semites shamelessly  
Preen themselves in the title they defile:  
"The Russian People's Union."

Now, in this moment, I am Anne Frank,  
Frail and transparent as an April twig,  
I love as she; I need no ready phrases...  
Only to look into each other's eyes!  
How little we can smell, how little see...  
Leaves are forbidden us, the sky forbidden...  
Yet how much still remains; how strangely sweet  
To hold each other close in the dark room.  
Then come? No, do not fear. These are the gales  
Of spring; she bursts into this gloom.  
Come to me; quickly; let me kiss your lips...  
They break the door? No, no, the ice is breaking.  
On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees  
Like Judges loom and threaten...  
All screams in silence; I take off my cap  
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.  
And I too have become a soundless cry  
Over the thousands that lie buried here.  
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.  
None of me will forget.

Let the glad "Internationale" blare forth  
When earth's last anti-Semite lies in earth.  
No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,  
But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate  
Detest me like a Jew.  
O know me truly Russian through their hate!



What he was saying was true Russians like all true men on earth should take ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~poison~~ <sup>of anti-semitism</sup> out of their hearts. A great plea coming out of a part of the world that we call unbeknited.

Back in ~~there~~ <sup>the USSR</sup> when that poem was ~~read~~ <sup>composed</sup>, I would like you to know that on the second day of Succoth in every one of the forty-nine synagogues in the Soviet Union, that poem was read as part of the prayers in the afternoon service. The Jews had heard about it and got hold of copies of it and passed it around by writing hand-to-hand.

Here they are, lying pregnant, waiting in the womb of history for us to come to them at a time when we can, and when we can, we shall.

What courage then has to sustain us until that day is available to us? What energy is required for us to go from year to year, from country to country, cleaning out the <sup>remnant</sup> ~~the remnants~~ of our people who shall not more be called upon the face of this earth "wandering Jews" as they go from pain to anguish to blood to torture, but who shall be called upon the face of this earth "immigrant Jews," picked up by us with tender loving hands in every port to which they come, carried by us with sustained emotional brotherhood to the motherland of our faith, <sup>and</sup> to the ancestry from which we all derive.

No more wandering Jews on the face of this earth, <sup>free</sup> Jews, going as immigrants, carried by us, by the power of our miserable, meaningless money, sustained by the conviction of an enormous ideal and dedicated to the proposition that when our children ask us: "What did you do in the years and in the <sup>times</sup> ~~decades~~ that Israel was born and that the Jewish people was re-born?" — ~~you and I will~~ <sup>we will</sup> be able to say that we did not stand by, nor were we found wanting, but that we answered with an enormous resounding "Yes, we shall save and we shall rescue and we shall build, because we want to."



Ladies and Gentlemen:

Some of you I am sure heard Mr. Harman speak at the December conference. Or if you didn't hear him, if you read the mimeographed transcript of his speech, you may recall his opening remarks:

"I feel tonight somewhat in the position of a cantor who was praying Kol Nidre before a congregation made up entirely of cantors. They have all heard it all before, they all knew it all by heart, they all knew they could do it better, and they all knew it was going to be repeated three times."

Talking to you is like being in the position of that cantor who tries to do Kol Nidre before a congregation of cantors.

And so, with the respectful deference to those of you who do it better, who have done it longer, who know it three times, I would like to try tonight to set out for us, for me as well as for you, what the line and the approach of the 1960 campaign could be, is or should be, because it is a tricky one.

It may take a bit more time for us to make the exposition and to get down to the heart of the matter. And that, itself, is an indication of the difficulty, because the longer it takes to say something, the more complicated the issue is.

When something is sharp and crisp and clear, you can say it quickly and briefly and succinctly.

I would like to talk to you tonight without oratory, embellishment, without rhetoric, but rather as an explorer who is trying to find a new approach to a common problem. Therefore, I would like to feel free to say things which are perhaps not politic or are not phrased diplomatically. Things which wouldn't be published outside of this room, because the transcript of my talk tonight will go only to you. I would like to feel free to discuss with you matters which I hope you will consider seriously, and modify and weigh with your own sense of good judgment, by the time I am through with it.

Firstly, in a spirit of confession, let me say that I am taking a gamble this year -- not I, but we all collectively.



We are taking a gamble, a calculated risk in the way we change the approach to the campaign.

This fresh 1960 approach is a transitional one. If it works, so to speak, if we get away with it, we perhaps will have succeeded in making a breakthrough to a new way of campaigning for some time to come.

Let me try to make clearer what I am saying. You and I have told our campaign story year after year<sup>after year</sup> on the basis of what we consider to be the best, the most practical and the most valuable form of getting the contributor to respond immediately, with the most dollars. And the old way, the traditional approach, was to sound the alarm as hard as we could vis-a-vis the current events with which everyone was most familiar from every source of communication, even, from the source of the public press, so that the listener, having an apperceptive mass of knowledge about the subject we were bringing to him, would then be more predisposed to respond to our appeal.

If the headlines told the story, it made our telling of the story that much easier.

And we exploited the current events and the headlines, day by day, for all that we could.

My voice was perhaps the shrillest, or perhaps as shrill as anyone's, and I was, therefore, as much involved in this way of campaigning as anyone. We took an immediate event, and we would say, this is what we need the money for, and then we would hope that the headline would continue so that we could repeat it tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow.

The most classic example of the old approach that I can think of is the campaign of 1953; the doctors' plot started in the Soviet Union, and a group of Jewish physicians was indicted. We began to run that campaign on the basis of the fact that we probably had to save all the Jews of Russia who otherwise would be slaughtered. When the doctors' plot exploded and the item was out of the headlines, that campaign fell apart.



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and not let my emotions run away with me -- and if they are telling me I have the task of a generation ahead of me, I better be prepared to give a little money each year to stretch it out, instead of blowing the wad now all at once."

All of us are afraid to talk about the campaign of 1970, because we are agreed that we will lose dollars immediately, in 1960.

It is a normal natural fear.

Because that fear weighs so heavily upon us, we have always tended to talk about the immediate, this year's campaign - and nothing else.

The gamble that I referred to is simply this:

I think -- and by golly, I am not sure -- but I think that we have to take the risk in this transitional year of 1960. We shall try to evolve a campaign approach which will take advantage of the immediate events of any given year or month or season as those events occur, but it must transcend the immediate events (which we will exploit and take advantage of). Adequately presented eternal themes may enable us to go on for another half decade and another whole decade. It seems to me, that the year to take that gamble is 1960.

If we get away with it, we will breathe easier, and we will go into 1961 or 1962 or 1963 with less fear. We will do the long-term approach better after we have had a year's experience behind us and we saw that it did not cause a catastrophic loss.

This is the frank confession. There are those who press me all the time. At five o'clock this afternoon I was told "don't gamble with it."

I think we are in this together; I think we have got to, I think we will, and I would like, therefore, to project that kind of campaign approach which I call the task of a generation.

In order to talk about it effectively, I think, you must remind the listener, as I must remind myself all the time, of the



turbulent decade through which we have come.

You have to talk about war. Israel was born in war. Recently Israel went through a second campaign.

In my judgment Israel has not seen the final one yet, and, therefore, war and sacrifice, battle and blood and glory are all part of what we have been through.

We have raised money on it in 1948, because that stirred people, and we raised money on it in 1957, because that stirred people too.

In addition to war, we have had expulsion. Everybody knows the story of Iraq in 1951, and of Egypt in 1956.

We have had flight. People still remember the story of the Hungarian tragedy, and vividly recall the picture of escapees fleeing across the border.

We have had regulated immigration movements. Everybody recalls the Operation Magic Carpet of Yemen.

We have had mass migration. Everybody knows the first push of 70 or 100 thousand out of North Africa.

We have had all of the dramatic, the stirring, the exciting, the unexpected, the historic.

We have had it.

We have had a surfeit of it in the last decade.

War and famine -- who doesn't remember what Israel was like in 1950 or 1951, when all you got was fish -- frozen fillet from Scandinavia, or native-grown carp from the Galilee, which had heads and tails and no body, because they didn't leave them in ponds long enough to grow bigger.

We have had war, and we have had famine, and we have had expulsion, and we have had flight, and we have had border crossings, and we have had mass movements. We have had all the things of which great novels are made.

This is a moment in which we have none of that, not an item of those glandular adrenalin secreting words -- not an item looms on the present horizon.

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To be perfectly honest with you, if 1960 were not the natural year to take the calculated risk at this transitional approach, then 1960 would be the year to make this approach by force majeure. There is no other approach, unless we trump one up at this meeting.

I am not saying what will happen a month from now or two months from now.

When you begin with this kind of preamble, and remind people of all the things through which they have gone, this preamble need take no longer than a minute or two. You find the audience in a receptive mood ready to accept your statement that now, after a stormy decade, we must step back a pace and take a measured look during the wonderful breathing spell we now so happily enjoy.

And to step back and take that measured look enables us to evaluate exactly what we have done in the past decade.

"Decade" I use always generically -- the exact time is 11 and a half years, if we measure all time from the beginning of the State of Israel.

The breathing spell enables us to step back and evaluate what we have done. This is the opportunity that you have almost at the beginning of the speech, about the long-range historic issues, because in evaluating tasks completed and aims that lie ahead you begin your talk with this statement:

There have migrated and been resettled 1,300,000 Jews. Almost a million to Israel, and 300,000 to other countries in the world.

There have migrated and been resettled one million three hundred thousand. This enables me to step even farther back, and take a longer look, not just at the last 11 and a half years, but to take a look at what I call a century of migration. For the twentieth century is certainly that. If we could find no other word to characterize it, (because we wouldn't know whether to call it the century of the destruction under Hitler, or the century of creation under Israel -- not knowing how to choose between those two titles), we could always go back and call it the century of migration, because I think it tells the whole and bitter story.



Of course, we must not forget for a single moment that the century of migration resulted in the very large, very creative and fruitful Jewish settlement in the United States.

The century began with migration when your fathers and mine came from eastern and central Europe to these shores. What was the migration of Jews from Russia, Poland, the Pale, in the year 1900? I don't know for sure, but my guess would be that in 1900, some 150,000 Jews came into the United States -- maybe more. I speak about Jews only -- in just that year.

I know perfectly well that between 1882 when the restrictive May laws were passed in Russia, and 1914, when the World War started and traffic across the Atlantic was cut down, in that period of 33 years, 3 million Jews migrated to these United States.

Roughly speaking, the twentieth century began with this fantastic migration westward. The middle of the twentieth century saw the decimation of Jewish communities and the fantastic migration eastward. And by the end of the twentieth century, if one were to be bold enough to predict, the entire demography of the Jewish world would be changed. Migration would be finished. There would be two large polarized centers of Jews; one in America and one in Israel, - and practically nothing else in between -- a few peripheral communities, whom I don't intend to deprecate and write off -- 400,000 Jews in England, or 400,000 Jews in France, or a million Jews in South America. But none-the-less they will be peripheral to the two poles of America and Israel.

So that in the longest perspective and with the deepest kind of historic understanding, this is a century of migration.

It began that way, and it will end when the migrations are finished, and I believe that is the way it will go down in history. The Jewish world will be changed at the end of the century from what it was at the beginning! It will be changed in a manner that the change will endure for a thousand years -- just as previous great, enormous shifts took place and lasted for half a millenium or a whole millenium.



In the framework of this great century of migration, the last 11 and a half years that we are talking about saw a movement of a million 300 thousand people, the million to Israel, the 300,000 to the other countries.

What has been the faith of these people?

In what circumstances have they found themselves?

I don't think that we have to concern ourselves with the 300,000 who went to Canada, Australia, South Africa (a few), South America, United States. Those three hundred thousand of Jews have merged with and integrated into established settlements. In economic terms, they have been absorbed quite quickly into the milieu because the Montreals and the Torontos, and the Buenos Aires and the Sydneys, and the Detroit and Boston existed in those other countries to which they went; there was the industrial fabric and there was the settled community into which they could move quickly and find housing and find jobs. The economic background was there for their absorption.

We are not disinterested in them, but we can dismiss their case rather quickly as being any kind of permanent problem once the resettlement was finished.

It is obviously the million who went to Israel who are our concern as the task of this generation.

The theme of the 1960 campaign, simply stated in one sentence, must dwell upon the problems of those of the million who are not yet absorbed in Israel. The 1960 campaign is based upon the problems of the unabsorbed who comprise one-third of that million.

The figure that we use is 350,000; The manner in which they are unabsorbed will occupy our attention as we try to describe in some detail why we call them unabsorbed, and what must be done to further their absorption.

Before going into it, I believe there is one other comment that could well be made in order to give heart and courage to those people who, if you present them with a long-range historic problem, always have a tendency to ask, "Well, how long do you mean?"



That question comes to us all the time in another form, when people say, "How long will this keep on; how much longer are we expected to give?"

If you take the fact that the resettlement and the migration of those who had to move and wanted to move was 1,300,000 in the last 11 and a half years, then you look at the remaining reservoir in order to see how much farther you have to go.

I think we should be well versed in these statistics.

The reservoir of Jews who are potential migrants to Israel, if 100 per cent of them were to go, would, excluding the Soviet Union, amount to a maximum of 800,000 people. That is all we are talking about.

In other words, we have put 1,300,000 behind us already. We have only got 800,000 to go as a maximum possibility. This figure is arrived at by taking the countries of North Africa, (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia), Iran, (where there are 80,000, the largest number in Asia), Syria, Lebanon, if we could get them all out, and all the satellite countries: Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia.

Excluding the Soviet Union, and you notice I have excluded Western Europe (from which it is not anticipated any large migrations and certainly it is not anticipated that we should have to subsidize that migration if it were, hopefully, to develop), we have a total maximum possibility of 800,000 people, which means that if we have already "handled" 1,300,000, the next 800,000 represent no horrendous and impossible burden.

As a matter of fact, these figures indicate that we are almost two-thirds of the way done.

This is the answer to the people who ask the question, "How long and how much more?"

Let us go back to this question of the exact and specific needs or, as we call it in a cumbersome and awkward language, the unmet needs, -- a phrase I would nobody



had ever invented; it is not grammar and it is not English, it doesn't say anything, and it always has to be horribly explained -- it is too complicated.

If anybody can think of a better one, please do.

The problems of those who are not fully absorbed in Israel and who still need something, that is what we mean by "unset needs."

I think that we should take a very deep and careful look at this, because the presentation of this material is the iktar, this is the Keran.

(Parenthetically, let me say that if there can be in this kind of reasoned historical speech any emotional content, there is the emotional content, namely, the analysis of what these needs are).

Let me interrupt myself to say that from personal experience, derived from about 20 fund-raising speeches in the last four weeks, this material can be made emotional.

I usually try to outline four categories which we lump under this heading of needs which must be met.

Firstly, there is the question of the ma'abaroth. And this you all know very well. The current figure is 60,000. Hopefully, it will drop and drop and drop as the years go on. It is quite lower now than it was a year ago.

You all know perfectly well how to exploit the theme and play on the theme of the shock and disillusionment of people who are brought into a ma'abara, which in Hebrew means a transit camp, and they, the immigrant, know perfectly well that it means transit. And they find that their transit is protracted comprehension; that they remain in transit for months and years, - and many, many years.

They are shocked and they are upset, and they are a little bit hurt. Cries of discrimination arise, and people say, "Why are we still in the ma'abara? Because we are schwarim, black, schwarim, Moroccan, or something other than the fine Ashkenasim of Poland or Russia or Germany" -- not Germany now -- "or Rumania or Hungary?"



You can rationalize all you want, and you can reason with them all you want. You can tell them that it is so on the basis of first in, first out -- they don't believe it.

You can tell them all the time that it is a question of not being able to put Polish immigrants into ma'abaroth because they wouldn't stay there and they would write back letters to Poland and some more Polish Jews wouldn't come -- so "please, you nice Iraqis, who have been sitting here six years, please let us take the Poles of six weeks ago and put them in the fresh houses; you stay here and wait some more" -- try to tell that to them. You can't, really, you can't -- it doesn't hold water, aside from the fact that it is not being decent.

Nevertheless, it has been done.

You know perfectly well how to take this whole theme of what it means to live in a ma'abara, and exploit the human values out of that story, with all the skill that trained speakers can do.

We tried to do it in the film, "The Key," which has been received with such mixed emotion; some people think it is horrible and some people think it's fine.

What we tried to do in that film was to show what life is like inside one of those little tin prisons. We tried to show how the family disintegrates, as father and mother fight and squabble over the years; children run away from that; sons are delighted to go off to the Army and not come back; daughters run to the nearest big city, and little children, little boys are scared and grow up from the age of 9 or 10 (in the middle of this maelstrom) -- and if psychiatry ever became fashionable and popular in Israel, we would be producing candidates for future couches at the rate of 10,000 a year.

We take the Ma'abara issue and describe how a family trying to live inside that "thing" for a number of years falls apart as a family.

What is the moral of the story?



In spite of our best intentions, we are succeeding in destroying that which we consider to be one of the greatest and finest virtues of Jewishness, which we boast about -- our wonderful family life.

Is it not clear that people living in ma'abaroth are not going to produce a wonderful family solidarity, because of the corrosive effect of this kind of life over too many years.

It is a story that is full of human drama; and it is a story that every mother and every father can understand.

If there are still 60,000 people living in places like that, then Dr. Joseph had the right to use the word, as he did at the December conference, to describe this -- it is a shame; a shame means a blot on the escutcheon of our honor and our dignity.

That has to be wiped out. There isn't any question about it.

As a sub-note, let me say that those of us who are well informed know very well that there are families who resist being moved from the ma'abaroth. You and I keep nothing from each other -- that is a fact. But you and I know perfectly well also that there were tens of thousands of Jews living in D.P. camps in Germany who, when you tried to move them from one camp to another for their own betterment, would stage sit-down strikes right inside of the quonset huts.

In 1946 I stood at the side of a railroad track in a place called Bauenhausen in Germany, for three days and three nights, arguing over a loud speaker with a group of Jews to get out of that filthy hell-hole, because we had a better camp to move them to. And they said "no, we don't know what the better camp is"; we took a delegation and showed them the better camp, the delegation came back and reported that the better camp had barbed wire around it -- we had forgotten to take the barbed wire away.

But it shocked them and they said, "You are trying to trick us, you are trying to put us back into something. We are not moving. We don't know how good the next thing is. We do know how bad this is. Don't take us from the known to the



unknown again."

That whole psychological fear of the unknown.

There are plenty of people who will not move from ma'abaroth, because they don't know what the thing is going to be that they are going to, and because of another reason, perhaps greater self-sufficiency is going to be required of them, and they are going to have to take jobs and do things they don't want to do.

So they squat.

But you sometimes have to try to root out the squatters as you burn down the shacks above their heads.

The fact that some of them don't want to move is no counter rebuttal to the fact that these places must be eliminated. They are more than a sore on the landscape of Israel.

Slums are number two on the list of unmet needs. I put the slums next to the ma'abaroth, because this is also a question of housing.

I don't want to exaggerate this. I simply want to denote it.

You all know the story of what happened last year at this place in Haifa called Wadi Salib. It is a slum. Most of its inhabitants were graduates of the ma'abaroth. They had gotten out of the ma'abaroth, they were living in these slums. What is a slum? It is a kind of rabbit hatch, narrow alleyways, small rooms in irregular fashion down steps or up on the second floor, unknown numbers of people living in these places, no water; no sanitation; and electricity the only amenity.

And inside these teeming swarming areas, which are not large -- my God, it is not like talking about what is happening to the upper West Side of New York -- but which are large enough to contain some thousands of people, you find the breeding grounds for new enterprises in Israel that until recently were unfamiliar to the Jewish spirit and the Jewish tradition.

There might have been -- Jewish prostitutes in the little towns -- I don't know, maybe there was one; she had a monopoly.

The whole concept of finding gangsters, pimps, tough boys, confidence men,



gangs of juvenile delinquents is foreign and new to us. By the way, last year the whole fight in Wadi Salib started when somebody hit somebody else over the head with a bottle in a bar, and then a cop shot and one thing led to another.

You know, it is all right to read about that in novels and see it on television; we just don't associate this manner of life with Israel.

I know, there is a school of thought that says, let us get normal and let us be like everybody else, and let us have our share of criminals and let us have our share of gangsters; and isn't that wonderful, and isn't that the meaning of Zionism? -- No, it isn't.

To me, being normal is not that you can have your share of criminals and your share of syphilitics and your share of epileptics and your share of Teddy boys.

These Wadi Salib incidents are unfamiliar to the Jewish tradition, and the idea of breeding Wadi Salibs in Israel is slightly revolting to me -- and I think to everybody.

I believe the exploitation of the fact that these places can be eliminated is something that we can bring very carefully to the attention of our listeners, because here again it is largely a question of resettlement from slums into better housing.

But having torn them down, these people have to be put somewhere else; and when we talk about housing, we have to talk about housing for ma'abaroth dwellers, and I think also for Wadi Salib dwellers. They are also the under-privileged.

The third thing that I tried to dig at in this question of the backlog of needs for the unabsorbed is the matter of the farm settlement, the yit harbruth.

Again a couple of figures are in order. The Jewish Agency has established in the 11 and a half years since the State, 485 farm settlements. They are all over the country. On these settlements they have placed 32,000 farm families for a total of 130,000 men, women and children. That is one big chunk of the total immigrant population.

Again, let us be perfectly truthful about this. You think all those 32,000 men wanted to go down to these farms? Not on your tintype.



Many of us in this room have sat at the shed in Haifa or at Lydda, or at other processing points. I will never forget sitting up at Shaar Aliya and watching this thing called processing of immigrants go on, where the man from the plita, from the Jewish Agency absorption department, is sitting behind the desk and the immigrant is coming to the front of the desk, and the man says, "You are going to go to Demona." And the immigrant says, "What? I want Tel-Aviv." And the man says, "You want Tel-Aviv? -- Demona." And the fellow says, "Don't tell me where to go; I am just as good as you are; this is my country just as much as yours." And the fellow behind the desk throws his hands up. And you have that marvelous colloquy between the two of them, in which one Jew is trying to persuade another Jew to do something. And I don't have to tell you how hard that is.

This is a symbol that I am giving you.

When the chips are down, the poor bugger is put on a truck with the meager baggage and he is sent to Demona -- a brave but ehr.

He goes down there and he doesn't like it -- sometimes. And sometimes he runs away. You and I know perfectly well the amount of internal migration in Israel, that once the first settlement has taken place, that doesn't settle the issue for good.

This chap two months later or six months later ups and moves himself to Tel-Aviv on his own.

You and I know, however, also perfectly well, that thousands and thousands stay there. And slowly, surely, acclimatize themselves and get used to it, and slowly, surely, do a good job.

Let us be honest with ourselves. We boast about this vision, the new Jew, now the luftmensch in the ghetto, not the fellow trading on the street in the black market; the fine Jew with the plow in one hand the gun in the other hand, and he is out there fighting the desert, and the sun is making him brown; and we say, "good, look at that new Jew."

We have got a right to take a satisfaction in that new prototype, -- the one



who stayed in Demona.

In direct ratio to the joy and satisfaction of seeing this new man emerge, there should be the sense of obligation to support him in this unknown difficulty, at times fearsome new life upon which he has embarked.

You know perfectly well that none of us, you or I, would like to be dumped in Demona -- especially with no skills.

And if the guy has done it, and if he has yielded an image of the kind of Jew we like, then the quid pro quo is very clear. The least we can do is not stint on him, not hold him back, not throttle him by an inadequate flow of capitalization into his farm, so that he can make the darn thing become self-sufficient and pay off.

I don't want to startle anybody. Of the 485 farm settlements that have been started some 11 and a half years ago, do you know how many of them are self-sufficient in the sense that they pay off? That the 200 farm families who live on them earn their living from the produce of that farm? Not one.

Shocking, eh?

We never tell this story, because we are talking about somebody running across a border, or a Fedayan raid or somebody getting thrown out of a country. This story could have been told every year for the last 11 and a half years -- it has never been told.

Not once. Is it because those Jews don't know how to farm? No.

Is it because they don't want to farm? No.

Is it because there are no instructors to teach them?

The economics are very simple. Not a single one of those farm settlements has been fully capitalized. That is all.

Again you might say, what kind of a way is that to do business, start 485 of them and not finish one? It is not logical.

You might say:

Start 60 and finish all 60.

But you and I know it was considered "illogical" to take in a million people.



You started 483 of these settlements and you dumped 130,000 people on them in an effort to begin the process of absorption. Don't forget all those 130,000 people at least have houses. That much they have.

They are on the way -- to self-sufficiency. But in a long, long way. All we can say, they have started. They are not finished -- not a one.

According to the best estimates based on figures I received, (and I have received all kinds of figures in response to this question), between 60 and 100 of these settlements -- and I am sorry that I can't be any more specific than that -- (you have noticed I have tried to be precise in my figures up to now) -- are on the verge of what is called self-support. That is, earning their own way. To achieve it, they need elements of capitalization which in some case might be a mere paltry few hundred thousand pounds to put in the livestock, or in some place, where water is lacking, there might be more than that; in some place it might be less than that if all that it is lacking is some machinery.

Here is the third issue of what we call "the unmet needs." And you could bring anywhere from 60 to 100 of these villages up to snuff very quickly if you had full capitalization for them.

This brings me to the fourth and last point that I describe in this process of absorption.

If the families are on the farms and if they are in those houses, but if they can't earn their living from those farms, what do the men do? This is the problem that I call the problem of underemployment, not unemployment -- let us make it very clear.

As a matter of fact, in Israel today there is a shortage of skilled labor. There is no unemployment in Israel today by anybody's criterion.

There is this situation which I call chronic underemployment in which these men, many of them working on the farms, cannot secure their livelihood from the settlement itself. They are taken off in a system of subsidized jobs, what we used to call the W.P.A. They are given employment, not leaf-raking work; necessary work --



rock crushing, culvert building, bridge building, tree planting, - all good things for the future of Israel, but all designed, obviously, to give them a certain amount of cash money to buy food.

The standards vary from 12 to 15 days a month, sometimes more, but that is about the average,

Fifteen days of work a month at 5 pounds a day is the amount of 75 pounds -- 40 dollars.

So if that is what the husband is earning, then it is obvious that the wife goes out and tries to work, and even the children go out and try to work; and the chance for a child to get into secondary education is slim. Because at the age of 14 to 15 he must go out and try to help the family make some money. This just reduces the number of children who are going to school and it is also compounded by the fact that secondary school costs money, it is not free. You are not earning enough and the child has to supplement the income, and secondary education cost money. The child doesn't get it.

We pride ourselves on the Jews being a people of knowledge and learning and the book. -- Fine. Beyond the age of 13 education in Israel is not free and universal.

Now look -- if you take this package and put it together, ma'abaroah and housing; family disintegration and slum conditions; undercapitalized farm settlements and underemployed farmers, you get a sharp picture of the daily life of the one-third of all the immigrants who have come into Israel in the last 11½ years and who are not fully absorbed.

That is the campaign theme with as much emotion or drama as you can inject into it, with as much of an understanding as you can possibly give people, that to dump somebody on the beach at Haifa is simply not enough.

All of this is without any reference to another important fact, which is the fact of new immigration to Israel. Here we are on tricky and treacherous ground. I would like to be perfectly free and frank, open and honest with you.



And yet without attempting to be arbitrary at all, I would like to suggest very humbly that the story of the absorption be the main story of the campaign theme, and that you not get involved in the question of new immigration, except to make the obvious statement that after you pour your heart out on this whole presentation, you then say, "I have been talking to you about the old ones who have been in Israel, six, five, four, three years. And what about the new ones who are coming tomorrow and next week and next month?"

Remind them of the new ones who are coming. But I would like us this year to stay away from the whole story of new migration. May I tell you why?

We based our past campaigns, constantly and consistently, on so many and so many immigrants coming from Poland and so many and so many from Rumania, and so many and so many from Hungary; and I think in a way it was fine and it was good. But I think also, in a way it boomeranged.

The executive director of a certain city got a letter from the rabbi of that city. I am not making this up. I won't tell you the names, but I have the correspondence on file and I will show it to anybody who wants to see it.

The rabbi of the city writes to the executive director and says, "Enclosed please find \$20 in final payment of my pledge for \$100 on the regular campaign. I made a pledge of \$80 for the special fund which I do not intend to pay."

The second paragraph:

"I know the meaning of making a pledge, of making an oath. I am a rabbi, I know what this means in Jewish law. The reason I am reneging on this pledge is that I was seduced to make it under false illusions. I was told that there would be a great flood of people from Rumania, and they did not come, and I believe that the officials of the UJA made this up."

Honest to God.

"And I do not intend to pay."

A lot of you know Leonard Rattner in Cleveland. Leonard Rattner tells the story with his own inimitable comical twist, of how he went to a man and asked him for more money and the man wouldn't give it to him. And the man turned around to him and he said,



"And I am not going to give it to you because all these years you have been making me false promises. You told me 100,000 Jews would come from Poland, and only 30,000 came. So you owe me 70,000 Jews." (Laughter)

"And you told me 100,000 Jews came from Rumania and only 10,000 came. So you owe me 90,000." And he make a reckoning that Leonard Rattner owed him something like 200,000 Jews, and Leonard Rattner turned around to him and he said, "You know, you are right. I will tell you what I do. I came to you in 1953 and I asked you for \$50,000, and you gave me one. So you owe me \$49,000. And I came to you in 1954 and I asked you for 54 and you gave me 2. So you owe me that. And that is 75." And before he got done he talked the man into the fact that the man owed him more dollars than Leonard owed him Jews. (Laughter)

When you tell it in a joke and when Leonard tells it the way he does, it is delicious.

When you see a man, a rabbi, not paying \$80 because he tells you that you are a liar, you might say that you are dealing with an abnormal situation -- you probably are, the man is psychotic. But, on the other hand, this business of boomerang that I just referred to is implicit in the story I have told you.

I do not want us to go out this year and say there will be 20,000 Jews coming to Israel or there will be 50,000 or there will be 10 -- for two reasons. Because I don't want to have to be faced at the end of the year with a balance sheet of what I owe on a false prediction.

The second thing I don't want to be faced with is the raising of the nose in the air -- "Oh, you are only talking about 25,000 Jews; what is that?"

Well, it is \$25 million for that one item alone; it is a third of what we raise; moreover, it is more than half of what we give the Jewish Agency.

So the contributor dismisses it. And he does, because we have gotten him used to figures of 100,000 and 150,000 and one million.

You say to him 25,000, and he says nothing.

You have thrown away, and made no impression with, nay, even possibly started



a boomerang reaction against yourself by going into the details of this item.

Forget it. Dismiss it.

With the addendum that I said, after talking about the problem of the unabsorbed previous immigrants, we may refer to the fact that there is obviously a steady flow of new ones coming in, that the clock isn't stopped, and you ask the audience simply to comprehend what it means to try to solve the problem of the backlog when you have got new ones coming all the time. There is no need to specify how many and from what country.

Now, having said that, let me tell you what I think how many and from where -- because I think you and I ought to know.

I can only give you my guess. Nobody in Israel has made an official estimate. My guess is about 25,000 for 1960. I know you won't hold me to it if it is 20 or if it is 21 or if it is 18 or if it is 27.

Barring any large-scale resumption of emigration from Rumania, and barring any new large-scale beginning in Hungary, barring these two things, but talking about an immigration from North Africa, from eastern Europe, from Asia, I see about 25,000.

The immigration from Morocco is difficult. It is conducted against the most awful odds.

The emigration from Poland is not difficult. It goes smoothly, quietly, panelach, at a fixed pace with no fuss and nothing being said about it.

From other places in eastern Europe it is beginning to pick up a bit.

From Iran it goes very nicely with no fuss. There are no official relations between Israel and Iran; there is no exchange of ambassadors.

Nevertheless, there is an office in Teheran which acts as though it were a consulate and issues visas.

The emigration from Iran could be as large as we want it to be, i.e., as we had money for.

It once was as high as a thousand a month. There are 80,000 Jews in Iran. Nobody knows how many of them would want to go to Israel.



If the two things which I barred, namely, Rumania's large-scale, Hungary's large-scale emigrations -- if either one or both of those, to say nothing of the question of the Soviet Union, were to show any change from the present pattern, then my figure might be low.



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On the other hand, should increasing difficulties occur in other places such as North Africa, my figure might be high.

I think, it gains us nothing in the presentation of this year's picture to stress more than the mere fact that we have got new immigrants to concern ourselves with as well as the old ones; the primary emphasis on the old.

Having said that, I have still said nothing about the Joint Distribution Committee. I think there again it is a question of the story of the Joint Distribution Committee, and not the institutionalized Joint Distribution Committee.

I don't give a darn for an institution or an organization. It is the program the organization does that is meaningful to us in human terms.

The work of the JDC, in human terms, has been lost in the shuffle year after year, because of the obviously more exciting, stimulating and demanding events that held and captured our attention; and so, just as we never had time to talk about the farm settlements, so we never had time to talk about the children in Morocco who go to the schools and nurseries to get a hot lunch every day, - (30,000 of them!) just as undramatically as you put a handkerchief in your pocket every morning. You don't think about it, you put a handkerchief in, you need a clean handkerchief.

We are all pros in this business. How many people in this room think even once a month of the fact that 30,000 kids get fed every single day in Morocco?

Hands up.

What is this worth in human terms? Talk about telling a campaign story. Talk about telling a story in which you try to get people to understand what Jewish values are. What is the difference? 30,000 youngsters in the Ghetto at Casablanca, or 30,000 kids in Beit Hachticva? -- they are 30,000 Jewish children.

I would recommend seriously and honestly that you take hold of the UJA budget book, this dull printed budget book and again, reading on page 27, where the story of the JDC is knocked down, paragraph by paragraph, in this unglamorous way that a budget tells the most glamorous things in the world.

\$29 million is the budget of the JDC for this year. Some of it they receive from the Claims Conference; German money, - six, seven, eight million -- I am not sure



how much exactly. A little tiny bit; I don't know, another million, maybe less, from South American -- around \$20 million from us -- 20, 21; don't hold me to it.

Don't you think that for giving away \$20 million of money we raise for a certain project we ought to talk about it? I repeat, not because the project or the organization that runs it is holy in any way at all, but the work they do is work that we want them to do, and the people from whom we solicit the money would like to know about. Where do they spend it?

Well, we are right back to old home base again. Of the \$29 million in their budget they are going to spend \$11,000,000 right in Israel on the Malben program. Right back in the same Israel that commands all our love and all our loyalty and to which we want to see the money go.

And if the Malben weren't spending that \$11 million for the people in -- turn the page -- 6,580 beds, then somebody else would have to spend that money. It would be the Government, it would be the taxpayers of Israel, it would be the immigrants of three years ago who would pay for the immigrants of two years ago, that is, because somebody must support the sick and the aged and the handicapped, and so on.

By the way, 6,580 beds which the Malben has in Israel is more, I think, (unless I am mistaken) than the number of beds the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies has in New York City. I may be wrong. It is a powerful thing, isn't it?

Moslem countries -- \$4,950,000 -- \$5 million in Moslem lands.

Well, those are the 30,000 youngsters in Morocco, and these are the 20,000 children in Iran, and these are the sanitation teams that burn down the hovels of the Mahalay in Isfahan or Abadan or Shiraz. And these are the parasitologists who go around giving the kids emetics and laxatives to take the worms out of them in all the terrible places in Persia; and these are, and these are, and these are ---

You have \$5 million worth of relief, succor, comfort-loving care that you are "dishing" out to Jews in Moslem countries. If we think that Jews in Kansas city or Duluth or Dallas are not interested in hearing about it, we are wrong.



Western Europe and Poland, \$5,300,000.

I was in Poland in December. I made my second trip. I visited it two years ago, just after the JDC was invited back there.

Fantastic, the way that thing works. A little under \$1 million is spent in Poland. Think only, out of this \$5 million, which JDC budget calls "Western Europe and Poland" -- \$1 million in Poland.

This money is going out in the form of 200 zlotys and 500 zlotys, mere pennies.

Going out in the form of cash relief or food, medicine.

Going out in the form of relief to cooperatives so that Jews can get together and work, they need the machinery, they need the leather.

30,000 Jews in Poland, it is all that is left out of a population of more than 3 million -- and it is getting smaller and smaller all the time, the hardith, the remnant of the remnant of the remnant since Hitler's time -- talk about their conditions and talk about the spending of \$1 million a year. We could spend 2 if we had it, (and we wanted to), and we wouldn't be putting anybody in luxury.

There is an item in the JDC budget which I don't want to explain any more carefully than they explain, and it is called "Relief in Transit"; three and a quarter million dollars. You know what they say. I will just read their words.

Relief in Transit. Every other item, it says "Belgium, Holland". It tells you what country is getting it -- But tens of thousands of destitute Jews who cannot be reached through the welfare programs described above -- (the welfare programs mentioned above are described by country), nevertheless receive considerable assistance through this special relief in transit program.

This program is as important and as vitally needed as any carried on by the JDC anywhere.



I think you understand. Three and a quarter million dollars. We could drop thirty-three and a quarter million dollars into this thing, and it still wouldn't reach the bottom.

Reconstruction, \$1,800,000 -- it is mainly for that the ORT. JDC gives to ORT \$1,650,000.

Cultural and Religious Activities in Israel \$725,000, and other, \$1,900,000 -- "Other" means all the special things like the once-a-year matroh grants, and all one-time special grants to Yeshivoth. Everything that does not refer to a permanent on-going program, but is an extraordinary item that must be dealt with once; also in the \$1,900,000, is the overhead of the New York office and Geneva headquarters.

We talk about the problems of the unabsorbed, and, as though that were not dayanu, we go on to the business of new immigration into Israel, and as though that were not dayanu, we go into the business of the JDC. Now, I would like to discuss with you problems which I consider to be the most serious ones of the future. What I am going to say is not for large audiences. It is my desire just to talk out loud with you about two issues which I see as paramount, which I see as demanding and requiring our vigilant attention, and which I see as matters we will some day discuss with our contributors.

Always with the long view, I like to start talking to you about it now, and I think that we will be talking together about it for a great many years to come.

There are two problems of the future, one is war, the other is Russia. Maybe it is one problem -- I don't know.

You all read the JTA today. It isn't a question of reading the JTA today; it is a question of understanding with all the knowledge at your command what happens in Israel.

The final battle has not been fought, in my judgment -- the decisive battle, or war.

I am not prepared, because I don't think I could say to you, that the following things will occur within the following time table.



I don't think that I could do that as strongly as my intuition tells me that I am right.

But I think that the generalized conditions can be delineated and dissected and the anatomy of the problem laid bare.

There is some relenting on the part of the Arab forces. There are some who say and who feel that the refugee problem might be solved and, therefore, that sources of irritation could be reduced and eliminated. At times there seems to be so much internal antagonism between the Arabs that no two of them, not Nasser and Kassar, would ever get together on a common problem, even if it is the extermination of Israel. All these reasonings appear to be hopeful signs tending toward a relaxation of tensions, which would make my thesis untenable. Nonetheless, it seems to me that the basic dissection of this problem leaves us with one inevitable conclusion. Namely, that, while you live in a state of cold war which often flares into hot war, you must go from that into full war unless somebody is willing to break down and make peace.

The blockade may be tougher at some times and relaxed at others. Suez may be open for a period of two, two and a half years, and then closed again.

Forty ships may go through quietly and undramatically, and with no hullabaloo, and, suddenly, one is stopped and then the next one is stopped and then you have more hullabaloo.

But the main, the essential problem is not connected with these temporal things, the ups and downs.

It is connected with the basic fact that, until lasting peace is comfortably secured, you run the greatest risk of war, and I don't see anything -- and I am speaking only for myself -- that gives an inkling or a clue of peace.

I would like to point out one single practical aspect of another war between Israel and Arab states -- the cost of military preparedness. Of course, I am not forgetting other -- moral and emotional -- aspects of war.



As Jews, we would cry and weep again at Jewish dead. As liberal human beings, would feel painfully helpless and disgusted at war as a solution to an impasse. As long as Israel must face hostile neighbors, its security budget will not diminish.

Au contraire, for many years to come there is going to be a constant increase in the amount of money Israel will have to spend on defense -- for many years to come.

It means, quite simply, that as long as there is not a visible and practical solution to the problem of security, Israel will not be able to divert revenue money from defense expenditures toward the housing and the ma'abarot, toward farm needs and so on.

The old man throws into the cabinet (yesterday or today -- I don't know when it was) -- a long forty-page review of the security situation, and he brings to the cabinet meeting General Laekov and Mr. Shimon Peres, and all the experts, and they are talking about how they can keep ahead in the arms race, and what they will have to buy, and how much more it will cost and where they can get it from.

This is not because they have nothing else to do.

There are clear practical implications derived from defense arithmetics. Egypt has nine submarines fully operative. Israel bought two. One is in Israel and operative; the other is still being refitted in England.

At some point you decide that your two against their nine isn't enough, - so you go and try to buy at least two more.

Then they buy four more. And so it is with submarines, with planes; with tanks; with war production. You must increase your armaments production.

You and I will never pass judgment on that. You and I will never say they are wrong.

You and I will live with the fact that, in order to survive, the security of the state must be preserved and adequately maintained. Those are facts of life.

I think when you yourself and not your listener, see the picture a la longue this item must be included.

It bothers me, it weighs heavily on me. There isn't a day that goes by that I don't think of it -- not a day, believe me.



There is not a day that goes by that I don't think of the second issue, the last matter I talked to you about, and that is the problem of Russia.

In everything I said before I kept excluding Russia -- eight hundred thousand potential immigrants excluding Russia -- everything excluding.

Friends, I have a very dark, dark and pessimistic, and fearful view of what is going to happen to the Jewish population in Russia.

Again, that is just my own outlook. Perhaps all I am doing is a bit of personal psychotherapy, by getting it off my chest.

I have grim and dark forebodings. I know that the analysis goes one of two ways, or one of three ways.

If the Soviets don't like their Jews, they still are not going to be able to do anything about it because genocide is not popular any more.

Or, the second way: if the Soviets really don't like their Jews, they can always deport enough Jews in large numbers to Siberia, and that won't be as bad as genocide. In fact, it will be just an internal matter and nobody will be able to do or say very much about it.

Or the third possibility: if the Soviets really have a terrible problem with their Jews and don't like their Jews and can't swallow their Jews, they will have to disgorge them, and therefore let them out or throw them out -- whichever way you want to, it is inevitable. Because the only way the Soviets can solve their Jewish problem is to spit out the bone in the throat.

You pay your nickel and you take your choice.

I refer to 1881, - the year of bloody pogroms in Russia. The new Czar, Alexander III, appointed his former tutor, Pobyedonostsev, presiding officer of the Holy Synod. Pobyedonostsev's political credo can briefly be summed up as follows: autocracy is superior to western parliamentarism. Religious unity through the Greek Orthodox Church must be imposed on all Russia. This theoretician of absolutism had a definite "Jewish pogrom": a third might be converted, a third emigrate, and a third perish.



These are the same three solutions today.

The Soviets have admitted the Malakhov episode. For them to have admitted it was not an easy thing to do. It means that anti-Semitism bubbles and bubbles and bubbles to the extent that they can't suppress it any more.

Again, what is the bearing of this on us?

What is the relationship to us? Simply this:

It also is a problem that you and I are going to live with for many, many years. It is a bit different from the security problem of Israel, because the security problem of Israel simply means that the government will have to keep up a high defense budget.

As far as this Russian issue is concerned, the anticipated difficulties are of such nature and of such dimension that events might occur with suddenness and with great dramatic impact. They would demand from us the kind of response we never made, not even in 1948. I can tell you very simply that if events were to develop in the Russian situation, - all we raised in 1948 would look like kopecks. 150 million dollars which we raised that year wouldn't last longer than a snap of a finger.

Perhaps it is a nightmare. Perhaps the best way to exorcise a nightmare and get it out of your system is to make it seem unreal to yourself.

I wish it would go away. I doesn't.

We will be living with it, and one of these years you and I are going to have to face it with the most heroic kind of response we were ever capable, and we will have to generate it from others, and we will have to do it with a conviction and a capacity and a strength that will make all our previous efforts look puny.

I tell you that now.

Having said it, having gotten it out of my system, I must remind you and myself



that these are issues about which we are not going to talk in this year's campaign or any year's campaign until it happens.

So forgive me for the business of the war fear and forgive me for the business of the Russian "nightmare" -- these are the great clouds.

Let us come back and try to take these things that I have said and synopsize them.

I have only got a couple of slogans that I find I keep using all the time, and they keep coming up over and over and over again, and they help me to tell the story.

If they tell the story for you in that same light, then you use them, and maybe we can translate them to others.

It is the task of our generation to rescue a people and to build a land.

We have achieved the transportation of vast numbers of immigrants to Israel, but not their transformation into productive citizens.

Man does not live by freedom alone. He sometimes needs bread.

The state has been built, but it is not yet a nation.

You wave the flag at the end, at least, I do - to myself, because I believe this with all my heart -- You and I are working to create one Israel, not two: with a privileged class and an underprivileged class; -- one Israel with liberty and with bread for all people.

It has taken me an hour and a half to say this. I have never before talked to you this long, and I hope to goodness I never do again.

But, in the course of this hour and a half, it is like trying to wrench yourself out of one pattern and one way of doing business into another.

We are going to have to take this, you and I both, and make hot, fiery twenty-minute speeches out of it. We will do it in the best possible manner. We are experienced campaigners.

Thank you very much for being so very, very patient.



Pincus - Cabinet - 10 Dec 61

1. Israel cannot reduce commitments to arms
2. Few years German reparations come to end
3. Morocco must be prepared to take 40-50,000 in a year
4. Rumania - will continue at 2000 per mo.
5. Algiers + Tunisia - 500 per month
6. all other countries
7. Total - 7-8000 per month.
8. Transportation - \$200 per head.  
Casa to Haifa
9. We are committed to the fast-track on 485 settlements, which must be brought up to self-support. Also these very settlements will have to take in new people.



- 10 - Israel is taking more than its share of the burden - indirect taxation increased, compulsory loan, etc
11. Partners in long haul.



Josephthal - Cabinet - 10 Dec 61

1. 1961 immigration will be just under 50

58 - 23,000

59 - 23

60 - 24

61 - 50

This is fact - not prospect

2. This is first year of mass immigration since 1951

3. Housing will be \$110 million for housing. This is 3 times previous rate of last 3 years. We are finishing 1500 houses per month. Can't promise this pace. So far - no market. Hope we would come to it.

4. Can't regulate immigration. In Rumania we can't even see people - just give visas.

5. Moscow also very shaky - government wouldn't last if US help stopped. So we must take Jews fast, as we can get them.

6. Even not using figures - we can say doubling the burden on Israel



## 7. Good side

a. No unemployment in Israel - we can give them jobs

(There is social unemployment - aged, handicapped, etc. Govt spends 15 million per year giving relief work to such persons)

In 1962 we can give 40,000 jobs, to new immigrants, discharged soldiers, youth coming to working age, etc.

## 8. Can we borrow more?

World Bank published that Israel is country with biggest relative foreign debt in world - 35% of annual income. We mortgage future of our children.

## 9. What did we do ourselves?

We put <sup>4</sup> 70 million on people of Israel as additional burden.

- 12% as compulsory loan. This will be changed to tax.
- Indirect taxes - haircuts
- Opposition voted with govt on taxes.

10. We still earn only half of our dollar needs. To earn 50% is by progress - but still only half.
11. We pay for 70% of the absorption.  
But if we can't get the 30%, the absorption will break down. If this happens, immigration will stop.  
We will stop immigration by non-absorption (unemployment + maabarot).  
The 30% is the difference between housing + maabarot -



HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Speech Notes



FOOD SESSION THIS AM + PM

NEW BURST OF COURAGE, STRENGTH + EFFORT  
IS REQUIRED

YOU HAVE HEARD THE STORY (LEVITT, PINCUS) -  
and HERRI REMEDY REQUIRED (MEYERHOFF)

Read  
Headlines

NO ONE DOUBTS THE STORY. SOME WISH THEY  
HAD MORE FACTS - UNFORTUNATE NO PUBLICITY -  
BUT WE WILL TELL ANYONE ANYTHING.

Phil  
Ben  
Paul

WHAT DO YOU SAY THEN? WHAT ARE THE  
ANSWERS WE HEAR TO THE REQUEST FOR MORE MONEY?

Q. WHY IS THIS DIFFERENT?

A - IT ISN'T - EXCEPT IN VOLUME

Q. WHY CAN'T ISRAEL HELP?

A - SHE DOES, AND PROSPEROUS IMAGE IS A MISLEADING

Q. WHAT ABOUT NEXT YEAR?

A - LET'S WORRY THEN. CAUTION ABOUT FUTURE  
WHICH INHIBITS ACTION IN PRESENT IS  
UNWORTHY OF A PEOPLE WITH FAITH

Q. WHAT ABOUT MY BASE?

A - HENCE WE URGE SPECIAL FUND



ONE-TIME  
EMERGENCY GIVING

YES - GOOD TO BE MATURE - TAKE  
LONG LOOK - BUT ALSO NECESSARY TO REACT TO  
THE MOMENT. WE SHALL BE DOING THIS FOR  
LONG TIME - BUT MUST PUSH NOW THAT  
OPPORTUNITY IS HERE.

ALL THESE ARGUMENTS ARE LOGICAL + RATIONAL.  
REALLY THIS IS MATTER OF CONVICTION -  
IF WE BELIEVE DEEPLY ENOUGH WE FIND THE  
COURAGE TO DO EXTRAORDINARY ACT.

WE MUST BELIEVE IN THE VALUE OF  
JEWISH LIFE, INDIVIDUALLY + COLLECTIVELY. WE  
MUST SAVE EVERY ONE.

WE MUST BELIEVE IN THE VALUE OF  
ISRAEL - FOR REASONS OF JEWISH SURVIVAL (and  
its worth to mankind.)

BABI YAR -

SOLUTION TO JEWISH PROBLEM IS MIGRATION.

"WANDERING JEW" - DRIVEN - NO MORE - WE PICK THEM  
UP WITH  
TENDER  
LOVING  
HANDS  
OUR HONOR - OUR CHILDREN - OUR PRIDE

NO ONE IS QUITTING NOW



## JEWISH PROFESSOR ESCAPES TERRORIST ATTACK

Paris, December 1, 1961.

(JCNS) An attack by terrorists on Wednesday against Professor Serror, a Jewish surgeon from the Algiers Faculty of Medicine failed.

Professor Serror was not hit, but his Moslem cook was severely wounded by four bullets.

## "THEODOR HERZL" BRINGS NEW IMMIGRANTS

Haifa, December 4, 1961.

(JCNS) The largest single group of immigrants to come to Israel for some time - 500 persons - arrived in Haifa on Friday, aboard the "Theodor Herzl".

Zim Israel Navigation Company has commissioned the ship to carry immigrants during the winter months, leaving only one deck for regular passengers.

This proposition is reminiscent of the time of the beginning of the State when special ships were used to transport newcomers. It indicates the considerable increase in immigration this year.

According to the Jewish Agency's Absorption Department, the immigrants are now arriving to Israel from almost all countries where a Jewish community exists.

London, December 3, 1961.

## MOROCCAN JEWS LEAVE WITH PASSPORTS

Rabat, December 4, 1961.

(JCNS) The Moroccan News Agency "Maghreb" on Friday released a dispatch declaring that 105 Moroccan Jews left Casablanca airport on Thursday for Marseilles in a specially-chartered plane.

"Contrary to certain tendentious information, the persons comprising the group were holders of valid passports", the Arab Agency said, referring to a previous report by the Agence France Presse which said the group had no passports.

The Moroccan news agency's dispatch was published by several newspapers here, thus constituting the first public admission that the emigration of Moroccan Jews is now tolerated by the authorities, whether formally or merely tacitly.

Attempts to leave the country illegally were in the main, the result of restrictions on the issue of passports. The present emigration is seen as a partial solution to the unemployment problem which faces the country, and is tolerated, if not encouraged. Recently, 1,150 Moroccans left Agadir - the city wrecked by an earthquake - for France where they were offered employment in the coal mines in the North.

## PLANS FOR HOUSING OF NEW IMMIGRANTS IN ISRAEL ANNOUNCED BY MINISTER

JERUSALEM, Dec. 5. (JTA) -- Plans for building 18,000 housing units for immigrants during the current Israeli fiscal year were announced today by Giora Josephthal, Minister of Development and Housing, prior to his departure for the United States to address the United Jewish Appeal conference this weekend.

He said that expenditures on buildings of all kinds rose from 500,000,000 pounds (\$280,000,000) in 1959-60 to 800,000,000 pounds (\$448,000,000) this year. He emphasized that nine out of every 10 immigrants who arrived between April and November were provided with housing and that two-thirds of the newcomers were settled in development areas. Only five percent became farmers, he said.

Some 2,000 families have been moved out of the maabarot (transit camps) during the past eight months, he said, leaving 3,500 still to be re-housed, including the 10 percent of the April to November immigration not provided with housing.