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Emergency Conference [New York, N.Y.]. 18 November 1955.

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SPECIAL EMERGENCY MEETING

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

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Hotel Waldorf-Astoria
New York City

November 18, 1955

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The Special Emergency Meeting of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 10:10 A.M. on Friday, November 18, 1955 in the Jade Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York; Mr. William Rosenwald presiding.

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Ladies and gentlemen, speaking both personally and for those who convened the meeting, I want to thank each and every one of you for leaving your home and your business and coming here to be with us today. The attendance shows, first of all, your understanding from reading the papers of the emergency with which Israel is today confronted. Next, it shows your confidence in the United Jewish Appeal as being what it has always been, the prime channel through which help to Israel goes, and perhaps most important and most appreciated of all, it shows your continued devotion and desire to help in the problems that confront us here today.

I would like to thank most especially the members of the United Jewish Appeal Study Mission who were in Israel. They went at a terrific pace. They saw and heard a great deal and they felt and reacted and responded to what they saw and heard, and it was a terrific group and they did a terrific job. I can't tell you how appreciated it is.

Last of all, I would like to thank Eddie Warburg -- and this is quite personal -- for having, in and out of season, told me and told others that his only way to get a real feel of what the United Jewish Appeal is about and what it does, is to go on such a mission, to go either with the UJA Study Mission or with some city group such as Detroit had at about the same time, and you get a totally different concept, a totally different feeling such as you can never get in the work here at home.

I have been in the United Jewish Appeal for quite some years, and as Eddie said -- Eddie, you were 110 percent right, and not only do I feel that way but I have had letters from other members of the Mission saying that they feel the same way, and I want to thank those who were responsible for my going and Eddie for having pointed the way and urged each and every one of you, as soon as you can, to organize such a group from your own community, or get communities together and organize such a group and go on such a trip. Then you will understand what you are doing and what we are doing better than ever before.

The United Jewish Appeal Study Mission landed at Lydda Airport just four weeks ago on Thursday, October

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20th, in the morning, and at the time they landed there, the leaders of the United Jewish Appeal had abandoned any ideas that they might have been flirting with of calling a November conference, but a week later when they had their closing dinner on Thursday the 27th, they came to a decision to call this conference. Everybody was enthusiastic about it and cables had gone out.

We asked you to come here today in order to share some of our experiences and some of our problems with you, and what is much more important, to turn to you to tell us of what you think about how we should go about trying to meet these problems.

The program today is designed to do just that. Following myself we have Herb Friedman who was in North Africa personally this summer to tell about that. Eddie Warburg will tell about some of the fundraising problems that we see involved, and then we will have a period devoted to discussion. Just before luncheon, Senator Herbert Lehman will be here for a few words, and Foreign Minister Sharett will close the morning session. The entire afternoon is set aside for more discussion, so you can see that it has been planned for you to tell us. That is what we

want.

I would like to just touch upon what happened before and after the morning of October 20th to show you how it happened that this meeting was called. In Paris at the JDC Conference, we heard about all the work of the Joint Distribution Committee in Israel, all over the world. There was special emphasis on North Africa and although Herb, as I said, had been in North Africa this summer, when he came back in September, in early October, we found that the speeches he made then were understated. He knew they were understated. He was trying to be politic, advisedly so, and I want to tell you that anything you see in writing, if it is a letter or a publication or a news release or anything that you see or here in a public meeting, it is going to be an understatement from now on.

Because to the extent that we can avoid upsetting the position of the Jews in North Africa now, to the extent that we can encourage guarantees there in the future, we want to do so. It is to our interest and, above all, to their interest to do it.

But we learned in Paris that the main thing -- in a private meeting like this, talking to people face to

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face, solicitation in small groups or otherwise where there were no reporters present and he could take the wraps off -- Herb had been saying even in private meetings, just as one example, that it is true that the movement and the riots in North Africa were not primarily anti-Semitic. They were directed primarily against the French and then turned into pogroms. I don't know what difference it makes, but it was an understatement.

Sam Haber who directs the JDC program in Morocco told us that some of them started and continued and went through as just plain anti-Semitic movements. To bear it out, just before he came to Paris, a bomb was thrown into a Jewish cafe in Morocco.

We have been guilty of understatement by stressing the importance of such guarantees as exist for the Jews of Tunis and other countries and what has been promised for the Jews of Morocco, and we still hope those guarantees will be there for whatever they are worth, but Giora Josephthal told us a couple of things that opened our eyes.

First of all, we stressed that in forming a government in Tunis, a Jew has been included in the Cabinet,

Arthur Bessis, a very fine man. I am glad he is there. We don't want to discourage his being there and others who may come to similar situations. But don't think the Arabs did this for the Jews. They did it for their own purposes.

Giora told us why the Arabs are giving these guarantees and putting Jews in the Cabinet and so on, and it is because it helps them in their plea for nationalism vis-a-vis the western world. It makes it more palatable. But experience has shown that once they get under the influence of the Arab League, it is going to be hard to earn a living, it is going to be hard to live there.

Perhaps it was brought home to me even more closely when Mary and I went to see a boat in Haifa Harbor and we talked directly to some of the immigrants. It gives me the shivers to think of it, and it haunted Mary for days. We talked to a man from Morocco. He had two olive oil mills worth a couple of million francs. They were burned down, his house was burned down. He told me had had a good claim against Morocco. He wasn't going to wait to collect that claim. He came without anything.

There was a man in Tunis. He had been a merchant. He just couldn't do any business any more, couldn't

keep body and soul together, and there was a rather wealthy lady -- her husband was busy getting his papers in order -- well-dressed, obviously well fed, wearing a lot of heavy gold, and she just said this was her country.

And these illustrate the three motives, why people want out from North Africa. First of all, they had been subjected to attacks, their fear of attack. Second, they can't earn a livelihood any more, and third, they are just afraid of losing such status as they may have and they want to go to a country where they may have status.

But we knew all this in Paris and it was this, plus what we heard in Israel, that caused the calling of this meeting. The day the Mission landed, Prime Minister Sharett started by telling them that they had arrived at the moment when Israel had suddenly been plunged into the gravest sort of emergency. The emergency, as you know, grew out of Egypt's getting large shipments of arms from Czechoslovakia. The published figure was \$80,000,000. It depends upon what price tag you put on those arms, at what they cost to produce, what we value them at. You would put them perhaps nearer a quarter of a billion dollars.

Sharett told us that the night before the

emergency had been declared, the Government had had a meeting and had announced that they had appropriated huge sums from their reserves to meet the emergency and to buy arms, and this emergency proved true while I was there.

I landed personally on a Tuesday. On Thursday the Egyptians who had just accepted a cease-fire a little before that, moved a large body of troops into Israeli territory in the demilitarized zones, and the United Nations immediately and repeatedly asked them to get out, and on Sunday Israel mobilized, and the only way I knew it was that in the hotels one day I had service, and the next day the service wasn't so good, and I asked what had happened. They said, "Half our staff has been mobilized." It was quietly done. And on Thursday, a week after the Egyptians had moved in, the day I left, the Egyptians had moved out. There was fighting going on, and I took the middle road coming from Beersheba up to Tel Aviv. I didn't take the border road.

I can't tell you how I admire the restraint the Israelis have shown, because the Egyptians by their actions have shown that they have no intention of observing their cease-fire, and no intention of listening to the

United Nations, and while the Israelis are waiting for the Egyptians to listen to the United Nations, the Egyptians are bringing in more troops and more reinforcements and are consolidating their position. That happened again with some police actions this time on the Egyptian side of the de-militarized zone after they were out of the Israeli side. Their restraint is wonderful.

There is a great air of confidence from the highest army authorities to the man in the street. At the present time, if the Arabs start anything, Israel is confident it can take care of it. What will happen in the future, as you saw in this morning's papers and yesterday's papers, is going to depend in large measure on what we in America, the Government, and the United Jewish Appeal will do.

Another sign of the awareness is that voluntary contributions were asked, and literally millions of pounds, Israeli pounds poured into the Treasury overnight as voluntary contributions. This, on top of regular taxes and special taxes for the North African immigration. Eshkol had said that nobody could smoke a cigarette or take a drink or build a house without contributing to helping North

African immigration, and a little while later the man in the street was quipping with true Israeli humor, "Are the Egyptians crazy? If they should succeed in invading Israel, they never could afford to live here." (Laughter) And that quip raises a question that one might properly ask:

"Why do you have to have the North African emigration and the security at the same time? Instead of accelerating the emigration, why don't you hold back on it a little?" There are two answers:

First of all, the State of Israel was not created for the people who happened to be living there at any given time. It is a home to which Jews can go, and not to take the Jews out of North Africa, fighting for time as they are, would be to defeat the very purpose of the existence of the State of Israel.

But Israel's motives are frankly not altogether altruistic. They need the settlers to defend the land. Let me put it just that bluntly. We saw a North African family in the Lakeesh area, and there was a wooden and stone house being built that they were going to live in. It is a miserable life, but they are proud to have it. And what is the Lakeesh area? It is an area designed to

accomplish three purposes:

First of all, it lies between the northern Negev settlements and those that are nearer Beersheba. There is a big gap of rich but arid land that has been used for dry farming, which doesn't give employment to many people. It is largely machine farming, and in Lakeesh they hope to take the water from the Yaarkon-Negev pipeline that we helped to finance, and use that water to irrigate more acres and use it more efficiently.

Secondly, they hope to set up a group of planned settlements around rural centers, and the whole thing around an industrial city, so that it can grow and process industrial crops, and so that the educational and welfare and medical facilities can be centralized and efficiently used, a model plan.

And third, most important in what I am pointing out, it fills this empty gap, and it is much more efficient to have settlers who built their home and are living there and producing, than to send down troops who would be idle, who would have to be fed and supplied and who wouldn't have their own homes to live in and to defend. It is the ideal way of defending the land.

Just as the North African Ship to Settlement plan supplements the security measures, just so what is done in Israel supplements what we are doing here in America. It is a partnership, and please remember that in dollars and certainly in sacrifice, the Israelis are dividing a much greater proportion of that partnership among themselves, but don't think they don't appreciate it.

As Golda Myerson and Sharett said at that time in Geneva, talking to the Big Four, told us -- Golda said, "I don't know what the Foreign Ministers are going to say, but even if they say yes to what Sharett wants and give him treaties, if we don't have you, the United Jewish Appeal, the Jews of America, we are lost, and if the Foreign Ministers give nothing to Sharett, as long as we have the United Jewish Appeal in partnership with us, we know from experience we can see it through."

That is the importance that is attached to this partnership, and it is important for us from another angle. If you can remember back before Pearl Harbor when we didn't know where to send people, when we didn't have partners to help us once we did send them there, and after the war we had the same problem with the people who were

left in Europe. It is a partnership that works both ways.

We learned in the first days that we had to raise more money. Six million people died because we didn't have the money and the place to send them, and we learned in 1948, when there is fighting, the money is forthcoming. We can apply the lessons of the thirties and the experience of 1948 to the present situation. We've got to get people out before they are trapped. I am glad it is still on a small scale, but we've got to contend with fighting, and although it is on a small scale it is actually on a much more serious scale of tension.

The United Jewish Appeal does not contribute to military budgets, but the Government has been paying for immigration and can't any more, and we've got to take over the Government's share of it. It is a crisis.

We have been talking to you about emergencies for some years and this is not another emergency. We are faced with a new, a dramatic, a sudden crisis. It is the kind of thing where we don't know how to meet it. As I told you at the beginning, we want to hear that from you, but one thing I do know: that it simply is not enough to say as we have said in past years and this year with some

success, "We've got to raise more money."

Ladies and gentlemen, we have asked you to come here today to meet this crisis, to find some way by which a new element can be introduced, some way by which contributors in every city in the country, who feel as I do, that I want to give more money than last year to help Israel, can channel that money through the established fundraising sources.

This is the problem. I don't know how to do it, but we've got to have the answer here today and now, and for your coming here to help us in solving that problem, I want to thank you. (Applause)

As I told you, before we get to the solution we will try to present the problem more fully. Last June a new Executive Chairman came to the United Jewish Appeal. He is a man who, except for his participation as a speaker in local campaigns, had no experience, but at that time I predicted that he would bring a whole new energy, a whole new viewpoint, a whole new approach to the United Jewish Appeal. Short as have been those few months, the self-sacrifice, the devotion, the indefatigable drive, the inspirational thinking, that he has introduced in the United

Jewish Appeal already more than bear out what I had predicted and hoped for and expected, and at the rate he is going I know he has just started.

It is for those reasons a double treat to introduce our new but our own Herb Friedman. (Applause)

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I beg your indulgence for a bad cold. As soon as the voice breaks down, I will quit.

This meeting was called three weeks ago Wednesday night. In that short length of time forty or fifty of us got back together from Jerusalem, and three hundred of you got together from all over the United States. It is a very short period of time in which to mobilize a large group of very busy people. Everybody understands, therefore, that this is no joke and that this is no empty or futile gesture, and that this is simply no quixotic attempt on our part to try to stimulate and pump artificially into the campaign some new note of enthusiasm, in order to jack up your flagging spirits. It is not the reason this meeting was called, and it would be an insult to you.

This meeting was called in order to present to you what is a conjunction of circumstances with which we

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have not been faced for the last eight years. This is the most serious combination of events which has occurred since we talked about the creation of ^{a the new State} ~~life~~ in 1948. It is an unfortunate conjunction of circumstances. The crisis in North Africa has got to be understood in its full dimensions and the issue of survival in Israel must be understood in its full dimensions, and when you put two problems like that together, you've got what the astrologers call the crossing of the planets in an unhealthy conjunction which bodes ill. We are not astrologers because we don't live in the Middle Ages, and we are not give to superstition. We are Jews who are given to a sense of response when stimulus is applied, and stimulus exists in this combination.

I have been a Zionist or interested in Israel since I am old enough to remember. I am going to talk about the JDC part of this thing this morning because North Africa might be in your minds JDC, and Mr. Warburg who is JDC, is going to talk about Israel this morning. This is sort of a joke between us. We have been passing notes. I have been saying my speech sounds like JDC no matter what I do to it, and he says, "Mind sounds like

United Israel Appeal no matter what I do to it," and the fact of the matter is that these are so thoroughly inter-leaved and interwoven that they are inextricable.

Morocco used to be called Mauretania. The province existed before the ship. In Mauretania, before it became part of the Roman Empire, there were Jews. One person in every ten around the Mediterranean Basin in the First Century of Christ was a Jew. The community is old. There are Jews living on the Island of (Jerbon ?) off the coast of Tunis, who have been there for 2,500 years since the destruction of the First Temple, a continuous, unbroken existence.

Saint Augustine talked about Jews. He lived in Africa. The Berber troops converted to Judaism in the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Centuries. After 1492 Jews from Spain went to North Africa. The grandees and the nobility -- when your and my Ashkenazic ancestors in Poland and Germany and Russia were nothing, these Jews in Spain were something, and they wound up down in Morocco as refugees.

What is the point of the whole historic survey? The point is to get the fact firmly fixed in our minds that we are talking about a population of Jews as ancient,

as noble, as worthy as any population of Jews concerning whom we have gotten excited about in the past.

I don't like the conversation which goes along the line, "Who are these Jews of North Africa?" This is who they are, with a pedigree as ancient as any you and I can boast of, and let us understand it. They are bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh, and we are not going to leave them alone. They are part of us, and therefore they are eligible for rescue, whether the color of their skin be darker or not. They have qualified and they are part of our heritage and part of our property.

I have heard the remarks, "Has the UJA or the JDC suddenly discovered them in order to interject a note into the campaign to keep it going?" What God-awful poppycock! And what a false and nasty illusion! Yes, they have been there in that misery, in that degradation for many hundreds of years. We had no apparatus with which to get to them. We got to them just as quickly as it was possible to do so in the year 1949, when most of our attention was still focussed on DP camps in Germany, on Israel, on a War of Independence. Still, in 1949 the JDC moved into North Africa with prescience and foresight and knowledge

that this would be the area of future rescue.

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Programs were built up which in a very few years have shown remarkable results. Trachoma is almost cured. That is gigantic, if you know what it was like. Tinea, the pussy scab of the head, that thing which plagued our people in the Bible and still does, is under control. Medical standards are higher, feeding takes place, schools are being built, vocational training is offered. Why, it has been the most remarkable kind of metamorphosis in five years that you can dream of. Undramatic, unheralded, unannounced, this whole thing has gone on.

The major aspect of the problem today is not the steady, heroic and undramatic raising of the standards of the people there. The program today is one of emigration, getting people out, and let us understand how that came to pass, because if they had lived there for thousands of years, why do they want to get out? We are talking about something of very recent history. Mendes France went to Tunis in July of 1954, offering to Tunisians the first step toward independence and home rule.

Before he went to Tunis, the Jews were leaving Tunis at the rate of 50 or 60 a month to go to Israel.

After home rule was worked out and Tunisian independence was on the way, the Jews were leaving at the rate of 500 to 600 a month, ten times the number in 18 months. Is it because they don't believe the Tunisians? Is it because they are afraid? Is it because they don't trust having only one Jew in the Cabinet and want more?

27 months ago on the 20th of August, 1953, the Sultan was deposed. Yesterday the Sultan went back, 27 months later. What has happened in the 27 months? In 1953, 2,400 Jews left Morocco to go to Israel. The whole year, in 1954, for the first seven months there were only 1,100, and on the second of August, 1954, the first pogrom took place in Petit Jean, killing six, seven people. 1,100 in the first seven months; 9,000 in the next five months of 1954. 1955, 30,000. 1956, God knows. We are planning on 45,000. It may go more, it may go less.

Take and put into your heads further certain and unalterable facts, facts which exist in the minds and the hearts of the Jews in North Africa, and therefore if they are in the minds and the hearts they are as real as any physical piece of furniture. Number 1, there is genuine physical fear. (Names of camps or towns) These are

names which don't rank with Auschwitz and Maidenek, but they are names which strike fear into the hearts of the Jews of Morocco.

Number 2, fear of no political status under an Arab independent theocratic government, because in theocracy only a Mislem has status before the law of the Koran.

Number 3, no opportunities to make a livelihood. The matter of economic displacement of the Jews has become pathetically clear. Jews used to be peddlers into the interior. There are now roads and Arabs carry their merchandise on trucks and buses. Jews used to be artisans. Arabs have now learned the crafts. Jews are merchants but they are selling French goods of tobacco and salt, and in the boycott, the Buy Arab boycotting, Jews are boycotted as many European merchants are. Cut out from under them is the possibility of life, economically.

Number 4, they are deathly afraid, and I must say, with justification, that the doors will be closed to them in the future. The natural affinity of an independent Tunisian government or Moroccan government is the Arab League, the political bloc into which they fall, the geo-

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graphic area in which they exist; the whole geo-political constellation which determines their future will take these independent Arab countries into the Arab League, and the consequence of their joining the Arab League is that their policy towards their Jews internally will be dependent upon that external fact.

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Make no bones about it. Those Jews who can come out now, are out. Those Jews who do not come out now are not out, and their future is in jeopardy. We may be as politic as we wish, talking about the guarantees of rights, and I think we should talk about them. We may believe as earnestly as we strain to believe, that (?) in Tunis or Ben Yussef in Morocco will keep their word in terms of giving equality to Jews, but no matter how much we may wish to strain at the belief in this fact, the desire to obtain equal rights on the part of him who wants them, is stronger than the compulsion to grant on the part of him who must grant.

We want to believe more earnestly than they are ready to promise. Let us seek their promises, let us solicit them, let us work for them diligently. Let us by no means plan the future of the Jews of North Africa on the

basis of those promises. It would be stupidity and suicide, it would be treason to those whom it is our obligation to help rescue.

A boy from Tangiers wrote a letter which I saw. "The Shabbat of the rich in Tangiers is no better than the Shabbat of every one of us here in Israel." Very interesting, because this is the fifth fact to keep in mind, that they have now heard about Israel, they now have received communications back and forth from it, and one of the things which is driving them out of Morocco and Tunis is the fact that there is a place to which they can go. Just as much as physical fear and political insecurity and economic displacement and the fear of the doors being closed, which are the four things I have talked about, the fifth thing is that Israel has a pull just as the other four represent a push.

Why is it a crisis now? Why is this any different from last year -- and with this I am through. The crisis now, ladies and gentlemen, for a very simple reason: there is no competent observer who doesn't say that time is running out and time is against us. Sam Haber, the JDC man in Casablanca, made the statement that he hasn't met

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anyone since the 20th of August, 1955, when the riots took place again in Morocco, who doesn't want out. The crisis is on because of the increasing speed with which the Arabs are having their own independence guaranteed. There is a time left available to us, the extent of which is indeterminate. There is a terminus ad quem beyond which we know we are lost. It may be a year and it may be two.

Any Jew we do not take out, we leave hostage, hostage in an Arab state, hostage in an Arab-Communist combination, which is a practically unbeatable combination of Machiavellian tactics. An Arab-Community prison is no prison in which to leave a Jew hostage. If that is not a crisis, I don't know one.

Unless you say you don't care, unless you say, "We will take out ten or twenty or thirty, as many as we can. Don't get excited. If the door closes, it is closed. It is closed and remains so." And it is closed and remains so in Roumania, it is closed in Hungary, it closed with an awful clangor in the camps in Germany. So we have been faced with closed doors before.

Gentlemen, this is not the time any more for us ever to admit that there is a door that can close while

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we can keep it open. That is all I am begging for. I am begging for an authentic acceptance of the fact that we have a situation which has an end, and if I could tell you the end, would that make it any more important? If I could say, we can get Jews out until the end of 1957 but after that we can't, would that convince you any more? I don't know the end but I know it exists. I don't know the date but I know it is written on the page, and I simply say that it is a matter of privilege, privilege and duty and honor to finish this thing up, which means to take them out in all the quantities possible, which means with all the money possible, which means with no tents in Israel again, because when you get through understanding what Israel is like today, you will know that it is better to doom the people in Morocco than to put them in tents in Israel.

They are there to be rescued. They are part of us. We owe it to them. We've got a chance. We've got a limited time. I think that is a crisis.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Herb, thank you for pointing up so eloquently the first portion of this consolidated

problem that I am conscious of the fact that it had to be that way, as I all too inadequately tried to point out a few minutes ago.

I must say I feel terribly silly introducing our next speaker to this audience. You all know him. You all know of his wonderful leadership. You all know that he is continuing as Chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, working at it, inspiring it, guiding it. What you may not know is that even though he has been promoted this year to the Presidency of the United Jewish Appeal, he is in there pitching all the time, just the same. He gives us the benefit of his experience and his wise counsel. He travels, he attends meetings, and he continues to do it with that same broad vision, that same strong feeling and that same marvelous and inspiring sense of balance and sense of humor that we have all learned increasingly to treasure.

Therefore I introduce the man whom we not only love but increasingly love and treasure as time goes on, including this year -- Eddie. (Applause)

MR. WARBURG: Mr. Chairman, Senator Lehman, friends, as has been said some of us very recently were

in Israel and I, for one, having been several times before along with many of you on these study missions, went there to see, to learn and to be inspired as always, but I would be less than honest if I did not say that during those many meetings and those many experiences I not once but many times thought of you.

I don't know when a group has gotten together of the quality that is in this room at the present moment, and certainly this group more than any other that I have ever sat with has the right to speak for American Jewry.

And as we had, in Paris at the JDC Conference, and in Israel with our many meetings with the leadership of the Government and of the Agency, as we had problem placed upon problem, I thought of you, and I thought of you not only as individuals who, if they chose to, could lift this whole thing into a solution, but in terms of the communities that you represented who, throughout these extraordinary years in which we have worked together, have set a record of human engineering and understanding, unequalled by any group, and made our Jewish community a pride in America.

How do you talk to a group such as this at a

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time such as this? Three hours after reaching Jerusalem, our United Jewish Appeal Study Mission was received by President Ben Zvi. Frankly, we had come to pay a pleasant courtesy call, but the President of Israel had other and more serious views about the occasion. He took the opportunity to do something which for the President of Israel was a very rare thing. He allowed himself the privilege of commenting on the political situation, and his first few words were as direct as they are unforgettable to all of us. He simply stated, "You have come at a crucial hour." Passing that on to you, I can only say we have come together at a crucial hour.

I know that you have heard that word "crucial" before. You have heard the words, "emergency, critical and crucial and crisis." You have not only heard them but you have used them many, many times in recent years. Now, none of us has to apologize for so doing. Those words were true. They represented something real. They defined threats and dangers which seemed to be the continual product of the times in which we live, and we needed those words to try to alert the people in our home communities to the full scope of these dangers and threats.

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So it is in this sense, out of a desire to make as strong an impression on you as I can, that I want to make the next statement. It is this: I believe that the State of Israel faces its most crucial period since its War of Liberation, and I believe that we as American Jews are thereby faced with our greatest challenge to aid, to help, and to assume our share of great burdens, since that war ended.

How can I conjure up for you the spirit of Israel? Let me say once and for all, despite the tension, despite the obvious seriousness, as always, Israel was a land of dignity, of calm and of purpose, and I would like to add, of humor.

But suppose you lived in Israel. Suppose you were a settler, one of the many thousands of new settlers living in one of the two hundred or so new villages that have been established along the six hundred miles of Israel frontier? Keep in mind that that frontier borders four hostile Arab states. What you have had to contend with for years now as a settler there, two or three or more years, is a succession of prowlers, armed, to destroy and kill, and trained to destroy and kill. You would know that any

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night, any time, marauders might come over the border and there could be an incident; a stick of dynamite thrown, some shots fired, a hand grenade tossed, and the result -- death. You would have been trained, even if you had only arrived a few weeks before, not to take the situation into your own hands, to defend yourself but above all to report up to higher headquarters which, in turn, reported up to higher headquarters, and eventually the protest would come to the United Nations authorities, and you would hope that they would be able to do something about it.

You would know that on any given night, somewhere and somehow, along Israel's dangerous hot border, some incident was taking place, and you would go to sleep every night with the possibility running through your mind that tonight it might be your village, your settlement, your home, your family that might be the object of that attack.

Fortunately, not everybody in Israel lives on hostile borders. You do, if you live in Jerusalem. We in the King David looked out of the window and looked into Arab territory. There have been days in the last few years when it wasn't safe to walk on those streets, because bullets

were coming from Jordan, but in Tel Aviv, well, you are a whole twelve miles away from Jordan. You are eight minutes by jet from Cairo. It only seems sometimes that Jordan and Egypt are very close, and in Haifa you are fourteen miles away. And even on the border or near the border, somehow life goes on, and you adjust to the situation that faces you. You dig in, you learn the art of self-defense.

If there is money enough, the authorities build an underground shelter in which the women and the youngsters of your settlement can take over. That helps. So do the searchlights that the authorities put up for detecting marauders -- again, if there is money available. And the road that is built to connect your settlement with the main highway, that helps too. It gives reinforcements a chance to come in fast, and for you and your family to get out fast. The telephone that connects you with the outside world, well, that is another nice thing to have in an emergency, if there is money for it.

And so you stay. You stay because you are tired of being a refugee who has had to run away from somewhere too often. This time you are not running. This place is yours, so you stay and you keep on building. That

is the way it has been in Israel up until recently, up until the time when the situation was completely revolutionized by the Communist-Egyptian arms deal. Remember, I said you stayed and you went on building. If there is anything that guarantees to us a sense of pride and even thankfulness in being associated with this great adventure in freedom which we call Israel, it is contained in that word "building."

There were some eighty people on our mission. At least half of us had been in Israel before, most of us within a year's time. I think what none of us could get over was the thrilling and inspiring sight of the progress that the people of Israel have made in twelve short months. The land glistens with progress. Last year some of you here, I know, remember when we went and climbed that tower at the police barracks opposite Negba, and we were shown on a chart and looked out over this wasteland, the Lakeesh area, and were told that here is where they plan to bring in the Moroccan newcomers.

This year I went back to that identical point and looked out over that same area where not a house previously had been standing, and saw the 18 colonies that

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you built. But everywhere there were new settlements. Everywhere there are fields that have been plowed, orchards planted, and hills covered with vineyards. Whole areas that were barren for generations are springing to life. The land is covered with new roads, good roads. Buildings seem to be going up everywhere, whole new kinds of harvests like Israel's extensive planting of cotton, which seem to come into existence in a matter of months. New factories, new industries come into being.

An empty area, such as that I described, the northern part of the Negev, begins to fill up, and a town like Beersheba throws off the sleep of generations and becomes a city of 20,000 in a few years, and even as the land grows the people grow.

When you are speaking of Israel, you are speaking of a unique country in its part of the world. You are speaking of a land that believes in freedom and the practices of democracy. You are speaking of a land with free elections, compulsory education, just courts and opportunities for those who will avail themselves of it, and in my mind that is why they are so feared and hated by the Rolls Royce Arab leaders in the neighboring area.

Above all, you are speaking of a land whose very creation was based upon the fact that its doors must remain open to refugees, those in danger. 770,000 refugees have come into Israel since statehood, refugees that we helped bring there and to resettle, but now almost overnight a great question mark has been scrawled across the magnificent record of democratic achievement that is Israel. Yesterday Israel was a land in which the uppermost thought in the minds of everyone beyond that of progress could be summed up in the word "security." Now it is no longer a question of, "Can we be safe," but, "Can we survive". The word at the back of many sober minds is "survival."

Herb has outlined to you the North African situation. Bill has already told you that when we came to Israel, we thought that by and large our meeting with the leaders of the Jewish Agency and the Israel Government would be concerned with a calm and responsible discussion of how to bring in 45,000 additional ship to settlement immigrants from North Africa. Well, we had that kind of a discussion. But we had it against a background of sudden national tension, of a country faced, as we were told

by Prime Minister Sharett, by a supreme emergency.

Mr. Sharett spoke to us at the opening dinner in direct and powerful words, and the press was present. Through us he addressed the conscience of the free world. He asked that the west take prompt measures for Israel's security, but he also asked what all of us on the mission found unforgettable, and incidentally, a plea that we heard from every responsible leader in the land, that the Jews of America not let the present emergency halt the plan even for a minute to bring in the 45,000 Jews from tension-ridden Morocco and Tunisia.

In Israel we were told again and again, these people must come in because they feel themselves in danger. We were told again and again, "We will meet our own security problem. All we ask of American Jews is that they, in this critical hour, bear the brunt of our immigrant and absorption program." We were told as well that for 45,000 Jews to reach Israel from North Africa and be absorbed and resettled there in a twelve-month period, it would cost \$1,000 per emigrant for the initial absorption.

In addition, we were told that nowhere was there in sight the funds that were needed to carry forward

this program from normal sources.

From all of this I believe the following conclusions must be drawn: first of all, I would like to say you have the personal testimony of all of us who were there as to the reality of this supreme crisis. We are convinced that the State of Israel faces its most crucial period since its War of Liberation; that the people of Israel are living in a dangerous and a perilous situation with no knowing of what new perils tomorrow may bring, and that the very existence of Israel as a haven of refuge for endangered Jews everywhere is in serious jeopardy; that at a time when its very preservation as an independent nation is in question, Israel refuses to close its ears to the pleas of endangered Jews from North Africa who seek sanctuary within its holy gates; that Israel regards it as a point of convention to keep its doors open to Jews from North Africa and to Jews elsewhere who are clamoring for admission.

That an absolute minimum of 45,000 Jews from North Africa must be helped to emigrate to Israel during the coming year; Jews whose safety and security are at stake; that it will cost \$45,000,000 along to save these

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45,000 Jews by bringing them to Israel and giving them the initial start on the road to independence and self-sufficiency; that while Israel has imposed, as Bill Rosenwald has said, special taxes of some \$17,000,000 just for the absorption of these refugees, that Israel in this hour of peril cannot continge to carry the major share of financing this emigration and resettlement program; that the Jews of America have a moral obligation, a solemn duty to give full aid and comfort to the people of Israel and the Jews of North Africa in their hour of grave need.

That the Jews of America must therefore provide the funds in the amount of \$25,000,000 to assure a haven of refuge and safety for the Jews of North Africa while the people of Israel gird themselves for the arduous task that lies ahead.

In view of all this, then, and to bring this down to something that can at least be a basis for discussion, I would like to propose first that there be constituted a UJA Special Fund for Israel. Second, that the sum of \$25,000,000 be contributed by the Jews of America to this Special Fund, and that it be in addition to the normal UJA income. Third, that this Special Fund for

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Israel be created now, today, and that contributions to it be accepted immediately. Fourth, that the contribution to this fund be secured in each community through the machinery of the Jewish Welfare Fund or whatever other organized Jewish channel exists for this purpose in each community.

Fifth, that the contribution by individuals to the UJA Special Fund for Israel be made and accepted only over and above and without adversely affecting their contributions to the normal campaigns, those to be conducted by Welfare Funds in 1956.

Sixth, that the Welfare Funds of America agree that the UJA income from the regular Welfare Fund campaigns to be conducted in 1956 in no case be less than the UJA's share of the 1955 campaign proceeds.

Seventh, that each Welfare Fund, and where there are no Welfare Funds, each local community, accept for itself its fair share of this sum of \$25,000,000 and give its solemn pledge that it will consider it a point of honor and conscience to raise its fair share.

I can simply say that as strongly as I know how. This is the great challenge before all of us, the

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Jews of America. Just about ten years ago most of us in this very room were making ready to go to the now historic initial Atlantic City Conference of the United Jewish Appeal. Just ten years ago we voted in the face of seemingly insoluble emergency to try to raise \$100,000,000 through the 1946 United Jewish Appeal. That was \$60,000,000 more than we had ever raised in any campaign up to that time. We raised \$100,000,000. We met the challenge presented to us by the terrible fact that only a million and a half Jews in Continental Europe had escaped the Hitler slaughter of six million, and then we went on meeting the challenge in 1947 and 1948. As Israel fought off the armed forces of seven Arab League countries in 1948, we came forward with the magnificent sum of \$150,000,000.

May I say that the American Jewish community of today is no less able to lift itself to these new standards required than it was then, and therefore I feel that at this moment we must return as individuals and as communities to the crisis standards of those years.

The Communists made their little gift to Nasser. That gift is intended to beget death. We are not asked to give a gift in kind. We have been asked only by the

people of Israel to make a gift of life. That is the difference between the things Israel stands for and what the new Communist-Egyptian combination stands for.

I can't tell you, I wouldn't try to tell you how this \$25,000,000 over and above Special Fund can be achieved. Frankly, that is what we called you here for today, and we need your ideas, your thinking and your action. The United Jewish Appeal needs them, the Jews of North Africa need them. But above all, the people of Israel need them as never before.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, Eddie. That is a real challenge you have thrown down to us.

Now, as I told you at the beginning, we are going to have a chance to discuss the challenge, what to do about it, and get some preliminary thoughts for this discussion. I have asked the man who has been in the forefront of our campaign, both in New York City as Chairman and National as National Chairman, a dynamo, a wonderful fellow, a member of the Study Mission -- all in all, I guess the easiest words to say are, "a great guy," -- Jack Weiler, to lead the discussion. (Applause)

MR. WEILER: Before throwing open the floor for dicussion at this very momentous meeting, it is my great privilege to introduce a great Jew, a great American, who will just speak to us for a few minutes, the Honorable Senator Herbert Lehman. (The audience arose and applauded)

SENATOR LEHMAN: Jack, thank you very much indeed for your introduction.

I am going to speak very briefly, since I was not one of those who recently visited Israel. Therefore I can't speak from personal knowledge of the critical situation which I know does exist there. But Eddie Warburg in his splendid speech did not exaggerate the critical situation existing in Israel and in the Middle East.

I believe that our government is deeply concerned over this situation and is eager to maintain the stability and the security of the Middle East. My views on the subject are well known to our governmet, as they are to many of the people of the nation.

I pray with all my heart that our government will enter into security pacts with Israel and with any of the Arab countries which are willing to do so. (Applause)
And I also hope, deeply hope, that our government will

take steps to prevent any substantial imbalance in military strength between Israel and the Arab countries who, time after time, have served notice on the world that Israel must be destroyed.

I am particularly happy to have the opportunity of being here this morning in order to say to you that although I do not know what details may be developed here in debate regarding the plan that Eddie Warburg has set forth for us, I am in full sympathy with the plan to help emigration of Jews from North Africa into Israel. That will be, as we all know, a humanitarian move to help people in North Africa who may be in very great danger. It will also be completely in conformity with the often stressed Jewish policy of the Israel government and the people living in Israel not to close the door to those who wish to enter their country through those doors. I think it will be hailed by all as a sound project.

My friends, I feel I need not assure you that in the prosecution of this plan, this project, you may, as always, count on my support to the fullest extent in which I can make it available to you.

I am very glad to have had this opportunity

of speaking with you. (The audience arose and applauded)

MR. WEILER: I was a member of the Study Mission but I arrived in Israel a few days before the full Study Mission arrived, and those of us who were there together noticed no panic, there was no fear, there was no tumult to indicate what had taken place in the country at the time, their most crucial fight for survival.

And do you know the reason why? Because they know, they feel, they are convinced that the Jews of America are their ally and their saviors, and they are looking to you and to me as never before. That is the feeling we went away with, and that was the highlight of my visit to Israel. They are in a race against time, and we must help them win this race.

Eddie Warburg has thrown out a challenge to every Jew of America. There are representatives here today from San Francisco, Los Angeles, Texas, Chicago and every major city in this country, because each and every individual from these major cities is cognizant of what Israel is facing at this very moment. The challenge is ours.

The floor is open for discussion. (No response)

Do I understand this to mean this is a whole-

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hearted and unanimous approval of Eddie Warburg's suggestion? (Applause) I'm sorry, but I will not accept it. I want to hear it, as the Jews of Israel would like to hear it.

MR. MURRAY GILLETTE (North Hudson, New Jersey):
I am Murray Gillette. I represent the community of North Hudson.

MR. WEILER: Where is North Hudson?

MR. GILLETTE: New Jersey. (Laughter) Mr. Chairman, I believe that there is one facet that we can tap to raise these additional funds very easily and very quickly. Our friend Eddie Warburg has touched on this subject, and I refer to that part of his speech wherein he said that the allocations to the United Jewish Appeal from the various communities should not be less in 1956 than they were in 1955.

Well, I disagree with him. I say that the allocations, because of the situation and the crisis which exists, should be less for the communities and more for UJA. I think that if we were to cut down the allocations for the various communities and community activities and allot more to the UJA, we could raise an additional

\$25,000,000 without any trouble. I thank you.

MR. BEN MEDOFFSKY (Portland, Oregon): I want to say that the challenge that the first speaker or the Chairman made can be easily met. He concluded with the question, "How can we meet this challenge," and he doesn't know how, and we also want to know how.

To me it appears a simple problem. There is a proverb that says, "Know the truth and the truth shall set you free." If we understand the actual needs and the present crisis and our part in this historic event, it is only too obvious how the problem can be solved.

We are known as the People of the Book, the people of the ideal. What has kept us together for 2,000 years or so is not the money that we have made, but it is the ideal of the Torah and the principle of one God, one brotherhood, and that is what Israel has been born for.

I want to say this unto you, ladies and gentlemen: I was born of an orthodox rabbi, and since I was a child of three I never missed a Seder. During the First World War in 1918, when I had to leave, it was right after the first Seder. I left for France and I returned in 1919 in time for the second Seder, so I never missed a Seder

in my memory as a child.

I remember we said we were slaves unto Pharoah and Egypt, and history has repeated itself now, gentlemen. We are facing the Egyptians again, and I say to you, knowing that my personal liberty -- I have done everything I could, not only in giving money. I have given away three properties in Oregon. I borrowed \$25,000 the last time from the bank for Bonds.

MR. WEILER: Likewise.

MR. MEDOFFSKY: And now I say this: that deliveration will come first and that Israel will live.

MR. MORRIS WALTER (North Hudson, New Jersey): This is an extraordinary session and I think we ought to take extraordinary measures. We all realize the dangers that are facing the Jews in Morocco and also in our Medinat Israel, and if we are serious, if we really feel the way a Jew should feel, I think we ought to resolve today that this emergency should have nothing to do with the general campaign that we are going on.

Every Jew who has any feeling about wanting the security of Israel should make a sacrifice, and I am sure if they will do that, those millions of dollars will

come in, in no time.

MR. HERMAN TAUBMAN (Tulsa, Oklahoma): Mr. Chairman, I don't think there is a controversy as to whether this is a good cause or not. I don't think we should take up any time talking about how great it is. We are all agreed it must be done, and I think the only way to do that is to start out on an individual basis.

I don't know what I can do, but I hope our community can play the biggest part possible. Last time the emergency came we borrowed \$300,000 and we raised it through our drives. I signed a note at that time for \$50,000. Recently we had a drive and I gave them \$40,000.

I am willing to give, myself, \$25,000 extra for this Special Fund. (Applause)

Our speakers have refrained from mentioning that any of the UJA money will go for the defense of Israel. I don't want the people to feel that Israel does not need defense. I want to admonish everyone in their efforts to raise this money, to keep that separate, but I am personally interested in helping Israel in her great fight, in which we cannot label ourselves as warriors. I am willing to give personally \$25,000 separately for the

defense of Israel, which will have nothing to do with this drive.

MR. JACK STERN (Paterson, N.J.): When we had our final session in Jerusalem at the King David Hotel, I wired the Jewish Community Council of Paterson, telling them it was necessary to have a special meeting so that I could make a report to the Paterson community by November 18th at this special meeting that is being held today, and I would like to read the report that was made.

There was a motion passed unanimously on Tuesday, November 15th at an emergency meeting of 45 community leaders assembled in Paterson. In response to the firsthand report made to us by the Paterson members of the United Jewish Appeal Study Mission, in which it was established that \$25,000,000 additional would be required from American Jewry to meet this crisis in Israel, it is the determination of the community leaders assembled at this meeting that the Paterson Jewish community goes on record to assume its proportionate share of these additional needs, and that a committee be appointed immediately to implement this decision. Thank you.

MR. BENJAMIN HARRIS (Chicago, Illinois): Mr.

Chairman and friends, I am sorry to say I don't represent Chicago. I hope, I am confident I am representative of Chicago, but I am not the officially appointed representative of Chicago here this morning.

Rabbi Friedman I think very appropriately took some of his time to describe the history of these North African Jewish communities, in order to indicate that they are not historically beggars holding out their hands for alms. They are self-respecting Jews just like we are here. They are self-respecting Jewish communities like our Jewish communities. History has confronted them with odds, unfortunately odds that they themselves at this moment are incapable of overcoming alone, with their own resources.

I think Rabbi Friedman added that it is only we, the American Jewish community, that has isolated itself from the North African Jews all these years. All these decades we have been isolationists so far as the North African Jewish communities are concerned. That is not true of all Jews. The Alliance Israelite has not been ignorant of the needs of the Jewish communities of North Africa, nor has British Jewry been callous to the needs

of North African Jews all these years and all these decades that we American Jews have isolated ourselves from the needs of North African Jews.

Now, it is not too late to make amends. This is our opportunity. Shall we persist in our isolationism? I am sure our reply will be in the negative and we will affirmatively assert our common feeling and our solidarity with our fellow Jews in North Africa.

Jack Weiler said that the Jews of Israel are looking to us, and that is true. I certainly am in consonance with that statement, but not only the Jews of Israel are looking to us; two million Arabs in the Arab lands are also looking to us, and I don't mean generically that they are looking to American Jews or American Jewry. They are looking to us, the Jews in this room, in the Waldorf-Astoria this morning. Let me remind you that the Arabs will not look into the press reports for what happened here this morning or what failed to happen here this morning, so our friend certainly was right in breaking the ice by making a personal commitment.

As I said, I am in no position nor do I think anyone else from Chicago -- and colleagues of mine from

Chicago are here -- are in a position to make a commitment on the part of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Chicago, but no one here this morning lacks authorization to make a commitment for himself personally or for his family, or for himself and his wife, and that, friends, is what I plead with you to do. Nothing can speak louder, no words that we utter here will be more effective or more eloquent than the action that we take here this morning on behalf of ourselves.

If we come out in the press reports with a statement that so many millions, perhaps not \$25,000,000 but some significant part of the \$25,000,000 was committed here by the Jews present in this room this morning, it will have an electrifying effect not only on the Jews of Israel, but to the Arabs throughout the Arab lands, and that is at least equally important, perhaps far more important.

So, friends, while I would like to make a longer speech, on behalf of Mrs. Harris and myself, I pledge an amount which for many years, unfortunately, I have been unable to pledge because of certain circumstances, personal and otherwise, but which used to be of the order

of magnitude to the extent of which I used to participate in the Combined Jewish Appeal campaign of Chicago. I pledge, on behalf of Mrs. Harris and myself, over and above all other amounts and commitments in 1955 or in the year to come, an additional \$25,000 for this special campaign.

MR. WEILER: There are members of the press present here this morning, and for those who are here, this meeting is off the record. Please take note, members of the press. This meeting is off the record.

MR. J. KOSLOV (Reno, Nevada): Mr. Chairman, if my figures are correct, I believe the 1955 campaign is for \$100,000,000. Mr. Warburg's plan is for \$25,000,000 or 25 percent, and I should like, in the name of the people of Nevada, to raise that 25 percent. I say the people, because we have an unusual lot of Gentiles who contribute to our UJA.

I also would like to suggest this for any of the folks here who don't have the funds to pledge: I suggest they come to Las Vegas and win. (Laughter)

MR. JACK RIFKIN (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.): I just want to project an idea that I think will be helpful in every campaign, and that is, the publicity through local

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newspapers in every community. There are devoted and dedicated people who do a lot of advertising in their own businesses. A little extra advertising for these projects, for this campaigns will not mean much, and besides, it is deductible. I think that if in every community a half page or full page ad along these lines were taken, it would bring the matter to the attention of a great many people who are normally not reached by personal solicitation, by letter, by telephone squads or anything else.

Through this method, you cannot avoid reaching these people. Everybody reads the newspapers, and the pressure of the advertisement, the pressure of the whole project cannot help but influence many people in every community. I believe that if a roll call was taken right here, we might raise probably half of that \$25,000,000, but I think it is more important that every Jew in every community contribute. It is more important that everybody share to whatever extent he can, and I think the publicity through local newspapers will gain that end.

MR. KOSLOV: I have been asked to announce a figure in dollars. In 1955 we raised \$150,000, so therefore we will add \$37,500 for the special campaign.

MR. WEILER: These announcements are wonderful and these are the things we love and like to hear, but we would like to get on to the methods of raising this special fund of \$25,000,000 through the Welfare Funds. Are there any ideas or suggestions on methods?

MR. FRED NICHOLS (Birmingham, Alabama): I am President of the United Jewish Fund of Birmingham. We are in the process of our 1956 campaign, which I understand is one of the first to kick off. Birming has 1,200 families of approximately 4,200 Jews. We raised in 1948 as high as \$48,000. Last year we raised \$310,000, approximately two-thirds of which went to the United Jewish Appeal. This year, because of capital commitments, of \$850,000 raised for the four organizations in Birmingham, pledges had been set at \$280,000.

Upon Mr. William Engel's return from Israel as a part of the Study Mission, a special board meeting was held one week before our campaign. The following was decided. This is a resolution of the board of directors, passed at a special emergency meeting of the board of directors of the United Jewish Fund.

"Mr. William Engel, recently returned from

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Europe and Israel, gave a background picture of the events and emergenciesⁱⁿ which the people of Israel and North Africa are placed. As a result of these emergencies, the United Jewish Appeal is making an extraordinary and special campaign for funds with which to meet the needs of emigration, rehabilitation and rebuilding of more than 45,000 Jews from Morocco, awaiting emigration to Israel. Those hearing Mr. Engel unanimously approved the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the 1956 campaign goal of the United Jewish Fund of Birmingham be set at the same figure as last year, which was \$30,000 more than budgeted, but that concurrent with the conduct of the regular campaign all subscribers to the United Jewish Fund be called upon to subscribe an additional sum equal to ten percent of their regular contributions, which supplemental contribution shall be simply earmarked for distribution to the United Jewish Appeal to meet the emergency situation with respect to North African Jewry."

As a result, we have had five fundraising meetings which included 900 men and women present. We started off with a big gifts dinner. Birmingham has raised

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\$171,000 in its normal campaign as compared to \$161,000 in the same period last year. In addition, \$17,200 has already been earmarked for the special fund, representing slightly over ten percent of normal contributions to date. Since two-thirds of our total United Jewish Fund goes to the United Jewish Appeal, this means an increase of 15 percent above last year.

In addition, we have lowered our deficit to \$30,000, which will mean we will have \$60,000 more this year. We have had two cards to be signed, one which regular subscribers to the United Jewish Fund sign, and an additional card for the United Jewish Appeal. This may not be enough. We will try to do it within the one campaign. We hope we will be successful in doing what we have attempted to do. Thank you very much.

MR. BEN MASEL (Atlantic City, N.J.): This is the first time I have attended any of these national meetings. I have tried to come to a number of them but it seems as though the press of business always kept me from attending. I was told before I came here by my friends that, "I bet this trip will cost you \$5,000." I was prepared to have it cost me \$2,500, but when Hudson

County and Wilk's-Barre and other places have men who will give \$25,000. I can't let them out of that one. I will underwrite \$25,000.

MR. WELLER: Of course, those are the best speeches, but much as I love fundraising meetings, this is not our intention. Believe me, we were in Israel not very long ago and when this crucial moment occurred and Egypt began receiving arms from the Soviet satellites, there was an outpouring of funds from the poor and from the rich, but such an outpouring as never was anticipated, voluntarily -- no fundraising. It was also special funds, but for arms, and it was heartbreaking to see some of these individuals in the kibbutzim coming forward with the amounts they did, which we knew in our very hearts were what we call sacrificial giving.

On the American scene I haven't come across that as yet, what is known as sacrificial giving, but to see it in Israel -- you feel it in Israel, so while this is not a fundraising function, and believe us, this is not our intent, we really want to get to the methods and to the ideas for raising this special fund for \$25,000,000. Please give us your suggestions. We also want them, and

a Ben Masel speech by all means.

MR. ELKAN MEYERS (Baltimore, Md.): I just want to ask a question to sort of clear the atmosphere. How much money will be raised for UJA in 1955? If we know that, then we know what proportion of the amount allocated to UJA in 1956 has to be raised additionally. In other words, a fair part of that fund may be allocated to other organizations. A ten percent increase may be fine, but in other communities where the largest part of it goes to UJA, a ten percent increase may not be nearly enough, so if we know that we have raised \$45,000,000 for UJA in 1955, then we know we need to give to this fund 50 percent of what we gave in 1955.

MR. WEILER: Elkan Meyers, that is not a \$64,000 question. It is very simple to answer. The answer will be given to you very shortly, but we have a very, very important and very high and honorable individual with us this morning whose every minute is occupied, who is working on a schedule, and I don't know how anyone can take the schedule that I have seen that he is working under. It is a great privilege and really an honor to present to you His Excellency, the Foreign Minister of Israel, Mr.

Moshe Sharett. (The audience arose and applauded)

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(MR. SHARETT) Mr. Chairman, Mr. Warburg, Rabbi Friedman, ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I value greatly this opportunity of addressing myself as a special messenger of Israel to this important group of responsible people, drawn from a whole network of key positions which is spread all over the area of the United States, and that represents the best that there is in American Jewry, the quintessence of the sense of duty and responsibility and of its dedication to the highest interests of the Jewish people and of the State of Israel.

I am very deeply and very humbly cognizant of the responsibility that devolves on me to acquaint you with the situation which we now have to face, and when I say "we," I include you in that personal pronoun, the plural form of it. I do not consider it necessary for me to make any effort towards working up emotions in your hearts. I rather consider it my duty to place before you the stark realities of the situation which confronts us today.

What we are facing today is a convergence of two emergencies. You might say that the entire career of

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the State of Israel, ever since it came into being, has been one continuous emergency, and yet there have been ups and downs. There have been phases of very relative relaxation of the tension within Israel and around it, and there have been phases of the accentuation of the sense of the critical and the perilous. We are now going through such a phase, and a very acute one.

But before I deal with that, let me first of all put before you the emergency that has developed during the last year and has broken upon us with its full force in the current year, quite regardless of our security problem, and that is the problem of immigration. We are faced today with a query that overhangs the scene of life of hundreds of thousands of our brothers in the countries of North Africa. I speak within the four walls of this room and I do not mean to achieve publicity, for the facts and formulations which I am going to present to you.

We have no business at all to embroil ourselves with the authorities of those countries. We have no business to jeopardize unnecessarily the relations between the Jewish communities of those countries and the

vast majority of the Moslem populations, because what we are faced with is not a problem of immediate wholesale evacuation. We are faced with the problem of a gradual but accelerated alleviation of a very serious difficulty, and of bringing into a haven of safety those who tomorrow may find themselves trapped, who tomorrow may find themselves victims of a wave of persecution; worse still, a wave of massacres.

X You have all read enough in the daily press for me to assume that you are familiar with the general features of the situation. There have been and there are still occurring a series of dislocations, political and economic, in those countries. They are on the threshold of a new future. The old stability has gone, and with it has gone the stability, the very precarious stability of Jewish life. Every dislocation of that sort has an inevitable impact upon Jewish life.

Its first and foremost shattering effect is upon the economic stability and upon the sense of security of the Jewish population. For centuries past, Jews in countries like those to which I am referring have been living on the brink of a volcano. A volcano can stay

quiet for a long, long time. Then there are subterranean rumblings which sound a note of warning, and then there is an eruption which engulfs populations, settlements, and produces ruin and havoc.

We are now confronted with that kind of a dislocation. Jewish life is becoming increasingly insecure. The problem of making a living is becoming increasingly difficult. Small Jewish communities are torn out by the roots and are seeking safety in the larger ones and adding to misery and despair.

So perforce, the rate at which we must take out people and bring them over into the only haven of safety and of dignity which is there today, must be stepped up, it must be accelerated. You know very well that we dropped very much from those astronomical figures of immigration which we coped with, and successfully, with your assistance. Without it, that great adventure would have ended in a dismal failure. We dropped from those figures to relatively insignificant dimensions, 30,000 a year. What is it as compared with 200,000 and 250,000 a year? We had to undertake the responsibility for at least a fifty percent increase, and we shall have to cope in this year

with an immigration of 45,000 to 50,000 people.

This means a completely new situation as far as our financial standing is concerned. I said that we did it with your help, but we did it also not to a small extent by assuming voluntarily burdens which perhaps under different circumstances we might be entitled to expect other Jewish communities to carry, or at least to share in a larger measure.

Just to give you an idea of what I now have in mind, in the last Jewish year which has terminated on last Rosh Hashonah, apart from what we got from you and in a smaller measure from other Jewish communities of the free world, our Treasury had to spend at least \$35,000,000 on what we call absorption. That means immediate expense for the first care. That means housing, that means settlement on the land, that means employment, the production of a whole series of projects of work very beneficial for the country, but the immediate purpose of which is to keep people employed, enable them to earn their daily wage, and become breadwinners in the normal sense of the term; not to fall as a charge on public funds and on charities. So, \$35,000,000 ^{OR} and the equivalent amount of it in Israeli

pounds had to be appropriated in order to fill the gap between the need and your contribution.

This is apart from what has been spent on those people from the ordinary budget. I don't count here what has been spent on them in the education of their children, in the curing of their sick, in the provision of extraordinary assistance to that needy element among them who cannot become productive, who cannot become employed because they happen to be unemployable.

You will find over the whole gamut of the budget items of expenditure of the Israel Government, amounts that have been spent on new immigrants. They had to be supported by the established population. They cannot be expected to figure as income taxpayers within the first two or three or four or five years after their arrival, so they are a liability on the budget. It is other people who have to carry the burden for them, and that means schools and that means hospitals and that means other forms of medical care and that means social welfare expenditure, and lots of other things.

This is over and above. This is indistinguishable from the general budget. You cannot figure out exactly

how much it costs, but it certainly costs tens of millions of Israeli pounds, and this is over and above the \$35,000,000 that had to be appropriated directly in order to absorb and then render employable and productive and self-supporting all these newcomers.

We had been planning to step up that appropriation to about \$50,000,000 in this year because of the increase in the immigration figures. We now find ourselves utterly unable to cope with that increase. Nay, even with the maintenance of the expenditure that we carried last year, because of the second emergency into which we were so suddenly flung. When the very precarious balance of military strength between us and our enemies was tipped against us, was suddenly transformed into a most menacing state of affairs, when Egypt found itself assured of a vast, overwhelming superiority of arms through the so-called Czech arms deal.

I am not going to weary you with a lengthy analysis of all the implications of that sudden revolutionary change in our security position. You know very well that the concern for our immediate and future security has never been off our agenda. It has been our constant

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and primary preoccupation, and we had to apportion funds for the upkeep of an army and for the acquisition of very costly modern military equipment out of all proportion to the normal needs of a country of our size, out of all proportion to the normal capacity of a population of our dimensions, because we are in a unique position.

We are in a unique position geopolitically, surrounded as we are by enemy states. We are in a unique position historically, representing a young state which has emerged in such a spectacular fashion onto the scene of history, as the result of a sustained effort of only a few decades and which, to the surrounding countries, is something utterly new and strange, to which they have not found themselves capable of adjusting psychologically, and they still breathe revenge and scheme aggression.

We always have to keep an eye on what is happening in the countries around us as far as the military organization and the progress and improvement of the military equipment are concerned. We cannot hope to attain full arithmetical equality. It completely outside our reach. In population they outnumber us ~~at~~ forty to one. In total strength of the mobilized or mobilizable manhood,

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they outnumber us probably to the extent of seven to one, or perhaps ten to one. In certain respects we are superior to them, primarily in the human quality of our manhood, in their devotion, in the depth of their patriotism, also in their physical courage, certainly in their capacity for organization and for effective collective action, also in their technical attitude for handling the complex instruments of warfare that are in the possession of the world today; their capacity to learn, to be trained, to train others, their capacity to keep up with the progress, technical and military, in that field;

But there is a line beyond which sheer ^{quality} quantity of superiority ceases to be of any avail, if faced with an overwhelming quantitative overweight. Moreover, that kind of quantitative superiority to which I have referred is all-human. It has nothing to do with the availability or otherwise of certain instruments in our hands. Those instruments we cannot produce. Those instruments we must acquire. We must first of all obtain the political authority for being able to acquire them, and secondly, we must have the funds with which to pay for them, and in that regard we must always keep track of what is going on

around us, what kind of instruments of warfare come into the possession of our enemies, what use they are likely to be put to, and in what measure does this affect the balance of strength against us?

Without even hoping to attain full equality, we must see to it that our armaments are kept up on a level that is likely to serve as a deterrent powerful enough to warn the countries around us from launching an ill-advised aggression to crush Israel (again) out of existence. It is not that we are anxious to fight, it is not that we are anxious to settle those scores. We have no scores to settle. We are ready to rest, content with what we have, but what we have we must be able to defend, and our readiness to defend must be of such a nature as to frighten off the would-be enemy from attempting a settlement of the old scores that ^{think} they have to settle. That is very briefly and that is very bluntly the problem with which we have to contend.

A great deal is being said about the security guarantee. First of all, let me inform you, ^{AS OF THE} ~~it is not~~ ~~there for the time being.~~ ~~TRETTENT IT DOES NOT EXIST.~~ There is an abstract principle enunciated in a certain tri-partite declaration which we

do not consider effective at all. It entails consultation with three powers, a very clumsy procedure. They don't always see eye to eye and it takes time, and in the end, if they do, according to that declaration, decide to intervene, it is not clear by any means in what manner they will intervene and what they will do to prevent aggression.

Upon that basis there has been superimposed an idea more fully developed, aiming at more concrete results; namely, a security treaty between ~~us and the United States, or I should rather say, between~~ the United States and ourselves, possibly also endorsed by other western powers. Well, that thing isn't there yet, nor is there an expressed readiness of the United States Government to enter into such a contractual obligation immediately, not ~~even after the Czech arms deal, after the Czech arms deal~~ ^{IN SPITE} ~~has so admittedly, as far as everybody is concerned,~~ ^{WHICH EVERYONE ADMITS} altered the balance of the arms strength in the Middle East against Israel. ^{I DON'T KNOW} So if this ~~may~~ come one day, I don't know, but even if it came, even if we had that treaty in our pockets, that treaty in itself would not be a sufficient bulwark for our security.

Why? Because that treaty would ^{only} probably also

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serve as a deterrent. But supposing the Egyptians or the Syrians, particularly the Egyptians, had grounds for believing that if they attacked Israel there would not be a very sharp reaction on the part of the western powers, and all they have to reckon with is the armed resistance of Israel, and they would know that although the Israeli soldiers are braver fighters and better technicians, they just don't have in their hands weapons of a sufficient firing range or of sufficient effectiveness compared to those which the Egyptians possess? That will be a very strong incentive to them to try their luck again, particularly as they are still suffering from that sense of wounded pride from the defeat that we inflicted upon them in the war of our liberation.

Within two or three days they might wreak such havoc and rain so much ruination upon us that any subsequent intervention would be of little avail, so the first thing, the elementary thing, the ~~physical~~ indispensable thing is for us to obtain an additional quantity of arms to match the arms which they are getting, though not in the same quantity, ^{EVEN} ~~not in the same numbers~~ ^{AT LEAST} but ^{FURTHER} in some appreciable quantity, to serve as a deterrent in

THE DETERRING EFFECT OF
 ADDITION TO A SECURITY TREATY, [IN THE EVENT
 the event of its deterring effect not being enough and an
 offensive ^{IS} ^{AGAINST US,} [^] being launched to serve as an effective means of
 warding off the attack, [once it has been launched.]

" " I suppose you all read that mysterious word
 "Mik" which is ^a the higher type of Soviet jet. It is not
 the highest. The current assumption is that what the
 Soviets are giving them now are the ^{Miks} ^{THEY} which we used in
 Korea, but the painful fact is that we don't have a jet
 plane even of that description. We must buy it, if people
 are ready to sell it to us, and if they do, we must have
 the money for it, and I am not going to mention any fig-
 ures because I am a buyer now in the market and I don't
 want to spoil any chances of getting it a little cheaper.
 Perhaps they know what is its normal price. 7

AND But jet planes, tanks, radar, anti-tank weap-
 ons, all sort of other equipment, that goes along with it,
 (something against submarine attack), all this in the ag-
 gregate is a matter of tens of millions of dollars, even
 though the quantity be a modest one.

Then there is the question of maintenance ex-
 penditure involved. ^{and} Then the question of the expenditure
 involved in the training of people. Do you know how much

it costs to train a pilot to fly a jet? It certainly costs tens of thousands of dollars in each individual case.

That is what we are faced with today. There is no country in the world that is ready today to give us those arms

as a gift, free of charge. We have to beg for mercy, that

^{IN ORDER TO BE CONSIDERED TO} they should consider us eligible for buying those arms

and paying for them ^{Heavily} through the nose. (That is the priv-

~~ilege which we must today claim.~~

There are certain prospects. I will not put it higher than that. If we don't get those arms we are in terribly bad shape. If we get those arms, we are still in very bad shape because we shall have to cut our other expenditures to the bone in order to find the means necessary to pay for them.

Jack Weiler has been very eloquent in describing to you that spontaneous upsurging of the spirit of voluntary sacrificial giving in our community in Israel, in order to help the Government in its present predicament.

When I left Israel it was nearing the ten million ^{dollar} mark.

~~In Israeli pounds~~ ^{It} may amount to 15 or 20 million Israeli

pounds. ^{This is} ~~It is~~ very important from the point of view of

the morale of the population. It is very important from

the point of view of the obligation that this puts on others. But it is a far cry from solving the financial problem with which we are faced, both in the amount and also in its composition, because what we must have is hard currency, and therefore we must divert hard currency which we are getting from various sources -- I mean the Government of Israel -- and which is so badly needed for eminently constructive and most vitally urgent purposes, to this purpose which today is the most vital one.

It is all very well to talk about our constructive accomplishments in Israel, about the economic progress of the country, about the social improvements, but unless we feel physically safe and unless we prove physically safe, that is to say, unless our physical survival is assured, it is no use boasting about or embarking upon new constructive ventures, so that is our primary need, and that responsibility, that liability rests exclusively on us.

It is a crushing burden and it has come about just at a time when we were getting ready to assume wider responsibilities, wider liabilities, in order to be able to absorb larger numbers of people. Mind you, there is

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no contradiction whatsoever between the two. The two needs are mutually complementary, because a nation's security, first of all, can never be gauged in terms of a temporary emergency. A nation's security is something that has to be calculated and planned over a long range of years, over decades to come.

Moreover, a nation's security does not consist only of the nation's armed strength. It is very important to have an army, it is very important to have a larger army, it is very important to have a good army, a better army, it is very important to have effective, servicable equipment and constantly to improve it. Yet that alone is not enough to make a nation feel permanently secure. A nation which neglects ^{its} industrial progress, a nation which neglects the opportunities of growing its own food, a nation which misses a chance of increasing ~~(the dimensions)~~ the quantitative dimensions of its manhood, a nation which does not distribute its population in a rational manner over its entire area, is bound eventually to lose out in its security no matter how well armed it might be, so even if we approach the whole problem of the future of Israel from the standpoint of security alone,

which would mean quite artificially curtailing and restricting our field of vision -- it is not our purpose just to be secure.

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Our purpose is to create a human society which would occupy a proud place in the family of nations, in its cultural and spiritual creativeness, and its economic soundness, in its technical progress, but I say even if we were artificially to restrict our field of vision and concentrate just on that focus of security, it would mean infinitely more than only an army or only armaments. It would mean all the things that we are doing together for which we are together trying to find money.

It will mean a larger number of people, a larger population, to feel a little more secure against those overwhelming odds of the masses of people around us. It will mean making those people productive and self-supporting. It will mean putting them on the land and ^{having} making them grow more food. It will mean filling up the dangerous gaps in the network of our settlements in Israel, a vacuum which invites aggression, which invites the lust for expansion. Let us fill up all those gaps. It means 101 things that go into the making of a new civilization

and serving the needs of the nation's security. All this field is as much yours as it is ours.

The responsibility must be shared. We cannot carry that burden alone, because what we are doing, we are doing at every given moment, not only on behalf of the Jews already there but for the sake of those who are coming and must come. The sum total effect of what we are doing is something that means a great deal to Jewish life all over the world. [It should mean and does mean in increasing measure a living content of this new phase of Jewish life which has been ushered in with the establishment of the State of Israel.] It has saddled the Jews with a very heavy responsibility. ~~(It is offering them a great price.)~~ If it fails, it will be their blame. If it succeeds, it will be their reward. That is the proposition.

Today, we must divert funds for the purchase of arms, and today we cannot close the gates to the new people. They are pressing against them. Even if we step up immigration to 45,000 a year, it means that 100,000 will be waiting heaven knows how long. ~~In a way~~ It is a good thing that we still have time to work gradually, in a planned manner, not facing a catastrophe, but heaven

knows whether the catastrophe is not just behind the door.
Only
Heaven knows what will ~~not~~ happen a year from now, two
years from now. Let us bring over those people while the
going is still good. Let us settle them while there is
still means to do so, but there must be means to do so.

Obviously, just as this situation has upset
and completely transformed all our previous budgetary
provisions and financial planning, so it must have its
direct impact upon your plans for the UJA campaign in the
coming year. Otherwise it means that the United Jewish
Appeal is not what it should be, because the United Jewish
Appeal is not just a normal function of stable and pros-
perous American life. The United Jewish Appeal in its
very essence is an emergency institution.

It was created originally and has been ^{KEPT GOING} ~~fanned~~
all the time by the consciousness of the critical times
that our people has been and is going through. It is an
instrument which has been forged as the response of
American Jewry to the challenge of its responsibility,
and therefore it must be a very sensitive instrument. It
is not an ordinary business concern which goes on from
year to year, working upon a certain fixed schedule. It

must be resilient enough to respond to the ^{IMPERATIVE} imperious need of the hour, and that is the task the United Jewish Appeal is facing today.

An extraordinary effort is imperative to enable us, to enable ^{you} yourselves to brave the ordeal with which we are today faced. The capacity is within you. It is a question of your will, it is a question of the effort to exert that will of yours. It is not my duty, it is not my competence to try and suggest to you exactly the form which this extraordinary effort should take. You are much greater experts than I am. Moreover, it is entirely your province, and I don't feel that it is for me or for any other emissary who might appear in my stead or who may appear in the coming few months to urge upon you exactly how you should do it. That is your prerogative.

All I know is, I got this coded cable only this morning from the Minister of Finance. "A special effort that would raise additional tens of millions of dollars is urgently imperative. The position today is that the Government's housing budget has been completely exhausted. Golda ^{MEYERSON} is insisting on an appropriation of

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further tens of millions of Israeli pounds. I don't have a penny. I see no escape, unless help is forthcoming, from partial cancellation of very urgent housing projects for ma'aborot; that is to say, to transfer people under canvas to some form of permanent dwelling for this coming winter and for the new emigrants. The Government has decided to interrupt all constructional activity that is not vital."

So, you see, the picture is of Levi Eshkol and Golda Myerson, the best of friends, colleagues in the Government, members of the same party, finding themselves today at drawn daggers over the question of whether the emigrants should be housed more or less properly, or whether they should be thrown into tents and abandoned to their fate in this rainy season, ^{WHERE WILL DISCOVER} and they knew that they were being left in the lurch when they were brought over. Mrs. Myerson insists on the further appropriation as Minister of Labor, and the Finance Minister says, "I don't have the money." As a result, crisis; as a result, failure; as a result, a sense of default of the State of Israel and of the Jewish people.

My friends, it is up to you to see to it not

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only that these people are properly taken care of, but that they themselves become soldiers on the front of the building up of Israel, that they themselves are given the means with which to build those houses, with which to acquire those tools for the work, with which to start a new life under the most promising conditions ^{POSSIBLE} imaginable.

In any case, they are facing a hard, uphill struggle. In any case, they are facing, particularly in the border zones, a most precarious security situation, and the first day on which they move to set foot on the new soil, new soil which is such an ancient soil, they have to go out and spend a sleepless night standing on guard against marauders, against murderous gangs which are sent across the frontiers to intimidate them, to frighten them off, to drive fear into their hearts, to sort of make them realize, as it were, that this is a hopeless enterprise and they had better give it up.

I have been privileged to act as an emissary to UJA conferences now over a range of years. I will say not only have I never been disappointed in any mission that I had to undertake, but I always came back to Israel full of new hope and new courage, having been privileged

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to witness the most marvelous manifestations of your loyalty to the cause of the Jewish people, and the generosity of your response and the earnestness of your understanding and devotion. I am sure you will all agree with me that what I have been putting before you must be done. It is up to you to show that it can and it will be done.

(The audience arose and applauded)

MR. WEILER: Mr. Sharett, thank you for that magnificent presentation.

We will adjourn very shortly for a brief luncheon period.

MR. MILTON KAHN (Boston, Mass.): I want to set the pattern, if I may, for the future discussion. I think we are wasting a lot of time because I do not believe that there is a single person in this room with the slightest sanity who questions that it is not the sole responsibility of the people of Israel to take care of and save the Moroccan Jews, even in normal times, let alone now, when the State of Israel itself is in danger.

I think everyone will admit without further argument that they must use the extra moneys that they may be able to save for the purchase of arms and that it shall

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become the sole responsibility of the Jews of the United States to take care of this immigration problem, and I say that \$25,000,000 is little enough. So please, anyone who follows me this morning or this afternoon, let's stop making speeches about why we should do it. We are all grown people and we know that we must and we should do it.

If the article in Look Magazine this week is correct, in that the Jewish people of this country have ten percent of the national income, which in actual figures means \$40 to \$50,000,000,000 a year, it takes very little arithmetic to figure out that \$25,000,000 is one-twentieth of one percent of our national income, so what are we talking about? Just one thing: how are we going about doing this?

And while I admit that it is very gracious and very lovely for people to stand up here and announce gifts of \$25,000 over and above, when it comes to economic standing, I know that I am a very small potato, but when it comes to fundraising I think I have had some experience in the last thirty years. I say it is certainly noble for people to stand up here and say, "I will give \$25,000," but you need more people to make that extra money, so we

must evolve a way of raising this \$25,000,000.

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With the exception of the smaller communities, Mr. Chairman, this business of having a special card does not work. We have tried it in many cities. It will not work. I believe, Herb and Eddie and Bill and you, Jack, that this gimmick is not enough just to increase the potential of the spring campaigns; that we are actually here for the purposes of raising \$25,000,000. There are many people in this room who were present in 1945 in Atlantic City at a small meeting where we tried to figure out how could we go from \$35,000,000 in 1945 to \$100,000,000 in 1946, and people said, "If you make a record of the speech made last night in Yiddish and send it around the country, that is will do it."

That was the last straw. I said, "Henry" -- to Henry Montor at that time -- "I'm going home. This is a waste of time for me. If we want to raise \$100,000,000 in 1946 there is only one way to do it, and that is, that some Jewish family in the country has got to come out and electrify the country by starting off with a million dollar contribution. This is the only thing that our people understand." "So what are you going to do?" And thank God,

there was a family at that time that came out with a million dollar contribution, and we raised \$102,000,000, went over the quota for the first time in the history of the United Jewish Appeal.

I say to you that if you attempt to go back to your respective communities and say that you are going to go out and raise this extra money in the campaign, you will not succeed, because if we can only raise \$60,000,000 in 1955, you've got to raise fifty percent more in order to get this \$25,000,000.

There is only one way to do it. I am not talking about the smaller communities. In the large communities you've got to get somebody who is going to become a chairman immediately, not wait until the spring campaign, but immediately. Call a meeting and force the people who have the money to do what these three people here did today, give \$25,000 or \$50,000 or \$100,000 apiece. They are well able to do it, and this must be done immediately, not as a part of your regular campaign but as a special emergency campaign., with the definite understanding that we will not accept one single nickel from a person who intends later on to cut his regular gift. That is the only way you

will get the money.

MR. WEILER: I want to just say this: Foreign Minister Sharett will be back with us right after lunch, but prior to the adjournment for lunch, which will be a very, very simple one, we want to reconvene at 1:30.

I want to announce a Resolutions Committee that will meet. The chairman will be Michael Stavitsky of Newark.

(Mr. Weiler read the names of the people who constituted the membership of the Resolutions Committee)

(The morning session adjourned at 12:55 p.m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session convened at 2:15 p.m., Mr. Morris Berinstein of Syracuse presiding.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Ladies and gentlemen, we want to start the continuing session of this very important committee and I think the best way to do it is to have the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee read the draft that has been worked on during the noon hour, and the reason for the tardiness of the afternoon session.

Mr. Michael Stavitsky, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. (Applause)

MR. STAVITSKY: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, we, the more than three hundred representatives of American Jewish philanthropic and communal organizations, gathered at an extraordinary meeting convened by the United Jewish Appeal at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on Friday, November 18, 1955, after hearing a momentous statement from His Excellency, Moshe Sharett, Foreign Minister of Israel, and after hearing the factual and moving reports from members of the Overseas Study Mission of the United Jewish Appeal, have caused to be drawn up and have adopted the following resolution:

The State of Israel faces its most crucial period since its War of Liberation. Israel's people are living in a dangerous situation, with no one knowing what new perils tomorrow might bring. The very existence of Israel as a haven of refuge for Jews everywhere is in serious jeopardy. At a time when its very preservation as an independent nation is in question, Israel refuses to close its ears to the pleas of Jews from North Africa who seek sanctuary within its holy gates.

Israel has made it a point of conscience to keep its doors open to Jews from North Africa and elsewhere clamoring for admission. Israel in this hour of peril is unable to continue to carry the major share of financing this immigration and settlement program. The Jews of America recognize a moral obligation and a solemn duty to give fullest possible aid and comfort to the people of Israel, and the Jews of North Africa, in their hour of grave need.

To this end, the Jews of America must provide all the funds for immigration to assure a haven of refuge and safety for the Jews of North Africa, while the people of Israel gird themselves for the arduous tasks that lie

ahead. Additional funds will be required to carry out the foregoing purposes.

Be it resolved, (1) that there be constituted a United Jewish Special Fund;

(2) That the sum of \$25,000,000 be contributed by the Jews of America to this Special Fund;

(3) That this Special Fund be in addition to the normal United Jewish Appeal income;

(4) That this Special Fund be created now, today, and that contributions to this fund be accepted immediately;

(5) That contributions to this fund be secured in each community through the machinery of the Jewish Welfare Fund, or where there are no Welfare Funds, through whatever other organized channels exist for this purpose in the community;

(6) That contributions by individuals to the Special Fund be made and accepted over and above, and without reducing their respective contributions to the campaigns to be conducted in 1956;

(7) That over and above the Special Fund, the Welfare Funds of America agree that the United Jewish

Appeal's share from the regular Welfare Fund campaigns to be conducted in 1956 in no case be less than the United Jewish Appeal's share of the 1955 campaign proceeds;

(8) That each Welfare Fund, and where there are no Welfare Funds, each local community accept for itself its fair share of this sum of \$25,000,000 and give its solemn pledge that it will consider it a point of honor and conscience to raise its fair share.

I want to make just two points clear: one, that calling for the setting up of this \$25,000,000 fund and for raising contributions, individual contributions or procuring individual contributions immediately, does not imply that you will launch yourselves into the full UJA campaign now; and the second point I want to make clear is that the fundraising will be conducted as it has been conducted in the past, by Welfare Funds, and that this Special Fund will be included in that Welfare Fund.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this resolution.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: You have heard the resolution. Is there a second?

A VOICE: Seconded.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: The resolution is seconded. Before discussion, I would like to say just a few words, because for myself I want to make sure that every individual in this room understands the importance of this afternoon's meeting and the importance of the decision that will be made right here.

To begin with, I am hopeful that every person in this room who has something to say relative to the resolution will get up and say it, whether they are for or whether they are against, and if there are any people in this room who do not favor this resolution and walk out without expressing themselves, I think they are doing Israel a grievous disfavor.

Secondly, remember that if, during the course of the proceedings, you decide to vote for this resolution, remember what you are voting for. I do not want to be described, as I was last night by someone, as a teacher, but I must spell it out. It means that you are voting yourself to greatly increase your contribution toward the United Jewish Appeal during the next twelve months, and as soon as possible. You cannot vote for it unless you honestly and conscientiously feel that it includes you as

well as your neighbor, so there is that implication, hidden though it may be.

I also want to point out that as far as this group is concerned, it is trying to speak for all the Jews, because you are the leaders. This is the finest group of American leadership that has ever been gathered under one roof in one small room. The mere fact that you are here shows you are interested, and finally, one more thing.

I do not want to be termed a pessimist. I just want to point out to you very seriously, I know of no greater harm that could be done to the State of Israel by any of its enemies than to adopt this quota and raise a small portion of it. I am now not speaking as anyone else but Morris Berinstein, as an individual. I plead with you, do not accept a quota unless you think you can raise it.

There are a great many political connotations here. It wouldn't look good to the Arabs -- it would look very good to them. I think you understand what I mean. If we American Jews have decided to take on this load, we decide it freely, willingly, in a democratic manner, here,

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this afternoon, but if we decide, go home to your communities and do it. I, for one, do not care about the methods, but this is something that you must weigh seriously, so I therefore am going to call on everyone. I plead with you to be as much to the point as possible, to be as brief as you think you should be, but please take the floor.

MR. DAVID AARONSTEIN (Richmond, Va.): Not only am I representative from the Richmond delegation, but there are also present representatives from Norfolk and Newport News. We had a short luncheon meeting and I was authorized to speak for all of us.

I would like to address my remarks to Point Five of the resolution, that each community use its regular Welfare Fund or other machinery in order to raise this money. It is our thinking that it will be most difficult to raise this additional money if we tie it in too closely to our Welfare Fund campaigns. On the other hand, we believe that the more we can disassociate this special fund from the Welfare Fund or other campaigns, the greater chance we have of raising the money.

We don't claim to have any mechanics worked out, but we sincerely believe that if this campaign could

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be set up on a nationwide basis at one time through the country -- and as I say, I can't give you the mechanics of it -- separate and distinct from any community machinery that is now in operation, although the personnel may be the same, that we will have a much greater chance of raising this money, and as I say, the best example I can give you of what I mean, and this is my personal opinion, is that there have been communities in the past who are not giving as large a share of their funds raised to the United Jewish Appeal as they should have given. Those communities were told by the United Jewish Appeal that if they didn't do what they should have done in their communities, the UJA was going to come in and run their own campaign, and that is what I would like to see the UJA do now.

We will give them all the help we can, but we believe that if we can tell the community leaders and givers that this has nothing to do with the regular UJA campaign, excepting their pledge not to decrease their UJA gift, that we can raise this money much more effectively than if we tried to do it in our regular campaigns.

MR. LEONARD RATNER (Cleveland, Ohio): Honored

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guests, I really wasn't prepared to make any speeches. Before I got up here, I thought I wished I would be a Gentile. Many times I have invited some of my Gentile customers to some of these occasions, and the first thing they say is, "What wonderful Jews! What a tremendous job the Jews can do!"

Sure, I've seen people come up here and the first thing I hear is, "I am giving \$25,000, I am giving \$35,000 more." And it seems to me from a non-Jewish point of view it is a wonderful gesture.

But let me get back to you gentlemen here in front of me. I know these resolutions and I have voted on them many times and so have you. The question is, what does this mean as far as Israel is concerned and as far as we are concerned? How far are we going to go with it? Are we willing to do the job, or do we just feel, "Let John do it," and I know each one of us has his own way to do that job.

Of course, I have no suggestions. I think it can be done easily.

At present I am reading a little book that Joe Schwartz sent to me. It is written by Leo Frank, and it has

has kept me awake many nights reading it. When I look at the way Israel was built and think about the individuals who built it, they built it with their blood, and many of them had malaria, those who started it originally, Jabotinsky and many others years back, because they had ideals, and it is on this basis Israel was built by these people.

It wasn't built through money at that time. It was built through effort, through blood. People gave their lives for it.

Then I look at ourselves. We sit here on the other side of the scene, when we could have wound up, many of us, on their side, and perhaps many of us would not have survived to tell the story. But we sit here and we think we have done a tremendous job. What have we done? We have given money, and how did we give? Have we given the easy way?

Let me ask you. I look at all of you here and I hear some of these cases where people give \$25,000 and \$35,000 and much more. Are we any worse off than we were in 1948? Any one of you? Have you got any less today than you had in 1948? Is there any good reason why we could raise \$150,000,000 in 1948 and now have gone down

to as low as \$55,000,000? Where is that money?

We will vote for the resolution, I want you to know., there's no question about it. There will be nobody against it. But we should have taken that resolution and trimmed it. That is no resolution. But are we going to do it? We can only do it by ourselves. But it is done by the few, and you sitting here are the few. You here will have to take it. If I like it or not, I will have to take it too. I will still be alive regardless of what happens.

As I look around me I start to measure my friends, Morris standing next to me. What did we do back in 1948, 1949 and 1950? How much did we slice off that amount? If you are saving your money for your children, it means nothing, I can tell you that. You can give them this ability, this thinking which you have, which we have originated, the things which we will accomplish in Israel of which we all ought to be proud. It will mean a lot more than the few extra miserable dollars which are going to be spent as fast as you can make it. I don't care how good those children are. That is, in my viewpoint, the only way we can do the job.

I say to you I don't know what our share in Cleveland is going to be. They will say the same thing there. Last year we raised about \$4,100,000 or \$4,150,000. We are only about \$700,000 off from 1948. But when I start to look about the country, what happened to the \$55,000,000?

Well, I think all you've got to do is commit yourselves. All you've got to do is just feel that the job must be done. There is no going backwards. There are no more of the six million Jews and those who built Israel in the old days. They are gone. This is our last chance, and if we don't make good this time, God forbid, there will never be another time.

I noticed we are still \$15 and \$25,000,000 short of our original amount. But we are all better off than we were in 1948. I say to you that only by going out of this meeting and everyone making his own pledge, the highest they ever pledged, plus whatever they can spare, we will raise not only \$25,000,000, but \$50,000,000.

On the article in Look Magazine, they spoke of just 5,000 people, as though it was such a big thing. But 45,000 people are coming to Israel. This money is to

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settle these people and we should take care of them. The Israelis have enough to do fighting a war and protecting themselves. This is our job. A country like this can much sooner absorb 45,000 people, and if they came here wouldn't you take care of them? Just figure out how this job can be done, but each one must put himself in the Israelis' shoes. If we can do that, then there is no question about it -- this job will be done.

We are close to the 1956 campaign to start a new campaign now. We must make up our minds that the only people you can get it from the are the few. We will always have the few. They will do it. But it is to the majority we can show what the job will be like.

I don't know what amount will be required from Cleveland. We will go along with whatever we are called upon to do. But I hope every one of you, before you leave here, makes sure that you are willing to go along, as Morris said, not only to vote for the resolution, but come up with the "tachlis." Your community will go along with you, and I can assure that every dollar you are going to pledge will be used for these things and that next year you will be able to give twice as much.

I can see the resolution will be approved. In the meantime, let's get on and finish the job, but at least give them encouragement in this time, that this country needs. The people over there need it, and if they are willing, the least we can do is go along with them.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Mr. Ratner's pledge this year was \$100,000, so you can figure out what it might have cost him. (Applause)

MR. BENJAMIN HARRIS (Chicago, Illinois): Mr. Chairman, at this time I would like to speak briefly as to the content of the resolution, not in any derogatory sense. On the contrary, I speak with the highest admiration for the skillful way in which the resolution has been drafted.

However, I would like to call attention to this point; namely, -- and the point that I am confident all will agree on. It is of the greatest importance to have this resolution set well with the Welfare Funds in view of the fact that they will be the instrumentalities which will raise these funds and keep them segregated, and so on.

I am at a little disadvantage in not having a

copy of the resolution before me, but if I recall the reading of it correctly, I believe it could benefit by having a few more teeth put into it along this line: that no pledge or no contribution to apply to this \$25,000,000 should be accept from anyone whose 1956 pledge to the regular campaign will be less than the 1955 pledge.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: That is in the resolution.

MR. HARRIS: Then I am out of order.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Look, we want to hear from every community. We want to hear your thinking, what you are going to do in that community, so can we please hear from the leaders?

MR. WILLIAM BRUCK (Los Angeles, Calif.): I am the newly appointed 1956 UJA Welfare Fund Chairman of Los Angeles, California. We have a democratic community. We are governed, as it were, by a Jewish Community Council. There are just two of us lay people here, so that we cannot officially bind the Commnity Council.

However, I think that I can say this honestly with the cooperation of Mr. Shane who is here with me: that we are heartily in favor of the resolution; that over the past ten years we have sent to the United Jewish Appeal

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between \$30 and \$35,000,000; that last year our allocation to UJA was \$2,000,000, and that we as individuals and I as a person and a chairman of a Welfare Fund assure you and assure this gathering that we are going to do everything we can, and we are going to raise an extra million dollars for the United Jewish Appeal.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Those are the kind of comments we need.

MR. MARTIN NADELMAN (Houston, Texas): I am privileged to be the state chairman for Texas. In the last campaign it was my privilege and honor to run around over this vast part of the United States in an attempt to explain and educate the people and the committees and Welfare Funds to the needs.

I pledge you now that I will, with the machinery that we have, including our state cabinet, go throughout the state and let each and every community know the needs as we have been told them here today. Thank you.

MR. PHILIP KLUTZNICK (President of B'nai B'rith, Chicago, Ill.): I didn't ask for the floor, but I won't resist it.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, you should

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not stand up and go into a conference with your delegation because if you bend over, you are going to be recognized, and I welcome this opportunity because I was resisting the temptation of speaking. I can only speak for myself. I can say for myself that I have been engaged in a bit of a survey. I don't mean of Israel. I haven't been to Israel. That survey has been adequately reported upon. I have been surveying the American Jewish scene for the last two and a half years. There are very few places where I haven't been, and in the places that I have been I would like to suggest that there is one tone here that ought to be corrected.

We are not doing this for Israel. We need to do it for the American Jewish community. And I think the resolution itself -- and I always like to be critical of resolutions because no one reads them thereafter anyway -- the resolution itself ought to impart the hunger that is felt in the American Jewish community. You listened to it this morning and you either walked away depressed, or you walked away exalted. If you are depressed, you are untrue to your Jewish heritage. If you walked away exalted in realizing that here is an opportunity for salvation, to

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do all of the many things that we do, we are going to continue building our synagogues, we are going to continue building our centers, we are going to continue doing everything that we must do for our Jewish community, but we will not have salvation unless we meet the challenges that have been expressed here.

AN I look upon this as not a deed for Israel, but a deed for additional reclamation, fortification, strengthening of the spirit of the American Jewish community. I not only endorse it, but at the appropriate time I will pay my share of the cost for having spoken. Thank you very much.

MR. ELKAN MEYERS (Baltimore, Md.): We have come to no agreement in our delegation yet. I have been arguing for a special campaign to raise somewhere between 44 and 50 percent of what we gave to the United Jewish Appeal this past year, \$1,200,000, and they feel that it should possibly be a part of the 1956 campaign, the special part.

I had hoped that we went out for a special campaign but I will say this: we are all in agreement that Baltimore will accept its obligation, its full obligation

to this special campaign. We have here the new chairman for the 1956 campaign and I am sure that under his guidance that we will raise our minimum of \$500,000.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: That, there is no disagreement about.

MR. MEYERS: No disagreement about that, so I am sure we will do everything we can. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: I think that at this time we should hear from Mr. Leavitt of the Joint Distribution Committee, who has a very important announcement to make.

MR. LEAVITT: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Warburg on his return from Israel and I, at the same time, reported to our committees as to what was the problem which you heard so eloquently described this morning. The JDC has unanimously expressed its intention to waive any participation in the Special Fund which will be raised for North Africa.

In accordance with the usual agreement that we have in the United Jewish Appeal, the JDC gets a big share of all proceeds of the UJA. In the case of the Special Fund, however, the JDC will waive its right to its share of one-third of the proceeds, so that every penny

that comes into that Special Fund will be going to Israel for the resettlement and the integration of the North African refugees. Thank you. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: I think that gives you an impression, better than any words, of what the leaders think of the importance of this.

MR. DEWEY D. STONE (Brockton, Mass.): I would just like to add a few words, indicating how we of the United Israel Appeal feel about this emergency.

I have only just returned two days ago from Israel. We have not had time to either formulate, myself, or to ask for any official action by the Board of the United Israel Appeal. In our mind is some kind of a directive to this American Jewish community, indicating the priority of it at this moment, of the UJA in this emergency campaign, indicating this to the extent of asking a moratorium on anything and everything that has to do with fundraising for Israel that can possibly be postponed.

That doesn't mean that we can stop everything that is going on or should stop it. It indicates a serious desire, as the Foreign Secretary of Israel indicated, that they are going to do nothing in Israel that they can avoid

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doing now, and we must do that here in our giving outside of the United Jewish Appeal for Israeli causes, and I hope in our giving for the American Jewish scene.

I just want to add my voice to what has already been said. This is in truth an emergency and I am confident that the American Jewish community will respond in terms of the need. If there is any community having any problem which seems to them to justify some action, advice or counsel, by the United Israel Appeal in its advisory capacity, please feel free to call upon us. We want to help you. Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. HARRY SYLK (Philadelphia, Pa.): Gentlemen, ladies, I feel quite certain that Philadelphia will, during this campaign, live up to every promise in giving the share that you expect of us. Of course, with the pressure that we had from Mr. Sam Daroff who is on your board, and Mr. Sol Satinsky, you can rest assured that Philadelphia will do its share in the additional funds that will be required from us. Thank you.

JUDGE STANLEY WEISMAN (Pittsburgh, Pa.): I am chairman of the Tri-State Area for the past ten years. In my past ten years in the cabinet up there, I have turned

over personally \$22,000,000 to the United Jewish Appeal.

We had an extraordinary meeting three weeks ago in which I turned over \$480,000 representing 70 Jewish communities. I realize the responsibility and challenge we face here. I might pledge more if I could, but I pledge to you, Mr. Chairman, that within ninety days our district will raise and send to you an additional \$100,000.

MR. PHILIP LOWN (Bangor, Maine): As chairman for the State of Maine, I will do my very utmost to raise not only this additional amount proportionally for the State of Maine, but even more. We have always tried to help Israel and we will stand behind it right now in the present crisis. You can depend upon the State of Maine as well as the rest of New England to raise the additional amount of money.

MR. JOSEPH HOLTZMAN (Detroit, Mich.): I was hoping that resolution business would have been passed and forgotten before they called on me, because the thing that I am interested in is the implementation and the fulfillment of the resolution. I noted that the meeting took a different tone from the first three speakers who got up, Mr. Taubman who said he is going to give \$25,000

above his 1955 and 1956 giving, Mr. Harris who followed him with \$25,000 additional, and Mr. Ben Masel of Atlantic City who followed him. From then on, I can't say we were rudely interrupted, Mr. Sharett, but then you came in.

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What we are interested in is how we are going to get this money. I think it is stupid for me to say that it is tough to get \$25,000,000 from American Jewry when it should be so simple. It is a pittance compared to the needs of today and the purpose for which we are asking it, but unfortunately we've got to use gimmicks to get it. I think the most important gimmick is that we go back to our communities and we point out to them that we ourselves individually have made a pledge, not a pledge that "I will do my share" or "I will do all I can and I will travel night and day" and a lot of these other lip services we have been hearing for so many years, but a pledge of personal cash.

And on that subject let me say that if there ever was a time for American Jewry to give without any income tax adjustments in mind, this is it. I'm sorry that time is a-wasting, but on a personal basis, I could also mention our pledge in 1948 was \$25,000, but I am happy

to say that as the needs were unfolded to me year after year, it was an increase every year, and this year it was \$52,000, and it won't be less than \$52,000 in 1956.

Based upon that, the figure has been mentimed that if you give an extra 25 percent, we will achieve \$25,000,000. It isn't so, because everybody who made a contribution to UJA will not make a contribution now, simply because most of them won't be asked. We are not going to cover every card that we covered in 1955, so therefore we must still get the money from the big hearts.

Therefore, on that basis, my pledge, extra and above 1955 or 1956, will be a minimum of \$25,000. (Applause) That's not enough. Therefore, I am personally throwing out a challenge to American Jewry. If we can get at least 100 people, 100, a committee of 100 or call them anything you want, who will give \$50,000 and over, I will be the first one to say \$50,000 in that case, and only in that case.

If we just get that, that will be a lot more than \$5,000,000 to start with. It is a pretty fair thing. Now, let's start in our own local communities. This may not be true of all communities but a lot of them that I

know of have been building up and building up for future capital needs.

I think that one of the things in the resolution that was left out is the fact, the idea that local needs can certainly wait during 1956, and that the amounts that they have been deducting and putting aside for 1956 is a starting basis right from their own budgets that can be added to their 1955 allocation. That in itself would be quite an amount.

Another point. These same communities, what greater emergency will they ever face than the one they are facing now? And why can't we go to those communities and say to them, and it is just a simple vote of their own board that will do it -- they have, for instance, a million dollars in their banks that they are saving for local building. Why can't we get a portion of that?

There is one more point. I think that the base of the UJA has not been broadened. It hasn't covered as much territory as it should. The highest possible figure that was mentioned to me in adding up all the giving of American Jewry has been 1,000,000 pledges. That is the top that I have ever heard anywhere. It is not

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enough. There is no reason on earth why every Jewish child, be it a baby a week old, I don't care if they only give a dollar towards it, but there is no reason why we shouldn't have 3,000,000 pledges, not \$3,000,000, but 3,000,000 personal pledges, and start building up from that. We have five and a half million Jews in America. The whole \$25,000,000 only adds up to \$5.00 per human being.

There is one other point and I think this is a good time to bring it up. We have had serious losses in the UJA from death. I think one of the finest things that we can possibly do while we are living, and some of us hate like the devil to part with that dough while we are still living -- we've got an awful lot of personal reasons for not doing it -- but we shouldn't have any personal reason for not, from now on, putting the UJA or the State of Israel in our wills. I have it in mind and I see no reason why we shouldn't start something like that.

You will hear more from me later about that in my capacity as one of the National Chairmen of the UJA, and I am going to close now. I expect this challenge of 100 people, \$50,000 and over, to be met. I am telling you people right here and now, that I am only giving

\$50,000 when that figure reaches 99 more. Otherwise, my personal contribution will be \$25,000 to this Special Fund.

MR. SAM HYMAN (Miami, Florida): Mr. Chairman and friends, I come from the great city of Miami, Florida. I was drafted to head the campaign for 1956, again. All I can say to you is that I shall go home to my people in Miami and tell them the story of the crisis in Israel, which I saw with my own eyes when I was a member of the United Jewish Appeal Study Mission.

I just want to tell you one little story. I rode on the El Al plane that picked up the first refugees who came from behind the Iron Curtain, and an old lady sat next to me on the plane all that night, and she told me the story of how the Joint Distribution Committee had brought her out of Russia and was taking her to Israel. If all of you could hear that story, you would give any amount possible to this cause, and I am pleased to tell you now that I shall go back to Miami and ask every contributor to the campaign to increase their contribution this year, and we hope that instead of raising \$1,250,000 as we did last year, that we can increase our total to \$1,500,000, and we hope that the UJA will get the major

share. Thank you.

MR. ELI COHEN (Lynn, Mass.): We have already had a meeting of our community Federation and we have endorsed this \$25,000,000 campaign, and we are accepting our proportion of this fund. We are going to have our first meeting to implement this resolution next Monday night, and I feel quite certain that Lynn will do its share.

MR. SAM HAUSMAN (New York City): I wish I could tell you all that New York has the extra millions on hand and to deliver the check, but unfortunately I can't make that statement. But I do take the privilege of saying to my co-chairmen and my associates, and I will take the liberty of speaking for the New York community, that New York will do its share to meet this special emergency fund of \$25,000,000, whatever task will be set, and I am sure they will undertake to do.

Personally, I will make every effort. You can be assured that the men who have headed the campaign up to now will be in back of it again and that they will vote for the resolution on the 18th of this month, assuring you that they will support this additional need which New

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York will probably meet as well as the rest of the country.
Thank you very much.

MR. CHARLES GUTWIRTH (New York City): I heard a previous speaker say we should go out and try to make some money for the Special Fund. I say we have enough people here to say what they can do personally right now, and for my part, the Gutwirths will give, in addition to their regular UJA contribution, \$25,000. I think if most of us here can do that, the situation in Israel will soon be better, and I think every one of us can announce a substantial amount.

MR. DEWEY STONE: I spoke before, before Joe Holtzman threw out a challenge, and I spent my life trying to sell merchandise. I feel that there is no time like the present for making a sale.

Joe, I will match what you are doing on the same basis, and I don't usually believe in conditional giving, but since this is extra giving and is morally justified as being, in my opinion, contingent giving, because this either is or is not a collective responsibility, I would like to see this hundred substantially on the road to fulfillment right here and now.

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I had intended \$25,000, and I am willing to go for the other \$25,000 and hope there are ten, fifteen or twenty more right here, including my good friend Charlie, who I am sure will join this parade if everybody else does. (Applause)

A VOICE (Portland, Oregon): I bring you the fragrance of our beautiful flowers. Portland has never failed to come through, and in my feeling, with enthusiasm. This \$25,000,000 should electrify the Jewish people to realize that it is not only meeting a challenge in history, but it is the greatest investment in life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

I don't see how any of these people who are here who are mentioning \$25,000, who will give \$50,000, can base it on a contingent. If you can give it, you can give it anyhow, because it is an emergency, because bullets are flying, and what will happen we don't know. It is what we do that is going to count, what we do here, not what is going to be done in the future, and I feel if this challenge is met, that Portland, the City of Roses, will come through when we need it.

I also want to implement what Brother Kahn

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said, to accept the point of giving to such a high level that it will be oversubscribed, more than the \$25,000,000. The money is here. What can be a greater cause than to fight for liberty and to have our flag in the United Nations as never before in the history of 2,000 years? I hope that we will succeed and be oversubscribed.

MR. JOSEPH MYERHOFF (Baltimore, Md.): Mr. Chairman and friends, there is only one thing I am worried about. In the reading of the resolution and in passing the resolution, it is being passed over a little too lightly, and I am sure that in the course of raising the amount of money that we have to raise in each community and particularly in the larger communities, although the problem is probably the same in all communities, is the fact that we are talking about raising from 45 to 50 percent more than we raised last year, and any of you who have been campaigning in the last few years knows that it hasn't been easy to raise the kind of money we raised in the past few years.

The worry that I have is that we are sitting here and perhaps few of us are really taking it seriously, and we will go back and say, "We gave \$1,200,000 last year.

We've got to give an extra \$500,000." \$500,000 as against \$1,200,000 is a tremendous increase.

Leonard said, what happened to the people who gave all this money in 1948? Unfortunately, some of them have died and some of them have given other moneys and some of them can't give that kind of money now. Some people even say what we ought to do is suspend some of our local building funds. I am not one for postponing anything. There is enough money in the American Jewish community to do all the things we want to do. I have never yet gotten a contribution -- and we have hospitals and we have community centers and we have schools and temples and synagogues and whatnot -- where it had to be based on that. There is no need to talk about postponing anything. The people who are generous will give you the money, and the people who are not generous will be pushed into giving it to you, provided you have the leadership to set the pattern and set the pace.

When you are talking about raising \$25,000,000, you are talking about almost a complete campaign on top of a campaign, and a campaign on top of a campaign works like all campaigns do. If the top leadership, by their

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example of giving and by their example of working are willing to set the pattern and set the pace, everybody else will go along in the community, because most people can afford to give a few thousand dollars extra or a few hundred dollars extra if they really want to do it, and I wouldn't talk about postponing anything.

The only concern I have here today is that, before these delegates leave, everybody here who has a semblance of authority, and most of us know that we can accept the authority -- they will be very glad to let us have it in each community -- those of us who leave here will say that we will accept the responsibility for raising that X dollars more. We will go back and raise it. But if we leave here with a lot of reservations and say we will do the best we can, that doesn't meet the tone or the spirit of the resolution.

I feel that with the leadership that we have here from Baltimore, Elkan Meyers, as you all know, is really the real spearhead in the campaigning in Baltimore. Fortunately, we have Lou Fox with us here who is the new chairman of the campaign. I want to feel when I leave here that Baltimore has accepted the solemn obligation to raise

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\$500,000 extra above the \$1,200,000 we give to the UJA, and I am going to give my share of what I gave last year in order to accomplish that. That is a big step for me. Every year I have been increasing my contribution. Fortunately, I have been able to do it. I agree with Leonard. I am better off, a lot better off than I was in 1948, and it doesn't hurt me and it won't hurt the rest of you, but I want to caution the people who meet here today, that when they talk to the people in their communities, don't talk about postponing anything.

We are not in competition with anybody. We have a special cause to which we are dedicated. Let us, each of us, go back and work to raise the money that is necessary and meet the challenge which the American Jewish community has to face. Let's not be apologetic about it, and let's not postpone anything. Let's go out and raise money, but I do feel that every community that is here today ought to take it upon itself to go back with a determination to raise the percentage of quota that it has to assume, and when this whole resolution is written and read and voted on, I want it to be voted on with the conviction by each community that it will accept that proportion of

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the pledge, not that somebody else will accept it, but that they each will accept their proportion and will go back to the Welfare Funds -- we have no authority to do it -- but we will go back and say we have accepted a pledge from Baltimore to raise for next year \$1,700,000, and that is a pledge that I feel we want to raise for Baltimore.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Ladies and gentlemen, I agree completely with everything that Joe said. As I have been standing here chairing this meeting, there is only one thing worrying me. No one has gotten up and spoken against anything. Do you fully understand what the resolution says and what it implies? Before we vote on that resolution, if someone wants to take the floor, go ahead and speak for or against, sticking to it, and I would appreciate it, but there is one thing I do not ever want to hear, to walk outside into the corridors and hear criticism of something done here, because there never has been a more democratic meeting and we want it to be that way, and we don't want corridor criticism. We want it right in this room.

MR. ZUCKER (Cleveland, Ohio): How will the quotas be arrived at, individual city quotas?

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: The answer to that you will get very quickly. Naturally, normally it seems like you take the percentage the UJA got last year and you add fifty percent to it. Now, I realize that some communities have done better than others, that their per capita giving is better, and I don't think that we can decide right here.

I assure you that we are going to try to be as fair and equitable as possible in arriving at the quotas that we assign. I will also give you one more assurance: I don't think this has been the kind of a meeting that we should add up to \$50,000⁰⁰⁰ and give people quotas and hope, when it shrinks down, it will still be \$25,000,000. I think it is going to be actual. If a community doesn't raise it, they will know the whole drive will fall short of what they didn't raise.

Does that answer you? We will do our best to be fair.

MR. ALEX LOWENTHAL (Pittsburgh, Pa.): Morris Berinstein has called for a devil's advocate. I will be that. I have been in most of your communities and I know that you understand and share my deep feeling for Israel.

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Therefore, ^{if} anything I say here happens to be contrary to some of the things that have already been said, I hope and I will believe you understand it is for purposes of clarification and to get some things out in the open which are not yet.

In the first place, I am not very clear on one of the great issues that seems to be before us here. That is the question in Part 4 of the resolution, the resolved part of the resolution where it says that this Special Fund for Israel shall be created now. And then I hear that some people are going to add fifty percent to their campaigns in 1956 and other amounts to their campaigns for 1956. If I know anything about campaigns for 1956, that means those who pledged in 1956 will pay sometime in 1956, up until December 31, 1956.

I ask a question. Does this resolution intend to meet the emergency which exists today, today? In other words, is the purpose of all this discussion in this meeting here to raise money for Israel today, or between now and December 31st but not later than that? I want to be sure we know what we are talking about on that particular score.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Do you want your answer now?

MR. LOWENTHAL: I will ask a few questions and you can answer them all at once. That is my first question, whether we are talking about a campaign right now, or something to be added for 1956. Because if we are talking about something to be raised now, then I don't think Points 5, 6 and 7 of the resolution have particular pertinence at this moment, because in there it says that the UJA's guarantee for 1956 is what it got in 1955, and campaign machinery and so on. I am just wondering whether we are talking about raising \$25,000,000 for the UJA without in any way co-mingling it with any other funds and purposes, and so on. If that is the case, then we go back to our communities and we know what to say.

I have this particular feeling: when I go back to my own community just as an individual living in Pittsburgh, and I say this is for sometime in 1956, there is going to be an awful lot of evaporation between now and the time our regular budget committee meets. Therefore, what I would like to do is, if what we are talking about means now, I think the resolution should state, and

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state very, very strongly. If that is the case, then we ought to present a little bit more along the lines that have been mentioned.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Let me give you the answer to that. This resolution is very clear. The campaign is to start today. It is part of 1956. It means that we are going to the communities, starting with Monday, and meetings have already been set up. It means that pre-campaign budgeting quotas are being asked to be frozen and the people in this room are not in a position to take that official action, so we are calling meetings immediately for them to do it. It means we are asking them to have their big gifts meetings and their special gifts meetings as soon as possible. It also means that the community is going to be given its full right to do it any way they want to do it, as long as they give us the money.

As far as the urgency for money is concerned, I can't speak as well for that perhaps as the Foreign Minister, but I have an idea that if we can give them \$25,000,000, we don't have to give it to them tomorrow, that we can give them some tomorrow, some next week, some

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the week after that, and in three or four or five months, if we provide them with that kind of money, everything that has been presented to this meeting will have been served, and I sure, I think, that would satisfy them.

Is that an answer to your question?

MR. LOWENTHAL: That doesn't satisfy me in this respect: I don't know what Elkan has in his mind, or someone else, when they speak as members of their communities. I think it was something that starts much sooner and acts a lot faster and delivers the money very, very quickly, because the emergency that seems to be confronting us, as I see it, is something now. I am a little bit afraid that if we comingle it for 1956, all the problems of percentages and so on that we are ordinarily plagued with will arise.

I think they should be eliminated and an immediate statement on this campaign now for UJA formulated.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: That isn't the purpose, and I think no one has any greater esteem for you than I do, but I also have esteem for the other gentlemen in this room, and I think that they are taking this seriously and I think we can trust them. I am in favor of letting this

thing stay on the level that it is staying and knowing that what is taking place in this room will be transferred back.

Now, before we vote on this, we will hear from anyone else who wishes to speak. I am going over it paragraph by paragraph, and make sure that everyone understands what these paragraphs means.

A VOICE (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.): I am from Wilkes-Barre. There are three of us here. Two of us have pledged ourselves at \$5,000 each to add to their individual contributions. They haven't yet made up their minds as to the third one, and we pledge Wilkes-Barre to at least an addition of \$150,000 in the campaign.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: That is the spirit of the meeting and I am willing to accept that spirit, and I think everyone else in this room too.

MR. LAZURE GOODMAN (Indianapolis, Ind.): I want to be helpful if I can by pointing out what the problem would be in Indianapolis in a practical matter, and the techniques that I have been thinking of that might be applied there. As Mr. Berinstein told me privately before this meeting started, each community is going to have to

work it out according to what the situation is in that particular community.

We happen to have our campaign in May. For us to have a general campaign starting in January wouldn't work, or to start it now wouldn't work, because right now we are in the midst of cleaning up a community center campaign. We are right in the midst of a new temple campaign and in about two more weeks we are going to be in the midst of raising the money for a new country club.

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: At least you mention one that is important. (Laughter)

MR. GOODMAN: I am telling you what the local community is up against. My feeling is that if we can get our Welfare Fund to approve this special campaign for this Special Fund for the United Jewish Appeal, I will use my best efforts to bring it about, and although I was campaign chairman of the Welfare Fund in Indianapolis this last year, we did a poor job, raised about only five percent more than we did the year before, and I notice we seem to be stuck at about the same level now because of all these competing campaigns.

I feel, however, that I would be willing to

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have a special campaign in the month of January, with the leading givers to try to get them to give an additional amount of money, signing cards at the same time that they will not give less to their 1956 Welfare Fund campaigns, and that that might be the technique that we could use, so that we would have sort of a double-barreled thing of pre-campaign and at the same time a special campaign which will tie in with the regular campaign.

I am very much afraid if we simply say we want to raise more money in the whole campaign for the purpose of giving more money to the UJA, it won't work. We tried this last year and it didn't work. That is why we have to have this special pre-campaign campaign, as I see it, tied up with the regular campaign. Unfortunately, there aren't many large givers in Indianapolis. Our family happens to be the largest, even though it is only a \$25,000 amount. My family will increase its pledge by 40 percent, or \$10,000 additional to go for this Special Fund.

MR. HERBERT ABELES (Newark, N.J., President Council of Federations and Welfare Funds): I don't want to be repetitious but I do want to second particularly, and hope you will pay attention when the minutes of this meet-

ing come out and certain speeches are broadcast, such as those of Milton Kahn and Joe Myerhoff.--

Let me also say that the climate is right, it seems to me, for the successful conclusion of this effort. Last week, as most of you know, there was the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds in Chicago. That Assembly definitely is behind the effort. That Assembly noted the emergency in North Africa, and while I don't want to go into the resolutions that were passed at that Assembly, and may I say the resolutions are meaningful and really try to do certain things, those resolutions, if you will read them when they come to your communities, are very pertinent to everything that has been said here today.

We, as individuals who have been privileged to spend our time together here, getting the story first-hand, with the inspiration that we have gotten, can do a great deal. It has been said before many times, it is we who must start the fundraising to be successful in our communities by our own pledges. Of course that is so. We must also do a great deal of work and a great deal of inspirational leadership has to be extended in every com-

community, and we, and almost we alone, must and can do it, so that the tempo of this particular meeting continues into our community as best we can convey it, and that others be inspired to call meetings and get this thing started quickly. I don't think we ought to wait too long to start it, and when you, Mr. Chairman, say the campaign starts now, it starts now, and it starts now with us.

(Applause)

MR. DEWEY STONE: We have a wonderful guy with us today who has given me the privilege of announcing, Joe, that you've got another on the \$50,000 team, and that is Robert Gurney. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: I cannot help but mention, so that Mr. Sharett leaves here with a feeling that the words that he has heard will be translated into the dollars that he needs, I cannot help but mention that it was in this very same room that a group of these very same people met, in this very same manner, to discuss something that seemed quite foggy at the time -- a consolidation loan. They went home to their communities as we are asking them to do now. We visited them as we ask for the privilege of doing now, and five months later \$65,000,000 was

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deposited in the Treasury of Israel, so I hope that anyone in the room who is a doubting Thomas or thinks perhaps I am not ruling with a firm hand because I haven't searched everybody's pockets, will realize the confidence that I have in American Jewry and the great personal thrill that I am having right now in some of these announcements and some of the things that some of my friends and some of the loyal and great and true and real people of the United States, and what they are doing here at this moment.

I will never be able to thank you enough.

MR. LEO FREUDBERG (Washington, D.C.): Mr. Chairman, I couldn't leave this wonderful conference without giving you a word from the capitol of the United States. We have listened to this marvelous message and to the proposal made by Eddie Warburg, and while we have no authority, the delegation from Washington is completely convinced that this proposal should receive the utmost care and attention and devotion.

On going back we shall do our part, as we always have. I think Washington has given the largest proportion of its campaign to the United Jewish Appeal in the

past. Eighty percent of our total collections have always gone to the United Jewish Appeal, and so the capitol of America is an example to everybody in the country, I think.

Be assured, my friends, that we go back completely convinced that we must carry out these wonderful resolutions and do our share.

(There were calls for the question)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Do you wish the resolution read again?

(Cries of "no")

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Is it fully understood?

(Cries of "yes")

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Should I make a brief resume?

(Cries of "no")

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Then there is no misapprehension, so that when the leaders of the Welfare Fund get a phone call asking for a date, they will say, "We didn't understand it that way"?

(There were calls for the question)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: I do a lot of this telephoning, Mr. Foreign Minister. Is it sure?

(There were calls for the question)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: All those in favor say
"aye".

(Chorus of "ayes")

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: All against.

(No response)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Now stand up and put up
your right hands and repeat after me: I do solemnly
swear to carry out this resolution.

(The audience did so)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: The motion was unanimous-
ly carried, and now I think it would be no more than right
to impose once more on a man with whom I have traveled
in the last week, and the only man I have ever heard
deliver four different speeches in four nights, and I
asked him why. "You don't have to do it for me," I said.
He says he gets tired of hearing himself say the same
speech, and that is why he changes it around.

I think it would be both spiritual and no more
than right for the Foreign Minister to say a few final
words.

Just a moment. Mr. Rosenwald has something

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to say.

MR. ROSENWALD: I can't tell you how thrilled I am by the response here today to the message the Study Mission brought back from Israel, and I thank you for it.

I just got up to ask Joe Holtzman a question.

Joe, can one individual take two memberships in your club? (Applause)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: Is there any question about the announcement? That means \$100,000 toward this Special Fund over and above a \$200,000 gift, the normal gift the Rosenwald Foundation makes. And so there be no misunderstand on Mr. Rosenwald's part, because if he recalls, this cost me an expensive dinner, it is also \$200,000 for next year, plus an extra \$100,000, which, if I figure it rightly, means that within a period of 12 to 18 months, because that is the way he pays, it is half a million dollars. Is that electrifying? (Applause)

Unless someone else wants to take the floor, we will call on the Foreign Minister, Mr. Moshe Sharett. (The audience arose and applauded)

MR. SHARETT: My friends, I am deeply moved and heartened by the magnificent sense of your response

and the firmness of your resolve. I am particularly thrilled by the challenge thrown from this rostrum, by my dear friend Joe Holtzman, and the way it was taken up, and the upsurging of the response from single to double membership in the club.

Some of you may have noticed that I was denied the privilege of partaking of that simple luncheon with you, much as I had longed and am still longing for the opportunity of a frugal meal in this country of superabundance. It was because I had to keep another engagement; namely, to eat lunch with the club of the United Nations correspondents, and in payment for that treat, to answer a few questions, most of which were well put.

One of the questions was, somebody got up and said, "Mr. Minister, while Israel is in danger, you call upon assistance from us, and that is apparently what keeps Israel going. What will happen is there is peace?"

(Laughter) To this I said, "Look, we have twin tasks to perform. One task is to defend ourselves. Another task is to build up our future. If there is peace, there will be less needed for defense. There will be more opportunity for building."

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It reminded me of a joke they used to tell about Fascist Italy, that a father taught his children every morning after breakfast to say, "For this breakfast we thank God and Mussolini." So they said it dutifully every morning, until one morning the elder boy asked, "Daddy, what shall we be saying when Mussolini is no more?" So the father said, "We shall simply say 'thank God!'" (Laughter and applause)

Well, if there is peace, we shall just go on building our future, and I should like to wish to you all that the time may come, and come soon, with your help, when we shall have reached that stage, when we shall not worry any more about the dangers that beset us from all sides, and we shall be able to consecrate our energies to the building up of a better and brighter future for the entire Jewish people. Thank you very much.

(The audience arose and applauded)

CHAIRMAN BERINSTEIN: The conference is adjourned.

(The session adjourned at 3:45 p.m.)

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