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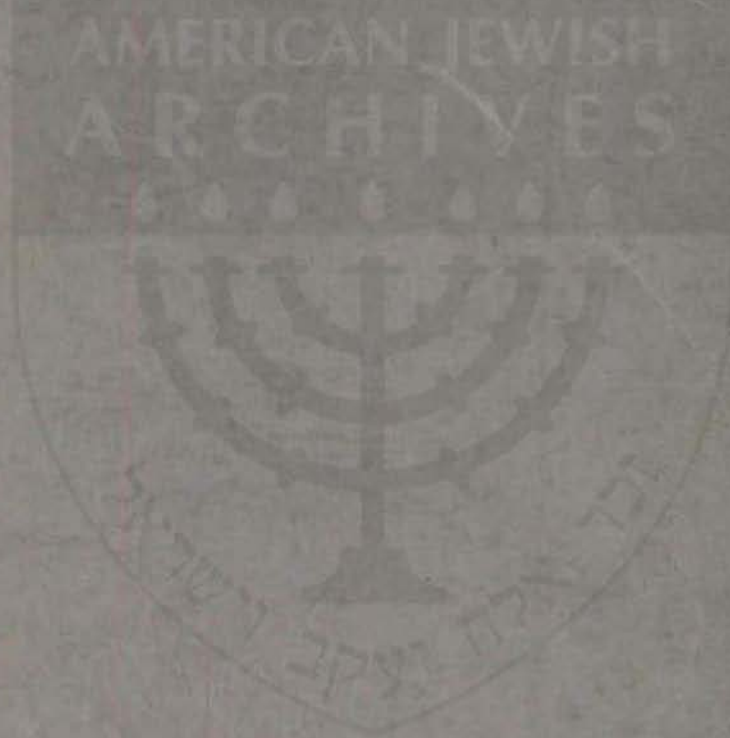
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SATURDAY NIGHT SESSION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL



Sheraton Park Hotel  
Washington, D. C.

June 4, 1955

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Speeches

Rabbi Bernstein

Mr. Freudberg

General McNarney

General Hildring

Senator Lehman



The Saturday Evening Session of the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 9:05 p.m., on June 4, 1955, in the Sheraton Hall of the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., Mr. William Rosenwald presiding.

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Friends, honored guests, this National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal has a fourfold purpose. It is to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the liberation of the victims of Nazi persecution in the spring of 1945. It is to take a quick but long term view at what the United Jewish Appeal has done during that decade. It is to re-dedicate ourselves to the great humanitarian purposes of the United Jewish Appeal and to focus attention especially on the completion of the spring campaigns and on the fall phases of the campaign, and it is to mobilize cash from those campaigns.

At tonight's session we meet to honor those who, by their deeds, have earned the title of the "liberators" and I think that we are doubly honored by having them with us here tonight. (Applause)

These comprise the Commanding Generals of the

Army of Occupation, they are the people who battered down the doors of Hitler's concentration camps. That includes their civilian advisers on Jewish affairs, and one individual who took a leading role in helping them to direct the large scale aid that was brought to the survivors.

All of these men are to be recognized by their achievements, but the humanitarianism which they as individuals and as leaders exhibited will be remembered as long as the ideals of freedom and of democracy are cherished in the hearts of mankind.

Another group that I ought to mention tonight are the Chaplains, for those who were attached to the Army when it went into Germany, for they were the first people to bring aid to these Jewish survivors. One of them is Judah Nadich, currently the Rabbi at Congregation Shareth Israel in Boston. He was the first military adviser to General Eisenhower before any civilian adviser had been appointed, and as you will hear tomorrow, one of them was the new Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman. (Applause)

I think that we also ought to have in mind the achievements of the workers of the agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, those who worked in the Joint Distribution Committee under the leadership of our retiring Executive Vice-Chairman, Joe Schwartz (applause), and also those of the Jewish Agency. These people gave of themselves unstintingly and they added new luster to the already shining record of the United Jewish Appeal.

All of these people couldn't have done all that they did, had it not been for the United Jewish Appeal, just as the United Jewish Appeal couldn't have done all that it did if it hadn't been for them, and because of this interrelationship I think that I ought to mention tonight the workers and the leaders and the contributors to the United Jewish Appeal, for they were the people who, during this decade, got together a sum substantially in excess of \$900,000,000. I think that this is an unprecedented outpouring of generosity. Never have so many people exhibited such enthusiasm and devotion over so protracted a period of time, and by their generosity they made it possible for us to bring direct

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help to a million and a half individuals, 900,000 of them resettled in countries where they could start their lives anew, most of them in Palestine, and we can take note of the fact that we were the largest single source of financial aid at the time of the creation of the new State of Israel and we had similarly played a leading role in helping them to receive and absorb the immigrants that have come there since the State achieved independence, and in the face of that immigration, helping that State to move forward on its own road to economic independence.

These are our achievements of the past, but although they are great, this year again we are faced with a new set of increased needs. We continue to have half a million people directly responsible, directly looking to us for aid, but what is new this year is that for a variety of reasons, an increasing number of Jews want to get out of North Africa, and because of this we might this year move 30,000 of them to Israel and we are doing it, using our dramatic new ship to settlement plan.

There is no sense taking these people, putting them in the settlements, providing them at once with new houses and irrigated fields if, in the face of the

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increasing border unrest, we are going to leave the people in the existing settlements without the minimum requirements to meet their security needs, and this we are also endeavoring to do.

It seems to me that the greatest possible tribute that can be thought of for the leaders and for the workers and the contributors to the United Jewish Appeal is that in the face of this increased need, this year, for the first time since 1948, the communities are raising more money than they did in the previous year. (Applause) Every day we receive word of a new community that has raised more than it did last year, and I want to thank the leaders of that community for its achievements. I want to thank them even more for the fact that having raised more than last year, they are continuing to raise every pledge and to get every increased dollar that they can get.

It is enormously important to us. It is important because only by getting every dollar that we can possibly get, can we end up the year having a national total that represents an increase and a substantial increase, and that substantial increase is needed both



to meet the increased needs and to set the United Jewish Appeal of the future in its proper perspective, but tonight, as I mentioned at the beginning, we are met to honor a group of men whom we admire for what they have done for humanity and to whom we are indebted for what they had done to help our fellow Jews.

At tomorrow's session we shall devote ourselves to the more immediate tasks, including the presentation of the checks from the communities.

In the meantime, I hope that from this Conference, where we assay the past and appraise the future, we may go forth with that inspiration which will enable us to continue full speed ahead. (Applause)

It gives me great pleasure to introduce a beloved leader of the Jewish community of Washington, a warm friend of the National United Jewish Appeal and a great stalwart in an effort to aid those who require our help, Mr. Leopold Freudberg, President of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater Washington. (Applause)

MR. FREUDBERG: Mr. Rosenwald, honored and distinguished guests and ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal of Greater Washington, it is

my great privilege to welcome you, the outstanding leaders of the American and world Jewish communities, to this nationwide Conference. It is indeed most appropriate that this historic assembly which commemorates the tenth anniversary of the freeing of the survivors of the once great Jewish population of Europe from total extermination should be held in our nation's capitol. In a great measure their liberation was planned here.

Our community is especially proud to be the host city in honoring those great American Military Commanders who led the American troops to smash Hitler's Army and threw open the gates of the death camps. Thereafter, they and their civilian advisers aided the tens of thousands who survived the grueling effects of the concentration camps to pick up the wreckage of their lives and start again with renewed hope in Israel and in other lands of freedom and opportunity.

Their Commander-in-Chief, a man devoted to upholding the innate dignity of man, is today a short distance from this hall, guiding the destiny of this nation. No gathering of this character would be complete without a tribute to him, the man who liberated

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Europe just ten years ago, the President of the United States. (Applause)

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We are equally proud to be the hosts to the leaders who have come from distant cities and who, tomorrow, as Mr. Rosenwald said, will present tangible evidence of their respective communities' determination to assist the speedy rehabilitation and resettlement of today's victims of persecution. We here in Washington recognize that our community carries a special sense of challenge and obligation, living in the seat of the Government of the United States, the political capitol of the world.

Our accomplishment in the United Jewish Appeal campaigns are scrutinized very carefully by those who create and implement policy regarding Israel. We have endeavored to meet the challenge and will continue to carry on and what we do here will reflect upon the entire American Jewish community.

May I convey to you our sincere, best wishes for a successful and inspiring meeting, and may each of us leave enriched in heart and soul for the noble work we are doing, and I hope that you will find time before

your departure to see your beautiful Capitol and enjoy the many historic sights which a voteless Washington helps to maintain and preserve. Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, Mr. Freudberg. I am glad that although rooms in Washington are air-conditioned in the summertime, the welcomes are warm.

Yesterday I read a quotation from Dr. Alan Gregg, Vice-President and adviser to the Rockefeller Foundation, where he said the best thing that an adviser does is to listen. Now, in 1946, President Truman appointed Rabbi Philip Bernstein as Adviser on Jewish Affairs to the Commanding General of the United States Forces in Europe, General Joseph T. McNarney, and Philip Bernstein, as was true of all of the advisers, had to listen not only to the General under whom he served, but had to listen to the wails and the agony and the pleas and the hopes of the suffering people whom he was trying to help. They will be represented here tomorrow as you will see on the program, by Dr. Grinberg and Dr. Gringauz whom I understand are with us tonight.

Rabbi Bernstein's appointment was one of the

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most critical appointments in recent Jewish history. It was made with the specific and wholehearted approval of five leading Jewish organizations -- the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Committee, the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency and the World Jewish Congress, and because of this Rabbi Bernstein was the representative of the American Jewish community as well as being a representative of the President, to help house and feed and care for displaced persons, to restore their health, to build up their morale, to help them to reach their eventual goal of freedom.

These were but a few of the immense tasks that faced Rabbi Bernstein and the military command that he advised. Rabbi Bernstein acquitted himself with distinction and great honor as a matter of history, so I am happy indeed to bring you now one of America's outstanding Jewish leaders, the spiritual leader of Temple B'rith Hodesh of Rochester, and the Chairman of the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, Rabbi Philip Bernstein. (Applause)

RABBI BERNSTEIN: Mr. Chairman, Ambassador Eban,

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Senator Lehman, distinguished military and civilian leaders and good friends, it is certainly true that an adviser on Jewish affairs in Germany in that critical period of 1946 and 1947 had to listen, and I want to tell you tonight then that an adviser learned far more than he taught, and I sincerely believe that he received far more than he gave, because one touched the heart of European Jewry.

I went to Europe in the spring of 1946 to be the adviser to General McNarney on these problems, with a feeling that I was going to encounter a beaten people, a neurotic people, an abnormal people, and after a few weeks of listening and of coming close to their lives and their hearts, I found I was dealing with a vital people, I found I was dealing with a people with perennial sources, unquenchable sources of faith and of hope and of courage, and I listened.

There is tonight, at least in my heart, a feeling of gratification, but it is the kind of gratification that can be understood only against the background of the times, for it was just about ten years ago that we got our first full look at the evil that the Nazis

had wrought. We saw the concentration camps, we saw the extermination camps, we saw the gas chambers, we saw the ghastly heaps of skeletons, we came upon the survivors who were, for the most part, the only living survivors of large family complexions.

Herbert Friedman and I went to Warsaw in the summer of 1946 and we stood on the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto, we looked out at what had been the teeming center of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. There wasn't a building standing, there wasn't an institution that had survived the Nazi onslaught. The great Chassidic Center which I had visited during Channukah in 1925, was gone, not a building standing. The Chassidim had been put to death or a few that were lucky had been driven to the ends of the earth.

There was every reason to despair as we looked out upon that terrible destruction all over Europe, and yet I repeat, tonight the mood is not despair but gratification because "Am Yisroel Chai," the Jewish people live. Somehow they found hope, somehow they found courage, somehow they retained their faith, somehow they went on toward a better life, toward a freer

life, toward a more dignified life not only for themselves but, as we profoundly believe, for all mankind.

What made this possible? There are many factors and some of them I think we still don't altogether understand or say adequately, but let me at least refer to these tonight that are relative to the purpose that has drawn us together.

The first I say to you in utmost sobriety and with the utmost objectivity, was the United Jewish Appeal. (Applause) We remember, who had something to do with the situation then, how right after liberation, in fact, coming with the Armies, there came the JDC workers. At first they didn't have much equipment because they couldn't get much in, but they made clear to the survivors that American Jewry cared and that was terribly important, and before long there was a whole network of JDC apparatus over all of liberated Europe, and where food was needed, food was provided; where medical care was needed, medical care was provided; where books were needed and there were still the people, the books were provided. Religious institutions, religious functionaries, religious materiel was provided for the people to sustain



their spirit. Every one of you has reason for pride and for gratification and for thankfulness tonight over that heroic and historic job that was done, and that goes for the staff workers in Europe, and they were a very much overworked group. It goes for the staff workers here in this country, it goes for the campaign leadership, it goes to the last small contributor in any Jewish community of America, this magnificent job that they did to save our people.

I say again it was a matter of historic significance and something for which we have the greatest gratitude, that Joe Schwartz was the head of that job. (Applause) Because Joe's early rabbinical training, because his closeness to East European Jewish life, because his innate kindness and warmth of heart and sympathetic understanding and vast competence and ability to get people to like him and to work with him, these made him ideally equipped to do the job that he had to do, and it was, I repeat, a historic job. It was probably the outstanding job of private philanthropy and practical humanitarianism in the history of our people, perhaps in the history of any other people.

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I for one, and here I speak with strong feeling and with personal knowledge, I for one am highly gratified that Herb Friedman is now going to take his place. I had some misgivings but not about this job. I hated to see him leave the rabbinate. We need men like him in the active rabbinate in America, but apparently -- and this is his judgment and yours -- you and our people need him more. In a sense I can say I think tonight that Herb is my boy. I helped to guide him into the chaplaincy, I helped to guide him while he was in the chaplaincy. I helped him to get an assignment in Europe so that he could both serve in his military capacity and at the same time become one of the succorers of his people, and so it worked out to his great gratification and to theirs, and I came upon him in Berlin in early 1946 doing a tremendous job there.

I asked him to come with me to Poland in the summer of 1946, immediately after the Kielce pogrom when 42 Jews were done to death in cold blood by people who didn't even know them, and thus made perfectly clear that there was no future for the surviving Jews in Poland, and he went with me. I persuaded him later.

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to leave his exciting job in Berlin and to come back to Frankfurt with me to be my aide and my colleague in the unique responsibilities that were ours. I watched him grow step by step as he undertook new responsibilities, and I tell you that in all America, the Jewish community, you could not find a better person for this job than Rabbi Herbert Friedman. (Applause)

He has energy, he has drive, he has vast abilities, he has the capacity to make himself liked as Joe Schwartz did and to get people to work with him. He has a selfless devotion and dedication and consecration to the welfare of our people. The work of the United Jewish Appeal is again in good hands. (Applause)

The second major factor in this very brief statement that I wish to make about those people and those groups that gave us reason for gratification tonight was the United States Army. The policy had been set by General Eisenhower when he announced in the early months of 1945 and reiterated again that the care and the repatriation and the resettlement and the rehabilitation of displaced persons was a major Allied objective. He ordered the Commanding Generals in the various theatres

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to put at the disposal of this task whatever equipment, whatever personnel was needed. He saw to it that the job was begun. It was he who had the first Jewish adviser, Judge Simon Rifkind, because it became clear then that the help of some experienced American Jew was needed for this delicate task.

And then, because I did not work with him although I got to know him and to have the highest regard for his humanitarianism and his real concern, then his successor was a man who graces our platform tonight and who shortly will speak to you, General Joseph T. McNarney.  
(Applause)

It is almost embarrassing to speak this way in his presence, but I do it and I do it with again the utmost objectivity, it seems to me. I have never known a finer human being. I have never known a man with more genuine goodness of heart. I have never known a person in a position of historic responsibility with so much innate humaneness and kindness as General McNarney displayed in that very difficult job that he was responsible for.

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I must say that as his adviser, I did listen. He sought our counsel. He took our advice. He did everything within his power to see to it that these people about whom he sincerely cared were properly taken care of. It was he who did something of which you see the evidence in a picture in the lobby tonight. He reestablished a Jewish community in Germany, he gave official recognition to the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the very land where Hitler said he had destroyed Jews and Judaism forever.

He gave us authority and help in replacing the Talmud. That was his answer to Nazi book-burning. Perhaps the most important thing that he did, and I suppose it was, was to keep the borders open. You don't perhaps recall how important that was ten years ago.

The surviving Jews found themselves in Poland, in Hungary, in Roumania. They found themselves in a vortex of violent anti-Semitism. People were being killed every day. The future was black for the children. They wanted to get out, but where could they go? Nobody wanted them. Don't forget that ever, and especially at a function like this, until Israel opened its doors, nobody really wanted them in any numbers. He kept the

borders of Germany open for Jews fleeing from pogroms in Eastern Europe. And remember, he did it against very grave conditions in Germany, for Germany had taken a severe beating. A large percentage of its housing was destroyed. There was not enough food.

We were talking tonight about that cruelly cold winter we had in 1946 and early 1947. This was not an easy thing to do. It was not a popular thing to do, but General McNarney said, "Keep the borders open," and they were; and today there may be a quarter of a million people in Israel, and a small number here in this country, who owe their freedom and perhaps their lives to his decision, to his response to my request after I went into Poland and saw what was happening and what was on its way, to keep the borders of Germany open.

He, too, is a great savior of the Jewish people. (Applause)

Now, my friends, we know that a General does not operate in a vacuum any more than a private does. There was a chain of command, and up through Howard Peterson, Assistant Secretary of War I think he was at the time, who was always helpful, and on to Robert Patterson, that great Lincoln-like American whose untimely death those of

us who knew him will constantly grieve for, and up to President Harry Truman -- there were arches of tensile strength, and there was understanding and there was constant helpfulness, but the one man in that picture here in Washington, it seems to me, who, far more than any other was outreaching in his helpfulness, was another man on the platform tonight, and that is General John Hildring. (Applause)

He was the Assistant Secretary of State in charge of occupied areas. He, too, cared about these people, and he cared enough to break through the maze of red tape and to break through all the resistance that there might have been to unprecedented solutions of an unprecedented problem, and he saw that things were done to help them, and he saw to it that the borders were kept open, and to my memory, if it does not fail me, John Hildring, was it not in your presence that President Truman made a classic remark when you suggested to him that if the borders were kept open, the British Foreign Secretary might object, to which the President replied in his own inimitable way, "To hell with Bevin!" (Applause)

Yes, my friends, we owe much to American official leadership, to the Generals of Command and the forces in

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Europe. We owe much to those who determined policy in this country. They did not come to Zionism the easy way. They came the hard way. I will never forget and I hope that General Huebner will remember tonight the very remarkable dinner we had at his home. He invited the top brass in Europe and an invitation from the Chief of Staff was a little more than an invitation, let me assure you, to spend an evening with me, that I might lecture to them on Jewish history, Jewish problems, Jewish aspirations, on the place of Palestine in Jewish thought and Jewish hopes.

Well, I think that that was an unique occasion in the history of the American army, to be lectured that way by a rabbi, and let me assure you, it was a very unusual congregation for a rabbi.

Yes, I say they learned about Zionism the hard way, because they saw before long, regardless of the ideology with which they began, that there was no solution to the problem of the displaced persons unless the doors of Palestine were open to the Jews. (Applause)

We beat our heads against closed doors everywhere, but there was no answer. A few could trickle in here, we got a special concession for temporary resettlement of a



few thousand there, but until the State of Israel came into existence, the camps were more crowded than ever, and the minute the State of Israel came into existence the camps were emptied. Oh, what an achievement that was, my friends, what a wonderful experience it was when I stood, and do you remember it, Bill, on the Haifa docks, some years ago, when we saw the Transylvania come in, and when we saw that ship unload this cargo of Jews who had been hoping and praying and dreaming of getting out from behind the bars, from behind the slavery of Eastern Europe, behind the despair and the hopelessness of Eastern Europe to achieve freedom and dignity for themselves in Israel. We saw it happening and we saw them get down and kiss the ground to which they were coming.

That is what Israel has done, and if you go to Morocco as I did, just a couple of months ago, and you talk to the people there and you say to them as now that they are so eager to get out from a situation not so very different from that which Herb Friedman and I saw in Poland, if you say to them, "Look, you have been here now maybe thousands of years. You have gotten used to these conditions. Why do you want to leave now?"

Their answer is very simple. They say to you, "Because

now Israel is. Now Israel is."

Now they have the alternative. Now they can get out. Yes, Israel is. The UJA is, the JDC is, the whole program for the rescue and the rehabilitation of Jews is, and it goes on.

But tonight, and with this thought I will conclude in a moment, it seems to me that we go beyond rescue and we go beyond just physical rehabilitation. The establishment of the State of Israel, as I see it, was an attempt to right an historic wrong. It was an investment of the conscience of the world in the future of the Jewish people. It was an attempt to establish democracy in a backward feudal part of the world, and because this is the ultimate meaning of the State of Israel, our gratification tonight goes beyond the rescue of those people, although that in itself would be reason for going on.

But I believe we have a spiritual significance on this occasion. We salute tonight the Jewish will to survive, yes, the Jewish people are indestructible so long as there are Jews who have faith in it and are ready to help their people as our own great teacher said in my presence, and I think Herbert Friedman's, during the war

period, the late and wonderful and very much lamented Rabbi Wise, "True redemption will come to the Jew if he bear his name and every other burden imposed upon him by destiny with gleaming courage and with radiant nobleness which, whether or not they evoke the love of the world without, will justify the Jew in his own sight and hallow him anew in the presence of the Eternal, to whom alone he is ultimately accountable."

Yes, tonight we salute the destiny, the essential decency and goodness of the American people and their leadership. Tonight we reaffirm the inner kinship of Israel and of the United States of America, the oldest and the newest of democracies, the greatest and the smallest of democracies, held together by a common faith in democracy and in the free and dignified way of life.

Tonight we reaffirm our faith in the future of mankind. If a little, decimated people such as that which we encountered just ten years ago could rebuild its life, could so quickly establish something so new and wonderful out of the ashes of the old, could so soon bring a great functioning democracy into existence, why should we despair of the future of mankind? Why should we despair of the future of peace and freedom?

Israel points the way, Israel holds out, not to Jews alone, but to all mankind the beacon and the promise and the hope of what men can be. Yes, hope.

Herbert Friedman took me, in 1946, to the bunker where Hitler met his death, and we looked down to what had been the heart of evil and then we looked not many hundreds of yards away to the balcony of the vice-chancellery where only two years before he proclaimed that he had destroyed Jews and Judaism forever, and now in 1946 he was gone. God got tired of him, mankind's common sense had caught up with its problems, and we do not need to despair. We can move forward with hope and with courage.

"Am Yisroel Chai." So long as there are people like yourselves devoted to the welfare of your people, Israel will live and mankind will have good reason to hope.

Thank you. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, Phil. I think that that address by itself would be necessary to make this evening a very significant one.

We are now privileged to hear from his Commanding General, General Joseph P. McNarney, who served as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Forces of Occupation

in Germany, as Commanding General of United States Forces in Europe, and as Military Governor in the United States Occupied Zone of Germany. In his person we saw a true liberator who exemplified and advanced the highest democratic traditions.

His never-failing sympathy to the DP's, his deeply religious sense of what was fitting and just became a byword in the American Zone. General McNarney's fairness was a factor of tremendous moral support in helping to restore the faith of the DP's in human decency. So I am deeply honored to present to you one of the great soldiers, leaders and statesmen of America, General Joseph P. McNarney.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

GENERAL McNARNEY: Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen, after that inspired address by our good friend Rabbi Bernstein, I am afraid what I have to say tonight will be rather flat. But I am happy to again have the opportunity to address the men and women who make up this distinguished organization, the United Jewish Appeal.

As I recall it, I was on my way to address a United Jewish Appeal meeting when the weather closed in and

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my plane was grounded. That was June 8, 1947, very shortly after my return from Germany, and the UJA was meeting in an emergency conference at Wernersville, Pennsylvania. I later addressed UJA meetings in Washington, Dayton, Cleveland and Atlantic City. However, my failure to join you in 1947 does not have to be taken too seriously. I think I did have a fairly good speech so I am going to use some of it tonight. Also, there may have been a real advantage afforded you in my not coming that first time.

As I understand it, because I couldn't get to your meeting, you called on a young man who used to do some work for Phil and myself in Germany, and who had also just arrived from there, to say a few words in my stead.

He made such a remarkable impression upon you then -- and has continued to make such a fine impression -- that you have just elected him to be Executive Vice-Chairman of your great humanitarian organization. I refer, of course, to my friend and former associate in Germany, former chaplain and captain in the United States Army and Assistant to the Adviser on Jewish Affairs, Rabbi Herbert Friedman.

The Jewish adviser whom he assisted was, of course, another good friend, Rabbi Philip Bernstein. You have just heard him speak, and I can assure you that the work of Rabbi Bernstein represented an outstanding contribution to the army's discharge of great responsibilities in Germany, as did the work of Rabbi Friedman.

Along with all of you here, I want to express to Rabbi Friedman my heartiest congratulations on his new assignment and to wish him that full success which I know he will attain.

You are here observing ten years of humanitarian achievement -- a decade of life-saving and life-building -- since the spring of 1945. That, of course, was the momentous time of liberation, liberation from Nazi tyranny, liberation from Facist totalitarianism.

On VE-day, May 8, 1945 -- there was dancing in the streets of the entire free world, and dancing in the hearts of free men everywhere.

The word had been flashed that at long last the representatives of Hitler's once mighty forces had signed the Agreement of Unconditional Surrender in the presence of the Supreme Allied Commander, General Eisenhower, and the representatives of the victorious Allied Armies.

Now the purely military phase of World War II was at an end. But ahead of the United States Army, ahead of the armies of our Allies, and ahead of the free peoples of the world, including the American people, was the task of winning the peace, and a far more difficult one it has turned out to be.

At the end of the war the American people, and we of the United States Army, were confronted with some of the greatest and most momentous problems of modern times, and we are still confronted with many of them.

But in one area of attaining the peace -- in that small and not unimportant area of solving the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe -- it is possible for us to meet here tonight and say with a prayer of thankfulness in our hearts, "We have won!"

Ladies and gentlemen, in the report which I was unable to give you at first hand eight years ago, the burden of what I wanted to say is contained in the following paragraphs, and I quote:

"The surviving Jews of Europe are in a critical position and they are rapidly moving towards a crisis.

"Though I am proud and gratified that the



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American Army was able to save the lives of tens of thousands of Jewish men, women and children by liberating them from the horrible concentration camps in the first instance, and by giving them asylum and the necessities of life, I am not happy with the fact that they are still unable, two years after the end of the war, to live normally.

"There are, even now, some 250,000 Jews in displaced persons' centers. There are, even now, other tens of thousands in Eastern Europe who are destitute, unwanted and almost shorn of hope."

I went on from those remarks to ask you to give full support to the work of the Joint Distribution Committee which was then so ably headed by Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz, and which was serving the needs of the displaced Jews in the DP camps, supplementing the help of the army and UNRRA.

I stated, too (and I quote):

"In my contacts with the displaced Jews, I found that the majority desire to go to Palestine. I trust that the United Nations will achieve a just solution to the problem of Palestine so that the deepest wishes of

those people may be fulfilled."

I also expressed the hope that the United Palestine Appeal, responsible for the absorption of Jews who reached the Holy Land, would be called upon to make a historic contribution to the solution of the displaced persons' problem.

Additionally, I asked your aid for those displaced Jews who looked to the United States as a place of traditional asylum and who hoped to reach here under our immigration laws.

Finally I declared, "The problem calls for Jewish statesmanship, American Jewish statesmanship, for you are the only Jewish community capable of action on the required scale."

And now it is May, 1955, and I stand before you quoting a speech that I had hoped to deliver only eight short years ago, deeply awed and profoundly moved by what has transpired since that time.

I look to Central Europe, that Europe which I recall so sadly, pockmarked by more than 100 Jewish DP camps, camps crowded with a vast, despairing and suffering multitude. I look, and there are no more Jewish DP camps.

Above all, I look for the great host and mass of people known as Jewish DP's, the men, women and children who came like a great flood into the American zones of occupation out of Eastern Europe, beginning with the spring of 1946, and on whose lips was an ever constant word, "Palestine."

I look, and today there are no displaced Jews left in Central Europe.

Meanwhile, at the far rim of the Mediterranean on the soil where thousands of years ago their forebears worked and built and thought of God and created the Book of Books, there exists the young democratic state called Israel.

And in this Israel, this new Israel, this new Israel peopled by a proud and freedom-loving citizenry, every fifth person was once an inmate of a DP camp, and thousands bear as a badge of remembrance the number which the Nazi tyrants tattooed on their arms in the death factories and concentration camps of Hitler's Germany.

Finally, I know, too, it would not take me very long to discover in any large city of our own country many industrious, useful, well-integrated and loyal Americans whose address but a few short years ago was

Feldafing, Foehrenwald, Landsberg, or some other DP camp in the heart of Germany or Austria.

For example, I note with pleasure the presence here of Dr. Samuel Gringauz, who so ably led the Central Committee of Displaced Jews when I was in Germany.

There are words in the English language that have lost their original freshness, their full significance, because like a dull and worn coin they have been passed around too often.

One of these is the word "miracle." But if you have stood, as I have stood, in the middle of a just liberated hell of hells called a Nazi concentration camp; if you have seen, as I have unbelievably seen, the unburied Jewish dead stacked like cordwood in such terrible places; if you have been, as I have been, numbed beyond words before crematoria, in which tens of thousands of innocent people were gassed and their bodies burned; if you have gazed, as I have gazed, wonderingly, upon those who remained alive, those living skeletons we found in the camps, who seemed about to draw their last breath; yes, if you had witnessed all these things, then you would know the full and awesome meaning of the word "miracle" as you contrasted them with what has since come to pass.

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In the face of the tragic discoveries made by the American troops and our Allies in 1945, as we broke into such death camps as Ohrdruf, Dachau and many others, who could have thought it possible that in a matter of a few short years the Jewish DP problem and many allied problems would be well on the way to solution.

Reason would have said that such an occurrence was impossible. Only by an act of greatest faith could one assume that out of the ashes, the rubble, the destruction, and the near annihilation of Europe's Jews by Hitler, could there come the fresh beginning and the new inspiration represented by the State of Israel and by the hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives that you have helped to save.

When I served in Germany the Jewish DP's adopted a decorative symbol which expressed their innermost hopes. This symbol showed the stump of a mighty tree which had been cut down, and out of this stump there sprouted a lone but living twig.

Today, it is obvious that the twig has grown again into a sturdy trunk fed by roots that are deep and undying.

Thinking about this miracle, I have often

asked myself, "How did this come about?" I do not presume to know the whole answer. Perhaps the historians of the future will search it out.

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But in part, I believe the answer rests with the fact that the American people and the American Army were led by men to whom it was a matter of the utmost moral responsibility that the fullest possible aid be extended to those who had suffered most at the hands of Nazi tyranny.

Particularly to President Truman and to General Eisenhower, now President Eisenhower, can be extended the full thanks of all those who recognize the very real contribution that was made by the American forces to the saving of human lives and the rebuilding of distressed peoples at the end of World War II.

By understanding the problem, by issuing the proper orders, and by insisting on their fulfillment, they set the pattern of humane and helpful treatment of Jewish displaced persons that was to prevail in the American zones of occupation.

Perhaps it was more than an accident, too, that Mr. Truman and President Eisenhower are men who, among

other things, were brought up in an atmosphere where the Bible is an important symbol of man's finest hopes and aspirations.

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Surely, to them, as to many others, there came in those busy days compounded of enormous responsibilities, a flash of insight into the significance of what we were doing in our work for the Jewish DP's, that we were doing more than providing food, medical attention or haven to a persecuted minority; that we were, perhaps, helping to keep alive a spirit that had flowered more than 3000 years before, and that had given the Western world much of its religious outlook and its fundamental belief in freedom and the dignity of the human individual.

For my own part, I regard it as a great privilege to have been able to make a contribution to the work of saving and restoring of the Jewish displaced and persecuted.

I was happy to be able to recognize and give official status to the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the Central Zone of Germany and thereby support their democratic aspirations, of the Jewish DP's.

I am happy that I was able to issue the order that Jewish persecutees from Poland and other areas from Eastern Europe would be admitted to haven and

sanctuary in the American zone of Germany.

I am happy that, with General Clay, I was able to help make possible the republication of the Talmud in the land where Hitler once ordered it burned.

And I am happy, too, that the army was able to help in many ways in the material sense of providing housing and food.

But with all that it was possibly for the army to do, there would be no victory to observe, no achievements to recognize, were it not for events in which you, representing the American Jewish community played a major role.

Through the United Jewish Appeal by your magnificent support of the Joint Distribution Committee, the Jewish Agency and the United Service for New Americans, you wrote a memorable chapter in the history of voluntary aid.

The army gave the people in the DP camps 2000 calories a day, but you raised it well above that with your vast transports of food. You sent in the teams of social workers who understood the people, who could counsel with them, reassure them, help them. You helped to make possible their retraining, their classrooms and their recreation.



You provided TB treatment which so many thousands needed, and other care.

And when the time came that displaced Jews could be placed, could go of right to the State of Israel, you provided the passage and you helped to establish the people in their new homes and occupations.

As I understand the story, in ten years nearly 900,000 people have been aided by the United Jewish Appeal to resettle in various parts of the world, and more than one and a half million have received your direct aid.

Those are figures that represent great and notable achievements in terms of lives saved and lives rebuilt.

But I see in these figures something more. I said earlier that ten years ago we all became engaged in a great effort to win the peace.

It would seem to me that what the army did in Germany through its humane treatment of the DP's, that what you have done since that time, represent very real contributions to the winning of the peace, that sort of peace which free men desire for themselves.

In Germany the army and the American people demonstrated to tens of thousands of people, in a manner

which I believe they will never forget, that democracy is more than a word and that the United States is more than a mechanized civilization.

We provided, by the best means possible, the evidence that the democratic way of life is a preferred way of life, because in spite of its imperfections it affords the opportunity for the average man to live in dignity, safety, and to share in opportunity.

Tens of thousands of those whom we aided escaped not one, but two, totalitarianisms, the Nazi and the Communist, then springing up in the shape of the new governments of Eastern Europe.

These men and women wanted none of either of these systems. Today, in the State of Israel they support a system firmly dedicated to the free ballot, the free press, free education, just courts, and the right of men to build a decent life for themselves and their children.

Surely all Americans have gained something of the highest value to the welfare of their own country by the fact that the democratic ideal now is firmly implanted on the shores of the far Mediterranean. Whatever was our investment in caring for the DP's, we can, in this light, consider it small and most worthwhile.

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Except for the last three years, I have all my adult life been a soldier, and by tradition a soldier confines himself to the arts of war and leaves the business of peace to civilians -- at least, that is the way it is in a democratic country.

But I would like to urge that you of the United Jewish Appeal, who have created so great and proud a record, who have shown the world what can be done through voluntary action, that you go on with your great and important work.

I urge you ever to look for ways in which you can relieve oppression, in which you can lessen tension, in which you can save lives, restore those lives and build new lives.

I would ask of you to look at your work in its broadest possible connotation; perhaps out of those things which you are helping to do in Israel can come the inspiration that will lead to a more fruitful life, and thus the spread of peace throughout the entire Middle East.

Surely, the example that is being set by Israel, with your aid, in turning the desert into a garden, in

bringing water to land that has lain thirsty for generations, in lifting up those who were once scorned, terrorized and dependent and restoring them to the status of free and self-sufficient men, these things will not go long disregarded throughout the Middle East.

Yes, as the works of peace grow, as the people of Israel learn to deal with their barren, difficult land, and knowledge of their advances, agricultural, industrial and political, spread, then neighbors should discover that they can gain much from each other by working together and assist each other.

This goal of peace, of harmony and further development cannot sound implausible and impossible to you who have shared in the miracle of the last ten years. Perhaps another ten years from now, it, too, will have come to pass.

You have every cause to be proud of it and to want to advance it. For in it, you are making a great contribution to your country, to your religious heritage, and to humanity.

Thank you.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, General McNarney.

Although I am very sorry that you did not get to Wernersville, we are not glad not only because it gives us the opportunity tonight to hear two speeches built into one, but also because we are very happy to have the consolation prize.

Now, it is a privilege to present to you an old and welcome friend of the United Jewish Appeal. In April of 1946, General Hilldring was appointed Assistant Secretary of State in Charge of Occupied Areas. Previously he had served for three years as Chief of the Civil Affairs Division of the Department of War. Later, as an alternate delegate to the United Nations, and in the spring of 1948 as a Special Assistant on Palestine Affairs, General Hilldring became one of the strongest supporters of emigration to Palestine and of the rebuilding of the Jewish State. In all of his posts General Hilldring's approach to the DP problem showed that he was convinced that DP's must be given the opportunity to start new lives and to go to new homes.

Consequently, I am honored to present to you now one of America's foremost soldiers, and statesmen, General John H. Hilldring.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

GENERAL HILLDRING: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Lehman, Mr. Ambassador, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I feel very much the way General McNarney did a few minutes ago. After listening to Rabbi Bernstein and to Mr. Rosenwald in their remarks about me, I can hardly wait to hear what I've got to say. (Laughter)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to be here tonight. In your invitation you said that you would like me to be here so that you could pay tribute to me.

I should like to reverse the procedure for a few minutes, if you don't mind, and pay tribute to you.

When it comes to service beyond the call of duty, the leaders of the American Jewish community, and particularly you who work in behalf of the campaigns which support the United Jewish Appeal throughout this country, deserve the highest award that might be bestowed by man to man.

I am sure that you consider it reward enough to know of the success of your own accomplishments in terms of sick people made well -- hungry people who are fed, and homeless people who have reached home.

In the days just after World War II, I was privileged to serve as Assistant Secretary of State and it was one of my responsibilities to administer policy with regard to Displaced Persons.

I am proud, as you are, of the record of the United States Government and of the United States Army in dealing with the tens of thousands for whom victory and liberation did not mean the end of hardship.

We who were concerned with their problems made every effort to better their condition in the camps, to feed and clothe them decently and treat them with the respect that fellow humans deserve.

The United States was most anxious that these survivors who had borne the brunt of Nazi brutality be given the fullest measure of aid.

Our aim was to hasten the day of their full deliverance.

I must say that you who supported the United Jewish Appeal made that very difficult job considerably less so, for your generosity helped to feed and clothe and care for Jewish victims of war and brutality <sup>more effectively</sup> than would otherwise have been possible.

As a result of your aid the overall displaced persons problem each year has come nearer to full solution.

The problem is not entirely solved but we are closer than ever before to our aim, that every displaced person victimized by tyranny should find a permanent, decent place to live.

Your help sped the solution of the Jewish DP problem of Central Europe, even as it has sped the solution for other problems concerning distressed and homeless Jews in many other areas.

When I participated in the United States delegation to the United Nations in 1947, I took part in the deliberations that led to the U.N. decision for the establishment of a Jewish State.

I was wholeheartedly in favor of a solution which would mean that the homeless Jews of the DP camps, and the pioneer Jews of Palestine would be given an opportunity to live their lives in a country they could call their own. I told you, at your UJA conference in Atlantic City in December, 1947, that I was confident that this new State "would emerge a virile, a prosperous and a happy land," and I believe that history has borne out



the rightness of my views.

Prosperity and happiness are relative matters, of course, but I still marvel with what record speed, how efficiently and with what moral courage the people of Israel squared their shoulders and set to work fashioning their land into a full democracy.

Nor can I forget that it was you, and all Americans who have supported the United Jewish Appeal through these years, who helped make possible that seemingly impossible feat of rapid historical change.

Therefore I pay tribute to you, and to the courageous citizens of Israel, for what they have done and what you have helped to bring about. And I am proud that the Government of the United States has done its part in granting great material aid to democratic Israel.

Yet I know -- and you know better than I -- that the young State, though off to a fine start, is an unfinished project. Nor have all the problems of poverty, disease, homelessness and heartache been solved for those Jews who must live precariously in less enlightened areas of the globe.

But since the prediction I made in 1947 has

turned out so well, I will dare venture another tonight: that Israel's people will reach their goal to stand on their own feet, stable and self-sufficient within their borders, and they will do it with your help.

I feel confident that Israel's present leaders will work unceasingly toward the establishment of peace in their part of the world. I trust that the other leaders in that area will reciprocate.

Meanwhile, as men and women of conscience, you know your job and you will do it well as you have always done.

I am glad of this opportunity to pay tribute to you, the leaders of this fine united effort.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, General Hilldring. I trust the Jews have found that address as well worth waiting for as you did.

I would like to call on one who, in the past five years, has been increasingly highly regarded in Washington, Israel's Ambassador to the United States. This beloved and distinguished emissary who has added so much luster to our cause hardly needs any introduction,

especially here where he lives. In the Washington Diplomatic Corps, in the councils of the United Nations and everywhere in America and before countless audiences, large and small, his eloquent voice, his persuasive reasoning have won many thousands of friends for Israel, for freedom and, for justice and for peace, so it gives me a great personal pleasure to present to you now my and our dear friend, Israel's brilliant diplomat, America's staunch ally, Ambassador Eban.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

AMBASSADOR EBAN: Mr. Rosenwald, General McNarney, General Hildring, Senator Lehman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, I little expected, as I sat in Jerusalem a few days ago, to have the privilege of participating in your National Conference this evening. We were engaged in a consultation between the leaders of our Government and the envoys of the Israel Government to the capitols of the West. If it was not precisely the Israeli equivalent of a meeting at the Summit, we at least had the consciousness of operating upon the higher slopes of the mountains.

We exchanged salutary advice and reached sober

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conclusions about the complete justice of Israel's policies and the imperfections of others. I now come amongst you not so much to take you into the confidence of those occult and obscure deliberations, as to linger with you amidst the memories and associations which this evening evokes. The assemblies of the United Jewish Appeal always bring a note of exaltation to the seasons of Jewish life. They symbolize the universal sense of responsibility which unites the entire House of Israel in the high cause of Jewish survival. They recall from the past and portend for the future a vast outpouring of voluntary service on behalf of the high causes of Jewish security and Jewish honor.

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These assemblies have become milestones in a journey across the most tragic and glorious decade in all the Jewish epochs, for never has there been a period, short or long, in the immemorial annals of this people in which its life has moved in such deep valleys or risen suddenly to such elevated heights.

Let us think of the panorama of events which unfold themselves across that brief period of time, the collapse of the odious Nazi tyranny into the soil

which it had polluted and defiled, the tones of relief and of thankfulness which arose, across a bereaved and a devastated world, the revelation to humanitarians paralyzed gaze of the most fearful slaughter in humanity and anguish which had ever beset any family of the human race, the convulsions of the conscience of a whole generation which saw the Jewish people in its deepest grief and the world plunged into the most fearful violation of its brotherhood, the indomitable struggle of their survivors for shelter at home beating up against the prison house of Europe, and against the blocked gates of the National Home, the struggle of a Jewish Homeland for freedom and for the opening of its gates, and suddenly the decisive hour in the millennial quest of the Jewish people for freedom and statehood, the birth of Israel emerging as the dawn rises out of unutterable darkness.

The moment of statehood succeeded by the cold and stark danger of its immediate and violent extinction, the victory of Israel's cause on the field of battle and in the arena of international judgment, the great homage of international recognition, the waves of

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chivalrous support which flowed in towards us from every corner of the earth, the streams of immigration which began to flow in such blessed abundance from the death camps of Europe and from the centers of Jewish dispossession and humiliation -- this is the unique pageantry of the ten years in Jewish life which you commemorate this evening.

How can any man who looks upon this picture fail to be stirred by the sheer grandeur of contemporary Jewish history, the broad sweep of its movement, the vast issues of material and spritual power which have been carried to decision along its swift flowing tide?

This then has been the story of a spasm in the life of a people which counts its generations in thousands of years. Never will it find any period which can compete with this, in the poignancy of its suffering or in the sublime heights of its exaltation. Nor was this a period in the history of the Jewish people alone, for the international conscience was actively engaged in the problems of Jewish massacre and of Israel's emergence. The contest was agitated, was discussed and was sharply debated as a theme of the moral con-

science of a whole generation.

The United Jewish Appeal has not been an idle spectator of these great events. It has attended all of these turbulent changes with its vigilance, its sustenance and its love. It has mourned the dead, it has consoled the bereaved, it has lifted up the fallen, it has healed the sick, it has sustained and revived the ancient pride of the Jewish people, it has laid the foundations of a homeland, it has guided and reinforced its infant steps.

It has brought the Jewish people from the threat of its total extinction into the absolute certainty of a proud and sovereign survival, a survival amidst the dignity of statehood and the youthful exuberance of its newly won freedom.

These then are the issues around which united Jewish assemblies have evolved throughout the whole of these years, and today you pause in the midst of that journey in order to comprehend that period with the affection and the poignancy of your memory. You recall the disaster and you take pride in the salvation. But above all, you have assembled to pay tribute to those

who sustained us in the dark moments of adversity, to men who were privileged by the charge which their people and government laid upon them to be the agents of the most acutely yearned for liberation in the annals of human servitude, for into the odious stench and disgrace of the death camps, the charnel houses and the concentration camps of Nazi Europe, the Allied troops under the leadership of your gallant Generals burst as a clean and cleansing wind. They threw down the barricades and the barriers of those camps, they opened its gates, they surrounded these people who had known nothing but contumely opprobrium and hatred with a spectacularly sudden transition of affection and brotherhood.

They became the precursors and the pioneers of that partnership between America and Israel which has left such a deep impression upon the life of the Middle East today. When the Government of Israel through its representative pays homage to them, General McNarney and to General Hildring, to others who will be the recipients of your grateful award, to the illustrious Commander General Eisenhower who led them into the



righteous assault upon the bulwarks of oppression, when we do this we speak not merely in the name of one amongst a family of nations, but we do so with the added conviction and righteousness of a Government in whose midst there dwells some 350,000 of those who witnessed that liberation and who participated in it.

If you could contrast their condition ten years ago with the opportunities, the privileges, the freedoms which now open out before them and their children, you would understand how deep and profound is the nature and the depth of our appreciation. But what was here involved was not merely the liberation of hundreds of thousands of our surviving kinsmen, for that which had been buried and suppressed in Europe was not merely a community of Jews which had maintained across the gulf of generations the ancient standards of its cultural, religious and intellectual life, there had been submerged in this orgy of Nazi fury the very essence of the Jewish idea; across all these generations the Jewish mind has been obsessed by one single theme: that this universe is not an uncontrollable anarchy of cruel and arbitrary forces, but that the cosmos is guided by an

articulate and merciful Lord under the hand of a loving intelligence.

How was it possible for anybody who beheld the results of the Nazi despotism to believe that order and progress and compassion dominated the universal design? The recuperation of the Jewish people from that disaster was therefore not merely a necessity of Jewish history. It was a dictate of the universal conscience. Never would the concepts of order in universal history be truly asserted if the victims of this oppression were not reinstated in freedom.

It would, however, be wrong to imagine or to recall the liberation of Europe by Allied Armies as the only turning point in this dramatic and turbulent story. The military victory was not the end of the danger. As the nations of the world gathered in your great city of San Francisco in the aftermath of the Second World War, the world came perilously near to a disgrace more heinous than any which had been overthrown in the successful assault upon Nazism. It came perilously close to the following moral paradox: that all the nations of the world would be established in freedom except the

people which had suffered the most.

Many countries including those who have suffered little and given nothing upon the altar of the revived human freedom, were to be recognized in the full panoply of emancipated sovereignty, while inferior and banished outside the gates there stood the people which had given the most abundant and immeasurable sacrifice of blood and of anguish upon the very cause which the international community had assembled to celebrate.

This was the moral danger to which the world came perilously close in the Second World War, that the blueprint of the international order would be based upon the purposeful exclusion of that people upon whose very blood and tormented flesh the edifice of human freedom had been constructed.

From this reproach the civilized world purged itself, perhaps belatedly, in some cases a little too grudgingly, but nevertheless decisively, when within a few years it consecrated and recognized the right of the Jewish people to its Homeland. The memories of this anniversary of Jewish frustration, of inferiority and of exclusion, crowded upon us with special acuteness

this month.

Ten years ago at San Francisco it appeared to be the rule that freedom and sovereignty were the inheritance of all people except ours. Next month the United Nations again reconvenes in San Francisco, but this time the international community has gained a new dimension. This time we shall be there and the fact that this flag now takes its part in the banner of free nations, -- (Applause)-- that symbolizes one of the few genuinely moral achievements which the international conscience has registered throughout the turmoil and the suspense and the longings of these past ten years. The United Jewish Appeal was not merely the architect of survival for hundreds of thousands of individuals; it was also the builder of a state, the architect of a nation.

You are entitled to see the evidences of your beneficent investment in every aspect of Israel's courage and consolidation. You may see it in our country's spectacular economic recuperation, in the current rise of its production, in its decreasing dependence upon external sources of aid, in the great

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surge of its exports and of its tourism, in the increased share of its domestic production which it covers by the toil and the labor of its hands, in the absolute, inexorable, slow but constant approach of our backward community towards the goal of economic solvency, in the thought that seven years after we were surrounded and overwhelmed almost to the point of extinction, we now possess a country well able in its defense and preparedness to resist any onslaught upon its political independence and its material integrity.

You can see the effects of your pious and devoted fraternity in the increasing promise, the affirmative and dynamic hopefulness with which our people approaches the discharge of its mission in the realms of the mind and the spirit, the new effervescence in its literary, its cultural and its scientific endeavor.

You can even see such a process of consolidation at work in the field of our international relations, for there could be perhaps no greater or more grotesque fallacy than that which would describe Israel's international position in terms of isolation.

Here less than eight years after a day in which

the very concept of an Israeli nationhood had no recognition in the jurisprudence of nations, our Republic stands firmly integrated into the fabric and the current of modern international life. We have passed in a single decade from a world in which the existence of a free Israel seemed inconceivable, into a world which is inconceivable without its existence. (Applause)

This country, emerging into international identity, against the hostile onslaught and challenge of a neighboring world, now maintains friendly relations with sixty-two countries, relations of mutual representation with forty-eight of them, and in this framework of formal relationships it is, of course, much more than an external or ceremonial fact. It is true and will long remain true that in the framework of Israel's external relations we benefit far more from the assistance of others than we are yet privileged to requite.

The greatest part of our economic resources, the greatest part of our consumer needs, practically all of our military equipment, a great part of the resources necessary for agricultural and industrial

production, a great part of the technical knowledge and advice necessary to build a society overnight out of the neglect and the ravages of centuries past, a great part of the strength of the bloodstream of Israel flows into the State of Israel from outside its shores as a direct function and consequence of its international friendships.

Never in history has any people in the early and formative years of its establishment owed so much of its reinforcement and sustenance to the assistance of friendly countries abroad. No service whatever is performed by obscuring for ourselves or for our neighbors the central and impressive fact of Israel's entrenched and solid place in the community of nations.

There are, of course, breaches in the rampart. There are still walls of hostility and of alienation which we have not yet overcome. But if this is the position in our international life after seven years of sovereignty, need we see anything here except a reflection of the total situation of Israel's present state? Nothing in Israel is accomplished, nothing is yet created, nowhere does the roof already stand upon

the foundations of the edifice.

As you move about the country amongst its gracious fields and the reviving landscape, you will still see many areas untended and uncultivated. Do we therefore draw a conclusion of total dejection and assert that our agricultural program has been a failure because in seven years we have not revived a country or salvaged it from the neglect of two millennia? There are buildings which stand in skeleton form. The mere basic structure is not yet completed. Do we say to ourselves in a mood of despair and frustration, "Seven years of existence and buildings still not yet completed! Let us therefore draw a verdict of total failure about Israel's urban construction."

Similarly, it is necessary for our own perspective, for the maturity and the balance of our judgment, that we should realize that the edifice of Israel's international position is still in a process of being and is not yet already created. We do not doubt that the fortresses of hostility will one day yield to the necessities of our regional brotherhood. Already, with the august visit of an alien statesman in



our midst, we see the first breach in that wall of hostility which our neighbors have attempted to build around us in the great Continent of Asia.

Let us forget not for a single moment how a central pillar in this edifice of our evolving and uncompleted international structure rests upon our partnership with the United States.

In my recent consultations in Israel, I elicited as the main conclusion of our governmental and public mind, the fact that we are passionately dedicated to the primacy of American friendship as the central focus of our aspiration. (Applause) There is neither any compensation for it nor any substitute. If there are breaches, then they must be repaired, but in no circumstances whatever can we find any consolation for an organic threat to its essential integrity. This is a thought which must guide everybody in this room who cares for Israel's survival and for the stability of American interests in the Middle East.

Partnership and friendship between these two peoples who hold so many ideals and purposes in common is in the interests, the welfare and to the advantage

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of both. We hold in common a concept of freedom for individuals and for nations. Devotion to democracy is the highest expression of man's social character. A firm belief in the affirmative purposes of modern technology and science are also indicated. Memories very recent for us and not too remote for you, warm, homely memories of a period when immigrants and pioneers blazed their trail across a continent in quest of freedom, of dignity and of economic stability -- these are the basic and organic foundations of this partnership which, now and again, despite the hostile allurements of a neighboring region burst out into acts of statesmanship.

Within the past few weeks we have again brought to a successful conclusion another period of spectacularly helpful American aid for strengthening Israel's economy, society, and therefore our security. In addition to the Mutual Security Program and of the governmental aid programs which this month will take American aid to Israel in the past four years above the \$400,000,000 mark, apart from that we have secured the helpful sympathy of your Government in creating for

Israel a surplus reserve of vital and essential products.

We continue and, I think hopefully, to resolve our minds into a project which, if it does secure agreement, would liberate the imprisoned water resources of our area, enable large stretches of devastated land to become irrigated and perhaps set a precedent and an example for regional cooperation through our region.

We attach great importance to the treaty which Israel and the United States yesterday initialed and which make them partners in its peaceful use of atomic energy. Ever since President Eisenhower took his statesmanlike initiative in this question a year and a half ago, our people, our Government, and especially our scientific community have been exhilarated by the thought of what this uncannily compact and transportable fuel might mean in terms of an accelerated strength and solvency for Israel. Here are vast and abundant energies which modern science has bequeathed to our universal potentiality, and it is, I think, fitting that in the peaceful politics of this awesome power, our two democracies should be formally associated.

These, however, deal only with those parts of

our program in which some agreement has been reached. We continue to face the problems which are posed by a security network arising in our area in which Israel has not yet been accorded any place. Our business here is surely not to exchange denunciations, but to work together with perseverance, with tenacity and with mutual trust, to repair any inadvertent isolation, insecurity or discrimination which might have arisen through the operation of Western security policies in our area.

These are all matters which the United Jewish Appeal in this National Conference must continue to confront. It is not sufficient to evoke the memories of the past decade unless we also confront the challenges of the decade which lies ahead. In those ten years we have many tasks to perform. We must complete our consolidation which is still only in an initial stage. We must transform the prospect into certainty. We must reduce Israel's vulnerability to the impact of regional siege. We must create a society, an economy and a democracy so firmly entrenched, so visibly and tangibly immutable, that any realistic mind amongst our neighbors must forever despair of reversing the historic verdict

of the past ten years.

We must continue to foster this, our friendship, and to remove those elements which cast a cloud upon it. We must begin to testify in our national life to the universal visions which should inspire a Jewish society, visions evoked from the glorious Hebrew past, the true credentials of our nationhood, the real claim to Israel's aristocracy, to the spiritual annals of the world. For century after century, the mind of the Jewish people has revolved around the great issues of human destiny and progress. To those issues we must now set our gaze as we advance into the challenge of the next decade.

To the millions whom we mourn amidst the charnel houses of Europe, let us pledge ourselves in an entering covenant of remembrance.

May the rich achievements of Israel in these past ten years be their monument and our inspiration. I think we could have wished for no better monument than the freedom of modern Israel, than the verdure of its valleys and fields, than the reviving and buoyant enterprise, than its great exaltation of freedom, than

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its devotion to ancient and imperishable Hebrew ideals, than its reverence for its Biblical past, than its robust democratic impulse, than its infectious generation of Jewish pride in all the lands of our dispersion.

Look back with gratification upon the rich tapestry of this achievement. We advance with bold steps to the toil and the challenge of the future. You have lingered piously and reverently tonight in the avenues of memory, but after all, the Jewish people now has far become more than a memory. It has a monument, it has a citadel, it has the pride and the opportunity of a home over that citadel. Across the monument, and above the roofs of our home flies the banner of David, the proud symbol of Israel's resurrected statehood. Let us assemble at the foot of that banner. Let us hold it aloft. Let us strengthen its honor. Let us permeate it forever with the love and grace of our undying devotion.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, Ambassador Eban. I don't think that anybody -- we are coming to the high point of our evening now, the presentation of the awards.

Ambassador Eban, I don't think that anybody

could possibly have presented the goal towards which those whom you represent and those whom we represent are together striving, any better than you did tonight. Thank you very much.

I am sure you have read in the papers or heard over the radio about yesterday's visit to the White House. Not only was that arranged, but this entire Conference and especially the concept of these meetings was thought of and executed, and that in addition, during the last several weeks, to carrying on the sole top executive responsibility for the entire UJA, with what results you have already been told, our own Lou Bennett, and I would like him to take a bow. (Applause)

Now we will have the presentation of the first award which you will see on the moving picture screen on your right.

(The film was shown.)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: We are now about to confer additional awards for a memorable achievement in the annals of the free world's history. These men stirred the pride of all Americans by the way they indicated democracy in action. Our next speaker will present the

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awards of the evening to our honored guests.

I can think of no person who is even as remotely qualified to carry out such an assignment as he is. Throughout a long and distinguished career he has given in full measure of his heart, his mind and his energies to the human cause and instances of all faiths and of all peoples. He is one of America's great senior statesmen and our own beloved statesman. Before I call on him to make the awards to others, I shall assume the great privilege of making a well-deserved award to him, this award.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

SENATOR LEHMAN: I didn't know you were talking about me. I don't consider myself an elder statesman. (Laughter)

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: I didn't say elder statesman. That epithet usually designates responsibility. I said a senior. This award is made to United States Senator Herbert H. Lehman who, throughout his career, has given in full measure of his heart, talents and energies for human causes in the interests of all faiths and all peoples. This, as you will realize, is the



text of the award.

After World War I and again, after World War II, he served on the Reconstruction Committee of the Joint Distribution Committee, enabling hundreds of thousands of Jews, dislocated by war, to assume their normal trades and to become self-supporting. From 1943 to 1946 he served with greatest ability as the first Director-General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which repatriated seven million displaced persons and gave haven to one million others who sought freedom from totalitarian regimes. Time and again he has proven his interest in the welfare of the State of Israel both in and out of the nationwide UJA which he has also served as Honorary Chairman. His concern for the oppressed and underprivileged has earned for him the respect and love of free men throughout the world.

And now, Senator, former Governor of New York State, our own Herbert H. Lehman. (Applause)

SENATOR LEHMAN: Revered Rabbinate, Ambassador Eban and friends, you know, I hesitate to speak to you so late in the evening after the very

eloquent addresses to which we have listened from Rabbi Bernstein, Mr. Freudberg, General McNarney and General Hilldring, but I am very happy to be here with you tonight.

During many years of public life I have, of course, been fortunate enough to be the recipient of a number of awards. But never in my life have I felt more highly privileged than at this moment in accepting the honor which you have chosen to bestow on me, and my pleasure and satisfaction have been increased by the fact that I not only have been very closely connected with United Jewish Appeal since its creation ten years ago, but, I think, I am safe in saying, as I look at your young faces or moderately young faces of the audience before me, that I am one of the very few persons in this room who was a founder of the Joint Distribution Committee way back in 1914. (Applause)

Even at that time we were deeply interested in what was at that time known as Palestine, now happily at least in part as Israel, and we worked very closely with Hadassah which anteceded us by a year or two and which has done such splendid work ever since.

(Applause)

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United Jewish Appeal, the organization issuing this citation, was born at a very special time which I, for one, can never recall without emotion. Those were troubled times, those were dark days indeed. Those were the days when news of persecution, bestiality, of inhumanity beyond belief formed the content of our fears and our nightmares. In those days the leaders of American Jewry united to form this great life-saving organization, the United Jewish Appeal.

There were moments when, under the impact of the tragic news from Europe, we believed and we feared that European Jewry was doomed. But history was to erase those moments of despair. We ourselves took hold of history,<sup>it</sup> became abundantly clear in the midst of the dark moments that we could do something about the suffering in the areas dominated by Nazi tyranny, that we could offer material aid, funds and food and clothing out of our own resources and give encouragement and hope to the millions of sorely threatened people abroad.

At the same time, we were comforted by the fact that men of other faiths, men of good will were

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doing all they could to bring additional aid to those trapped in the shadow of the Nazi terror. Whenever America practices democracy in action, it gains strength and it gains friends. America must continue to demonstrate clearly and forthrightly what is meant by freedom, by democracy, by tolerance and by equal rights. Thus do we win respect for our way of life, thus can we open the eyes of many deluded by the glib promises of totalitarian rulers who offer so much but fulfill so little.

A splendid example of this vital obligation to practice what we preach was the participation of our country <sup>in</sup> the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, generally called UNRRA, of which I had the honor and privilege of serving as first Director-General from 1943 to 1946. For America to become an integral part and possibly a dominating factor in this great organization was a stroke of great political wisdom, a demonstration of deep humanity on the part of the entire American people. With Europe ravaged by so much destruction, UNRRA served greatly to renew lives and to sustain courage in many millions of suffering people in Germany, and, in fact, throughout the entire

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world, and when we sent out teams of nurses and doctors and social workers and administrators to Europe, a remarkable thing happened. They came into contact with the soldiers and the officers of our great American Army.

The story from there on was a story of magnificent cooperation between the civilian administration, UNRRA, which manned the DP camps with thousands of workers, and the great military. So began the historic undertaking of free nations acting together to restore war-torn Europe.

This work was accomplished in a miraculously short time. As early as 1947 it was possible to dissolve UNRRA although I personally hoped it would continue somewhat longer. I am very glad, deeply glad, my friends, that this great work which was done in cooperation with the Army, is being commemorated. I am glad because it gives us a chance to remember that this work not only physically strengthened our friends abroad, but also gave them the impetus to take up where we left off.

It also proved in action the old American convention of fair play and a helping hand, and we must

continue to prove that we know what democracy means to the free world by practicing democracy.

Now for just a few minutes, I am going to leave my prepared remarks to talk to you about a matter that is very close to my heart. Since I have been in Washington in the last six years, I have seen a great many things happen in the Congress that gave me hope and satisfaction. I have seen other things happen in Congress that gave me a feeling of frustration and despair and deep, heartfelt disappointment. I can't talk about all those things. I am only going to talk about two of them to you.

One is the failure of Congress and the Senate of the United States to confirm the Genocide Pact. You know, the Genocide Pact is simple. All it does is to outlaw by international law and international public opinion the crime of destroying and wiping out religious faiths and nationalities. Simply stated, that is all it does. It was adopted by a committee of the United Nations on which one who I think is the greatest lady in the world, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt (applause), took an active part. It has been confirmed by more than

forty nations. It has not been confirmed by the Senate of the nation which has always prided itself on being the greatest democracy in the world, and why?

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Because of objections that have been raised, purely legalistic, against the compact, on the ground that it might involve other legalistic questions. How can there be any decent objection to a compact that outlaws, that declares the abhorrence of a great democracy such as America to the destruction of whole peoples, peoples of different religious faiths, of different nationalities? And yet, although I have spoken in favor of confirmation time after time, we have made no progress. It has been one of the deep disappointments of my public life in the Congress of the United States.

The other great disappointment which I have, which I think just as genocide interests every man and woman in this room, also interests every man and woman in this room, and that is, the cruel, the inhumane, unfair immigration laws which we have adopted in this country. I say to you, my friends, that the MacCarran-Walter Act denies every tradition of this country for the past 200 years. Instead of welcoming people to

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the shores of this country who could be good citizens, -- after all, the great majority of the people of this country having come over in the last 200 years or who are descendants of a people of much lesser stay in the country -- I fought against that bill. Now we have another bill in Congress, the Emergency Refugee Act, which permits the immigration into this country of 209,000 persons. It was passed and I warned that it was good at the time, in order to give haven to escapees and refugees behind the Iron Curtain.

Thus far, less than 3,000 actual refugees and escapees from behind the Iron Curtain have come into this country. Yes, there have been a great many of these. I think something like 25,000 or 30,000. But those are either relatives of people of this country who could come in under the normal immigration act, or people who were going to be confronted with obstacles that are set up under the MacCarran-Walter Act which, of course, still remains in effect.

I introduced a bill to revise, amend or to improve this Emergency Refugee Act. Hearings are going to be held within the next few days. The reason



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I am talking to you, my friends, about this matter, is because I know you are from all over the country. I am not worried about the Senators and Congressmen from New York State. I think most of them feel the way I do about this, feel that it is a brutal, inhumane, cruel, unfair, inequitable, destructive act. I am not so sure about the Congressmen from some of the other states and I want to appeal to you. Let your Congressmen, let your Senators know how you feel about it if you agree with me. Let them know that this is an unfair -- and I mean the MacCarran-Walter Act, that both of them are unfair and brutal and inhumane, and cruel, and ask them to support a fair revision of the acts. (Applause)

You may think, why am I mentioning this? I am mentioning it not because it is of any great immediate benefit to the Jews who are fellows/<sup>of</sup>our religious faith. There are not many Jews who want to come to this country at the present time although, of course, there are some. The greatest number want to go to Israel. But I am mentioning it to you because I believe that it is a matter of national policy, of national equity, of national generosity and national adherence to a tradition upon

which this Republic was created. I don't care whether this helps Jews exclusively or not and I know it doesn't. It helps them only to a small extent. I am interested, as I know all of you are interested, in knowing that the traditions, the fine traditions of this country have grown, prospered and become a leader in the democracies of the world, and should be continued, so I hope and I emphasize again that this is not purely a Jewish problem, but I hope deeply and from the bottom of my heart that you will do everything you can to bring about a revision of the MacCarran-Walter Act and the Emergency Refugee Act on which hearings will be held within a short time. (Applause)

The Generals we are going to honor tonight behaved with great compassion and understanding in a true concern for the welfare of those in their charge, because they were brought up in our tradition of democracy, with respect for the dignity of their fellow men, a tradition of honesty and decency in their behavior at all times and in all situations. I am very moved at this opportunity to pay tribute to these men who so much deserve it, to others among us who served as their

advisers on Jewish affairs.

I want to speak very briefly of the tremendous help that was given to UNRRA by the great General who is now President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Applause) By his every word and deed he gave encouragement to those of us who were charged with carrying out America's full and humane purposes of this first great international operating organization. I will recount just one instance.

In 1945 when we were seeking the appropriation of the second United States contribution of \$1,350,000,000 by which we were morally obligated to the 43 other nations in UNRRA, we were held up for a considerable time in Congress in securing the funds which were so sorely needed for the suffering millions who depended on our help. I was not then a member of the Congress nor did I at that time know as much about Congressional Committees as I do now, but day after day my associates and I appeared before committees with pleas for prompt action.

The situation was a critical one. Our resources were nearly exhausted, and then General Eisenhower on

Thanksgiving Day of 1945, left his sick bed to appear before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. I recall that day very well indeed. It was a mean, cold, blustery day. General Eisenhower was sick. But General Eisenhower dramatically and in moving terms told the story of the displaced persons camps and the great help that UNRRA was giving to our military and to the nations of Europe in repatriating millions of people to their homes if they had homes, and of caring for those who no longer had any homes. It was a powerful appeal to the Congress and to the nation and it greatly helped to bring about early and favorable action by the Congress.

My friends, I shall never fail to be grateful to General Eisenhower for the humanity that he showed on that and on many other occasions and for the constant encouragement and help that he gave to UNRRA. (Applause)

I am moved at the thought that we have with us this evening representatives of the very displaced persons who, in the days right after the war, did not know where they were going or what they were going to do. They were a helpless, hopeless group. Since then

they have come so far that they are able now to enrich our society by their contributions to public life. In addition to the great honor you have conferred on me this evening for which I am very grateful, Bill, you have given me an equally great honor in permitting me, in behalf of us all who are associated with the United Jewish Appeal, the privilege of presenting tonight's awards for distinguished humanitarian service.

These awards are beautiful clay lamps from the land of the Bible, dating from the ancient past and symbolizing twenty centuries of Jewish history to which each generation renewed its devotions and freedoms and ideals. Each is inscribed with the name of the recipient and the caption is as follows, and I quote:

"To one who has kept the lamp of freedom burning, presented in deepest gratitude by the United Jewish Appeal for his distinguished human service to victims of Nazi tyranny."

Mr. Chairman, I am going to present the first award to Rabbi Philip Bernstein.

(Senator Lehman presented the awards.)

SENATOR LEHMAN: That concludes the presentation

of awards.

CHAIRMAN ROSENWALD: Thank you, Governor.

I am very, very glad that you could be with us tonight.

I want to thank all of you for your participation in this evening's events and call your attention in the program to the schedule of tomorrow's sessions.

Again, thanks to all who participated and this meeting stands adjourned.

(The session adjourned at 11:35 p.m.)



SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



Sheraton Park Hotel  
Washington, D. C.

June 5, 1955

ABALON STENO TYPE REPORTERS  
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Dr. J.J. Schwartz



זכר אלהינו יעקב וישראל



The General Session of the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 10:30 a.m. on Sunday morning, June 5, 1955, Mr. Jack D. Weiler presiding.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome. It is my assignment this morning to open the second session of this cash conference, and although I have a prepared speech to make, I am not making it this morning because you have heard some very, very interesting and stimulating speeches last night from General McNarney, General Hilldring, Ambassador Eban and from Rabbi Bernstein. Certainly last evening was enough stimulation from the four of us to take home to our respective cities and so I will present this morning's meeting the cash chairman for this Conference, our own and very beloved Sol Luckman of Cincinnati, whom we all love, admire, and respect for the work and the stimulation that he has given to all the communities throughout the country as the National Chairman.

Sol, you have worked very hard for this cash conference and it was my pleasure to introduce you to call the honor roll. It is not going to be a very

big one from what I can see, but it has been a very productive one in spite of the small attendance here this morning. Your National Cash Chairman, Mr. Sol Luckman (applause).

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you, Jack. I'm overwhelmed by the large crowd that is here this morning, but I am not discouraged because the money actually we have already, with the exception of about twenty checks which we will receive in due time. But I should like to make a few remarks before we go into the actual business of receiving the cash.

Many of our speakers this week-end have taken you back ten years and I am sure that you are amazed as I was to see what a long way we have come. Others have tried to take a look into the future and see what lies ahead in Israel and for Jews in other lands during the next decade. I do not know too much about navigation, but I believe in the three points of reference in order to plot a course. Now that we have considered the past and given some thought to the future, I think we ought to take a good look at the present for a few minutes, especially in regard to Israel.

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Israel today has evaded the grip of economic strangulation and this improvement in its economic position is reflected in a number of ways. You can talk about Israel's advance in terms of agriculture, you can talk about it in terms of settlement and immigration or of housing. Wherever you look, the signs point to improvement, progress, the promises kept and problems solved. Israel has added more than 50,000 acres in the last year to the total of irrigated land, so that nearly a quarter of a million acres in Israel are now under irrigation today. Some of the projects involved would be staggering achievements for a larger and richer country than Israel.

Look at the Yarkon-Negev pipe line. Ten years ago such a scheme would have been visionary. As a matter of fact, it was the dream of Zion's earlier pioneers to divert the water of the Yarkon in order to bring the desert to life. Next month the pipe line is going to be open. To me, I am just getting away from the remarks that I have on paper, and that is one of the most remarkable achievements, if not the most remarkable achievement in the ten years, in the last

ten years.

Immediately it will bring water to the thousands of acres of desert land. Imagine ten years after the liberation of Hitler's Europe schemes like these are schemes no longer. They are realities. Now look at what is happening in terms of regional settlement.

This year Israel is establishing more than thirty new villages in specially designated regions representing more than 2500 farm units. This will mean that thousands of people can be absorbed into Israel's agricultural set-up, including over 15,000 living in transit camps. When it comes to housing I know of nothing more spectacular than the success of Israel's ship to settlement program. You have heard about that before.

This program will mean that about 30,000 newcomers from North Africa or going directly to permanent settlements with permanent houses and will be hard at work as productive citizens of Israel. The number of those who have registered for immigration from North Africa to Israel is already up to 80,000. It is a healthy Israel that expects to admit all these people.

It is a healthy Israel in spite of what you and I know to be the case, the fact that there is tension and watchfulness on Israel's borders and the political relationship of Israel and its Arab neighbors which is far from ideal.

It is healthy because you and I have paid attention to its health. At the same time, we move ahead in other areas. We expect to provide for 120,000 distressed, displaced and underprivileged men, women and children in Western Europe and Moslem countries this year. We expect to help 6,000 Jewish refugees who will enter New York City and stay there and to meet the adjustment needs of 1500 who have already arrived in New York.

We are making progress in every direction, but meanwhile in Israel there is more land waiting for water. There are settlements that are only hopeful plans. There are still m'abarot, transit villages. There are still waiting lists of the old and the handicapped. There are plans and hopes and dreams not yet realities.

So I would say to you that along with the people of Israel we must be optimistic without becoming

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complacent. We must assert our accomplishments and then surpass these accomplishments. When we have counted up the number of houses and settlements, the length of new pipe lines, the breadth of new forests, when we have been inspired by reports of the rapid absorption of immigrants, when we have looked at these statistics from North Africa on the reduction of tinea and trachoma and death in childbirth, we must not linger too long nor too leisurely over the figures. Whatever it is, it isn't enough, not while mothers are still dying in childbirth, not while sick people go without medicine, not while homeless people go without homes.

I think we must be proud and humble at the same time, proud because of what we have done and humble because of what we have not done, for what we have done only indicates what we could do if we tried even harder and gave much more.

Above all, we have to be alert for new situations and for any difficulties that may arise. It would be disastrous should there be a sudden rise of immigration or a new crisis of any kind and we were caught with empty hands.

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We talk each year about minimum goals, minimum needs. Believe me, that is the literal truth. Even if we raised the \$100,000,000 we seek this year, that will account only for what is absolutely needed. There are many budgetary items that would have to go by the board because it would not be realistic to try to solve them all. There are still plenty of hungry mouths, plenty of sick bodies, plenty of hardships to be faced by Jews in other lands. At present we are all hard at work, trying to raise cash in this mobilization for cash. I assure you that no matter how brilliantly we do, it will not be too much.

There are so many problems that have to be solved so quickly. When you leave here, please go home and put what you have learned here to work, getting cash. Every penny of it is vitally important as ammunition in our fight on hunger, sickness and fear, a fight which we have successfully waged for the past sixteen years.

We have had with us at this Conference a number of great figures, and it has been a pleasure to honor them, to commemorate their achievements, but if I may be permitted an innocent pun, the really great figures

we have to concern ourselves with from here on are the amounts we raise between now and the end of the year to stave off suffering and to build more and better plans into more and better realities.

My friends, I am now ready to accept the cash. Will all those who are in the room with checks, please step forward and we will be glad and happy to receive the checks and acknowledge them.

(Checks were presented.)

MR. LUCKMAN: The total cash received by the United Jewish Appeal up to date is \$31,298,000. This is about \$11,000,000 more than we received in actual cash up to this time in 1954, but, my friends, I must warn you of the dangers which lie ahead. If we become complacent, if we think that our jobs are finished, then we are looking for trouble. We have a goal of \$100,000,000 for 1955 which is the publicity goal. Actually, what we are trying to get in cash and what we should get realistically is over that and we can get it if you men and women in this room who have proven time after time by your efforts for the UJA that you really are part and parcel of the UJA, who have proven your love for the



Jewish people, if you people continue to work with us we will be calling you from time to time. I am positive that we will raise over \$50,000,000 in 1955.

I want to thank you all from the bottom of my heart. I want to thank my co-chairmen and members of the Cabinet and the community leaders whom it has been our pleasure and privilege to call on long distance to get the money and to have you people forward the money to us. Thank you very, very much. It is a pleasure and a joy to be with you at this Conference. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: This Cash Conference is a very important business because cash is the life line to Israel and let us realize it once and for all. Without cash Israel cannot continue doing the job she is doing, and Sol, I want to thank you again for a really magnificent job. This job was done in spite of his illness, taking on such a gigantic undertaking as to be a cash chairman for the entire country. Some of you fellows ought to try it some time and find out how difficult it is.

I want to make mention at this time about an individual that the UJA is very proud of. His name is

Adolph Kiesler and he comes from Denver, Colorado, and within less than a week I think it is, he will receive a degree from the University of Denver, the Doctor of Public Service degree. (Applause) We are all proud, Adolph, that you are one of us and one of the real UJA stalwarts. And something else that Adolph has done <sup>is</sup> for the UJA, to bring to this Conference \$200,000 and this is how he did it, and this was a one-man job in Denver. They were going to send \$85,000 to this Conference and Adolph said it was not enough, and so he went to the banks and borrowed, in spite of borrowing for the cash loan last year, and they borrowed on top of that cash loan an additional \$125,000 and got it to this Conference, making a total of \$200,000. (Applause) That is what we call working on behalf of Israel and on behalf of the UJA.

God bless you, Adolph, for that degree that you are getting and for the work that you are doing on our behalf. (Applause)

It is customary for every conference to throw the floor open for discussion and have questions and answers. Are there any questions, whether pertaining

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to the agencies, whether pertaining to fund-raising that may be in our minds that you would like answered? This is the opportunity to stand up and ask those questions. Is there anyone in the room who has a problem or who would like some answers to some perplexing campaign problem?

MR. SAMSON (Milwaukee, Wisconsin): In December of 1954 when we set our goal for National UJA, the intention was to bring in 25,000 or 30,000 North African Jews to Israel. I would like to know, as of May 31, how many have been brought into Israel, how many each month and what it looks like for the rest of 1955?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Rabbi Friedman has the answer.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Bernie, I am not sure that I would want to live or die by the exact numbers of these figures, but I think they are close enough to be almost exact.

The last cable that came in two days ago was for the period of the 15th to the 28th of May. That is as far as we've got it, up to the 28th of May, a week ago. There were 985 people from North Africa who landed in

Haifa during that period of eleven days. Almost exactly at that rate during all of 1955, January, February, March, April and May, is five months, at the rate of approximately 2500 a month, give or take one thousand, which would be about 12,500, 12,000. It would look as though the projected figure of Dr. Josephthal of 30,000 a year will be correct at the present rate for the first five months, 12,000 to 15,000 during the first five months is what I would say would be the actual figure.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you, Rabbi Friedman. I see Rose Halprin here and Gottlieb Hammer. If you would like to add to that --

MRS. HALPRIN: I would say it certainly won't be less than that. 30,000 is the figure that we were given. It certainly will not be less than that. If anything, it will be more.

MR. HAMMER: The only qualifying statement I would like to make, Jack, is that unless the flow of funds does continue, we are going to find it increasingly difficult to maintain even the minimum 30,000 that we promised. Actually, the pressure is for increasing that figure which is something you know very well.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you. Any other questions?

MR. SILVER (Washington, D.C.): I am a member of Workmen's Circle. I would like to know why all the work of printing is not done in a union shop. Maybe you think it's funny, but not for the labor movement.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I am told, Mr. Silver, it is done in a union shop. Dr. Schwartz tells me that.

DR. SCHWARTZ: The printing in the UJA?

MR. SILVER: I even got a Bond from Israel without a union label on it.

DR. SCHWARTZ: All of the printing in the UJA-- and Mr. Jacobs will correct me if I am wrong -- is done in union shops. They don't always put the union label on it. Sometimes at our request, sometimes for convenience that is the case, but I can assure you that everything that goes out of the UJA office has gone out through the work of union shops.

MR. SILVER: You are so sure. I am not so sure because I know the printer who prints them.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: We answer all types of questions.

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MR. SILVER: This is the place. You asked for questions.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: We will answer them all. We will get Irving Jacobs to answer that.

MR. FELDER: I would like to say that Rabbi Friedman gave a real statement. He is a business man and when I go for contributions, especially to the anti-Zionists, they say most of the money goes for expenses. I would like to know and I would like to ask you that each one who goes out to collect money, we should have knowledge of what is going out. We would collect 100 per cent more if people would know what the expenses are.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: The cost of raising funds for the UJA I am told, and I happen to know, is about the lowest cost for any philanthropic endeavor. That you can tell them in no uncertain terms. The percentage of cost for raising money for the UJA is at the very lowest of any endeavor of any size in comparison with the UJA, and Dr. Schwartz would like to clarify that and maybe be more specific.

MR. SILVER: Mr. Chairman, one more small question. I would like to get a receipt for my money

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with a union label. Am I entitled to it?

DR. SCHWARTZ: I have had some additional information on the question of the union shop. I cannot answer your question about the union label, but I can answer it about the union shop. All of the printing of the UJA, just as all of the printing of the bond issue, is done in the same shop, the New Era Lithograph Company, which is 100 per cent union, and every one of the printing jobs of the UJA for the past five years, four and a half years since I have been connected with it, has been done in that shop. It is a union shop 100 per cent and I think you can verify it.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: And their contribution to the UJA I think is about \$18,000 a year from a union shop and even my printing is done in a union shop.

MR. MOE LEAVITT: I think the gentleman is referring to the printing in Washington locally, not to the National.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: The gentleman is referring to the local printing in Washington.

DR. SCHWARTZ: The local printing in Washington is in no way controlled by the National Office and cannot

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be controlled. This is a matter that must be taken up.

MR. SILVER: It is up to you.

DR. SCHWARTZ: No, I am sorry. We cannot go into every community and tell them how to print, where to print or what to do. The policy of the National UJA, however, is to use only union printers.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I think everybody is satisfied with that answer. Let us get on to some questions about Israel and about fund-raising.

MR. SAMSON: I want to know if the UJA has taken any positive action towards eliminating the splinter campaigns of the Overseas and the National agencies which come into the picture without any control by the local Welfare Funds towards raising additional funds for their various organizations. Has any positive action been taken by the UJA towards control of that?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Do you want to answer that, Rose?

MRS. HALPRIN: As you know, there is no authorization set up on a national basis to which committees are appointed representatives from the Welfare Funds and the Agency and the JNF. That is about it.



That includes the Jewish Agency and the Welfare Funds, etc.

At the beginning of the year we authorize certain campaigns. The campaigns that are authorized are campaigns where the national bodies of those campaigns give us an accounting so that we know pretty much what they are doing, for what they are raising money and to what they are sending their money. We can tell, in so far as we are able, any organization that steps out of line.

Occasionally we have complaints about the JNF. Then we call the JNF people in and we talk it over and try, in so far as we are able, to prevent the difficulties of which there are many. We have ten instances throughout the year. We have a constant supervision over such complaints and if the community complains to us, then this organization in New York takes it up and complains and sees what can be done about it.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Any complaints go to Rose Halprin.

MRS. HALPRIN: No, not to me.

MR. SAMSON: May I suggest then, that this information be transmitted to the various communities?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I think it is transmitted, Bernie. I know in New York City we have a full-page ad at the beginning of our UJA campaign with exactly what Rose Halprin just talked about, authorizing so many institutions to raise funds for Israel.

MRS. WURTZEL (Richmond, Virginia): I want to go back to that question, the cost of fund-raising, because we hear about it, too. Would it be possible to have the figures and, for instance, compare them with the Red Cross which has a high cost of fund-raising but which has great public acceptance?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Dr. Schwartz will answer that one.

DR. SCHWARTZ: The figures of fund-raising costs for the National UJA are published regularly and you have a certified statement from our accountants which is sent out and which is available on request.

For the year of 1954 and also projected for the year of 1955, the total cost to the National UJA will not exceed \$3,000,000. Now, if you take that \$3,000,000 against a total raised in 1953 of some \$63,000,000 and in 1954 it was approximately \$60,000,000,

plus \$65,000,000 in the form of consolidation loan which cost almost nothing in addition to the regular budget, it was within the \$3,000,000.

When you take those figures into consideration, then I think it must be realized that from the point of view of the national organization, it represents one of the lowest costs of fund-raising that you can find anywhere.

What I do want to stress, however, is this: that any responsible community organization that wants to have a certified statement on the costs of the National UJA, on the amounts raised, and the amounts that come in, in cash, those statements are available upon request.

MR. RESNICK (Asbury Park, N. J.): In view of what was achieved so far, what is the outlook for 1955, for the balance of the year in campaigning and in cash?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Dr. Schwartz, you will have to take that.

DR. SCHWARTZ: I would say this: that on the basis of the reports that we have heard about the progress

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of campaigns throughout the country, I would say that we have every reason to believe that the 1955 campaigns will yield a better result from the 1954 campaigns. The estimate at the present time, on the basis on the information that we have available, that it will be about five per cent more than it was last year in total pledges throughout the country. We may, we hope we will have to revise our figures a little bit upwards. That depends on a number of factors and on additional information that is still be forthcoming from large communities.

So far as cash is concerned, you have heard the figures this morning. We are now running about \$10,000,000 ahead of last year in actual cash receipts and I think that we will be able to maintain that margin and that we have a very good chance of getting in cash anywhere from \$55,000,000 to \$60,000,000. I think we have a great possibility of getting the \$60,000,000 in cash as contrasted to pledges that Sol Luckman talked about.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: One final question. We will hear from Lable Katz from New Orleans.

MR. KATZ: I would like to know what is the situation at the moment with respect to pre-campaign budgeting and what are the prospects for the fall campaigns.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I don't know whether Dr. Friedman, the new Executive Director of the UJA, can answer that.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Let me just try to answer the thing very quickly on the basis of some preliminary conversations we have been having. The interest of the UJA is twofold. We are interested in seeing the communities raise as much money as they possibly can. We are interested in seeing that we get as large a share of that amount raised as we can possibly get. These are not necessarily conflicting in competitive interests.

We would like New Orleans to have lots of money and we would like to get more of that share from the New Orleans campaign than we have gotten before. This is a steadily, ongoing process. The way to do this is to have the conversations in the communities on the pre-campaign budgeting as far in advance of the heat of the campaign as can possibly be done, or so it seems

to me, and I would like to think that we would be talking this fall about pre-campaign budgeting arrangements in the larger cities for next spring.

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What happens is that the National leadership of the UJA gets busy, tied up, by the end of the year there is another big National Conference in New York, everybody begins to have other responsibilities. It is too late to start going into cities in January and February when they want to start their campaigns in March, and talk pre-campaign budgeting at that time, so we would like to talk pre-campaign budgeting wherever possible this fall, October, November, for those cities which have spring campaigns, present our needs carefully, try to get the equitable share for the needs of the UJA, always trying to act in harmonious cooperation with the local community, but always trying to be as firm as we have been.

For those cities which have fall campaigns, it would seem to me the process ought to be reversed. We should do pre-campaign budgeting with them some months before their fall campaign which might mean in the summer. There is no law that says you can't work in the summer.

It might be harder to get people to meetings, but that is the way I think we ought to look ahead to this pre-campaign budgeting -- get it out of the way in advance so that a community and the UJA, having a mutual partnership, knowing how they will divide the funds, will try their best to get the largest campaign result possible. If it is done early, without rancor, I think better results will then be obtained for the communities and for us.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I would like to call upon one individual at this time who has taken on the burden as National Chairman in charge of pre-campaign budgeting, to give us his views and his experience and, just for a few minutes speak, because this is the toughest task of any National Chairman. He has done an outstanding job travelling coast to coast year in and year out, and because of him pre-campaign budgeting has been a major issue and the results we have accomplished are due to Morris Berinstein, and I would like to hear a few words from Morris regarding pre-campaign budgeting as long as the subject was brought up.

This is not on the agenda, Morris, and I am sorry to bring it up.

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MR. BERINSTEIN: I think that Rabbi Friedman covered it. I think Rabbi Friedman covered the pre-campaign budgeting problem very well. It isn't easy because I am happy to say that this particular organization, under the leadership that we have had for the past five years, has always tried to bear in mind the communities' needs as well as the needs of the UJA. That is the type of thing that sometimes brings harmony and sometimes brings long discussions, but thankfully we have arrived at the scene where in the last two years I know of no community that has reduced and a great many have increased.

The percentage in 1955 that the UJA will receive overall in the country will be a larger percentage than it was in 1954. 1954 was a larger percentage than 1953.

I don't want you to misinterpret these remarks. These percentages are small. They are not large increases but they are increases, and it shows a growing feeling on the part of the members of the community to understand the needs, the valid needs of the UJA.



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I only have one more thing to say, and that is that we are hopeful that the community leaders -- because these are the people who put up most of the money, who put in most of the work -- will use maturity, will use good judgment in seeing that in the few years remaining that I think are necessary to insure Israel's continued improvement in economic conditions, that nothing will be done that will stop the improvement that has taken place. I hope that you will give to Rabbi Friedman, to the officers that are going to continue, the same kind of cooperation that you have given to us, and if such is the case, I think everyone is going to be very happy.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you, Morris. You have done a magnificent job and you are to be congratulated.

It is now my privilege to introduce to you a man who is actually the living symbol of the undying spirit of the Jewish people. It was on April 27, 1945, that Dr. Zalman Grinberg, along with 4000 other prisoners and inmates of the Dachau Concentration Camp, found himself on a boxcar headed south, for extinction. When

the Nazis deserted the train, the 4000 prisoners escaped. Dr. Grinberg contacted local German authorities and they took over the German Army Hospital at St. Ottilien, converting it into the first D. P. hospital. Dr. Grinberg saved many lives, working as a physician in Dachau, despite the oppression and brutality.

He went to work at St. Ottilien healing the broken survivors. Later, Dr. Grinberg was elected the first Chairman of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany, and was one of those who successfully obtained the official recognition of the United States Military Command.

I am proud to present to Dr. Grinberg a citation as a hero of the Jewish people, and I would like to read the citation to him.

(Chairman Weiler read the citation to Dr. Grinberg.)

Dr. Grinberg is today the director of the Beilinson Hospital in Israel, which is the largest hospital there, and he is a living example of what has happened to a typical D. P. from the concentration camps.

Dr. Grinberg. (Applause)

DR. GRINBERG: Mr. Chairman, Dr. Schwartz,

ladies and gentlemen. it is my good fortune to be visiting again in your blessedland at a time when the leadership of this great Jewish community is gathered here in Washington, the capitol of the peace-loving world, to commemorate a decade of humanitarian achievement.

My friends, I come to you as a living witness to the happenings of this ten years. It is not difficult to recall the hour of liberation, when the dedicated forces of the American Army broke open the notorious Dachau Concentration Camp and literally redeemed us from the insatiable crematorium and literally redeemed us from the daily ratio that were ~~decimated~~ in Dachau. This was death.

It was an hour, the hour of liberation. It was an hour that escapes description. In fact, it was not an hour of liberation. Even now, ten years later, when my eyes catch the sight of a towering stack with its smoke spiraling peacefully upwards, I cannot help but see the smokestack of the crematorium to which so many of our loved ones went to eternity. True, the gates of the camps were battered down. The tyrants, big and small, cowered before the conscience of the world, but we, we were not free. We were lonely, we were imprisoned.

We were imprisoned and in our thoughts, hopes and fears, those that paraded through our minds and hearts in great disorder, driving us across the face of Europe, driving us across the face of Europe in search of a child, a father, of a mother, a loved one, a root of life to which we could once again attach ourselves.

I was liberated while in transit on a train, in a cattle wagon. A group of us were being moved from one place in Dachau to another place in Dachau. This is not the time to recount for you the details of that hour. I would, however, like to refer to certain moments which I feel can give meaning to this decade of humanitarianism which you are assembled to commemorate.

The rumblings and noises of the oncoming American forces visibly disturbed our guards, our German guards. As the noises grew louder, the master race tightened up with fear. They couldn't decide upon a course of action. Finally, in a frenzy, they, the German guards, were the first who fled, but they fled after they opened a last reckless burst of machine gun fire, and one moment before the liberation near a village in Bavaria, there were 136 victims of German machine gun fire.

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I was trained as a physician, and a group of physicians started to give first aid to the wounded former political prisoners. We gathered the wounded and carried them off to a nearby monastery. In this monastery, St. Ottilien, was stationed a German Military Hospital, and with your good help in time we established in St. Ottilien, in this monastery the first Jewish displaced persons' hospital, a hospital two months after the liberation that we had there, with a nominal bed capacity of 1600 beds. This hospital afforded us the opportunity to serve our people. This hospital afforded me the opportunity to serve my people as men dream of serving their fellow men, but we were not free.

At night when darkness would blanket our sick and wounded world and silence would overtake us, the tantalizing thought would come to us, to me, "Where is your father, mother, wife, child, son? Is your wife among the survivors? Is your son among the survivors? Where can he be? Stoned out of the ghetto under the eyes of the Gestapo? Hidden with good Christian friends? Will I hear his voice again? Shall I go in search of them? What will become of the hospital, the sick and wounded? It is forbidden to leave the hospital."

First, torn by the will to live and the order to die, and then torn by the desire to be and the desire to serve. We were not free, my friends. It was only the beginning of a process of liberation.

Liberation takes time. Liberation takes years, a year, two, ten years. Sometimes there is no liberation in ten years. Fortunately, we can state the fact of liberation after ten years. Through your Army Chaplains, your military leaders, your American Joint Distribution Committee, and your countless representatives, they understood the nature of liberation and you went to work at once. You fed us and made us physically well. The more fortunate among us you reunited with fragments of families. You clothed us not merely with garments but with dignity and self respect. You lifted our eyes so that we could see the rays of the sun, though it did not penetrate our souls and warm us.

You set out to destroy the odor of the concentration camps that tenaciously held onto the membranes of our nostrils. Before too long, we had a book on our shelves, had a newspaper in our pockets, and an argument upon our lips. We were once again swirling in the world of thoughts and ideas, on the wave of

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liberation, on the way to a full and complete liberation.

And yet, friends, all these things would not be the substance of liberation if the most essential ingredient had been neglected -- a home, a place where a man could invest his dreams and plan and build his future, a place where the laughter of a child would echo across the hills and fade into the beauty of the countryside, a place where pride would grow and sweet smells abound. Together with the pioneers and fighters of Israel, you sought the establishment of our State, first in the great State Chambers of this City and then in the echoing halls of the United Nations.

The process of liberation continued. We came home, home to the land of Israel, home to a new beginning. It was a difficult beginning but then we learn in life that birth and creation bursting forth to the new horizons, tackling dreams, these are the most difficult of man's enterprises.

We began, and with you, to build the land and at the same time we built the land we built our own liberation. The fields themselves must have heard of our coming. They gave up their desolation and flowered with grain. Waters were harnessed, power was extracted,

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wheels turned and the city dreamed. Each bit of progress was a source of satisfaction and inspiration.

I remember the day the first automatic traffic light was hung in the street of Haifa. I was intrigued. I had seen many traffic lights before, but not in Haifa. I drove around the square two or three times to watch it blink and to rejoice even in this bit of progress.

My dear friends, we have come a long way, a distance to be measured not in cubic feet or gross tonnages, but in liberation. We have become free. The rays of the sun now warm us. The horizons excite us and the language of the waters of the Mediterranean against our shores is music to our ears. The liberation of our people must continue. We are now free, made free by what you are and what you have done. We join hands with you in the task that remains to be done, but at this time, however, let my purpose be merely to bring to you, from the desolation and the despair of Dachau in 1945 and from the life and hope of Jerusalem in 1955, a humble word of thanks to you Americans, and to you, my Jewish brethren of America, for a decade of humanitarianism which is our liberation.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

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CHAIRMAN WEILER: Very touching, Dr. Grinberg, and certainly none of us here in this room can possibly live through or can possibly imagine the horrors, the degradation that you and your cohorts have gone through. You are a living example of what we in this room have dedicated ourselves to work and to give for.

We have another living symbol with us and I would like to present him to you. One of Dr. Grinberg's closest associates, a great scholar and jurist who never lost heart in the darkest days of the Hitler ordeal. In the Nazi-created ghettos and in Dachau, Dr. Samuel Gringauz worked vigorously to raise the morale of his comrades. After liberation he held high office in the DP's own organization, and in 1946 and 1947 he served with great distinction as Chairman of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Germany. Dr. Gringauz came to the United States and he is the person with whom General McNarney signed the documents for the recognition of the Central Committee. There is a picture of these ceremonies shown in the lobby of the hotel, and together with Dr. Grinberg he played a foremost role in the negotiations with General McNarney and

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the American Military Command. As I said before, he is living in our own country.

He is an author, a lecturer and a research consultant, and it is my privilege to give an award to Dr. Samuel Gringauz for being a true Jewish hero.

(The Chairman read the award to Dr. Samuel Gringauz.)

(The audience arose and applauded.)

DR. GRINGAUZ: Mr. Chairman, Dr. Schwartz, Rabbi Friedman, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen: Commemorating today the tenth anniversary of the Allied victory of the Nazi brutality and bowing their heads in awesome respect to the victims of the great Jewish catastrophe, the American Jewish community looks back with pride on a decade of unparalleled humanitarian achievements, the like of which Jewish history had never seen.

In the course of these ten years, hundreds of thousands of survivors of the great catastrophe have been rescued, rehabilitated and resettled. We know today that this achievement was due primarily to the unprecedented humanitarian efforts of the American Jewish

Community organized in the United Jewish Appeal and its operational agencies, but what peradventure is not known to all of you ladies and gentlemen is the following: When we left the dungeons of the concentration camp, physically, mentally and emotionally broken, torn from our families and friends, torn from our soil, torn from our educational environment, cultural, languages, desperate and distressed, it was the contact with the Jewish Chaplains, the workers of the AJDC, the Jewish advisers, that restored our social sense of belonging to a community, that rekindled our hopes, reinforced our courage and rehumanized the social wreckage we were.

This is your unforgettable historical achievement, and for historical achievement there is no thanks, there is only admiration. This tremendous work would not have been possible had not the Jewish community found understanding and noble allies in the leading officers of the United States Army of Occupation, and I cannot imagine anything more indicative of the moral leadership of the American democracy than that humanitarian awards are being bestowed upon military leaders of an establishment whose primary purpose is ways and means

of destruction.

Never in the history of the world had an Army of Occupation to cope with a task of rehabilitating thousands and thousands of destitute people, and this task was discharged in close cooperation with voluntary agencies and democratic representatives of the victims themselves. The Institute of Jewish Advisers were one of the most conspicuous manifestations of the American idea of tolerance and inter-group cooperation. Here an Army of Occupation accepted the representatives of the Jewish community in the occupier's country as advisers and guiders of a policy toward a Jewish group in the occupied country, and I wonder why this paragon of inter-group cooperation had not found a permanent sociological appreciation up to now.

I personally had the privilege of working continually with Rabbi Philip Bernstein and his wonderful team of Abe Hyman, now Director of the World Jewish Congress, and Rabbi Herbert Friedman, now your Executive Vice-Chairman. The names of Bernstein, Hyman and Friedman are connected with the greatest achievement in the field of refugee policy, the opening of the gates

of the American zone of Germany to the infiltrees. By this act, about a quarter million of Jews were saved from cultural annihilation behind the Iron Curtain and subsequently brought to Israel, the United States and other countries with funds provided by the United Jewish Appeal.

In this connection I deem it appropriate to mention the splendid work accomplished by the field workers of the AJDC. They appeared in the camps a couple of weeks after the liberation. They assisted us with food and clothing, legal protection and medical care. They assisted us in establishing schools and synagogues, in putting out papers and magazines, in arranging lectures and concerts. The work of the AJDC people in the years after the war adds a glorious page to the history of this humanitarian agency of the American Jewish community.

And now a couple of words about the DP's themselves, these so-called homeless people. As a separate group it received assistance. They dissolved themselves through emigration to Israel, United States and other countries. However, out of the deep experience

of oppression and injustices, we developed certain emotional and intellectual ingredients of an ideology which did not dissolve itself together with the social border of the shearith haplitar(?) which we brought with us into the new countries of our settlement, and these are the five articles of faith of the shearith haplitar as they emerged in the years after the liberation.

We wanted to preserve the memory of the great catastrophe as a source of awesome respect to the magnitude of suffering, as a source of moral edification and purification for generations to come, intending to strengthen the unity of Jews and to foster understanding and sympathy among all the people of good will.

Second: From the first days until the liberation, we were devoid of inspiration from the totalitarian world of Eastern Europe. We knew from our experience that where Communism rules, Judaism must die. We bent all our efforts to save as many Jews as possible from the Communist organ, subordinating in the first years all our endeavors to this paramount objective.

Third: It was our deep conviction that the great catastrophe was not an ordinary link in the chain

of Jews, but a structural upheaval, bringing about a complete transformation of the Jewish global set-up, a transformation requiring particular responsibility on the part of Jewish leadership.

Fourth: Out of the depth of their tragic experience, the shearith haplitar brought home an ardent desire for Palestine. This desire was irrelevant to previous affiliations and sometimes even independent of personal determination to settle in Israel. The adamant attitude of the DP's breaking all legally administrative obstacles aroused the Yishuv and finally brought about the withdrawal of the British and the acceptance of the idea of the Jewish State by the great majority of nations.

And lastly: The experience of totalitarian persecution developed among the people of the shearith haplitar the belief that the old moral tenet of not doing as you are done by, is inadequate at a time when evil doing is being perpetrated by mass movements, totalitarian mass movements concentrating overwhelmingly, politically, militarily and ideologically in their power and tending to world domination.

At those times moral attitude cannot but mean

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resistance to evil, and that is exemplified by the heroic uprising in the Warsaw ghetto, as exemplified by the noble rescue operation of the Danish people, and by the active fight for cooperation and mutual respect among the people of different descents, with different cultural tinges. Out of the reputation of the yesteryears the shearith haplitar brought home the conviction that the propaganda of hate, discrimination and prejudice, if untrammled, tends to lead to horrible crimes. The free society has to defend itself against this propaganda in the same way as it defends itself against other crimes, by national and international laws entailing individual punishment, collective indemnification and moral turpitude.

These are the articles of faith set forth almost a decade ago. I daresay that they have retained their validity for the present days and for the years to come.

Ladies and gentlemen, commemorating with pride ten years of magnificent humanitarian achievement by the United Jewish Appeal and its operating agencies, we express the hope that the American Jewry will face



the years to come with the same firm determination to continue contributing to the welfare of the Jewish people and of the free world at large. I thank you.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you, Dr. Gringauz.

I think you have listened to two of the most touching, two of the most inspiring and two of the most stimulating presentations we have ever had the pleasure of listening to, and certainly we are all proud to have participated in the liberation of these two great men and their associates. (Applause)

Dr. Gringauz told us that Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Abe Hyman and our own Rabbi Herbert Friedman are names to be conjured with as part of the liberation program in Europe. We have also Judge Louis Levinthal of Philadelphia, who participated as one of the liberators, one of the Jewish advisers to the Army of Occupation. (Applause)

Now it is a real pleasure to introduce to you an individual whom it is difficult to introduce. He is a very good friend of mine, a good friend of yours. His energy, devotion to Israel is known by all. He is

a dynamic individual, he is a great leader, he is a National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, the former Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal, and has now got himself a brand new job. He was lacking in position. He is now National Chairman in the sale of Bonds for Israel. Mr. Morris Berinstein of Syracuse. (Applause)

MR. BERINSTEIN: My good friend and some day I hope a good enough friend to put me in one of those real estate deals (laughter), ladies and gentlemen, honored guests, I don't think that Jack covered the entire story in his introduction, because he didn't tell you the reason why I am on the program. I am really here in order to express to a gentleman sitting at my left the feeling that a great many Jews in the world have concerning him and the work he has done in the past sixteen years and the leadership that he has given us.

I know the gentleman very well and I plead with him not to worry. I know that he doesn't like this sort of thing. He has nobody to blame but himself.

(Laughter)

I happened to have a particularly restless

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night Friday. It seems that regardless of what color pills I take, they are absolutely no use any more. I think it is interesting though, because I remember getting up at four o'clock in the morning and from four o'clock until 4:30 I just thought of nothing but the United Jewish Appeal and all the problems that I felt it still had to face, and from approximately 4:30 till 5 o'clock my mind sort of wandered to this new position that Jack referred to, which wasn't a very easy one to get (laughter), and for that half an hour -- and I am giving it to you exactly in the order that it took place -- I thought of some of the problems that perhaps we had to face in the Bond Organization, and then, strangely enough, for the next half hour I started thinking about my business, and I can't tell you how happy I am, because that came in third, and it is the first time my business has finished in the money in about ten years. (Laughter)

Joe, I know you won't mind if I do some skipping. I am going to start with the year 1939, although you have had a great many accomplishments previous to that time. As I was sitting here for a few moments I thought

what a shame that there was such a small group of people here, and then as I looked around I realized that those who had worked with you the closest, know you the best, are here, And while perhaps this is more of an intimate sort of a gathering and we can handle it in that manner.

In 1939 Joe Schwartz joined the Joint Distribution Committee, in charge of their overseas operations. Last night you heard a great many references made to Joe's work. I am sure that the Generals that spoke last night do not know of a great many phases of the work that Joe participated in. I am sure also if any of them were illegal, that these statutes have protected him at this stage of the game. I don't think it is necessary to draw too fine a picture because at this particular conference you have had drawn for you by Jew and Gentile, by lay person and by military, by DP's, you have had redrawn for you what took place in those horrible years.

Naturally, in spite of all we have heard, if Joe wanted to, he could fill in a great deal more, but we do know of the leadership that Joe gave the JDC operation in those years. We know the tremendous

responsibility that he had to face and the way he faced it, and from 1939 until 1940, every effort that could be expended to save Jewish lives, to smuggle, to run borders, to do all the things that we are so proud of, be they legal or illegal, under Joe's leadership and because of the confidence of the Joint Distribution Committee officers in Joe's judgment and of the free rein that they gave him, these things were done, and then in 1940 things became so terrible over there that the JDC decided that it would be smart to stop operations.

Everyone but Joe Schwartz agreed with that. He felt that he should stay on. He chose Lisbon as the place he should operate from and that was a wise decision, one which I am sure is responsible for saving the lives of thousands and tens of thousands of people during those horrible years, though unfortunately we could count so many more dead than who remained alive, but Joe kept on plugging. Some day, if his memory will not fail, it might be most interesting if he were to be able to put down on paper the things that made up his activities in those years.

I have seen the scars that those years have left

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on Joe and I don't believe there ever has been in this entire generation any job, any person put on earth by God Almighty who felt the responsibility more keenly at the risk of his own life and at risk of some of his staff, and they were willing to carry on.

And then came 1945. The advancing armies finally got to the places where the remnants of Jewry were left, and then the really immense, mammoth job, one of psychiatry, one of health, one of understanding and deepest sympathies, one to tax the strain of the staff, the money that was available, the vivid imagination that a person had to have, but it didn't tax Joe Schwartz.

I happen to remember very, very well the fall Conference of 1945. I think it took place in Atlantic City when Joe came back and addressed that Conference. It was a historic Conference, because it was the famous Conference that announced a \$100,000,000 goal. A great many people have talked about who and who was not responsible for that vivid imagination, but I know the talk that inspired the delegates, I know the vivid description of the events of the people, of what

was taking place, I saw the look in their eyes as they walked out of the room and I heard the people say, "We cannot raise too much money to save these people."

That was Joe Schwartz's inspirational talk, describing what he had left in Europe, and then for many years he led that work with the most loyal staff, with people who adore him, with people who work 16 and 18 hours, who brought their children into foreign lands, who paid no attention to normal relaxation, all working as one great mighty team under the dynamic and spiritual leadership of Joe.

At this table you have heard from just two of several hundred thousands of those people. Then as time went on, thank God, the problem was simplified in one way, although it became a little difficult in another, with the establishment of the State of Israel. It was Joe who spearheaded the program of the great movement, the great movement of hundreds of thousands of people from all the things you have heard described so vividly in the last 24 hours. They need no further description, and to the glories that you have also heard described of this new land, the only land where they could go.

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The Malben was started in Israel. The greatest and speediest transfer of people in the history of the world took place. Tens, well, hundreds of thousands. I stood by and watched. They didn't come in under favorable conditions, in some ways they were even more unfavorable than the conditions that they had left, and some of them at that time were mighty unhappy, but with the extreme solicitude that the JDC has always shown, and again, with the leadership of Joe, gradually order came from chaos and we see Israel as it is today.

Joe had never made a very good reputation as a fund-raiser. There are some who even today feel that he hasn't made very great reputations as a fund-raiser. I think I have been chosen for this because I have worked with him the closest. In 1950 Joe was called upon to take a new job. The leadership of the UJA had left to undertake a new organization for the State of Israel and a great gap existed, a great void, and it was necessary for someone to come to the United States, assume the Executive Vice-Chairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal, for someone who had a name, for



someone who had the confidence, the respect and could command the following, and that great soldier, Joe Schwartz, with all the misgivings in the world, accepted.

In 1950 he came to this country to lead you and to lead me in the work of the United Jewish Appeal. These were trying years in fund-raising. The thrill was gone. There weren't any more Jews being killed. You couldn't talk about crematoria. It was old-fashioned. You had another type of investment program for Israel on the scene, a much needed one. You had a great pouring out of a feeling for local needs in a community that had been starved for local expansions. You had a splitting of manpower, you had a splitting of ideas, and even a little dissension. And in came a man, a former Rabbi, a humanitarian, to take on this type of job.

I know the plague of long speeches so I will spare you of the glorious details of four and a half years. I spare them to you because you can tell them to me. During those four and a half years the UJA grew in stature. The relations with the Jewish communities improved. Great new leadership came across

the scene. Joe Schwartz's inspirational talks, the great feelings which he expressed from coast to coast brought younger people, less tired people and he inspired the old people, with the result that I think we can look with pride upon the achievements of fund-raising in the UJA in the last four and a half years under the dynamic and spiritual leadership of Joe Schwartz.

In the midst of all this, during the most trying economic times for the State of Israel, he wasn't content just to rest with the UJA. Along came this idea approximately two years ago of a consolidation loan. In my opinion, much too little has been said, but the world at large put through the consolidation loan. You can rest assured that the people in Israel and their leaders, they know what it has done for them, and to you local leaders who worked so hard to help put this consolidation loan over the top, I think you know what it has done.

This was an extra duty, as always, by Joe, something that wasn't thought, but something which he couldn't turn down, because he knew that it was part of

an overall pattern and an overall program for the goal that I happened to think we are so close to reaching, and so in these four and a half years we have the picture of a 12-month campaign run by the gentleman at my left, and inspiring the people at the head table to work with him, and you people in front.

I suppose that this was enough to ask any normal human being, to give up his life, even for a cause, such as the noble one we are working for. So Joe asked for a sabbatical and at the end of last year it was granted to him. We knew we were fortunate in two things: We knew we had a new Chairman in the United Jewish Appeal who was going to give a tremendous amount of effort and work and lead us on. We knew we had in our midst a young man who could follow Joe and continue to give us the same dynamic and same spiritual leadership, and so we said to Joe, "O.K." And that is the way it stood until a few short months ago.

I don't intend to spend too much time describing those incidents. All I can say is that Joe was never mustered out. It wasn't possible. I spent probably two weeks, day and night. He could rightfully blame

me for the position he is in, at least partially, but I know Joe and I know he wouldn't be content to leave unless he knew it was right for him to leave, so today we are honoring Joe for the leadership that he has given us and also congratulating him upon the new position that he has taken and which I feel sure I have the right to say that in all the United States, Jewry is proud to follow him, and continue to give him the cooperation that he so justly deserves.

So, Joe, I think I have been very kind to you. There are so many, many things that I would like to say that I haven't. You haven't done my blood pressure any good. You haven't helped my family life, and God knows you haven't helped my business, and in your being kind enough to accept my help in your new position, I can't see where any changes are going to take place. I don't like to become facetious at the end of a salutation such as this, but I always have to say something during a speech that is wrong. So far I don't think I have, but it wouldn't be right.

I can only say to you, Joe, for the last few words, that if you will recall when we introduced you

and I had the honor of introducing Bill Rosenwald last December to a great audience, I said that I didn't expect to have any trouble whatsoever working with Bill. You all knew his capabilities. By now I am sure he has improved them and that it was going to be a cinch because Bill was an easy fellow to get along with if you just gave him his own way. (Laughter)

At this time I want to be able to say that, to me, Joe, you are the poor man's Rosenwald. (Laughter)

Therefore, at this time I want to say, on behalf of the staff of the Joint Distribution Committee, that loyal staff of which nobody could ever say enough about, on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of refugees that you led and rescued from Eastern Europe, on behalf of the Government of Israel, on behalf of the millions of people in Israel that your leadership has helped, on behalf of the staff of the UJA workers, on behalf of the lay people who have grown to love you, who have worked with you, who have followed you, on behalf of a great many Welfare Funds in the United States and that I think love you, a great many professionals, on behalf of all humanity, for everything you have done, we wish to

and a number of other countries. I remember their faces, I remember what we talked about.

I also know that with the exception of one or two, these people met their death in concentration camps and in extermination centers and are no longer among the living. I think that was the last Conference that took place in Europe with the representatives of the great Jewish Communities of Central Europe, and it was a Conference that was called for the purpose of discussing rescue.

There was a group of Jews stranded in the City of Bratislava, some 2,000 of them, prepared for illegal immigration to Palestine, and there wasn't the money to send them off, and there was a great danger that if there was too much delay, the Danube would freeze over and the people would not be able to leave, so time was of the essence, and every step had to be taken to insure the departure of those 2,000 people and perhaps prepare for additional transports to be sent on their way.

We worked out some plans. We did everything that we possibly could to mobilize the necessary funds

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thank you in a small way and show our appreciation by presenting to you this small desk set which I hope you will use in your new position, and when you do, that it will always make you mindful of the great life that God has given you.

(The audience arose and applauded.)

DR. SCHWARTZ: Mr. Chairman, Morris, dear friends, I am deeply grateful, of course, to Morris Berinstein, not only for all of the nice things that he said about me, but for the fact that he has in less than ten minutes talked to you today, because very frankly, I don't think I could speak more than ten minutes on this occasion.

This has been a wonderful Conference, a Conference of commemoration and memory does a great many tricks.

As I was sitting on the platform today, I tried to think back and discover from my memory what I was doing on June 5, 1940, and I remember very clearly that on June 5, 1940, I was attending a meeting in Budapest, a meeting at which were present the leaders of German Jewry, of Austrian Jewry, of the Jewish Community of Czechoslovakia, of the Jewish Communities of Yugoslavia

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in order to make it possible for these people to leave in time, but unfortunately there was delay. Some of it was unavoidable because of the war conditions that existed, some of it because the money was not available fast enough. Some of those people never did leave. One group left on the ill-fated Patria which came to Palestine, was turned back by the British and, in an act of desperation, these people chose to blow up their own ship and find a watery grave rather than to return to the torture of Hitler's Europe.

Another part of that group made its way to Yugoslavia, only to be overtaken some time later by Hitler's cohorts and to be put to death ruthlessly. That was June 5, 1940, and what a long way back that seems.

On June 10, 1940, we returned to Paris. General Troper and I were together, and we found Hitler at the gates of Paris, and the JDC had a momentous decision to make. Were we to stay or were we to leave? At that time I visited the American Embassy in Paris and met with the Councilor of the Embassy who at that time was Robert Murphy, now Under-Secretary of State, and I asked his advice as to whether we should stay or



leave. He said, "As American citizens you can stay and nothing will happen to you, but if you expect to go on working on behalf of Jews, you will not be able to continue with your work," and so we decided to leave.

On the 11th of June we, the staff of the JDC in Europe, became refugees like everybody else and we began a long journey to the relatively nearby City of Bordeaux which we hoped would remain a part of Free France. That journey which normally takes a couple of hours, took us more than three days and we tried frantically to get in touch with JDC Headquarters in New York. We sent cables which arrived at the JDC office a year and a year and a half later, and there we were on the roads as refugees, proceeding to Bordeaux, coming there, trying to establish an office and thinking that perhaps we could carry on with that work from our city in the South of France.

I remember some of the incidents that took place at that time. In retrospect they look amusing, but at the time, when looked at the faces of the people and you saw what was going on and you remembered the stories and saw what was on their tired, fatigued countenances,

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it wasn't amusing at all. I remember how on June the 11th, just before we left for Bordeaux, a Rabbi from Antwerp with a long red beard came into my office and he looked frightened and harried. He didn't know what to do. He wanted help, he wanted advice, he wanted a way of escape.

I asked him what happened to him. He said, "I am afraid to go out into the streets after what happened to me." And then he told me that he was on a train from Antwerp to Paris, fleeing before the Nazis, trying to get to the safety of democratic France, and he finally got through, but in the morning on the train he said, "Naturally, I put on my talles and t'fillum, and everybody on the train began to shout, 'Parachutist!'" (Laughter)

In retrospect that's funny, but if you had seen the look of fright on this man's face, you would have realized what was going on at that time.

The next years, of course, were years of frustration. We did some rescue, we brought some relief, we helped to keep people alive, but during the days of the war many more went to their deaths than could be

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saved, and I think that the greatest service that the JDC did in those years was by being on the spot and so many hundreds of people told me after it was all over, that the knowledge, the mere knowledge that they were American Jews on the European Continent who were present there was a source of great encouragement to them, because it meant that the Jews of America cared, that the Jews of America did not forget them in their time of need and in their days of stress, that there was a great Jewish community that was concerned with their well-being and with their future.

Then, of course, came those days of liberation about which you have heard so much in the past two sessions, stirring days, moving days. Nobody could have described them more movingly than Dr. Grinberg and Dr. Gringauz did this morning. And the curtain was lifted and the world was able to see in all of its horror the tragedy that had swept across Europe and particularly upon the decimated Jewish communities of that Continent.

As we went in and talked to the DP's and as we went into Eastern Europe and reestablished contact, living contact with the Jews of Poland, of Hungary, of

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Rumania, of Czechoslovakia, that remnant of Israel, we found in their faces and in their voices a determination that seemed to sweep across every one of those shattered communities -- that this must not happen again. Something must be done to make sure that this kind of a thing could never happen again.

When I came back to the United States in December of 1945 at this historic Conference to which Morris Berinstein referred, the Conference in Atlantic City which launched the first \$100,000,000 campaign, there again I found unuttered perhaps, but present, a determination on the faces of the people who were there not only to bring relief, help, aid, assistance, but also to make sure that it would never happen again, that it could never happen again, and I remember those trying days of 1945 until the establishment of the Jewish State, and as late as 1947 when I visited Germany and talked to our Country Director there in the American Zone, he took me out on the balcony overlooking one of the camps and he said to me, "You see these Jews in front of you? They represent the future Jewish community of Germany."

I looked at him in astonishment but he told

me these people had nowhere to go, they could not go back where they came from. The doors of Palestine were sealed, the British would not give in. The Americans could not help in time. They could not go elsewhere. These represented the future Jewish Community of Germany. But I had talked to the DP's and I had talked to the Jews of Eastern Europe and I had talked to the Jews of the United States, and through my mind kept running that theme: It must not happen again, and the only guarantee that this could not happen again was the establishment of the State of Israel and the finding of a home, a home for these homeless people.

When in 1948 that home was founded and established, we had a general exodus, not only from the camps but from many countries of Eastern Europe and from many of the Moslem countries.

Reference has been made to the fact that the establishment of the State of Israel is a monument to the six million Jews who perished. May I say that I think it must be more than a monument. It must be a guarantee that this thing can never happen again (applause), and that is the significance of the State of Israel.

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You know, as I listened to Dr. Grinberg, whom I have known, whom I have admired, whose qualities of heart and mind I have learned to appreciate over the years, as I listened to him he used an expression which impressed itself upon me. He said the people were looking for a place in addition to medical assistance and help of all kinds. They wanted a place, and it seemed to me that in the Hebrew language there are many words and many expressions for the deity, all kinds of names for the Divine being. There is one that always struck me as strange and that is, the term <sup>Ha Makom</sup> Hamigdoem. The place is the name of God.

To those people in Germany it certainly had a Divine ring, and this place which we are building, this home is not just a new territory. It is not just a new political entity. It is not just a monument. It is a place which is important, because in addition to everything else, it has a deep spiritual role to play and is in harmony with the Divine pattern. That is the significance of this name of God which we pronounce upon the soil of Israel, which is a place and yet more than a place, something that is important to the preservation

of everything that is dear and holy to us in our long history.

We Jews have always been a people that has looked backward and forward. Tradition has always played a very important part in our lives, but tradition-bound as we have been, we have always glimpsed at the future, we have always looked forward, we have always looked ahead, to the Messianic age.

And now too, in these days when we are commemorating this great historic episode of liberation, we must not only look back upon everything that happened, but we must at the same time look forward to see to it that that edifice which we have started to build is completed, that that work which we have undertaken with so much dedication in 1945 is continued without interruption, until it is brought to a successful conclusion, that that place upon which we put so much hope and so much of ourselves and our souls, that that place become really a place where the Divine will, the Divine will with respect to the future and the survival of His people will be carried out to the full.

When we are looking back, I know we also look

forward and I know that same determination that swept across us in 1945, that it shall not happen again, will continue to drive us, all of us, until the job is brought to a full and successful conclusion.

For whatever part I have had in this effort, I am deeply grateful. I am grateful to the Jews of America and to the JDC which gave me this opportunity to serve. I am grateful to the American Jewish community which had the confidence to take me and give me this opportunity of serving in the UJA, and I am grateful to the Jews of the United States and to the people in Israel for having placed this additional burden upon me, which I hope with your help is a burden that can be lightened, and finally, I am deeply grateful to all of you in this room and to my dear friends around this table for this token of friendship with which they have presented me. Everything around these sessions deals in symbols and I suppose it is symbolic that almost everybody received a lamp, but I received a desk set. It means that I am expected to continue to work and I look forward to the fact that you will work along with me. Thank you.

(The audience arose and applauded.)



CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you, Dr. Schwartz.

This really has been a most inspiring morning  
and I am sure we will all gain by it.

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(The session adjourned at 12:50 p.m.)



SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



Sheraton Park Hotel  
Washington, D.C.

June 5, 1955

ABALON STENOTYPE REPORTERS  
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Luckman

Mrs. Halprin  
Mrs. H. Horne  
W. Rosenwald  
H. Friedman



The Sunday afternoon session of the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 2:15 p.m. in the Sheraton Hall of the Sheraton Park Hotel, Washington, D.C. on June 5, 1955, Mr. Sol Luckman presiding.

CHAIRMAN LUCKMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, this is the closing session of our conference and I think I can promise you that although this is the last, it will not be the least.

This has been, thus far, one of the most stimulating and memorable gatherings in the history of the United Jewish Appeal. Those of you who attended the session this morning, I am sure, were as thrilled as I was. I think we will all remember it as one of the great landmarks in our 17 years of concerted effort.

We have heard a great many speeches this weekend and I know that much of what has been said will stay with us to inspire us long after we have returned to our homes.

At this time I would like to make an announcement to you to the effect that with the \$31,296,000 in cash in the first five months of this year's campaign, of

which \$5,500,000 came forward here today, at the concluding session of the conference the UJA has now passed the one billion dollar mark (applause) and has reached the staggering total of \$1,015,000,000, but we have yet to hear from a number of our most eloquent supporters; among them our wonderful General Chairman, our new Executive Vice-Chairman, and two of the most charming and intelligent women in the United States.

I should like to introduce our first speaker of the afternoon, Mrs. Rose Halprin, the former National President of Hadassah, and today Acting Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. We have been commemorating a decade of service to humanity, but Mrs. Halprin has been dedicating her intelligence and her energies to the welfare of Jews in other lands for more than two decades. She has been to Israel many times. She has taken part in many historic conferences. She is Chairman of the Zionist Affairs Committee of Hadassah and a member of its National Board. She has much to say and she says it well. I know you will all be pleased to hear from Mrs. Halprin now. (Applause)

MRS. HALPRIN: Actually, when I was invited to

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speaking this afternoon, I was told to bring the greetings of the Jewish Agency to you, but as I listened to you this morning and as I face you now, men and women in communities who are leaders and workers, knowing you as I do, people who have taken on themselves voluntarily the great tasks that you have, people who have not been afraid to push history a little bit to make it go faster, I don't want to bring you greetings. I want to spend the few moments at my disposal in reminiscing about the things that you and we together are doing in Israel.

I was there only a few months ago for a series of meetings there, and when we have meetings there they are like meetings here. You sit all day and you sit all night, and at the end I did what I always do. I took two days to see the country, and before I did that, I spoke to Josephthal and I said, "Look, Giora, is there anything that is happening today or tomorrow that I really ought to see," and he said, "Yes, there is a ship coming in and there is a group of people who are going to go from ship to land in the new program of colonization and absorption." And he said, "You go down to the south, the district of Lakeech (?), and see these people come in. Don't

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go to the ship, go to the reception point," and so I did.

I went down and waited there. The houses were prepared, standing, waiting, wooden houses, simple houses, but average houses with a bit of furniture, food for a couple of days, sanitary arrangements not far from the houses, a central store, and as we waited the trucks and the buses began to come in, bringing the people. Well, I did what we all do -- went in with some of the families and began to ask the usual questions, "Where do you come from, have you a trade, how is it." This first family, -- a young man who had a trade, wife, two children, nursing baby and a little fellow of two years old and a mother -- when I asked him, he said, "Everything is fine," and then I didn't know whether to laugh or cry after he spoke next. He said, "You know, I have one thing I want to ask you. You see my little son of two? I want to know -- have you a kindergarten prepared?"

I thought to myself, a kindergarten! Did you have a kindergarten where you came from for a child of two? But then I thought, this man has come home to the land of his fathers. He has come to the land where his children will grow up and his children's children will be born

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and live and contribute. This man has asked for a kindergarten because he has and there is the labor of his hands to bring it to pass. This man will have it and his children will have it, and it was right that he asked us, as he landed on his first day in Israel, "Have you a kindergarten for my child?"

Well, I stood there and I thought back, and I am sure every man at this table and certainly many men and women in this audience could do as I did -- let my mind go back first to 1949, the winter of 1949, when Operation Magic Carpet started, and I went up to the tent city where the Yemenites had been brought -- 10,000, 15,000 people in tents in the winter rains, in the mud and dirt, and I thought of those in the tent cities, a blot upon the landscape, a strain on the immigrants, and a dreadful drain on the economy of Israel. There had been no time. 1948 was the year of war and 1949 brought the large immigration, and Israel opened its gates and had no plan, but it had a great heroic conception of its role and of history's promise to it, and so we took these people in, but I remember the years that followed, as many of you remember them, and the little huts of aluminum and



canvas, and then the ma'abarot that went up, the work villages, better than tents, not yet permanent housing, and then people beginning to go into permanent homes, on permanent settlements.

I thought of a day I spent in Ramleh on the way to Lydda, the very early days. I went to see the (?) office. We found two of our men in the back of the rooms. They had been beaten up, and when we went out, there was a line, men and women, and you heard one refrain: "Is there work? We want work!" And there was no work in those years. That was the beginning, but I go through Ramleh every year now since then, a flourishing town with some industry and work, but in <sup>Chararit</sup> Hakoveet (?), the man who asked me about the kindergarten for his child, knew that on the day following work was waiting.

For this now is the new plan, a new plan worked out with vision, a new plan that came from experience, a new plan that came out of anguish, and things that were done that were wasteful and that should not perhaps have been done -- a new plan, a wonderful plan on paper unless -- I can tell you that these people are not being given houses only for themselves, but the settlement has a plan,

for the settlement is to grow agricultural produce for industry, cotton and peanuts and things that can go into industry and save dollars and make dollars, and the settlements will be the rim, the wheel, and in the middle will be the hub, and there will be little towns with industries to take this produce, and so industry and agriculture will be meshed. But I know that every day the men in the Agency and the men in government say a silent prayer, "God help us not to come back to the tents, God help us not to come back to the ma'abarot and the aluminum huts, hot in summer and freezing in winter, God help us to do this thing right as we had planned it, to give dignity to those who come and good to the people who receive them and of whom they will become a part."

Now I can say a greeting to you, for this is what we have done together, and these are the problems that we face together. I say to you, blessed is the work of your hands. We are a generation that have witnessed the greatest revolutionary event in Jewish history in 2,000 years, but we are a generation that has been given opportunity and have challenge thrown into our faces too -- both. So I say, God give us bigness of heart and of spirit

and of mind. so that we shall be able to do the deed that shall match the challenge, the opportunity and the promise.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN LUCKMAN: Our next speaker is another one of those wonderful women associated with our organization who has accepted the challenge of leadership, and continues to devote herself untiringly to the most exacting and responsible tasks. Mrs. Horne as the National Chairman of our UJA Women's Division brings to her work a wide knowledge and experience as a traveler in Europe, North Africa and Israel. Mrs. Horne has been with the United Jewish Appeal from the very time of its formation. She has worked without letup, but she doesn't show it, and I have never heard her complain.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am proud to present the National Chairman of the Women's Division of the UJA, Mrs. Hal Horne. (Applause)

MRS. HORNE: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. It is my very great pleasure that I am a Chairman ten years from liberation. There is so much that women have done, and if you will, we also have many things we must not forget. This is ten years of UJA Women's Division.

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May I take you back a much longer time, 300 years ago in our history, when 23 tired, broken people came to this shore and asked for asylum? They came on a French ship of war that had picked them up after they had been abandoned, a ship that was attacked by pirates. They came here and the kind of welcome they received was a very bad one. As a matter of fact, if they had not had the tenacity, maybe many of us might never have lived in this glorious country. They made it their business to stay. They stood their ground, and after a while they were permitted to stay, but with one great admonition. They were told by Peter Stuyvesant that always, always they must take care of their own, and you and I know how they have lived up to the promise they made him.

We have always taken care of our own, not only in this country but wherever a Jew needed help, in any part of the world. That is the proud thing they left us, and to the Americans who didn't know very much about our background, I think it is wonderful that they now know what we have done, that they feel as Americans, it is wonderful what we have done, and they now know that we have a glorious heritage, that we are Americans, and they

know that we have a love for Israel which will go on forever, and they are proud of us for it as we are proud of ourselves.

Not very long ago I had the privilege of going to Jerusalem with a proxy from the sainted Dr. Einstein. I was privileged to vote for him at a meeting of the University in Jerusalem. I spoke to him in Princeton many times and I met with him in New York, and for you people sitting here today, may I tell you that he had a love for you in his heart such as it would be hard for me to describe, because you were Jews, you had suffered with your fellow men. He knew that you had such an understanding, and because of that, the love in his heart was something indescribable.

What came out of his brain belonged to the world. His heart belonged to you, and there were two things that made him very unhappy in the latter years of his life. One was, that despite the fact that he was made a citizen by a special act of Congress, he was once again in this great country of ours, a second-class citizen, something he thought would never happen again, and last night you heard from Senator Lehman and how he is opposing the

MacCarran-Walter Act so that we shall not have second-class citizens.

The other unhappy thought he had was that this thing which had come out of his brain was being used only for destructive purposes, and I hope that in his memory the day will come very soon when peaceful purposes will be what that creative talent went for.

We in the Women's Division have done many things, and lest we forget, in Casablanca I saw them, all through North Africa -- children are looking into the light as I am looking into it now, because you made it possible. That plus giving, that is what it is. You cured their little heads, you fed them, you send them to a kindergarten even when they were two years old, if they were lucky enough to have been chosen to go. But, my friends, so many, so very many are still waiting.

When you give your gift, if you have a fall campaign, try to give a little more. If you have already given, think of some child who needs your help so much, and may I say to every woman here, you have done a very good job, you have been loyal, you have been thoughtful, you have been faithful, and I thank you so very much for

everything that you have done and everything that you will continue to do. Thank you. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN LUCKMAN: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like to ask Mr. and Mrs. Israel Friedman and their daughter-in-law, Elaine, to rise and take a bow. (Applause)

I should now like to turn this session over to our wonderful General Chairman, Bill Rosenwald. I am sure it would be superfluous in this gathering for me to introduce you to this gentleman. I cannot conceive of the United Jewish Appeal without him. It seems to me he has always been there to give advice, counsel, leadership, direction and courage. He has been with us from the very beginning, one might even say before the beginning, before there could be a UJA there had to be a William Rosenwald to turn the good intentions of the American Jewish community into a functioning instrument of humanitarian achievement.

Ladies and gentlemen, the General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, William Rosenwald. (Applause)

MR. ROSENWALD: Sol, thanks very much for that much too kind introduction.

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You know, among the government agencies here in Washington a lot of odd things happen. The other day one of them sent a questionnaire to a reference who had been named by a man who sought a position. One of the questions they asked was, "Why do you think that the applicant wants to come with this agency?" The answer read, "I think he needs the money and I don't think that he knows what he is getting into." (Laughter)

Now, I am happy to tell you that on both counts, in the case of our new Executive Vice-Chairman, just the opposite prevails. He certainly isn't coming with us out of need, because since he was ordained by the Hebrew College, the Jewish Institute of Religion in 1943, he has been one of the most sought after rabbis in this country. His first position was with Temple Emanuel in Denver, then Congregation Emanuel B'nai Jeshurun in Milwaukee made him such an extremely attractive proposition that he couldn't possibly turn it down, devoted as he was to the people in Denver and they to him, and he moved to Milwaukee a couple of years ago.

Now, I can tell you for a fact, I know it, that it is at considerable personal sacrifice on the part of



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himself and his family and on the part of the leaders and members of his congregation who acquiesced in his leaving, that he <sup>is</sup> coming to us, and I would like to thank all of them not only for that sacrifice, but also for the additional sacrifice they made in enabling him to come earlier which, as you know, is required by Joe Schwartz' going over to the Bond Drive.

It seems to me, though, that any personal sacrifice that was involved is much smaller than the fact that this young man who had already become one of the great spiritual leaders of this country, was willing to give up his affiliation with an important synagogue in order to come with us, and I can't imagine any greater tribute to the wonderful ideals of the United Jewish Appeal than that fact.

Now, reverting to my opening anecdote, the other part of it, I can assure you that our new director cannot plead that he didn't know what he was getting into, because we all remember -- and it was referred to last night -- his inspiring talk to us in Wernersville at the comparable meeting. It was just eight years ago, and he has known of us from many other aspects even before then.

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Just after the war in 1945, we were sitting in Atlantic City, planning our first \$100,000,000 campaign. He was already in Berlin. He was organizing, helping to organize the flow of refugees from Poland into the American-occupied zone, helping to organize displaced persons' camps in which they could be housed and taken care of. While he was there he arranged for the then Commander General Lucius Clay and his counsel, Robert Murphy, to participate in the first Yiskor services after the war in Germany and Berlin, and did many other things to help further understanding of the problem among all that were responsible.

Later he was stationed in Frankfort, continued his work there, helped to organize the flow of refugees, you may recall, from Poland, through Vienna into Germany. Among other things, there had to be a chaplain on each train, and in these ways he became familiar with our work in the field.

He is also very familiar with Israel. When I was there in 1951 I met him there, heading a group of rabbis. Even before that he attended the Jerusalem Conference in 1950 which eventuated in the Bond Drive, and

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he was again, as a representative of the United Jewish Appeal, at the Jerusalem Conference in 1953 from which flowed the consolidation loan. So you can see that he has a good familiarity with our work.

He also knows our campaign very well, because he has traveled all through this country making speeches for us. He has participated in our national deliberations for many years as a member of our Cabinet, and in the last two years he has not only spoken himself but inspired others to speak, in his capacity as National Chairman of our Speakers Bureau, even going to Israel to select and enlist speakers over there.

I think it is quite striking that at the age of 37 he is the youngest person to head our campaign. He shows a wisdom far beyond his years, and we already know his fine personality, his contagious enthusiasm and his great talent of presentation.

Now, I have tried to confine myself to the facts, because this morning I received a note from him, asking that I make this presentation severe and austere, and I have tried to comply with that request, and I am going to close this portion of it with one more fact: a cablegram

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that I received from the Prime Minister of Israel, sending best wishes to our new Executive Vice-Chairman, and in closing, and I quote: "To know Herbert Friedman is to know that the UJA has in him a devoted, able and inspiring man, whose work is guided by an encompassing knowledge of Jewish affairs and by a passionate responsibility for the welfare of the Jewish people. Looking forward to cooperation with Rabbi Friedman and of his forthcoming visit to Israel, my warm regards to all associated with you in the magnificent work of the UJA, signed, Moshe Sharett."

Now I have done what I have been asked to do. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to tell you how I really feel. I want to tell you that there is nothing as important in Jewish life as the United Jewish Appeal. There are many other important organizations locally, nationally, even internationally. I am proud to be affiliated with them, but for the Jewish life of this country and for the Jewish life of the world, nothing compares with the United Jewish Appeal. I have often asked myself why. In the life of people overseas I can understand, but why is it so important in the life of this country? Not

only for the people in this room, and I think it is because whether a Jew admits it or not, he cannot escape the feeling whenever he hears of what is happening to the people, whether it be behind the Iron Curtain or in North Africa, Egypt, today, and other places in past years, he cannot help but feel that, "There but for the grace of God, go I," and with that kind of responsibility, I don't mind telling you that that, trying to find some person to replace Joe Schwartz -- and you all know the magnificent job Joe has done, you heard about it this morning and you all know that it was at his request that somebody else was sought -- in trying to find somebody to replace Joe Schwartz, it is a pretty terrifying responsibility.

I can tell you, not that we are lucky, but the Jews of the world are lucky, that at this crucial moment we were able to find and to enlist a man who combines the sincerity, the background, the talents and the knowledge of our new head. I want you to know that all of us cannot help but appreciate from the very bottoms of our hearts all that he is giving up in order to come with us, and we all know that there is only one real way for us to

show that appreciation, and that is, by giving him our wholehearted support every day in the year and in every respect, and it is for that reason that I think it is a unique privilege to be able here and now, on behalf of the officers, the Cabinet members and the leaders of the United Jewish Appeal and of its campaigns throughout the country, to pledge just that kind of support to our own Herbert Friedman. (Applause)

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RABBI FRIEDMAN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, when Mr. Rosenwald said that I knew what I was getting into, he was right. In the course of six days in office I have put one year on my life. I am really 36.

I am glad to be getting into this and to be put into this by his hands. The General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal is a person who sits at the summit of Jewish life in America, and for us to know that we have one such as he is a strong and courageous and reassuring thought. The knowledge that he is as he is, with strength and conviction, gives all of us who put our lives and shoulders to this wheel, the firm feeling that we are under the captaincy of a man who is himself knowledgably involved in what he himself knows to be the major enterprise in American Jewish philanthropy. To have been installed in this office by him is something which I shall not forget.

He was not severe and austere. He was tender and gentle, and I appreciate what he said.

This has been a time of reminiscence. This morning Dr. Grinberg, Dr. Gingauz, who in their persons exemplify history, spoke with such moving and human warmth,

that the almost impossible thing was accomplished. We spanned time and space and we went back ten years. When they were through, Dr. Schwartz spoke of the record, and in speaking of that record we all thrilled quietly, deeply and thoroughly to our insides as we moved with him from place to place, from year to year.

I have nothing of this to report. My period of service compared to that which has been presented to this date is short. My services are paltry compared to what we heard this morning when, I think, the climax of our conference was reached.

Ten years ago, Mr. Rosenwald said, I was in Berlin. He mentioned my father. An act of faith took place then. Ten years ago my father was shipping to me in Berlin large quantities of cigarettes without any knowledge at all of the purpose for which they were to be used. He was reading interesting bits of information in the American press that cigarettes were selling in Berlin at <sup>A 150</sup>~~\$1.50~~ a carton and he wondered why he was making me a millionaire so quickly. He must have had qualms for the moment, wondering whether all of the moral training which he had sought to give to me was disappearing under the



corruptive influences of the black market. Those cigarettes, in that fascinating and peculiar economy, were buying people through the then border town of Stettin, but these are small things compared to what others have done.

The big things, I feel, are yet to come, and the challenge has been given to me to join the goodly company of those who have carried history on their shoulders. With reverence I pick up the mantle of my predecessor. It may have been terrifying to try to find a successor to him, but being the one found is even more terrifying, because to try to live in the lengthened shadow of his accomplishments is no easy thing. He is a noble man, working in a noble cause, and I can only pose a question which I pose to myself, that influenced as I was by his years of service, there was almost no other thing a young Jew of today could want to do than to continue to live and work in that tradition.

I should like to try to bring this message to the young Jews of our country, try to explain to them the meaning of the 17 years, of the existence of the United Jewish Appeal, the billion dollars that wonderful Sol Luckman talked about, the two and a half million people

helped, the million people resettled. I don't know if our generation understands the meaning of a million people resettled in 17 years. Perhaps nobody can understand it. Perhaps the best way to understand it is the way Mrs. Halprin tried to tell it to us just now. Go to Haraveet and from Haraveet go to Lakeech, and don't try to see a million people. Try to see two or six or twelve.

The two who were here this morning and grace our dais now were of the group resettled -- that awful, bureaucratic word -- ten years ago. There is a large group waiting to be resettled today. From the mountains of the Sahara they must be brought to the mountains of Judea. Think of them not in terms of a quarter of a million Jews in Morocco. No one can understand that. Think in terms of the people in the village of Lakeech, eighty houses, arguments as to who shall live in which house, and families wanting to be placed together because they have been separated too long.

The United Jewish Appeal has had a record of standing at historic moments and assuming historic tasks, a task for which no one asked, but a task which is undeniably that of this year and next is this task of French

North Africa. These people will come from all over the fastnesses of the Atlas Mountains. They will come from all over the squalor of the Casablanca mellah. They will come because there is an urge on their part to be re-settled.

Look, this is a difficult and delicate matter. We would not want to say one word nor express one thought which would in any measure indicate lack of confidence in the French who govern that land. They do what they can, they have done what they can. They are one of the chief governments lending friendly aid and support to the land of Israel, with a record of help to the people of Israel, and there should be no deed or gesture of ours which would embarrass them. Yet at the same time we must understand that in the crushing dynamics of the way history is evolving, the Jewish people in Morocco is caught between the rising tide of Arab nationalism and the often futile efforts of the French to protect them.

There are no pogroms there such as we described of ten years ago, but there is insecurity, there is economic fear, there is terrorism to such an extent that safety of life and limb is no longer guaranteed. We need

not be extremists to understand that emigration from Morocco to Israel is a matter which is now not to be stopped either by the analysis of any single American Jewish organization which might feel that the Jews should remain there, or the comments of any single American Congressman who feels that the Jews should remain there.

History has its own dynamics and the Jews are starting to leave there. The role of the United Jewish Appeal is to stand at the side of any man or woman who says that he wants to or needs to go to Israel. There we shall resettle all who ask.

What of this Israel to which they go? I can only say this: this gallant, often beleaguered nation, has, without one moment's hesitation, taken every single person who knocked at her doors. This Israel has problems which are continuous. This Israel cannot depend upon a sporadic or erratic response from us. If the problems are continuous, our response must be continuous. It is the height of immaturity, it is the height of irresponsibility, to make one or two gigantic spurts of response at one or two peak years, and then to sbugh off the job undone, partially done, done well up to an extent,

but by far, not done. This kind of irresponsibility and this kind of immaturity is certainly not worthy of us.

If the record of service of 17 years has any meaning at all, it means that there is within it the seed of 17 more, should that be necessary, and pray God it will not be. The problems of Israel are continuous. There is no peace, there is no war. Some say war would be preferable because that at least is a settled state of affairs. No peace, no war, is exactly that uncertain, restless, insecure, psychologically nervous condition in which a country can be worn down by attrition, and a supporting people on the side, such as we profess to be, can also be worn down by attrition.

Let this happen in neither case. Let not the people or the Government of Israel in the land of Israel, let not the people of Israel outside of the land of Israel ever be worn down by attrition due to unsettled nervousness, insecure understanding of the present.

The present is neither war nor peace. We understand that full well. International affairs are the same. What is a cold war? So we will go on day by day and year by year, building settlements on the borders that

will create stability, flinging pipe across the land that will bring water, and water brings life. We will build houses and sit people at the tables in the houses, whether the question of war or peace be settled.

There is a beautiful custom among the medieval rabbis in France. It was the custom in those days in the <sup>p</sup>rovince for the rabbis to study at long tables, and when they died, to arrange that those very tables be fashioned into their coffins, so that the tables at which they studied would be the coffins in which they would be buried. This was their immortality, this was their resistance to death.

I should like us to reverse this procedure. I should like us to fashion tables to put in the houses for our children of the future, out of the coffins of the martyred dead of our past. This means tables for eating and tables at which children shall study and tables at which young men shall build their workbenches. Each generation has two responsibilities -- its predecessor and its successor. Our predecessor generation has gone to its coffins. Our successor generation shall go to its tables to live and work and eat and love in peace, and by

their side for such time as shall be necessary will stand what Mr. Eban called last night, this pious and devoted fraternity, this UJA from whose constituent strength shall flow the love and the emotion and the life which will keep the people of Israel and the land of Israel eternal and timeless and forever surviving.

So shall it be, with your will. Thank you very much. (The audience arose and applauded)

CHAIRMAN LUCKMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, with this thrilling message I now close this conference.

(The conference adjourned at 3:05 p.m.)

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וכל אלה יעקב ישראל