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National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal [New York,
N.Y.]. November-December 1955.

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

November 23, 1955

TENTATIVE PROGRAM
DECEMBER 16 & 17 CONFERENCE



Friday, December 16

10:00 a.m.—Cabinet Meeting

*Hatzkora
Star Spangled*

12:30 p.m.—Luncheon

WR

Presiding ~~Edward M. M. Warburg~~

Invocation

Lighting of Chanukah lights

X Presentation of Budgets—~~Maxine Greenstein~~

Stone

Discussion

X Appointment of Nominating Committee

Address on Israel—Ehud Avriel

Address—Herman Wouk

Saturday, December 17

Morning—Free
Winnipeg

Board & Members meeting — Sat. Am.

2:00 p.m.—Steering Committee

Presiding—? *Milton Kahn*

- ①
- ③

Campaign Report on 1955 — Holzman
Relationship between Special Fund and regular 1956 campaign

M.B.

~~Off the Record Report by Eban~~

- ②

Appointment of Resolutions Committee

6:00 p.m.—Cocktails

Goldmann

6:30 p.m.—Banquet

Emmu

Presiding—William Rosenwald

Lighting of Chanukah candles

BUSINESS SESSION

- 10 - 1. Report of Resolutions *Luckman*
- 10 - 2. Report of Nominating Committee
3. Installation of New Officers
- 5 - a. Suitable presentation to Daroff
- b. Suitable presentation to Mrs. Horne
- c. Suitable ~~recommendation~~ welcome to
Meyerhoff, Forman, Mrs. Newman
- 10 - 4. Announcement of General Chairman
5. Report by Special Fund Chairman

GENERAL SESSION

1. Address--Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
2. Address--Mrs. Golda Myerson

ba

Brediston

November 7, 1955

NOTE FOR FILE--ANNUAL MEETING, DECEMBER 16

At a meeting with Rabbi Friedman and Arthur Fishzohn on November 2, the following tentative details were agreed upon:

Friday, December 16

1. Mr. Morris Berinstein or Rabbi Friedman to present the budgets.
2. No panel.
3. Herman Wouk has agreed to be the main speaker at the luncheon meeting.
4. No Friday night Service.

Saturday, Evening


1. Abe Harman
2. Abba Hillel Silver told Rabbi Friedman he would love to speak, but he has an appointment to address a PEC conference in New York on November 12, and he felt it wouldn't do to speak in New York twice in eight days. Rabbi Silver said that if we could get the PEC to release him on November 12, he would speak at our meeting. We contacted the PEC (Mr. Warburg), and they will not release Rabbi Silver from his commitment. Rabbi Friedman is to contact Rabbi Silver.
3. A reading was planned for Saturday night, but it was subsequently decided that there be none.

Sunday, Morning

1. 9:30 or 10 a.m. breakfast (brunch) Abba Eban.
2. Questions and discussions from the floor.
3. Nahum Goldman.
4. This meeting to end at about one o'clock.

MSG:ba

cc: Messrs. L. Bennett
A. Fishzohn
I. Jacobs
R. Levy
W. Weinberg



November 21, 1955

ROUGH AND TENTATIVE PLANS FOR DECEMBER CONFERENCE

Friday, December 16--Luncheon

Chairman--Mr. Warburg

Presentation of Budgets--Rabbi Friedman

Appointment of Resolutions Committee--Herman Wouk

Saturday, December 17, Breakfast

Ehud Avriel

10:00 a.m.--Cabinet meeting

2:00 p.m.--Steering Committee--Milton Kahn, Chairman

Adoption of Resolutions

Appointment of Nominating Committee

6:30 p.m.--Dinner

William Rosenwald--Chairman

Report on Status of Special Fund by Joseph Mazer

Rabbi Friedman

Golda Myerson

Election and installation of officers

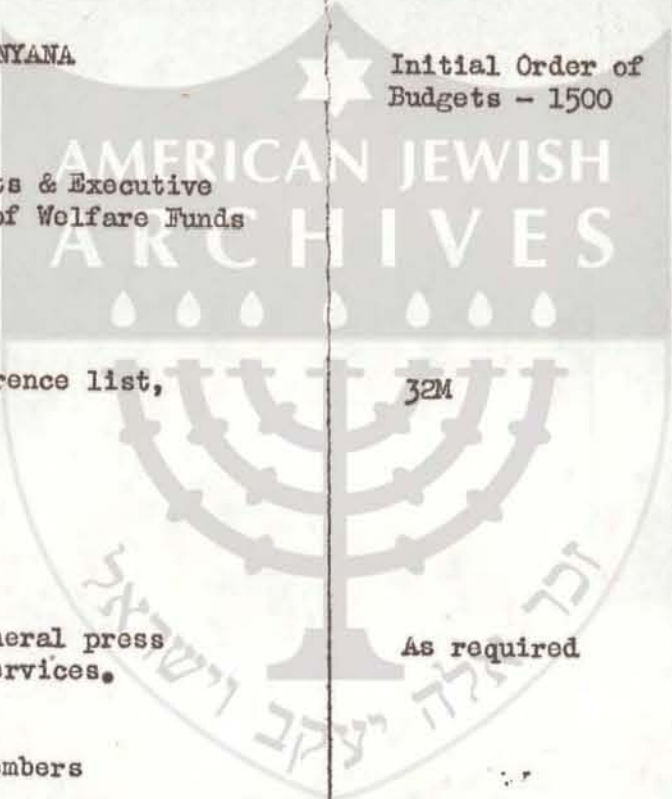
MSG:ba

*No good
superseded by later set up.*

MSG

ANNUAL CONFERENCE PRODUCTION CALENDAR
DECEMBER 16, 17, 18, 1955

DATE	ITEM	TO	QUANTITY	ASSIGNMENT		REMARKS
				PREPARATION	REVIEW	
November 15	Begin production of conference badges, slogans, backdrops, displays.		1500 Conference Badges	Publicity	LLB	
15	Request for Budgetary Material.	UIA, JDC, NYANA	Initial Order of Budgets - 1500	Publicity	HAF	
15	Letter from WR requesting designation of Steering Committee delegates.	1-Presidents & Executive Directors of Welfare Funds (by JP). 2-CJWF		LLB	WR	CC: Field; follow-up by Asst. Field Directors
17	Initial printed invitation.	Full Conference list, incl. NYC	32M	Publicity	LLB	
18	First release to Anglo-Jewish press. (One each Friday thereafter)	250 papers		Publicity	LLB	
21	First News release re Annual Meeting (National and Local)	All key general press and wire services.	As required	Publicity	HAF	
21	Letter from Sam Daroff: 1-Report on Special Fund; 2-Annual Meeting & Cabinet Meeting	Cabinet Members		Publicity	LLB	CC: Field and office
21	Letter from Joseph Holtzman: 1-Report on Special Fund; 2-Annual Meeting.	Regional Officers		HG Publicity	LLB	CC: Field and office



2

DATE	ITEM	TO	QUANTITY	ASSIGNMENT		REMARKS
				PREPARATION	REVIEW	
November 21	Letter from Sol Luckman: Cash balances & reference to Annual Meeting. (Arrange with Luckman to fix 12/5 for cash calls. Notify National Officers).	WF Presidents & Executive Directors &/or Chairmen.		MB	LLB	CC: Field. Follow-up by Asst. Field Directors.
21	Letter from Mrs. Horne re return of Women's Division Delegation and reference to Annual Meeting.	Women's Division officers, National & Local.		JCS	Mrs. Horne	
21	Initial letter requesting press coverage.	Editors of NY Metropolitan dailies, wire services, Yiddish dailies, English-Jewish press, Israeli correspondents, NY correspondents of leading out-of-town dailies, photo editors, selected magazines, etc.	As required	Publicity		
23	Letter from WR -- inviting to Annual Meeting.	Acceptances to JDC Annual Meeting.		DM	WR	CC: Field; Follow-up by Asst. Field Director
28	Letter from WR & HAF re Study Mission Report at Annual Meeting.	WF Presidents & Executive Directors &/or Chairmen.		Publicity	HAF	CC: Field
28	Second Invitation-Flyer-Feature: Principal Speakers, Report of Study Mission.	Conference list.	As required	Publicity	HAF	

ASSIGNMENT

DATE	ITEM	TO	QUANTITY	PREPARATION	REVIEW	REMARKS
November 28	Letter from HAF-Follow-up re Steering Committee Delegates.	Executive Directors	As required	LLB	HAF	CC: Field; follow-up by Asst. Field Directors.
28	Circular memo from Z. Baumgold	Labor Zionist Organizations		Baumgold	LLB	CC: Field
28	Letter from HAF	Delegates at large	Selected list	LLB	HAF	CC: Appropriate Asst. Field Directors.
28	Letter of invitation from HAF.	Israeli and other organization officials.	Selected List	LLB	HAF	
December 5	Final invitation - Cards.	Conference list.	As required	Publicity	HAF	
5	Budgetary Material.	All Acceptances (Expect NYC) Executive Directors		Publicity	HAF	CC: Field
5	Cash Calls to be made by National Officers.	Selected communities		MB		
5	Letter from Daroff re Cabinet Meeting - follow-up.	National Campaign Cabinet		Publicity	LLB	
5	Study Mission Report to printer - have ready for distribution at Annual Mtg.		IM?	Publicity	HAF	
5	Tickets, Programs, etc. to printer			Publicity	HAF	

DATE	ITEM	TO	QUANTITY	ASSIGNMENT		REMARKS
				PREPARATION	REVIEW	
December 5	Seek concentrated publicity in New York area re Annual Meeting- Press, radio, TV, etc.			Publicity	HAF	



Stadell 11/16/55

FC
in Annual Conference
file.



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FC/MS

Dear Herb:

I thought you'd be
intellect in Mr. Barwald's
comment on the invitation. He
is sensitive too. I did not
put him up to it.

Yours
Muel

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְיָ עֻקְבָּנוּ
יִשְׂרָאֵל

In this historic hour

The Officers



most earnestly invite your participation

in the

ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN JEWISH
of the
ARCHIVES
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

*to set the stage for American Jewry's
fullest response to the UJA's
18th nationwide campaign*

*to help the beleaguered and threatened people
of Israel keep their gates open to
oppressed and endangered Jews*

*to speed the emigration to Israel of Jews from
turbulent North Africa*

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 17, 1955

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dietary laws observed

Please respond on enclosed card

*Not a
word about
JDC
other
activities*

*11
1955*

PROGRAM



ANNUAL
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
NATIONAL
CONFERENCE
of the
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

DECEMBER 16-17, 1955

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY



Program



AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
ANNUAL

NATIONAL CONFERENCE
of the
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

on behalf of

United Israel Appeal, Joint Distribution Committee
New York Association for New Americans

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 17, 1955

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

National Campaign Cabinet

10:00 A.M.

PERROQUET SUITE

SAMUEL H. DAROFF

Chairman, National Campaign Cabinet, United Jewish Appeal

PRESIDING

*

Opening Plenary Session

12:30 P.M. LUNCHEON SERT ROOM

JACK D. WEILER

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

PRESIDING

INVOCATION

Opening Remarks

WILLIAM ROSENWALD

General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

HERMAN WOUK

Pulitzer Prize-Winning Novelist

Crisis and Challenge — A Call to Responsibility

DEWEY D. STONE

National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

DISCUSSION

BENEDICTION

*

FRIDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 16

There is no general session scheduled for Friday evening.
The following synagogues in the general vicinity of the
Waldorf-Astoria invite the delegates to attend services.

Reform

CENTRAL SYNAGOGUE
Lexington Avenue at 55th Street
Rabbi Jonah B. Wise

TEMPLE EMANU-EL
Fifth Avenue at 65th Street
Rabbi Julius Mark

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

Conservative
PARK AVENUE SYNAGOGUE
50 East 87th Street
Rabbi Simon Noveck

Orthodox

EAST 51st STREET SYNAGOGUE
221 East 51st Street
Rabbi David Kahane

CONGREGATION KEHILATH JESHURUN
125 East 85th Street
Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein

*

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, DECEMBER 17

The Conference will not resume formally until 6:30 P.M.
Informal meetings will be held as follows:

*National Women's Division
ONEG SHABBAT*

12:15 P.M. ASSEMBLY SUITE

LUNCHEON

MRS. HAL HORNE
Chairman, National Women's Division, United Jewish Appeal
PRESIDING

The Steering Committee

2:00 P.M. ASTOR GALLERY

MILTON KAHN
Member, National Campaign Cabinet, United Jewish Appeal
PRESIDING

MOSES A. LEAVITT
Executive Vice-Chairman, Joint Distribution Committee

MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN
National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

DISCUSSION

✻

SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 17

Reception for Delegates
5:30 P.M. **WEST FOYER**

Presentation of Checks
SOL LUCKMAN
National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

DINNER MEETING
6:30 P.M. **GRAND BALLROOM**

JOSEPH HOLTZMAN
National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
PRESIDING
INVOCATION

Business Session
United Jewish Appeal Special Fund
JOSEPH MAZER
Chairman, Special Fund

Report of Resolutions Committee
Report of Nominating Committee

INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS

✽

General Session

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
President, United Jewish Appeal
PRESIDING

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

Her Excellency
GOLDA MYERSON
Minister of Labor and Reconstruction, State of Israel

BENEDICTION

✽

THE STEERING COMMITTEE

Members of the Steering Committee have been designated in advance by the communities. All members have received special cards, which they are asked to bring with them. The selection of members was based on this formula:

Communities with Jewish populations from 2,000 to 15,000 were asked to designate one delegate; communities with Jewish populations between 15,000 and 40,000 were invited to name two delegates; communities with Jewish populations in excess of 40,000 were asked to designate three delegates; New York City has 15 delegates in view of its large Jewish population. The eight regions of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds were asked to designate two delegates each, and 25 individuals have been chosen from the country at large. In addition, the Committee includes seven national officers of the UJA.

This is the principal committee of the Conference. Its business is three-fold: to chart American Jewry's responsibility in 1956; to map the aims and the objectives of the United Jewish Appeal, and to consider campaign problems in relation to the UJA in 1956. Attendance by members is vital to assure the broadest possible representation and expression of the views of American Jewry.

Arrangements have been made to accommodate a limited number of delegates not on the Steering Committee who may wish to attend. The resolutions that emerge from this committee will be presented for discussion and action at the Plenary Session, Saturday Evening, in the Grand Ballroom.

*The United Jewish Appeal Study Mission
of 1955*

MOSES W. BECKELMAN
Paris, France

LOUIS L. BENNETT
New York City

HENRY C. BERNSTEIN
New York City

ABNER BREGMAN
New York City

I. J. CAPLAN
New York City

SAMUEL H. DAROFF
Philadelphia, Pa.

BERNARD DAVIDSON
New York City

BENJAMIN L. DOFT
New York City

WILLIAM P. ENGEL
Birmingham, Ala.

MYER FEINSTEIN
Philadelphia, Pa.

WILLIAM J. FELDSTEIN
Milwaukee, Wis.

MAX M. FISHER
Detroit, Mich.

ALFRED FLEISHMAN
St. Louis, Mo.

FRED S. FORMAN
Rochester, N. Y.

J. MEYER FREED
Chester, Pa.

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
New York City

HARRY GINSBERG
Long Island City, N. Y.

ISRAEL GITENSTEIN
New York City

ABRAHAM GOLDBLOOM
Pittsburgh, Pa.

TED GOLDENBERG
Dayton, Ohio

DAVID GREENBERG
East Paterson, N. J.

BENJAMIN HARROW
New York City

SAMUEL J. HEIMAN
Miami, Fla.

JOSEPH HOFHEIMER
Scarsdale, N. Y.

MRS. HAL HORNE
New York City

CHARLES I. CAPLAN
Washington, D. C.

RALPH N. KOPELOVE
Dayton, Ohio

RAYMOND KRAMER
Paterson, N. J.

BENJAMIN LAZRUS
New York City

MOSES A. LEAVITT
New York City

RAPHAEL LEVY
New York City

LEON LOWENSTEIN
New York City

NATHAN W. MATH
New York City

JOSEPH MEYERHOFF
Baltimore, Md.

HERMAN M. PEKARSKY
Newark, N. J.

SAMUEL POSES
New York City

THEODORE R. RACOOSIN
New York City

BARNEY RAPAPORT
Hartford, Conn.

WILLIAM ROSENTHAL
New York City

WILLIAM ROSENWALD
New York City

SAMUEL H. RUBINER
Detroit, Mich.

SAMUEL SAMPSON
Milwaukee, Wis.

JAMES H. SCHEUER
New York City

MORRIS SENDEROWITZ, JR.
Allentown, Pa.

SAMUEL SMITH
Allentown, Pa.

BORIS SMOLAR
New York City

ISIDORE SOBELOFF
Detroit, Mich.

DEWEY D. STONE
Brockton, Mass.

LOUIS E. SPIEGLER
Washington, D. C.

JACK STERN
Paterson, N. J.

SAMUEL C. SUISMAN
Hartford, Conn.

MELVIN W. TITLE
Hartford, Conn.

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
New York City

JACK D. WEILER
New York City

MACK WOLF
St. Paul, Minn.

MAX J. ZIVIAN
Detroit, Mich.

SERVICE GUIDE FOR DELEGATES

For the convenience of delegates, representatives of various departments of the national office of the United Jewish Appeal are available for consultation regarding aspects of local or national campaign activity.

REGENCY SUITE

NATIONAL FIELD SERVICE

M. William Weinberg, Director

SPEAKERS' DIVISION

Arthur Fishzohn, Director

TRADE AND INDUSTRY DIVISION

Harry D. Biele, Director

NATIONAL WOMEN'S DIVISION

Mrs. Marvin Stang, Director

NATIONAL ALLOCATIONS

Edward R. Vajda, Director

ROOM 4V

TRANSPORTATION SERVICE FOR DELEGATES

Maxwell Kern, Manager

PUBLICITY DEPARTMENT

Raphael Levy, Director

Registration of Delegates will take place at the respective sessions.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN CABINET
1955 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

SAMUEL H. DAROFF
Chairman

Trade and Industry Council
ROBERT W. SCHIFF
Chairman

Regional Division
JOSEPH HOLTZMAN
Chairman

Speakers Division
LOUIS NIZER
Chairman

Big Gifts
BENJAMIN H. SWIG
Chairman

Cash
SOL LUCKMAN
Chairman

RICHARD J. ABEL
HERBERT R. ABELES
NORMAN BERLIN
LOUIS BERRY
HYMAN BRAND
ISADORE BRESLAU
CHARLES BROWN
EDDIE CANTOR
JOSEPH CHERNER
ELI A. COHEN
LLOYD W. DINKELSPIEL
SIMON H. FABIAN
HENRY FEFERMAN
ABRAHAM FEINBERG
FRED FORMAN
REUBEN L. FREEMAN
NORBERT FREIDMAN
KALMAN S. GOLDENBERG
HAROLD A. GOLDMAN
I. E. GOLDSTEIN
MILTON KAHN
NATHANIEL P. KANN
ABE KASLE
ABE S. KAY
ADOLPH KIESLER
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
ALBERT A. LEVIN

HARRY LEVINE
JULIUS LIVINGSTON
PHILIP W. LOWN
HENRY MASLANSKY
JOSEPH M. MAZER
BARNEY MEDINTZ
ARTHUR C. MELAMED
JOSEPH MEYERHOFF
IRVING MILLER
EDWARD D. MITCHELL
MARTIN NADELMAN
IRVING S. NORRY
JAMES L. PERMUTT
BARNEY RAPAPORT
LEONARD RATNER
EDWIN ROSENBERG
SAMUEL ROTHBERG
SOL SATINSKY
JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ
MORRIS SENDEROWITZ, JR.
JOSEPH D. SHANE
WILLIAM M. SHIPLEY
JOSEPH SHULMAN
RUDOLF G. SONNEBORN
JACK STERN
JOSEPH TALAMO
HERMAN P. TAUBMAN

Harold Goldenberg

OFFICERS OF THE
1955 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

General Chairman

WILLIAM ROSENWALD

President

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG

National Chairmen Representing Agencies

DEWEY D. STONE, UIA

JONAH B. WISE, JDC

National Chairmen 1955 Campaign

MORRIS W. BERINSTEIN

SOL LUCKMAN

JOSEPH HOLTZMAN

JACK D. WEILER

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Executive Vice-Chairman
HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Assistant Executive Vice-Chairman

LOUIS L. BENNETT

National Co-Treasurers

I. EDWIN GOLDWASSER

JACOB SINCOFF

National Women's Division, Honorary Chairmen

MRS. S. ALEXANDER BRAILOVE

MRS. DAVID M. LEVY

MRS. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

MRS. ALBERT PILAVIN

MRS. FELIX M. WARBURG

Chairman

MRS. HAL HORNE

National Field Director

M. WILLIAM WEINBERG

National Allocations Director

EDWARD R. VAJDA

Note #210

To: Mr. Bennett

Re: Conference Program

WR asked me to check with you whether Rose Halprin has been invited to speak at Steering Committee.

Leavitt is to be asked to speak on North Africa - also at Steering Committee.

MSG

12/11/55

Dec. 13

LHB advised HAZ she was sick -
therefore not available.



HER EXCELLENCY

GOLDA MYERSON

MINISTER OF LABOR AND RECONSTRUCTION, THE STATE OF ISRAEL



and

HERMAN WOUK

PULITZER PRIZE-WINNING NOVELIST

will address the

ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF THE
**AMERICAN JEWISH
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
ARCHIVES**

*The Officers cordially invite you to attend
to hear them, and to help set the stage for
the 1956 Nationwide Campaign*

*To lift the burden of immigration from
Israel's beleaguered people*

*Meet the needs of distressed Jews in
other lands*

Aid refugees settling in New York

•

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 16

and **SATURDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 17, 1955**

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel

New York, N. Y.

Dietary laws observed

Please respond on enclosed card.

file

December 15, 1955

DAIS
Saturday, December 17, 1955

*This dais was expanded later
12/17*

ABEL, RICHARD J.
ABELS, HERBERT R
AURIEL, EMMY
BAERWALD, PAUL

LEVY, MRS. DAVID
LUCKMAN, SOL

BERNSTEIN, MORRIS W.

MASLANSKY, HENRY

BERLIN, NORMAN

MAZER, JOSEPH M.

BERNSTEIN, HENRY C.

MEDINTZ, BARNEY

BERRY, LOUIS

MEYERHOFF, JOSEPH

BRAILOVE, MRS. S. ALEXANDER

MILLER, RABBI IRVING

BRESLAU, RABBI ISADORE

MYERSON, HER EXCELLENCY GOLDA
MADELMAN, MARTIN

CHINITZ, RABBI

NEWMAN, MRS. HENRY
NORRY, IRVING

COHEN, ELI A.

PILAVIN, MRS. ALBERT

DAROFF, SAMUEL H.

RAPAPORT, BARNEY

EISENBERG, SHLOMO

RATHER, LEONARD

FORMAN, FRED

ROSENBLUTH, DR. MARTIN

FRIEDMAN, RABBI HERBERT A.

ROSENWALD, WILLIAM

GOLDENBERG, KALMAN S.

ROTHBERG, SAMUEL

HAMMER, GOTTLIEB

SATINSKY, SOL

HOITZMAN, JOSEPH

SCHIFF, ROBERT V.

HORNE, MRS. HAL

SEIDEROWITZ, MORRIS, JR.

KAHN, MILTON

~~SHULMAN, JOSEPH~~

KASLE, ABE

SONNEBORN, RUDOLF G.

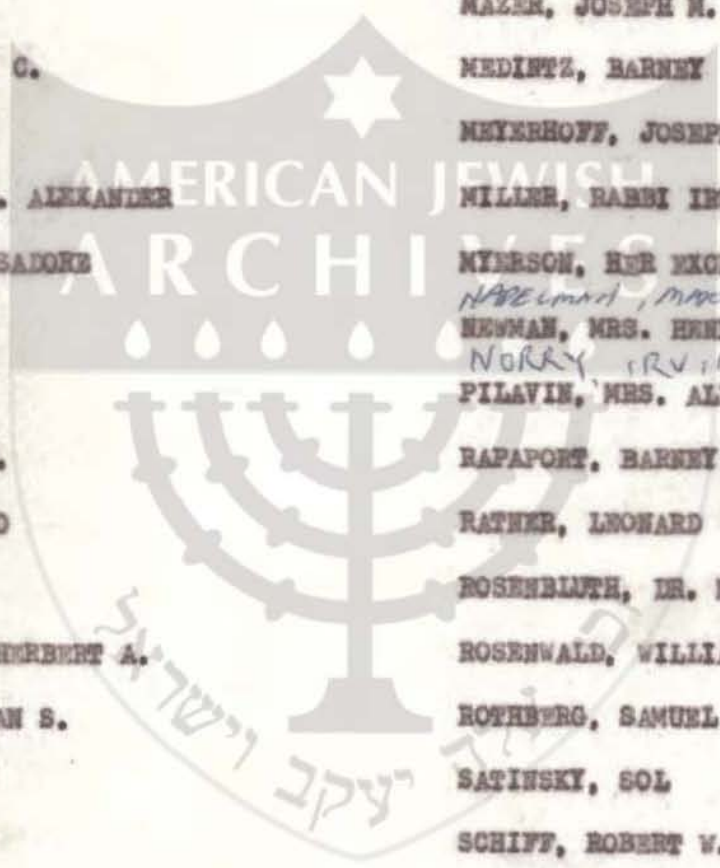
LEAVITT, MOSES A.

SOSKIS, PHILIP

~~LEWIS, ALBERT A.~~
~~LEWIS, SAMUEL D.~~

STERN, JACK

Handwritten signature



Page two
Dais
December 17, 1955

STONE, DEWEY D.

SWIG, BENJAMIN H.

TALAMO, JOSEPH

WARBURG, EDWARD M. M.

WRILER, JACK D.

ZUCKERMAN, BARUCH



be

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel - New York City - December 17, 1955

ADDRESS OF RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Madam Minister; Mr. Avriel, member of the Knesset of Israel; the
Honorable Mr. Hyman, Consul General of Israel; ladies and gentlemen:

Perhaps the only way to approach times of tension is with words of poetry.
Edward Warburg started to speak then. This was not text. This was the soul of the
man trying to come out to you from inside, to say such things as would show you his
hopes, his fears, to say such things as would show you his courage and his faith,
whatever it was that he was trying to show you.

He was speaking within the context of tension. It is in the streets;
it is in the air; it is in the clouds which hover over the whole world.

The world doesn't breathe easily tonight, nor does Israel. Perils seem
to await, and each new day as it is born might be the day which is pregnant with
strife.

Geneva has faded fast, and this government of ours has reembarked on a
program of rearmament, for the world is still grave. And if, in the big arena,
Geneva is replaced with bitterness and disillusionment and fear again, then in the
small arena peace in Israel hangs by a thread.

Perhaps the big and the small arenas are interwoven. This might be the
meaning of our times.

We do not manufacture sores with which to come to you each December.
It would be too convenient to have them on the eve of a new campaign, for they
might seem to be those manufactured things which we must present to you for
artificial stimulation.

History moves so quickly, the human mind is taxed to follow merely the
flow of events, let alone to make any satisfactory analysis of what is happening.
Crisis builds upon crisis with such a rapidity that no time is available for
reflection, almost no time is available for understanding, and hardly enough time
is available for response.

He said that we have the feeling sometimes that we are like corks that bob on the water. We ask ourselves: What can we do? What can we do? I do not have the feeling of being hopeless or helpless.

Some say that we can do nothing. Some say that these problems are growing so large as to be insoluble by private groups such as we are. A private people, a private folk do not have the capacity to fight the tide history.

This is a thesis which I resist with the deepest fibres of my being, for we are people who have withstood all of the ravages of history, and we are won.

We have been toppled, we have often been mortally wounded, but we have not yet ever been so defeated as not to come back.

I have the feeling that when we place our destiny within the loving embrace of our own self-confidence there is nothing that can penetrate it to its core.

There is a danger that this thesis may sometimes turn to arrogance. There is a danger that this belief may sometimes lead to unwarranted cockiness and even to bad manners, but I risk those for the sake of the strength which flows from all of the hearts and souls who believe that there is something in this concept of people and land and ideas of Israel which are imperishable for us and which are of value to the world.

I said that when we are in the embrace of our own self-confidence we have the feeling of immortality. There are within the ebbs and flows of historic trends moments of frustration and bitterness. We passed through such a period. We came out of the pit of despair in 1945, and we emerged into an epoch of exaltation, of freedom with the capacity to act, and, oh, how exalted we were in those days, those days when every muscle was girded and every sinew was taut.

You remember them with excitement. You remember the days when the first workers of the JDC got into those places in Europe, the interstitial cracks and crevices from which Jews emerged in life, and do you remember the thrill and the surge of excitement when you began to collect money in ever larger and ever larger

quantities to send the ships to Antwerp and Brussels and the places on the Continent where the Joint was stockpiling the life-giving supplies, and you remember the surcharge of possibility that went through everybody's mind when you began to read of camp after camp whose Jewish population was growing larger and larger and larger as they gathered for eastern Europe on the soil of Germany which was under the blessed freedom of that Flag which provided temporary havens until the final disposition could be made.

Yes, with the help of the Government of the United States and inter-governmental committees, yes, with the help of others who rallied and saw and understood, but still primarily with our own concept of determination to survive we met those years.

And that same Joint, so affectionately known, with its network of hundreds of people in Europe flown quickly from here, aided and abetted the slow, steady trickle that later grew to a flood as they left the Continent and moved illegally to a Palestine which in the agonies of the closing of the British administration nevertheless took them up with such love that love engulfed the world, and even in the bitter blackness love shone through because in Palestine they wanted those people, and they took them, and they took them, and they built with them and on them and through them.

You participated in all of that, and you participated in the birth. The birth came with blood as all birth does, and you participated in that fantastic, incredible daily operation of hundreds and tens of thousands and scores of thousands who came from Iraq and who came from Yemen and who came from Rumania.

Yes, even for one brief instant there was a chance to get a hundred thousand out of that trap.

Oh, but you know how you participated. You stood in line to be counted, and you poured it into the coffers of those agencies which were able to do something with it.

All through that Israel kept growing, all through that, every year, every year. Let's not labor the point.

We have come now to a place which is strange and far away and exotic as far as the Waldorf Astoria is concerned. It is not Yemen. It is not Iraq. It is not Poland. It is not Germany. It is Morocco. But it doesn't make any difference because it is Jews.

I want you all to understand in the simplest fashion that wherever and whenever there is a community of Jews in peril or danger you shall not be permitted to rest because you will not permit yourselves to rest until every effort possible is put forth, win or lose, to get those out who must be gotten out, to work with those who must remain behind, and there shall be some of both.

The flow is on now: a few thousand in 1954, 30,000 in 1955, 45,000, 55,000, 60,000 in 1956. We have no idea what the year will bring.

Several things are simply clear: that in a Moslem land, which Morocco is, no non-Moslem has the freedom of air to breathe; that in a land which is operating under an Arab boycott slogan against all non-Arabs, the Jews have no economic life to live; in a land where passions operate among primitive peoples there is bloodshed in the streets; in a land where, most seriously of all, there may be entrapment, entrapment again, in such a land we have this population whom it is our honor and duty to serve.

There will be no one of you, no one of you who understands history or geography who will say that you have nothing to do with them or they have nothing to do with you, for, if you say that, you abuse the premise which ties us all together.

Address of Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
December 17, 1955

5.

The largest immigration in years faces us. Get it straight. Don't blink at the fact. The largest immigration in years faces us at a time when the most intricate security situation faces Israel.

To take in the immigrants at a time when life and viability are at stake represents the compounding of two problems which have never before come together in such conjunction.

I know that we shall go to all the governments and all the peoples and all the committees and all the chancelleries, Israel shall do that. And we shall go to all the friends and all the benefactors and all the understanding ones of the world.

I know that wherever we present this problem there may be sympathetic response, but I am positive that when we present this problem to you there will be sympathetic response. That is the difference. That is the difference.

Yesterday in the Security Council the delegate of Syria in that awful debate tipped his hand as far as you and you and every one of you in this room is concerned, but you and I were the objects of his attack when he said that the United Nations should apply economic sanctions against Israel, and one of the reasons he chose economic sanctions was that he said such sanctions were imperative because Israel was getting loans and gifts and grants "through her agents in fabulous amounts."

Who are the agents of Israel? Do you want to be the agent of Israel? I want to be the agent of Israel if, by "agent," we mean one who loves and is identified with and sympathizes with.

I think it is easier to put it this way: Let's not talk about fabulous amounts. Let's put it this way: If the UJA means that much to the Arabs, to the delegate of Syria, how much should the UJA mean to you and me? That is the way to understand this.

I think this is the gravest campaign we have faced since 1948. I think there is a capacity available to you to make the greatest response you have made since 1948, and I would suggest that every hour that goes by and every day that goes by you should think of this campaign of 1956 as 1948 all over again, and do the same thing you did in 1948.

Don't clap. Don't applaud. We know how you feel. The room is pulsating with what you are pouring out of your hearts. But out of all the love and all of the pouring out of the heart into this great cauldron of Jewish survival there is one thing that keeps the fire going, and that is the money which is put at the disposal of the agency which we serve, the JDC which we serve, and the Government of Israel who receives the hard dollars ultimately and uses them for purposes which it is obvious she will use them for but which become her dollars when they are given to her by the agency.

This is the manner in which you can make the response. This is the way in which I would like you to take the campaign of the year ahead, earnestly, seriously, deeply, not superficially.

Take your minds away from these things. None of this will work unless we understand the eternalities that are behind it all.

We want Israel, both land and people, to live because she is the cause which enables us to survive, and I use the word "Israel" in the biggest sense. Israel means both land of Israel and people of Israel wherever they may be.

A people dies when it has no reason for existence. A land dies when its people do not support it. The idea of Israel dies if land and people together are in danger.

That would be the greatest tragedy of all because the idea of eternal Israel is an idea which has to do with freedom and justice and peace and dignity and belief in man and belief in God who runs history.

Address of Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
December 17, 1955

7.

The idea of Israel is the most precious thing we own which we have given away to everyone who wanted it and yet which we have never lost.

Valor, valor is a permanent quality. Courage is not true if it is transitory and passes quickly.

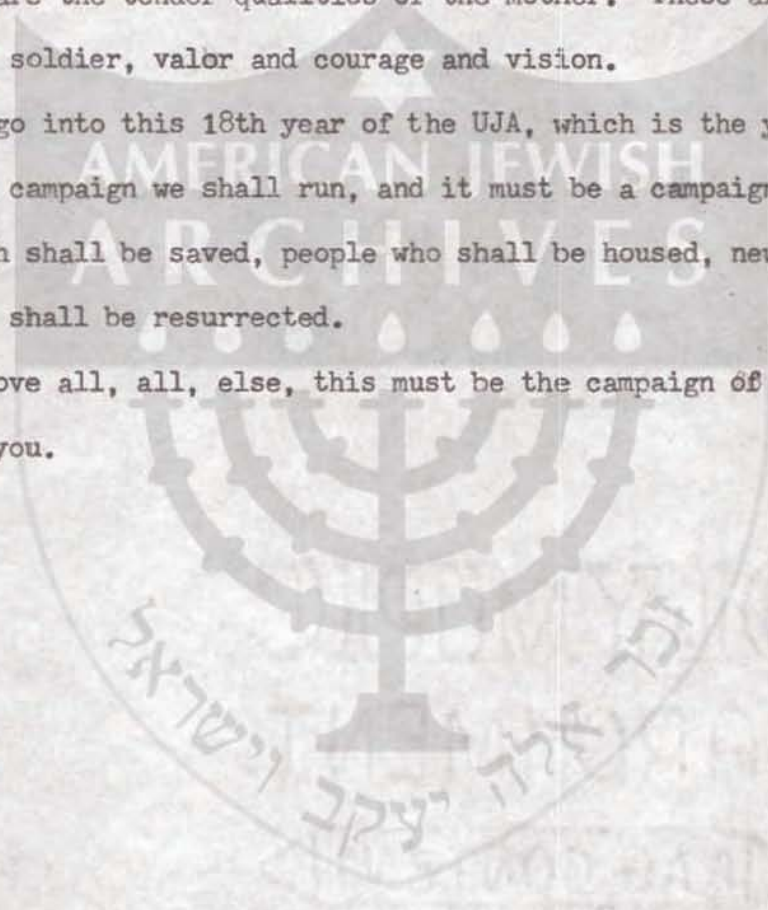
Vision can not be a temporary attribute. Valor and courage and vision, if they are to be possessed, must be owned forever.

These are the tender qualities of the mother. These are the steely qualities of the soldier, valor and courage and vision.

As we go into this 18th year of the UJA, which is the year of life, this is the 18th campaign we shall run, and it must be a campaign dedicated to life, lives which shall be saved, people who shall be housed, new ones and babies and old ones who shall be resurrected.

But above all, all, else, this must be the campaign of life for Israel.

Thank you.



OPENING PLENARY SESSION
ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of the
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



December 16, 1955

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York City

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Chmn. J. Weiler

W. Rosenwald

D. D. Stone

Herman Wolk



זמן אלה יקב יישראל

The Plenary Session of the Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 2:00 p.m. in the Sert Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York on Friday, December 16, 1955; Mr. Jack Weiler presiding.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Ladies and gentlemen, it is a great pleasure to welcome you here today. I wish to call to order the 18th Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal, and first I would like to explain this pin that each of you received. Will you look at it, please? To the left is an antique Hebrew shekel which was used during the first revolt about 60 or 70 AD, and what it says on it in antique Hebrew script is, "Jerusalem, the Holy." To the right and underneath it is "UJA", which I interpret as meaning that over and above everything we have done in 1955, we should do in 1956.

This is our opening session. The matters we have to consider are of the gravest importance and the most intense concern to all of us. This afternoon and tomorrow evening we will hear a group of the most able and distinguished speakers. They will discuss in detail the urgent problems and we will be asked to discuss them in

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detail and act upon them. My job is simply to move things along toward the important business we have on hand, and in doing so I dedicate myself to brevity.

However, I must say a word of what I believe we all have in our hearts and in our minds, and describe this meeting today and the meeting tomorrow as the most crucial in recent UJA history. In the light of all that has taken place during the past few explosive months, we can view our actions during the last year as a kind of a holding action. It was a period in which we were able to carry forward existing programs, to extend them in some ways. We were able to consolidate these gains and the past gains and we are now to plan for new ones, but this kind of thinking and doing has been drastically revised by the tragic chain of events, beginning with the anti-Jewish riots in Morocco last summer. They were climaxed by the sale of vast quantities of Communist arms to Egypt, a country openly sworn to the destruction of Israel.

But now we are not faced with a holding action or a simple continuance of an existing program. Israel is faced in the very simplest terms with a problem of

survival, survival for Israel, surrounded by hostile neighbors and preparing to defend itself against invasion by overwhelmingly superior forces, survival for vast numbers of North African Jews who are resolved not to remain as hostages in Arab lands, and for whom the people of Israel have resolved to keep the doors open, come what may, and this should not be only Israel's problem; this is the best, most shadowy outline of the crisis which has brought us together in this conference.

Do you know why there is no fear or panic in Israel today? Because they have every confidence that the Jews of America are with them, with their hearts, with their souls and with their wherewithall. They are counting on us as never before. We did not let them down in 1948. We are not going to let them down in 1955 and 1956. (Applause)

And now let us proceed with the business at hand. Just a year ago a gentleman by the name of William Rosenwald became the byword of the Jews all over America, and was named General Chairman of the UJA for the entire country. For many years, of course, the name of Bill Rosenwald has been practically synonymous with UJA accomplishments.

He has been an integral part of its top leadership since its formation in 1939. Merely to recite the bare list of his activities would require more time than this whole meeting is scheduled for.

Without further delay, without further ado and without further blessings, I want to introduce to you our own Bill Rosenwald. (Applause)

MR. ROSENWALD: Thank you, Jack.

Ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the officers and of all of the people active in the United Jewish Appeal, I want to welcome you all to this convention -- this conference, with which we launch the Eighteenth Annual Drive, consecutive drive, of the United Jewish Appeal.

I think it is a marvelous tribute to the UJA that we have such a splendid attendance here at this meeting, and, equally, I think it is a magnificent tribute to each and every one of you that you have the continuing interest in the UJA which has prompted you to come, and I want to thank you for that interest.

Yesterday I read that the famous French tapestry weavers who wove the tapestries which in those days adorned the mansions of the great were accustomed to doing all of

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their work from the reverse side of the cloth; and from that viewpoint all they could see was a mass of loose threads and some stitching.

However, once in a while, a man would get up from where he was working and walk around to the front, and there he would see the glorious pattern that was being created by their patient toil, and the heart of the toiler was satisfied.

Those ancient tapestries are beautiful creations, but the picture that we have woven in 1955 is even more glorious, for it has been woven from the thread of human life.

Beautiful as those tapestries were, they often depicted rather gory scenes, and I am sorry to tell you that in 1955 our picture was marred by increased bloodshed and violence, and, even worse, the picture that lies ahead for 1956 is even more ominous, for it is characterized by the threat of war clouds that hang over the Middle East.

I refer, of course, to the situation that has been brought about during the last few weeks by the large shipments of modern arms from the Communist countries to Egypt.

I don't want to get into the details of the work of

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the United Jewish Appeal. That will be presented to you by other speakers throughout this conference, and I don't want to pre-empt what they have to say. I only want to point out to you that unfortunately some of the requirements will represent needs that were presented to you a year ago.

For instance, people are being moved out of the ma'abaroths much too slowly, at much too slow a rate. I saw them, and they live in pitiful conditions.

Some of the requirements will stem from a projection of work which has been undertaken in recent years, and, as an example of this, I would like to cite the very fine medical work for children which the JDC has been conducting in North Africa and which they are now planning to extend to the entire families.

Some of the requirements grow out of new problems, and, as an example of this, I would like to tell you that a few weeks ago I was in Israel, and while I was there, Egyptian troops marched onto Israeli soil in large force, and despite the plea of the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commission that they withdraw, they not only did not withdraw but took all of the possible steps to strengthen and reinforce their position.

About a week later, they were driven off, while I was still there. They were driven off of Israeli soil. This was the largest engagement of a military character since the signing of the 1948 armistice. I am sorry to say it was just a tiny skirmish compared to what will happen if all-out warfare should break out during, let us say, 1956.

These are just a few of the many threads of the work of the United Jewish Appeal agencies, threads which are woven together by the United Jewish Appeal, as was done by our tapestry weavers, to make a unified picture.

The United Jewish Appeal and its agencies have won world-wide acclaim. The work is the most important factor in the lives of Jewish communities all over, in all parts of the world, and even right here in our own country, the United Jewish Appeal is the largest single factor in American communal life today, and, as such, it is watched in this country similarly by, for instance, very important governmental officials.

The United Jewish Appeal is, but is much more than, the sum of the work of the United Israel Appeal, the Joint Distribution Committee, the New York Association for New Americans and the campaign that is being conducted. As an

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example of how that works. I would like to call to your attention that while the United Jewish Appeal Study Mission was first in Paris and heard the country directors' conference about the acute conditions in North Africa and went to Israel and saw the security problem there, the UJA, acting on its own initiative, convened here in this hotel four weeks ago in an extraordinary meeting, a meeting that was attended by more than three hundred outstanding Jewish leaders from all over the country, the finest meeting that we have had in many years, and these problems were presented at that meeting, and it was logical that the United Jewish Appeal should do so, because it continues to be, as it has always been the principal funnel through which the Jews of America channel their desire to help their suffering brethren overseas.

As you know, out of that meeting came the decision to launch the campaign for a special fund. You will hear of that campaign and its success from its chairman, Joe Mazer, tomorrow night.

This was just the first of three important items that I want to report to you as the steps, the important steps taken by the United Jewish Appeal in 1955.

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The second important step was that, for the first time, we launched -- getting off to a head start -- an initial gifts meeting in January, and the true success of that initial gifts meeting was in very large measure due to the fact that we had, as guest of honor, a man who has consecrated his life to our work, a man who, deservedly, has become the most respected, the most effective and the most beloved worker in our ranks. He has continued to deserve those characterizations through his work and is continuing through his work as President -- a new title this year -- of the United Jewish Appeal.

Lots of people gave the large increases that were characteristic of that dinner because, in doing so, they wanted to express their appreciation of all that is being done by Eddie Warburg. (Applause)

The third item is one that I hope will be a rather heartening bit of news for you. A year ago, in this very room, I pointed out that the Jews of America had never failed to respond with increased generosity when they were confronted with a new kind of a life-and-death emergency situation, and I made so bold as to predict that this would again be true in 1955.

I am very happy to be able to report here officially that, thanks to the efforts and generosity of all of us, those present and those at home, the beneficiaries of the 1955 United Jewish Appeal campaign will receive more money than they did from the 1954 campaign. (Applause)

I am referring only to the income from the regular campaign, and the returns aren't all in yet. How much more they will get I can tell you when the returns will be in. But I would like to point out to you that this is already sure from what we have, and that it is only from the regular campaign. What we have already raised in the special fund is in addition to that. It is all plus money.

I think at the end of the year we will be able to walk around in front, look at the picture we have created, and that each of us for ourselves will be able to feel that the heart of the toiler was satisfied.

Turning to 1956, as I mentioned to you, we are going to get an even better head start through the existence of the special fund, but we are also going to continue the idea of the January initial gifts dinner. One is scheduled to be held in this hotel on January 21st, a Saturday. Please make a note of that -- Saturday, January 21st -- and I am

happy to tell you that we will have, as guest of honor perhaps the only other Jew who, equally deservedly, is as respected, as beloved as was our 1955 guest of honor. I refer, of course, to that man who, in spirit and activity, though not in years, is our great younger statesman, Senator Herbert H. Lehman. (Applause)

I think that the first step in our 1956 campaign is starting immediately to organize for that dinner. We will appoint local Lehman Dinner chairmen of committees to have workers' meetings to undertake priming and solicitation, and then to have local gifts meetings, the results of all of which are to be reported at the Lehman Dinner on January 21st.

Only in that way can we continue to be doing justice to the people we wish to honor and the cause that we serve.

The plan for 1956 is to be evolved at this conference. The pattern is going to shape up. Although the body of the picture is a bit obscure, the outline is already clear, and it is clear to us that we have to gird our loins to wage an even fiercer struggle in 1956 than we did in 1955. We are going to wage that more intensive campaign with confidence, because we can build upon the success of the 1955 campaign,

because we have not only one but the two head starts that I have mentioned to you: the special fund and the Lehman Dinner, and because we again, this year, have proven, if proof were necessary -- I don't think it is; we have plenty of it -- but we have again proven that the Jews of America will rise to whatever occasion may be before us. I am confident that we will.

It is going to mean that we have to go into 1956 prepared to work even harder and to give even more generously so that we can successfully meet the even greater challenge that faces us.

My wish for each and every one of us is that when at the end of 1956 we again look at the picture that we shall have woven out of the thread of Jewish lives saved, we may each be able for ourselves again to say that the heart of the toiler was satisfied. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Thank you very much, Mr. Rosenwald.

This year, as in the past, we are going to have a detailed examination of the needs of the constituent agencies in the United Jewish Appeal. The agencies prepare separate budgets and submit them as they are compiled into a

master budget, a copy of which you have before you.

Budgets have a habit of looking cold and inhuman, and I don't think we can regard our budget in 1956 in this way, because we know what it means in terms of human lives

I feel privileged that I can call upon one of the ablest, one of the most informed men in the country to present that budget for your consideration, and here I have to use a few superlatives.

All of us who have worked with this gentleman know him, we honor him for his devotion and for his very zeal in his work, and in everything that he undertakes. His is the kind of leadership that is at once inspired and inspiring to others.

As just a few of the jobs that he holds, he is National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; he is National Chairman of the United Israel Appeal; he is Chairman of the Board of the Weizmann Institute; he is Vice President of the Zionist Organization of America. He has also quite a hand in the Israel Bonds Organization, and I can go on and on and on. He is also one guy I don't have to talk up to -- Dewey Stone

MR. STONE: Mr. Chairman, fellow delegates to

this conference: If I ever needed to prove that we are living in the kind of a world that moves so quickly that we hardly can comprehend it, it has happened to me this afternoon.

If you have bothered to look at your program, you will have seen that I was to speak last. I was supposed to talk about crisis and challenge, a call to responsibility. In this connection, there is a very lovely manuscript where I was sitting.

I attended the United Jewish Appeal Cabinet meeting this morning, and you will hear, during the course of the rest of this conference, the words "crisis", "North Africa", "Russian-inspired arms to Egypt and the Arab countries", "the climate in Washington", "the climate at 10 Downing Street", and I am convinced that no matter how eloquently I might have thought I could discuss this with you this afternoon, I am wisely leaving this to others.

I will talk to you for a few brief moments on the cold, hard figures of a budget, which I am very happy has been prepared and which all of you have, and may I very humbly but most sincerely urge you, as a contributor and worker, to read this, to study it and to understand it, because I think it will give you a basic bit of information

without which you cannot intelligently and completely comprehend what it is that we are doing, in spite of all the speeches and explanation that will be given to you.

I would like, for the moment, for those of you who have the budget in front of you and can refer to it, to deal only with page 4, and to trust that you will, in the course of these two days of sessions, familiarize yourself with all of it later.

Without minimizing the two other partners in the United Jewish Appeal, namely, the New York Association for New Americans, which has budgeted approximately \$706,000, and the Joint Distribution Committee, which has budgeted \$29,200,000, the major partner in the United Jewish Appeal for 1954 and again for 1955 and now projected for 1956 is, of course, the United Israel Appeal, with its budget of \$123,200,000-odd.

May I say to you that these figures were prepared this summer. They were prepared in anticipation, in expectation of the continuation of the normal development of the State of Israel, and I think, my friends, in spite of all the crises that we are dealing with, and which we must face and will face up to, we must never lose sight of

the fact that we must plan, hope and pray for that measure of normalcy which permits us the privilege, nay, the obligation, to make a budget such as you have in front of you.

The total is \$105,000,000. If you deal in figures as I do, you are informed people, and you know that approximately \$60,000,000 was all that was raised last year, and you might say to yourselves, "What kind of realism is there in budgeting \$105,000,000 when we only raised \$60,000,000 last year?"

(Continued on page 17.)

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What happened last year and the year before? How did Israel operate? How were these programs fulfilled? And I must say to you that they were fulfilled. They were fulfilled because the Government of Israel picked up the bill for the difference between what the UJA furnished for these needs and what was budgeted, what was spent.

In addition, of course, you know that through the UJA we made very substantial loans, in many instances on its credit, the credit of the future of the UJA, in many instances with the guarantee of the Government of Israel, but between what we actually contributed through the UJA plus these outside helps, this kind of a program was developed through 1954-1955, and with God's help we will continue to go on in 1955-1956, and our share is clearly indicated and I feel very confident that before we finish our deliberations tomorrow night, you will agree that we can do no less than to recognize the needs as outlined in this budget and be prepared to accept it, and to meet them to the best of our ability.

I want to point out to you that nowhere in these figures have we given consideration to the special Emergency Appeal for \$25,000,000 which has already been men-

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tioned and which you will hear a great deal more about.

And now I would just like to make a few observations about my visit to Israel, and I just got home with Mrs. Stone three or four weeks ago. I have had the privilege of watching Israel develop since my first visit in 1935. I have kind of lost track of the number of times since then that we have been privileged to go to Europe and Israel. It is eight, nine, ten times at least.

I would like to say a few words about what impressed me most, forgetting, if you will -- and please remember this: I understand crisis. I have responded to my conception of crisis by committing a minimum of \$100,000 for 1956 for the UJA for myself and family. (Applause) This is an increase from \$40,000 in 1954 and \$50,000 in 1955. It is going to be a minimum of \$100,000 in 1956, and so if I don't talk of crisis and emergency, it is not because I don't understand it exists, but I think perhaps it is well to think occasionally, in relaxation if you will, about the success of what we have been doing these past seven years in the State of Israel, to get a little "nachus" from the fact that our funds are producing results.

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Since 1949 for the first time I was away from Israel for two years, and the impact of what has happened in those two years perhaps hit me more forcibly a month ago than previously, and I would like briefly to mention just a few of them.

I am in the textile business, so perhaps I was unduly impressed by what has happened with cotton there. It was a thrilling experience to see the dream of one Jewish cotton grower from California completely and fully realized in the period of about two years. I actually was at a cotton gin. I saw hundreds of bales of cotton, wonderful cotton coming through the cotton gin, as modern a cotton gin as I have ever seen anywhere in this country. The amazing thing was, it was only ten days to two weeks before the rains. In fact, they came sooner than expected.

This cotton gin was producing cotton and there was no roof on it. I don't have to tell you that cotton gin machinery and cotton are something you don't produce in a building that doesn't have a roof, and I questioned the manager about it and he said, "We haven't had time to put the roof on. We are watching the rains, and don't worry. We will get a roof on before it rains." In the

meantime, cotton is going through, and they don't take hundreds of acres to grow cotton in Israel as we do here. Everybody has a plot of cotton almost in his backyard, like you will have a tomato patch or a corn patch, and this was very interesting, very exciting to me, and I am businessman enough to know that this kind of cotton is already saving millions of dollars of hard currency.

The whole family picture in two years is so completely changed -- it is so exciting I can't find words, particularly as I am watching the clock, to know that I have just a few brief minutes to try to tell you my story, but the whole feeling that you weren't eating food that belonged to the people of the country, that there was plenty of it, that the water had begun to have its effect on the country, the excitement with which I learned of the Texas cowboys -- and we may have some Jewish Texas cowboys whom I haven't met yet, except at an occasional Zionist meeting, but there are cowboys from Texas in Israel under the Point Four program who told us the most exciting story of the new development of the grazing lands in the Galilee.

I knew that it was a great thing for Israel when,

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through a miracle, the transformation of the country being a majority of Arabs turned to where it was a majority of Jews, but I hadn't realized that the real economic value to this transformation was that when the Arabs left, they took with them two million goats; that no country as small as Israel can ever succeed agriculturally with two million goats eating everything that is edible, including the roots that keep the soil on the hillsides, and that in these few years without these goats the whole terrain of Israel has changed, and these Texas cowboys -- and I take their word for it -- told me that in a very, very short period, without outside interference in the form of a catastrophic war or something, the whole meat and cattle and milk and dairy situation in Israel will completely change. It is fantastically exciting to see it.

I went down to see the oil well at Helath, and I am sure that other speakers will more dramatically tell you of the excitement in Israel. I am sure other members of the UJA Study Mission felt as I did, as we stood on this oil site and realized that here was the beginning of the stoppage of a \$40 to \$50,000,000 drain on the dollar resources of the State of Israel. We did all the geo-

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physical work at the Weizmann Institute, and for two years I have been convinced that there is oil in Israel, and I didn't believe that the good Lord could have been so unkind as to put all the oil where the Arabs were and none where the Jews were, but this was the first positive proof of its existence in a quality and quantity so that we can talk about oil in Israel.

I don't want to dwell on industry generally. I think, for example, of our own good friend, Joe Mazer. When I realize what he went through for two years, planning and building the paper mill -- I was there two years ago and I think the first time, Joe, when they turned the power on, things didn't move quite so smoothly, and if you haven't got ulcers and didn't get them even worse than that at that moment, you will never get them. I saw this paper mill in operation a month ago and I see my friend from Philadelphia nodding his head in approval, because I am sure he felt the same as I did, with all of the heartache and the time and the money and the effort that go into the creation of an industry like this.

And then you see the complete fulfillment, not only of what you had planned and dreamed and bookkeepingwise

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figured out and hoped would develop, but everything is even bigger and even better and more profitable, and this goes for industry after industry, and last but not least, just one word about what Weizmann always said was the greatest asset of the Jewish people: he always said to me, "Dewey, Palestine and Israel are never going to compete with General Motors turning out automobiles, or the United Steel Company in turning out steel, but there is no country in the world that has a people that is more gifted, with more intelligence and more ability to make contributions in the field of science and culture and research than the Jewish people, and if you Jews in America, especially who have the capacity to build great industries empires, will only have the equal capacity to give to these people the opportunities to utilize this which they have in competitive comparison with the rest of the world, if you have the patience to do that long enough and regularly enough, the day will come, and come much sooner than you expect, when you won't have to be passing out charity in the same manner and spirit in which you are doing it today."

And I saw -- and I speak here not only of the Weizmann Institute not because I am unmindful of the beauty

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and the wonderful things that the Technion and Hebrew University and Bar Ilan and other institutions are doing -- but I speak only because I happen to be closer to it and know it more specifically. Two things alone happened this year at the Weizmann Institute which, if nothing else happened in Israel, as far as I am concerned would be worth everything I have put into it in time, money, effort and everything else.

A second step in the progress of Dr. Berenblum's work on cancer was completed and scientifically completely proved, and on the word of Professor Ernst K. Chain, a Nobel Prizewinner in penicillin, I repeat to you what he said to me, that this is an epoch in scientific achievement. Dr. Ephraim Kuchalsky synthesized for the first time in history an anti-biotic which is 100 percent the same in this synthesis, in the synthetic product as the natural, and here again, on the word of Dr. Chain, this is an epoch that will be a great achievement scientifically.

I might, in passing, just say to you that Dr. Jonah Salk would have invented his Salk vaccine as a Jew in Israel if the Weizmann Institute had had the facilities to permit him to do his work there.

In closing I want to say to you that in my humble opinion, all one has to do is look at the record, go to Israel, see for himself. If he can't, take it from me and Bill Rosenwald and anyone else who intelligently has gone there to observe. What we have poured into Israel is there, multiplied not tenfold but hundredfold, what someone will stand up and record as the achievements of the \$105,000,000 that this budget will do for Israel and the Jews all over the world if we provide it in 1956. It is a story beyond one's imagination.

I urge, Mr. Chairman, that every delegate seriously study this budget, that every delegate assume his personal share of responsibility toward it, that every delegate by his very presence indicates that he is going to try to see to it that his community during their campaign does its share.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: You can only speak that way, you can only feel the way one feels when you visit Israel, and I was on the last mission with Dewey Stone.

Summing up just what Dewey Stone had to say in a very few concrete sentences, I would put it this way:

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Israel has no time to stand still and pat itself on the back. Their ingenuity and devotion are beyond description. Israel is in a race against time and it is up to us to see that that race is won. We have to protect Isarel's right to survive, to prosper as the only democratic nation in that part of the world.

Dewey, you gave a magnificent presentation and I want to thank you. (Applause)

It is very difficult to introduce the next speaker. When I showed him what I was going to say about him and I asked him if there is anything I can add, he said, "For God's sake, Jack, please tone it down." Well, I can't tone it down. I am only going to give you facts.

He is perhaps one of the best known young men not only in this country but I would say almost throughout the world. His first great best-selling novel made the characters of Captain Queeg, Barney Greenwald and the old minesweeper Caine a real part of the American consciousness through his play, the Caine Mutiny Court Martial. After the first appearance in book form, they were incorporated into a motion picture, the legitimate stage and on television, each a triumph in its own way.

His latest novel, Marjorie Morningstar, is now being read by more people than any published work in years.

Here is something maybe some of you ladies and gentlemen don't know about this young man: he has become known for his passionate dedication to the Jewish community, setting a remarkable personal example. He is a very devout Jew. I don't know how many of you noticed that he sat and ate this lunch with a yarmulke on, and I asked him just a minute ago, "Herman, what time does the sun set today?" He said, "At 4:20 p.m.," and the reason Dewey Stone mentioned that he was watching the clock is because this gentleman has to leave here to go to the synagogue.

He is also a professor of English at Yeshiva University, and I just want to claim him as my own because he belongs to my synagogue and Joe Mazer's synagogue, because Joe and I are members of the Jewish Center, one of the outstanding orthodox synagogues in America, on West 86th Street (plug), and if you will look at your program, you will see it starts off with reformed synagogues first, the orthodox at the bottom, where you should go tonight, so I am plugging West 86th Street as the orthodox synagogue.

It is really a great pleasure and an honor to introduce to you a great Jew, a great American, Mr. Herman Wouk. (Applause)

MR. WOUK: After being introduced as an orthodox Jew, perhaps I shouldn't tell you the following story, but I will. When Jack showed me those two yellow cards on which that elaborate "yichus" was typed, I did ask him to tone it down. I said, "Jack, after an introduction like that, the only thing anybody can say is the Sermon on the Mount." (Laughter) And that has been said. (Laughter) Anyway, these long, elaborate "yichuses" can be very dangerous.

You probably all know the story of the schatgan who went to a young man and brought a description, such as Jack has just read to you, about a girl he had in mind for him. He said, "She's got \$30,000 in her own name, her grandfather was a rabbi, she's very good-looking, mink coat she already has." The young man, who was no fool, said, "What's wrong with her?" "She's cross-eyed." He said, "Well, she can go to hell." The schatgan said all right.

He came back a couple of weeks later, because

this young man was in a hurry to get married, and said, "All right, I've got another one not cross-eyed, \$40,000 in her own name, a mink coat, she already has a Cadillac. Her grandfather was a rabbi and her great-grandfather was a rabbi." The young man said, "Well, what's wrong with her?" "Well, she's got a hump on her back." He said, "She can go to hell."

The schatgan came around a few weeks later and said, "All right, I defy you on this one. In her own name she has a solid parcel on Third Avenue between 68th and 69th Streets. You know what that's worth now with the El coming down. Mink coats there's no talking about, Cadillacs there's no talking about. The house in Great Neck is already built, she's got it, she's got the title deeds," and the young man said, "All right, what's wrong with her?" The schatgan says, "Nothing! She says you can go to hell!" (Laughter)

As I say, it's very dangerous to pile on this kind of "yichus", Jack, and I wish you wouldn't do it to me, especially in this company, because I am very well aware, my good friends, that when we are talking together about the UJA, I am a lightweight and a follower in the

presence of leaders.

I was very much at a loss when I was asked to speak to you, to find something to say to you. What can I say that you don't know better than myself? You, who give years of your lives to this kind of thing -- I, a lay follower and contributor to the limit of the minor means of a writer? (Laughter) I'm telling you, you don't know what happens with taxes!-(Laughter) And if I had something to say to you about organization that you don't know, if I wanted to inspire emotions in you, if I wanted to appeal to the classic motives of interest and fear, my good friends, how could I compete with the front page that you saw this morning?

You know the story all too well, and I could sit down now if the problem was to inspire you to go out and fight for a success such as this campaign has never enjoyed since 1948, because I know that success is going to come, and it is going to come because the world situation requires you to act greatly. There is very little I have to say about that.

I was glad that Dewey Stone struck a more positive note, spoke about the excitement and the beauty and

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the sunlight of Israel. I made my first trip there this spring. Everything he says about it, of course, well, there are no words. I suppose most of you, you key people of UJA, have been there. It is a revolutionary experience in a man's life, is it not, to see Israel for the first time? It is like having your first child, isn't it? Or it is like getting married. You go on and you have the same body and the same name, but you are not the person once you have seen Israel.

I have been a contributor to the United Jewish Appeal, I am glad to say, all my life, since I became a wage-earner, but I never knew until I went there that when you write your name at the bottom of a check here in the United States, on this side of the Atlantic, you are spelling out your name on the soil of Israel in buildings, in trees, and most of all, in people, in clear-eyed, strong Jews, making a new world. I found that out this spring and it put new red corpuscles in my blood.

What I want to say to you today may seem very far from the problems which are going to occupy you for the rest of this terribly serious meeting. I want to ask you to do with me what I can best do for such a group, It

is the virtue of a writer, such as God gives a man to be, to be able to step back from the current moment, from current activities, and see them whole. It is his job to hold a mirror up to life.

My friends, ladies and gentlemen, why are you here today? What is this all about? You are all adults, you are all community leaders, you are all well to do. Most of the men here have suspended important business to come here. Many of you made phone calls on your current deal before you came into this luncheon, and as soon as it is over you will send a telegram or make another urgent phone call. What brings men like yourselves and women like yourselves from all over the country into the Sert Room of the Waldorf-Astoria?

The United Jewish Appeal. There are many appeals and the word "united" is used all over the country. The key is "Jewish", is it not? There is something about being Jewish that's got us all in this room. Jewish. More or less, we were all born four or five decades ago and I suggest to you, my friends, to be blunt, that we were born into a badge of shame. The word "Jewish" at the turn of the century had little to recommend it. It meant

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a queer group, a closed group, a group for the most part lost in the medieval world with curious, unfavorable characteristics, clannishness, sharpness, and for those masses of Eastern European immigrants to this shore who were your father and my mother for the most part, for those people it meant ignorant, poverty-stricken green-horns. That is what "Jewish" meant when we entered the world.

Probably the most striking thing that has happened in our lifetimes, my friends, is that that word has turned into a badge of pride, and when a man says he is Jewish now, he says so with a ring of authority and integrity, wherever he may be anywhere in the world, and it is a very curious thing, you know, that our kids -- and it is a phenomenon we all know about -- the new generation is more interested in Jewish things, the Jewish school movement, the Jewish education goes down with them much more, the phenomenon of the child who asks the mother to light candles is almost universal in America today, because the kids have sensed this wonderful change that has come while we toiled and while we grew and while we thought we still carried a badge of shame.

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What is it, my friends, about this word "Jewish" that has turned it from a label to be ashamed of, into a rallying flag that can bring people of the first quality and of the first responsibility from all over the country into this room? What has happened to the word "Jewish"? Well, several things.

In the first place, made free for the first time in hundreds of years and turned loose in western society to do what we could, we have done our share. We have produced our Einsteins, our Freuds, our Salks, our Gershwins, our Berlins. We can hold up our heads in the work of five or six short decades after centuries of suppression. We can hold up our heads with all the peoples of the world for relative contributions to civilization. We have demonstrated our worth in the arts, in the sciences, in business, in finance.

We have had Jewish generals, Jewish sailors and soldiers who fought well in the First World War and in the Second World War, and all the time these things were happening the label was changing from black to gold, and that process as the years roll, in this God-blessed land, goes on and on, with gathering force. We have proved

our title to our place in this land and we have proved our title to a place in the 20th century, not a freak sect, not a fossilized culture, but a people full of life and power and vigor -- yes, and sweetness; yes, and loyalty, given half a chance to give all these forces expression.

And something else happened. Those who said that the word "Jewish" was a badge of shame organized their forces and did their best to prove it by killing six million of us, and that cloud hangs over all our lives. It will never be lifted. We forget it, we talk of other things. A dozen years have gone by. But that black cloud never passes away. It is never absent from my writing. Sometimes they say it is dragged in, but I cannot help putting it there because it is part of my life as it is part of yours, and this was the great deed of shame of modern civilization, and that shame wiped out the shame that went before, and no intellectually respectable man in the civilized world today dares raise the banner again against the Jew on the terms that they were raised at that time.

And out of this horror came the golden miracle

of Israel, because we all know, don't we, my friends, that much as we labor and much as those great pioneers labored in Israel, it was the conscience of the world paying its debt to the six million that enabled the flag of Israel to be raised, but once raised, it will stay raised.

(Applause)

Israel exports citrus and chocolate and plaster. It is even exporting Kaiser-Frazer cars to the East, which is something I learned when I was there, but above all, my friends, Israel exports self-respect to the Jews of the world with their accomplishments, miracle upon miracle, a beleaguered band of a million and a half facing fifty million foes, unafraid and laughing as they build.

I suppose that is why we are here. We aren't kids any more. You know, when you are sixteen and seventeen and eighteen, the age of my poor Marjorie when she starts her book, my poor Marjorie that some of you dislike so heartily, she's a perfectly nice girl. She made mistakes, but didn't all of you? (Laughter) But I say, my friends, when you are seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, your early twenties, when you come cracking into the world, particularly when like yourselves God has given you superior

ability, drive, perception, quickness, the world is like a carnival. This booth, that booth, the other booth, games of chance, glittering prizes, and the fun of it is, get in there and win, learn how to play the game and snatch off the big prizes, it's wonderful fun, it's a great time of life.

And so I am speaking to those who learned the games and won all the prizes in the carnival and stood in the middle with their arms loaded with the kewpie dolls and the gay hats and the things that you win.

And then a queer thing happens, does it not, my friends? You reach the age of 40, 43, 45, and suddenly you find you are at the carnival but you are running it. You are not a visitor there having fun. You are behind the counter and you are running the game and it is your responsibility to keep the game straight, to keep it going, to hand out the prizes to the brighteyed young kids who are so much like the kids you were a few years ago, and you find that you have to worry about the rain and about the fact that the tent is old and about the fact that the carnival must soon move on.

The winning of prizes breaks down for the success-

ful man. He needs a new challenge, does he not, something to do with his time, with his force, with his vigor. Oh, of course, you all know men who solve this by setting bigger prizes, bigger deals, bigger mergers, a yacht, two yachts, the biggest capital gains transaction of all time, buying the Empire State, selling it, buying the Chrysler Building, selling that, buying back the Empire State, and good enough too. But even such men, so brilliant and bright as they are, find themselves looking for other means of expression, some challenge that is vast, some challenge that can take up all their energies and make you feel young again, make you feel that you are out for prizes that are tough to get.

That, I suggest, is the virtue of the United Jewish Appeal. The prize is so tremendous, the stakes are so big and the game is so hard to lick that it makes you feel young again. It makes you want to go out and fight and win, and nothing you can do is too much. The challenge has been tough all along. The challenge that you face on this weekend is as tough as it has been since 1948 and you all know that. That was a hot war.

Five nations invaded an infant country a few

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weeks old, outnumbering them fifty to one, and this infant nation won against incredible odds. It is worse, in a way, to my uninformed view, and I don't speak as an authority. You have authorities speaking to you. But it is worse in this way, that these people who still outnumber us fifty to one no longer underestimate their tiny foe. They are making damned sure this time of being prepared for these little Davids. There is a sea of Communist arms rising up beyond the dikes of the borders of Israel.

What can Israel do in this evil hour but strain all its resources for one thing -- to get the arms it must have to defend its soil, its women, those bright-eyed children running around in Israel, the real hope of the land, to get ready to defend them if the horrible necessity comes?

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In the meantime, there is this whole new body of Jews ready to come to Israel, that must come to Israel: the Jews from North Africa. And never forget, friends, that our whole pitch to the world, the thing that the Jews have been telling the world for four thousand years, is that there is no such thing as an insignificant person, that numbers are meaningless, that the small can be great, that five million can outlive hundreds of millions, and that somewhere in North Africa may be another Heine, another Einstein or another Freud.

The child is formed by Jewish genes, and that is enough for us. He must be saved, and he must be allowed to grow on free soil. That job must be done. And when they get there, they must not continue to live on a bare animal level. They do a tremendous job in Israel. I saw it when I was there. They do a tremendous job of hauling these people into the twentieth century, in two or three years.

It is incredible what they do, and it is incredible how fine these Jews turn out, given half the chance to acquire Western culture.

But that is our job. They have to defend themselves and it is the job of the UJA quite simply to keep on with

its task of rescue, of healing, of mercy and of building, and it is up to us.

Ben-Gurion was kind enough to see me for a few minutes when I was there. You all know where Ben-Gurion is. Ben-Gurion said in his remarkably simple, open-throat khaki way, "What do we want?" he said. "We need peace. Twenty years of peace to build this country. After twenty years of peace, if we can build this country, there will be no arguments with the Arabs any more, because we will be so clearly useful to them that shalom will come of itself. We need peace."

I don't speak out of prejudice because I'm Jewish when I say I believed him, because it is on the face of it. What can Israel want of anybody? There is only one thing that Israel wants of the Arabs. It wants peace. There is only one thing Israel wants of Secretary Dulles and our State Department. It wants peace. There is only one thing it wants of the Communist world. It wants peace.

But it is surrounded by people who will not talk peace.

My friends, I speak not with authority, but I

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speaking saying what my eyes saw. When the Arab leaders will sit down and make peace, then Israel itself, in a very few years, will assume these burdens that we are carrying, and they will turn to us and say, "Thanks. Enough. We are at peace. Now we will finish the job."

When that time will come none of us knows, my friends, but, putting it down in terms of the Aleph-Beth, for four thousand years it has been so. Four thousand years ago God put a sacred people here on this earth. For his own mysterious reasons, which nobody has ever explained, he chose to give them a destiny of trial and of struggle in every generation, and he said to them when he gave them the Law, "You shall live by this. You are going to survive."

And that imperative, my friends, four thousand years later, is the imperative that brings us all together in the Sert Room of the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City in 1955.

"You are to survive." That is still the imperative binding on us all. It is a struggle that goes on in every generation. Every seventy years there is another fight to survive. Five million against the world. Seven million against the world. Sixteen million against the

world. And the -- smash! -- a Hitler terror, and ten million against the world.

But every seventy years it is a struggle. Sometimes a great intellectual crisis comes, and then a Solomon or a Maimonides arises and enables us to survive. Sometimes it is a struggle for existence, the kind of struggle we are celebrating at Chanuka tonight, with the eighth light, and a Macabee arisis, and we survive; or an Israel army arises, and we survive.

Sometimes, as it is now, it is a simple question of the sinews of life, of money, and men of vigor, of energy, of money, of will rise and go out and do the kind of thing that UJA has been doing for sixteen years -- give away the energy that they have and that they want to pour out for a great prize, and pass miracle after miracle after miracle and do the unbelievable -- and that is how we survive.

My friends, it says in the Ethics of the Fathers, "You will never finish the work, but you can never free yourselves to have nothing to do with it." All you men and all you women in this room live by this rule, this central rule of Judaism. None of us can do

anything to keep the torch burning beyond one generation, but now that is our problem.

They raised the torch in Israel. It is blown at by winds from all sides. There are enemies that want to push it down into the dust and rub it out.

The job of UJA in 1956 is to keep that light burning.

(The guests rose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I don't blame you. I am just as stirred as you are with that magnificent presentation by Herman Wouk, right down deep from the heart, and one phrase I had to write down -- I couldn't help it -- Israel exports self-respect to the Jews of the world. What value do you and I place on self-respect? What value do you and I place on dignity? They have exported it to us here, and Herman Wouk rightly said, "Nothing we can do is too much to repay them for that self-respect and to repay them for that dignity which Israel has exported to us.

We have just a little time for questions only regarding the budget which was presented to you by Dewey Stone. We have experts on the dais to answer your

questions.

Are there any questions? If there are none, the budget will be taken up at the Steering Committee tomorrow at two o'clock at the Astor Roof.

(Chairman Weiler made several announcements and then declared the session adjourned at 3:25 o'clock p.m.)

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ארכיון היהודים
אמריקאיים

December 17, 1955

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York City

ABALON STENOTYPE REPORTERS
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NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
WATKINS 9-5826

Chmn. J. Holtzman

J. Mazer

S. Satinsky
Holtzman

WR

Golda Meir



The Business Session of the Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened in the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, New York at 8:30 p.m. on Saturday, December 17, 1955, Mr. Joseph Holtzman presiding.

CHAIRMAN HOLTZMAN: Good evening, friends of Israel. We have spent almost two full days in deliberation over problems and needs and programs for meeting those needs and solving those problems. This evening we shall hear some of the concrete results of these deliberations in the form of reports and resolutions.

It is my great privilege and honor, as one of the National Chairmen of the UJA, to preside at the business session of this conference. This closing session is divided into two sessions, because we have done away this year with the traditional Sunday meeting. As the presiding officer I intend to simply preside. No speeches from me, which I admit is a horrible role to place me in.

(Laughter)

The first thing on the business agenda is introducing Joseph Mazer. Just a month ago many of us were meeting in this very hotel to hammer out an emergency

program for helping to bear the fresh burdens imposed on Israel's people by swift-moving political events. What we were faced with was a bleak prospect of a breakdown in the immigration and settlement program planned for Israel's newcomers. It became clear to us that we would have to change our thinking very drastically, that we would have to get the new thinking translated into dynamic action.

So was born the Special Fund project; to provide the leadership for this special fund, we turned to a very special person, Joseph Mazer. (Applause) Although Mr. Mazer is a modest and retiring person by nature, he accepted this challenging assignment without hesitation, and just to prove that actions speak louder than words, Joe Mazer gave the Special Fund a real start by announcing a gift of \$75,000 over and above his regular UJA contribution right after the Fund was launched.

(Applause)

Just a month has passed since Joe was called to leadership of the Special Fund. Since then he has been traveling the country, constantly alerting our major communities to the importance of this Fund. He is here tonight to report to you. It is a pleasure and a privilege to introduce Joseph Mazer. (Applause)

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MR. MAZER: Thank you very much, Joe.

One thing I am going to do as you did: I am going to be very brief.

One mistake you did make. You said I was retired or retiring. I find out I am semi-retired now from business and equally so from my wife. (Laughter)

This job is something I never was trained for. I am not a fund-raiser. I am an individual, like most all of you in this room, who feels moved by the events that have happened in Jewish life generally and to Israel in particular.

It was for that reason when I was drafted for the job for the special fund that I accepted.

It is because individuals like Joe Holtzman exist that I think we will make a success of this special fund.
(Applause)

Joe mentioned that family special gift, but it was Joe Holtzman who started this \$50,000 Club, and immediately quite a few people joined it. There is an individual by the name of Herman Talman from Tulsa, whom I didn't know. There was the fellow from Gastonia, North Carolina, by the name of Robert Gurney, whom I had met once before.

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There was a little dynamic fellow by the name of Dewey Stone and many others who immediately joined his club. I don't have to tell you there are great Jews in America, one who has been working so hard for these many years, Bill Rosenwald, who has made an outstanding gift himself.

It was just about ten days ago at a meeting where an individual I had never met -- and I thought I had known most of the people in New York City, an individual who this year gave the UJA \$30,000 -- got up and announced he was going to give the same \$30,000 from 1956, but for the special need that exists presently he made a gift of \$250,000. That man was a fellow I had never met before, by the name of Sam Rubin of the Fabrijay Company.

This just indicates that we do have Jews in the United States and in New York who are aware of the problem and will do their utmost to fill that most urgent need.

It was hardly a month ago when the special meeting was called by the UJA at this hotel, on November 18. It was there that we heard Foreign Minister Sharett tell what events were taking place that affected Israel so vitally. We all know the arming of Egypt by the Communist governments of Europe. We all know how important it is that those

people in North Africa who are so insecure, who live without any dignity, who want to and feel they must, leave where they are now residing and come to Israel.

These people are coming to Israel penniless. They have to be transported; they have to be fed; they have to be clothed. They need medical attention. Their children need schools. Many of them need clothes.

We cannot expect Israel in the present emergency to take care of these immigrants and defend herself at the same time. I think it is our duty, since we cannot raise money for arms for Israel, at least to relieve her of the burden of taking care of these 45,000 people we expect to take in to Israel in this next year.

If we do that one job, Israel will have more money for defense. (Applause)

Since the November 18th meeting in this hotel, we have learned that the situation is much more dramatic, is much more tense, and the danger is much more real. We have been told in no uncertain terms that our goal of \$25,000,000 which we originally set is completely and entirely inadequate. We will have to raise our sights. We will have to raise our goals. We will have to do a much

better job than we thought we would have to do only a short four weeks ago.

This is really a challenge. This is really a responsibility. It is going to be our duty to meet it. I am sure with the help of all you people, we can meet the emergency.

Thank you. (Applause)

(Continued on page 7.)

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CHAIRMAN HOLTZMAN: Thank you, Joe, for that fine beginning, but I am sorry that I have to point out that there are many, many, many openings in my \$50,000 club. There are even openings in Charlie Guttworth's \$25,000 club. We will promote you, Charlie.

I also just want to point out that pledges to this special fund are meaningless. Timing is of the essence. It is cash only that can do this job.

Now I will stick to business. I am now going to call on Mr. Sol Satinsky of Philadelphia, one of our UJA stalwarts of many, many years.

MR. SATINSKY: Honored guests, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen:

Your committee on resolutions submits for your consideration the following resolution and its greetings to the people of Israel:

"We, the delegates to the annual national conference of the UJA, gathered in New York on December 17, 1955 express our most cordial greetings to the President of Israel, Itzhak Ben Zvi, and to the Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion.

"We also greet the people of Israel who are

struggling so heroically against such immense odds to maintain their country as a haven for the homeless and as a bulwark of democracy.

"We proudly hail the remarkable courage, sacrifice and devotion they have displayed in continuing to build a Jewish homeland and refusing to compromise their ideals despite the mounting pressure of their burdens.

"We view with unbounded admiration their insistence on keeping the gates of immigration open despite their own mortal danger.

"We are profoundly aware that the people of Israel, faced as they are with grave dangers which threaten their security, are sacrificing painfully won living standards, taxing themselves cruelly, stretching their overburdened economy to the limit to support programs of immigration and resettlement for their oppressed and uprooted brethren, Moslems of North Africa. And finally,

"We, as citizens of the great American democracy, salute the people of Israel who, in a part of the world which for centuries has known only feudal darkness, have kindled anew an inspired beacon to democracy's ideals.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the resolu-

tion. May I have a second?

A VOICE: Seconded.

MR. SATINSKY: Motion seconded. The resolution is now before you.

(Whereupon the motion was put to a vote and unanimously passed)

MR. SATINSKY: A resolution of appreciation.

"We, the delegates to the annual national conference of the UJA gathered in New York on December 17, 1955, wish to record on this occasion our heartfelt gratitude to those dedicated and devoted workers in the cause of the UJA who have given such inspired service and leadership on behalf of needy and oppressed Jews throughout the world.

"We wish to express our warmest appreciation to the national officers, to the members of the Campaign Cabinet and to the regional officers of the UJA for the devotion and concern which epitomizes their efforts on behalf of the 1955 campaign, to William Rosenwald whose persistence and determination characterized his first year as General Chairman of the UJA, resulting in so excellent an achievement. We wish to express our warm appreciation for his selfish, untiring and dedicated devotion to the

hardest responsibilities of the highest to which he was called.

"We wish to make known our deepest gratitude to Edward M. M. Warburg who has served us in the office of President of the UJA and thereby has continued to fortify us with his warm hearted and devoted leadership (Applause).

"To the two men who guided the operations of the UJA throughout the 1955 campaign, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz and his successor, Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, we wish to extend our deep heartfelt thanks for their consecrated, devoted service in a year of upheaval and turmoil abroad.

"We wish also to express our gratitude and appreciation to our loyal and devoted staff for their outstanding contribution to our cause. And finally,

"To community leaders everywhere and to the tens of thousands of loyal campaign workers who labored so diligently and successfully, we wish to record our deep gratitude for their unequalled service on behalf of needy Jews everywhere.

"We pledge our continued and increasing support to the leaders of the 1956 UJA and promise to do everything possible to measure up to the responsibilities facing us

in the critical year that is ahead."

You have heard the resolution. May I have a second?

A VOICE: Seconded.

MR. SATINSKY: The resolution is now before you.

(Whereupon the motion was put to a vote and passed unanimously)

MR. SATINSKY: A resolution on the goal:

"On November 18th the representatives and leaders of American Jewish communities met in an hour of emergency for the free people of Israel and of greatest concern for tens of thousands of Jews in tension-ridden North Africa. Mindful of their responsibilities and determined that 45,000 Jews of Morocco and Tunisia should promptly be brought to haven in Israel, they resolved here that American Jews should proceed at once to raise a special fund for \$25,000,000, to be in addition to the moneys to be raised in the regular 1956 UJA.

"Today we, the representatives and leaders of the same communities, meet again. To our profound concern, we realize that the situation which confronted the people

of Israel and the Jews in the land of tension overseas have grown more intense than it was possible to believe four short weeks ago. We acknowledge, in view of this worsening situation, that the special fund of \$25,000,000 we so recently adopted is insufficient and inadequate to meet the necessities of this crucial hour. Tens of thousands of additional Jews are clamoring to come to Israel.

"We now recognize that no part of the cost of immigration and absorption of these newcomers should be born by the people of Israel. Therefore we, the delegates to the Annual National Conference of the UJA, gathered in New York on December 17, 1955, call on American Jews everywhere and on all Jewish communities to look upon the \$25,000,000 sum as only a starting point for the Special Fund. We urge as strongly as we know how that they contribute far in excess of the \$25,000,000 and that they take every step to make such moneys available to the UJA at the earliest moment.

"At the same time, having heard the requirements of the beneficiary agencies of the UJA, we recognize that this is also a period of most critical need for

the hundreds of thousands of Jews living in the lands of despair and danger and for the recent immigrants to Israel.

"In addition to the Special Fund, we call on American Jewish communities and American Jews to meet in full the budgetary requirements of UJA agencies of \$105,146,035 through the vigorous carrying out of the regular UJA campaign of 1956.

"We declare from this conference must go forth a call to all of American Jewry to know and understand the dimensions of the crisis before us. To a supreme emergency, our answer must be no less than a supreme response.

(Continued on Page 14)

b12-1

Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard the resolution. May I have a second?

A VOICE: Seconded.

MR. SATINSKY: The resolution is before you.

(Whereupon the motion was put to a vote and unanimously passed)

MR. SATINSKY: Resolution for participation of UJA: We, the delegates of the National Jewish Conference gathered in New York on December 15, 1955, wish to reaffirm Paragraph Seven of the resolution of November 18th which reads as follows:

"That over and above the Special Fund, the Welfare Funds of America agree that UJA's share from the regular Welfare Fund campaigns to be conducted in 1956 in no case be less than the UJA's share of the 1955 campaign proceeds."

You have heard the resolution. May I have a second?

A VOICE: Seconded.

MR. SATINSKY: The resolution is before you.

(Whereupon the motion was put to a vote and unanimously passed)

b12-2

MR. SATINSKY: Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN HOLTZMAN: Now we are going to proceed with the report of the Nominating Committee, and for that report I am calling upon Mr. Ben Swig, member of the National Campaign Cabinet, and the National Big Gifts Chairman, who came all the way from San Francisco to be with us at this conference. Mr. Swig. (Applause)

MR. SWIG: Mr. Chairman, delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Nominating Committee has again called upon our four outstanding National Chairmen to serve in the critical days that lie ahead. We know that it is not fair of us to ask them to do this. We know that they have given more than it is right to expect any man or any group of men to give to this cause that is so vital to Jewish survival. We know we should honor their unselfish desire to step down from the limelight and to take a less permanent role in the work that is for the affairs of the UJA, but knowing all this, we have concluded that we dare not in these critical days lose the invaluable benefit to be derived from their continued service, and so, asking their forgiveness in advance,

b12-3

we nominate to serve as National Chairmen for 1956 our devoted, dedicated, inspiring National Chairmen whom I will now ask to raise as I read their names:

Morris W. Berinstein (applause), Joseph Holtzman (applause), Sol Luckman (applause), and my partner, Jack D. Weiler (applause). Thank you very much.

While the Nominating Committee does not in and of itself take any formal action with respect to the nomination of National Chairmen representing the constituent bodies of the National UJA, since technically this is the prerogative and the responsibility of the United Israel Appeal and Joint Distribution Committee respectively, nevertheless we are indeed privileged to be able to announce that Mr. Dewey D. Stone will represent the UIA and Dr. Jonah B. Wise will represent the JDC in the top echelon of UJA's officers for 1956.

(Applause)

A year ago, when the Jews of America called upon William Rosenwald to serve as General Chairman of the 1955 campaign, it left vacant his post as one of the five National Campaign Chairmen. We did not at that time take any steps to fill that post for two reasons: in the

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first place, the post was being filled, for all practical purposes, by our then Campaign Cabinet Chairman, Samuel Daroff. In the second place, we wanted to hold that post open so that we could have the happy privilege at this Annual Conference of electing to that post a man who for the past five years has served in such inspirational fashion as the leader of the UJA Campaign Cabinet. This is a promotion which is more than well merited. It was earned by diligent, patient, persistent, hard work in the cause of oppressed Jews everywhere.

It is now my honor and privilege not only to nominate as the National Campaign Chairman for 1956 our devoted friend, Samuel Daroff, but also to confer upon him, on behalf of the officers and Cabinet of the UJA, this award for his years of distinguished service as Chairman of the UJA Campaign Cabinet. Mr. Daroff.

(Applause)

Sam, I would like to read to our delegates the inscription on that plaque. "To Samuel H. Daroff, Chairman, National Campaign Cabinet 1953, 1954, 1955. Presented by the officers and Cabinet members of the United Jewish Appeal in tribute to his inspiring leadership and

devoted service in the cause of Israel and his fellow Jews."

Sam Daroff, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause)

MR. DAROFF: Mr. Chairman, Golda Myerson, ladies and gentlemen, I accept this very beautiful award in deep gratitude and humility. I accept it not because of the work that I performed as Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet. I did so because to me this was a labor of love.

I remember ever since I was a boy, my parents of blessed memory taught me one thing that I have tried to carry on all through my life, and that is, that the joy of life is not only in having but in sharing, sharing with those less fortunate than ourselves, and therefore I felt that as an American Jew it was my duty and my privilege, and knowing the many problems that Jews had to face throughout the entire world, to give of my bounty and whatever time and sacrifices I could make in order to help Jews, no matter where they may be.

Now that I have been one of the blessed ones and fortunate ones in my day to see the establishment of the State of Israel, I shall do everything within my

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power to keep on working day and night, if need be, so that Israel will become, I hope, please God soon, the land of milk and honey that we all talk about.

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In closing, I wish to thank my good friends Eddie Warburg, Bill Rosenwald and all of the members of the Cabinet for the wonderful and loyal support that they have given me in the three years of my office, for without them this job could not be done.

Ladies and gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart, thank you so much. (Applause)

MR. SWIG: Thank you very much, Sam.

While we were gratified to be privileged to nominate Sam Daroff, to serve as one of our National Chairmen for 1956, this committee approached with trepidation and considerable concern the task of selecting a successor to Mr. Daroff, as Chairman of the Cabinet. Our concern was not with respect to the choice of a successor, because Mr. Daroff, Mr. Rosenwald and the other National Chairmen and the members of our Nominating Committee were unanimous in their choice of a successor.

Our concern was rather in regard to our ability to induce the man we are about to nominate for this post

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to accept the burdens of this office. I am happy to inform you that he has accepted, and it is with a great deal of pleasure that we present for your endorsement the name of Joseph Meyerhoff of Baltimore (applause) to serve as Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet in 1956. Mr. Meyerhoff has been in the forefront of Jewish communal life and general community affairs for a great number of years. He has served as an active member of UJA's National Campaign Cabinet for the last five years.

He has made extensive firsthand studies of the problems and needs in Israel on a number of occasions. By experience, by training, by conviction, Mr. Meyerhoff brings to his assignment those qualities of mind, of heart, of character which he will be called upon in the full measure to bring to bear on the problems which confront the Campaign Cabinet.

It is indeed a pleasure to nominate Mr. Meyerhoff as Chairman of the UJA National Campaign Cabinet for 1956. (Applause)

MR. MEYERHOFF: Thank you, Mr. Swig.

My friends, I undertake this new responsibility with a great deal of humility, not only because of the

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very high standards of zeal and devotion that have been set by my predecessors, but because of the tremendous responsibility devolving on all of us, and particularly on the officers in the Cabinet of the UJA.

I am sure that all of you can appreciate that the manner in which we conduct this campaign will affect to a material extent the very lives and destiny of fellow Jews, of men and women and children in North Africa, in Europe and in Israel, and, my friends, I hope that all of us can measure up to the challenge and the opportunities which these trying times demand.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. SWIG: We all wish you the best of luck, Joe, and we are all going to work with you.

It is no less a pleasure for your Nominating Committee to present for your consideration Mr. Fred Forman of Rochester, New York, to serve in the newly created post of Vice-Chairman of the UJA National Campaign Cabinet for 1956. Mr. Forman is a prominent business leader who, despite his numerous business and communal responsibilities, has made it a point to visit Israel yearly for the past several years. He has long born the

burdens of responsible leadership in Jewish communal affairs and in civic life in his own community of Rochester. He has never failed to accept and carry out with signal success assignments given to him as a member of UJA's National Campaign Cabinet.

Quiet, modest, retiring, he has given selfless service to our cause, and it is indeed a privilege to nominate Mr. Fred Forman as Vice-Chairman of the UJA National Campaign Cabinet for 1956. (Applause) We regret that Mr. Forman was called to Buffalo on a very important meeting for one of our Jewish causes. It is just like him to do that.

It is now my happy privilege to call upon another member of the UJA's official family who is to be rewarded. Insofar as it is possible for one to be fully rewarded for her work in the UJA by elevating to Honorary Chairman of the National Women's Division, Mrs. Hal Horne -- Mrs. Horne for the past two years has served with distinction and outstanding success as Chairman of the National Women's Division of the UJA. Her record of service in the UJA goes back to the days of the founding of the New York Women's Division, In 1939. Mrs. Horne has made it a part

of her duties to visit UJA installations in Europe, North Africa and Israel, to see with her own eyes the needs in those areas, and then to travel widely throughout this country to bring home the message of UJA's needs to her fellow Jews.

It is my great honor not only to nominate her to her new post, but also to confer upon her in behalf of the officers and the Cabinet of the UJA this award for distinguished service in the cause of oppressed Jews everywhere. Mrs. Horne. (Applause)

(Continued on Page 24)

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MRS. HORNE: To say that I am thrilled with this perfectly wonderful gift would be putting it mildly, but, as thrilled as I am with this magnificent award, I am more thrilled that you are allowing me to continue to work for our people, for as long as you want me and as long as they want me and need me.

That is the gratitude that I have and that I feel and that I thank you for so very much. (Applause).

MR. SWIG: We have indeed been fortunate in the succession of our women who have served as chairmen of the National Women's Division of the UJA. If you look at the record, you will find the names of women who have rendered magnificent service in this capacity.

Our good fortune continues as we present for your consideration the successor to our retiring Women's Division chairman, Mrs. Horne. Your committee is indeed happy to nominate, as Chairman of the National Women's Division for 1956 Mrs. Henry Newman of Kansas City.

For the past three years, Mrs. Newman has served as vice chairman of the National Women's Division and in that capacity has visited a great number of communities on behalf of the UJA. She has for many years played a

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prominent role in the civic and Jewish life of her community..

Mrs. Newman has recently returned from her third trip to Israel and Europe as a member of the Women's Division Missions and is uniquely qualified to carry on with distinction, charm and grace the responsibilities of the office that she is being called upon to assume.

It is my great pleasure to nominate Mrs. Henry Newman as Chairman of the National Women's Division of the UJA. Mrs. Newman. (Applause)

A year ago we elected to the new office of President of the United Jewish Appeal our beloved leader and associate, Edward M. M. Warburg. It is quite possible that Eddie Warburg may have thought that this meant that he was going to enjoy a period of comparative rest and relaxation. If this was the case, he was soon to be deprived of this momentary anticipated pleasure, for events were to prove otherwise.

During this past year, Mr. Warburg has continued to provide all of us with the benefit of his rich experience and has set an example for dedicated service rarely equalled in the history of the United Jewish Appeal.

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We are indeed grateful to him for his willingness to continue in this kind of retirement.

It is my very great honor and privilege to nominate as President of the United Jewish Appeal in 1956 our young elder statesman, Edward M. M. Warburg.

(The assembled guests rose and applauded.)

It is now my great honor to nominate for the highest office in the United Jewish Appeal, which means the highest office American Jewry has to confer upon one of its most distinguished citizens, a truly great figure in the ranks of American Jewry.

When the Jews of America called upon William Rosenwald one year ago to accept the mantle of leadership and the responsibilities of general chairman of the UJA, he accepted this order like a good soldier and with a retiring modesty and, I might add, almost shyness, which typifies his character.

As we look back upon the year which has passed, we take pride in our own wisdom and prophesy in calling upon him to lead us.

Despite the numberless causes in which Mr. Rosenwald has for many years served with distinction, the

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UJA has since its inception in 1939 been pre-eminent in his concern.

Few persons in American Jewish life can match his record of dedication, devotion and giving in behalf of needy and oppressed Jews throughout the world.

Few persons in American Jewish life can match his record of doggedness, persistence, diligence and vigilance in behalf of the United Jewish Appeal.

I would like to read to you a copy of a letter which we have just received from Israel, addressed to:

"My Dear William Rosenwald:

"I wish to express to you my deep appreciation of your generous response to the needs of the special fund for North African immigration. It is characteristic of your leadership and reflective of the high sense of public spirit and concern for your fellow Jews. Please accept my sincere thanks.

"I regret deeply that illness deprived me of the pleasure of seeing you and Mrs. Rosenwald when you were here a short time ago. I do not need to emphasize to you the urgency of the North African situation. It is essential that the greater part of the burden to help our

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unfortunate brethren in North Africa must be shouldered by the Jewish communities of the free world and primarily by the great Jewish community of the United States.

Therefore, the greatest Jewish philanthropic agency in the world, the United Jewish Appeal, must again take the lead. Its efforts in ministering to the Jews in need from all countries have been unprecedented. Its help in enabling Israel to receive, settle and integrate immigrants from lands of oppression and persecution, and its assistance in the creation of a vibrant and dynamic democratic society in Jewry's ancient homeland have an honored place in the eternal history of our people.

"I am confident that you will keep faith with our history, with your own past and with your own hearts. It is this confidence which urges me to ask you, for the sake of Israel and for our brethren waiting to be saved, to continue directing the fortunes of the United Jewish Appeal, from this country, which feels constantly the material and moral benefits of your leadership, I appeal to you at this critical hour to continue as a responsible leading force of this great and noble undertaking.

"I know how much this work encroaches on your

time and energy, for such an endeavor is all-absorbing; but if this is the hour of crisis, it is also the hour of great hope.

"I wish you to know, my dear William Rosenwald, that in your continued office as National Chairman you have my pledge and that of my government of our wholehearted support and all possible assistance in naming you to carry out your historic duties.

"Please accept my warm personal regards and my best wishes.

"Yours sincerely, D. Ben-Gurion."

(Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with a deep sense of heartfelt gratification and with a realization of the truly unique responsibilities which 1956 will place upon him that we nominate as General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for 1956 our distinguished chairman for 1955, Mr. William Rosenwald.

(The assembled guests rose and applauded.)

MR. ROSENWALD: Ben, I don't know how to thank you for that introduction. I can only tell you from bitter experience that a letter such as the one you so kindly read is in reality a tender trap. (Laughter)

I want to thank each and every one of you present and at home for all that you did to make the 1955 campaign the success that it is. I don't say the success that it was, because it is not over yet, and we still have some to come in.

I want to thank you for the confidence that you have indicated by asking me to serve again this year and next year as your General Chairman. I don't know how high the office is, but I do know that I have always felt that there is no position in American Jewish life that gives a man so great an opportunity to serve his fellow Jews. For it entails at all times the responsibility for hundreds of thousands of lives in many parts of the world.

At the present time, the lives of more than a million and a half Jews in Israel alone hang in the balance. They are threatened as they have not been threatened since 1948; and this, in and of itself, should be more than enough to inspire us to give to the hilt and to see to it that our help reaches them in time. (Applause)

But it is not only the lives and hopes of the Jews of Israel that hang in the balance. The threat is very much greater than that. Outside of Israel there are

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millions of Jewish men, women and children who live in despair or under oppression or even in constant danger; and their hopes and even their lives are in terrible jeopardy. I am speaking not only of the Jews of North Africa; I am speaking also of those who were left behind in the satellite countries and those who have been trapped in Russia, in Syria and in other lands.

Do we have to accept the fact merely because they cannot get out now that they must be barred from Israel forever? After all, we have seen for ourselves that sometimes some of the bars are let down. We have lived through greater miracles than that. As a matter of fact, we of the United Jewish Appeal participated in the performance of a certain miracle ourselves. It is a miracle that is peculiarly relevant to this occasion. It is the creation of the State of Israel. (Applause)

Since that time, then, in partnership with the people of Israel, we have done an enormous amount to see that our creation has been great strengthened, and yet, for practically all those who wish to join their fellow Jews as free citizens in a free world, their hope is to get to Israel, and it is their hope and our creation that is being

threatened today.

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Their hope we must keep alive, and, bearing in mind all that we have done in order to bring about our achievements of the past, I ask you, dare we do a whit less at this time to see to it that our creation shall be maintained and shall continue in the light of today's circumstances? (Applause)

And so, ladies and gentlemen, this, briefly, is why the threat to Israel means much more than a threat to the over a million and a half Jews who are living there. It is a threat also to hundreds and thousands, even millions of others.

1956 will present us with a truly great challenge. As I told you yesterday, during 1955 we did succeed in reversing the downward trend of giving.

But, facing the circumstances that we are facing now, we are going to have to do a great deal more, vastly more than that in 1956.

If this conference wishes me to continue as General Chairman, they can do so only with the determination that that haven of freedom called Israel shall continue and shall prosper. (Applause)

Each of us in this room and the hundreds of thousands of us in all parts of these United States must similarly have the same determination that enabled us to win in the past and will enable us to win again.

(Applause)

We must face this challenge, each of us, with the resolve to work harder than we have ever worked before and to give more than we ever gave before, because it is only thus that we will be able to rise to the challenge that history has placed before us, and, in rising to that challenge, we can and we must succeed. (Applause)

MR. SWIG: Bill, thank you. We can see from this demonstration how much we all love and admire you and how grateful we are all to you.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Chairman, this concludes our nominations, and I move the acceptance of this committee's report.

CHAIRMAN HOLTZOFF: Do I hear any seconds? I will second it myself.

(The motion was seconded by several.)

All those in favor will please rise to the occasion.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

I don't have to say another word. Bill, you are our leader, and I will follow you through thick and thin, and I mean that.

This concludes our so-called business session. Now, if I had a chair, I would hand it to a man who needs no further introduction, one of the greatest inspirations of my life, Eddie Warburg. (Applause)

(Mr. Warburg assumed the chairmanship of the meeting.)

CHAIRMAN WARBURG: Dear friends, as we sit here tonight, I think that all of us are conscious of the awful responsibility that history has placed on us. And we are conscious of the frustration of our own inadequacy in transmitting and mobilizing that which is necessary to meet the role that history seems to demand.

I don't think that any of us are presumptuous enough to think of ourselves in any way other than just little ants or possibly corks that are bobbing on the tides of Eternity; and we wonder what possibly could have called forth this moment where we, who feel ourselves far from leaders, are asked to assume and to guide and to think

through and decide problems that are so enormous in their connotation and for which we feel so dismally ill equipped.

We sit here tonight in a very cheerful and delightful surrounding. We have gone through difficult days of discussion and soul-searching. None of us are satisfied by the conclusions, because the conclusions are not and cannot be resolved by resolutions, and all of us have had a certain amount of experience in this work, no matter how we came to it and no matter what our angle of interest may be.

But I don't think any of us can fail to realize that through the walls of this room there are eyes peering at us, wondering, wondering, wondering whether the illusion of the role of the American Jewish community is an illusion or is what it could be.

As we search our conscience, and as we search our deepest thoughts, we wonder what it is in any failure that we have performed the tasks that have been assigned to us or even those that have not been assigned to us that we have rushed into. Why is it that we need to spell out, to underline that which is first-column news in every newspaper in the country?

I think the question comes down to one simple thing: We have run out of words. Emergency, crisis -- those are things that have become in some strange way synonymous with campaigning. And let me say that I know of what I speak when I say that when those words were used before, they were not used loosely.

Tremendous accomplishments have been achieved by us. Tremendous strides have been made, but the sleeping giant of which we are a part may have been roused, but he has not been awakened.

And so we are gathered together at the end of these days, in which we have flagellated ourselves with our inadequacies and wondered on what we could set our compass, as Americans, as Jews, as members of the free world, at the spectacle that is occurring in our lifetime.

(Continued on page 37.)

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I think the only answer that can be on any meaning is a personal and individual answer after the recognition of what is really the situation: Can we stand up and face ourselves no matter what occurs?

If we all take that standard, I think organizational patterns, previous precedents, all that can be swept aside in the volition of action.

We who have planned this program tonight feel that there are two people who can best make the statement of the situation to you. I am sure that there are many things that they would much rather do than carry this awesome responsibility. I am sure that to both of them it is an extreme burden.

The first one that I would like to call on is one who has assumed a burden, and I think only recently in the tremendous worrying-through of the problems he has begun to realize the terrific task which he has undertaken. From us who are his colleagues it is not only an inspiration to work with him; it is a joy to know that such a man exists. Herbert Friedman (Applause).

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Madam Minister; Mr. Avriel, member of the Knesset of Israel; the Honorable Mr. Hyman, Consul General of Israel; ladies and gentlemen:

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Perhaps the only way to approach times of tension is with words of poetry. Edward Warburg started to speak them. This was no text. This was the soul of the man trying to come out to you from inside, to say such things as would show you his hopes, his fears, to say such things as would show you his courage and his faith, whatever it was that he was trying to show you.

He was speaking within the context of tension. It is in the streets; it is in the air; it is in the clouds which hover over the whole world.

The world doesn't breathe easily tonight, nor does Israel. Perils seem to await, and each new day as it is born might be the day which is pregnant with strife.

Geneva has faded fast, and this government of ours has reembarked on a program of rearmament, for the world is still grave. And if, in the big arena, Geneva is replaced with bitterness and disillusionment and fear again, then in the small arena peace in Israel hangs by a thread.

Perhaps the big and the small arenas are interwoven. This might be the meaning of our times.

We do not manufacture ^{sores} curses with which to come

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to you each December. It would be too convenient to have them on the eve of a new campaign, for they might seem to be those manufactured things which we must present to you for artificial stimulation.

History moves so quickly, the human mind is taxed to follow merely the flow of events, let alone to make any satisfactory analysis of what is happening. Crisis builds upon crisis with such a rapidity that no time is available for reflection, almost no time is available for understanding, and hardly enough time is available for response.

He said that we have the feeling sometimes that we are like corks that bob on the water. We ask ourselves: What can we do? What can we do? I do not have the feeling of being hopeless or helpless.

Some say that we can do nothing. Some say that these problems are growing so large as to be insoluble by private groups such as we are. A private people, a private folk do not have the capacity to fight the tide of history.

This is a thesis which I resist with the deepest fibres of my being, for we are people who have withstood all of the ravages of history, and we are won.

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We have been toppled, we have often been mortally wounded, but we have not yet ever been so defeated as not to come back.

I have the feeling that when we place our destiny within the loving embrace of our own self-confidence there is nothing that can penetrate it to its core.

There is a danger that this thesis may sometimes turn to arrogance. There is a danger that this belief may sometimes lead to unwarranted cockiness and even to bad manners, but I risk those for the sake of the strength which flows from all of the hearts and souls who believe that there is something in this concept of people and land and ideas of Israel which are imperishable for us and which are of value to the world (Applause).

I said that when we are in the embrace of our own self-confidence we have the feeling of immortality. There are within the ebbs and flows of historic trends moments of frustration and bitterness. We passed through such a period. We came out of the pit of despair in 1945, and we emerged into an epoch of exaltation, of freedom with the capacity to act, and, oh, how exalted we were in those days, those days when every muscle was girded and every

14-5

sinew was taut.

You remember them with excitement. You remember the days when the first workers of the JDC got into those places in Europe, the interstitial cracks and crevices from which Jews emerged in life, and do you remember the thrill and the surge of excitement when you began to collect money in ever larger and ever larger quantities to send the ships to Antwerp and Brussels and the places on the Continent where the Joint was stockpiling the life-giving supplies, and you remember the surcharge of possibility that went through everybody's mind when you began to read of camp after camp whose Jewish population was growing larger and larger and larger as they gathered for eastern Europe on the soil of Germany which was under the blessed freedom of that Flag which provided temporary havens until the final disposition could be made.

Yes, with the help of the Government of the United States and inter-governmental committees, yes, with the help of others who rallied and saw and understood, but still primarily with our own concept of determination to survive we met those years.

And that same Joint, so affectionately known,

with its network of hundreds of people in Europe flown quickly from here, aided and abetted the slow, steady trickle that later grew to a flood as they left the Continent and moved illegally to a Palestine which in the agonies of the closing of the British administration nevertheless took them up with such love that love engalfed the world, and even in the bitter blackness love shone through because in Palestine they wanted those people, and they took them, and they took them, and they built with them and on them and through them.

You participated in all of that, and you participated in the birth. The birth came with blood as all birth does, and you participated in that fantastic, incredible daily operation of hundreds and tens of thousands and scores of thousands who came from Iraq and who came from Yemen and who came from Roumania.

Yes, even for one brief instant there was a chance to get a hundred thousand out of that trap.

Oh, but you know how you participated. You stood in line to be counted, and you poured it into the coffers of those agencies which were able to do something with it.

All through that Israel kept growing, all through that, every year, every year. Let's not labor the point.

We have come now to a place which is strange and far away and exotic as far as the Waldorf Astoria is concerned. It is not Yemen. It is not Iraq. It is not Poland. It is not Germany. It is Morocco. But it doesn't make any difference because it is Jews.

I want you all to understand in the simplest fashion that wherever and whenever there is a community of Jews in peril or danger you shall not be permitted to rest because you will not permit yourselves to rest until every effort possible is put forth, win or lose, to get those out who must be gotten out, to work with those who must remain behind, and there shall be some of both.

The flow is on now: a few thousand in 1954, 30,000 in 1955, 45,000, 55,000, 60,000 in 1956. We have no idea what the year will bring.

Several things are simply clear: that in a Moslem land, which Morocco is, no non-Moslem has the freedom of air to breathe; that in a land which is operating under an Arab boycott slogan against all non-Arabs, the Jews have no economic life to live; in a land where

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passions operate among primitive peoples there is bloodshed in the streets; in a land where, most seriously of all, there may be entrapment, entrapment again, in such a land we have this population whom it is our honor and duty to serve.

There will be no one of you, no one of you who understands history or geography who will say that you have nothing to do with them or they have nothing to do with you, for, if you say that, you abuse the premise which ties us all together.

The largest immigration in years faces us. Get it straight. Don't blink at the fact. The largest immigration in years faces us at a time when the most intricate security situation faces Israel.

To take in the immigrants at a time when life and viability are at stake represents the compounding of two problems which have never before come together in such conjunction.

I know that we shall go to all the governments and all the peoples and all the committees and all the chancelries. Israel shall do that. And we shall go to all the friends and all the benefactors and all the

understanding ones of the world.

I know that wherever we present this problem there may be sympathetic response, but I am positive that when we present this problem to you there will be sympathetic response. That is the difference. That is the difference.

Yesterday in the Security Council the delegate of Syria in that awful debate tipped his hand as far as you and you and every one of you in this room is concerned. Not tipped his hand as far as Israel is concerned, but you and I were the objects of his attack when he said that the United Nations should apply economic sanctions against Israel, and one of the reasons he chose economic sanctions was that he said such sanctions were imperative because Israel was getting loans and gifts and grants "through her agents in fabulous amounts."

Who are the agents of Israel? Do you want to be the agent of Israel? I want to be the agent of Israel if, by "agent," we mean one who loves and is identified with and sympathizes with. (Applause)

I think it is easier to put it this way: Let's not talk about fabulous amounts. Let's put it this way:

If the UJA means that much to the Arabs, to the delegate of Syria, how much should the UJA mean to you and me? That is the way to understand this.

I think this is the gravest campaign we have faced since 1948. I think there is a capacity available to you to make the greatest response you have made since 1948, and I would suggest that every hour that goes by and every day that goes by you think of this campaign of 1956 as 1948 all over again, and do the same thing you did in 1948. (Applause.)

Don't clap. Don't applaud. We know how you feel. The room is pulsating with what you are pouring out of your hearts. But out of all the love and all of the pouring out of the heart into this great cauldron of Jewish survival there is one thing that keeps the fire going, and that is the money which is put at the disposal of the agency which we serve, the JDC which we serve, and the Government of Israel who receives the hard dollars ultimately and uses them for purposes which it is obvious she will use them for but which become her dollars when they are given to her by the agency.

This is the manner in which you can make the response. This is the way in which I would like you to

take the campaign of the year ahead, earnestly, seriously, deeply, not superficially.

Take your minds away from these things. None of this will work unless we understand the eternalities that are behind it all.

We want Israel, both land and people, to live because she is the cause which enables us to survive, and I use the word "Israel" in the biggest sense. Israel means both land of Israel and people of Israel wherever they may be.

A people dies when it has no reason for existence. A land dies when its people do not support it. The idea of Israel dies if land and people together are in danger.

That would be the greatest tragedy of all because the idea of eternal Israel is an idea which has to do with freedom and justice and peace and dignity and belief in man and belief in God who runs history.

The idea of Israel is the most precious thing we own which we have given away to everyone who wanted it and yet which we have never lost.

Valor, valor is a permanent quality. Courage is not true if it is transitory and passes quickly.

Vision can not be a temporary attribute. Valor and courage and vision, if they are to be possessed, must be owned forever.

These are the tender qualities of the mother. These are the steely qualities of the soldier, valor and courage and vision.

As we go into this 18th year of the UJA, which is the year of life, this is the 18th campaign we shall run, and it must be a campaign dedicated to life, lives which shall be saved, people who shall be housed, new ones and babies and old ones who shall be resurrected.

But above all, all, all else, this must be the campaign of life for Israel.

Thank you. (Applause)

(Continued on page 50.)

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B15-1

CHAIRMAN WARBURG: To us tonight has been sent an old friend as Ambassador Extraordinary from Israel, and it is with deepest respect and understanding and sympathy that we ask her now to address us, Golda Myerson.

(The audience arose and applauded)

MRS. MYERSON: May I take this opportunity, in addition to the letter that was read here of the Prime Minister of the Government of Israel, to offer in my name and the name of the people of Israel, to Mr. Rosenwald, Mr. Warburg and all their colleagues, not mere congratulations but a wish that they may have the strength to do that which will be requested of them during the coming year.

We are meeting tonight when Israel again has made the headlines on the front pages. For many years we have had the problem in Israel, and before that in Palestine, why is it that only our troubles are publicized? Why is it that the day by day growth and building and development are not exciting, and to newspapermen seem to be not interesting? Is it the opinion of men that print papers and write for papers that the human being, the reader of the paper, is interested only in trouble?

B15-2

During the last few years something has happened in that tiny country called Israel which no one has yet succeeded in describing. A few months ago we finally implemented a plan of several years to build another town in the Negev of about 30 kilometers south of Beersheba, closer to the Dead Sea, in the midst of the bleak desert. Several months ago one of the boats arrived in Haifa. The boat brought with it, as every boat does, hundreds of new people. This time it was mainly people from Tunis, and 23 families were taken from the boat on buses, men, women and little children. They passed through Haifa, they went through Gedera, down through Natanya, close to Tel Aviv, Rehovoth, Lishon, even passed through Beersheba which is a large town today, still going farther south, leaving behind them every sign of anything that was green, any sign of anything that spelled life, no grass, no trees, no fields that produce anything, not a bird, not a stream of water, nothing but sand.

In the very midst of that desert were the few huts that were built, and these people were told, "These are your homes." One man refused to leave the bus. I must say I don't blame him. It is rather the great sur-

B15-3

prise and great respect that one must feel for those who gladly left the buses and decided that they were willing to remain, and as the conversation was going on between this man and the representatives of the Government and the Jewish Agency who were there to meet them, it was his wife who jumped off the bus and said, "This is where I am going to remain."

Among that group was a woman who only one week later gave birth to the first baby born in Dimona. There are many women in this room. Many of us have given birth to children. We all remember our firstborn, the fear in the hearts of the bravest of us. This was the first baby that was born to this woman, and she was in the desert 35 miles away from the nearest hospital, with no ambulances at her disposal, with no telephone connecting her, with no doctor at her call. There have been a lot of heroic people in the world, a lot of heroism in Jewish life. Songs have been written, beautiful speeches have been made about the pioneering spirit and heroism of the people of Israel.

As I went to see this woman I stood humbly before her, bowing my head for the great heroism that she

b15-4

had displayed. This desert is closer to Egypt and to Transjordan than many other points in the country, and yet she had the courage.

I was there just two or three days before I left home. A school is being built, a road has been completed, 200 houses are going up, the population of Dimona has grown. It is another town in the Negev.

Why do I say this, we who in the last eight years of Israel practically have never lived through a day without some new name being added to the map, whether it is in the north or in the south, whether it is an agricultural settlement or the beginning of anew industrial center? It is because this Negev has now again become popular, and it is because our neighbors and our friends who are farther away from us have decided that even this desert, which is bleak and barren and has been so for centuries, even that is too much for the State of Israel.

We are being taught, we are being preached at, that we must love peace, that we must be for peace, that peace is a necessary thing for human life. We -- only ten years after the end of the Second World War, when in Israel mainly, but also in many other countries, there are men and women with tattooed numbers on their arms. These

b15-5

are the few who have lived to show these numbers. The millions have gone down as a result of war and aggression and violence and brutality. We then have paid this awful, terrible, maddening price of war, and are being preached to that we must love peace, we who were attacked in 1948 by armies of 40,000,000 when we were only 650,000, merely because we, after the decision of the United Nations, said we have the legal right now, which was our natural right before, to establish ourselves in that little corner of the earth as an independent, free, democratic, dignified people. And we have committed a terrible crime in spite of this attack. We have remained alive and we have, during these eight years, tried to a certain degree to accomplish what we promised to do.

We have grown in numbers. Sometimes I like to think that many of these men and women walking around with the tattooed arms, maybe they forget once in a while what has happened to them because of the new life and the new opportunities that have been offered to them in the State of Israel, that they have given birth to children who will listen to the story of those arms as something in the far past, but they and their parents will know that these children will never experience it again because of the State of Israel.

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I maintain that there is not a living man or woman anywhere, despite anything that he may say or write, that in the depth of his heart really believes that it is possible that there be any desire on the part of anybody in Israel for war. The very air that we breathe in Israel is the air of the desire, the intense desire and need for peace. No sooner was the War of Liberation over than we said that we are prepared immediately to sit down with the attackers and come to peace agreements and live in peace with them and cooperate with them for our mutual good, for them and for us. We were convinced then, as we are now, that out of this mutual cooperation, out of this peaceful existence of Israel and its Arab states, there is a possibility of development and freedom and joy, both for the people of Israel and the great populations of the Arab countries.

Certainly nobody can seriously put the blame on the shoulders of the people of Israel, that the Arab countries have statesmen and leaders and heads of states who, through their dictatorial power, refuse to bring this opportunity to their own people, and have preferred to embark on a policy of constant small war on the boundaries of Israel.

Maybe there are some people in the world who

bl5-7

believe that a people, millions of whom have gone to gas chambers, have marched to their graves, that maybe these people should be prepared that day after day and night after night some of them will be killed, men and women and children, their houses blown up, their waterpipes dynamited, their roads become unsafe, and we will sit with our hands folded and expect somebody to tell our Arab neighbors that this isn't nice.

I am prepared from this platform to challenge anybody anywhere to name one single instance where anyone from the State of Israel has attacked anyone across the borders, has gone into Arab territory merely on their own initiative and without any provocation. I say that the people who say that we have, and write it, must know in the depths of their hearts that this is not true. Israel has retaliated in each instance after many provocations.

We don't have infiltrates that we send across the borders. We are an organized people. We are a democratic state. Our army does not act on its own, and we have no individuals whom we send across to kill and murder just anybody whom they see. And I am surprised at the arithmetic of some people in this world. I don't know why hundreds of Jews who are killed during several months or several years spread out maybe in a period of months, tens

b15-8

of Jews spread out during a period of months on the Syrian border, many, many tens on the Egyptian border -- I don't know why the life of Varda Friedman, born in Farvitkin, went down to a settlement in the Negev of Moroccan Jews to live with them, to teach them, to help them become integrated into the work and the life of the country, why, when she, with these new settlers was celebrating the wedding of one of the young Moroccan girls, was killed by a hand grenade thrown into the hut by Egyptians sent over by the Egyptian government, why her life was not important and her blood is not red and the pain in her mother's heart does not affect anybody, why the many Vardas and the many men and women, young and old, and children, who have been murdered during these eight years, why that doesn't affect people, why no eloquent speeches are made in important places on these matters.

Nobody more than the people of Israel regrets the necessity of retaliation. We haven't yet heard any head of state of any of the Arab countries offer one word of consolation to one single mother in the State of Israel. It was the Prime Minister of the State of Israel who went to the Knesseth and mourned not only over the Israeli soldiers who fell in battle, but also over the Egyptian soldiers who fell in battle. We don't want to be killed,

bl5-9

nor do we want to kill.

But since the State of Israel was established, there is a basic principle laid down. The blood of the Jew is as red as the blood of a non-Jew, and when it is spilled, life goes out, and the life of a Jew is as valuable as the life of a non-Jew, and the murder of a Jew is as criminal as the murder of a non-Jew, and Jews in Israel, the State of Israel, have never attacked, have never killed. We have retaliated after many provocations.

I can't begin to tell you what would have happened in the State of Israel if we hadn't done that. Over and over again we begged and pleaded: let us sit down and talk peace.

But, my friends, until there are peace agreements signed, we are not living in a vacuum. There are armistice agreements that have been signed with our Arab neighbors. The basis of these armistice agreements is that there be no attack and no violence. Certainly an agreement holds good for both sides. I don't know why this armistice agreement becomes holy when Israel is to be censured, why it doesn't have exactly the same importance and the same significance when Israel is attacked, and we have said to our Arab neighbors, "The best thing that we want is peace agreements with you. If you do not want that, if you are

not prepared for that, we are prepared to sign with you again non-aggression pacts. If you do not desire that, then for God's sake let us live up to the armistice agreements as already exist."

My friends, there is nothing easire than having absolute peace in Israel and on the borders. This depends not upon Israel. The minute that Nasser, the head of Egypt, decides in good faith to give order to his men on the borders that there must be no aggression, no infiltration, no murder of Israelis, no crossing of the borders, there will be absolute peace on the Egyptian border, and that holds good for the Jordan border, the Lebanese and the Syrian borders. Let them try us out for a month, for two months. Let us see.

But several weeks ago something was added to this tension in the relationship between Israel and its neighbors. It isn't a secret that the Arab countries are more powerful in number, in population, in the number of men mobilized in their armies and of the quantity of arms that they possess. It wouldn't be true, Godforbid that it should be true that Israel did not become stronger in the last eight years in numbers of population, in its

military strength, but nowhere near the military strength of our neighbors.

And I don't know whether it should be envied or rather deplored, the simplicity with which the heads of Arab states could pour more and more of their wealth into military budgets at the expense of the development of their countries, of bringing water to their deserts, of building schools and hospitals, of feeding those who are hungry, of raising the human standard of masses of their people.

In their wake we had no alternative and no choice, and we too had to use more than we wanted of our resources in order to strengthen our security forces, but we labored under the burden of two needs: we couldn't do that at the expense of human life and human dignity in the country, and there was no joy in our needing a military budget at any time. There was joy in new houses, there was joy in roads, there was joy in new settlements coming up, there was joy in bringing the water of the Yaarkon down south to the Negev. There was joy in digging into the soil of Israel and bringing forth again copper and iron and potash and phosphates. No joy in voting a

military budget. But we knew that if we were going to survive we must do that too.

We survived and there was no second round and outbreak of a formal full-fledged war merely because Israel was strong, merely because in spite of the speeches, radio broadcasts, articles in the papers, official statements by the prime ministers of all the Arab states, that they are prepared for a second round, and the day will come, and there can be no peace with the State of Israel, and there is only one solution of this problem, that the people of Israel should be dumped into the Mediterranean.

In spite of all this talk, practical and realistic men as they are, they had to think twice before they could decide to attack us again. They remembered 1948. In the last few weeks something has happened. A great power in the world, for reasons that they thought I suppose were important enough to them, decided to arm Egypt, to pile arms into that country to an extent that nobody ever dreamt of, and overnight Israel was placed in a position where it wasn't speechmaking of a second round. It wasn't the voice of Nasser that we were hearing, but we began to hear the engines of the MIGs and the

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noise of the tanks and the possibilities of submarines. It became very real, and I want to tell you, my friends, there isn't a soul in Israel, man or woman, young or old, who isn't convinced, and I say even more, I do not believe that there is a responsible person of any government anywhere in the world who isn't convinced that it is a question of time, and not a very long time that if things remain as they are, if the strength between Israel and Egypt, as the strength of Egypt is growing, will remain as it is, it is a question of time and a very short time before Israel again will be attacked with the power that we don't like to think of, but we must.

And if it is really peace that is desired in the Middle East, it is a waste of time and a waste of energy to preach peace to Israel. It is to make Israel strong, a strong Israel, that is the guarantee of peace in the Middle East. A weak Israel is a certainty of war in the Middle East.

They are not complicated problems. They are very simple. Sometimes we are told by good friends, some of them very old acquaintances, that Nasser strengthened with MIGs and British centurian tanks, and the Soviet

Stalin tanks, as a result of that strength his heart will be filled with peace and good will to men and women of Israel, but in order to serve this peace to Nasser in a very palatable manner, it must be served on a platter of the Negev, and we are told very often, "You become so excited and so emotional! Nobody has said that we intend to give the whole Negev to Nasser."

I have had a representative of a very important country come to me and say seriously, "Look, Mrs. Myerson, maybe only a hundred yards, maybe it is only five hundred yards. We do not intend to say that a great part of the country will be given," and some say, "We don't say that a populated part of the Negev should be given away." Poor Nasser! Only a hundred yards of sand he must have in order to make him and especially the people of Egypt happy and prosperous.

(Continued on Page 63)

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It is those grains of sand that are needed for the people on the Nile to live instead of starve; and the government and people of Israel have said it in no uncertain terms: Not one grain of sand -- not one.

(Applause)

The only people that need the sands of the desert as well as the rocks of Galilee are the people of Israel.

(Applause)

The only people that can bring life to that desert and to those rocks are the people of Israel; and no fancy plans of cutting up the Negev will mean anything to the State of Israel.

We owe no Arab state anything. We have taken no territory from any Arab state. On the contrary, Egypt sits in Gaza as a result of the war, and Transjordan has annexed a good portion of the former Palestine. It was never intended that they should annex it.

We owe nobody anything, and we demand nothing of anybody. The Prime Minister told me that a correspondent from a very important paper came to interview him the other day, and Mr. Ben-Gurion said, "We do not demand an inch of Arab territory, nor will we cede an inch of our

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territory." And the correspondent said, "Mr. BenpGurion, can't you just let me quote the first part of your sentence?" (Laughter)

It is both parts of the sentence that are vital and important, and because we don't demand an inch of other people's territory, people tell us to compromise; you don't want part of Egypt, but Egypt wants part of Israel, so compromise.

There is one compromise: the borders. Nobody can seriously suggest to us a peace that will have with it no life. We are not interested in a peaceful cemetery. We are interested in a living, thriving, developing Israel for the people who are there and for the people, the many people who will come.

It may be that at times, at certain moments -- I hope not -- we will find ourselves not supported by our best friends. It is sad; it hurts; but we will have to bear that, too, knowing and hoping that they certainly will see the justice of our case; and in the meantime we have no alternative; we have to become stronger. We have to become stronger, because, as I said before, this is the only guarantg of peace; and, as we have to see to it

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that we become stronger, with that added terrible drain on our resources and on our economy, we must also become economically stronger, and more and more Jews must come into the country.

How many times have we said to ourselves -- and I think it was Mr. Warburg who said that probably the great difficulty is that words have lost their meaning; that we repeat the same words, and then they don't mean anything any more.

How many times have we said to ourselves and each other the simple truth: only a Negev that is populated and cultivated is really our Negev.

Even self-appointed mediators who would be arbitrators say that no populated part of the Negev will be given to Nasser, and we are a wise people, and should not we now, with the drain on our resources for security, should not we also understand that more and more settlements, towns and agricultural villages in the Negev are important? These weak, tiny settlements in the Negev in 1948 held up the Egyptian army.

And more people must be coming in, and they are coming in in greater and greater numbers; and nobody can

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say now what the number will be in 1956.

At any rate, you won't find many, if any Jews in Israel, and certainly not its government, that will take it upon himself to say to any Jew anywhere, "You stay there. We guarantee you there is no danger facing you and if there is danger, it is too bad. But we are too over-burdened now to bring you in."

Many of you have beento Israel, and the question presents itself to us and must present itself to you: Do you want new immigration camps, as you saw them in 1949 and in 1950 and in 1951? Sometimes there were two families in a tent. Do you want to spend a UJA campaign in millions of dollars feeding idle people, feeding misery in those tents? Or should we go on, as we have been able with your aid to go on, in the last few years of building houses, settling people and putting them to work?

Mr. Warburg said that he probably would want to do something else. Sometimes I think, yes, I would probably rather do something else than having to come again to burden you with our troubles and problems, and you know it is no secret; I am not here merely to give you

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the information that is necessary, much of which you probably know by yourselves.

It isn't a secret that when I speak here before you I have a practical intention in mind, hoping and praying that the information that you receive will be translated in your minds and hearts to a state of worry and anxiety, not frustration, but worry and anxiety that brings with it action, immediate action.

And sometimes I think it is ridiculous and foolish to think that I would rather do something else.

We have gone into this partnership a long time ago. This is the creation of the cooperation and understanding and dreaming and tears of all Jews of the world. We are the privileged and fortunate ones that we have been entrusted with this treasure of the Jewish people, but it would be very presumptuous to say that it is ours and that we come to you as outsiders.

Until Egyptian submarines -- and I hope this never will happen -- will have cut off the only border that is open to the State of Israel, the sea, perhaps something that connects you and us is the sea.

My friends, in very simple but frank and honest

16 6

terms, you are back again in the position where the decision of the fate of Israel is in your hands.

People ask me, how people in Israel feel. What is the situation? I tell them I think that I am describing it correctly when I say there is tension, there is the full consciousness of the very serious situation in which we are, but no panic.

I visited many settlements in the Negev just before I left, and when I see small, emaciated Jews of Kuching, a certain province in India, and from Tunis and from Iraq, who have just come into the country three months ago or six months ago, very close to the border, and they don't run away, and they have their little children there, and they plow their fields, and they watch at night.

These men that I am sure in the places from which they came, at night locked doors and windows, these men go out at night to keep watch on the entire settlement.

When I see that, I have the right to say there is no panic. The feeling of danger, yes. No complacency. And may I say this -- and the Rabbis in the room will not think it sacreligious -- no depending on miracles.

16 7

Miracles have happened to us, but may I say we had something to do with the bringing about of the miracles, you and we. And maybe when I am through -- and I am through now -- there will be a lot of concern on the part of you people for the people of Israel. Will you understand when I say that in my heart there is concern for you, and I will tell you why: Upon your shoulders, many thousands of miles away from the State of Israel, is being placed an awful, awesome responsibility; and I hope and pray that we in Israel and you here will know, with all the courage and determination and immediate action, how to meet this responsibility. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN WARBURG: Ladies and gentlemen: There is nothing to add. The facts are before you. The action that comes from understanding is in our hands. We must return to work and work quickly.

Thank you very much, and good night.

(The Conference adjourned at 10:45 o'clock p.m.)

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STEERING COMMITTEE MEETING

at the

ANNUAL NATIONAL CONFERENCE

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



December 17, 1955

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
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The Steering Committee meeting of the Annual National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened in the Astor Gallery of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel at 2:25 p.m. on Saturday, December 17, 1955, Mr. Milton Kahn presiding.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, this is the Steering Committee of the United Jewish Appeal. All of you have attended meetings all day yesterday and this morning, to some degree. As you all know, and it needs very little repetition, this is the working committee of the United Jewish Appeal. You are the officially designated delegates from your respective communities all over the country. It is in your hands as the official delegates to decide what, when and how you are going to carry on for the United Jewish Appeal in the year 1956.

All of you know, and I am just going to summarize it briefly, that on November the 18th of this year, most of you were present in this very hotel at an emergency meeting of the United Jewish Appeal, where it was voted that on account of the emergency which now exists in the State of Israel, we shall accept an emergency campaign quota of \$25,000,000 to be raised in addition to the

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sums to be raised throughout the country in the Welfare Funds. Some of you have already gone out all over the country and tried to implement the resolution of November the 18th. Those of you who were present, and I am taking advantage of my chairing this meeting to speak just briefly on what I said at the November 18th meeting, will remember that I personally felt and still feel today that the way to have raised the \$25,000,000 or any other large sum was to go out to our respective communities immediately and raise it from the large givers, the way some large givers gave money at the emergency meeting right here on November 18th.

I felt at that time and I still feel that for us to run around and try to include this emergency campaign amount in the regular Welfare Funds will not bring good results. I hope that I am a very poor prophet.

I felt and I still feel that if you had gone back to your respective cities and said to the people the absolute truth, which is that the State of Israel for which we have worked for so many years, given our means and run around all over the country, is in a dire state of emergency, I think we could have raised a substantial

amount of money. This way it is in the hands of the gods and in your hands. If you do enough work, a substantial amount can be raised. If you don't, it will be a failure.

Now, this meeting, of course, has two primary things to discuss. Number One, the regular goal for the UJA for 1956 in addition to the \$25,000,000 emergency campaign.

Item Number Two, you have had for ten years now, pre-campaign budgeting. I personally feel and a good many people feel with me that in spite of any emergency money that is raised, the various cities and towns throughout the country have to accept a pre-campaign budgeting arrangement for the regular moneys which have come in for 1956 in the regular way. These are the two major points, my friends, which we are going to discuss today.

The time is very short. We have lost half an hour and I am going to waste no time in introductions. Before we go into the discussion we are going to hear from several people. The first one I will ask to talk to you is Mr. JDC himself, Moe Leavitt. (Applause)

MR. LEAVITT: Mr. Chairman and friends:

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 solved the problem which we thought was insoluble. It solved the problem of the DP's, of the displaced persons. That problem is now over. We don't have DP's any more.

But the establishment of the State of Israel also created new problems. It created them to some extent -- perhaps it did not create them but certainly intensified them and brought them into a state where the Jews of the world simply had to take quick action.

There was the plight of the Jews of the Moslem lands. There were something like eight hundred thousand or nine hundred thousand Jews in Moslem countries at the time that the State of Israel was established. That number has been reduced today to approximately six hundred thousand. 200,000 or perhaps 250,000 or 300,000 Jews from those countries have come into Israel from Iraq and from Libya, from Yemen, from North Africa, from Tunis.

There remain in North Africa, in Morocco, Spanish and French Morocco about 250,000 Jews; in Tunisia about 100,000 Jews; in Algeria, which is in a separate category because it is part of Metropolitan France, about 150,000

Jews.

The Jews in North Africa have lived, many of them, for the most part under the same conditions of indescribable poverty and degradation for centuries. It is nothing new. What makes their situation different Now?

What makes it different is the rise of Arab nationalism in the North African countries.

In Morocco, the Jew was not a citizen; he was a subject of the Sultan. In the other countries he was, if not literally, if not legally, he was as a practical matter a second-rate citizen.

We look around and we see what has happened to the Jews in the Arab countries, to the Jews in Iraq, to the Jews in Syria, the Jews in Lebanon, to the Jews in Egypt, to the Jews in Libya -- independent Arab countries, -- and we know what the situation is.

Iraq threw out the Jews. The Jews from Libya escaped, luckily, before independence was given. We carried out an emigration of 35,000 Jews from Libya quietly, without fanfare, and these people are now in Israel, and they are self-supporting, and they are a wonderful element in the State of Israel.

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Tunisia has received qualified independence. Morocco is on the verge of negotiating that type of independence, and we hear a lot about publicity that the Jews are going to receive equality of rights, political equality, economic equality, et cetera, and we hear a lot about what the Jews of North Africa ought to do.

I am in favor, as all of you are, I suppose, of political, of civil rights, equal rights for everybody. We all are. But how do you fight for a peddling license for a Jew in Tunis? Do you make representations to the chancelleries of the world: Look, Chayim over there in Tunis cannot get a peddling license?

There is a lot of red tape around. He doesn't get it. "I am going to stop you. Why? Because he hasn't got a license to peddle."

Well, it is difficult to go to Washington and talk about a license to peddle, so you talk about the economic rights.

But when the economic privileges are in the hands of the Arab police and Arab administrators, the Jews are in a very difficult situation in those countries.

Secondly, civilization has come to the Arab count-

ries, too. Roads, very useful things in a country, roads, automobile roads, are being built into the villages, Arab villiges in the interior of Morocco and Tunis and so on.

Those roads enable trucks to go in. The trucks carry manufactured articles, and the trucks can and do compete with the Jewish peddler on his donkey and the little pack on his back, and he has been thrown out of employment, and he can't make a living, so he has begun to move into the bigger cities.

The struggle for independence has had some slight effects. Nobody is saying that there are going to be pogroms, large scale pogroms, in North Arrica. I firmly believe there won't be.

I believe that the Istaglal and the Independence party in North Africa don't intend there will be. They won't be able to stop a mob; they won't be able to stop a group out of hand from sacking Jewish stores and perhaps killing a Jew, but it will be part of a disturbance, part of a riot.

Sometimes it will be instigated against the Jews. Sometimes it will be instigated against all foreigners. Sometimes it won't be instigated; it will just develop.

The fact of the matter is that the Jews feel that economically they have no place there now. When bombs are being thrown into Jewish shops, the Jew who hasn't had a bomb thrown into his shop begins to worry.

Thirdly, fourthly, the grant of independence itself is changing the economies of the country, Tunis and Morocco, so these dislocations, the movement out of French civil servants by Moroccan civil servants, the moving out of Jewish civil servants who are literate and can read and write by Moroccans, all of these pressures, all of these economic pressures, all of these discriminations have created a situation whereby the Jew feels that he cannot stay.

When I say "the Jew," I mean the majority of Jews. It is an interesting commentary. Prior to the grant of autonomy by France, local autonomy, only about 70 or 80 Tunisian Jews left every month for Israel. The moment the agreement was signed by France and Tunisia the number jumped to 700 or 800 a month because the inevitable had happened: Autonomy had been given to the Arabs.

The Jews in Morocco saw the handwriting on the wall, and they began to register for emigration to Israel.

The Jewish Agency method of taking the people from off the boats and bringing them directly on to the land and shipped to a settlement program was more successful than they dreamt.

Letters started going back from these settlers, these immigrants, to their families and to their friends, saying "Hurry up. Come to Israel before the land has all been given away."

So the number of people who began to register, impelled by economic reasons, urged forward by their friends and relatives who were making adjustments in Israel, began to swell, and, after they had reached something like 80 or 90 thousand registrations, the Jewish Agency could not close registration -- it was not possible to close it; it would have been cruel to close the doors -- at least to a person registering.

But it was even crueler to keep it open the way they had kept it open because they knew they could not move the people who were registering now for several years.

So that technically registration offices are open. They are open one day a week for two hours a day. As to that, there has been no closure of the right to register for Israel.

Between 50 and 60 thousand have already passed, have been screened by the medical authorities. We in the JDC are taking an important part in this medical program and in the examinations, and people are waiting to go. There is also the fear that, if you don't go now, you may not have a chance to go.

That is the picture in North Africa. It is a picture of hundreds of thousands of Jews being ground down by forces over which they have no control.

They are being forced out of all of their economic positions. They have no right to take their resources with them. They have to leave it there.

We in JDC find ourselves in the position of having to undertake a relief program for adults, something which we have stayed away from, because what we have been doing in the North African and Moslem countries has been to limit our work to children.

We said it was too late to save the present adult population. We didn't have the money for it. We couldn't rehouse them. It would take hundreds of millions of dollars to do the job properly. But we said we could save the young generation, the new generation.

So we undertook to set up clinics for the children,

to feed the children. We are feeding 30,000 children every single day with one nourishing meal, the only meal most of them get during the day, and we have helped set up vocational training.

We have been helping schools to give the children, at least up to the age of twelve, some primary education so they can read and write. We have introduced Hebrew into the schools of the Aliyah so that the child has the beginning of some indication of what Israel is going to be to them, and that program has been costing us about three or three and a half million dollars.

But today we have to begin to worry about bread for the fathers and the mothers of those children, and there are tens of thousands of such Jews in Morocco.

It is a growing problem. It is an expanding problem. We haven't begun to plumb its depths and what it is going to cost. But it is a problem for which we, the Jews of America, have a great responsibility. It is a responsibility that I believe, now that we have undertaken to take care of these people, we cannot forget because we cannot under any circumstances allow them to fall by the wayside.

We have to feed them. We have to make them as

much as possible self supporting during the period that they are living there. We must help them as much as possible to move to Israel and perhaps to a few other countries where they can get in.

That is the story in North Africa (Applause).

CHAIRMAN KAHN: We are not going into a discussion of anything in particular at this time, my friends. We are waiting for Golda Myerson, who is at the present time in the women's luncheon on the fourth floor, and she will be down soon.

In the meantime we would like to have you ask Moe Leavitt some questions on the talk which he just delivered.

Oh, here she comes now.

(The audience rose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, as I told you, there will be no introductions, and I am sure that Golda Myerson is so tired that she could fall down instead of sitting down, so I am not going to give her a chance to sit down.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Minister of Labor of the State of Israel, our beloved Golda Myerson.

(The audience rose and applauded.)

MRS. MYERSON: My beloved Milton Kahn, I don't think this is quite fair. I have no idea what has been going on in this room before I came in.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: A description of Africa by Moe Leavitt, of the JDC work in particular, nothing else.

MRS. MYERSON: I was asked to speak here before this group, which is to me not merely a steering committee for I want to see it as a group that wants to and can steer very important things in the very near future in the United States, something which may be of the utmost, vital importance for the life of the State of Israel and its people.

I hope I can talk off the record. I think we ought to first understand what the situation in Israel and around Israel is today. I think it is fair to say that Israel today is being attacked on two levels.

There is a peace attack, and there is a danger of a military attack.

I speak about both of these things because both of them spell danger to Israel, and both of them may end up in the same thing.

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I don't think, in this audience, I have to go into the explanation that Israel and its people and its Government want nothing more than peace. I am prepared that we challenge any people in the world as to who has the greater desire, the great need for peace than Israel has.

We, the Jewish people, have a very good memory. It is not always comfortable to have a memory of this kind but we can't afford to forget. We are very mindful of what has happened to the Jewish people hundreds and thousands of years ago, but we certainly cannot be expected to forget what has happened to us in the last decade or two decades. We know exactly what war means. It is not a philosophical problem for us. It is not a question of speechmaking or preaching or diplomacy. We know exactly what price the Jewish people have paid in war, and we know that we can't afford to pay another price of that kind or anything near that kind. Every baby in the country, every man and every woman in the country, every boy and girl knows definitely, clearly.

It is tragically clear to us how necessary peace is for Israel. But if people talk peace and the

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real definition of that peace means cutting up this little, tiny Israel into fragments so that this peace will actually lead not to life and not to the possibility of development and not to the possibility of increased immigration, but that this peace will be the peace of a cemetery of the State of Israel, the people of Israel, the Government of Israel, any government of Israel will refuse to accept it. Israel can be crushed by war and it can be crushed by peace of this kind.

If wise and experienced statesmen of very large and influential and important, democratic, progressive countries of the world want to make us believe that the heads of the Egyptian and other Arab governments mean peace, I must say very frankly I don't know what these men honestly believe in their hearts, but we do not dare believe these illusions, that Nasser is talking peace, means it, when through his back door MIGS and tanks and submarines are piling in, not only from Soviet Russia, but from Czechoslovakia, from France, from Great Britain.

The greater the betrayal of Nasser or any Arab state to the western and democratic world, the more he

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gets in arms and in economic aid. The greater the nuisance the Arab states can make of themselves, the greater the danger that they are to democracy and decency in the world, the more they get.

I said to a representative of the American Embassy in Israel the other day, "Our great tragedy is, we have no nuisance value. We never had it." During the Second World War no statesman in Great Britain or the United States had to sit down and worry for a single moment on what side the Jews of Palestine are going to be in this war against Hitler. There was only one side that we could be on. We were no choosers. It was fated that we were on the side of those who fought against our greatest enemy, naturally, but all the worrying that they did as to on what side the Arab states are going to be in this war, they couldn't figure it out until the very end.

Egypt joined the Allies the day after the war was over. They waited to see which was the winning side and then joined it, but they were not passive in the meantime, nor was Iraq passive in the meantime. They have a record, and I dare to say in this closed room that

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I do not believe that there is any man in the United States or in Great Britain or in France or anywhere else in the western democratic world, that honestly believes that any of these governments of states in the Arab world can really be depended upon, but they are a great nuisance value. Therefore, they have to be bought, and Israel is not for sale.

The question of democracy in Israel is not a question of expediency. We shall either be, and then we are a democracy, and if we are not a democracy, we shall not be. In 1948 we were attacked. I understand that the legend that is being told now by supposed-to-be experts is that the well organized and well equipped Israel army of 1948 defeated the disorganized and unequipped Arab armies. If it weren't so tragic, it would be funny, that the Haganah boys and girls with Sten guns, shooting at Egyptian planes -- the only thing we had was Sten guns -- or that the cannon, the cannon, the antique that was in Israel at the beginning of the war was sent for two hours to shoot in the Valley of the Jordan against the Syrian attack, and to run back to participate in the battle of the opening of the road to Jerusalem.

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This was the well-equipped Israeli army against the poor Egyptian bombers and planes that flew over Israel at that time -- and the poor Arab Legion, manned by British officers, equipped with British arms, trained by British men -- and we held our own, and we defeated the combined forces of all the Arab countries, not with Stens, not with Sten guns. The Sten guns in the hands of our boys and girls served one purpose: to hold the line until more important things arrived.

I admit the spirit of our people also had something to do with it, but I have told you this over and over again: I don't suppose there is anybody in this room whom I haven't met in one of the hotel rooms, in I don't know how many cities of the country, at luncheons and at dinners and at smaller meetings, in 1948, in January and February, in March, in April, and again in May and in June. There is no secret about this. It can't be denied. Nobody wants to deny it. It has already been written and will go down in Jewish history that the Jews of America had as great a share, at least as great a share in the winning of the War of Liberation of Israel as did the people of Israel themselves.

We couldn't have done it without you. We would have been great heroes but heroes of the past.

The fact that we are alive and that the State of Israel is alive and that it has grown and that it has become the only hope for a Jew anywhere, where things are very difficult -- the fact that you can at this meeting or at any other meeting discuss the North African situation not through a feeling of frustration and merely being sorry and breaking your heart over their fate, but the fact that you know there is a solution -- this is due to your stand as well as our stand in 1948.

I know that in 1948, when I met you and many others in the tens and hundreds of meetings, when many of you day and night went from town to town, from city to city, from man to man, broke your hearts and your necks doing that job -- I don't know whether every one of you deep in his heart was convinced that we stood a chance; but you didn't want to take the chance.

I don't know how many of you, deep in your hearts, were convinced that this was an ordinary procedure: we are attacked by all the Arab armed forces, the United Kingdom backing them at that time, and we are going to win

this battle by asking people for contributions.

Was there ever a people, as I was asked in those days, that has financed a war through voluntary contributions?

I don't know what you thought down deep in your hearts, but I know one thing: many people, men and women throughout this country -- nobody dared have the courage to take a chance and say that because logic and simple mathematics prove the contrary, that it can't be done, we are going to hold back.

And since then, through this cooperation that has gone on between the people of Israel and the Jewish people of the United States and what was left of the Jewish people in the European countries after the Second World War -- and this, too, is no secret, that Jews in other countries can be as devoted and as loyal and as dedicated as they will be, but they cannot make the decision. It is the Jews in the United States who can decide the fate of Israel.

We have done something in the country, not without mistakes, not without blunders, not without failures; but we have done something that I think I am allowed to say is something that none of you need be ashamed of. We

have done all of this during a time when we haven't had one day of peace in the country.

It is the height of hypocrisy when representatives of ten countries in the world or representatives of eleven countries in the world, the most important countries, can sit around a table, as they did yesterday, and speak as they spoke about this incident in Syria.

The State of Israel has been established probably for this main purpose: that never again will Jewish blood be considered as something that doesn't matter, that nobody in the world again will be able to think that a Jewish life is not important.

Six million Jews were not important during the Second World War . They were not important to anybody, not only the Nazis. The stand that was taken in the Ghetto of Warsaw and Minsk and Bialastock -- a stand not merely to save Jewish lives; it was a stand to save Jewish honor and to let the world know that it shall not be said that at least a few Jews would not go down fighting.

There was no hope of remaining alive.

But in the State of Israel, with its sincere and honest desire and striving for peace, there is also this

basic principle: the life of a Jew and the blood of a Jew are as important as the life and the blood of any other person in the world, and no Syrian and no Egyptian and no Jordan and no Iraqi is going to be allowed to feel that they can go into our country and kill and murder and burn while we sit back and are nice people.

Nobody regrets it more than we do that we have to do things of that kind. After all, friends, look: This isn't done by long distance. This is done by sending our boys into danger. Nobody knows how many will come back alive.

I understand -- I read in the press here that quoted one of our papers at home -- By the way, it was a paper which was always against immigration, always against illegal immigration, against mass immigration, against the establishment of the State of Israel and can't forgive us to this date that there is a State of Israel -- as I read quoted in the papers here, there was an attack on our Prime Minister and the Minister of Defense, David Ben-Gurion.

This terrible person, Ben-Gurion considers every boy who goes into a battle as though he was sending his

son. Every time one of the boys does not come back, I have seen him over and over again, at the time when he received word, one, two, three or five boys were killed, I see him sitting there as though he was told that it was his boy who did not come back.

Look: We are too small a country, we are too small a population to look upon this thing objectively and politically. Everybody knows everybody else. Everybody knows the other one's son when he was born. No one regrets this more than we do, and yet we must tell the Arab world and we must tell the Western world, and we must tell the gentlemen that are sitting around the table of the Security Council that there can be peace on the border if both sides want peace and practice it.

We are not going to accept this modern definition of peace that when the Syrians and Egyptians kill Israelis, that is peace, but when Israelis retaliate, that is war and aggression.

And we haven't had a day of peace, and over and over and over again we begged them directly and through emissaries to tell Nasser to stop sending over murderers into the State of Israel and there will be peace on the

border.

We said it to General Burns; we have said it to representatives of the United States, representatives of the United Kingdom and to everybody who came to plead with us that there should be peace on the borders. We said that all that Nasser has to do is to stop his work on the borders, and there is peace.

We knew throughout the years that the Arabs were preparing a second round. They said it.

It is funny. People tell me that the American Jews haven't been told. They don't know. They don't understand. Sometimes I think we don't have to talk at all. Nasser does the talking. He explains things very simply. He said it. The Prime Minister of Syria said it over and over again. The Prime Minister of Jordan and of Iraq, they all said it.

In 1932, the world didn't believe it when Hitler told us. Actually, Hitler told us what he was going to do with the Jews. He was frank; he was honest. He said so. We didn't believe it. The world didn't believe it.

Nasser and the heads of all the Arab states have been telling us distinctly in the press and on the radio,

over and over again, day after day, that there is one aim, one objective: to throw the State of Israel with its people into the sea.

If that hasn't taken place until the present day, it is for only reason for it, one explanation for it. Israel also grew stronger during these years.

But we are fewer than two million against forty million, and all our boundaries except the sea are populated by enemies.

I don't know how many more years this would have dragged out, and in spite of all that is happening on the borders, and the Arabs not daring to attack us in open battle, we were hoping, in spite of all this, that there will be peace, that finally they will give up, and we will sit down around a table and come to an agreement.

They shut the Suez Canal on us. Britain stepped out. The story that we were told was that we should not ask for any guaranties, but we should watch Nasser. All that he has to give to his people is this victory of driving the British out. After that he will be soft.

After that -- We know; he told us. As soon as the British leave the Suez, he is going to be for peace.

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We begged and pleaded with Americans and with Britishers -- At least get some guaranty from him. But no; that wasn't necessary, because all he wanted was just to bring this victory to his people. After that, it will be simple. There will be peace.

After he got through with the British and the British were supposed to have taken their stocks of arms out of the Suez -- I suppose they did, but I may say this, too: This is in a closed room. The British left Palestone, not on such friendly terms as they left Egypt. And I know what they sometimes forget when they are pulling out. And if Israel had what they have forgotten in the Suez in their installations, the situation would be better now.

In addition to that, the Arab states have constantly been armed. We have, too. We, too, have been buying arms. That has been the terrible drain on the people of Israel and on you, because if we didn't have to put so much money into security, we could have used more of our own money for development and would have bothered you less.

But something that happened a few weeks ago changes the entire picture. The Soviet Union, the

Communist world, with all the ruthlessness with which it does everything that it decides to do, decided for its interests -- and I am not going here into an analysis of it at all; that isn't important. Important is what they did. They decided to step into the Middle East and they found a ready betrayer of the Western World that has done so much for them, and they are piling up arms into Egypt.

The deal is supposed to be \$80,000,000, to be paid not in money but in cotton that Egypt doesn't know what to do with, and rice, probably.

But we know, and we know it from good sources, and other people who are well informed don't deny it, that the value of these arms probably comes up to \$250,000,000. It depends upon the price tag that you put on a MIG or on a tank.

How naive can well-trained and experienced politicians and statesmen be when they want us to believe that Nasser, when he started to talk peace, exactly at the same time when the MIGs are going to come in, that he means peace. Is there any baby anywhere who is seriously concerned with the fate of Israel who does not believe that this is merely saving time, gaining time in order to unpack what he is

getting, to reassemble them, to train some of his men? I don't know whether he has to wait until Egyptians are trained. Nasser has had Germans in his army since the end of the Second World War. They are still there, and, of course, although nobody can find a Nazi German anywhere in the world today -- nobody was a Nazi; all Germans who have remained alive never heard of such a thing -- yet I think that when a bit of persuasion is used, Nasser can get these Germans to fly bombers over Israel. And I think there is another source that would be ready to supply him with personnel.

Must there be war now? No. Even now there must not be war, but there is one condition -- and the picture has not changed. There will not be war; Nasser will not attack, at least he must not attack if, in the meantime, Israel too will grow stronger; and if Nasser again will have to sit down, in spite of the arms that he is getting now, and thing this thing over -- he doesn't want to take another beating. He personally has taken a beating, in 1948. He led the Egyptian army into Palestine then and left because we allowed him to leave, because he was surrounded in the Fluja pocket in the Negev, and he is

alive today and is in Egypt because we allowed him to go home.

He doesn't want to take another beating, not personally, nor as the head of the Egyptian State.

But I want you to know, as we know it, at least this. There isn't one single person in Israel, old or young, that has any doubt whatsoever that unless in the very near future, weeks, we become much stronger than we are, there will be war.

The Egyptians need time, and they don't like to fight during the rainy season; and we know when the rainy season ends in Israel.

In order that you should not think that I have no sense at all for realities, I want you to know that we have no hope of matching plane for plane and tank for tank. But it is absolutely essential that we have at least the same kind of arms that he has -- not the same number, but the same quality, depending upon the ability of our men, the spirit of our people, the feeling that they are fighting actually for their very lives; they are not invading another country; they are not fighting for somebody's territory, they they are fighting for their lives, for their children,

for the very existence of the State.

We depend upon that and know that we have much less, but if we have the right quality we can do it again.

But what is more important, we hope that if we do grow stronger, there won't be an attack. The only real guaranty for peace in the Middle East is this: a strong Israel, not a weak Israel.

People don't understand this. They don't stand in line as they do in Cairo to offer arms to Israel. Our representatives in various countries from which arms can be bought work hard. I wonder sometimes, reading cables from them, how they have the courage, how they can get up in the morning and start all over again. But they do.

The problem that is fasing us is a problem of two parts: One, will there be countries that will be willing to sell? We can't decide here. But will we have the money to pay for it when it will be ready to be sold?

Please believe me when I say one thing: Nobody is going to give us one single bullet for nothing -- nobody.

B6-1

For everything that we got until now, that we are going to get in the future, we can get only for cold dollars cash.

I understand that you were discussing the North African situation. We discuss it home very often. We decided several months ago on an increased immigration program from North Africa of 45,000. We know now that isn't enough. We know that no matter what the situation is at home, we are being forced, we force ourselves into increasing the number. We can't have it on our conscience, even if it is only one chance in a hundred, that the doors in North Africa may be closed and Jews may be trapped there, because we didn't take them out quickly enough.

There are too many Jews trapped behind closed doors. There are three million of them. For us that is a large enough quota. We refuse to increase it, so we have this too to take care of, and as I said to a smaller group yesterday, it means a lot to us. Are these people going to go to the Negev or shall they go to Tel Aviv, near Tel Aviv in tents? In tents we can put them only near Tel Aviv. To the Negev we can send them only if we have houses for them.

B6-2

How many speeches have you heard from Israelis who told you the Negev will be ours really if it will be populated, colonized, if Jews will live there, if fields will be plowed? I could almost draw for you the proposition of splintering up the Negev, again in order to keep Nasser peaceful. Not that he needs more sand. God knows there is enough sand in Egyptian territory. There is enough sand in Jordan that they haven't done anything with, but it is some sand of the Negev that must be given to Nasser and to Jordan in order to keep him quiet for a day, in order that during this quiet day he may prepare for a further attack.

During this last year we took people directly from the border to the Negev or to western Galilee. But we can do it only if we have houses for them, not in tents.

Last year when I was here the reporters asked me about oil, "Are there prospects of oil in the country," and I didn't answer. But there is oil in the country. We know there is more. We have to put money into development, and into other things in the Negev. We cannot stop all life in the country and put everything only into security at this moment, and what is more, we have no

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printing presses for dollars. We can produce only pounds, so the people in Israel on the day that it was known that Nasser made this commercial deal with Czechoslovakia, not being asked by anybody, the Government didn't decide it, nobody in the country decided it, ordinary people from all parts of the country simultaneously began sending in money, money and wedding rings and old relics that they had, and that they brought with them. And people who are working three days a week asked to have some of their salary deducted for this fund, and only after several weeks of this voluntary outpouring did the Government think that maybe this should be organized.

A public committee was formed that is trying to organize it. We are hoping that through this voluntary effort the people of Israel in addition, naturally, to the taxes for meeting the budgets, will give 50,000,000 pounds to this defense fund. I wish we were several million in the country. We could have more. Maybe if we were several million in the country, there wouldn't be a danger of this kind.

Believe me, there isn't anything in the world that I wouldn't have accepted to do at the request of my

B6-4

government rather than to have to come and tell you this story, believe me. But there is no alternative. At least you have to know it. What you do is your decision. Our decision is to tell you about it, and our decision is to tell you that honestly, frankly, brutally, if you wish. There is one single hope for peace in Israel or for warty if there is war, if you will decide to do exactly what you did in 1948.

What did you do in 1948, without too many questions, without too much figuring, without any speculation, "Can we or can't we,?" You threw yourselves into this battle as though each one of you personally or as though each one of your sons was fighting over there. If we can recapture that spirit and that climate of 1948, then I, merely as a foreigner, knowing very little about high finance, am convinced without any doubt whatsoever that what Israel needs today, it is possible for American Jewry under your leadership to give it, without hurting in the least one single Jew in the United States.

Thank God there are many Jews in the United States. Thank God they are capable of doing it if they want to. But the question is, not whether masses of Jews

in the United States want to. I don't think it is even a question of whether they understand it. I think it is merely a question of manpower and organization of people who will go out, make it their business in the next few weeks to know nothing else, to think of nothing else, to know nothing else except this one thing.

I know that at the conference of November 18th you adopted a special emergency fund of \$25,000,000. I think it is true that the \$25,000,000 has not yet all come in. I think I won't be giving away a secret if I say that it is not even very near it. You are better campaigners than I am. Campaigns can be run on an annual basis. They are run in the spring, they are run in the fall. I have seen campaigns that you have run in weeks. I have seen your communities do things in days that normally maybe you would have to do in a year or two, and I think that it is permissible for me to say this: \$25,000,000 is not enough, not nearly enough.

I think it boils down to one point: do you believe that the situation is as it is, or do you not? If you don't, much better speakers than I am won't do the trick. If you do, there is no need of speeches. If you

believe it, then you must imagine seeing the MIGS flying over Israel without a comparable plane to go and meet it before it reaches the heart of Israel. If you believe it, then you have to imagine the centurian British tanks and the Stalin tanks from Russia going to wherever they want to go in Israel, without a tank of comparable strength to stop it before it does too much harm. Or, the knowledge that these things are in the possession of Israel will not affect the tanks and the MIGS at all. They will remain where they are.

To me that is the point, and I know that if you believe it, I don't have to ask if you are interested in Israel -- you wouldn't be here -- I don't have to ask whether you realize what it means, the possibility of wiping out Israel, or you wouldn't be here. I know your record. The question is: do you believe that the situation is this, or do you think that this is -- what do you call it -- a gimmick? That I would dare to perform this miserable, dishonorable thing of picturing a danger to Israel in order that we should raise another million or another ten million dollars for the ordinary campaign of the UJA, with all the importance that every dollar to

the UJA has for a peaceful Israel?

I can only beg of you, do as you like. You make the decision, but I beg of you, believe me, that I have not exaggerated one single item. We have been under British rule for thirty years, and if anything, we have learned from the British a little bit of understatement. There is no exaggeration in the picture that I tried to paint for you, and I think it is in this room today that probably the fate of Israel has to be decided anyway.

(The audience arose and applauded)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Golda, beneath what looks to you like a cool or maybe unprepossessing exterior, I want you to know that I have never heard you speak -- and I heard you for the first time officially in Chicago, at the Council of Jewish Federations -- without being emotionally excited every time that I have heard you.

Thank you very much for coming here and telling us in your own words what we as the Jews of the United States are up against with our people in Israel.

One more talk and then we will go into action. A man who has not only given disproportionately of his substance, but has also given disproportionately of his

health and life in the cause of the UJA, a National Chairman, Morris W. Berinstein. (Applause)

MR. BERINSTEIN: Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Myerson, ladies and gentlemen, in the first place I want to apologize in advance if I speak a little bit longer than I usually do. I never speak over seven or eight minutes. In the second place, I want to say that I feel so totally inadequate to occupy the rostrum at this time, that I asked to be relieved. In the third place, I apologize in advance if I am not very diplomatic about some of the things I say, and that applies to all the people in the room.

I am not going to speak as the National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. I am just going to speak as Morris Berinstein, so that anything I say must be interpreted in only that manner.

First, I must tell you that since Thursday afternoon I and several members up here and in the audience have not left this hotel. We cannot tell you what the weather is outside. This has gone on from early morning right through the evening because we have to wrestle with problems that for some reason have fallen on our

shoulders, although there are hundreds and hundreds of thousands of Jews in this country to whom those problems are just as important, who aren't here. There are, I don't doubt, literally hundreds of people attending this conference who aren't in this room. Why, I will never know.

We decided four weeks ago, and I think you should have this for the record, that an emergency campaign of \$25,000,000 be held, all the money to go to Israel. Briefly, the figure was arrived at in the following manner: last year Israel spent \$31,000,000 for its immigration program and for settling refugees. The UJA basically is the sort of organization that is supposed to do that work and is set up on that basis. So that we felt under the present security circumstances it surely was unfair to ask Israel to take from its hard-pressed treasury \$31,000,000 when it could use that money for much more necessary and important purposes. The rest of the world took \$6,000,000, we took \$25,000,000, and we held a special conference, very well attended.

It was adopted unanimously. A few very emotional people got up on the floor and said, "Put me down for

\$25,000, put me down for \$50,000." I didn't aid it up. I think perhaps it amounted to half a million dollars. We then decided to go around the country to the sympathetic Jews of the United States, to the Welfare Funds, to its leaders, to the people to whom we went in 1948. Golda. A great many of us once more left our homes, packed our suitcases and went out to travel.

What are the facts as of this moment? A handful of communities have accepted this thing to the fullest. A handful of other people have been inspired to say, "I will give so much." Many, many more have seemed very unexcited. Sympathetic, truthfully yes, but not in the 1948 spirit or nothing like the 1948 spirit, nothing like sacrificial giving or giving up anything. A great worry about the guarantee of local needs in spite of the most liberal motion that I have ever seen passed, and the most liberal resolution that I have ever seen in the face of such an emergency, because the leaders of the UJA, whoever they may be, and trying to do their best, felt that this was the proper way to approach the program: don't give anything up, don't sacrifice anything that you think is so important, but for God's sake don't sacrifice Israel.

I can tell you, everyone in the room at the present time, that we haven't got a \$25,000,000 program. We haven't got a \$20,000,000 program, and for 48 hours I have been searching my conscience and I don't think we've got anything except a handful of emotional people, and unfortunately God sees fit to take one of them away every minute.

Now, this isn't a matter of quotas. This isn't a matter of percentages. We have had people say to us, "Let me see, let me figure it out. My percentage is 25 percent." "All right, I gave \$2,000. Put me down for 25 percent more. I gave \$3,000, or I gave \$20,000."

Who decided these percentages? Who decides how many people should or should not live or exist or fight? And how stupid can we be? What is our own government of the United States doing at this very time? It is in the newspapers right along with the Israel headlines. What became of the tax deduction program that everyone was talking about? This great country with all its natural resources, rearming again, worrying about staving off a war. What have we got to fear? Why should we deny our country anything? Aren't we all-powerful?

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But instead of that our leaders seem to think it is more important to spend money in buying armaments and furnishing it to our armed forces to insure peace.

What is the difference between that and what Golda has said? And I didn't need Golda to tell it to me. I don't think that there will be an attack on Israel, if Israel is strong enough. I am sure they will be. And this is what has been keeping me up for 48 hours. I don't know how to tell it to the rest of the Jews of the United States. I consider myself completely inadequate, and with me are as loyal a group of men as I have ever seen.

Can't you understand one thing? In 1948 a miracle took place and we were given this country of Israel. Everything that that country promised to do, it has done. It said it would be a democracy. There is no finer democracy. It said it would have open doors. It has open doors. You have heard of the situation in North Africa. It said it would give us dignity. It gave us dignity. It said it would live in peace and it has lived in peace.

Is there any question in anybody's mind that this is all part of one dire plot, the North African situation, to break down the Israel economy by taking in more people than they should be asked to take in and in the wrong order? The armed forces incidents at the border. Does

it make sense for Israel to start them? Or does it make sense that perhaps Egypt and the other countries don't like the progress of the economy of Israel, and that more and more of Israel's money must be drained off in non-productive items?

This is as plain and as clear to me as anything that's ever happened in my life. How do we put it over to you? And more important than that, how do you put it over to the six and a half million Jews in the United States? I, for one, will refuse to talk about quotas, or goals, or percentages. When it comes time for Morris Berinstein to examine his own personal gift to this thing, he will examine it by how much money he can lay his hands on in order to insure the fact that in my generation I will not again see a large group of Jews wiped off the face of the earth. I have seen it once. I don't want my daughter or my son or my wife to see it again, so I am emotional.

I tell you, don't worry about the political phase of it. Please don't worry about it. You know who the leaders of Israel are. You know it is in good hands. Don't worry about the politics. Don't worry about anything except the security. Don't worry about legalistic angles. I assure you that every one of you who takes a trip on the Liberte contributes to France being able to

buy guns, because that money winds up in France and they do with it what they will, and you are not being accused of arming a country.

I hope that somehow and somewhere this problem is handled intelligently, coolly, that it be in the hands of the proper people, that in some way through some sources, through all the sources that are available to American Jewry, to the hundreds and hundreds of sources of money combined somehow, the money will come. It is up to the UJA to decide what its share is in its ability to empty its pockets and its ability to give.

I said before that I would not be particularly diplomatic. I mean to cast no aspersions on anyone in this room, but it goes beyond the people in this room. I know practically every person in this room and I see in front of me a vast sea of faces of the people who should be here who are not, without whom we cannot succeed. What are you going to do about seeing them? How fast can we get to them? How fast can we get people to write out checks for as much money as they can put into this thing?

That, only you can do with the help of the leadership. God give you strength to do that. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, the time has now come for you to take over. As I told you when

you first came into this room, there are three paramount questions which you must decide so that the Resolutions Committee will bring in the proper resolutions on those three points:

Number One - the normal UJA quota. Those of you who have had time to sit down and study the budget will remember that the needs of the agencies of the UJA are \$153,146,000 and that revenues from other sources being \$48,000,000, there remains a need for \$105,000,000. You and I have sat in this and similar rooms and have gotten up goals which were never realized, and when you stand up to discuss this problem, please remember that the passing of a resolution for a goal does not mean its raising.

Item Number Two - in the discussion of this normal goal for the UJA, you must remember the resolution of November 18th for an emergency fund of \$25,000,000. The two are separated.

Number Three - is, of course, the old problem of pre-campaign budgeting throughout the country.

Ladies and gentlemen, the floor is yours.

7-1

Who is the first person who wishes to have the floor?

Well, if this is the way it is, if everyone is happy and everyone is satisfied, let's adjourn.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: I might as well start off.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, my favorite tormentor of the last ten years, Judge Lieberman. (Applause)

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: Mr. Chairman, one of the main reasons I rise is because you practically talked me into it for the last two days, to heckle you here this afternoon. So here I am.

But, seriously, I will address my remarks to all the three points, Mr. Chairman, and I hope the subsequent speakers --

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Excuse me just a second. Ladies and gentlemen, you have heard me say this for ten years. Please give the speaking delegate the courtesy which you would expect to receive from him. Thank you.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: May I ask, Mr. Chairman, just one question before I proceed, and that is: Roughly, how many communities have undertaken the emergency campaign? Because I heard Morris Berinstein say it was just a handful.

7-2

Is that all, just a handful, so that I can address my remarks accordingly?

CHAIRMAN KAHN: I am quite sure you are right.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: All right. I gather, therefore, Mr. Chairman, that in considering our quota, and in considering our emergency fund, we may have to differentiate between the Spring campaign and the Fall campaign, and I am now thinking out loud because of our own problem that we have in our community and which I know other communities have because I have discussed it with other communities.

If communities up to the present time have not undertaken the emergency fund, I can very easily see where the emergency fund campaign that commences within the next few weeks may in some way or other interfere with the Spring campaign.

I, therefore, think that it would be advisable that those communities which have Spring campaigns should probably combine the emergency campaign and the Spring campaign or advance both.

I can give you an idea of what we are thinking of doing, and perhaps it will help the conference here.

7-3

We ordinarily have a Spring campaign that we commence sometime in April or May. We felt that we could not have two campaigns within the next two or three or four months. We have, therefore, decided to advance our Spring campaign, and we are going to start immediately with our campaign and consider the two campaigns in one, the emergency campaign and the Spring campaign.

With that thought in mind, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be a good idea for this conference, although it is up to each individual community to decide, I assume, after the Resolutions Committee will make the recommendation, to segregate the two campaigns in going out.

If we go out -- although we heard suggestions that we don't talk quotas, we do have to talk quotas whether we like it or not -- and say that our quota is \$105 million and we need another \$25 million, so we want \$130 million, I daresay you are just going to get the same contribution you received last year.

I feel that if the leaders of the communities went out with two cards -- we have done it before -- and said "This is the emergency campaign. How much are you giving toward the emergency campaign? We need 25 or 30 per cent more than what you gave last year. This is it.

7-4

We want the cash at once." -- if that is done during the month of January, we will be accomplishing something that we have never done before.

In addition, we have the other card, and we say "Now give us your pledge for 1956."

It is understood, and we know the communities and, of course, my friends the welfare funds throughout the country will not touch any of that emergency money. That is the understanding.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: That is right.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: But I also have a further thought, Mr. Chairman, while I am on my feet, and that is that I think the welfare fund should take into consideration this year the great emergency in addition to the \$25 million and let them sit back and give to the United Jewish Appeal this year not what they gave in 1955, not what they gave in 1954, but, by virtue of the emergency, let them give to the United Jewish Appeal what they gave in 1946. (Applause.)

Let's forget our capital funds this year as we did several years ago. Let's hold back a little bit on building our community centers and our hospitals. Let's hold back our synagogues a little bit.

7-5

I am just as anxious to see these institutions erected as anyone in this room, but we have an emergency existing, Mr. Chairman, and if our welfare funds, instead of deducting 50 and 60 and 30 and 40 per cent, will give the just share to the United Jewish Appeal, I am sure we will be able to accomplish that that we wanted to accomplish by raising sufficient sums of money for Israel.

That is all I want to say now (Applause).

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Judge, your exposition on this subject from my point of view is excellent, and I hope that you will torment me for another 35 years.

Who is next? I would like to have you people please speak to the subject of ideas as to how we can go out and raise between the regular UJA campaign plus the emergency campaign an amount of money at least equal to 1948.

I have no doubt that you were moved by what Golda Myerson said, the same as I was, but Moe Berinstein hit the nail on the head when he said: How do you transfer this to the five and a half million people throughout the country who are not here?

Who is next? I don't believe it. I remember the first meeting of the Steering Committee in 1946 when

7-6

we had five or six messengers, and we had to have pads of paper for people to write their names down who wanted to speak on the subject.

Isn't there anyone in this room who has some fruitful ideas on the subject of how to approach the goal, how to raise it under the emergency campaign?

Thank God.

MR. JACK STERN (Paterson, New Jersey): I just want to tell the Steering Committee here that thank God I come from a community that adopted and accepted a resolution, and we already had a breakfast meeting last Sunday. Thirty-eight men were present. Twenty-three got up and agreed to increase 33 1/3 to 50 per cent. Thirteen others got up and said they will increase their last year's pledge but they want a little more time to think about it. If you total these all up, it would be 50 per cent of our campaign compared to 1955.

This leads me to one thing. I heard Morris Berinstein get up here and talk about how you can put this across. There is only way you can put it across. It is not going to be the headlines in the newspapers. That alone will not do it. You have to go out and work.

Stop sitting on your hands. See the people.

7

They are receptive. They want to give this year. But everybody go out and see your people. Paterson is no different from any other community, and I have spoken to other communities about this subject, and I have been received very favorably.

It is just hard work, and you can't sit on your hands, and I am sure that you will raise 105 million dollars this particular year plus the 25 million dollars extra. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: It should only happen.

When Judge Lieberman asked the number of communities that have accepted their goals for the emergency campaign at least, I said that Berinstein was right; there were very few. I still think there are very few.

I just heard from Rabbi Friedman that 48 communities have been approached, and in the process they have decided to accept their goals.

But I would like to say this to you when you stand up and speak: Please remember one thing. At the November 18th meeting in New York where I pleaded, after Mr. Sharett got through speaking, that we now go back to our respective communities and start a real emergency

campaign instead of throwing it into the laps of the welfare funds where it could get lost, I did not prevail.

One gentleman stood up, and he said that he was ready to accept a huge amount of money to be put into the goal. He came back, and I said to him, "My friend, if you don't raise this million dollars, will you please give me the names of the people who we sue?"

Just the inclusion of an amount of money in a campaign does not mean its realization. When you stand up to speak, please try to give us some ideas how this money can be realized. Just a pious hope is not sufficient.

MR. DAVID STEIN (Waterbury, Connecticut): In our city we were going through a lot of trouble. We had two floods within two months, and we worried about meeting our quota for last year. But we had a special meeting of our executive of our welfare, and everyone attended, and they made a pledge to raise one-third of the total amount of last year regardless of the trouble we had of our own, and we are in full swing, and I can assure you, Mr. Chairman and friends, that we will at least give you on the regular campaign what we did last year plus a third

of the total amount for the special campaign. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, it so happens that I had to drive to a meeting in New York during the flood period, and I went through some of these towns, and my tears were rolling down, and here is a community that now assures us that they are going to take the full burden of their responsibility. (Applause)

Who else?

MR. ALVIN BRONSTEIN (Toledo, Ohio): We are in a little different position than most communities here in that we have a fall campaign. Rabbi Friedman came to our opening special dinner. Before that we had a meeting with the Board of our United Jewish Fund, and they told us what was expected from us at that time. This was early in September.

He indicated that the UJA would expect 35 percent more from Toledo United Jewish Fund. There was an agreement on the part of the Board that it was an entirely reasonable request and that that was what they were going to set out to do.

I am very pleased to report that after a very intensive campaign, I think we can assure the UJA of that

35 percent increase.

Last year we raised \$410,000. I am quite certain that when we are finished with our current campaign we will have raised \$480,000 or approximately that.

We are now over \$450,000, and we already show a \$70,000 increase over the same period last year.

However, when this new request came through, our advisory campaign committee met just two nights ago and considered this problem, and despite the fact that we waged a very intensive campaign -- believe me, it was quite a problem to raise this additional amount -- they have decided that on December 29th there is going to be another special gifts dinner in which they hope to raise the additional amount necessary.

At this meeting there were about 15 or 18 people present. They formed a \$1,000 Club, and with no difficulty at all they immediately twelve members to join the club, assuring them of at least a \$1,000 increase from every one of these members. I think we will come up with a significant additional sum even though we had a very intensive campaign all through the fall months.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: I would like to ask you a ques-

tion. It happens that my own home town of Boston also has a fall campaign. We just finished a campaign, and I am looking for ideas from you, sir, as to what you mean when you say you want to form a \$1,000 Club.

If my figures are correct, the UJA has asked you to accept approximately \$130,000 or \$140,000 additional.

MR. BRONSTEIN: \$123,000.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: How do you expect, in a comparatively small city like Toledo, to raise \$123,000 by \$1,000 gifts from what are probably the largest givers in the community?

MR. BRONSTEIN: This was just the start, Mr. Kahn. We hope to be able to build that as we go along. As I say, there will be approximately \$70,000 additional that will be forthcoming.

Having waged an intensive campaign, it is a little difficult to expect this full additional amount to be forthcoming. However, the additional amount plus the increase in the campaign I hope will come very near the amount you requested.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Wait a minute, don't go away.

You and I are going to have a debate. I say to you that the \$70,000-odd that you raised in your normal campaign belongs to the UJA.

MR. BRONSTEIN: May I suggest this: I don't think this is the forum to discuss that particular problem. We will be very happy to discuss that with you when you send a representative to our city.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Don't misunderstand me. I am looking for a plan. When I go home to Boston tomorrow, I want to work out some idea how to proceed. Personally, I believe that the way to proceed in a community which just finished its fall campaign with blood and tears, mostly tears, is to have parlor meetings to raise cash immediately for the emergency campaign. I know of no other way.

MR. BRONSTEIN: May I say this: the plan is not to get pledges but to get cash that will clear before the first. I think our campaign chairman is a little sorry he started a \$1,000 Club. It was something he did on the spur of the moment. That can be changed.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Good for you. (Applause)

MR. LOUIS LOTSKY (Stamford, Conn.): Just as

Mr. Stein has told you, we, too, were hit with a flood, and we had our share of trouble. However, we have met recently, and we have undertaken to accept our part of the goal for the emergency drive.

However, we realize that this money is needed and needed right now, so we went to our bank and, although we had mortgaged our future some time ago when the UJA asked us to, told them the need for the money is here at the present time and we must meet it, and therefore we are arranging a loan.

As a matter of fact, the bank called me only yesterday and told me the loan is available, so that we are going to take the money immediately on Monday or Tuesday for the amount of the emergency drive and then go out and collect this money.

We feel that by doing this, we will accomplish two things: first, we will have the money to give to the UJA immediately, and second, we will be able to tell our people that the emergency is the real purpose for getting the money, and therefore we can raise it much more quickly.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: This, to me, is a plan. Good

for you. Joe Meyerhoff, did you ask for the floor?

MR. JOSEPH MEYERHOFF (Baltimore, Md.): As you know, I am from Baltimore, and we have a spring campaign. Normally, we would start our campaign in February or March. In view of the special emergency, however, we have already started our campaign. We have not only accepted our goal, but we have already had two fundraising meetings, which is about three months ahead of our normal schedule, and those of you who have not as yet sensed the reaction and responsiveness of the people in your communities are going to get a pleasant surprise, provided you work at it.

People are receptive and responsive to the situation, and they understand much better than the leadership, I am afraid, just what the urgency of the situation is. People don't need a lot of explanations at a meeting. When you ask them to give at least a third of what they gave last year, very much to our agreeable surprise, we found that at least two-thirds or three-quarters of those who were at those meetings, and we already have something like 25 or 30 pledges of fairly sizeable proportions, have given from a third to a half and

sixty and seventy percent, double, what they gave last year.

The reason for it is that the leadership, I am sure, is timid, because we have had our ears pinned back so many times since 1948, every time we go out for a great, big goal, that it has gotten to a point where we have a defeatist attitude and we start with an inferiority complex when we go after this money.

There is only one way we can raise this extra money, and we have determined to do it this way in Baltimore, and I am giving it to you for what it is worth because not everything works the same way in every community, but I am sure this will work in your communities.

If you merely add the total, or the amount of the special quota or the special goal to your campaign, you won't raise that money. You might just as well take that for granted. You might raise ten percent more if you are lucky, but you will never get the big money.

There is only one way that I know of to raise this real big amount of money, and that is through a special card, and that is exactly what we are doing in Baltimore.

We have a regular card, and then we have a special card for this special emergency fund, this \$25,000,000 fund. If we can oversubscribe our quota, we will be delighted to do it, and we will try to do it, and that is our aim.

We don't accept a pledge for the 1956 campaign unless it is at least as much as last year, and we try to get more. Then, in addition to that, we get the special card signed, and we urge people to pay this immediately, because the money is needed immediately.

That is the only advice I can give to every community: Number One - don't wait for a month or two or three until everything cools off, until you are cooled off. You must start this campaign immediately. Sunday is not too late.

We have had two Sunday morning meetings, and we have had a splendid turnout on Sunday morning meetings, much to everybody's surprise. Number Two - don't hesitate to make their special contribution. In the past, we have been plagued with this business of one time only, as you all know, and the people who give large sums are timid and are afraid to sign a card for a very large sum because they

may not be able to give it next year.

The leaders especially in these communities are on the spot, as you all know, those of you who are the leadership, and you don't want to be confronted with that amount of money next year if you are not in a position to give it.

But, if you sign a card for what you think is a fair gift for you and, in addition, you can make this special contribution for the special gift to the emergency fund to meet this present emergency, not worrying about next year, I think that every community in the United States will raise a whole lot more money than the leadership believes can be done.

(Continued on Page 63)

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As I said yesterday to a smaller group, any event that has been held for Israel in the last money has had a tremendous response. Israel Bonds have sold many more bonds than they ever dreamed of being able to sell in the last two months, only because people in the United States today are much more responsive to what is going on than you believe they are.

People are not so stupid, and don't you think they don't understand the situation, and, what is even more important, they feel the situation.

There is a real feeling for the needs of Israel among the Jewish communities, and much more so going down the line.

I want to add one more thing. When we started out on this special fund, we were only going to ask people for five thousand and over. Before we got back from Baltimore, we decided to ask people for \$2,500 and over, and we started sending out invitations for these special meetings we are having now, and we decided to drop it to a thousand dollars and over.

We had a meeting the other day of the Women's Division. These meetings were even held before we

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inaugurated the campaign, because we could not wait. We finally had the first meeting of the Steering Committee this last week, and the Women's Division and all the men who were in that meeting said, "We must give everybody an opportunity to subscribe to this special fund, so we are going to have a special card for every contributor in the whole campaign, because I think we can raise a whole lot more money than we ever dreamed we could raise on this special campaign, if we only go out and do it. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Nice work, Joe. As a matter of fact, you may recall that Boston was the fair-haired boy in 1946 and 1947, but we are being pushed hard now by Baltimore and other cities.

MR. DEWEY STONE: I have been just a little concerned with the good intentions indicated in those communities that have already said that they have adopted quotas and have started to get initial gifts toward those quotas of approximately a third, and I would like to tell this group of leaders that in my humble opinion the surest way not to get the maximum amount of money that we can get is by thinking and acting at the leadership level in terms of a third.

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I am reminded of a story that I have told often. It was in the first days of big campaign, when Hitler first started, in the Thirties.

The late beloved Dr. Stephen Wise went to a wealthy Jew here in New York and started to tell him about the need for big money, and he was very much interested and asked very pointed and pertinent questions.

A half hour went to an hour. They were there better than two hours. Dr. Wise told me later that he kept speculating in his own mind about what it was that he was going to get from this fellow.

The old gentleman stood up finally, patted him on the back, wished him well and said he was sure that it was going to be a wonderful campaign. They needed two million dollars. There were two million Jews in New York. He said, "Here is my dollar. Good luck."

My friends, we are not going to give \$25,000,000, and you know \$25,000,000 is inadequate. With the leadership of the UJA -- and that is what you are -- thinking in terms of a third, giving in terms of a third to this special fund, we are just not going to do it, and I am very happy to hear the gentleman from Toledo say that this Thousand Dollar

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Club is peanuts, because what we really need is not \$25,000,000 or \$50,000,000 but \$75,000,000 or \$100,000,000, and it is available if we think in big enough terms at the top level.

I am worried about these stories about so many of these communities going to the banks at this moment and borrowing fifty and a hundred thousand when we may have to quickly borrow \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000 through the American Jewish Communities, as we did two or three years ago.

Don't sell yourselves short. Don't pre-empt our credit by borrowing a thousand when you need ten or fifty thousand.

(Continued on next page.)

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Let us get our sights properly set, as individuals and as communities. Let us not be afraid. If you don't ask, you certainly are not going to get, and if you don't give, you are in no moral position to ask.

I sincerely hope that we leave here as real leaders, that we start with the conception of \$25,000,000 as a beginning and that we in our personal giving and in our leadership of the community act the part. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Thank you very mucy, Dewey. You always make sense.

I hope, my friends, in that spirit, the excitement which is generated here today, to me and, I am certain, to you, by the talk of Golda Myerson, you will carry that message back, and remember it and not to forget it.

Who wishes to speak next?

MR. PHILIP DIAMOND (Paterson, N. J.): I wasn't going to speak here, because you have already heard from Paterson. The only reason I got up is that I have been working in this campaign since 1950, never missing one.

I think I can safely say, and I don't like to boast, that in my community for many, many years my contribution was the largest, and I am not the richest

man in the community. The only way we can raise money and do for Israel what it is our duty to do -- because I think whatever we do for Israel, we do a great deal more for ourselves (applause), and the success of this campaign depends on the people in this room.

Let us search ourselves. What have we done? What have we sacrificed?

I said that I am a large contributor. I did not sacrifice anything. If I wanted to go to Florida, I still went, and I am sure that a good many of you in this room do the same.

Let us just take stock of ourselves, and let us see what we can really do to make a sacrifice. If all the people in this room will do that, I have no doubt that we can make a success of this campaign.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Where is the flood of requests to speak, to express yourselves on what we are going to do?

If I don't hear any other requests for the floor, I am going to ask someone to move, at least the normal quota which has been worked out by the leadership and the

Campaign Cabinet of the United Jewish Appeal, if that is what you want, namely, that a normal goal for the United Jewish Appeal be set for 1956 of \$105,146,035.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: I so move.

(The motion was seconded by several.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: It is moved and seconded that the normal quota, in addition to the resolution on November 18 for \$25,000,000 or more for the United Jewish Appeal for 1956, be \$105,146,035, as given in the budget.

Does anyone wish to speak on the subject? If not, I will put it to a vote.

Please, my friends, remember that when you are voting on this normal UJA budget, unless you implement it, it is just a waste of time. It is easy enough to vote the budget. We have voted many very fine budgets and not lived up to them.

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Now we come to the second item on the Steering Committee agenda, namely, instructions to the Resolutions Committee to draw up a proper resolution, either as good as we have had in the past or even stronger, on pre-campaign budgeting.

If there is no other person who wishes to speak, I will have to recognize my favorite recommender.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: Mr. Chairman, I move you that we recommend to the Resolutions Committee that we bring in before the general membership which votes tonight a somewhat stronger resolution -- and I need not mention the wording here; we will have our troubles in the Resolutions Committee -- than was brought in last year for pre-campaign budgeting for the year 1946.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: That is hardly definite as a motion -- somewhat stronger.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: Mr. Chairman, in explaining that motion, may I say this: Do you have the phraseology of last year's motion? I don't. I am sure that each and every one knows what I am referring to, because we have had many a discussion on the pre-campaign budgeting here, year after year, and certainly the members of the Resolutions Committee will understand, because we discussed it in the Resolutions Committee. I don't want to go into actual wording of it.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Judge, I withdraw my request, because I notice that you are on the Resolutions Committee,

and I am reasonably certain that you will do the right thing particularly when it comes to pre-campaign budgeting, which, you may recall, lest you have forgotten, is one of your favorite gripes.

Is there anyone who seconds the motion?

(The motion was seconded by several.)

JUDGE KAHN: The motion has been seconded.

Is there anyone who wishes to speak on the motion?

MR. FINEMARK: Mr. Chairman, may we have the last year's resolution, so we will know what we are talking about, and the Resolutions Committee can be properly instructed by this motion?

CHAIRMAN KAHN: The Resolutions Committee will have before it a copy of the resolution and will spend time on that point.

Is there anyone who wishes to speak on this point? If there isn't, I will put it to a vote.

MR. FINEMARK: I understand we are being asked to vote on a motion to the effect that some resolution be made stronger than it was last year, and we here do not know what the motion is, and yet we are asked to make some

sort of a recommendation to the Resolutions Committee that is supposed to act based upon our recommendation.

I don't quite understand how we can do that if we don't know what the resolution is.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Mr. Finemark, may I say that I looked at the list when you stood up, and I notice that you are on the Resolutions Committee.

MR. FINEMARK: That may be, but we are not acting on what the Resolutions Committee will do, but what this Steering Committee is going to recommend to the Resolutions Committee.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: That is why I asked the Judge just what he meant, because he was so indefinite, by a stronger pre-campaign budgeting resolution.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: May I explain it to Mr. Finemark and the other ladies and gentlemen here?

CHAIRMAN KAHN: You certainly may.

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: Mr. Chairman, I believe that the Resolutions Committee last year composed a resolution to the effect that the body assembled recommended that each and every community submit to pre-campaign budgeting prior to the campaign. I don't think there was anything stronger

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than that. It was just a request, not a demand, that before a community, in so many simple words, decides to hold its campaign and before it decides what it is going to take for itself or what it is going to give to the United Jewish Appeal, that it extend the courtesy to the representatives of the United Jewish Appeal and sit down with them to discuss the allocation of funds.

My thought is, Mr. Chairman, that we give the authority to the Resolutions Committee to perhaps make that a little stronger. When the Resolutions Committee decides this afternoon, that doesn't make it final. It still comes back to this body to be voted upon; but I feel that the arm of the Resolutions Committee will be strengthened if this Steering Committee asks it to do so.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, if you will permit me, I will give Golda Myerson the privilege of retiring. She has worked very hard, and she has come here to be with us and has worked even harder.

(Mrs. Myerson withdrew.)

MR. LEVIN: Would I be in order if I make a motion to refer this question to the Resolutions Committee?

CHAIRMAN KAHN: In the form of an amendment, yes.

MR. LEVIN: I would like to make that amendment.

(The amendment was seconded by several.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: An amendment has been made to the Judge's original motion, which has been seconded, and I will not put the amendment to a vote.

(The amendment was unanimously carried.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Now on the original motion --

(The motion was unanimously carried.)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Is there anything that any delegate wants to bring up at this time before this meeting?

MR. BENJAMIN SILVERBLATT: (Lowell, Mass.): I want to make a suggestion that occurs to me with reference to our campaign for the raising of funds.

Take, for example, in Massachusetts, when Boston starts its campaign, it does it all by itself, and the neighboring and the surrounding cities get no enthusiasm from the Boston campaign, because it is limited to people in Boston.

I know that if people in the smaller communities come to a meeting where large amounts are raised, when they return, that enthusiasm can be carried to their communities, and it helps there.

Here is what I would suggest: that in every state there be assigned, say, five or six or seven cities, like Boston, Worcester, Springfield and so forth, and when those key cities hold a meeting for raising funds, of whatever meeting they may hold in that connection, they invite three of the officers or three persons from each surrounding city within a radius of thirty miles to come and attend that meeting and get the enthusiasm that pervades that meeting and carry it back to their homes.

I think the way our campaigns are being run as a individual enterprise for each city is wrong. I think the time has come when there ought to be a wave of enthusiasm carried from Boston to Lowell and perhaps Lawrence and other cities within thirty miles.

If you do that throughout the country, you will be surprised, in my opinion, as to what can be done.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think the suggestion is excellent. He is absolutely right. I know that I go to your town, Mr. Silverblatt, as you probably know, quite a few times. I think it would be infinitely better if at certain meetings in Boston, for

example, we invited your group to come up.

I think it is an excellent suggestion.

(Chairman Kahn then read the list of members of the Nominating Committee and the Resolutions Committee.)

JUDGE LIEBERMAN: Mr. Chairman, before we adjourn, may I make a suggestion? I have been wanting to make this suggestion for many years.

I think you have a Resolutions Committee consisting of more people than you have at the Conference, and if you want good resolutions and a good Resolutions Committee to function properly in the future, may I make a suggestion to the Cabinet -- and it is not in the form of a motion -- that every community does not have to be represented, and I am sure that many of them will not feel slighted if they are not on the working committees.

For Heaven's sake, next year don't have more than ten or twenty. It's ridiculous.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Your suggestion will be taken under advisement by the Cabinet.

MR. FINEMARK: Mr. Chairman, I have been opposed to the Judge on so many occasions. May I at this time register agreement with him.

CHAIRMAN KAHN: Judge, the most remarkable thing to me is that after ten years of being a UJA Steering Committee chairman, finally I have found somebody who agrees with you.

Ladies and gentlemen, you have been a marvelous committee. I hope you go back to your respective committees and your respective communities with the vim and pep that you haveshown here this afternoon.

Good luck and good health to you. Thank you.

(The Steering Committee meeting adjourned at 4:45 o'clock p.m.)

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