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National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal [New York,
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+ SATURDAY EVENING SESSION +
+ UJA NATIONAL CONFERENCE +

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AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

December 1, 1956

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York City

ABALON STENOTYPE REPORTERS
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The Saturday evening dinner meeting of the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened on the Starlight Roof of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City at 8:40 p.m., December 1, 1956; Mr. Edward M. M. Warburg presiding.

CHAIRMAN WARBURG: Ladies and gentlemen, I realize that in speaking into this microphone I am not only speaking to those I can see who are in discomfort, but to several hundred others in neighboring rooms who are also in discomfort. They at least have the privilege of not having to look at me.

I think it is, in all seriousness, to say the least, most regrettable that so many people have been inconvenienced and the hospitality that we intended to offer has proved to be so inadequate. I know that there are some several hundred who have left tonight in not the best temper because they had hoped to be here and be with us, but frankly, there just wasn't, there isn't and there is nothing we can do about it, there aren't enough facilities to take care of all those who want to be here tonight and participate in this evening.

It is extraordinary how history in but a few

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days and hours can suddenly galvanize the decencies of our people. I don't know why I say it is extraordinary. Perhaps I should say it is expected, in their wanting to come and find out what they can do about what they read, what they see and what they smell and what they know of the conditions under which we meet tonight.

I have had a certain amount to do with arranging and planning conferences in the past and I can assure you that everything was done that could be done in combing the city for more adequate space and more adequate facilities in which to welcome you, but as they were not available, let us proceed with our obligations.

We have been through some extraordinary days. Some of us who have the responsibility of those mundane things such as budgeting have wondered how we dare to have the authority or the courage to go ahead and answer on transatlantic telephones the questions coming to us from every corner of the world by an affirmative and a positive statement, "Go ahead. We will find the money somehow."

You have no idea. I don't think you can have an idea of the strain and the stress under which the officers of the organizations whh you support have been

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laboring, because while they can be full of cheer and gag humor at times, underneath there is a seriousness and a sense of awesome responsibility which makes their everyday routine far from pleasant. We don't project what may happen. We don't have to. What is happening throughout the scene of the civilized world is terrifying enough. Its consequences, unless arrested, will tend to make even the tremendous goals we have set ourselves inadequate, but one thing our people has had all through the ages is faith, faith and a dedication to heritage, and our heritage teaches us that what we know to be right we must have the courage to do.

I don't know how many of you have been following in how many -- and this to me has been a tremendously interesting experience in travelling around through your communities -- how many of you even hear through your press or the radio or whatever the means of communication may be, the facts. It seems fantastic that we see tonight the skeletal outlines of so much that we have experienced in the past again evoked from the past into action of the present.

We read about what happens in Egypt. We wonder

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if Chanukah will become Passover. We wonder what the meaning of this new exodus. We are reminded of so many aspects of the Nuremberg bequeath. We know of property sequestered. We know of individuals held as hostage. We know of pressured departures. We know of the extraordinary passivity of the civilized world.

And as we sit here boats are nearing the shores of Europe with a new exodus from Egypt. We have had the alarms already in our offices from the communities who must receive them and are incapable of bringing the resources required to bear in that reception. This is happening as we sit here, and above all, we know that there happens to be a gentleman -- and I use that word facetiously -- who happens to hold the high office in the government of Nasser, whose itinerary -- let's put it -- is from Hitler to Argentina to Egypt, and who has thought up some rather special and rather extraordinary forms of savagery which Pharoah would never have conceived of nor would Pharoah's successor, Hitler, have had the brains to imagine.

You will hear tonight those who will desperately and at the peril of their own health, sensing the responsibility of being spokesmen for something so much bigger than

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themselves, express to you and describe to you the story. You will hear some of the sense of electricity which has permeated the halls of this hotel in the days in which we have all been involved in deliberation and where one agenda after another was thrown out the window because people didn't want to hear all this. They wanted to get to work. You will hear action that tells of the brilliance, the radiance, the extraordinary quality of the tried and true, and possibly in the next hours, tomorrow some time when you return home, with the responsibility of transmitting this to your own community -- you won't have all this which has made it possible for us to understand and you feel very alone and you feel very naked and you feel very confused.

I don't think that tonight's program is intended as anything more than to fortify you with that which you will need, which doesn't stop with tonight. Everything that we have conceived of as normal action and normal fundraising in form, in time, in quantity, is meaningless in facing this task if we are serious about facing it, and the national office stands ready, open, anxious and willing to cooperate with you in any way to bring what we can to

you, to help you and to work with you in bringing this message throughout this country, because it must get throughout this country and I do not speak only of the Jewish community.

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You have to tell us what is needed. We must in some way provide it and we stand ready to accept that challenge if you accept your end of it. Let us be sure of one thing. We are not here only as Jews. We are here as Americans. We have learned a lot about our culture and our meaning as Americans, and nothing in our Americanism or in our Judaism is in conflict, and we have the responsibility at this time with dignity, with force and with clarity to take our actions and to bring to this union the contribution which we as a minority peculiarly have as an understanding and which we can enrich and contribute to the culture which is that of this great country of ours.

In that spirit I would like to ask you to understand the solemnity of the evening. Again, my apologies for the inconveniences that are evident within my sight and beyond it. These were not of our making, and I would like to ask you to also bear with us and understand the

formalities which are required, because these formalities are of the deepest meaning in the organization and construction of the machinery which will be asked to carry this heavy burden.

I had hoped that one of our most wonderful workers who works in exile on the West Coast, Ben Swig of San Francisco, might be able to be with us. He was with us but unfortunately, so was his virus. Nothing serious in the least, but he is laid up and in his place in connection with the nominations required I would like to call on an extraordinary gentleman, a shy gentleman, a man who doesn't like pretty words, and I don't blame him, but I think that it has been all too long that it was recognized that Elkan Myers is one of the most extraordinary citizens of our community. (Applause)

MR. MYERS: Eddie, after your wonderful talk this is going to be awfully flat.

Mr. Chairman, delegates, ladies and gentlemen, the Nominating Committee has again called upon our five outstanding National Chairmen to serve in the critical days that lie ahead. We knew that it was not fair of us to ask them to serve again. We knew that they had given

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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 and to take a less active role in the work of the United Jewish Appeal, but knowing all this, we cannot dare in these critical days to lose the invaluable benefit to be derived from their continued services, and so we nominate again to serve as National Chairmen for 1957 those men whom I will ask to rise as I read their names:

Morris W. Berinstein (applause), Samuel H. Daroff (applause), Joseph Holtzman (applause), Sol Luckman (Applause) and Jack D. Weiler (applause). As all of you know, the Nominating Committee does not take formal action with respect to the nomination of National Chairmen representing the constituent bodies of the United Jewish Appeal, since this is the prerogative and responsibility of the United Israel Appeal and the Joint Distribution Committee respectively. However, at the designation of these agencies it is my privilege to announce that Dewey D. Stone will represent the United Israel Appeal (applause) and Dr. Jonah B. Wise will represent the Joint Distribution Committee (applause) as National Chairmen for 1957.

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For Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively, for the National Campaign Cabinet, we would like to nominate again the two men who in 1956 served so successfully in these same positions. For Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet we present for your endorsement, and with my personal greatest pleasure, Joseph Meyerhoff of Baltimore. (Applause) For Vice-Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet, one who I am terribly sorry is not able to be with us tonight, Fred Forman of Rochester. (Applause)

For Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal Emergency Rescue Fund, your Nominating Committee presents a man from New York City who electrified the country in 1956 when he took the initiative and announced the first and single largest gift to the Special Survival Fund. Yesterday he again electrified the meeting in the same manner. I present for your consideration as Chairman of the UJA Emergency Rescue Fund for 1957 Mr. Samuel Rubin. (Applause)

The next announcement is one that I consider a privilege to make. I do not think I have to tell this audience what this man means to American Jewry and the esteem in which we hold him. We have prevailed upon

Senator Herbert H. Lehman to accept the Honorary General Chairmanship of the United Jewish Appeal. (Applause)

It is now my great honor to nominate for the highest office in the United Jewish Appeal another of the truly great figures in the ranks of American Jewry. When the Jews of America called upon him two years ago to accept the mantle of leadership and the responsibilities of General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, he accepted like a good soldier, and with the retiring modesty which so typifies his character. Again last year he was called upon and again accepted the role of leadership.

As we look back upon these two years we realize our wisdom in asking him to lead the United Jewish Appeal through this time of decision for Israel. With the march of events which may reflect so much on the welfare of the Jews of the world, it becomes necessary to again call upon him to lead the United Jewish Appeal during what may be the most important year in its existence. Last year when I introduced him I read to you a letter that had been sent to him by David Ben Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel. This year I feel it wouldn't be fair to you if I didn't share with you the letter sent to him by our

great good friend, Eddie Cantor, dated November 23, 1956.

"Dear Bill: who am I to tell you what to do with your time? But knowing of your deep interest in UJA and what it means to America and to the world, I would be remiss in my duty if I did not ask you from the bottom of my heart to please continue as Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for next year. It is so very, very important in these trying days that we have a man of your stature and your knowledge of what to do and what not to do in matters where Jews are concerned. I hope you and your family are fine and my warmest regards. Sincerely, Eddie."

(Applause)

Ladies and gentlemen, it is with a deep sense of heartfelt gratification and with the realization of the tremendous responsibilities which face him in 1957 that we nominate as General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal Mr. William Rosenwald.

(The audience arose and applauded)

MR. ROSENWALD: Elkan, thank you for that very nice introduction.

Ladies and gentlemen, I want to thank you for your invitation to serve again as General Chairman. I

think that it implies your confidence in me and I am really deeply moved by that expression of confidence.

This summer I was on an island off the coast of Maine, a place where the children play in groups on the village green. One day I stopped to watch a group of boys and they were holding an election. To my amazement they elected a four year old as their chairman. His proud father thought, "Must be a natural-born leader," but he didn't say it. He asked, "How did you happen to choose the youngest boy as your chairman?" "Well, Mister, you see, he can't write so we couldn't make him secretary. He can't count so we couldn't make him treasurer. He's not big enough to bounce anybody so we couldn't make him sergeant-at-arms, and he would have felt bad if we hadn't made him something, so we made him chairman." (Laughter)

You know, this UJA gang is a wonderful gang. It works very much like that gang of boys in Maine. You elect one fellow chairman and everybody else does the work. This was very much proven to me at yesterday's meeting. There were 600 or more people there representing communities all over the country and the problem was presented to them, and without the slightest prodding in any way by

me, they decided what you have heard, to conduct a regular campaign in 1957; in addition to the regular campaign to organize an emergency rescue fund, and on top of that, they decided that the quota for the Emergency Rescue Fund should be \$100,000,000.

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But setting a quota was the least of it. I think the most remarkable part of that meeting, and in my some years of experience with the UJA it was the most amazing meeting I have ever attended -- people quite spontaneously got up and said what they had prepared to do to meet that quota. Now, everything I am saying about any fundraising and what took place in regard to fundraising at that meeting is very, very strictly off the record and I address myself here to the representatives of the press who are present, and please respect the confidence.

But at that meeting there were a great number of people who said that they would give to the Emergency Rescue Fund -- these are top givers, big givers -- they would give to the Emergency Rescue Fund in 1957 four and five times as much as they gave to the Special Survival Fund in 1956. There were several people there who said

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that they would give two, three and more times as much in 1957 as they gave in 1956, and when I say two and three times as much, I mean two and three times as much as their regular contribution and their Special Survival Fund gift combined, and perhaps most startling of all at that meeting, there were seven announcements of a quarter of a million dollars each, and more. (Applause)

Only in 1948 when we raised nearly \$150,000,000 did we have anything like that number of announcements of that size, and in 1948 we had it only at the end of the campaign. This campaign hasn't even started yet. In fact, what happened yesterday is all the more amazing because it wasn't a fundraising meeting. You know, I just can't wait to find out what is going to happen when we do start fundraising.

And with this wonderful response I think you will agree with me that the UJA gang is a terrific gang. (Applause) But one might well ask themselves: this is wonderful but what did they hear that elicited such a response, and I would like to tell you how I see it.

Just a very few weeks ago I was in Israel with the UJA Study Mission, and the thing that thrilled me

most and I think thrilled many of the members of the Mission most was seeing a planeload of families, immigrants, land at Lydda Airport, people coming from a part of Europe from which, during the past years and up until a very short time ago, it seemed to us as if there wasn't the slightest chance of families getting out.

I talked to several of these people. One of them, a man there with his wife and children, younger middle-aged -- I asked him how things had been going for him, where he came from, and he told me that he had been quite successful driving a horse and cab and had, in fact, succeeded in making what I knew was four or five times the average laborer's wage in that country. So I naturally asked him, "Look, things were going pretty well for you in Europe. Why did you pull up stakes and come to Israel?" And he told me, "You know, I was on the street all day and I just couldn't take it. Everywhere all the time people would see me and shout at me, 'Jew, go back to Palestine,' and," he added, "the funniest thing happened. The last few months when they shouted that to me, I said I've got my visa. I am going back to Palestine. And then they turned to me and they said, 'If you Jews

start deserting us, we are going to start riots against you.'"

I think that this little story illustrates why the people are leaving. Because in those areas a Jew can't be right no matter what he does.

You know, this story of immigration to Israel is really fantastic. It has been an increasing immigration, constantly increasing. It represents a very big drain on the economy of that country. The quota that was set for the quota year starting this October 1st was 60,000. Not only is that a higher rate than the immigration in any recent year, but since October 1st people have actually been coming to Israel even faster than that, and this isn't the only drain. There is the regular work of the Jewish Agency which I don't have to detail to you and all this is on top of the enormous demands that are continually and increasingly being made on Israel to maintain her defensive position against the increasing threat of attack from the neighboring Arab lands.

That was another thing that we learned in Israel; that in order for Israel to maintain its defensive position we will have to have even more new money in 1957 than they

needed in 1956, and remember, all this was before we saw such headlines in the papers as "Expelling 50,000 Jews Egypt's Reported Aim," and before the papers were filled, as they currently are filled, with news of the flood of refugees coming out from behind the Iron Curtain into Vienna, currently specially from Hungary. These people coming currently into Vienna represent not only an increased responsibility to Israel for immigration but the events behind the Iron Curtain also add to the responsibility of the Joint Distribution Committee which it has to assume, and the responsibilities are big enough as it is. It has its regular program which should be expanded. On top of that it has to take even better care and give more care to the Jews in North Africa because their situation has deteriorated very rapidly in recent months, and on top of all that a lot of Jews from North Africa, principally those on top of what I have already mentioned, are going into Europe and, to a certain extent, they become a responsibility of the JDC there.

And perhaps in all too few words this, I think, is what prompted the action that you heard yesterday. We've got a big assignment in 1957. Last year the UJA gang --

and they are a tremendous gang -- the people like those who were at the meeting yesterday, like us here tonight, and the hundreds and hundreds and thousands of people like us in every community throughout the length and breadth of this land -- this UJA gang rose to the challenge that we heard a year ago and enabled us to conduct our very successful 1956 campaign, so with that kind of a record of achievement and with the kind of a start and the kind of a response and understanding that we already have for 1957, it seems to me that Eddie is quite right in saying that he has every confidence that we shall again rise to the task.

But, ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you it isn't enough just to have a good start. We've got to follow through on it and you have asked me to continue as General Chairman. It is taking on a big responsibility. I think before taking it on I ought to know whether or not all of you are ready to do what will be necessary to take on this bigger responsibility, whether or not you are prepared to give more and to work more in 1957. (Applause)

Thank you very much for that kind of an assurance. I am prepared to continue working alongside with you,

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and I want to tell you, although it is a big task, we are going to pull together and we are going to try to meet it as we have done before, and what I would like to urge -- and this I urge from the bottom of my heart -- is for each and every one of us who, working thus together, we will so conduct ourselves that when we meet again a year from now, we will be able to feel and to say that in large measure, thanks to us, Jews were saved and Israel will survive.

(The audience arose and applauded)

CHAIRMAN WARBURG: I don't think it is too much to assume -- and again the program has been thrown out of order -- I believe the legalisms require that I arise before Mr. Rosenwald spoke and ask for all kinds of formal actions, but by assumption I think I have a right to say from your response not only to him that the officers and slate of the Nominating Committee have your unanimous approval. (Applause)

Recently I saw in a magazine some place where a chairman said that "All those in favor please say aye. All those contrary say 'I resign.'" (Laughter)

I now want to turn the meeting over to one who

has never been shy in action but has been shy in accepting honors and in accepting the spotlight, but I've gotten my suntan now, due to this kind gentleman over there, whoever he may be, and for the remainder of the program I want to turn it over to one whose record has been such as to deserve something more than just applause from all of you.

It is ridiculous to list his activities, although they are in front of me here on these cards. The fact of the matter is that here we have one person who, at the sacrifice of health, has had the vision, has had the daring, has had the means and has had the contacts, because those contacts are built on a mutual understanding with those whom he spoke, whether they be prospects or they be associates in the world of law or in the world of the banking field, to spearhead all that we were able to do in the past, and I have no doubt will do the same in the future.

Few people in our ranks deserve more your understanding respect than the man to whom I would like to turn over the gavel -- Dewey Stone. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very, very much, Ed,

for your most generous and gracious introduction, and believe me, friends, it is with a deep sense of pride and joy that I chair the remainder of this really historic meeting.

I am relatively an old-timer in terms of conferences, conventions, meetings and situations called crises, emergencies and everything else one can conjure words to describe. Some of you have shared with me more than just this evening because I want you to know that your officers and your Cabinet and some of the important special community leaders have been working almost steadily around the clock, starting at 8:30 on Thursday morning, not to speak of all of the time and effort that went into work prior to that time, and I must tell you that I cannot recall a single occasion when I have sensed a similar feeling, spirit in such a group.

It takes me back to Geneva in 1939 at the Zionist Congress which broke up one week before the start of World War No. 2, and I have that feeling that we are on the threshold of conditions similar to those prevailing at that time. I sincerely hope and pray -- and I must tell you that I am a wilfull optimist -- I have the firm con-

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viction that the world has learned something since 1939.

One thing I am absolutely sure of. After what I have seen these last couple of days by you, that we American Jews have certainly learned a great deal since those days and I am thoroughly convinced that we are prepared, that we are willing and that we are going to be able to meet not only the challenge but the opportunity which history has placed upon us in this most eventful moment in Jewish history.

I would like to take the privilege before calling on the speakers, to ask two wonderful representatives of the State of Israel who have just arrived here, to join us in the coming campaign. Many of you will see them later in your communities as we labor in the actual fund-raising amongst the communities. Time does not permit them to speak but I want you to meet them tonight, and I am going to ask Mrs. Rachel Huebner, Colonel of the CHEN, The Women's Army of Israel, who just came from Israel and was in the fighting, to stand and take a bow so that you will know Colonel Huebner. (Applause)

The gentleman in charge of a part of the Jewish Agency, a dedicated, devoted worker, Mr. Ranan Weitz.

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(Applause)

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May I just add one word? Eddie has already mentioned it, but I spent a few moments wandering through the ante-rooms, saying hello to those who came late and were not able to be here to see as well as hear tonight's proceedings. I want you to know that on behalf of the UJA I appreciate and thank you for your good nature and the very gracious manner in which you have accepted the positions that you are sitting at, and all I can tell you is that I am sure you share with all of us the great joy that what we are doing has aroused the interest and concern of so many more than we ever in our wildest imaginations believed would come together for this meeting tonight.

Continue to be good sports about it and I am sure that you will hear and understand everything that is taking place, and with all due respect to those of us who are speaking, as I said to some of you privately, in not seeing you are not missing any Clark Gables or Robert Youngs, at least speaking for myself.

Now, my friends, if I am relative brief in the several introductions that I am going to make, it is only because the people whom I am privileged to present to you

are so well known that it really needs no chairman to introduce them to you, and I am giving them the benefit of each precious moment that I might take in telling you a great deal about them.

Life in Israel is too tense, too dynamic to permit anyone the luxury of simply one job or one calling. Most of us knew first and most of our first distinguished guests as the great General of the Israel Army of 1948 that won the glorious War of Independence. Since then, and he is still only forty, he has gained world stature. He is a scholar and archeologist. It is an honor to present General Yigael Yadin of Israel.

(The audience arose and applauded)

GENERAL YADIN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, instead of just thanking you for your reception, may I just say that from what I have seen in the last week in America and today here, you are simply wonderful.

As you will notice in the course of the next moments, my English has not improved since I was here last, but from what I heard in Haifa the other day, I believe that there is not such a big difference any more between English and Hebrew. A young lady from this country

who came to Israel, Haifa -- the first thing she did was to want to say a Hebrew word. She asked the porter, "Will you be so kind as to tell me what the Hebrew equivalent for the word 'Lechayim'?" (Laughter)

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My talk tonight I am afraid is not going to be a real prepared speech. I admit I prepared one six weeks ago when I knew I was coming to this country, but since that day so many things happened and are happening every day that really, before coming to New York, I had to throw away this speech and I thought you would prefer perhaps an up to date one, and even if it will not be as polished as I believe the other one was.

On the other hand, I am afraid it is not going to be a really spontaneous one, at least not in the definition of the late Shmuel Levine who said that every spontaneous speech must be prepared at least three weeks in advance. (Laughter) But, ladies and gentlemen, I trust, you know, this is really not a moment for prepared speeches or polished speeches. It is a moment for facts and I would not like to take too much, so I will go straight into the subjects which I wanted to discuss tonight.

I hope that everyone realizes that the events

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which took place in the Middle East four weeks ago are the most important in the world since the war in Korea, and for Israel itself, although it was an hour of great military victory, still and yet an hour of the greatest challenge to its existence since its creation. I want to start with a very grave and perhaps crude statement when I say that before Israel four weeks ago was the following choice:

To be wiped off from the map of the world and then perhaps to be eulogized and mourned by democracies and others in the world, saying, "Here was again a democracy, but alas, she is not there any more." Or, to counter-attack, survive, and at least be in a position to explain to the world why she did so, and thank God the leaders of Israel in that fateful moment had the courage to take the right decision, the only decision.

In what follows I will try to substantiate this statement. I used the word "counter-attack" rather than another word which I see from time to time in the papers here and elsewhere, and I want to tell you why. Most of it is known. It is worthwhile repeating over and over and over. I had the honor in 1949 to sign on behalf of the

Israeli government the armistice agreement with Egypt on the Island of Rhodes. I want to remind you that at that moment the situation in a way was very similar to what it is now.

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The Israeli army was victorious. The armies of the seven Arab nations which invaded the country in defiance of the United Nations were defeated. A third of the Egyptian Army was trapped inside the State of Israel. Our forces were deep in the Sinai, more or less in the places where they are here today.

Nevertheless, the instructions I had from my government were not to ask for too many conditions; if only we could achieve an armistice which would lead to peace, because that is what Israel wanted and still wants more than anything else -- peace to do two things, to integrate her brothers who come to us as quickly as possible, and to develop the country for that task.

And we signed that armistice agreement, because in the first paragraph of that armistice instrument it was said specifically that this armistice is a temporary thing, and it should lead to peace in the Middle East, and each side undertook not only not to attack the other party, but also not to use threats or to do any hostile act.

With this we parted.

This should teach us a lesson, too, for what

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happened since is already history.

The moment we released the Egyptian Army, the heart of the Egyptians changed.

You know, it is a strange thing for those who study history and try to see something in it -- I mean, you can define it as the psychology of a nation. When we read in the Bible, 3,300 years ago, after one plague, the Egyptians were ready to sign an armistice, and immediately this plague was removed, they changed their minds. Another plague, another armistice. Another plague, another armistice. Ten plagues, and then the Jews had to run away from Egypt.

That is what happened in the last years. It started with a blockade. No Israeli ship could pass through the canal, that international waterway, and also through Akaba, the port of the Negev. They concluded an arms deal with Russia and Czechoslovakia which provided them with huge quantities of arms and of a quality which we haven't seen before in the Middle East. We knew that from our intelligence reports. We always thought our intelligence was a very

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good one.

But when we discovered after the events, after the operation, a few weeks ago, these huge quantities of arms, it really spoke for the intention, of course.

But this wasn't enough, and Nasser organized his soldiers as fedayeen, as guerrillas, with an explicit order to penetrate as thieves in the night, deep into the borders of Israel and kill as brutally as possible as many men, women and children as they could.

Now, Israel is a small country. The capital is on the border. The center of population is only ten miles from the border. And I want to tell you that from Nasser's point of view, it was very successful in the last year. His fedayeens inflicted on Israel in the last year more than a thousand casualties.

Well, that number sounds perhaps like a small one, but if you can imagine a situation, theoretically, I know, in this country, in 1946, when they had an armistice agreement with Japan, and the Japanese sitting a few yards from Washington and ten miles from Chicago, sending their guerrillas with the declared intention to annihilate you and inflicting each year -- this is the

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proportion -- 100,000 casualties in America, you perhaps could have realized what happened in Israel last year.

We knew that there were Egyptian soldiers from among the documents we found in Gaza in addition to the ones already known. We found many citations and mentions in dispatches like these with pictures of these heroes, mentioned for their gallantry inside the land of Israel in killing women and children.

Lastly, the united command was formed, Syria, Jordan and Egypt, with the declared and unhidden intention of annihilating Israel.

There is another document which we captured -- it is already known now, but I must read you again that paragraph, because I think it is an unprecedented document, in the last twenty years, for a nation, a member of the United Nations.

When a major general commanding the Third Division of infantry of Egypt can put in writing down to the battalion commanders rank that every commander should be prepared and prepare his troops for the unavoidable war with Israel, in order to achieve "our supreme objective, namely, annihilation of Israel and

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its complete destruction in as little time as possible and by fighting against her as brutally and cruelly as possible", there is no doubt as to the intention.

We were all surprised, perhaps, that in the last few days, Nasser started to expel Jews from Egypt in the most cruel way, but we were not surprised four weeks ago, because the best seller in the Egyptian army, given free, which our soldiers found in every tent, was the Arab translation of Hitler's "Mein Kampf". This was the doctrine, and with that he indoctrinated his army, not only against Israel, against the Jews, but against democracies, and, in trying to be the head of the Moslem world, also against Christianity.

A time came in Israel, ladies and gentlemen, when everyone felt and re-echoed even without knowing the famous words of Luther, when he said, "Here is stand. I cannot do otherwise, so help me God. Amen."

And Israel counter-attacked. Believe me, I wish as many of you here were in Israel five weeks ago, not to witness the exploits of the Israeli army, but to see one thing and one thing only: how the jig-saw puzzle-like pattern of Israel, with Jews from the Yemen, from

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North Africa, from Europe and Iraq, whom we helped to bring to Israel, how in one night this pattern changed, and you saw before you one people, one nation.

I believe that in the last ten years this was a turning point. We had no more new immigrants from all the world. We had before us one nation.

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Israel has no big standing army. She cannot afford it. (Applause) All the army of Israel is the army of the reserves, the army of people, of citizens; and suddenly, the professors, the doctors, those who live near the frontier, Jews from Yemen and Iraq and Europe -- you could see everywhere you went in the street, everywhere, a man or a woman saying farewell to their mothers, children, putting their poor uniforms on them and going to their assembly points.

Nobody told them. It was a secret why they were going. But everyone knew it is hard, but there is no other way, and he was ready for it.

This was really something, as I said, I wish as many of you as possible could have watched, because it was worthwhile, especially for you, to see these people, the newcomers, how they behaved.

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Nevertheless, I want you to know, and you know, that a large number of them still live in ~~ma~~ma'abarot, in transitional camps. The best joke I know -- a tragic joke -- I heard before I left Israel, when the Egyptians started to surrender, and there was not enough trucks to carry them.

A soldier moving by jeep in the Sinai was halted by an Egyptian soldier without shoes, saying, "Take me to the prison camp," and he took him, and on the way there, this Egyptian started to complain about the conditions and everything, and so on, and so forth; so this soldier said to him, "I don't understand what you are complaining about. I am taking you to a prison camp, but I have to return tomorrow still to a ~~ma~~ma'abarot." (Laughter)

Well, ladies and gentlemen, here you are, a civilian army, an army of civilians, but people who knew what they wanted and loved what they knew, to paraphrase the famous words of Cromwell.

I will say today, because of the time, one really could see again the descendants of the Maccabees, and I am sure that in 2,000 years or even less, additional candles will be added to the Menorah to celebrate that

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courage and spirit of our people. (Applause)

And what happened later is already known. Within four days, an army of civilians from all over the world coming to their country destroyed the bases of the fedayeen, overcame the three Egyptian divisions, and within four days, they cleaned the Sinai peninsula.

I am asked here and there, "How can you explain that?" I say that the real factor and perhaps the greatest factor was the morale of the people.

You must understand and you will understand the emotions of those Jews from the Yemen and Iraq when they entered and attacked their enemies who had killed their wives and children a day before and entered in Sinai, near Mount Sinai, the holiest place for Jewish history, where the Law was given, treading exactly the same spot where their forefathers, 3,200 years ago wandered for forty years, harrassed by Egyptians when they tried to come to the Holy Land.

This was a strange feeling, as if a film named not "The Ten Commandments", but named "The Exodus" which was filmed at that time was shown again, but in reverse, and at a speed 3,000 times bigger than the

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original.

That was the feeling of everyone.

But now, ladies and gentlemen, these are really not our problems. I said we are facing a great challenge to the existence of Israel.

From the military, political and economic point of view, Nasser has suffered a severe knock. I would say that he was at a certain time technically knocked out -- were it not for so many seconds, his seconds who came with lemons and white towels to revive him.

Nevertheless, he is still there, and sixty per cent of the army is still there, and the Syrians and Jordanians and all the other Arabs are still preparing themselves, and they are preparing themselves with the aid of a terrible and great and mighty nation, and you know whom I mean.

When we read in the paper about 50,000 or 250,000 so-called "volunteers", everyone says, "Well, this is impossible. This is a bluff." But to set the spark for the fire, you don't need a big spark. This modest spark can start the biggest fire, and for Russia it is sufficient to bring 300 pilots, 500 tank men and

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another couple of hundred technicians to strengthen the Syrian army in order to give that spark.

And they were there. Our soldiers fighting in the Sinai heard very clearly Russian commands and words in the intercommunication between the tanks, and, I can tell you, this Russian was spoken, was talked not in an Egyptian accent. There was no Egyptian accent to it. (Laughter)

This is a great danger, and the world should not wait for the 50,000 or 250,000. It should awake now to the realities of the situation in the Middle East.

As for the economic situation, I don't desire to say more. I know that my friend, Harman, will talk about the huge problems facing Israel in connection with these things and the integration of the new scores of thousands of immigrants.

I want to tell you now a story, a factual story from these heroic days only three or four weeks ago. When our troops and our airmen were engaged against the Egyptians in the most southern tip of the Sinai peninsula, where there was a regiment of Egyptians supported by batteries

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hindering the passage of Israeli boats to Akaba, one of the ace pilots, a squadron leader, was shot down, and he bailed out and landed two hundred yards from the Egyptians.

I know this chap. I call him the best that the Jewish people can produce.

He managed, with the help of his pistol, to protect himself against the Egyptians for a certain while, but when his friends, the pilots, came back to the base and discovered that their leader was not with them, immediately they took off again and sent to the scene -- and it is far away; it is not in Israel. The distances are big there in Sinai.

They came back to that scene, hovered around for a second, fired on the Egyptians, and while they were doing that, another pilot, at the risk of his life, landed with a Piper Cub, the smallest airplane in the world, landed near the pilot, put him aboard and came back safely to the base. (Applause.)

I tell you this story because there is a moral to that story. One of the major factors in building the morale of the Israeli soldier was the knowledge of every

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one that in whatever predicament he would find himself, his friends would do whatever they could, even risking their lives, to save him.

And I think this is true also when you talk about the Israeli nation as a whole. The strongest factor in the morale of the people is the knowledge that everywhere in the world the Jewish people will do whatever they can to help us support Israel in its predicament if necessary. (Applause)

Let me finish in a very up-to-date manner, dealing with archaeology. Only five weeks ago, I concluded our second season of excavation in that Biblical city of Hazor in the north of the country, the king of which fought against Joshua 3,300 years ago and was not successful, but in the year 732, in the days of one of the last kings of Israel, came a certain king and destroyed that city, and with that, that was the beginning of the end of the northern Kingdom of Israel.

While we were digging this year, we came across the fortress and citadel of that Israel period. All the floors of the rooms were covered with a layer of one metre thickness of ashes, and within the ashes were

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utensils, vessels, some complete. The people didn't even have time to take them with them.

While you walked in this room, you had a terrible sense of history, not of two thousand years ago separating you from that event, but as if it was yesterday, it was so black, so alive.

When we were doing that -- and this is only three miles from the Syrian border, and we looked at the Syrian hills, and we thought to ourselves -- we couldn't help thinking that if the Israeli kingdom of those days had the same army Israel had today and the same Jews throughout the world supporting them, the whole course of history might have been different.

Thank God today we have both things, because I sincerely think -- and with this I will conclude -- that were it not for your support and your constant support, I would have been here today speaking on behalf of Israel, beaten and oppressed, but instead of that I represent Israel, resolute, brave, hopeful and alive.

Thank you. (Applause)

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CHAIRMAN STONE: Thank you very much, General Yadin. I am sure I am speaking not alone for those who have been privileged to hear you, but for the hundreds of thousands we represent when I say to you, go back to your home confident that American Jewry will be with you, even more so than they have ever been before in our historic partnership. (Applause)

At this moment I would like to greet Mrs. Yadin, who is with the General. Please stand up and take another bow. (Applause)

I am sure there isn't a person present tonight who has not thrilled at the experience of listening to the Director of the United Jewish Appeal. I call on him now to bring you up to date as to what has been happening during these past eventful days when we have been in session.

The dynamic leader of the United Jewish Appeal, its executive vice president, Rabbi Herbert Friedman.

(Applause)

RABBI FRIEDMAN: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, what has been happening in the last days, the last few days, the events with which I am supposed to

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bring you up to date, is quite identical with what has been happening tonight.

Eddie Wa^hurg changed Chanukah to Pesach.

General Yadin added an extra candle to the Menorah, and we came out with an emergency rescue fund two or three or four times bigger than we ever thought we would.

Nothing seems to be fixed and permanent.

What I would like to do, really, is to try to analyze, perhaps for myself, as much as for anyone else, for those who have sat through the past few days, and also for those who didn't, who might be here tonight for the first time, what it was with which we were struggling and what it was that brought us to the conclusion which shocks some people into speechlessness, but then motivates them out of that into grand action.

This thing all began a hundred years ago -- lastThursday morning. Last Thursday morning, the officers of the United Jewish Appeal, a very small group of men, gathered together in this hotel to try to chart the course of whatthey thought their honest and conscientious response should be to what they felt the need of these days was. And from a group of 28 men -- because that's

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all that were present that Thursday morning -- an idea began to take seed and to germinate, that it would be utterly untrue to the demands of the day if we didn't try to grasp by the lapels the history which was happening, shake it, shake out of it its meaning, and come up with an answer which was commensurate with what was demanded.

How do 28 men in all of their skill, in all of their wisdom, in all of their courage, know how to formulate an answer to a thing as big as this?

Among them, slowly, hesitatingly, I assure you, the pearls of knowledge began to distill, the kinetic energy of emotion began to accumulate, the pupils of the eyes began to dilate, and they began to see that, without noting it, all together they were stumbling toward something which was in their minds the only right thing to do: to tell to the Jews of America that this was an hour in which a worldwide program of rescue would have to be effectuated, with Israel as its focus, and with scores of thousands of Jews in far-flung lands the recipients of our attention.

A world notion began to develop in the heads of

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28 men, and there was no time to go for advice, and there was no time to consult the history books, and there was no time to ask for committees and councils and advisors, because in the next few moments a larger group was going to meet, and, on the morrow, a still larger group was coming to assemble.

As a flash, quickly, intuitively, therefore, they came to a feeling or mood which they presented later that Thursday morning to a Cabinet of 60 men, who took it from the morning until late in the afternoon and who took it seriously and conscientiously, and those 60 men came to more than a thousand people the next day, which seems like a century ago, but it was only yesterday, Friday, the 30th day of November, and they came to the thousand and they said, "We think -- what do you think?"

What did you think yesterday, those of you who were here? I said at the beginning that I would like to try to figure out as much for myself as for anybody else what you thought and why you did it, why you called into existence a great apparatus.

I think you did it because you understood that

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there were Jews in danger, and that was primitive, that was simple, that was elementary, that you thought, that you knew -- Jews in danger all over the world. And we don't have to spell out the places. We don't have to spell out the circumstances.

Eddie Warburg told us what he knows about what was happening in Egypt. General Yadin told us -- other people told us. We don't have to spell out the times and the circumstances.

The Nazi repetition in Egypt, the Eastern Europe, the Hungary, the North Africa. We know all the places on the face of the earth in which Jews are in danger, and this was the call from the heart -- elementary, quite elementary.

The second thing I think you understood was that Israel was in danger, and I want very much to keep Chanukah Chanukah, because I don't like to forget that Antiochus, who attacked then, was the King of the Syrians. Chanukah is Chanukah, and Israel is in danger.

You understood it yesterday. You heard it again tonight.

I think, thirdly, and lastly, that you did it

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because you were just mad. I think you were angry at the stories that were told about Jews being kicked around again, and I don't think you liked it. I don't think anybody liked it. I think that it was a response, therefore, of simple, elementary reaction to a story of danger. I think it was a response of genuine, idealistic concern for Israel, and I think it was an emotional response of anger -- that's visceral; that's not even logical.

And there are plenty of people who will say that what you did here yesterday wasn't logical. There will be plenty who will say that. Maybe it wasn't. I don't know. But there are many things in life which are not logical. Love for children is not logical. Love for aged parents is not logical. Some of the deepest, most important things we do are not logical. They are cardiac; they are visceral; they are muscular; they are neural, in our nervous system.

Maybe that's what happened yesterday.

All right. Logic or no, whether it came out of pity, pride, anger, fear, hope -- whatever it came out of -- the psychiatrists perhaps can explain it the

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best.

You did it.

Now, what did you do? Did you do something with words? Did you do something in which you said, "My God, that's right"? Did you say, "We've got to react, so we will react, and we will say 'emergency, rescue, hundred million dollars -- it's a nice figure'"?

Is that the way you did it? Or did you do it, you, every precious Jew of you, saying to yourself, "This will cost me my money"? Because if you said it that way, you said it right, and if you didn't say it that way, you didn't say it right. You said it for somebody else, not for you.

I think that voting a special emergency rescue fund of a hundred million dollars wasn't too much for a hundred thousand lives. If five million Jews will put their shoulders to the wheel, it isn't too much.

We never had five million contributors to the campaign. I'm not sure we have one million contributors to the campaign.

I don't think the price of a hundred thousand Jews -- for that is the number in most immediate danger --

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is too high to set at a hundred million dollars, because I don't think that the price of a thousand dollars for a human being is too high a price to put.

I think we ought to do two things with this. Perhaps in our campaigning we will have to talk about a hundred thousand Jews and a thousand dollars apiece for them. Perhaps in our campaigning there will be no other way out. But I would only beg of you, as decent, cultured, sensitive human beings: Don't sell merchandise. Let's make a difference, please, and let's do it now.

Maybe we have to sell a Jewish life at a thousand dollars. Maybe that's a campaign slogan. But I can only beg of you to remember what you are talking about. You are talking about people of whom you want to be proud and who themselves want to be proud and don't want any charity and don't want anybody to go around saying they are saving them.

So do the saving and do the rescue work in the Jewish way, which is not to boast about it and not to make the other fellow feel that he must be grateful to you for it, and do it quickly, and do it quietly, and do it with dignity, but do it! Otherwise, it's a

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fake.

I don't think it will be. I think the reasons for which you did this come so deeply from your well-springs that it will be honest. And you know the way to make it honest.

General Yadin said that every soldier in the Israeli Army was doubly strengthened because he knew every other soldier in the Army was ready to risk his life for him, and that is what made his morale high. And then he went on to say that all the people of Israel have their morale high because they know that there are other people of Israel out in the rest of the world -- not in the geographical area of Israel -- but also in the people-hood of Israel, and knowing that we would do -- What? Risk our lives? No, no. We are not being asked to do anything like that. Nothing near it.

He said that it made them feel good to know that there was us outside in the world ready to back them up with -- What? With blood? Life? He didn't even ask it, didn't even dream of it.

That's all I want to say. I want to say that I don't for a moment think that there is any person in

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this room who isn't in these events of the last two days with all his heart and conviction. I also think that in this room there are almost as many who are of the opinion -- who are convinced of the necessity for doing this as there are those who are worried about how to translate the climate of this to the far distant places where Eddie said, Well, you go back home. You might feel lonely, because nobody else will understand what happened here.

You must transfer the climate from here to every other individual and group whom you can possibly reach. You must. We can't take this meeting and duplicate it in every Omaha and Duluth and New Orleans in the United States. It can't be done. You've got to take yourself and transfer this climate, and if you are angry enough and if you are convinced enough and if you've got your own money in it enough, you will do it.

It's the only way it will be done.

I should like to read you a sentence or two from the Book of Maccabees, with which I close.

"When the days drew near for Matathias, the old man, to die, he said to Judah and his other sons, 'The

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enemy has become strong. This is a time of destruction and anger. My sons, be zealous for the Law, and give your lives in behalf of the testament of our fathers. Be mindful of the deeds of our fathers which they performed in their generations, that you may receive great glory and enernal ^{ren}own.'"

I should like our sons, when they look back at us, to know that we, their fathers, at this moment, did such deeds as would bring upon us and our generation great glory and eternal ^{re}nown. Unless I knew this and were sure of it, I am not certain I could face my sons.

I ask you by your voice whether you approve this resolution for \$100,000,000 above and beyond the ordinary, regular campaign for emergency rescue of Jews the world over and for the strengthening of Israel.

(The assembled delegates rose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Stand up and vote.

I want to tell you that I am completely convinced that this is not an idle resolution, but I know that when the communities of America learn of the beginning in contributions and in standards which have been set at this conference, that each community will do its full

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share and that each individual at this conference will fulfill his personal obligation and see to it that others do.

My friends, we have one more speaker, but what a speaker, as somebody has just said. And I find myself in a considerable dilemma. May I have you bear with us, with the attention and patience that you have extended up to this time, please.

This is a young man I have been talking to like a father to a son. He is a boy who has had a heart attack and has been working, the short time he has been here, at a pace and with an intensity that is frightening to some of us who know how badly Israel and world Jewry need him.

I present him to you with a certain feeling that we ought not to tax his energies, because he speaks with such deep feeling and such deep knowledge and concern for the subject, and he gives of himself every time he talks, and yet he is the kind of a young man, a brilliant member of the wonderful team in the Foreign Ministry of Israel, at present serving as a sort of liaison between the Jewish Agency and Israel and American Jewry.

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He has a unique understanding and picture of this whole problem, and in the hope that he won't give too much -- because I know that he has a message that all of us want to hear -- I present to you Mr. Avraham Harman.

(The assembled delegates rose and applauded.)

MR. HARMAN: Thank you very much, Dewey.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am thinking at this moment, really, of the report that I have to make when I get home. I am leaving for Israel tomorrow afternoon, and, as I have been sitting here at the table tonight, I have been trying to sort out in my mind what to say when I get back to Jerusalem about the things that I have seen here during the past four weeks and particularly during the past two days.

For us in Israel to be concerned about the Jewish people in various parts of the world is perhaps no peculiar thing. We are an immigrant generation. I am an immigrant, the son of a refugee.

We are 1,600,000 Jews today in Israel. Twenty-five years ago, in 1931, there were exactly 171,000 of us. There has been an almost ten-fold growth in twenty-five

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years and more than a two-fold growth in eight years.

Now people have come into Israel from every part of the world where Jews live, and we have recent and closest bonds of kinship with Jewish communities that are still today -- and perhaps more today than ever before -- living through danger.

But I have been asking myself these last few weeks, and especially these last two days, what it is that moves this great American Jewry, as represented here tonight, to decide what it has decided and to do what it is about to do and has been doing so consistently for many years, to rescue Jews in other lands and convert them from refugees into citizens.

You are a settled community. Your immigrant days largely are over. I can think of no other explanation than this: In the Pesach Hagaddah, we tell ourselves that we must repeat the story of the Exodus from Egypt every year and that he who adds more to that story, the greater is his reward, in order to remind ourselves that if our fathers had not been rescued from the slavery of Egypt, then we and our sons and our grandsons would still be enslaved to Pharaoh in Egypt.

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And I believe that this is a nobility of your spirit that as you free, settled Jews, living undisturbed in a great and peaceful and free land, let your eye range around the Jewish world, and you have, through the greatness of soul that enables you to identify yourselves at this moment with the Jew who is being hounded from Egypt and the Jew who is stealing across the borders of Hungary and Vienna in search of the freedom which you possess.

And I shall try to bring this thought to Israel when I go back after this experience again, this great and ennobling experience of the last few weeks of contact with American Jewry.

And another thought, too:

In our corner of the world, in the Middle East, it is rather lonely for us, and there is a danger that our people will feel itself to be isolated, and that is a danger.

It isn't good for people to feel lonely. And I think I can carry back with me from this experience of American Jewry that we in Israel are not isolated, that there is a great community that identifies itself with

our hope and with our struggle and with everything that we are trying to do to assure the future of the Jewish people in freedom and in dignity. (Applause)

And this is an important thing to be able to carry back with one in one's baggage, as one leaves America and returns to Israel at this time.

Whenever we meet, you in the United Jewish Appeal and the Jews of Israel, there really is only one subject of discussion: What has happened in the recent Jewish past, and what is happening in the Jewish present, and what problems await us as we seek to build the Jewish future?

And we don't have to go back too far in the past in order to delineate the scope of the problem which confronts our generation -- just twenty years.

Eddie Warburg referred to the gruesome re-enactment in our day, in a different land, of the Nuremburg Laws. Well, they were promulgated only twenty years ago, and at that time our people was a European people. The great majority of our people lived in Central and Eastern Europe, which had for centuries been the heartland of the Jewish world, in which the stubbornness of Jewish survival was a characteristic of our people in one anguished generation

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after another; and it is a great tradition recreated in every age of our Jewish faith and in our hope; and we have seen these last twenty years a great transformation of our people, which is no longer European, because so large a part of it was crushed in Europe, and because another and more fortunate part of it, with your help and with ours, in Palestine and in Israel, and by its instinct understood that there was no future there, either for the Jews as individuals in freedom or for the Jewish collectivity as such in freedom, and sought their fortune for themselves and their people in other lands, where Jewish subjection could be replaced by dignity and Jewish enslavement by freedom.

And all this has happened in twenty years, and never more realistically and pressingly and urgently than in the last ten years that separate us from 1946.

I well recall the Zionist Congress in Basil in December of 1946, ten years ago. What were we then? Europe crowded; the camps in Germany and Austria and Italy crowded with the pitiful remnants of European Jewry, with more tens of thousands streaming across borders, illegally, without documents and without permission, but driven

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forward by their certainty that in Eastern Europe there was no future for them or their people, the gates of Palestine barred by iron rule, and shipload after shipload of people leaving the shores of Europe to try and batter their way through those closed doors, and, failing, being sent back to Cyprus -- in 1947 even being sent back to the shores of Germany itself.

And in those days there seemed to be no hope. There was the bitterness of despair. We in Palestine were engaged in a great resistance to try and smash the gates of Palestine open from within, and in that year of 1946, our leaders were arrested and interned, thousands of our citizens were put into jails because they fought for the right of Jews to come to the land that had been promised them by the world.

And in these days, when we are again faced with grave problems, both in Israel and in the rest of the world, let us pause for a moment to remember this swift transformation that has been accomplished by our joint forces these past ten years.

These ten years have seen through this partnership of the liberating forces in the Jewish people, the

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Jews of America and the Jews of Israel, these past ten years have seen the emergence of Israel into existence as a free country, and it has seen the movement of more than a million Jews across the bridge that leads from slavery and suppression into freedom.

This is a positive balance sheet, of which we shall well be proud, and we should repeat this story to ourselves year after year, as we face again the decision of what we shall do in order to meet the problems that lie ahead.

We have been moving forward in this struggle to assure the Jewish future. These great annual efforts of yours have not been invested in a bottomless pit. They have created great and enduring assets of Jewish strength where there was weakness and of Jewish hope where there was despair. They have laid foundations on which we are able to build as we proceed in raising the proud edifice of Jewish life that will endure for all time.

I told this to myself at this moment as I told it to you, because I wish inside myself to find an answer to a question that has been injected into the arena of discussion during the last few weeks: the problem of

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Israel's existence.

I believe that that problem has been solved by what the Jewish people demonstrated in those years, when it brought Israel into existence. (Applause)

This is a vital force. This is a force that has behind it all the inevitability of a historical event waiting to be born, and when it is born, to consolidate itself and to endure.

If the Jewish people wishes and so decides, if the people of Israel wish and they do and do so decide as they do, the problem of Israel's existence is a problem that may be said to have been solved and settled and determined and established for all time to come.

(Applause)

What kind of people do they think we are, who talk of the problem of Israel's existence? We are not living in the Warsaw Ghetto, or in Maidanek ^{ok} ~~ok~~ ^{ok} ~~ok~~ or in Auschwitz. We are the citizens of a free country. We built our country because we believed, and we beg to be forgiven for this believe, that we too have the right to live -- not more than that, but the right to live. If we are attacked we will resist, we will defend ourselves,

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as free men should and must.

And we shall live, and we will pay any price that we have to pay, because we have no other choice except to defend ourselves in order to live.

And if anything has been established by the events of the last five weeks, it has been that this isn't such an easy target. There is some toughness there and there is some capacity for resistance there, not just the right, but a capacity for resistance, for defense. (Applause)

I hope it doesn't sound boastful or vainglorious to talk about this in this vein. It's always seemed to me that this is the quintessence of everything that we have been trying to do in Israel since the very beginning of our work there, three generations ago.

We were a people that were without roots; we were a people that was homeless; we were a people that solved its problems from one generation to the next by running away, until it reached the point where we had nowhere to run.

We were a people that had reached such a degrading depth of defenselessness that we had to watch six

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million of our kith and kin led like cattle to the slaughter; and if we tried to resist we couldn't. There was no physical basis for resistance in that situation.

The Warsaw Ghetto is a monument to Jewish heroism. It is also a monument to Jewish hopelessness, because that was a resistance that couldn't succeed. And from that we have been trying to move forward, and from that we have moved forward to a point where there exists in Israel a free land, a soil under our feet, in which we can grow food and from whose resources we can make the manufactured goods that we need -- soil on which we can build a society free and democratic, because that is the only way in which we know how to live, and into which we can welcome our people who seek a haven in our midst because they can't find it anywhere else, and who, above everything else, seek and can find in our midst the ability to defend themselves when they are attacked.

(Applause)

When Israel was created by the Jewish people, it was envisaged as an instrument of Jewish rescue above all else, and this is a fact of which we in Israel must remind ourselves all the time and of which you must

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remind yourselves year by year, because the job of Jewish rescue isn't over. The majority of the Jewish people today has effected, fortunately, the transition from rootlessness to civic status. We in Israel and you Jews of America and of countries like America -- this is the most significant radical change in Jewish history in many centuries, that so large a part of the Jewish people today possesses this quality of civic equal status.

That is new.

But there are many Jewish communities that don't yet possess it. There are Jews that are being hounded out in Egypt and other lands of North Africa, and there are Jews who are fleeing in Hungary and other lands in that part of the world in search of precisely that -- two things: equal civic status and the right to live as Jews, as they want to. (Applause)

There are countries where Jews can't teach their children the language of Jewish prayer. There are countries where Jews can't print their prayer books for circulation, or print a little bulletin to inform themselves of what is happening in the Jewish community.

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That isn't freedom, and that isn't equal status as we understand it and as we fought for it and as we have won it and as we enjoy it.

They are coming out. They are coming out, and they are coming in, and that, too, is a new fact in Jewish life, and that has been established during these last ten years.

Ten years ago today there were ships crossing the Mediterranean looking for a port that would take them in, but no longer. That part of the problem has been solved by our joint action. There is a place where they can come in.

I recall a meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency just under five weeks ago, at which we had to answer the question as to whether while what was going on in Sinai was going on, we should allow Jewish immigrants to come in, and where we were taking the position and where we took the position: Let's leave it to them. If they want to, yes.

And they wanted to, and they came in during those days from those two great staging stations on the Jewish road to freedom in 1956 and 1957, Vienna and

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Marseilles.

And they are coming in now. They are coming out to those places now from Egypt and Hungary and other lands, and one problem is solved for them in advance: There is a place to go.

That, too, you can write on the positive side of the balance sheet of American Jewry for what it has done in the past ten years and what it is doing at the present time.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know quite how to end, because this is a story that has no end, that will have no end as long as there are Jews anywhere who don't live as freely as you live in America and as I live in Israel.

Let us hope it will reach an end soon.

As you address yourselves here in America to your newly defined great goal for 1957, as we in Israel face the dangers and uncertainties that loom all around us at the present time, let us remember just one thing:

Our faith has very little in the way of a theology or of a doctrinology. Its essence is life. We are commanded to honor our father and our mother in

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order that our days upon this world -- this world may be increased. Life is a struggle, and the reward of that struggle is life, and it is written on the Natanya Tokev, those searing questions that we ask ourselves: Who will live and who will die? And we have the answer in one of our prayers, where it is written: I will not die, but I will live, and I will tell the deeds of God. God has sorely afflicted me, but he has not delivered me to death.

This is a deathless people, if it wills that it be so. This is a people that has the stuff of life in it. This is a people that in ten years has picked itself from the depths of degradation and is now scaling the heights of nobility and dignity.

Let it keep on the road and attain the heights.

(The assembled delegates rose and applauded.)

CHAIRMAN STONE: Will you please not rush to the door.

In just one moment I am going to ask all of you to stand for a grateful benediction for a wonderful evening. But before I do that, I want to make two brief announcements, and I want to say one word to you about

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our own safety.

This hall and the adjoining rooms are terribly overcrowded. We are at this point on the 18th floor. You get out of here only by these elevators. Let us practice some self-restraint and realize that we will only delay our safe, orderly exit if those of you in the rear do not sit calmly and wait until there is room on the elevators to take you out.

The three or four hundred people in the other rooms are nearer the elevators and should leave first. You will have Bedlam and great disorder if you don't take my advice. (Applause)

Remember this for your own safety, and you will get out quicker.

Won't you please sit down for a minute?

The executive directors of the communities will please meet in the West Foyer on the third floor when this meeting adjourns.

May I remind the delegates that our next business session will begin tomorrow morning for breakfast at nine o'clock in the Sert Room on the first floor.

Before I call for the benediction, may I offer

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for myself, and I am sure for you a word of congratulation to our re-elected wonderful chairman, Bill Rosenwald, and to tell him -- (Applause) -- for all of us that we go forward from this moment on under his dedicated leadership to what I am sure will be the most historic and successful campaign the United Jewish Appeal has ever been privileged to have.

And now, Rabbi Seymour Panitz of Temple Emanu-El of Westwood, New Jersey, will give the benediction. Will you all please rise and remember not to rush to the doors.

(After the benediction, the meeting adjourned at eleven o'clock p.m.)

-o-o-

SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

UJA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



December 2, 1956

Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York City

ABALON STENOTYPE REPORTERS
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The Sunday morning session of the National Conference of the United Jewish Appeal convened at 9:50 A.M. on December 2, 1956 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City; Mr. Jack D. Weiler presiding.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: This is your meeting, and when I say it is your meeting I mean it is your meeting today. You have been listening to some magnificent presentations and now we would like to hear from you as to your reactions and what you intend doing about them.

Two months ago the United Jewish Appeal issued a call to the American Jewish communities to collect \$30,000,000 worth of cash. The call was issued in the name of Sam Daroff, our dynamic, our tireless and persistent cash chairman, and his two equally tireless co-chairmen, Sam Rothberg and Mike Stavitsky of Newark.

At this time we are ready to receive all the cash we possibly can bring on behalf of the people of Israel and the refugees overseas.

Sam Daroff, the meeting is yours for the moment.

(Applause)

MR. DAROFF: Thank you, Jack, for those very kind words.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to make any speeches. I think that what we have heard the last few days ought to be enough evidence on our part to go out and get this \$30,000,000 which we have set as our minimum quota before the end of 1956, but I would like to give you a report of what we have collected so far.

Prior to this morning's meeting we have collected \$24,138,000 towards the \$30,000,000 goal. This morning's checks will be presented as well as certain promises which have been made which we hope will materialize in the next few days, which should amount to approximately \$4,250,000, which would make a total of \$29,400,000 that we will receive in cash. Therefore, we would be short towards the \$30,000,000, \$1,600,000.

I know that there are many in this room or some of you in this room who have checks you would like to present and I am going over to the rostrum over there, at which time I will ask you to please come up and present your checks, and those of you who would like to make some announcements with reference to getting some cash in before the end of 1956, I am sure that after what we hear today that we ought to go back to our communities and try

to see that they send in every dollar that is possible.

In other words, what we want today is not tears. We want "tachlis," and I am sure that you leaders in this room here will go back to your communities and see that we get all the possible cash that can be gathered together because of the present great emergency which faces us in our various programs of relief and rehabilitation, so will you please, ladies and gentlemen -- I am going over to the other microphone and I will ask you to please come up for your cash presentation.

(Cash presentation of checks followed)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Last night many of you saw General Ylin take out of his pocket two memoranda. Last night I received permission from him to use these memoranda. I would like to read you from both.

One is a Certificate of Merit with a picture of a member of the fedayeen, and here is what it says:

"General Headquarters of the Armed Forces, Gaza Area Command, First Unit, Certificate of Merit. Rank: Volunteer Sergeant. Name:" (and it gives you the name -- I can't read it -- something or other) "Unit: K-313", and here are the contents of the Certificate of Merit:

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"Captain Melamed" -- whatever it is I could break my teeth on it -- "Commander of the Eretz position, hereby declare that the above-mentioned has fulfilled his holy mission on the land of Palestine on May 28, 1956 in a perfect way. He acted on the Israeli soil with exemplary courage, valor and bravery and maintained excellent discipline, the highest morale and the noblest behavior. He is a man who understands and appreciates discipline and reveres it. Thereby, the present certificate is delivered to him. Signed" the captain's name and the position.

They have been given out certificates of merit for slaughter, arson, sabotage and whatever they have done to the Israeli people.

Number Two: "Top Secret. Third Division, Infantry Operations. To the Commander of the Egyptian Zone in Palestine, Commander of the Fifth Reinforced Infantry Brigade, Instructions of the Commander of the Third Infantry Division: You will see to it that these instructions are carried out by your officers. These instructions should not be publicized in writing below battalion level or its parallel in other units" and here is what it says:

"Every commander should be prepared and prepare

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his troops for the unavoidable war with Israel in order to achieve our supreme objective; namely, annihilation of Israel and its complete destruction in as little a time as possible, and by fighting against her as brutally and as cruelly as possible. Brigade 86 must reach the stage of platoon attacks regardless of the present lack of men and equipment," and I think you heard last night and also from Golda Meir the vast quantity of equipment and the vast number of men in the Sinai and the Gaza, and here is the final word:

"A national guard must complete its training of volunteers for raiding operations regardless of the training which they have had prior to their having taken part in battles. Training in every course must be finished within seven weeks from their arrival at the battlefield," and the final paragraph:

"Our objective is always: annihilation of Israel," and this is the final sentence:

"Remember that and act for its fulfillment.
Signed by the Major-General Staff Officer."

The UN members have all of this. Israel is far from out of trouble. The venom, the hate that the Arabs

have for the tiny, little State, you will read in the newspapers, you see it on Meet the Press when you hear Fawzi from Egypt, you hear it on the radio when you listen to the Prime Minister of Iraq. There is no letup and they intend no letup, and so we dare not let up.

I said today it was your meeting and we mean every word of it. I want to call upon a man who is going to present to you the budgetary requirements of our agencies and what the basic needs are. These two points will make up the bedrock upon which our campaign must be built. To give this vital information I am going to call upon Joe Myerhoff, the Chairman of the National Campaign Cabinet, one of the stalwarts of many a campaign.

He has just returned from Israel. He was with the Mission. None of us needs superlatives. None of us out in the audience needs superlatives. You are just as dedicated and heartwarming as the people on the dais.

Joe Myerhoff, will you present the budget for discussion? (Applause)

MR. MYERHOFF: Thank you, Jack. This is sort of anti-climatic after the events of the last few days, but yesterday all of you received a pamphlet entitled

Budgetary Requirements of the Constituent Agencies of the United Jewish Appeal. It would be correct to say, I think, that this is both a historic document and a collector's item. I say this because everything that has happened in the last two weeks has made this pamphlet an obsolete presentation of what is needed at this moment. I suggest to you that you read this budget as a description of the situation as it existed three weeks ago.

Had it not been for the onrush of historic events, this would have been the basis in budgetary terms of our campaign efforts in 1957, but it is precisely this development of a new international situation and the creation of a Jewish refugee problem that could not be foretold that accounts for our change in plans.

I want to say in deepest sincerity that our action on Friday in creating the Special Rescue Fund for \$100,000,000 to meet these new developments was a thrilling and heartwarming experience. What happened on Friday could aptly be termed an uprising, a rising up of the leadership of the Jewish communities of America to deal with the threats and the dangers that now confront multitudes of Jews in so many parts of the world.

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I know that our action in creating the Emergency Rescue Fund and in setting a hundred million dollar goal for it and the first outpouring, which is even more important, of inspirational gifts by many of those who participated in the Friday meeting, will reach out in a wave of feeling to sustain and strengthen the hopes and courage of our brethren in Egypt, in North Africa, in Eastern Europe and in Israel.

Several hours from now we will be leaving this meeting to return to our own communities and the message we will be carrying back will be this: that in 1957 the Jews of America must come forward with \$100,000,000 or more for the Special Rescue Fund, and at the same time they must still come forward again for the regular sum in the regular campaign of the United Jewish Appeal to meet all the other needs.

The Emergency Rescue Fund has been brought into existence to save a minimum -- and I repeat, a minimum -- because we don't know what will happen in the next number of weeks and months. The Rescue Fund has been brought into existence to save a minimum of 100,000 Jewish lives in all parts of the world, but there are so-called normal

needs -- and I don't know how you can use the word "normal" but for want of a better word let's call it that -- of the UJA agencies, of the United Israel Appeal, of the Joint Distribution Committee and of the New York Association for New Americans. This is what I would call the ordinary budget and this is also a substantial sum which calls for at least the same amount as was required in 1956. This amount in 1956 was \$105,000,000. This part of the need which I have just referred to as the ordinary budget covers all those absolutely essential and vital and necessary projects spelt out in these phrases: agricultural development in Israel, elimination of ma'aborot, permanent housing for new immigrants, the operations by JDC of its Malben program in Israel, the provision of welfare, vocational training and rehabilitation services to impoverished Jews in Moslem countries, the care of hard core cases in Israel and the provision of adjustment services for that great number of newcomers who settled in the metropolitan area of New York.

The Number One task before us is unquestionably one of rescue for which this Special Rescue Fund of \$100,000,000 was created on Friday, but none of the other

tasks can be neglected because it would mean taking one step forward only to take a step backward in the process of making these people whose lives we saved self-supporting, self-respecting Jews.

I have only this final comment to make: over the years we have forged this mighty instrument of the United Jewish Appeal for just this kind of a situation that has developed and is still developing. Let us make the most of it in the weeks and months ahead, to the everlasting honor of the American Jewish community and for the everlasting continuity of the Jewish people. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Discussion.

MR. JULIUS BISNO (Los Angeles, California): There are a number of people who await this annual budgetary presentation at the conclusion of our annual meeting. This is obsolete now. I suggest that just as quickly as we can, we ought to recast this budget and put out a revised budget that can be presented to our people immediately upon our return.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Rabbi Friedman and Moe Leavitt, are they around? Any remarks with regard to a revised budget?

MR. LEAVITT: I think it is a good idea.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I hear Moe Leavitt saying it is an excellent idea. Dewey Stone, Chairman of the UIA.

MR. STONE: I would just like to frankly suggest that our job right at this moment is for everybody to go out and go to work to meet the needs of the budget. I think we are living in the kind of a world that three weeks from now what we would put into a budget for you to go out and talk about might be just as obsolete.

I must tell you that we have set up a very flexible, mobile arrangements between the JDC and the UIA and the Jewish Agency for the handling of funds on truly an emergency basis. I don't think there is a single intelligent Jew around the country who is going to contribute to both the regular fund and the special fund who is going to do so on the basis of any specific, detailed figures that you give him. You can talk in terms of generalities. If they don't understand that, they are not going to respond to individual digits of figures running into the tens of millions of dollars.

We know, you know and your communities know that when you talk of 100,000 new Jews to be rescued, you are

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talking in terms of a minimum of \$100,000,000 plus, and every Jew who has been part of the United Jewish Appeal knows that for years we have been spending from \$50 to \$100,000,000 on our regular program. This has been money well spent. You have heard everybody tell you what an asset this has been in its long range and near range values, and frankly, I think we can talk in terms of just going out and working, not worrying about details of the budget. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: I just want to interrupt the discussion for two minutes, if you don't mind. First of all, I have been handed many notes to advise everybody that Golda Meir will be on Meet the Press at six o'clock tonight. I hope you are all back in your communities in time. If not, get to a television set and watch Golda Meir on Meet the Press at six o'clock. That will be quite a contrast from what you have seen before.

Number Two: I don't know if Herb Friedman was here when I read from the two documents than General Yigael Yadin handed me last night. I have been handed a note from Dr. Gross of Schenectady, that they be blown up and sent to all community chairmen and the communities. Are

we allowed to send these around to the communities, Herb?

MR. STONE: This information is public property.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: See that they don't get into the wrong hands and then it's okay.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: When we send them to you -- I don't know whether you want this in the press. It's all through the UN. The press has not featured these things at all. Why don't you use your better judgment and see that it doesn't get into improper hands, let's put it that way? You will be sent copies of it. I know it's wonderful to use.

Before we continue the discussion, I have to interrupt because we had something else on our agenda beforehand, something very important, but the lady was busy at a meeting upstairs and I could not introduce her.

I want to draw your attention to an important phase of the campaign which has not been mentioned and which has not been given its rightful due. One of the unsung efforts in every campaign is the intense devotion and participation of the Women's Division. This year the National Women's Division was headed by Mrs. Henry Newman of Kansas City. Mrs. Newman traveled really the length

and breadth of the United States. She joined the select fraternity -- it says here; I wasn't there -- of leaders who wait at airports at three in the morning. I never had that pleasure. She has been present at many meetings that ended at midnight and she had to be a breakfast in another city the following morning.

I must say she looks none the worse for wear and tear and others says it too. Look at her! (Applause) But before I ask her to speak to you for a few minutes, we have a little surprise for her, just a small token of appreciation which the United Jewish Appeal and its leaders feel for the superb work she has done throughout the campaign, and I would like to present to Mrs. Newman a silver Bible. (Applause) She has really been an inspiration to the entire Women's Division.

MRS. NEWMAN: I apologize for coming to the meeting late. It is true that we were having another little meeting. Mr. Warburg said at that meeting when we were conducting some Women's Division business, "You know, you women do so well we forget to say and do the nice things. We forget the amenities all year long which we really should say to you." Well, none of us ever wants any praise

or any special thanks or any special credit. You know. that. And certainly for my own self this makes this wonderful Bible something which I had always wanted. I have picked up many of them in Israel a million times, I am sure, and wondered if I should take it, and never did. This makes up for anything that has been forgotten.

We have been rather quiet, the Women's Division. We do go sort of quietly on our way all through the year, it is true, but something very wonderful happened yesterday that I would like you to know about. We had a special session for women. It was an Oneg Shabbat.

(Continued on Page 16)

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As part of the program, we had asked Mrs. Brailove to give what we call a report on the Mission. You know, Mrs. Brailove attended and was part of the Mission which just returned. That was only the title of the talk, Mrs. Brailove's report on the Mission. Actually, Mrs. Brailove keynoted the 1957 Special Refugee Fund, and something so magnificent happened that women stood up after she finished and started making their pledges to the new fund, and it was a very great moment for all of us, and we took from this a kind of barometer as to what women will do over the country this coming year.

This isn't really a new reaction. It happened last year, too.

Women left here; they went out, and they did what I think you will consider a very good job. This band of volunteers, our National Board comprised of some fifty women, going all over the country, as I did; our wonderful, able, conscientious director, Judith Stang, going into communities where the Women's Divisions are sagging a little bit and needing reviving, laying the groundwork so that when we get in there, we can tell Judith has been there, and it makes our fundraising effort

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that much easier.

All of this has been done by the women sincerely, earnestly and with real heart feeling, with the result that we can announce for this year that the Women's Division has raised, including some yet unreported fall campaigns, something over \$11,000,000. (Applause)

Money is good, and I know this figure represents a lot, but I feel I must say to you that in addition to the money coming in, something else has happened. I think that these women, who have gone into the communities and raised this money with the help of the women, the chairmen, the workers, who served in the communities throughout the country, have left a wonderful feeling and understanding and intelligent concern for what Israel has come to mean for herself -- for themselves and for all of us, and it has left in every community -- and I have found it so -- a kind of glow, a kind of glow for Israel and all that it means, a glow that can only come about through the kind of dedicated purposefulness that our women have given to this task.

For myself, I thank you for the privilege of having served. It has been a responsibility which I

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trust I have fulfilled.

I thank you also for this beautiful Bible, which I shall cherish and which I shall add to my souvenirs, which are now only the wonderful, warm, human contacts which I have enjoyed this past year.

Thank you very much. (Applause)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: You can't make hay without the ladies, and \$11,000,000 is an awful lot of hay.

Thanks, Mrs. Newman. But I overlooked reading the inscription. I didn't realize it was right on the back.

It says here, "December 2, 1956. In sincere appreciation for your outstanding work as Chairman of the National Women's Division, United Jewish Appeal." Signed by William Rosenwald, General Chairman; Edward M. M. Warburg, President; Herbert A. Friedman, Executive Vice Chairman."

If I were you, I would get their autographs. They are going to be worth a lot of money.

MR. ELKAN MYERS (Baltimore, Maryland): I believe the discussion is on the budget. Am I correct?

CHAIRMAN WEILER: That's correct. We are now

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discussing the budget and not campaign techniques as yet. Let us stick to the budget for the moment.

MR. MYERS: As I understand it, the normal budget is approximately what it was last year; so therefore, without any question, this should be adopted. Now we are talking about the new budget, the Emergency Rescue Fund.

We have all agreed, I think -- yesterday Herbert Friedman put it so beautifully -- our budget is 100,000 lives to save. The dollar cost is \$1,000 per refugee. That is \$100,000,000.

No one needs any further explanation than that. Let us go out to get people to save lives. \$1,000 per life.

Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of the normal budget, which is the same as last year, and the new budget of 100,000 lives at a cost of \$100,000,000.

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Is there a second?

(The motion was seconded by several delegates from the floor.)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Now the floor is open for discussion and questions.

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I saw some hands over there. What happened to them?

(Several delegates called for the question from the floor.)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Now, wait a minute. You are not passing \$100,000,000 for an Emergency Rescue Fund that quickly.

(Cries from the floor of "Yes, we are.")

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Do you want to pass the resolution now?

MR. SAMUEL PENSICK (Los Angeles, California):
Mr. Chairman --

CHAIRMAN WEILER: That is the new Chairman of the Los Angeles Campaign. I want you to know that.
(Applause)

MR. PENSICK: I dare anyone here to oppose the recommendation of this \$100,000,000.

I am concerned more with the techniques and how to raise this money. Therefore, I move for the question and to proceed into the discussion as to the best ways and means as to how to effect the raising of this money for this coming year. (Applause)

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CHAIRMAN WEILER: Any other hands?

(Cries of, "Call for the question.")

CHAIRMAN WEILER: The question? All right.

Those in favor.

(A chorus of "ayes".)

CHAIRMAN WEILER: Any opposition? God help you if you stand up.

There are no cowards in Israel, because they can't exist there. Do I have to follow up that remark?

Wonderful. Now, we are going to discuss campaign techniques, and I would like to call upon one of our National Co-Chairmen, one of the most dedicated individuals that I know of, one of the most experienced in campaign techniques, Sol Luckman. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: My friends, we now come to what to my mind is the crucial point of our discussions. I believe that we have learned all there is to know about the Jewish needs, that we have a clear definition of the financial problem which it will be the object of our 1957 campaign to solve.

We who have taken on the rugged responsibility of assuring Jewish survival have learned that sympathy is

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not enough, that high-sounding resolutions are meaningless if we cannot translate their noble sentiments into wonderful working cash.

That is why I know that unless we can convert the emotional and inspirational heat we have absorbed these last few days into hard cash, the time of this conference and all of us will be a tragic waste.

We shall soon be returning to our communities to prepare for and to embark upon one of the most intensive campaigns in our history, and I hope that we will come out of this meeting fortified with many useful ideas and suggestions on how to perfect our fundraising machinery, how to tighten up our campaign organization, and some answers to the problem of how to obtain the most generous contributions from our special gifts prospects.

To this end, I hope you will engage in a frank exchange of experiences. I would like, in the short time that I have at my disposal, to address myself, among other things, to the place and responsibility of our national leadership in the community campaign.

Just the other day, Mr. Rosenwald discussed with the Cabinet the importance of more intensive

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campaigning, and I want to note some of the points he raised.

Although we know how essential leadership is to our local campaign, I doubt that if in the past six years we have utilized the leadership resources of the United Jewish Appeal to the fullest extent possible. Well, if we haven't, we should, and there is no time like the present to put that principle into practice.

The common conception of using national leaders seems to be limited to that of inviting them to come as a speaker for one or two of our major functions. We have never seriously considered or realized, rather, what other vital help they are qualified to give us.

We face a very serious task in 1957. The United Jewish Appeal budget and the Special Survival Fund represent formidable goals. It will take not only all the brains, acumen, energy and footwork that we can muster on the local level, but all the weight and prestige of our national leaders to help us raise our proportionate share of these goals.

I would therefore ask you, honestly and seriously, to give thought to having the national leadership of the

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UJA participate more intensively than ever in our special gifts solicitation.

There is just so much one can do with one's own friends and neighbors, but there is a tremendous amount more that our national leaders can do in stimulating large gifts on the local level through their business and social contacts and other sources.

I mentioned a moment ago that when a top leader comes to our community as a speaker, and only as that, that a very valuable fundraising asset was being wasted. I propose that we give thought to using him as well in our pre-campaign planning, and, most important, in helping us to soften up some of our tough prospects in order to assure honest-to-goodness bellwether gifts, when they are called upon at our fundraising functions.

Now, I want to say a word about card calling. There isn't a major fundraising campaign in existence that could afford the risk of not calling cards, of not making an open appeal to each individual by name for his contribution. This is competition in its finest form. Givers want to know what others in like circumstances are giving.

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They regard the card calling process as a valuable guide, and if the spiral of giving is upwards, as it surely will be this year, the spirit of giving increased contributions becomes contagious, a contagion that hurts nobody but the most inadequate giver.

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About the leadership on the local level: Let me say that the community has the right to look to them to set the good example for others to follow, especially in increased giving to the special fund. This is what we mean when we call a vigorous, influential leadership vigorous in action and influential in the sense that their gifts help to set a platform of giving, a pace of giving which does credit to them and to their community, too.

This is one year where everybody must pull his own weight as a contributor. I would urge that this group give special attention during its discussion to the best techniques for resoliciting inadequate gifts and to the setting up of review committees for that purpose.

In closing, I just want to refer again to the importance of setting up the best kind of fundraising

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machinery on a local level and how we can keep it functioning smoothly and effectively.

In this connection, we will certainly want to discuss how we in the communities can avail ourselves of the skills and experiences of the UJA fundraising staff.

Now, the meeting is open for discussion. I look forward to your questions and statements. Who is the first speaker?

MRS. ARCHIBALD SILVERMAN (Providence, Rhode Island): Mr. Chairman, I brought the subject of the calling of cards to the attention of the meeting the day before yesterday, and I feel it very keenly as one who has to go about and ask for money.

For over a half century, I have been trying to teach communities in my humble way the joy of giving, giving spontaneously, giving generously, giving understandingly, always, as communities have reported, that through a better understanding given by one perhaps who visits Israel, and who perhaps can give them the picture of the needs of Israel, it being my inspiration and my compensation when I have been told at the end of a banquet or other meeting that there has been an increase in the

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giving of that evening.

I have ~~prided~~ myself through the years, that no one has reduced his giving, has cut his giving while I have been the one honored to speak on that occasion.

More recently, as I have gone from one place to another, I have come home utterly beaten and depressed personally, because my compensation and inspiration come from adequate giving, and I will try to define the word "adequate" as a sort of a compromise, because in my half century or more of asking for money, I don't think any Jew has over-given, and I know no Jew who has grown poor from giving.

Anyway, when there has been an increase over the previous year's giving, I have been gratified and satisfied.

Recently, I have been appalled by the anonymity of giving. I don't like this idea that after I have tried to convey a message, which evidently has been well received -- the applause is there; it costs nothing to applaud, you know -- and then the Chairman announces that the cards will be collected. No amounts are called off; no names are mentioned.

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And even more recently, I went away without even knowing the total of the evening's collection, and I have gone away sick from these meetings, sick because I have had a feeling that Jews have been hundling a Mitzya, as we say in Yiddish, because when Jews are proud of their giving, they are proud to have their names called off.

I think they simply hide behind this anonymous way of giving. As a matter of fact, in one city I said so. I expressed my disappointment, and I was told that the only way they could get people to come to the meetings is to promise them that they will not be molested or pressurized.

These were the terms mentioned: "molested and pressurized."

And even then, the top givers were absent, because if others could get away with it at the banquet by not stating their amounts, what was the use of coming to banquet any more? They could then find an excuse for staying home.

They say, "Oh, I will give, any way." That is the answer.

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Now, I say the first thing that these delegates have got to do when they get back to their communities is to see to it that this anonymous giving must cease. It is a disastrous thing and weakens the campaign year after year. It is an awful thing to face, and I don't know what the ultimate end of such a procedure may be.

This is to me the most important thing: The first thing on the agenda, if we are to meet the obligation we have taken on when we voted, properly voted, for this \$100,000,000 survival fund, is this point.

I know that when the message is brought home and when the chairmen will, in truth, give their attention to this one point as they should, there will be better giving.

I want to repeat, my friends, -- and I don't like to repeat what I have said earlier -- the Jewish way of life does not teach standing up with a megaphone and shouting, "I gave so much. I did so much." That is not the proper way, as we see it, in giving. But, in these campaigns of ours, it is imperative that the leaders get up and say, "I am a Jew, and I want to be counted, and I want you to know that as a Jew I feel the

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need, and I will give thus and so much," and say, "It is more than I gave last year, and I am giving in addition to that for the Survival Fund."

I am certain that if they will exert themselves they will get the people to come to the meetings.

One more thought, and this, of course, is something that none of us can do anything about: In certain communities we have leaders who generally are asked to lead the campaign because of various reasons. A man may be a very wealthy man, and it is hoped that by making him the chairman and giving him the honor, that he will respond financially accordingly. We must be careful that this leader is not a man who counts in a miserly fashion his giving, because such a leader is content with any kind of response as long as he does not have to set the pace and set the tone.

We have to be careful as to who leaders are, as to who leads in the campaign. My experience has been that if you have a man who has less money, who is not the outstanding millionaire of the community, but who gives of himself and his funds properly, he is above, as a leader for the campaign, the great, big, rich man who is

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a bit tight in his giving.

I give you these suggestions as an old campaigner, and I hope they will be of value. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, there are hundreds of people in the room. We would like to get the valued experience of each and every one of you, and it is obvious that if we take too much time in giving our thoughts, the thoughts that are in our minds, we will never get finished.

I would therefore like to ask you to limit your remarks to two minutes when you ask for the floor.

Mr. Harry Frankel.

MR. FRANKEL: I want to speak about practical campaigning for a moment, and possibly project some thoughts that you might use.

The greatest potential for new money, large contributions, has been rather sadly neglected in recent years. Those are the middle-sized and smaller Jewish communities, outside of the normal travel area of your major leaders and your better, so-called, speakers. Yet, in these communities is great wealth, in which the leaders get away with murder because of bad examples set by others

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in the community.

I am an old merchandise man, so I think in terms of merchandising. I don't like to put it this way, and I don't know why it should be, but Jews are Talmudic, so we use analogies.

Everybody in town knows you can buy a 69-cent stocking in any store. There are a great many stores where they don't know that you can buy a \$1.95 stocking. Why, then, have the 69-cent stockings in the aisles, where everybody can see them, and the \$1.95 stockings hidden?

I am afraid we have been doing that kind of merchandising in the last few years. We have given our \$1.95 leaders to the communities where, although they are needed, they may not have been able to be as effective, instead of sending them into the byways and pathways of the country where there is a great deal of wealth untouched.

In the last year or so, I have visited a great many communities, and we have developed this sort of program: First, not only do I go into a community to speak to the board at a dinner, but I try to get to that

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community hours before, or remain the next day.

Then I, myself, with one of the leaders of the local community, tackle these hard cases. The result of that sort of thing has been, in every community in the area of which I am fortunate enough to be chairman, we have had a substantial increase because of these givers who in previous years have gotten away with murder.

I would like to suggest to the regional heads something that we are going to do in Eastern New York. We have created caravans of the Chairmen and the leaders of every community, and we are, this year, going to form committees of three to visit every community, large and small, in the area, to tackle hard-core cases; not to speak at meetings, not to create campaigns, but to tackle those people who have means and have gotten away with \$100 and \$200 contributions.

It has already resulted in one community of a raise from two gifts of \$100 last year to \$5000 last week.

That sort of thing, from the standpoint of techniques is important. Another thing that we are doing -- and I think those of you who come from smaller

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communities should think about this -- we have already started in motion the creation of a year-around program preparing for the proper type of climate.

In one community we have already had two large mass meetings, no fundraising, just to tell them what the needs are, how we expect to work at it, and to prepare them so that when we do come to them, they will know why we are going to ask them for two, three, four and five times as much money as they have given in previous years.

I believe this sort of program, based on this practical approach, made by men on the periphery, mind you, of the national leadership, men who cannot leave their communities and go away for weeks at a time, but who can go away for a day or two to a community fifty or a hundred miles away, will successfully make it possible to get not only a far greater coverage but a far greater understanding of the needs in provincial communities of this country, where the potential at the moment is greatest.

Thank you. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: I would like to again remind you, my friends, to try and keep your remarks to the two-minute limit.

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Mr. Julius Kislak has the floor.

MR. KISLAK: I don't think I need the microphone for this.

MR. LUCKMAN: Yes, you do. It's a long room.

MR. KISLAK: I will not make a speech, and I will not take more than two minutes, but I do believe -- I am sorry that Mr. Frankel did not follow up Mrs. Silverman's discussion. I think we ought to discuss and resolve at this particular time, shall we or shall we not make a more vigorous campaign and just hit the guy on the head, as it were?

The only thing I can tell you, ladies and gentlemen, is that I had an experience, and fortunately Mrs. Silverman was our speaker at that time. I was Chairman, in 1948 in Kansas City, and there was a gentleman who gave at that time \$15,000. When Mrs. Silverman came to our meeting three years ago, as a speaker, this same gentleman -- I was no longer active as chairman -- I was called on by the chairman and the chairman of the large givers to see this gentleman, who reduced his amount to \$5,000.

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That gentleman, I can assure you, can give or could give then, the same \$15,000 or more, and we all knew it, and everybody did know it.

I started outside in the hall to get into a discussion with him, a nice, easy discussion. The discussion became warmer and hotter, and by that time, both of my friends had left me, and we nearly got into a fist fight.

This gentleman said, "You are not going to tell me what I am going to give. I know what I am going to give, and you have no right to tell me."

Mrs. Silverman, fortunately, was our speaker. As a matter of fact, it was almost a fist fight, and by the time, Mrs. Silverman may remember, by the time everybody bet me that he wouldn't give another nickel -- but by the time Mrs. Silverman got through speaking, he shamefacedly said, "Well, I'll give another \$2,500."

Now, that is an experience that I have had. It has been a subject of discussion, and I think this is a controversial subject of discussion that I have had for many years, and I want to tell you a secret: I have an argument with my wife, and my wife says, "Don't fight with

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people." And every time I go out, she says, "I hope you don't argue with them."

Last night we had a meeting of the Kansas City contingent, and we discussed this particular meeting, and I talked about going out and seeing people. She said -- we talked about the ladies, and she said that, well, I am going to make enemies.

As far as I am concerned, I am happy to make enemies if I can get more money for the UJA. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: The gentleman in front here. I don't know his name. Will you state your name and city.

MR. DAVID BOROWITZ (Chicago, Illinois): My city has perhaps the third or fourth largest Jewish population in the country, and it is not particularly noted for any large givers, I am sorry to say.

We have been able to increase the funds of our campaigns in the last two years by the simple process of stopping worrying about the so-called ideological non-givers and the big givers who might potentially give more, and go out and get the people who have not been giving at all.

I say to you people particularly who are giving

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in the larger metropolitan areas that Suburbia is our greatest potential. Those people who, by moving away from the traditional Jewish areas, have escaped being called upon to give, I am referring to.

If we will persist when we have our workers' meetings, on going over cards of past givers and potential givers, in having the file of return cards that are not called upon processed down to the very last individual, and that every Jew in America in the year of 1957 is made to realize that not to give to the United Jewish Appeal is to be synonymous with Nasser -- we won't have to worry about the rich people who are not giving enough, but make every Jew part and parcel of the United Jewish Appeal.

(Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Just a minute, Joe.

I would like to call on Mr. Lou Fox, the Chairman of the Baltimore campaign.

MR. FOX: I hate to disagree with Mrs. Silverman. I have a great respect for her fifty years. It makes me feel like a neophyte, because I have only been in it twenty-five years -- and I would like to assure her that the Chairman of the Baltimore campaign is not a

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wealthy man, and if he keeps coming to these conferences, he never will get to be one. (Laughter)

I personally object to the technique of calling for cards, although I think each community has its own problem. I feel that the important thing to do is to get people to the meetings.

If we could hand-pick five hundred people from Baltimore and bring them up to hear the talks which we have heard in the last three or four days, I would say that we would raise more from those five hundred people than could be raised the whole year from the whole community of Baltimore.

I think the important thing to do is to get the people to the meeting and hear the story.

In Baltimore last year, we followed the technique of not calling cards. We did ask those people who had made pre-campaign pledges to please get up and announce them, and they did, and this sparked the meetings, and we had very successful meetings, and those who did not pledge were called upon in the next few weeks by qualified solicitors, but they were also called upon by people who had heard the story from Herb Friedman, an outstanding

speaker, and we felt that we had a successful campaign in our city.

I would like to say that last year Baltimore accepted a goal which had been figured out as its share of the \$25,000,000, and that was \$545,000. We accepted this goal, and we raised our \$545,000.

Last night I met with Joe Meyerhoff and Elkan Myers to try to see before we left this assembly what we would do for this rescue fund. We have arrived at a figure, and although we cannot speak for Baltimore officially, I will assure you that they will back us up. We have felt that we should accept a goal, and, in accepting, acknowledge that this is a minimum goal, and we are pledged to raise this.

We are going to take a goal of four times our share of last year. Mathematically, we are assuring you that we believe in it and we will bend every effort, and we feel confident that we will raise a minimum for our rescue fund over and above all other funds of the sum of \$2,180,000. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you, Mr. Fox.

I want to assure each and every one of you that

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before we get through with this meeting this morning, you will have to make up your minds for your communities as to whether or not you are going to accept your fair share of the goal.

More than that, you will have to go back to your communities with the same determination that Mr. Fox is going back to his with -- of accepting a goal and attaining the goal before the campaign is finished and the money is in.

Joe, did you want to say something?

MR. HOLTZMAN: Yes, and I am going to stick to two minutes. I don't need that mike.

I am going to say the same things I have repeated over the years with a little addition. We Jews of America have been given credit, and we have taken credit for something that we have not done. Five or six million Jews of America -- I heard a speaker the other day, an authoritative speaker, say that we have received less than a million gifts to the United Jewish Appeal. It is so. (Applause)

All we need to do in 1957 to meet this goal of \$100,000,000 plus is to see that we get four to five

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million gifts. They can be a dollar. Let every man, woman and child get in on this deal. They grow.

Let us see that the Jews of America will be given credit in 1957 for something that is easy to accomplish.

We need more people to see more people, to see that more people give and help others give.

I hope I stuck within my two minutes, Mr. Chairman. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Just a moment; we will get everybody.

My friends, there are many people in this room who want to benefit from the experience of successful techniques in fundraising. Please, when you ask for the floor, talk to us about ways and means of raising more money, and stick to that subject.

The gentleman from Los Angeles, the Chairman of the Los Angeles Campaign.

MR. FENSICK: Mr. Chairman, when you hear many people expressing their views, somehow the one that speaks the last has already received the benefit of all these views; so in many cases many of us here do not have

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to speak.

I want to say this, however, that as far as Los Angeles is concerned, Los Angeles City and surrounding area -- and speaking about Chicago, we claim that Los Angeles is the second largest Jewish community in the United States. I am glad you admit that.

I believe that the United Jewish Appeal and the appeal to our people has one great avenue that we can improve in our effort, and that is the agitational phase of our United Jewish Welfare Funds.

I feel that the strength is in our communities, and I think we lack a great deal of agitation, of developing leadership and new people who know and understand our problem.

I think that if we can improve on that phase, our people will come forward.

There is one concrete recommendation that I would like to make here, which we have discussed in our Los Angeles Cabinet, and that is this: In 1957 our drive should be divided into two drives: One, to concentrate all of our efforts by a group of capable people of reaching the top givers, and not only increase their giving, but

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develop within the community people who are capable of giving large gifts.

Every Jew of means has an obligation to his people, and to that extent we need the help of the leadership of the United Jewish Appeal. We need salesmanship. We need people who can come and make contacts. That is what it takes, to get the big gifts, and that is where the bulk of our money is.

Second, which I think has already been expressed, is an avenue which we have sorely neglected due to the fact that our organizational set-up has been such that we have contacted our big people. I feel that there is an inward strength in our people. I believe there is great intelligence of our people, and I feel that the masses of our people are willing and able to come forward to our cause.

In our community of Los Angeles, we have thousands and thousands of people coming into our city. We are setting our campaign organization where we will have one phase of our drive which will be separate and apart from our big gifts.

A group of young people, men and women, who can

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make contacts to bring into our fold an additional 30,000 new givers -- and they may be within the scope of the hundred-dollar and the two-hundred-dollar gifts -- and, who knows, among that you may find the people who are capable of giving large money, and we feel that if we can set up our drive to tell the masses of our people -- and they know and understand -- I think that the masses are probably a little ahead of our leadership in our communities -- to tell them the great need and the importance, that we can not only get additional money for our drive, but we can develop a new leadership, which we feel the communities of this country need.

With the help of the leadership of the UJA, as far as Los Angeles is concerned, we are going to contact and develop large givers. We are looking forward to bring the message into our communities, and, as always, Los Angeles will do its share. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

Mr. Benet Silverblatt, from Lowell, Massachusetts.

MR. SILVERBLATT: I come from the town of Lowell, Mass., about twenty-six miles north of Boston.

There are two things that I would like to discuss,

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and one of them is, to what extent are we allowed to take gifts from non-Jews?

In our town there has been one appeal in the past --

MR. LUCKMAN: Please, ladies and gentlemen, give the speaker a chance to speak and be heard.

MR. SILVERBLATT: There has been no definite approval in that respect, and I would like to have that settled once and for all.

Secondly, I feel that in raising the large sums of money that we are expected to, we must have the proper kind of an organization. I think it is a matter of organization rather than getting pledges. If we have the right organization, we can get it.

That is one fault I have found in our community: There is a lack of cooperation between the different cities and towns with respect to the United Jewish Appeal, in other words, each town and city watches out for itself.

Take the City of Boston. When they have their organization meeting and their raising of pledges, there are large amounts of money pledged and raised with very outstanding speakers, but Lowell gets no benefit of that.

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because we are never invited to that proposition.

But we have our campaign, and we just do it for ourselves. What I would like to see done is this: that there should be organized key cities in each state, as, for example, Boston, Springfield, Worcester and cities and towns within an area of thirty miles of these respective cities, and when Boston runs its campaign or has its first meeting, the cities within a radius of thirty miles of Boston -- and the same applies to Springfield in their campaign -- should be invited to send committees to that organization, so that they can see how large amounts are raised and how large amounts are pledged.

I think that the result of that will create enthusiasm, which we have been lacking, where each city watches out for itself.

I am reminded about the rooster that invited the chicken for a walk, and in the course of the walk they walked passed a yard where there were ostriches with large eggs, and the rooster said to the hen, "I am not criticizing you, but you can see what can be done if you try." (Laughter)

MR. LUCKMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think this

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was a very instructive message. I think the idea of inviting communities within a radius of thirty-forty or fifty miles, to hear and see what happened in the larger communities, to get the inspiration of the larger gifts, is a wonderful one, and I think that the leaders of communities should invite these peripheral communities to send their people to listen to the big gifts functions in the communities.

MR. STONE: Why don't you answer about accepting gifts from Christians?

MR. LUCKMAN: About the Christian giving, my friends, we will take money from Chinamen, too. Don't prevent anybody from making gifts to the United Jewish Appeal. But we don't think that you ought to conduct a real campaign. In New York you can do it. If you have some friends, you can ask them for gifts.

We get money from the banks in Cincinnati and from a handful of other people, but we don't make it a part and parcel of the campaign, because we had sad experiences in the past.

MR. WEILER: I hate to take the conversation away from the floor.

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In New York City, the Honorary Chairman of the New York City Campaign is Mayor Robert Wagner. That's a fact. We get hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars from Christians, and I can make a recommendation which came to me from Elkan Myers this morning: Let's get after the Council of Judaism for some of this Emergency Rescue Fund. This is not funny. They don't want to give money to Israel, but they can give money for refugees, be they Hungarians or others.

That is how to build up this emergency fund.

While I am on the floor, Mr. Fox, you have done a wonderful job in Baltimore, magnificent. If the country followed your footsteps, there would be no question that we would raise \$100,000,000 for the emergency fund this year.

But, Lou, I am going to disagree with you so heartily on that card calling. I can't express myself too strongly about it. (Applause)

Mrs. Silverman is so correct with regard to card calling that I have to stand up and disagree with you, Lou, and let me give you some of the experiences we have had.

No one objects to these informative meetings.

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We have them by the score in New York. We try to get every non-giver, every Christian, to listen to the story, but, by God, we have got to get them to get up and announce themselves. We promise them we won't call their names during these meetings, those that ask for it, but I want to tell you: those promises that we give are violated by the individuals who asked us for those promised.

I have had dozens of men come to meetings, where I promised them not to call their cards, and these same people, at the end of the function, when I get up and I say, "Isn't there someone in this room who wants to get up and make an announcement?" -- even though we gave them a pledge not to call upon them -- I have seen one after another get up and make pledges as high as ten thousand or more, because they have heard the story, and not only the story, but they have heard what other people have given. (Applause)

There is no reaction like speaking in dollars.

I have had people come to meetings. I have had the pledges in advance, and I am talking about gifts that run into \$25,000, \$50,000 and \$100,000, and when we called upon them at the meeting, they have increased their

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amounts by ten, twenty and thirty thousand dollars.

I have one particular example of one man who gave \$500, and the only thing I was able to do with him before the meeting was to get him to repeat the pledge. He came to the meeting. I called upon him. I got a \$5,000 pledge.

You know why? He heard the fifties, he heard the hundreds, he heard the twenty-fives and he heard the tens. He was among the tens and the twenty-five givers, and he knew it.

When he was called upon, he had no choice but to make that pledge.

Card calling is the only effective method of raising money in this country. (Applause)

Bill Rosenwald hands me a notation. We have Christian workers.

In the Real Estate Division in New York, the President of the Real Estate Board is the Chairman of the Christian Division for the Real Estate Division. When there is a new president of the Real Estate Board, he automatically accepts the chairmanship of the Real Estate Division.

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They do a terrific job. We get gifts as high as \$5,000 and more from some of the Christians.

Charles F. Noyes, whom a lot of you know in New York, gives us \$5,000. We get \$2,500 gifts from Christians.

MR. BERNSTEIN: \$25,000.

MR. WEILER: \$25,000 and more from other industries. We have had \$50,000 givers. J. P. Stevens, Burlington Mills and others -- the Fords.

I know I have two minutes.

Let us not overlook any aspects of the campaign, and, Baltimore, let me make this suggestion to you: If you are going to have card calling, you may insult a few people, but you will not insult the majority. You will get a little less money, possibly from those few, but you will quadruple your gifts from the majority when you get the card calling done.

MR. LUCKMAN: Mrs. Ruth Gruber, also on fundraising techniques.

MRS. GRUBER: Sol, I listened with great interest to your suggestion that the leaders, the National leaders, go into the communities, and I think

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that is a very important suggestion, and I wish you could visit every community in the country, but I know that it is impossible for all the leaders to go into all the communities.

I would like to suggest that the communities come into New York. I know how overworked Bill Rosenwald is, but I think that if Bill were to call, say, ten or fifteen of the top men of little communities, not the big ones like Chicago and Los Angeles, but of the small communities that do feel that they are off the beaten track -- if he called in these men and said to them, "I want to tell you things that you don't know", they would come into New York, and they would sit with him for half an hour, and I think that they would get men who now are giving \$3,000 and \$5,000, and who are the top leaders in their communities, and everybody applauds them as real philanthropists -- I think he would get them up to be \$25,000 givers, just because they would feel so good at coming into his office, feel so good at being part of a top echelon, that I think we would get a new kind of giving from small communities.

So that I think not only must New York go out

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to the country, but the country must come into New York, and I think that it is so important that I would suggest that either Bill or perhaps Herb Friedman set up someone in his office to meet people as they come into New York, to make them feel that they are part of this big family of UJA. Give them the hospitality that should be theirs when they come into our city, so that they feel that they are not forgotten men, they aren't unknown men, they are part of a great, wonderful cause, and that, Bill, means that you are the man that should do it. (Applause)

MR. HOLTZMAN: Mr. Chairman, everybody agrees that Bill should work harder. (Applause)

MR. MYERS: No. We want to save him traveling. Let them come to New York.

MR. GLASSER: I am Josh Glasser, and I come from Chicago, the third largest Jewish community in America. (Laughter).

I am sure that everybody here, like myself, is tremendously impressed, not only impressed but motivated by the things we saw and heard and felt.

I believe, in my own business -- incidentally, I am in a new business. I am in the business of life and

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freedom for the next thirteen months. (Applause)

And it is a franchise I am going to pass on to a great many other people, and I hope you do, too.

While we are talking about a goal, \$100,000,000 -- and I am sorry to say that in some quarters there have been some questions as to its feasibility -- I think that it is a good idea to look around and behind before going ahead, and the things that we are talking about now are things you have already accomplished, and in my opinion, under less trying and necessary conditions.

Herb Friedman very brilliantly spoke up. He said it was just an inspiration, that this is a combination of 1936, plus 1948. God, what more do we need than to try to pass on to the people in our communities what we gleaned here?

Now, in my opinion, that is our big job, and in Chicago I promise you that we are going to take the best result we have ever had, namely, 1948, and we are going to make sure that we equal or surpass every name on that list, and that is what I would like to see each person do in his own community: take the best record and go on from there.

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Thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. FRED E. MONOSSEN: Mr. Chairman, my name is Fred Monossen from Boston, the foremost Jewish community in raising funds in the United States.

I just want to say that in Boston, card calling is a very important factor. In fact, our own Dewey Stone, who is doing such an outstanding job, refused, did not attend a meeting of any of the industries unless card calling was permitted and agreed upon.

As a result of that, we were able to raise the sum of \$1,200,000.

Card calling is an obligation of the Survival Fund. Card calling is an obligation, and if anyone doesn't like it, it's too bad. We do card reading out loud to know the type of man we are talking about.

I am greatly in favor of card reading.

(Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you.

Next, Rabbi Breslau of Washington.

MR. MEYERHOFF: What is Washington going to do about the special fund?

RABBI BRESLAU: We came here about a half dozen

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strong when these meetings began a few days ago. I am the remaining remnant of the Washington delegation.

I recall that last year, when we first projected the Special Campaign, it was through a resolution passed in this hotel on a Friday -- Was it? -- on a Friday. The following Monday, Joe Mazer and Herb Friedman were in Washington at a meeting we called specially for that purpose to consider what our share was.

We then began to "hundeled". Herb thought we ought to take \$300,000, and I was to be the potential Chairman of the Campaign, and I said it ought to be 350. Finally, we settled for 375, because I wanted a margin for error.

We raised \$375,000, and 95 per cent of that is already in the office in cash. (Applause.)

I do believe that I can't, any more than anybody else, speak completely for the community. I can only speak for those who assume from time to time the prerogative of leadership and then find that it is a greater problem to follow through and make good on it. But from that basis I would say that I am as confident that in 1957 we will have "hundeled" exactly in the same

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fashion with respect to our quota, and I am sure we will accomplish the same comparable result.

Thank you. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Please. I think that what this meeting is supposed to do is talk about fundraising techniques. If you have an idea that you can convey to people in other communities, that is what we are looking for.

MR. NORMAN COHEN (Dallas, Texas): That is what I want to talk about, Mr. Chairman, and there we also have the problem of card calling, and we know that it is hard to overcome that opposition all at one time.

Two years ago, we had a campaign chairman by the name of Arthur Kramer, and I want to give him credit for coming up with the plan that we have used for two years. It is not a full solution, but it has helped.

I did the card calling last year in Dallas. Incidentally, Mrs. Gruber made the main speech and did a very fine job. I am glad to follow her again here this morning.

Here is how it worked. Now, this is practical, and we have found it, as I say, to be helpful.

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We give each donor the choice of announcing his gift either in dollars and cents or in a percentage increase.

Two years ago, when we put that plan into effect, we tried for a 15 per cent increase, and I think 80 per cent of the cards that were called gave between a ten and a fifteen per cent increase.

Last year, we tried for a ten per cent increase, and we came pretty close to making it. There was not a single card called that gave a decrease.

We haven't decided yet what we would do this year, naturally. That is the new campaign coming up. We will work on some increase. But on those cards that will be called, we will work on top of the increase of 15 per cent of two years ago, and ten per cent of this past year.

Now, that plan does have a lot of defects. Of course, there are a lot of people whom you would like to be there who aren't there, and, worse still, that plan presumes that their gift of the previous year was a proper gift. That can't be helped. Nevertheless, we do feel that we are bringing up gradually the amount of giving from every person.

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MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

MR. LOUIS KAGAN (Essex County): Mr. Chairman, we have one campaign in our community which we call the United Jewish Appeal, and it embraces the local community as well as overseas, and we have subscribed to the regular fund in the normal way in the one campaign, and whatever plus giving was given to the overseas for the Emergency Fund.

We always call cards at our meeting.

I would like to know what has been the experience throughout the country in those communities that have one campaign. Have they run one campaign for the United Jewish Appeal for local and overseas, including the Emergency Fund, or have they run a special campaign for the Emergency Fund?

MR. LUCKMAN: It has been one campaign generally with two cards. You call on the person, or the person announces his gift to the regular campaign, and then for the Emergency or the Rescue Fund.

That has been the major experience around the country.

I call on the gentleman to my right.

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MR. IRVING SCHATZ (Spring Valley, New York):

We have listened here this morning to many representatives from large cities, and I believe it would be opportune for me to talk as the chairman of a small community.

We are a very small community. Despite the fact that I believe that we have done a magnificent job in our own way; thus far this year, in 1956, we have given \$11,000 to the Emergency Fund, plus \$50,000 to the Regular Fund, from a small community; I do want to say this: I am dissatisfied with the results, and I think it can be multiplied in various communities, suburban communities throughout this country.

Many people, wealthy people, are moving in, coming into Rockland County from Metropolitan New York, and we are endeavoring to approach each and every one of these people in the following manner:

A zone has been set up for every community, and we say that this is the year, being the year of decision, the hour of decision, that we are calling upon the people to do leg work, and we have publicized throughout the county, giving advance notice that an honor roll is going to be published in the form of an annual report

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that will be mailed to each and every Jew in the county, specifying on each page the amount, the name and the amount of each contributor, and we feel in this manner those who have given \$100, who can still give \$500, will have an opportunity to increase their pledges before the honor roll goes to press.

I believe this would be a very good thing for other communities to follow.

Thank you.

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

MR. SCHWARTZ: I am from a small community in Connecticut, but that doesn't make any difference, because when Barney Rappaport called a meeting on a state-wide level, we got there, and he brings them out.

I want to mention the fact that I was very much impressed with the idea of having a review committee -- swell. I think that idea that has been developed lately of having Dun & Bradstreet reports sent in to someone close to some chisler who has been getting away with it is a splendid idea.

I also want you to know, Mr. Luckman, that when we learned, when word reached our community that there was

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a gentleman in the scrap business who is acquainted with someone in the Middle West, and word reached us that that individual was doing a tremendous export business, which we didn't know too much about, we used that information, and it is very, very helpful, and we need more of that.

I was just asked to step in and see someone, and I have a Dun & Bradstreet report which was furnished to me, and we are going to do something about it.

We have in our community -- and it is not important as to what the name of the community is -- we have two men who are selling automobiles, one selling Cadillacs and Oldsmobiles, and the other one selling Chrysler and de Soto. They are both doing a tremendous business, and they have been getting away with murder.

I say to you that the thing to do is to somehow or other get them to understand that pressure will be brought upon them and that, whereas in most communities the men in the automobile business were cleaning up and heading up the campaigns, they are the ones who must bring pressure to bear on the other fellows.

My last point is that if we can get a man like Fawzi to make a jackass of himself on the air, if we can

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more of that, we would go over the top big.

If we listen to what Mr. Glasser has to say about Chicago and the time that he is spending, the next eleven or twelve months on life and freedom, we have got to do it.

Thank you. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: The gentleman to my far right, the new Chairman of the Cincinnati Campaign, Mr. Norbert J. Covy.

MR. COVY: It might interest this group of leaders to know that we in Cincinnati have just recently formulated an idea which might be particularly effective and which can be used in your respective communities.

We have invited or intend to invite to a large dinner a group representing the members of the boards who were the board members of these recipient organizations of the Welfare Funds.

It is our intention to call cards. Anyone who is a member of these particular boards who does not approve of card calling we feel does not have the right to be on that board as a member, and they can resign if they so wish.

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We feel that these boards represent the outstanding leaders in the communities, and if they accept the honor of serving on the various boards, they should produce.

We in Cincinnati know that under the inspiration of Mr. Sol Luckman we will produce in a very satisfactory manner for this \$100,000,000 quota. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much, Norbert. You make me feel very happy.

The gentleman over there.

MR. BENARI: I am Ben Benari from New York.

In listening to all the discussion this morning I am a little bit amazed in what I think is the most fertile field, which has been entirely untouched.

We know that in campaign techniques, the example of top level giving is of the utmost importance. I for one can never get over being amazed again and again at the capacity of the top leadership in the gifts that they give.

However, we are faced with a problem of raising \$100,000,000, which is five times as much as we raised last year. It is not reasonable to expect a Bill Rosenwald

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or a Sam Rubin to give five times what they did last year, but still we must raise that sum, and where should we look for it?

It seems to me that the most fertile field is the \$100 and \$200 and \$500 givers, because, certainly, when they gave that amount they did not in any way impair their capital, nor did they in any way reach the capacity of their giving, and therefore it can be comparatively an easy thing to get after these people to give five times as much.

That needs perhaps more leg work. It means perhaps a little harder work on the leadership, but you cannot get it from your top givers, and you must undertake to do that job, because that is where you are going to get it.

As a matter of fact, I want to state that it means very little to the man coming to the average Banquet, who is used to giving \$100, \$200, \$300, when you tell him that Bill Rosenwald gave a half a million dollars. It just means nothing. It doesn't make any impression.

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What I would like to see is that the technique of the campaign be worked out where it is addressed specifically to the giver of the \$100, \$200 and \$500, because that is your richest field, and that is where you can get five times as much as anywhere else.

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

I call on the gentleman to my left.

MR. ALEX F. STANTON (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania):

We have developed the technique of the trade, as we call it, to a very great degree. We have the City of Philadelphia divided into special trades and gifts. About five hundred chairmen or more handle the givers who give \$1,000 or less. So we always have a step-up from trades into special gifts.

About twelve hundred of our people give \$1000 and over, and about sixty thousand people give under \$1000, and we have raised in the City of Philadelphia in the last three years in the trades alone from \$700,000 to, last year, \$1,100,000, constantly stepping up.

This year, on account of the Survival Fund and the real problem involved in a tremendous increase, it will become much more important for the top leadership,

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the special gift givers, who are the leaders in the various trades, by virtue of their capacity as the top business people in those trades, to take the chairmanship, so when we have the trade dinners where we do have card calling -- and, incidentally, if you are not calling cards, you are just wasting time; that is as simple as eating every day. You must call cards. You are just kidding yourselves, otherwise.

If you have top trade chairmen who are special gift givers in themselves, as we do in Philadelphia, to lead the trade dinners, you have no problem of card calling, no problem of bringing in your people to the local dinners, as well as the local meetings, because they themselves with their prestige can bring them in.

Incidentally, if you are talking about horse trading, always try to get the people doing business with others in the same meetings. It is not a complex situation at all. We have been quite successful with it.

The problem is this: Your organization must start working in September. You must build all through the fall in getting your chairmen appointed, in getting the dinners arranged, in getting the meetings arranged, so by the time

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you come to the first of the year, it is quite easy to run a simple campaign and do your job correctly.

I don't think there will be any problem involved in getting the money if you can get them to the meetings.

MR. MEYERHOFF: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I have been sitting here and listening to these suggestions, and there are a lot of good suggestions, but the thing that bothers me about so many of these suggestions is very much what bothered me yesterday afternoon when I spoke, and that is that we are still talking about business as usual.

Now, that isn't the way we are going to raise \$100,000,000 for this world-wide rescue fund.

Believe me, in Dallas and Philadelphia and New York and anywhere else, we've got to go after the \$100 givers and the \$500 givers. We've got to find the Suburbia, and we've got to find the people who are hiding out, and we've got to develop our trades, and we've got to do a lot of other things.

But that isn't the way we are going to raise \$100,000,000.

Now, don't tell me it can't be done. It can't

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be done if we are not going to have the will to do it. Unless every community is willing to accept a quota, a goal commensurate with \$100,000,000, we are just wasting a lot of words, and we are just sitting here like a bunch of hypocrites saying that we ought to raise \$100,000,000, but we don't mean us, because in Baltimore or Washington or Philadelphia or Chicago or Los Angeles, we can't raise five times the amount we raised on the special fund.

If we are going to talk of increases of ten or fifteen per cent, or we are only going to talk about doubling or tripling or quadrupling what the good people gave last year, you are not going to raise that \$100,000,000.

Now, if we are really serious about saving 100,000 Jewish lives world-wide -- and that is what it is -- there is only one way I know to do it: to do everything that you all talked about. They are all wonderful ideas. They are all wonderful ideas in a normal year. Do it this year. But that's only a little part of the story, if we are really going to do the job.

We've got to raise \$100,000,000 from the very people who were generous last year. We can't raise it in

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a community where the leadership in that community is not willing to go all out and give -- not from what they are going to give from what they earned last year or from their tax-deductible funds. You don't give \$50,000 gifts, that is, in our categories, or \$100,000 gifts or \$10,000 gifts from tax deductible monies. You've got to find people who saved, who will say, "As a self-respecting Jew I will be worth a little less, but, by God, I am going to save ten lives or twenty lives or fifty lives while I have the privilege in my lifetime to do it."

Now, I know of no way to do it except if you have each community say right here in New York, before we leave, that we are going to go back and fight for a quote for our communities commensurate with that community's responsibility to \$100,000,000, not to any lesser sum, and, in addition to that, we will go ahead with our regular campaign.

Now, I know of no way that you in your own community will raise that kind of money unless the leadership -- and we have a lot of leaders in this room -- is willing to say, "I am going to give out of all proportion to my past year in the community."

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Out of all proportion. If you are a normal \$5,000 giver, you will have to say that you are going to give \$10,000 to the Special Fund or \$20,000, because you are willing to take it out of your pocket or out of your capital or out of surplus or out of anything -- bank account -- I don't care what it is -- and give it.

Now, we have heard too much talk here today, and that is why I asked Sol to please let me get up and say something, because I am going to explode if I don't.

We have heard too much talk here which is exactly the same thing I was talking about yesterday, and that is business as usual.

Now, you aren't going to raise \$100,000,000 in that way. If you are really honest with yourselves, and you are really honest with your communities, you are going to go back and tell them exactly what I am saying, that \$100,000,000 will not be raised with business-as-usual techniques.

Adopt all those techniques. They are wonderful for normal years; but we are not living in a normal year, and we are not living in normal times.

Let each one of us go out here today determined

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that our own communities -- and that is, after all, the sum total of the United Jewish Appeal -- will do their share of the \$100,000,000, and, after we do that, then let us each of us make up our mind what is our job in raising \$100,000,000, and that is for each of us in our own communities to give the kind of gifts that will be an inspiration to a lot of other people.

You would be surprised how a lot of people will follow leadership, but the leadership is that group of people that must lead, and that is what I call on every one of you to do. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you, Joe.

Mrs. Brailove asked for the floor.

Will you please remain seated. Don't leave this room. This is a very important phase of the business, and we won't keep you too much longer.

MRS. BRAILOVE: Sol, I regret that you didn't call on me before Joe Meyerhoff, because what I have to say is quite anemic, because I wanted to refer, myself, to this business of card calling, and I, like Dewey, have made up my mind that in no community would I go where this would not be permitted.

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However, I found on coming that they were able to break me down a little bit more than I was able to break them down, and last year I used this technique, and I am quite sure it will be even more valid this year, because I can never understand how a generation of Jews who can hear that six million died and not diet themselves in the process, cannot hear their names called for gifts. This I will never be able to understand.

But since our story -- and we are allotted twenty minutes, generously in most communities -- will have to deal with the rescue operation, I feel that in those communities where they are so stubborn, at least we should insist on this technique, that, of course, we are assuming that the last year's gift is repeated, but what we must hear from you today is, what are you willing to do in the rescue operation?

In other words, we have an announcement of the increase, and at yesterday's women's meeting, again -- I am sorry the men were not there -- but I think the whole conception of women's giving changed in that room. We already have -- and this is from women whose names never hit publicity of the United Jewish Appeal because of the

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amounts of their giving -- they have never been heard from nationally, so-called -- and we already have a \$10,000 gift to the Rescue Fund, a \$5,000 gift to the Rescue Fund, several \$1,000 gifts, and \$500.

To all the women in reach of my voice, and to the men whose wives may not be here, we urge you all to join these groups -- these are the so-called little women that national leadership hardly ever spends any time on -- \$10,000, \$5,000, \$1,000.

It is in this kind of a framework that we hope to place our gifts in 1957. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

Mr. Bob Futterman, of Dayton, wanted the floor.

MR. FUTTERMAN: Sol, actually what I want to say is nothing new, and Lou Brook, who is next to me, is the one who should be saying it, because he was the one who was able to get it over in Dayton.

The thing that I wanted to talk about was the country clubs, and, as you know, and many people in this room know, that is nothing new, because in many of the large cities over the past years, they have been successful

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and have been able to get the country clubs to participate very wholeheartedly in enabling them to put over the campaign.

Unfortunately, we in Dayton -- and this is true in many cities throughout the country -- found that we could not do that. Last year, Lou Brook, who was our president, was able to sell and convince the officers and board and the membership of our Meadowbrook Country Club that they particularly, having the wealth of our community, have the greatest wealth of responsibility in enabling us to try and put over our campaign in 1956, and this year for it our country club set up a separate team for their members, with a separate quota, and I would say that, if anything, among others, this idea was successful in helping us put over our campaign in 1956, and this new stimulus would certainly help do the job for next year. With that beginning, I think we can look forward to the country club idea being more successful next year.

We were unable over ten years to sell that, but what I would like to see is that, just as we were able to break through on it, I am sure that other cities, too,

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may be able to do it, and I think if they will, they will find it a terrific stimulus in enabling them to get a different kind of giving among those members.

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you, Bob. That is a very constructive suggestion for some communities that don't have functions set up through the country club.

At this time I would like to call on our General Chairman, Bill Rosenwald.

MR. ROSENWALD: I am afraid I won't be able to stick literally to the two minutes, but I will try to be as direct as I can.

I think this whole conference, and, carrying right through to this morning, the spirit of this meeting is something really remarkable, and this morning the spirit is not only good, but this is one of the rare occasions that in my experience we stuck to the subject.

This kind of a discussion tends very much to get into a more or less report meeting, but it didn't do it this morning.

I think that is a tribute both to the chairman and the audience that it went so well.

We have made a record of the suggestions here,

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and they will be studied and we will consider and make it our first order of business in the National Office to consider how to make the best use of the very able suggestions that were made here today.

In introducing the topic, Sol Luckman mentioned that the communities should feel free to use this National staff as best they can, and that when lay leaders are in communities they should be used not only for making speeches but also to go around and visit some of your more difficult prospects and for overall planning.

I would like to submit that this latter plan, in my opinion, is a totally inadequate use of the facilities that the National Office will be happy to place at your disposal. In the first place, there is no reason why lay leaders who come into a community should not visit good prospects as well as bad ones. Sometimes they can do better with the good prospects.

The biggest thrill I got here this morning was when the chairman of Los Angeles, whose name is Mr. Pensick, got up and urged that when lay leaders are present, that they do engage in that type of solicitation.

The reason I got a thrill out of it was

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because Joe Holtzman went to Los Angeles last year and spent two days doing just that and apparently, having had a taste of Los Angeles, liked the idea, and now he wanted more of it.

When I say that I realize that there is nothing National people can do that can replace good, conscientious, shoe-leather work on the part of the people of the community itself, that they can help to supplement it, stimulate it, and perhaps make possible the setting of some examples.

I thought that Ruth Gruber's idea of groups might be helpful and that lay leaders might also talk to people not only in New York, but when they are in the communities, they might get in groups from outlying communities to talk to the lay leaders.

Usually when a man is there, is in the community, he is there for the day, and time can be found.

I don't think it has to be, as Ruth Gruber suggested, an Eddie Warburg or a Herb Friedman or myself. I think that any lay leader who will come to the community will come with sufficient authority and prestige to make himself effective in every way, and that has been our

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experience.

I would like to touch very pointedly on one aspect of what Joe Meyerhoff so ably said. We have got to do the things that are really extraordinary this year. We cannot go on with business as usual.

There is one aspect of that which has been of primary concern to me. I am going to tell you a little bit about what New York does, because I happen to be familiar with it, and because to a certain extent it exemplifies the kind of thing I am doing.

I appreciate the fact that every community does not have the same set-up as the New York set-up, but the principles that apply are the ones that I want to get across, and I am sure that every person here will think of a number of other applications of the principle and I am sure Henry Bernstein will tell me I have forgotten to mention a number of them.

Here is the idea: Any campaign is but a summary of all the functions that are held, a total of all the functions, and it is important that each function, and particularly each important function in every community of any size has a great many important functions and

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must be carefully planned and executed.

The obvious things, that you have to have the proper speaker, the proper chairman, the proper date when people can come and so on -- these things are fairly obvious. But it goes 'way beyond that.

I have been to meeting after meeting outside of New York. I must honestly say that it is a tribute to the New York staff and lay leaders that it happens to be less in New York, but I have been in meeting after meeting outside of New York where one or more of those things has not been observed, and these are some of the fundamentals:

First of all, before the date of the meeting comes around, you have to have some of the leaders in that group ready to announce gifts that will set an example. This means the kind of shoe-leather work that I mentioned. It may mean weeks of work on some of them. I will use the name Hymie for that. I use it as a name.

There is another thing that is done very effectively at New York. We set the date, and we have one or two of our top campaign figures come in in advance of the function. If it is a dinner, we have them there while the cocktails session is going on.

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They circulate among the people. They have definite assignments. They have the person's given history and they talk to them in terms of giving, and I have seen it happen time and again where I know when I talk to the fellow, the effect of my talking to the fellow is reflected when the cards are called. He adopts my idea. So you must not think that you have to close the deal then.

I don't know that there is any distinction between priming and gearing. I have them in my mind. It is important to have the proper speaker and one of the things that is terribly important is that there is not a word said after the pitch is made. A lay speaker can often be very effective, a lay speaker from out of town. Sometimes the fact that he is a lay speaker, people listen to him a little more, even if he isn't technically quite as good as a professional speaker, but whoever makes the pitch, whoever is the person who is going to have the impact -- not get up and make reports. The chairman should not get up and give his supplementary opinion. (Applause)

I'm amazed. I thought this was going to get opposition, but that kills the impact of what the speaker has said. Even the card-caller is saying words -- who can

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risk that? What I try to do is go right away into the card-calling without a word. Often it is a group where somebody might be prepared -- of course, you can't tell in advance, or that people will hold back, but you can think in terms of having somebody, if there is somebody who is prepared to do it and who has made a good increase already, get up and make a token increase in honor of some loved one. I did that in one community I visited this year and we got several people who gave a hundred or a few hundred apiece. There was no pressure, nobody was embarrassed. They just were happy to do it and it makes everybody feel awfully good to do it.

As I said, the principle is to see that everything is covered and carefully planned, and our national staff and our lay leaders can be helpful to you in planning that.

Sol mentioned a reviewing of the campaign plans. Of course, the overall plans are important but we can have that kind of review of what we are doing locally and in consultation with the national people to the extent that we can be helpful during the campaign, as well go along as well, and that is a very important aspect.

I am glad to tell you that under Herb Friedman's extraordinarily able leadership -- and you don't know a fraction of what he does. You only see what appears on the surface -- where he finds the time I don't know, but he has taken steps to strengthen the national staff so that we are in a position to give you, I think, as much service as you will call upon us to give.

I urge that in just the terms Joe Meyerhoff spoke of, we will this year not feel the national is here and the communities are there and there is sort of a tug of war between them, but quite the opposite; that we are in partnership together. Please call on us to the extent that you think we can be helpful. We will try to urge you to use us to the extent that we think we can be helpful, and please approach that sympathetically, and if you don't get the service that you think you need or want, please scream bloody murder, because it is the only way we are going to meet this terrific problem and we are just as anxious, I am sure, all of us, to be as mutually helpful as we possibly can. Thank you. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you, Bill Rosenwald.

There is a gentleman at my left who would like

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to have the microphone. I think this will be the last speaker from the floor. It is kind of getting towards the 12:30 mark, and after he gets through, with a few remarks we will close the session.

MR. LEOPOLD LERNER (San Francisco, Calif.): I am going to be brief but I just want to throw out one suggestion that was not touched upon. I am sure that the leaders are aware of what I am going to say. Nevertheless it is worthwhile to emphasize it at this opportune time.

You are all aware that San Francisco is a conservative and in some respects a leading community. There is a lot of resistance to card-calling, as in other places, but the resistance is wearing down. However, our particular community is quite consistent in its giving. It doesn't fluctuate much from year to year. It doesn't have ups and downs and our people generally, with rare exceptions, give approximately the same amount from year to year.

For this reason I say that primarily in my own community it is hardly conceivable that regardless of the serious and critical situation, where the people have been accustomed to giving a certain fixed sum no matter how

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generous or otherwise, I don't think they will be moved to such an extent that they will multiply their giving four or five times. This money must be raised, of course, and other communities are not like San Francisco.

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But there is one point in particular, and this does not apply to San Francisco; it applies to every place in the country. This \$100,000,000 Emergency Fund will have to be raised and it is unfair to impose ourselves or to demand of the leaders, the good people who have supported the United Jewish Appeal through the years, to depend on their generosity and to multiply their giving so many times. We have goodhearted people as evidenced on Friday, and no doubt there are many throughout the country who follow that example, but what I am trying to point out is that throughout the country we have unimaginably rich resources among Jews whom I call untouchables and who have not responded in spite of the critical times for the past twenty years, not in any measure, and some people have been divorcing themselves from this important rescue problem.

I am wondering whether National should not have an extra special committee to coordinate with the local committees for this very special purpose. The people can

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be reached. It is a question of the techniques. It is a question of who is to reach them, and I am certain that all the people including even New York City with its population of two million, I know there are people who are worth millions but who are hardly contributing to the United Jewish Appeal and there are some rare examples, perhaps, but there are plenty throughout the country, and I think there is an untapped source which should be concentrated on.

Since our leaders have mentioned that we have to concentrate and use every means, this is one of the means that can bring big results by hard work. It is not the temper of a salesman or a campaigner to try new sources, but I say that as the story is told, if they are approached properly by the proper person, that many millions of dollars can be raised in that way. Thank you.

MR. BOROWITZ: I would just like to take issue with the gentlemen from San Francisco who says "ours is a conservative city" and starts telling what the rest of the country does, but non mea culpa. I have for two years infuriated the city of Chicago without any apologies for the miserable job that we have done, and if the leaders them-

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selves who voted this \$100,000,000 Emergency Rescue Fund did not dedicate themselves and don't go back to the communities, who in hell are going to? (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Mrs. Sam Weissel of Coral Gables, Florida.

MRS. WEISSEL: I am one of the board of the directors of the Women's Division and Mr. Weissel is here on his own from Florida. (Laughter)

I have listened to Mr. Rosenwald and one of his suggestions as to raising extra money. When Mr. Sam Hyman of Miami, one of our beloved leaders, headed our campaign, we discovered that it was his birthday and it was wonderful that it was brought out and taken up, because it was an excuse to ask for more money in his honor, and many of us doubled our regular donations.

I would advise that if we find any occasion like that among the women or among the men, that in itself would be an incentive in honor of dear ones and of your leaders to honor them in that way, to double and triple our donations. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Thank you very much.

MR. STONE: I just want to throw out one word of

caution on the matter of timing which I think is not only of vital importance in this campaign but almost everything we do. This is an entirely different situation than last year and yet it seems to me it would be foolhardy not to profit by some of the obvious mistakes that we made last year.

I don't want anyone to rush home with the enthusiasm of this meeting and start irrationally campaigning for the Special Emergency Rescue Fund. Almost without exception, in every instance that this was done last year, the total result of the regular campaign and the Survival Fund was not as good as those communities that made this a joint effort. I don't care whether you use one card with two places or two cards. I don't care how you do it, but you will save yourselves a lot of work and a lot of time and a lot of effort if you will make this one campaign, starting your special campaign on top of your regular campaign, approaching your prospect with the general understanding that, of course, his regular gift is in the bag and you are not even talking about that, and you immediately address yourself to his special gift.

In this way you do two jobs in one. Even fall

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communities can do this, and I think that the success of the Boston effort -- and I am not trying to particularly compliment Boston as there were many good cities -- was the fact that we took advantage of the mood of last winter and we combined immediately almost after we had finished the 1955 campaign in October and November. We started immediately in January, February and March of 1956 not with a broad, complete campaign but with enough sample showcase giving for 1956 on a regular and a Special Fund basis to insure the tremendous success of the campaign, which eventually we concluded in the fall.

One other words: There has grown up in the country, unfortunately, as a result of many people owing a lot of money in the 1948's, 1949's and 1950's when they had pledged more than they were able immediately to pay, an attitude of, "I can't worry about owing the Welfare Fund. It bothers me to owe money to the Welfare Fund more than to owe it in my business." People therefore have grown accustomed to making a gift only on the basis of what they can sit down and write out a check for or at least completely pay for at once.

I am not encouraging people to make gifts and

not pay them but I am very definitely telling you that if you want this \$100,000,000, people have got to give more money than they can sit down and write out checks for. They've got to be not afraid of owing money. It should be almost immoral not to owe a debt of honor to your Welfare Fund, and also, let's try to get people to make installment payments. A person will pledge \$1,000 and finds it difficult to accumulate \$1,000 that is spare money that he can pay off his pledge with, but if you encourage him, "Send us \$100 a month, send us \$150 a month," and get him into the habit of doing it, you will get more money out of him eventually and it will be easier for him to do it.

Most of all, and with this I close, you cannot do this job on the basis of what the other fellow is going to do. This essentially has got to be an individual, personal, soul-searching effort and campaign on the part of every one of us who is here and the leaders who unfortunately are not here. You cannot ask others to do what you do not do yourself. If you are prepared to give, if you are prepared to work, I am sure that we will get the collective responsibility of American Jewry to meet this challenge and meet this opportunity as they never have

before in their history, and especially on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal and for myself I want to thank every one of you who have been here. It has been to me a great inspiration that I shall long remember.

Sol, take over. (Applause)

MR. LUCKMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, this is the last session of this great and historic conference. Some of us arrived here on Thursday morning and met from early in the morning to the late hours of the night, grappling with the hourly changes that took place while we were deliberating on how and when and where we would convey to you that which is going on before our very eyes.

This has been the greatest conference that I have ever attended and I think that I have attended every conference but the one last year when I wasn't well.

There is an electricity in the air. Each and every one of us has become conscious of the fact that not only is history being made every moment, but that we ourselves have a responsibility and have it within ourselves to make history in regard to the Jewish people, a glorious page, rather than the dismal one that we were faced with in 1936.

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My friends, this morning we were discussing campaign techniques. I am an old campaigner. I have learned many things during the course of the years. I have learned some of them that I can never forget and some of them that no one can challenge. If you want a successful campaign in 1957, if you mean what you voted for in the \$100,000,000 Emergency Fund, you yourselves must give first. Your community will only believe that you mean it if you come back and you tell them, "Boys, this is it. We've got to accept our share of the goal. I am starting by assuming my fair share of the goal."

And, my friends, it isn't very easy for me to stand up here and say these things. My business has not been a lucrative one for the last four or five or six years. I have always given from my capital. I have always pleaded with the people throughout the length and breadth of the land that this is not a job that calls for giving with your lawyer on one side of you and your accountant on the other. This calls for giving from capital.

There are some of us who have given from capital year after year after year, but we all know that there are very many people in our communities who have not done this

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job properly. There are very many rich men in our communities. I know in Cincinnati numbers of men who could give far more than Sol Luckman gives, but they don't. The strangest thing, my friends, is that they don't give to anything. Do not pin your hopes on those people!

(Applause) They will never do the job.

We! This group here, the leadership of the various communities in the country, we have to set the same pattern and standards that we set in 1948, only more so, because only then will the community believe us, and when they believe us they will follow through.

My friends, I want to thank you for coming, and many more of you have come than have come in all the years that I have attended these conferences, and I might say that your deportment has been wonderful. Very few people left the meetings. In past years they used to stream in and out. This year you have been sitting for hours, deeply interested, listening to all the words that have been spoken, because I feel that you feel the way we do too. You also feel that this is the hour that we have been waiting for.

All of these avenues for saving of Jews have

opened up almost simultaneously -- Egypt, Hungary -- I don't want to mention the other countries. You saw a picture yesterday -- North Africa, from all parts of the world. We now have it within our hands to save these people.

Israel you have heard much about. I could stand here for an hour or more, but I will just pass that over lightly.

We are leaving this great conference very shortly. You men must make up your minds very quickly before you reach home as to whether or not you accept the challenge. There are many men in the room, and now I know there are women in the room, who have already accepted their responsibility. For the first time in the history of the United Jewish Appeal there have been more gifts of over a quarter of a million dollars than ever before, and other startling gifts have been announced by people who were not even asked to announce them.

You must, before you arrive make home, make up your minds as to what you are going to do and your decisions, my friends, will spell out the results of the campaign. Bill Rosenwald told you that we are here to help you. The

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New York office is here to help you. We also want your help. There are many of you in this room who can do work around the country also above and beyond your local communities. If we call on you, my friends, respond, but above all, my friends, remember this: the challenge has been thrown out to us. Many of us have accepted the challenge. I believe from the bottom of my heart that each and every one of you has also accepted the challenge, and if you will respond in the manner which the situation and the hour call for -- God bless you, my friends. You have been wonderful. Thank you very much.

The conference is adjourned.

(The conference adjourned at 12:45 p.m.)

ADDRESS OF RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, what has been happening in the last days, the last few days, the events with which I am supposed to bring you up to date, is quite identical with what has been happening tonight.

Eddie Warburg changed Chanukah to Pesach. General Yadin added an extra candle to the Menorah, and we came out with an emergency rescue fund two or three or four times bigger than we ever thought we would.

Nothing seems to be fixed or permanent.

What I would like to do, really, is to try to analyze, perhaps for myself, as much as for anyone else, for those who have sat through the past few days, and also for those who didn't, who might be here tonight for the first time, what it was with which we were struggling and what it was that brought us to the conclusion which shocks some people into speechlessness, but then motivates them out of that into grand action.

This thing all began a hundred years ago -- last Thursday morning. Last Thursday morning, the officers of the United Jewish Appeal, a very small group of men, gathered together in this hotel to try to chart the course of what they thought their honest conscientious response should be to what they felt the need of these days was. And from a group of 28 men -- because that's all that were present that Thursday morning -- an idea began to take seed and to germinate, that it would be utterly untrue to the demands of the day if we didn't try to grasp by the lapels the history which was happening, shake it, shake out of it its meaning, and come up with an answer which was commensurate with what was demanded.

How do 28 men in all of their skill, in all of their wisdom, in all of their courage, know how to formulate an answer to a thing as big as this?

Among them, slowly, hesitatingly, I assure you, the pearls of knowledge began to distill, the kinetic energy of emotion began to accumulate, the pupils of the eyes began to dilate, and they began to see that, without noting it, all together they were stumbling toward something which was in their minds the only right thing to do: to tell to the Jews of America that this was an hour in which a worldwide program of 2/..

rescue would have to be effectuated, with Israel as its focus, and with scores of thousands of Jews in far-flung lands the recipients of our attention.

A world notion began to develop in the heads of 28 men, and there was no time to go for advice, and there was not time to consult the history books, and there was no time to ask for committees and councils and advisors, because in the next few moments a larger group was going to meet, and, on the morrow, a still larger group was coming to assemble.

As a flash, quickly, intuitively, therefore, they came to a feeling or mood which they presented later that Thursday morning to a Cabinet of 60 men, who took it from the morning until late in the afternoon and who took it seriously and conscientiously, and those 60 men came to more than a thousand people the next day, which seems like a century ago, but it was only yesterday, Friday, the 30th day of November, and they came to the thousand and they said, "We think -- what do you think?"

What did you think yesterday, those of you who were here? I said at the beginning that I would like to try to figure out as much for myself as for anybody else what you thought and why you did it, why you called into existence a great apparatus.

I think you did it because you understood that there were Jews in danger, and that was primitive, that was simple, that was elementary, that you thought, that you knew -- Jews in danger all over the world. And we don't have to spell out the places. We don't have to spell out the places. We don't have to spell out the circumstances.

Eddie Warburg told us what he knows about what was happening in Egypt. General Yadin told us -- other people told us. We don't have to spell out the times and the circumstances.

The Nazi repetition in Egypt, the Eastern Europe, the Hungary, the North Africa. We know all the places on the face of the earth in which Jews are in danger, and this was the call from the heart -- elementary, quite elementary.

The second thing I think you understood was that Israel was in danger, and I want very much to keep Chanukah Chanukah, because I don't like to forget that Antiochus, who attacked then, was the King of the Syrians. Chanukah is Chanukah, and Israel is in danger.

You understood it yesterday. You heard it again tonight.

I think, thirdly, and lastly, that you did it because you were just mad. I think you were angry at the stories that were told about Jews being kicked around again, and I don't think you liked it. I don't think anybody liked it. I think that it was a response, therefore, of simple, elementary reaction to a story of danger. I think it was a response of genuine, idealistic concern for Israel, and I think it was an emotional response of anger -- that's visceral; that's not even logical.

And there are plenty of people who will say that what you did here yesterday wasn't logical. There will be plenty who will say that. Maybe it wasn't. I don't know. But there are many things in life which are not logical. Love for children is not logical. Love for aged parents is not logical. Some of the deepest, most important things we do are not logical. They are cardiac; they are visceral; they are muscular; they are neural, in our nervous system.

Maybe that's what happened yesterday.

All right.. Logic or no, whether it came out of pity, pride, anger, fear, hope -- whatever it came out of -- the Psychiatrists perhaps can explain it the best.

You did it.

Now, what did you do? Did you do something with words? Did you do something in which you said, "My God, that's right"? Did you say, "We've got to react, so we will react, and we will say 'emergency, rescue, hundred million dollars -- it's a nice figure' " ?

Is that they way you did it? Or did you do it, you, every precious Jew of you, saying to yourself, "This will cost me my money"? Because if you said it that way, you said it right, and if you didn't say it that way, you didn't say it right. You said it for somebody else, not for you.

I think that voting a special emergency rescue fund of a hundred million dollars wasn't too much for a hundred thousand lives. If five million Jews will put their shoulders to the wheel, it isn't too much.

We never had five million contributors to the campaign. I'm not sure we have one million contributors to the campaign.

I don't think the price of a hundred thousand Jews -- for that is the number in most immediate danger -- is too high to set at a hundred million dollars, because I don't think that the price of a thousand dollars for a human being is too high a price to put.

I think we ought to do two things with this. Perhaps in our campaigning we will have to talk about a hundred thousand Jews and a thousand dollars apiece for them. Perhaps in our campaigning there will be no other way out. But I would only beg of you, as decent, cultured, sensitive human beings: Don't sell merchandise, Let's make a difference, please, and let's do it now.

Maybe we have to sell a Jewish life at a thousand dollars. Maybe that's a campaign slogan. But I can only beg of you to remember what you are talking about. You are talking about people of whom you want to be proud and who themselves want to be proud and don't want any charity and don't want anybody to go around saying they are saving them.

So do the saving and do the rescue work in the Jewish way, which is not to boast about it and not to make the other fellow feel that he must be grateful to you for it, and do it quickly, and do it quietly, and do it with dignity, but do it. Otherwise, it's a fake.

I don't think it will be. I think the reasons for which you did this come so deeply from your well-springs that it will be honest. And you know the way to make it honest.

General Yadin said that every soldier in the Israeli Army was doubly strengthened because he knew every other soldier in the Army was ready to risk his life for him, and that is what made his morale high. And then he went on to say that all the people of Israel have their morale high because they know that there are other people of Israel out in the rest of the world -- not in the geographical area of Israel -- but also in the people-hood of Israel and knowing that we would do -- What? Risk our Lives? No, no. We are not being asked to do anything like that. Nothing near it.

He said that it made them feel good to know that there was us outside in the world ready to back them up with -- What? With Blood? Life? He didn't even ask it, didn't even dream of it.

That's all I want to say. I want to say that I don't for a moment think that there is any person in this room who isn't in these events of the last two days with all his heart and conviction. I also think that in this room there are almost as many who are of the opinion -- who are convinced of the necessity for doing this as there are those who are worried about how to translate the climate of this to the far distant places where Eddie said, Well, you go back home. You might feel lonely, because nobody else will understand what happened here.

You must transfer the climate from here to every other individual and group whom you can possibly reach. You must. We can't take this meeting and duplicate it in every Omaha and Duluth and New Orleans in the United States. It can't be done. You've got to take yourself and transfer this climate, and if you are angry enough and if you are convinced enough and if you've got your own money in it enough, you will do it.

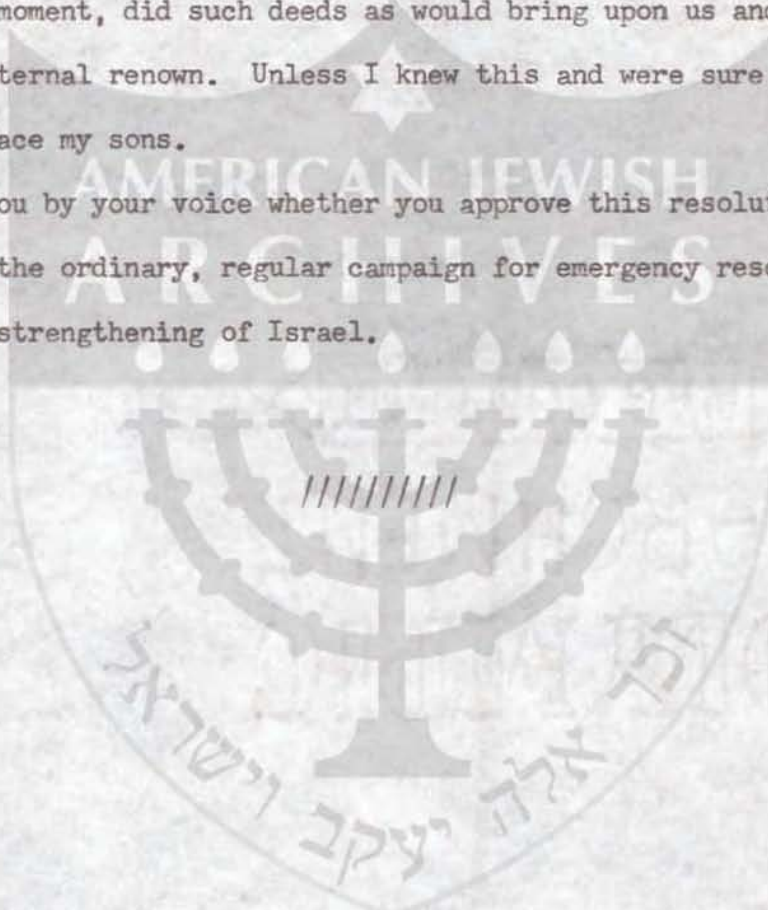
It's the only way it will be done.

I should like to read you a sentence or two from the Book of Maccabees, with which I close.

"When the days drew near for Matathias, the old man, to die, he said to Judah and his other sons, 'The enemy has become strong. This is a time of destruction and anger. My sons, be zealous for the Law, and give your lives in behalf of the testament of our fathers. Be mindful of the deeds of our fathers which they performed in their generations, that you may receive great glory and eternal renown.'"

I would like our sons, when they look back at us, to know that we, their fathers, at this moment, did such deeds as would bring upon us and our generation great glory and eternal renown. Unless I knew this and were sure of it, I am not certain I could face my sons.

I ask you by your voice whether you approve this resolution for \$100,000,000 above and beyond the ordinary, regular campaign for emergency rescue of Jews the world over and for the strengthening of Israel.



Text of Address

by Avraham Harman

Director, Office of Information

Jewish Agency Executive, Jerusalem

National Annual Conference, United Jewish Appeal

Saturday, December 1, 1956, Waldorf-Astoria, New York

* * *

Ladies and gentlemen, I am thinking at this moment, really, of the report that I have to make when I get home. I am leaving for Israel tomorrow afternoon, and, as I have been sitting here at the table tonight, I have been trying to sort out in my mind what to say when I get back to Jerusalem about the things that I have seen here during the past four weeks and particularly during the past two days.

For us in Israel to be concerned about the Jewish people in various parts of the world is perhaps no peculiar thing. We are an immigrant generation. I am an immigrant, the son of a refugee.

We are 1,600,000 Jews today in Israel. Twenty-five years ago, in 1931, there were exactly 171,000 of us. There has been an almost ten-fold growth in twenty-five years and more than a two-fold growth in eight years.

Now people have come into Israel from every part of the world where Jews live, and we have recent and closest bonds of kinship with Jewish communities that are still today — and perhaps more today than ever before — living through danger.

But I have been asking myself these last few weeks, and especially these last two days, what it is that moves this great American Jewry, as represented here tonight, to decide what it has decided and to do what it is about to do and has been doing so consistently for many years, to rescue Jews in other lands and change them from refugees into citizens.

You are a settled community. Your immigrant days largely are over. I can think of no other explanation than this: In the Pesach Hagaddah, we tell ourselves that we must repeat the story of the Exodus from Egypt every year and that he who adds more to that story, the greater is his reward, in order to remind ourselves that if our fathers had not been rescued from the slavery of Egypt, then we and our sons and our grandsons would still be enslaved to Pharaoh in Egypt.

And I believe that this is a nobility of your spirit that as you free, settled Jews, living undisturbed in a great and peaceful and free land, let your eye range around the Jewish world, and you have, through the greatness of soul that enables you to identify yourselves at this moment with the Jew who is being hounded from Egypt and the Jew who is stealing across the borders of Hungary and Vienna in search of the freedom which you possess.

And I shall try to bring this thought to Israel when I go back after this experience again, this great and ennobling experience of the last few weeks of contact with American Jewry.

And another thought, too:

In our corner of the world, in the Middle East, it is rather lonely for us, and there is a danger that our people will feel itself to be isolated, and that is a danger.

It isn't good for people to feel lonely. And I think I can carry back with me from this experience of American Jewry that we in Israel are not isolated, that there is a great community that identifies itself with our hope and with our struggle and with everything that we are trying to do to assure the future of the Jewish people in freedom and in dignity.

And this is an important thing to be able to carry back with one in one's baggage, as one leaves America and returns to Israel at this time.

Whenever we meet, you in the United Jewish Appeal and the Jews of Israel, there really is only one subject of discussion: What has happened in the recent Jewish past, and what is happening in the Jewish present, and what problems await us as we seek to build the Jewish future?

And we don't have to go back too far in the past in order to delineate the scope of the problem which confronts our generation -- just twenty years.

Eddie Warburg referred to the gruesome re-enactment in our day, in a different land, of the Nuremberg Laws. Well, they were promulgated only twenty years ago, and at that time our people was a European people. The great majority of our people lived in Central and Eastern Europe, which had for centuries been the heartland of the Jewish world, in which the stubbornness of the Jewish survival was a characteristic of our people in one anguished generation after another; and it is a great tradition recreated in every age of our Jewish faith and in our hope; and we have seen in these last twenty years a great transformation of our people, which is no longer European, because so large a part of it was crushed in Europe, and because another and more fortunate part of it, - with your help and with ours, in Palestine and in Israel, - by its instinct understood that there was no future there, either for the Jews as individuals in freedom or for the Jewish collectivity as such in freedom, and sought their fortune for themselves and their people in other lands, where Jewish subjection could be replaced by dignity and Jewish enslavement by freedom.

And all this has happened in twenty years, and never more realistically and pressingly and urgently than in the last ten years that separate us from 1946.

I will recall the Zionist Congress in Basel in December of 1946, ten years ago. What were we then? Europe crowded; the camps in Germany and Austria and Italy crowded with the pitiful remnants of European Jewry, with

more tens of thousands streaming across borders, illegally, without documents and without permission, but driven forward by their certainty that in Eastern Europe there was no future for them or their people, the gates of Palestine barred by iron rule, and shipload after shipload of people leaving the shores of Europe to try and batter their way through those closed doors, and, failing, being sent back to Cyprus --- in 1947 even being sent back to the shores of Germany itself.

And in those days there seemed to be no hope. There was the bitterness of despair. We in Palestine were engaged in a great resistance to try and smash the gates of Palestine open from within, and in that year of 1946, our leaders were arrested and interned, thousands of our citizens were put into jails because they fought for the right of Jews to come to the land that had been promised them by the world.

And in these days, when we are again faced with grave problems, both in Israel and in the rest of the world, let us pause for a moment to remember this swift transformation that has been accomplished by our joint forces these past ten years.

These ten years have seen through this partnership of the liberating forces in the Jewish people, the Jews of America and the Jews of Israel, these past ten years have seen the emergence of Israel into existence as a free country, and it has seen the movement of more than a million Jews across the bridge that leads from slavery and suppression into freedom.

This is a positive balance sheet, of which we shall well be proud, and we should repeat this story to ourselves year after year, as we face again the decision of what we shall do in order to meet the problems that lie ahead.

We have been moving forward in this struggle to assure the Jewish future. These great annual efforts of yours have not been invested in a bottomless pit. They have created great and enduring assets of Jewish strength where there was

despair. They have laid foundations on which we are able to build as we proceed in raising the proud edifice of Jewish life that will endure for all time.

I told this to myself at this moment as I told it to you, because I wish, inside myself, to find an answer to a question which has been injected into the arena of discussion during the last few weeks: the problem of Israel's existence.

I believe that that problem has been solved by what the Jewish people demonstrated in those years, when it brought Israel into existence.

This is a vital force. This is a force that has behind it all the inevitability of a historical event waiting to be born, and when it is born, to consolidate itself and to endure.

If the Jewish people as a whole wishes and so decides, if the people of Israel wish, and do so decide, the problem of Israel's existence is a problem that may be said to have been solved and settled and determined and established for all time to come.

What kind of people do they think we are, who talk of the problem of Israel's existence? We are not living in the Warsaw Ghetto, or in Auschwitz. We are the citizens of a free country. We built our country because we believed, and we beg to be forgiven for this belief that we too have the right to live -- not more than that, but the right to live. If we are attacked, we will resist, we will defend ourselves, as free men should and must.

And we shall live, and we will pay any price that we have to pay, because we have no other choice except to defend ourselves in order to live.

And if anything has been established by the events of the last five weeks, it has been that this isn't such an easy target. There is some toughness there and there is some capacity for resistance there, not just the right, but a capacity for resistance, for defense.

I hope it doesn't sound boastful or vainglorious to talk about this in this vein. It's always seemed to me that this is the quintessence of everything that we have been trying to do in Israel since the very beginning of our work there, three generations ago.

We were a people who were without roots; we were a people who were homeless; we were a people who solved our problems from one generation to the next by running away, until it reached the point where we had nowhere to run.

We were a people who had reached such a degrading depth of defenselessness that we had to watch six million of our kith and kin led like cattle to the slaughter; and if we tried to resist we couldn't. There was no physical basis for resistance in that situation.

The Warsaw Ghetto is a monument to Jewish heroism. It is also a monument to Jewish hopelessness, because that was a resistance that couldn't succeed. And from that we have been trying to move forward, and from that we have moved forward to a point where there exists in Israel a free land, a soil under our feet, in which we can grow food and from whose resources we can make the manufactured goods that we need -- soil on which we can build a free and democratic society -- because that is the only way in which we know how to live -- into which we can welcome our people who seek a haven in our midst, because they can't find it anywhere else, -- who, above everything else, seek and can find in our midst the ability to defend themselves when they are attacked.

When Israel was created by the Jewish people, it was envisaged as an instrument of Jewish rescue above all else, and this is a fact of which we in Israel must remind ourselves all the time and of which you must remind yourselves year by year, because the job of Jewish rescue isn't over. The majority of the Jewish people today has effected, fortunately, the transition from rootlessness to civic status. We in Israel and you Jews of America and of countries like America -- this is the most significant radical change in Jewish history in many centuries, -- we possess this quality of civic equal status.

That is new.

But there are many Jewish communities that don't yet possess it. There are Jews that are being hounded out in Egypt and other lands of North Africa, and there are Jews who are fleeing in Hungary and other lands in that part of the world, in search of precisely that -- two things: equal civic status and the right to live as Jews, -- as they want to.

There are countries where Jews can't teach their children the language of Jewish prayer. There are countries where Jews can't print their prayer books for circulation, or print a little bulletin to inform themselves of what is happening in the Jewish community.

That isn't freedom, and that isn't equal status as we understand it and as we fought for it and as we have won it and as we enjoy it.

They are coming out. They are coming out, and they are coming in, and that, too, is a new fact in Jewish life, and that has been established during these last ten years.

Ten years ago today there were ships wandering the Mediterranean Sea, looking for a port that would take them in, but no longer. That part of the problem has been solved by our joint action. There is a place where they can come in.

I recall a meeting of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, just under five weeks ago, at which we had to answer the question as to whether while what was going on in Sinai was going on, we should allow Jewish immigrants to come in, and where we were taking the position and where we took the position: Let's leave it to them. If they want to, yes.

And they wanted to, and they came in during those days from those two great staging stations on the Jewish road to freedom in 1956 and 1957, Vienna and Marseilles.

And they are coming in now. They are coming out to those places now from Egypt and Hungary and other lands, and one problem is solved for them in advance: There is a place to go.

That, too, you can write on the positive side of the balance sheet of American Jewry for what it has done in the past ten years and what it is doing at the present time.

Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know quite how to end, because this is a story that has no end, that will have no end, as long as there are Jews anywhere who don't live as freely as you live in America and as I live in Israel.

Let us hope it will reach an end soon.

As you address yourselves here in America to your newly defined great goal for 1957, as we in Israel face the dangers and uncertainties that loom all around us at the present time, let us remember just one thing:

Our faith has very little in the way of a theology or of a doctrinology. Its essence is life. We are commanded to honor our father and our mother in order that our days upon this world -- this world may be increased. Life is a struggle, and the reward of that struggle is life, and it is written in the Natanya Tokev, those searing questions that we ask ourselves: who will live and who will die? And we have the answer in one of our prayers, where it is written: I will not die, but I will live, and I will tell the deeds of God. God has

sorely afflicted me, but he has not delivered me to death.

This is a deathless people, if it wills that it be so. This is a people that in ten years has picked itself from the depths of degradation and is now scaling the heights of nobility and dignity.

Let it keep on the road and attain the heights.

