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National Inaugural Conference [Miami, Fla.]. 24 February 1952.

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FREELAND & CHERTOK COURT REPORTERS 817-19 SEYBOLD BLDG. MIAMI, FLA. PHONE: 82-0013 UNITED JEWISH APPEAL NATIONAL INAUGURAL CONFERENCE SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1952

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12:30 P. M.

AT THE SAXONY

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

MR. E. M. M. WARBURG: Ladies and gentlemen, I think this is a thrilling sight from where I stand right now. On a day such as this, here in this vacation spot, it is pretty exciting to realize how many people will give up their pleasures because their first interest above anything else is to make sure that their communal responsibilities are met.

I want to thank the hotel for having been so helpful in expediting the meeting. While the ice-cream is not on the table I am sure none of us are starving.

I cannot stand up in front of you here without the sense of the eyes coming across the Atlantic into this room. Here we are, the responsible leadership of the American-Jewish community, assembled to set the standards and to give the answer to they who ask, not in pleading, not with any sense of begging, but simply to ask, "Do you care?"

As Americans all of us must realize, I think, that what we do here today is an extension and a confirmation of the basic principle of our American foreign policy, namely, that where democracy exists we must strengthen it; and particularly at that crossroad of three continents, at that show window of the west towards the east is the State of Israel. [Applause]

I think that all of us are adult enough to understand that there are other than just the dramatics of the situation which we face today. I, as Chairman, will make my remarks very

brief and my introductions very brief because I do not think any of us are exactly strangers to you here today. In the work that we had been doing, if it can be said of anyone that he has done most, it can so be said of the man upon whom I am now going to call, our executive vice president, Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz. [Applause]

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DR. JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ: Mr. Chairman, Eddie Cantor, Ladies and Gentlemen: In the few brief moments that I have at my disposal, I am going to indicate to you the significance of this Nineteen Fifty-Two United Jewish Appeal Campaign which we are launching here today.

This is the culmination of a series of meetings that has been taking place in Florida. This is the fourth and by far the largest of the meetings that we have had. We want to keep you here as little time as possible and get down to the essential business of the meeting. So, all that I will try to do is briefly indicate to you some of the problems that confront us in 1952 and what we can and must do about them.

All of us are aware of the fact that Israel has been passing through an economic crisis of major proportions. This economic crisis is traceable to a number of cases, the first of which is the fact that in the last three and a half years since the establishment of the State of Israel more than seven hundred thousand people from all over the world have streamed

into this new, infant country.

The people came from Shanghai and from Yemen; from Brussels and from Bucharest; from Casablanca and from Khurdistan; and those seven hundred thousand people have imposed a terrific burden upon this new state.

There is always a lag between the arrival of the immigrants and the time that they become productive and selfsustaining. In addition to this factor of mass immigration there is also another factor which many of us frequently forget and that is the fact that Israel is still at war; that up to the present time no treaty of peace has been signed with any of the neighboring Arab nations; and that this imposes upon Israel the necessity of being armed, of maintaining a large army. It means the withdrawal of young men and women from productive work within the country. This army must be fed and clothed and housed; but, even more, this army must be equipped so that it can effectively protect the exposed borders of the State of Israel.

This is a terrific burden to place upon a young state which is struggling to develop its resources and to put itself on a basis of self-support. And, as if those two factors were not enough, Israel has had to confront this year two natural disasters, one of drought and one of floods, which have further cut down the available food supply in the country.

As a result of all of these factors certain things are taking place in Israel. Shortages of all kinds are evident everywhere. First, there is the shortage of food, which affects the morale and the working efficiency of the population of Israel; and, what is even more important, it seems to me, is that if this shortage of food is permitted to continue it will threaten the health of the child population of Israel, which has always been a source of pride and joy, not only to the Jews in Israel but to Jews the world over.

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There have been other shortages, the most important of which, in addition to that of food, is the shortage of housing. There are, at the present time, some two hundred fifty thousand people living in tin huts and under canvas tents. Think of it. One-sixth of the population of Israel is living under substandard conditions. That, too, takes its toll of the morale and of the efficiency of the people. It is a dangerous situation, dangerous politically and dangerous socially, for so vast a percentage of the people to be living under those substandard conditions.

One way we can deal effectively with these shortages of food and of housing is by supplying Israel with a fund of free dollars with which they can purchase the necessary supplies and the necessary food on the world market because, under present circumstances, you cannot purchase on the world market

with Israeli pounds or with any other so-called "soft currency." Dollars are required, and only the supply of dollars coming from the United States will make it possible for Israel to bridge this gap until such time as the people of Israel become productive and self-supporting.

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In the midst of all this, in the midst of all these shortages and emergencies Israel is confronted even today with a continuing flow of immigration which is coming in from Europe--eastern Europe, in particular--and from the Moslem countries.

In 1951, one hundred seventy-five thousand new immigrants arrived in Israel and, while the rate of immigration in recent months has slowed down, if we look at the situation of the world today we realize that we may be confronted again with the necessity of evacuating whole communities, which will place an additional burden upon the people of Israel.

Certainly, all of us in this room are convinced, just as I am certain that the Jews of America are convinced, that as long as it is possible to save Jews from Roumania and from Hungary and from Poland and from any part of eastern Europe, those gates of rescue must be kept open and every Jew that can be brought out of eastern Europe must be brought out while the opportunity still presents itself to us.

Nobody knows when the curtain will go down with a

finality that will be deathlike, but as long as the Roumanian government still permits Jews to emigrate we want to see to it that every Jew that can be rescued is rescued; that every Jew who has an opportunity to escape into an area of safety, where he can establish himself and his family in conditions of security, is given the means to do so.

And so, in 1952, so far as eastern Europe is concerned, we are still engaged in the work of rescue, of saving human lives-human lives that have no other hope and no other prospect except emigration to the State of Israel.

As we consider the state of conditions in the Moslem world and as we see the growing tensions from Morocco to Tunisia, from Iran to Egypt, we see the development of fanatical nationalism all through the Moslem world, which threatens every minority but which vents its fury in particular upon the Jewish minority of those countries. Then we begin to realize that the Jewish populations of those countries are living on a volcano and that we may be faced with the necessity--may God forbid it--of evacuating some of those communities in panic and in haste, just as we had to evacuate the entire Jewish community of Yemen and later of Iraq; and we must stand prepared, we together with the people of Israel must stand prepared for any emergency, including this emergency of having to deal with another mass evacuation of a community in some part of the Moslem world.

Let me say just one other thing in conclusion, and that is pointing up to the importance of the work that we are doing in the United Jewish Appeal as Americans. Somebody has said that in 1951 the Jews of America acquired a new and powerful partner. That partner is the Government of the United States. For the first time since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1951 the Government of the United States voted a grant-in-aid to the Government of Israel in the sum of \$65,000,000; and as one who testified before the House Foreign Affairs Committee when this grant-in-aid was under consideration, I can tell you that the thing that made a great impression upon the members of this committee was the fact that the Jews of the United States had stood and were standing solidly behind the people of Israel; that we did not come to the Government of the United States before we had done our duty to the full; and that only when we realized that voluntary contributions, generous as they were, were not sufficient to deal with these great human problems which were confronting the State of Israel did we come to the Government of the United States and ask them for help.

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The fact that the Jews of the United States, through the United Jewish Appeal, contributed some seven hundred million dollars in order to save a people and in order to build a land, made a lasting impression upon the members of the committee and influenced it in its favorable action. That, and the fact that the members of the committee realized that Israel is the only democracy in that part of the world, that Israel is the only people that stand solidly for democratic ideals in the Near and Middle East and, therefore, what we do today is of double significance. It is important not only for the money which we contribute ourselves, but it is also important in that the Congress of the United States, in considering the budget for 1952, will again be called upon to consider another grant-in-aid to the State of Israel.

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The President has included it in his budget, and in the Appropriation Bill there will be a paragraph dealing with the needs of Israel. What we do today, our demonstration of solidarity with the people of Israel, will have a tremendous influence upon the Congress of the United States in bringing about favorable action on this proposal.

So, I say to you, my friends, the significance of the campaign of 1952 is that we are going to help Israel over this hump. We are going to make it possible for the people of Israel to be decently fed and housed until such time as they can supply them with all of the necessities of life. We are going to make it possible to save and to rescue the thousands of Jews living in fear and in distress who must still be rescued in 1952; and we are going to show to the Congress of the United States and to the people of America that we stand

solidly behind the State of Israel and that we as Americans support this State because it is doing a great humanitarian work and also because it is fostering the spread of democracy in a part of the world where democracy is unknown. 9

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That is what makes the campaign of 1952 fully as important as the campaign of 1948. This is Israel fighting its second war, the war of economic independence, and we can strike a mighty blow on behalf of the State of Israel, on behalf of the democratic ideals in which we are all interested, by lending our wholehearted support to this effort and by telling the people in Israel and in the world at large that we are standing behind the people of Israel in this their period of difficulty and that we are going to help them see it through to the best of our ability. [Applause]

MR WARP I have here a cable that was just received from Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion:

"Please convey my sincere greetings to all United Jewish Appeal tireless workers and generous givers assembled at the great National Inaugural Conference in Miami Beach. History will never forget the magnanimity of the Jews of America which help new-born Israel overcome the onslaught of foes, gain recognition and friends, and give succor to hundreds and thousands of fellow Jews in search of home, safety, and independence.

"All over Israel, cities, towns, villages, fields, factories, and the very desert felt the healthy influence, the constructive help of that noble instrumentality called U. J. A.

"From establishment of State to end of 1951 Israel received six hundred and eighty-four thousand two hundred seventy-five immigrants; increased population one hundred twenty per cent in three years and seven months; augmented agriculture and industry and gained national stature.

"Messianic hope of ingathering of dispersions in process of fulfilment. Israel's very growth, however, is beset with grave and dangerous problems which young State alone cannot master without continuous selfless cooperation of Jewish men and women the world over.

"This very moment Israel Government introduced measure combatting inflation, increasing productiveness, imposing stern austerity, in order overcome accumulated difficulties caused by building up an imperative defense force and absorption of newcomers and by laying foundation of future economic independence.

"People of Israel will cheerfully bear heavier burdens knowing that they are not alone in fulfilling the task which Providence imposed upon our present generation. Blessed you be, leaders and workers of United Jewish Appeal, and let us carry to success the perhaps greatest and most constructive

enterprise of our people in its long history." Signed David Ben-Gurion. [Applause]

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that in our time we have come to realize that those who are capable of loving are loved and all of us strive to carry that ability beyond the normal confines of just family into the greater scene of the family of humanity.

On that basis, I do not think there is anyone who can challenge the next speaker's right as the champion of all who welcome a bit of love and understanding. With nothing more than that I present to you Eddie Cantor. [Applause]

MR. EDDIE CANTOR: Thank you very much, Eddie.

Honored Guests, Fellow-Americans, Fellow-Jews: These have been very exciting days for me--very exciting. Last Monday I became a grandfather to a grandson. Finally I got a boy in my family--even though by remote control [applause and laughter].

Everybody is laughing. You are laughing. I got hysterical. I said to Ida, "Now they are starting this stuff."

Then, about three weeks ago I became a member of the firm of Welch's Wine, which, if this was not so important---Well, I will talk about the United Jewish Appeal. I want to tell you, we will forget the whole thing about Welch's.

Several weeks ago they announced at Warner Brothers that beginning on April 1 they were going to screen my life

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story. [Applause]

Then, three weeks ago I had one of the great thrills of my young life. When I reached the age of sixty they gave me a birthday party in New York, which many of you attended, where the good people of New York and elsewhere paid two million six hundred thirty-three thousand dollars to come in and break bread with me. It was a very, very exciting night. One of the biggest laughs I got that evening was going up in the elevator. I saw a man and his wife pushing into the elevator and the fellow said to his wife, "Honey, imagine, we are spending two thousand dollars apiece to have dinner with Eddie Cantor."

She said, "Well, Herman, it just shows, it's getting more expensive to eat out these days." [Laughter]

At the party itself we had some fun. Vice president Barkley made one of the greatest speeches of his life, as he usually does, and our ex-Ambassador to Israel, James G. Mc-Donald, spoke. Jack Benny and Rochester were cut in from Hollywood. Bing Crosby sang "Ida" to Ida, and there was Dinah Shore, and it was very nice.

I could not help but think what a wonderful night it would have been for my grandmother. So much food; a big birthday cake--different from the basement on Henry Street, from the dilapidated tenement where we lived and where my grandmother was so busy eking out an existence for us both that she could not give me the time for the day to day care children expect from their elders.

My grandmother had a favorite expression. Every time I did something that was worthy, every time I did something good, she said only three words, "Goot, mine kindt." She did not say it very often.

I remember her saying it the first time she met Ida. I brought Ida to the house and when Ida went out she just gave me one of those Jewish looks of approval, "Goot, mine kindt."

The first time I brought home my salary--seventy-five dollars--from Gus Edwards, she said, "Goot, mine kindt."

That night at the Commodore Hotel, with all the speeches and all the telegrams and things and with all the noise I just listened for a moment and again I heard "Goot, mine kindt."

I could not help but think of my grandmother that night for the kindness, for the goodness of her heart and her soul, and I remembered how she saved for my bar mitzva--oh, how she saved. And, came the morning when I had to go to shool to make the speech which the rabbi had taught me--and which I promptly tore up, and I ad-libbed the whole thing--she gave me the inevitable gold watch. You remember those big ones they used to give the kids. It was a watch like this [indicating]; and it should have been a happy occasion for me, going

to shool on my bar mitzva; but then tragedy befell me. I never accused the shammos of stealing my watch, but by a coincidence after that he knew the time before anyone. [Laughter]

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A few years later he quit the business of being shammos--there is not much money in it--and he became a member of my own profession. It was only two years ago that he returned the watch to me and for that I shall always remain grateful to George E. Jessel. [Laughter]

That is a lie. It was not Jessel; it was Jack Benny. We reminisced that night about the early days in show business. Will Rogers once said that they never give a man a dinner until he can afford one. I spoke about the early days because only a few blocks away from the Commodore Hotel was a place called Hammerstein's Victoria, which some of you oldtimers must remember, on 42nd Street and Broadway, where we started with Gus Edwards' Kid Cabaret, George E. Jessel and Georgie Price, a girl by the name of Lila Lee (we called her cuddles in those days), and a young song and dance man, not too good, by the name of Walter Winchell, who now plays golf at the Roney Plaza. I can go back a long time to those days. I can recall Jessel in those days and I can remember when he hated girls. Now he is a big producer and the most married man we have in the whole business. He is going to take the plunge for the fifth time in June. Jessel is the only man in

Hollywood who walks around with a marriage license made out in his name and to whom it may concern. [Laughter]

He told me several weeks ago that on June 15 he is going to take the plunge again and this time, he said, "I'm not marrying one of these young kids. I'm marrying somebody a little bit more mature." I hope George E. Jessel and Sophie Tucker will be very happy. [Laughter]

You know, I can recall an act on the bill with us at Hammerstein's when we opened -- four young fellows, very funny. They called themselves The Marx Brothers--Groucho, Harpo, Zeppo and Vay is Mihr, how they carried on. Little did we think then that Groucho would become one of the great wits of this country. We are all proud of him. To show you how his mind works, the summer before last he was driving an automobile down Santa Monica Boulevard. It was a very hot day. His wife said, "Groucho, why don't we join a beach club. The kids could swim all summer and it would be very nice."

He says, "That is a good idea," and he went into a certain beach club which shall remain anonymous--although I do not know why it should. There are a lot of good lawyers in the U. J. A. and they can get me out of trouble. The name of the club was the Bellaire Bay Club.

He walked in and the minute the clerk saw him he turned white and sent for the manager. The manager came and

looked at him and said, "Sir, I do not know if you are aware of the fact, but we have a very restricted clientele here."

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Groucho said, "Look, I'm Jewish, but my wife is not Jewish and that makes my kids half-Jewish. Couldn't they go into the water up to their knees?" [Laughter]

We talked about show business a long time that night and I would like to talk some more about it here but we have more important things about which to talk. My friends, I am going to do something this afternoon which I have not done in twenty-five years. I believe that every word of what I have to say is so important that I do not want to miss a word or a syllable. It is something that I want you to take home with you. It is something that I want you to talk about to the people in your community--it is that important,

I read, the day before yesterday in a Miami newspaper, this important statement and I want to quote it:

"What astounds one in Israel is that the spirit is like the American spirit. There is imagination to accomplish great projects and no fear of undertaking them."

Do you know who the author of that statement is? She is one of the great woman of the world, one of the greatest friends the Jews have--Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt. [Applause]

Only last week she was in Israel, and if you read her

column "My Day" you will know that on Friday she dispatched a thrilling story of how Israel is turning its fifty thousand Jews rescued from backward Yemen into modern, able citizens of a democracy.

The Yemenites of whom she writes are the very people who you, just two years ago, brought out of Yemen in Operation "Magic Carpet." What a thrill that was. What a wonderful thing to know that the money you gave and the money you raised rescued these people.

I do not want to talk about Operation "Magic Carpet" because that is a story well-known to all of you. You know it as well as I do. You were a part of it. You created it.

I simply want to say that in a few brief words Mrs. Roosevelt has summed up the really important thing about this meeting, the thing that brings us here to Miami Beach this day. This is a group that places the highest value on what she calls "the American spirit." This is a group that believes in "the American spirit" and all it stands for: Imagination to do great things, freedom and dignity for people, a chance for men to work and to build decent lives for themselves and their families.

It was "the American spirit" that brought your folks and my folks to this country, fleeing the horrors and oppressions of the old country. You and I know that what we are doing through the United Jewish Appeal is making available to hundreds of thousands--to millions--of Jews in danger something of the same chance that our folks had or that we had.

We believe in "the Israel spirit" because it is so very like "the American spirit," and we believe in the United States and in Israel because these are countries dedicated to the idea that what counts more than anything else is people, and that the wealth, health, and strength of a nation is in its people-all its people.

If a high official of our government, the United States of America, if a person whose judgment and experience you respected were to tell you that this country of ours is in danger and told you what you must do about it, I know what your answer would be. You would do the job that had to be done as true Americans have always done.

Well, at this moment the American spirit is in danger, real danger, in Israel. You have heard some of the facts from Eddie Warburg and Dr. Schwartz, people in whose every word you have faith and whose every word you respect.

Ambassador Eban, I am sure, will have more to say about this.

Seven hundred thousand people--remember that; never forget it for one moment--have come into Israel in four years. A tiny state is trying to build a new democracy, rebuild a

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land neglected for thousands of years, build homes, feed everyone, find work for everyone, maintain an army to guard her borders, as Dr. Schwartz has told you, and to do all of the things in a few shorts years that took years to achieve even in a vast, rich, country like our own.

I was in Houston the other day and a wealthy woman, said to me, "Cantor, what are they doing in Israel? Look what is happening now."

I said, "I would like to go into the library of your home and pick up a book on American history and show you what this great country of ours was when it was three years old. We are expecting miracles without helping the miracles to come. This is a very, very young country and we will build it." 7

You never saw such a spirit. I told Eddie Warburg and Jack Weiler a few weeks ago that I saw these men, sixty, sixty-five, stripped to the waist in the hot sun, building roads. They want to work. They do not want charity. They want you to help them get the implements, the machinery, and the factories, and they want the one thing which they have not had for years--they want a roof over their heads.

That is what we have got to do. We have to do it. Dr. Schwartz said that Israel is now fighting its second war of independence, its war for economic independence, and he is right. The other day Dr. Dov Joseph, Israel's Minister of Commerce, put it another way. He said, "We can say that we have won our war of liberation only when we have solved our economic problems."

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Everyone in this room knows that Israel is suffering terribly from shortages. I wonder if you are aware that at this moment the people of Israel who are sharing what they have with all those who have come in are rationed to a quarter of a pound of meat a week--just about enough for a hamburger sandwich. That is their meat ration for a week.

When somebody stood up in the Knesseth and said, "Maybe we ought to cut down on immigration for a while, until we get on our feet," you should have heard the hue and cry of the populace. They said, "Don't you dare. The only reason for our being is because we can bring in all these people who have to be rescued or they will die. Take away our quarter of a pound of meat. Take away the milk from the babies. We will live without that, but you cannot close the doors of Israel."

Oh, this is the spirit. You should see the Jews in Israel. They are the kind of Jews we think we are.

I wonder if you know that in February the Minister of Commerce, Dr. Dov Joseph, announced that the people could expect a total of sixteen eggs during the month, and he called that good news because there had been months when it had been far less. Remember that you and I use up those eggs in about

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a week.

I wonder if you know that no coffee ration was issued in January; that margarine and oil rations which the people were to have received in January were not available for everybody; that the January flour ration was distributed in February. The vegetable situation is bad. The fish situation is poor. You know how Israel has been living on fish.

Perhaps the best way I can bring this home to you is to tell you a true story, a story that happened in Israel less than ten days ago.

In a children's home a full glass of milk was given to one of the children, a child who needed that milk because the doctor had found her too far below standard. The child held the glass in her hand--a full glass, mind you--and asked the person who gave it to her, "How far down can I drink?"

Imagine that, ladies and gentlemen, "How far down can I drink?" The child needed that milk but knew instinctively that it was her duty, her responsibility to share what there was with others. "How far down can I drink?" Only you, ladies and gentlemen in this room, can supply the answer.

Now, I want to say something else in closing. You have been warned of Israel's acute danger by her best friends; but, if by any chance--any chance at all--you are still skeptical, let me tell you this: The people of Israel are

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counting on you but Israel's enemies are also counting on you, only they are counting on you to fail. Do you know, are you aware, what the Syrian delegate to the United Nations recently declared before the United Nations Assembly in Paris? His words should strike a chill into your heart as it did into mine. I still cannot get over it. His words keep ringing in my ears.

He stated that his country--and that goes for all the Arabs--was not going to take up actual arms against Israel again. Goot, huh?

Instead, he declared that they would stand by and watch Israel go down under the weight of its present economic burdens. He was certain that American Jews would lose interest in Israel. He emphasized that. He said that American Jews could no longer be counted on to give Israel the vast financial help she requires.

"By 1952," he said, "Israel will be through, finished--no more Israel."

Will it, ladies and gentlemen? Yes, if you are all through, then Israel is through; but I do not believe it. We were not through in spite of Hitler. We were not through in 1948 and, with the help of God Almighty, we will not be through now. [Applause]

It is too easy to go on talking. You have heard

these speeches time and time and time again. There is nothing new that we can tell you but this you do know: You have got to live with yourselves. I would hate like hell to be anyone of you and go to sleep at night and know that because of something you did not do some Jews died in Roumania or in Hungary or in some place else from where they might have been rescued. Mr. William Rosenwald: Eddie Warburg had to leave to make a plane, but before he left he asked me to tell you how terribly much we appreciate not only your attendance but, much more important, your really thrilling response to our appeal here this afternoon. It has really set the campaign off to the kind of start, and that is the only thing that makes it possible for us to carry on this year on an even better scale than we have in the past, and I want to join Eddie in thanking you for it.

You've heard from Joe and from Jack something about what we are doing for Israel, but there is another side to the coin there are many things that Israel does to help us. There is one that I particularly have in mind that helps us right here in this country. It is really wonderful how, in the United Nations, surrounded by trained professional diplomats, with people with generations of tradition in foreign affairs behind them, the new State of Israel has shown to the world that, and has been true down through the ages, the Jews are capable of continuing to show leadership in the fields of ethical conduct and the representative in the United Nations in the State of Israel is our next speaker.

I have it on the authority of the Saturday Evening Post last October that that isn't his only job. He has three jobs, any one of which would be a full time job to tax the average able person. His second full time job is the most important diplomatic post that Israel has - Ambassador to Washington. I think it is miraculous that anybody under that double burden could keep his charming way and his cheerful disposition, but this man manages to do it, and his third full time job is, in some respects, the most arduous of all, because it involves so much traveling, and so much personal activity. It is the job for being the spokesman for the State of Israel to the Jewish communities of America, that are so splendidly represented here today, and it is in that capacity, perhaps, that we have best come to know him and admire him and to love the Honorable Aubrey Eban.

ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE AUBREY EBAN

Mr. Eban: Mr. Rosenwald, friends: The figures which have been proclaimed here have an eloquence more incisive than any that I can muster this Sunday afternoon.

It is a sort of comfort and relief for me to participate once again in this familiar and festive occasion. The southward migration of American Jewry to the Caribbean coasts in the winter months continue to arouse the interest of and the wonder of all students of nature and society.

Th e process is marked by a degree of clock-work regularity almost without parallel in human affairs. All things change. This alone is constant.

Thus, the United Jewish Appeal, with a fine sense of strategy, has woven itself, year by year, into the really permanent and abiding elements of Jewish life and has, therefore, rightly prospered.

In Miami, every year, Israel glides toward redemption along the paths of sun tan oil.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Miami scene in February is rich with ease and gentle humor, and there is no reason why we should not let the sun and air intrude into the stern austerities of our common path. Yet, there is a solemnity about this occasion.

The issue is full of gravity and importance, for this reunion year by year marks the annual renewal of one of the most inspiring processes of human generosity and insight.

The affairs and routine of the United Jewish Appeal have / become so familiar that we sometimes tend to underestimate their statures. Here we have a task of financial mobilization, of refugee relief, of State building, carried on year by year within the auspices of the United Jewish Appeal on a scale and dimension which are usually achieved, if at all, only under the statutory compulsions of governmental authority.

I have actually seen the governments of sixty nations, with full power of control, authority and taxation over their countries, grapple with problems of refugees and the resultant political tensions and achieve results less impressive than those which flow from the voluntary effort of the United Jewish Appeal.

This help of yours is dictated by no law. It comes from no treaty and no obligation. It springs in perfect love and free-

dom from sentiment and tradition, and a generous resolve to serve the Jewish future in a spirit of common solidarity.

The Government of Israel, deeply moved by the wide ambition, the vast scope and the fruitful results of the United Jewish Appeal in its constant performance, year by year, in times of triumph and adversity, send me here to express their profound appreciation of what the United Jewish Appeal signifies for Israel's welfare for Jewish pride, for Middle Eastern democracy, for universal ideals, social justice, and international peace. Do not believe any allusion which would tell you that the United Jewish Appeal has lost anything of its special importance. It is true that other enterprises designed to mobilize foreign currency for Israel have been initiated, but these enterprises supplement the United Jewish Appeal. They do not replace it. Nothing can detract from your organization's unique part in having been first in the field for the mobilization of total Jewish aid for Israel's rehabilitation, and for Jewish rescue. 1

Let me speak to you, in all candor, of the frictions and the dislocations which have been inevitably engendered by a widening scope of Israel's financial activity.

The great burdens accumulated through three years of unrestricted immigration have given our country an unusual burden of import needs,

This was evident to us two years ago that the revenues

of the United Jewish Appeal, despite their constancy and indispensability, did not constitute a sufficient income to close the widening gap in our balance of international payments. Moreover, while surviving for the present, we had to be concerned to build for the future, and in addition, to subsistence funds for the transportation of immigrants, and for their initial maintenance during the period of transition between their arrival and their productive integration. It was necessary to establish industrial and agricultural enterprises which would assure that we might, one day, live in a world where we would no longer be dependent to so high a measure on external sources of monetary aid.

It was for this reason that the bond issue was promoted with results so far without any precedent in the fiscal history of foreign governments operating in the United States. It was for this reason that in March of last year the Government of Israel applied to the Government of the United States in the name of the common ideals and principles which animate our democracy for inclusion in the aid program whereby your country extended assistance to friendly and allied powers abroad. You all know of the results which have attended that effort. The legislation of the Congress in the current fiscal year coming at a crucial and decisive period in our financial and economic crisis, enabled us to close a gap which, without that aid, would have met with fatal results to our economic stability, our political integrity and our credit system.

Last month, a few weeks after the final vote of the Congress, negotiation in Washington secured the release of the first \$25,000,000.00 of that appropriation. Within the next few days the final phases of negotiations carried out in Israel should liberate the remaining \$40,000,000.00 appropriated by the Congress last year. Already, we have been engaged in active efforts to secure the continuation and, if possible, the expansion of this program in the year ahead, and the echoes and responses which have reached our ears, so far, indicate that the labors are meeting with sympathy and with success.

This business of Israel's inclusion in the aid programs of the United States constituted a crucial test of the real substance and quality of the American-Israel relationship.

The Congress, by its vote, and the Department of State, by its implementation of that vote, have made it clear that Israel's consolidation is a serious objective of American policy in the Near East and in the world. But, the objectives which you have secured for so long by voluntary effort, of working toward Israel's economic consolidation, have now become the official policy of the Government and people of the United States.

Never was the complete identity of purpose between American Jewish objectives and the wider aim of the American community more vividly or more practically illustrated.

Now, the efforts which these new enterprises have cast

upon the Jewish community have created complications far beyond those which were known before, when the United Jewish Appeal represented the sole avenue of active and organized Jewish support for Israel's economic consolidation. The sum of these difficulties, and especially those that arise in the organization of the United Jewish Appeal, and the bonds campaign, spring from the very nature of a dual task. Some arise from the laws of competetive operation and some, unfortunately, from the imperfections of human nature. I can only ask you to bear patiently with these complexities, to endure with the utmost forbearance these frictions to which they give rise. Nothing whatever can erase the central and fundamental fact that the United Jewish Appeal and the bond loan together create larger resources than either of them could create alone. We cannot escape from the inexorable logic of that situation, and thus the duality, with its consequent complexities. which reside in the very essence of our economic problem.

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While we strive to mitigate the complexities, we will ask you to bear with patience such frictions as must inevitably remain.

It was my privilege to be with you last year when the results achieved at this meeting failed the prayers and apprehensions of those that believed that the United Jewish Appeal was destined for a period of decline.

The message which went out from this room on that occa-

sion galvanized the latent energies of the Jewish communities of the United States in all the cities of its dispersion, and created a momentum of success which carried the United Jewish Appeal forward toward the triumph it was later to achieve. All that I wish to do this afternoon is to summarize some of the changes which supervened upon our horizon since that time.

Returning in recent weeks from Israel and then from Paris, I have had occasion to contemplate at close hand the more recent developments both in our local domestic scene and in our international position. The chief impression which I bring with me from the latest round of our obdurate struggle with our neighboring world is that Israel still lives in a world of regional tension, isolated from all intercourse with its neighbors, and this region which is hostile toward Israel is not in any static or passive state. The Middle East - the Arab world, the Moslem world, are allied, seething with effervescence, making claims against the remaining positions of the Western Powers, endeavoring, with tremendous revolutionary violence, to increase the scope and area of their independence, accentuating all their differences with those elements which they consider alien to their purpose. and thus there stretches out one and a half million square miles. occupied by 60,000,000 people, whose official policies are conceived in a spirit of vengeance and hostility, toward the new State which has arisen in their midst within the Middle East.

The maintenance of this hostility in this period of rising regional tension imposes on the people of Israel and its supporters everywhere the duty of unremitting vigilance, especially these coming days during which the Western Powers actively seek. a solution of the Egyptian problem, makes that vigilance imperative.

Israel's only hope regarding the conflicts which convulse our area is that they may be settled by the methods of specific negotiation and international conciliation. We cannot, however, be a disinterested party in the affairs so close to our doorstep, and as the Western Powers embark upon a political effort in settling the crises which is vital to their security, we are called upon to emphasize our own concern. Our own concern is that the Western Powers, which are our friends, while taking all prudent measures to resolve their conflict in the Suez area, should not recognize, should not strengthen, and above all, should not rearm leagues or pacts which are essentially hostile to Israel in their nature and in in their origin.

We are certain that there is no deliberate intention to subordinate Israel's vital interests to the exigencies of these political considerations. Yet, lest inadvertence or lack of prudence should involve that prejudice to our country's interest by strengthening the nations hostile to its existence, we are called upon at every stage to protect our interests, our concerns and our rights.

For this crisis in our relation with the Arab world is now a direct consequence of our economic tension. The Arab peoples no longer hope to overthrow us on the field of battle. Neither will it be easy for them to repeat the efforts, nor, if they were repeated, would there be any change in the outcome recorded four years ago. And if there exist any threats to our physical security, then that threat resides in the economic crises which, if they persist in their course uninterrupted, must have a weakening effect upon our defensive capacity.

Similarly, the hostile forces which surround us cannot hope to reverse our victories in the acquisition of international recognition, unless our economic position would decline and thus bring about a corresponding weakening of our international status.

Remove these threats, remove the prospect of Israel's economic collapse, and you abolish the last barrier between Arab policy and a realistic spirit of reconciliation with us. Thus, what we do in the United Jewish Appeal and in kindred and associated efforts is not directed solely to the economic problem in its narrow and specific sense. It will affect the destiny of Israel along the entire range of our national destiny. Let us but succeed and we shall consolidate our political status and our military defense. Buttress our international position and create a material culture congenial to the development of spiritual and cul-

33.

tural achievements in the image of our past tradition. That, and nothing less, is the scope and the circumference of the great task upon which you are engaged. 34

Turning from the political scene to Israel's domestic pattern at the present time, I would like to refer to three features of Israel's life which impress themselves upon us with positive effect across the passage of a single year. Three things have happened or, at least, have been brought into conspicuous relief within the last twelve or fifteen months. Each of them carries with it the augury of light appearing across the dark and somber horizon.

The first is the unsuspected discovery of natural resources that indicate that the soil of our country was less meagerly endowed with potential sources of wealth than we had cause to imagine. A purely preliminary and superficial survey of the country's resources have already uncovered large deposits of phosphate in the northern Negev. Estimates, today, have indicated a minimal level of 100,000,000 tons, and with at least a probably range of 500,000,000 tons. Phosphates constitute a commodity in world shortage. The current market price of phosphate, as a raw material, for export, is in the neighborhood of \$15.00 a ton. Therefore, if we are successful in overcoming the difficulties of processing and of transportation and of liberating these resources for the export trade, and if we succeed in exporting only 2,000,000 tons ayear in the next fifty years, then that

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signifies an annual direct income of \$30,000,000.00 a year through this single item of recently discovered natural resources.

In the south of the Negeve, deposits, less known and less explored but nevertheless encouraging on first contemplation, of manganese, kaolin and of copper indicate that in that part of the country, too, there are sources of export trade which might augur for us a happier and brighter future. And at any rate, these discoveries, even in their initial phase, indicate the rightness of that blind instinct which caused us to fight with such tenacity for the Negev, north and south, both on the field of battle against converging attacks, and at the international coucil tables where policies for separating this area from Is rael were developed on a large and intensive scale.

The second development which strikes any visitor to Israel across the passage of a single year, is the enormous and revolutionary increase in the country's capital apparatus, the capital investments of the last two or three years made possible because the United Jewish Appeal took care of so large a sector of our subsistent needs, and which begins to reflect itself upon the industrial landscape of the country.

A man who stands within the Kaiser-Frazier work at Haifa, in the Jerusalem Shoe Factory near the capitol, in the Philco refrigerator assembly plant near Tel-Aviv, in the chemical and fertilizer operations in the Haifa Bay, in the steel rolling mills to the north of Haifa, sees before him enterprises, plants and apparatus of a scope, of an imagination and of a potential productive capacity going far beyond our dreams and hopes as to Israel's industry but a year or two ago.

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It is true that not each one of these concerns has overcome its fiscal and financial problems, but taken together, these enterprises which are merely the most spectacular element in a general policy of industrial mechanization prove that the potential of production in the State of Israel has moved forward with gigantic leaps within the passage of but a few spasmodic months.

I would like, at this stage, to pay tribute to all those firms and individuals who have shown a spirit of faith in Israel's industrial future by entering the field of private investment, a field of assistance in no degree less vital or decisive than the collective assistance rendered through the United Jewish Appeal and through other avenues of communal assistance.

The third and most encouraging feature of Israel lies in the development of latent resources of our manpower. How wrongly and how unjustly did we entertain the annoying doubts as to the human quality of our immigrants who raised themselves to the stature of the historic event of which they were the chief participants. How often we feared their educational backwardness, their social depression, their general technological backwardness.

Yet, when these immigrants are brought face to face with Israel's industrial tasks and were endowed with functions of a technological and mechanical capacity far beyond any experience of theirs in the past, they rose fully to the occasion.

37.

In many industrial enterprises, you find bodies of workers constituted from new immigrants preponderantly from eastern countries - from Iraq, from Yemen and from North Africa, who, in their previous phases of existence, had scarcely set sight upon a mechanical tool, combining together and creating averages of production which already, in the first year, amount sometimes to 75 or 80 per cent of American standards of efficiency and productivity.

Let us, therefore, not give any ear to those who would deprecate or underestimate the latent capacities of our new immigrants.

It is true that they come from backgrounds which fall below the best level of modern educational and scientific progress, but the inspiration, the ecstasy, the exhaltation, the suddenly recaptured freedom by them makes them, and still more their children, the mature and proud citizens of a free society. The progress already recorded in industry is fully matched by similar progress in agriculture which has more than doubled food production, but this result has carried out on a longer period of years during which the population has more than doubled; this impressive increase in absolute terms cannot yet reflect itself in any rise of the standard of living in this crucial respect.

Having drawn attention to these beams of light which illuminate our horizon with the hope of eventual economic independence, let me enter a note of heavy restraint and prudent caution. Not one of these symptoms, important and promising as uasen they are, can possibly emphasize a substantial effect upon Israel's balance of payment in the year 1952. It is doubtful if the initial processes required to convert our newly discovered resources into export items can have made substantial progress within so short a time. Although the industrial enterprises to which I have referred are full of promise, they have not yet reached the peak or pinnacle of production, or fully overcome their growing pains. Our immigrant manpower, despite its effort to rise to the occasion of this task, still require training, housing and further processes of social and cultural integration. In drawing attention, then, to these recent features in Israel's development, let us not allow them, for a single moment, to lull us into a premature relaxation of vigilance. All that they do is to show that there is light at the end of the tunnel, but the tunnel is long, and we are still in the midst of it. And the crucial question is whether our people will have the tenacity. the patience, the foresight, the stamina with which to pull with us together for the final and crucial tug. The balance of the

payments remains a dark and threatening phenomenon. It means for the year 1952 greater self denial at home; greater productivity at home, but also an increase of mobilization of resources abroad.

The maintenance of our credit system, the intensification of the flow of capital investments is involved. Having mentioned our credit system, I should like to add one last word in relation to the magnificent results which have been achieved this afternoon. The credit system of a developing community is vital to its life, and it is composed of two elements. The first element is of quantity - a sufficiency of income, and no one can ever complain of the dimension and proportion of your response this afternoon. But the other factor is that of time. It is not only necessary to meet obligations in their proper quantity, but it is necessary, also, to meet the times and limits which are set and, therefore, I would appeal to all those who intend to assist the State of Israel in any measure by any means to understand not only the crucial question of quantity, but also the decisive element of time.

In this year, 1952, the crisis will be the first, and not the second, half of the year. There is no comparison in the intrinsic value of a contribution delivered in the first half or in the second half of the year. The same sum in the first half of the year can mean deliverance. The same thing done in the second half of the year may come too late to rescue us from the collapse of our credit system and of our fiscal enterprises and plans. This is true especially because almost all the other aspects of our financial efforts will fructify only in the second half of the year. Not only the current grant in aid, but also the next grant in aid, when ratified, will be expressed in actual receipts of imports only after many months. Thus, the great balance and the weight of our crises occur at once, and only a proper understanding of the time factor as well as the quantity factor will enable the results yielded this afternoon to have their full effect.

Before we disperse, after this historic meeting, I will only say one final word in summary of the four years during which the State of Israel and the American-Jewish communities have worked together in the practical task of State building. Two questions must arise in your mind - (1) What is this that you have given to us, but also what is it that you have gained? You have given to us the economic aid indispensable for the rescue and rehabilitation of our immigrants. You have given to us political assistance, essential in this world of regional isolation in which we live. Above all, you have given us a sense of support in moments of great solitude, of great tension and of the greatest stress. Yet, I suggest that the balance of advantage is not one-sided. There are many things that you have

gained. You have gained a new appraisal by the world of Jewish qualities, a new opportunity to restore the ancient pride and merit of the Jewish name. Six years ago our people were set upon in the most brutal onslaught ever devised by hatred and rancor of mortal man in a movement utterly lacking in all essence of human compassion. Today, the very German which wreaked its hatred and vengeance upon it - a Germany not fully sovereign, comes before the fully sovereign State of Israel to seek forgiveness and offers to make amends. Whether the gesture is animated by sincere regret or by considerations of the testial convenience, nothing can obliterate the violent transformation which has occurred to our credit in the fate and in the status of our people.

Thus, the great wheel of Jewish history comes full circle today. Seven years after a monstrous conspiracy to destroy our bodies and degrade our souls, we witnessed the failure of both attempts of hostile forces which threatened to extinguish our physical life, but we live, we exist, we survive, we fight and we struggle. These forces attempted to debase the honor and repute of the Jewish name. Instead, we stand upon unexampled pinnacles of pride within the shelter of the first Jewish sovereignty in two thousand years. Surely, all this is significant not only to Israel's fate, but to the freedom, to the security, and to the honor of Jews everywhere.

We have gathered up for us and for the future the rem-

nants of our people left behind by the fires of the Nazi slaughter. We have brought within the scope of freedom and democracy those Jews who dwelt in the squalid cellar and the ghettoes of the Orient and of the East. Did their existence in any part of the world's Jewish communities living in conditions which stop short of freedom and dignity, the infection of that lack of freedom and dignity would have communicated itself to Jews everywhere. We shall strive to make our material and spiritual culture a source of universal Jewish merit. We shall present and express our aspirations on the international scene in such accent and degrees as will not put the Jewish world or traditions to shame. May the vigorous echoes of this afternoon's meeting reverberate through the country and fill the ears of the entire community with the sweet song of Jewish victory and pride.