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"UNITED JEWISH APPEAL" (ORDER NO. #1703)

February 17, 1971

REEL #1 SIDE #1

ALLA RUSINEK & HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
N.Y. UJA LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
FEBRUARY 4, 1971 - PLAZA HOTEL

CHAIRMAN

We have with us today a person who embodies the fundamental reasons for the existence of the United Jewish Appeal - she is Alla Rusinek, since last November a citizen of the State of Israel, and before that a Jew in the Soviet Union. And I want to tell you a little bit about what it meant to her being a Jew in the Soviet Union - she'll tell you more. She was born in Moscow twenty-one years ago - she has known and has fought anti-Semitism during much of her short life - she started by fighting for her right to attend an English hospital - after passing the entrance exams with brilliant marks, she ended up by taking on publicly the whole system which, in which the Soviet Union tries to expunge Jewishness from the minds and the hearts of the Russian Jews - she was among the Russian Jews who bravely spoke out and signed their names to the written protests and appeals which have made the plight of Russian Jewry an issue throughout the world. A growing awareness of her Jewish background and

- 2 -

R. 1/1

CHAIRMAN

~~her~~ her increasing struggle to go to Israel where she could live as a Jew, we say has meant that Mrs. Rusinek was jeered, hounded until she had to give up her job - it meant living on what her sister could give her or whatever parcels came from abroad - it meant finally making the most crucial, crucial decision in her life, she had to decide whether she would leave her husband twelve days after her marriage on the chance that his turn to emigrate would soon come, or perhaps give up forever her opportunity to go to Israel and freedom. Mrs. Rusinek is now living with an aunt in Jerusalem and she's studying at the Hebrew University. She is here with us today under the auspices of the American Jewish Conferences on Soviet Jewry and it is a privilege and a pleasure to introduce her all to you - she's now amongst us - let us give us - let us give her a big hand. (applause)

RUSINEK

I'm very pleased to speak to you today on behalf of my friends, of my brother, of my family, of my husband - and we were always happy to know that there are some people who are thinking about us

- 3 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

and who are able and are eager to help us. We were born in the Soviet Union a country that doesn't want Jews to remember anything about their culture, about their religion, about their history - but they don't want us to forget that we're Jews, that we're "inferior" to Russian people - so we're living in the atmosphere of anti-Semitism - we want to be loyal - we are taught Communism - we don't know anything else and when we're children we believe - and we want to be useful, it is natural - but we are unwanted - we are second-class citizens - and we're disappointed then in love, in life, in our studies, in our work - we don't want to leave but we have no way out of this situation because we - if you don't know when we're children about the State of Israel. Never, before the year '67, before Six Day War, they never mentioned in their newspapers that Israel was a Jewish State - and I'm sorry to say that until the age of eighteen I never knew that Israel is a Jewish State. - And the same happens to all young people - but now we know it, the Six Day War helped us - they had to mention this fact because they had to mention the

- 4 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

Arab-Jewish conflict, and this was a salvation to us because we knew, too, that we had a home, we have our own people to live together with them and to live for them - and we didn't fail to understand that we must go there, we must struggle for emigration. But, this is not easy, they don't want mass emigration from the Soviet Union, for many reason - they don't want to lose Jews - they don't want to let them out - so we have to struggle and this struggle took place over, for many years - and the younger generation that can't speak Yiddish - they don't know it, they don't know anything about Jewish history, culture, literature, religion, they are the most active part in this struggle because they don't want to live in a strange country - they were born there, really, and they lived there all their short lives in among the strangers, but now they don't want - we study Hebrew, Hebrew is forbidden in the Soviet Union, and we study it (inaudible) - we have some Hebrew textbooks and we get together in small groups and help each other to study Hebrew - we try to find then all the books about Jewish history - they don't publish any book about Jewish history or

- 5 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

literature - they want us to forget everything - but
found
we/waxmk some published before the great Soviet
revolution and we study history - and now we have
our national heroes - we learned about Maccabees,
about ^{Ben Kochba} (name), about ^{Warsaw Ghetto} (name) - for the first time in
our lives, when (inaudible) shows us, we learned
about our heroes. Really, we don't want to be heroes,
we want just to emigrate, but they want us to be-
come heroes, they want us to struggle - and we're
ready to struggle - we applied for visas - they
refused us - we write letters to the members of the
government - can you imagine what it means to write
a letter, a letter to the members of the government
and (inaudible) this means the Zionist conspiracy.
We come to the synagogue, we ~~are~~ are not religious,
because ^{we never knew about} (inaudible) ^{before} synagogue reform, and now we
come to the synagogue because it is the only place
in Moscow which has some Jewish meaning, and we
come there, thousands of young people, from ten
thousand to seven thousand come to a narrow street to
express their Jewishness, to see each other, to sing,
to dance - nobody teaches us Israel songs or Israel
dancing but we know Horah and we know some songs

- 6 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

because every day we listen to Kol Israel, Kol Israel
is our life for us, and we sing this song of (inaudible),
we see each other and we say, ^{אנחנו יחד} (in Hebrew) and we go
home and we are followed by OGPU men to our houses--
then we're called to OGPU, they try to threaten us,
to frighten us - but once we heard about Israel
and once we felt that we're no more orphans* we are
not afraid of them--Then, they search our houses,
theyc onfiscate Hebrew textbooks, books about Israel,
postcards, letters from Israel, this is considered
to be anti-Soviet Zionist literature, they confiscated
one textbook we have ten more textbooks - they've
taken to prison forty young people, our friends -
we have four thousand more young Jews who will join
our movement now - they can't stop it - they will
never be able to frighten us. We know that we live
in a strange country and you know that in all other
countries would want to take us but we don't want
to go to any other country, nobody of these three
hundred thousand Jews who applied for exit visas now
wants to go to any other country but Israel - we
think that Israel and we feel that Israel needs us.
We don't want to be just a burden for Israel we

- 7 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

want to be Israel citizens, to build Israel, to defend it, to be useful to Israel, this is our hope, this is our dream. I can assure you that Jews in the Soviet Union will never be intimidated or suppressed - and they began their great, historical struggle. But you can imagine what it meant to fight against Russia, against a mighty power, that's why we ask for help, we need help - we don't ask for pity, the fighters do not need pity but they need help because they can't struggle with rifles for their rights to emigrate, that's why we need help - and I want to express our gratitude to you that you help us when we are far from our shores, when we have nothing to eat, when we have no money to buy clothes - the moment we feel that we have no money suddenly we've received a parcel from abroad - we don't know who sent it - thank you very much - it helps us - and thank you very much that you give us some money to go to Vienna and to go from Vienna to Israel - we have to pay for visaa nine hundred rubles, this means one thousand dollars - but you can't really imagine, for nine hundred rubles we have to work a year - and we sell everything,

- 8 -

R. 1/1

RUSINEK

we, the few Jews who were allowed to go last year, we have to sell everything and we come to Israel without suitcases, ^{without money} without gold - and we've given flats, we've given this ^{possibility} ability to study and to work - thank you very much. I'm sure that with the help of (inaudible) of Russian Jews and the generosity of American Jews we'll build a wonderful and strong home for Jewish people. Thank you.

(applause)

CHAIRMAN

I don't know what to say except, Oh, God, can't You see (in Hebrew) isn't it time? Alla has to leave right now - we'll excuse her - she has to get up very early in the morning. Go right ahead, Alla.

(applause) I can't say anything - there's only one guy who must follow and close the meeting, and if there's anything to say I know he will say it, Rabbi Herbert Friedman. (applause)

FRIEDMAN

Gentlemen, I probably made ten million speeches in my life, and somebody always has to get up and follow me, and the chairman says whoever follows him got a tough act to follow - I can't follow her - this is

- 9 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

the first time I have heard the presentation - I don't know, ^{her} I haven't got a clue as to who she is but it's the first time that I've heard a presentation made quietly, simply, authentically - I talked to lots of Russian Jews on the way in Vienna - there is a place to which she referred which we maintain as a way station - I talked to lots of Russian Jews in Israel, the first few days of their arrival when they've been overwhelmed with the reception, they feel they've been taken in and embraced, but I haven't spoken to any, I haven't heard anybody speak - now, she's been in Israel for about a hundred days, she's so utterly sensational - she was asked to come over here - I don't know how she got to this meeting tonight - whoever you are, God bless you. Who said it?

VOICE

(inaudible)

FRIEDMAN

Oh, okay. (laughter) And I tell you I am just as overwhelmed by this thing as you are by this thing. I don't know where her plane is, I don't know where she's going, early in the morning, but I'm going

- 10 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

to find out (laughter) because this is something which, if she is here in the United States and able to talk and willing to talk and willing to risk it in terms of the people, of her family who've been left back home, then I think that we have to expose the leadership of American Jewry to this thing, to the impact of this person - and I saw there were two or three other kids with her - and if they're going to do it, then I think we ought to just bomb it right open, that's all. And, well, I think you were privileged, here, tonight, I think something sensational and historic happened, I think a fire was lit. In a more mundane way, I think the meeting that began at five o'clock was in its own way (in Hebrew ^{הבדלה} - ^{to distinguish} but I'll still use the same word) a sensation. I've been many years in this business and I have not seen a meeting like this in the New York City-UJA before - I've seen it in other cities, never here - and I take my hat off to Larry and Rick and Ernie and Herb Tenzer and Jimmy Weinberg and Elaine and everybody who organized this thing, (applause) a great, great, great two hours, three hours up to now - I think you're

- 11 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

on the way. I don't know whether you can raise one hundred and fifty million dollars this year. I was asked to come here and tell you why four hundred million dollars is required. I'm not going to try to make a speech - if you want to stay, and we can answer some questions, I'll be glad to do it. I'm going to answer that one question why is four hundred million dollars required and that is the answer why do you have to try to get one hundred and fifty million of it. The answer to the question is in two parts. One, the figures, the mathematics of the situation why the four hundred, and the other the reason, the need. The mathematics is simple - they derive ^{from} the need - we need that much money because we're trying to do two things in 1971, fight a war and win a peace. Now, when you try to accomplish both war and peace in the same year, it's normally more expensive than anything you ever tried to do before. There will be a short fall of one billion dollars on both accounts - on the account of the war - when we take into account everything that the Israelis will produce themselves, everything that we will get in the way of loans from the outside

- 12 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

world, from private sources - everything that we get from the Government of the United States in the form of a loan, which is a known fact, that's five hundred million -- when you add in everything that you can produce on the revenue side, from all sources, and then you take all the expenses that are related to war and peace, and peace means to us the taking in of the fifty thousand people for this year and she's the symbol - and when Rick said that he was talking to Golda and ~~she~~ Golda said ^{she firmly} ~~they~~ ~~firmly~~ believed that hundreds of thousands will come - and this beautiful child stands up here and says three hundred thousand have registered for exit visas - so we're not talking mythically, we're not talking wishful thinking, we're beginning to talk reality about Russian Jews - if twenty years ago you said, as Ben Gurion used to say, I believe the Jews of Russia will come, and Eshkol echoed it, and then Sharret echoed it, every Prime Minister of Israel said it, this was an expression of a millennial Jewish dream, this is the source from which you and I come - why do we react so emotionally to her? - my father came from Vilna - somebody else's father

- 13 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

came from Kovna - somebody else's father came from
- you know, you know the names - there's a visceral
reaction, there's a family reaction, she's a, you
know she's the closest thing there is - so we used
to say emotionally-(name) will come and we will take
them in, it was pure emotion - we're getting closer
now to the bone, we're getting closer to the reality
- it's not so emotion now, now it's getting to be
more factual and so there, there wells ^{up inside} ~~that obvious~~
side, that hope at last something's coming ~~and~~ true,
so when we say we want to be able to wage peace
this year as well as wage war, what we say is we
want to be able to afford to keep the door of the
country open - what the hell's the sense of fight-
ing the war, you want to win the war so you can keep
the door open for her and fifty thousand more or
three hundred and fifty thousand more - okay, all
the money that you have coming in on one side - and
then all the expenses that you figure on the other
side for the war and the peace leaves you with a
short fall of just about one billion dollars, we
can't balance it by about a billion - it isn't that
it's a magic figure - you can pick a billion dollars

- 14 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

out of the ^{air} year - we got all the documents which I don't have to bore you now - all the income on one side - and there was more than we thought there would be - we never thought that the American loan would be five hundred million dollars from Congress - so when we took it all and put it together we find we're short about a billion dollars. We've cut up the billion dollars into three possible sources from which we could get it - we'll have to go out and borrow four hundred million of it, that's bonds, that's borrowed money - I dare say everybody in this room buys bonds - well you ^{haven't} ~~don't have to~~ give ^{away} (inaudible) anything, you're loaning some money to Israel - and if Jews, and by the way not just Jews, banks, pension funds, insurance companies, lots of fiscal institutions buy those bonds, loan Israel money, if they loaned Israel a couple of hundred million dollars last year, which is just about it - around one hundred and fifty million in the United States and I think twenty, thirty million outside the United States - fine, then Israel's got to double it and find people who will buy four hundred million dollars worth of her bonds - and

- 15 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

there's a very big push on and for the first time the President of Israel is coming to the United States, in about a month, to launch the 1971 Bond Sale Campaign in the United States, the President of Israel himself - and they're going to break their backs, everybody working in the Bond organization, and all of us who work and believe in Israel, to see if four hundred million dollars can be sold - and it's as much our responsibility to see that that gets sold as it is for us to try to bring in the free money - and you never heard me say that before - but there's one Israel and it's not a Bond Israel and it's not a UJA Israel and it's not a Jewish National Fund Israel and it's not a Histadruth Israel and it's no - parts are no good - the whole - all right, I can't tell you, I can't make a prognosis as to whether four hundred million in bonds can be sold but that's the target. The second piece obviously is what the Jews in the rest of the world can do in the way of giving money - and that's been assigned out all over the world and that's a total of two hundred million dollars - I'm going down to Mexico next week, we're going to

- 16 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

get that thing started - there's a little commun-
ity of four thousand families down there - we set
a target of eight million bucks, we're going after
eight million dollars in Mexico City from those
four thousand Jews - they'll raise it -- England
took forty million - Canada took forty million -
we're going for two hundred million in the rest of
the Jewish world, not in the Soviet Union, certain
places we don't have (inaudible). Which leaves the
third element - it comes to four hundred bonds and
two hundred in the rest of the world and (inaudible)
four hundred for the United States free gift dollars
UJA - when four hundred million dollars has got to
be raised, ^{by} when the UJA in all the communities of
America, and you've heard already, Larry explained
it today, that in New York you have two campaigns,
UJA & Federation - in all the other cities they're
together, it's one campaign - so the Federation in
every city needs a little bit of money, and you add
up all the Federations all over the United States,
what they need for Los Angeles and Cleveland and
Baltimore, the whole thing, it's quite modest by
the way, it comes to eighty, ninety million dollars

- 17 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

for the whole America - so it isn't really that much
= what I meant that we want four hundred for the
UJA, we got to raise five hundred million out there,
and all the other local stuff gets taken care of
for about a hundred million, ^{90 million} and that'll leave four
hundred million ~~dollar~~ ^{should} for Israel - so what/~~should~~ should
New York's share be out of a five hundred million
dollar gross campaign of the whole United States of
America? - New York should be about a third - we
had terrible arguments in Los Angeles and Boston
and other cities where they said New York's got
half the Jews in America and New York ought to take
half the quota, two hundred and fifty. And we ^{fought} ~~thought~~
the thing out, we asked Chicago to take fifty million
- we asked Los Angeles to take fifty million -
and so we said New York one hundred and fifty not
two hundred and fifty - but I want you to know that
three months ago there was an awful lot of fighting
up on the top. One hundred and fifty comes out
therefore to be your share - and fifty Los Angeles
and fifty Chicago - that's half in those three big
towns - and probably sixty, seventy percent of all
the Jews of America live in those three towns - and

- 18 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

the other half we parceled out among all the other cities in the country - we're running, we're running hard, we're running fast, we're all getting up early in the morning and moving out to the next town, like she is - I spoke at a luncheon meeting for women here in New York on Monday - this is Thursday - between Monday and Thursday I've been in Chicago, Detroit and Miami - and we're running, pushing and pushing, we're running and organizing - and I must say it's going well, it's a lot of money one hundred and fifty million bucks, but in this gigantic metropolis it's not, it's really not - you're better organized than you've ever been - you got better plans than you've ever had - you've got more motivation than I've ever seen - you've got better leadership at the top in these two men than I've ever seen - anybody you got everything going for you, ~~if/whmshndy~~ says to you why, why the four hundred, why the one hundred and fifty for New York, the mathematics I can't change, I gave you the mathematics, and after you explain the mathematics to people and they say why the hell is so much money required, then you got only two words to answer, war and peace. Tomorrow

- 19 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

the ceasefire comes to an end, tomorrow midnight, twenty-eight or twenty-four or twenty-six hours from now - the Egyptians have said to the Americans, not to the Israelis, the Egyptians haven't said anything to the Israelis, the Egyptians have said to the United States State Department that they will extend the ceasefire for thirty days - fine, there'll be no shooting tomorrow, midnight, for Shabbat morning or Sunday morning or Monday morning - the blessed, precious sound of silence in which no bullets come to take no lives will be something very desirable - we love that silence - I want you to know that there is almost no one in any position of responsible authority in Israel who believes that that will last or, to put it the other way, the bets are for the resumption of war, not because anybody wants it on the Israeli side but because the ceasefire, whether extended one month or not, will at some point be broken, as the last ceasefire was broken, Nasser announced it and in March of '69 he broke it and the firing went on for sixteen months, March of '69 to August 5th of '70 - I don't think the next round, which will break out

- 20 -

R. 1/1

FRIEDMAN

soon, in my judgment, will last sixteen months -
I think the intensity of fire will be much higher,
I think the escalating will be much faster, I think
the explosive quality of it will generate more
quickly, and I think therefore it'll be over sooner
because I think they will come to an understanding
that they cannot achieve their objectives by force
and, when they learn that, they'll cool it. We have
no objectives - well if ^{we} you have no desire to
conquer ^{Cairo} (inaudible) there's no place we want to go
- the only thing we don't want to do is move back
- we don't want to move forward - we'll sit tight,
they can blow all the fire in the world on us they
won't force us back. When they learn that they...

END OF R. #1 SIDE 1

REEL #1 SIDE #2 (skipped words that overlapped)

FRIEDMAN

..may cease firing again. Gentlemen, it's not a legal thing at all, this is what you have to get through your head, you guys are such good guys, I'll listen to you talk, you hope, you pray, you're optimists, you believe, you want to believe there won't be anymore shooting - and what I have to try to do is make you very hard and very realistic and very practical, no wishful thinking - face it, the preparatory time is the crucial time and the preparatory time has been going on now for six months - the bunkers are ready - we have three very simple options - when they start to pour the fire on the first option is to (inaudible) to see if the bunkers take it, because the Russians' ~~guns~~ guns are very big - never been fired before in anger, not the big 203's, we don't know the effect - all the bunkers along the ^{Bunker} (name) line have been rebuilt big, stones, packages strapped in with steel wires, buried in on the sand - sand is good to absorb shock of explosives - we think the line will take it - don't know - if the line doesn't take it, the bunkers split open under the impact of heavy artillery fire, then we have to exercise the second option which

- 22 -

R. 1/2

FRIEDMAN

is to retaliate, retaliate with aircraft is very difficult - that's what we did before - the missiles preempt that now, you can't do that, we can't lose so many ~~axis~~ aircraft - it's not a joke, we ~~ex~~ just can't afford it, neither planes nor pilots, we haven't got enough of either to afford, to gamble, lose ten, twenty, thirty, forty planes trying to penetrate a missile screen - four hundred missiles are now in site, that is on the launchers, any number of them in reserve and they can come up in a minute, you got a wall of steel in the air, you can't put airplanes through -- then, then the third and last option is to go in on land, which means we'll have to cross the Canal, not they cross the Canal, in an effort to silence those guns - again that heavy risk and heavy casualty - I think it's a practical prophesy of the next ninety or a hundred days that I was making to you, I pray every night - quite seriously, I'm not a very sentimental guy - that I'm wrong - I don't think I am. The preparations for that can't be made now, the preparations for that were made beginning last August, September, November -
October, ~~November~~ we committed, we committed to

- 23 -

R. 1/2

FRIEDMAN

the spending of hundreds of millions - and that's no joke either - the commitment's been made, the spending is going on, the purchase orders have been signed every day - so it isn't that we're crying wolf or something, that if a war breaks out in March will you then hurry, rustle around in March and ask for two and a half times, oh, no, no, we're telling you now the cost of the thing when it starts, the wholly extra cost is going to be the cost for the shells - the capital investment is being spent - actual warfare will only cost a bit more - isn't that clear to everybody? - that's what the sweat is all about, that's why such a fantastic sum of money is required and you know - let me just finish by saying, who the hell knows what's more important? - she did something to me tonight because this is the voice of the strongest part of the Jewish people left in the world besides Israel and us - the Jews of Israel two and a half million - Jews of America five and a half million - we're eight million of us - we're linked in a fraternity of love and freedom - we're linked, that's eight of us - there are three more of them and we

-24 -

R. 1/2

FRIEDMAN

want them and they want us - in a way I don't know what's more important to worry about buying airplanes or to worry about getting her set up? - she says thank you for the flat you provided us, thank you for giving me the chance to go to school, she said this in such a, such a way, thank you, so we don't try to make the choice as to which is more important, whether she's more important or buying airplanes are more important, it's war and peace, and if you try to decide which is more important you're going to make a mistake - so you have to do both and that's why it costs so much - and you can't let anybody do business with you as normal, and you can't do business as normal - you get on the phone and say what do you want to give, Joe - don't do it, forget it - tell the office you won't do it - get somebody else to do the job. There are certain decisive moments, it's quite clear that 1971 is the one such decisive moment, therefore the Jewish people asks their best sons, and that's you because you're here, who are willing to assume the role of leadership, to act it out - that's all, you volunteer, please do the job well or quit, this is that kind

- 25 -

R. 1/2

FRIEDMAN

of a moment when your best performance is required
- I think '71 is going to swing it, by the way, I
think it'll be a short round of war, I think it'll
be a big opening with Russia. I think '72's going
to be a different ballgame completely, we're going
to begin to run home free after a while, but I do
know that '71 is one of those turning point years
and therefore I think that Israel has every right
to call to you - I'll remind you of one thing she
said, she said we don't feel like orphans anymore
- well what she was saying was you're a father, you
damn well better be a good father. Now, if anybody
has any questions, I'll be glad to try to answer
them. (applause)

END OF REEL #1 SIDE #2 (ORDER NO. 1703)
