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ADDRESS

by

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RABBI ISADORE BRESLAU

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RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

AMB. AVRAHAM HARMAN

at the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

September 13-14-15, 1963

New York Hilton Hotel

OFF THE RECORD

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

"MIDDLE EAST REVIEW"

An Address By
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
I. L. KENEN

at the

THIRD ANNUAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

New York Hilton Hotel

September 13, 1963

First, let me tell you why we are in Washington, and what we do there. Back in 1950, American Jews approved a four-point program to help finance Israel's development.

Point One was to expand the United Jewish Appeal.

Point Two was to launch Israel Bonds.

Point Three was to stimulate private investment and

Point Four was to request that our Government include Israel in the foreign aid program.

I was asked to go to Washington to organize a campaign on Capitol Hill justifying this aid. In that year, Congress voted a special \$65 million grant to assist Israel in absorbing refugees. Since that time, through June 30, \$955 million worth of grants, loans, surplus foods and technical assistance have reached Israel from America.

We seem to have anticipated the issues raised in the Fulbright investigation by a dozen years. First, we decided that lobbying must be done by Americans, in behalf of American organizations, in order to command the attention of our elected representatives. For this reason, I gave up my post as Israel's Information Director in the UN and went to work in Washington for an American organization.

In 1953 we created a new committee, the American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs. But, since much of its support came from non-Zionist sources, we later changed the name to American Israel Public Affairs Committee and enlarged our governing board.

I want to emphasize that the AIPAC receives no subsidies from any organization or government. It depends entirely on contributions which are not deductible from income tax and which are hard to get. Thus, despite the distortions of the American Council for Judaism, neither the AIPAC nor the UJA was seriously involved in the Senate Hearings. If the sponsors of that investigation expected to find evidence that large UJA grants were being diverted for lobbying and campaign contributions, then they have been sorely disappointed.

In 1957, I created the Near East Report which some of you read. This is a bi-weekly newsletter which provides a continuing analysis and critique of American policy. Organizations buy it for their leaders, for colleges, libraries, and editors. Our own American Israel Public Affairs Committee sends it to members of Congress.

Now you will ask, what are we doing today? Well, we still lobby on the Hill for the foreign aid program. We urge Congressmen to support economic aid for both Israel and the Arab states. But we criticize the diversion of our economic aid to finance the Near East arms race. We try to tell Congress what is wrong with American policy as we understand it.

Bear in mind that there are 13 Arab embassies and one Israel Embassy. There are 13 U. S. Ambassadors to Arab lands, and one Ambassador to Israel. Whenever there is a conflict or crisis, the weight of official report and recommendation is on the Arab side. In addition, there is an active anti-Israel lobby - the American Friends of the Middle East, the Arab Information Center, the American Council for Judaism and the oil companies. We try to counteract all this propaganda and pressure by enlisting the traditional good will of the American people and their elected representatives.

You will ask me for an evaluation of American policy. There is a big difference between the formal long range objectives that are proclaimed in party platforms and pre-election speeches, and the day-to-day tactics which must be improvised to meet rapidly changing situations.

The basic U. S. objective in the Middle East is to halt Communist influence, to maintain land, sea and air communications and to keep Arab oil flowing to Western markets. Our government tries to preserve stability in a positive way by generous economic aid, and in a negative way by avoiding any initiatives which might rock the boat. The U. S. has no master plan to end the many wars in the region - the Arab war against Israelis - and the many Arab wars against Arabs. Our country's policy seems to swing back and forth, with the regularity of a pendulum.

I have always felt that the United States, its people and its elected officials have been the good friends of Israel. I have already spoken of the generous aid which our Government has provided - - aid indispensable to Israel's progress. On the other hand, I have always believed that our diplomats have been much too timid about challenging the Arab war against Israel. They have been inhibited by quantitative considerations. There are 80 million Arabs; 2½ million Israelis. The U. S. has heavy private investments in Arab oil. Finally, and most important, as long as the cold war continues, our Government will be very careful to refrain from any action which is likely to polarize the Middle East. We are most diffident lest we drive all the Arab states over to the Soviet Union and be left isolated with Israel.

The United States has expanded economic aid to the Arab states. We recognize that the Arab people need our help. But the Administration is reluctant to impose conditions. It won't suspend or reduce aid in order to influence

the Arabs to live up to the UN Charter and make peace. It argues that such conditions on our assistance are counter-productive. This is a precious word in the diplomatic dictionary.

The constant fear of negative Arab reaction has bedevilled and enfeebled our Near East policy. We pamper the Arabs. In 1948, they never dreamed that Israel would really come into existence. Many diplomats had assured them it would not happen. The Arabs were shocked by their defeat. And since that day, diplomats have tried to console them. This solicitude has fortified Arab grievances and confirmed their conviction that Israel, having defeated them must pay them some reparation for her victory as a price for her very existence, as a condition precedent to peace.

And so our career diplomats, even though they may have the best of good will for Israel, are not as eager as most Americans to say yes to her requests.

Accordingly, there is likely to be a difference between the White House and the State Department on such issues, and often Congressmen, who are more responsive to Israel's appeal, take the floor to make their views known and thus contribute to the decision. This means that nothing ever comes easily at Washington. We must always have a struggle. We sometimes win — sometimes we lose, and often we decide that the issue isn't worth fighting over.

These then are the ground rules for the contest in Washington.

What's the score so far under the present administration?

I think we can count five distinct, positive gains.

1. Aid to Israel was increased from an average of \$60 million a year during the previous Administration, to \$81 million a year during the present Administration. There was a struggle over that. Grant aid to Israel ended in

1961, but loans and surplus foods have been provided on a high level. Many officials, however, believe that Israel, with a high growth rate, should be able to finance her own development. They want her to pay higher interest rates. They point out that Israel's reserves have been growing while our own have been dwindling.

Early this year we submitted arguments to the contrary. Israel gets no grant military aid from the United States and no grants for refugee absorption. Such expenditures do not produce foreign exchange. Moreover, Israel's reserves are not high in relation to her per capita debt, which has gone up because Israelis have mortgaged their future income. This year aid to Israel has been maintained at the \$85 million level, but the interest rates are going up, from $3/4$ of 1% last year to 2% this year, to $3\frac{1}{2}$ % next year, and Administration officials tell Congress that they expect to end aid to Israel within two years. For you of the UJA, this has special significance.

The second gain was a most important Administration decision to stand by Israel in case the Arabs attempt to block her water development next spring when Israel begins to draw water out of Lake Tiberias.

The third gain had to do with Israel's defense. After a long study, the Administration concluded that Israel did need anti-aircraft equipment to defend herself from Egypt's Soviet bombers, and so the United States agreed to make the Hawk available. Our government is lending Israel about \$25 million for ten years, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ % interest, to help Israel pay for it. This was not a unanimous decision. Some diplomats were not convinced that the arms balance had shifted and that Israel really needed this weapon.

4. The White House finally decided not to press the Johnson Plan for a poll in which the Arab refugees would express their preference between repatriation and resettlement. (We opposed this because we feared that such a poll would be manipulated to mobilize propaganda for repatriation). This was a great disappointment to the diplomats who devised the Plan and who were convinced that it was the first step in breaking the refugee stalemate.

The fifth gain came this month, when the Administration demonstrated that it is willing to incur the displeasure of the Arabs and the risk of a Soviet veto. Western diplomats have long feared that the Soviet Union would exploit their support for Israel for political advantage in the cold war. Nevertheless, the Administration stood with Israel in the Security Council debate over the shooting on the Israel-Syrian frontier.

This was a hopeful development. For a long time, State Department officials have tried to justify our unconditional aid to Egypt and other Arab states by contending that it was helping to build up our influence with the Arabs. Well, we have asked them, when are you going to use this influence? One critic recently said: "The United States won't use its influence with the Arab states for fear it will lose it." But last week a State Department official said to me: "It is a good deal like taking money out of a savings account. You hesitate, but you finally decide that it may be more costly to hoard your money than to spend it."

The American stand at the Security Council may mark a milestone. While the American resolution was frustrated by a Soviet veto, it won support from an impressive majority of the Security Council members. It shows that world public opinion, after long reticence, can challenge the Arab war against Israel. The neutral nations can play a significant role in persuading the Arabs to meet Israel at the peace table.

So much for the positive developments and agreements. But what about the differences and reverses?

Now in diplomacy it is sensible to accentuate agreement and to avoid emphasis on differences. Most of the issues on which there are disagreements happen to be quiescent. They are not high on the agenda. I recapitulate them here today, not to call attention to them and alarm you so much as to provide you with an objective and balanced recital.

First. Back in 1960, both party platforms endorsed the principle of direct Arab-Israel peace negotiations. Yet the Administration voted against the so-called Brazzaville resolution at the United Nations in 1961 on the ground that it is unrealistic to talk of peace negotiations. Diplomats insist that this was merely a difference over tactics. I take a more serious view. I believe that it is wrong to confirm Arabs in their intransigent refusal to recognize Israel's sovereign existence. The UN should not provide the Arabs with a special immunity from the application of the UN Charter.

2. Back in 1949, the United States voted against the proposal for territorial internationalization of the city of Jerusalem. It preferred functional internationalization of the Holy Places. Yet today, in 1963 the United States still refuses to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and the U. S. embassy remains in Tel Aviv.

3. Although the United States will back Israel's water development, it still will not accept Israel's contention that Israel has sovereignty over the demilitarized zones on the Israel-Syrian border which are in Israel territory. The State Department says that sovereignty in these regions is in suspense. For their part, the Arabs insist that the demilitarized zones are in a No Man's Land in which development cannot be allowed. They maintain a shooting gallery to stop it.

4. It is widely conceded that resettlement in Arab lands is the key to a solution of the Arab refugee problem. Party platforms and statements by congressional committees have called for resettlement. Yet our diplomatic communications to the Arab leaders and State Department position papers always emphasize "repatriation or compensation." This is an unrealistic and mechanical repetition of the cliches in a 15-year old UN resolution, which long ago was rendered obsolete by the refusal of the Arab states to recognize Israel and to make peace with her. But the Arabs refuse to abandon that 1948 resolution, and so our diplomats hold that Israel must take the initiative by offering to repatriate those refugees who want to return. And so the stalemate goes on.

5. Despite President Eisenhower's pledge of 1957 and Candidate Kennedy's pledge of 1960, the Administration does not make any serious effort to persuade Egypt to open the Suez Canal for Israel shipping. And despite the clear will expressed by Congress back in 1960, the Administration has never informed Egypt that our economic aid depended on her willingness to open that international waterway in conformity with the 1951 UN decision.

6. Now I come to a point that especially concerns you, who are leaders of the United Jewish Appeal.

Everyone recognizes the great contribution that Israel has made in providing a sanctuary for more than one million Jewish refugees. Congress voted substantial grants - to help Israel carry on this program back in 1951 and 1952. But there was a change in 1953. The Arabs insist that Israel's unrestricted immigration presents a threat to them. An overcrowded Israel, they say, will be forced to expand and seek new territory at Arab expense. Accordingly, since 1953, the Administration has taken the position that U. S. funds will not be spent to assist Israel in absorbing and resettling refugees. We do not give

publicity to this stand. It has been a deep disappointment to us. All this has increased the indispensability of UJA as the major instrument in refugee resettlement.

And what about military aid? The United States has granted military aid to Jordan, to Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, but it will not grant - and I use the word grant advisedly - military aid to Israel. Israel is probably the only country in the world surrounded by Soviet weapons, which cannot get grant military aid from Washington. Our Government does encourage other Western nations to sell arms to Israel and we do maintain a high economic aid program which indirectly enables Israel to pay for its security needs. But what happens when that economic aid program comes to an end? Will the United States then put Israel into our military aid program? I am sure that the Administration recognizes the need for Israel to keep itself armed. The question of arms for Israel is a very difficult one. We believe that the United States must maintain the arms balance in the near East, and we think that the White House agrees with that position. So do some people in the Pentagon and in the State Department. But there are others who dissent. There seems to be a difference of opinion about the nature of U. S. policy. Thus, last fall, I was told by one State Department official that the decision to let Israel have the Hawk was consistent with U. S. policy, and then I was told by another State Department official that the decision to let Israel have the Hawk was an exception to that policy.

Now it serves little purpose to explore differences which are more or less academic. We pitch all this criticism in a low key. But we do raise our voice on a major difference. That has to do with the assessment of Nasser, his intentions and his capacity to carry them out.

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We think our Government blunders in assuming that the Arabs do not mean their threats against Israel. It is true that Nasser seems more restrained. He should be. The United States rescued him from bankruptcy in 1962, even as we saved him from military disaster and political humiliation in 1957. Nasser no longer speaks rudely about Washington, yet he is just as bombastic as ever in his threats against his Arab neighbors and Israel. If he does not feel strong enough to strike at Israel today or tomorrow, he proposes to eliminate Israel in a round about way in due time. He still hopes to dominate Syria and Iraq, to overcome the Kings of Jordan and Saudi Arabia, and to have Israel surrounded. Nasser says these things openly to his people.

Now it is true that Nasser does not say this to foreign diplomats or journalists. The shrewd Arab diplomat tells you what you want to hear. Nasser seems to have a triple speak -- one line for the Russians, one line for the Americans, and another line for his own people. We reject the curious doctrine that Nasser lies publicly to his own people and secretly whispers the truth into the ears of Western diplomats. We are not impressed when a great historian comes back from Cairo and tells us that Nasser is a man of peace, and that Nasser is no Hitler. This is the same prophet who came out of Germany in 1936 -- ten days before the occupation of the Rhineland -- to assure us then that Hitler was no Hitler. When Nasser talks about destroying Israel, we should take him at his word. Nor do we accept the argument that the West should give Nasser all the aid he wants in order to supply him with an alternative to the Soviet Union. We are indignant when a top State Department official tells us that we should not protest against the German scientists who help Nasser develop jets and missiles, because if they don't the Russians will. If that sophistry is tenable, then Mr. Kennedy should have accepted the presence of Russians in

Cuba, for their departure might have opened the door to the Chinese Communists.

We are skeptical about wishful thinking that Nasser has given up his cooperation with the Soviet Union. Nasser still relies on the USSR for his weapons and their replacement, and it is naive to believe that an army can be independent of its source of supply. We are often told that Nasser does jail Communists, but don't forget that no one has jailed more Communists than Krushchev. We should recognize that there is a harmony between Nasser's geopolitical aspirations in the Red Sea and down the east coast of Africa, and those of the Soviet Union. Nasser and the Russians have similar objectives in Yemen -- to undermine Western strength.

I used to think that once Nasser made peace with Washington, London and Paris, he would also make peace with Jerusalem. But he hasn't. I think the fault is partly ours. Our government should have been much more insistent that Nasser abandon his war against Israel, as a condition of assistance. You and I -- most of us -- do not oppose economic aid to provide bread for Egypt's children, but we have always argued that if Egypt wants American wheat and dollars, that Nasser at least stop acquiring weapons from the Soviet bloc, that he stop his preparations for war. We are not alone in this view. Our Congress grows more and more critical of unconditional aid and its impact on the arms race in the Near East. Just two weeks ago, the House of Representatives amended the foreign aid bill to provide that none of our economic aid should go to countries which misuse it to finance aggressive military preparations. That amendment reflects the alarm of Congress over the dangerous and costly arms race in the Near East and the view that the Administration should use our aid program to discourage preparation for war. It is hoped that the Senate will concur in the House amendment.

Now, if the Administration persists in aiding the Arabs to grow stronger, then it must seriously consider the need to provide firm and clear guarantees to Israel and to other countries which are threatened by Egypt. We are often told that we should not be so alarmed - that the U. S. will stand with Israel in the event of a military showdown. But we believe that such guarantees would be more effective if they were in writing - not only to reassure our own people, but to leave no doubt in the minds of the Arabs. We think that guarantees will help pave the way for peace. Here again, it is encouraging to refer to the position of Congress. The House Foreign Affairs Committee recently urged the Administration to consider "entering into security guarantees with those nations that would be willing to make appropriate commitments for promoting peace and stability in the area."

Here then is our basic difference with the Department of State. We think it underestimates the danger of another war in the Near East. We think it over-estimates Nasser's importance and the need to adjust our policies to his slogans. And we believe that our Government underestimates our own capacity to influence the situation although it is pleasant to qualify that statement by pointing, with some satisfaction, to the recent positive action that was taken at the UN Security Council.

Now, I do not say that the Arab states will attack Israel tomorrow, unless they are carried away by the miscalculations of feverish imaginations because they are the prisoners of their own propaganda. They have four lines of assault. First, they are trying to gain military superiority. They have no difficulty in getting all the weapons and economic aid they need. They have become adept at neutralism, which means extorting aid from both sides.

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The mounting escalation of dangerous and costly weapons burdens all the peoples of the Middle East and threatens them with war. Second, Arab leaders have not given up their dream of a United Arab World which would concert the attack under one military machine. Here they have suffered grave reverses. A grandiose plan for the union of Syria, Iraq and Egypt collapsed because Nasser wanted to dominate it. Nasser and the Baath Party are now in a bitter confrontation. Here the Arabs fail because the concept of Arab unity is a propaganda myth, fed by emotion but negated by the facts of geography, economic and racial differences.

The Arabs maintain a systematic offensive against Israel on the UN battlefield, hoping to win some new dispensation. We all feared that as the UN gained members, the Arab world would pick up strength in the Afro-Asian bloc. They are failing because Israel has succeeded in winning the confidence and friendship of the African world through its brilliant technical assistance program among the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa. (Parenthetically that program has impressed American liberals because it is a service to democracy).

Africans have made it clear that they will have none of Nasser's war against the Jews. In this connection, Ghana's stand at the last UN Security Council meeting is important confirmation.

Finally, Arab propagandists try to penetrate United States opinion. They hope to immobilize the United States government - to prevent it from taking decisive action in the event of a showdown. Here they make headway. There is no doubt that the Arabs have made some inroads in public and political opinion in this country. They seek to weaken the good will of the American

people in a campaign waged on the campus, in the newspapers, on Capitol Hill. We have to combat this effort by trying to keep our own people, our public officials and the press informed of the facts. We try to meet Arab propaganda lines. This is not easy. Many people never knew or do not remember what happened in 1948. They are not aware that history is being twisted, that the record is being disfigured and distorted. In this area we can be handicapped if our own Government adopts a reticent neutralism, if it becomes reluctant to challenge distorted Arab propaganda, if it retreats into evasive diplomacy, if it equates aggressor and victim, if it takes refuge in euphemistic position papers. Too many people think that we should be "neutral" in the Arab-Israel conflict, that we should walk the narrow road between the right and wrong - a difficult road because it is a non-existent road. We should not permit the erosion of American opinion. This is not an abstraction. I submit that the views of the American people are crucial and decisive. What Americans think can and will determine what our Government will do when and if a real crisis arises.

We ask these things of our Government: Help maintain stability in the Middle East. If the United States cannot bring about an end to the arms race, then we must be certain that an arms balance is maintained. We can help end the arms race, if we make it plain that no one can win it. And let the United States make it unmistakably clear that it will intervene swiftly and without equivocation to avert a conflict.

Finally, let the United States become the eloquent advocate of an Arab-Israel peace. Let us not be weakened by the defeatist notion that courageous advocacy of principle will cost us Arab votes in UN roll calls. We did show conviction and courage in the UN Security Council two weeks ago. We gave moral leadership in that body, and that is a good beginning. It is consistent with our country's tradition and responsive to American public opinion.

What we do and say will carry weight, not only with our friends and allies and with many neutral governments, but even with the Arabs themselves. I believe that there are many Arabs who would like to see peace with Israel, who would be strengthened and encouraged to make their views known if world public opinion effectively counteracted the Arab warmongers, and summoned the Arab leaders to the peace table.

You and I have a great deal to do with the struggle in the coming months and years. War could come in the Near East tomorrow. Peace will not come for a long time in the future. We must do all that we can to prevent war and also to promote peace.

You have a tremendous responsibility as UJA leaders to help carry a proud humanitarian burden - unprecedented in the history of philanthropy. This means more than raising money. It means strengthening a continuing commitment. It means enlisting the Jews of the U. S. It also means disabusing the Arabs of the illusion that American Jews can get tired. Side by side with that is the responsibility that we have as American Jews to influence our fellow Jews, our Christian friends, our own Government.

Israel is a small country, but its frontiers are long. These frontiers are not easy to defend. And so Israel's defense perimeter must go beyond these territorial lines. That defense perimeter begins at the United Nations. It begins in Washington. It begins here in New York. We stand on Israel's frontiers wherever we may be.

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"SURVIVAL FOR WHAT?"

An Address By

ZVI KOLITZ
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
to the

THIRD ANNUAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

of the
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

New York Hilton Hotel

September 14, 1963

In the fall of 1943, the Gauleiter of Cracow, in Nazi occupied Poland, invited Dr. Roman Landau, the President of what was left of the once great Jewish community in that historic city, and put to him the following question: "Dr. Landau," he asked, "why don't you commit suicide? And I don't mean you only personally. I mean all of you here. Why don't you take an example of your brethren in Germany and in Austria? Not all of them waited for us to kill them. A good many of them have killed themselves and thus saved themselves lots of trouble."

History doesn't record what Dr. Landau replied to the Nazi Gauleiter, but ever since I first read about this encounter it seemed to me that the Gauleiter of Cracow, if his words were to be purged for a moment of their diabolic cynicism, had actually asked a question of historic importance. Why is it that in Germany and in Austria many thousands of Jews committed suicide following Hitler's rise to power, while in the ghetto Kaunas, for instance, where the remnants of Lithuania's great Jewry were concentrated for systematic elimination, there were only TWO cases of suicide recorded in almost four years?

In order to answer this question we must, for a change, talk freely, not only about the righteous ways of our predecessors, as we are used to, but also about their transgressions. A hundred and fifty years ago, a great Jewish philosopher in Germany foresaw a hoped-for day when the stream of Judaism will fall into the sea of universality, -- which, to him, was another word for assimilation, like the waters of the Jordan that fall into the sea of Galilee. Only the very experienced fisherman, he said, will be able to distinguish the river's hardly noticeable separate stream in the deep waters of the universal

Kinereth, and the less other people will distinguish it, he concluded the better for all concerned. The children of that great German Jew, however, didn't bother for long to keep even the imperceptible stream of their Jewishness flowing in the sea of German culture. They converted themselves. But they, of course, were an exception. Most of the German Jews kept a vestige of their river Jordan alive in the big sea of Germanism that was roaring around them, but they tried hard to completely reconcile it with that sea, - to prove, that is, that the river is so totally committed to the sea that without it, it would lose its reason for being.

And so it came to pass that when the big sea was suddenly stirred up by the Brown Dragon, and the total commitment proved meaningless, it was also bound to prove fatal. The spiritual Jordan can chart its separate course only in a benevolent sea; but in a sea of turbulence - - not to say, blood - - the Jordan is either to become perceptible or to disappear altogether.

When the Jews of Germany and Austria were told they were no longer Germans or Austrians, there was nothing in their imperceptible Jewishness to fall back to. An imperceptible Jewishness is an affliction instead of a solace, and they killed themselves en masse. But in Lithuania, or in Poland, or in certain parts of Russia, or Slovakia, things were different. The river of Judaism was stronger there than the sea in the midst of which it ran its separate course and, consequently, the river refused to disappear voluntarily even in a sea of blood. And the river refused to disappear not only because no river wants to die, least of all one on which depends the fullness of the sea, but also because that river believed in the ultimate meaningfulness of its separateness. It's not for us to say - we who weren't there - why so many Jews let themselves be killed, but it is for us to know why, under circumstances which were as conducive to suicide

as they were to murder, they didn't kill themselves.

This question is important today because we live in a world in which people know more and more about less and less, a world which has substituted comfort for meaning and entertainment for enjoyment of the mind. It is even more important because people nowadays, more than they strive to know, they try to forget, and they are as uninclined to be bothered by unpleasant things as they are disinterested in stories with a message.

But right now, a great message of an ancient story is being strangled in Communist Russia. The great River Jordan of Russia's Jewry refuses to be swallowed by the Soviet version of the Red Sea, and the communists, in retaliation, are shedding the blood of our soul before the very eyes of a world which is as indifferent to this act of soul-assasination as it was to the act of our physical extermination. For the blood of our souls, which is being shed now in Russia, is the message of our uniqueness. It was this message that gave a God and morals and a code of ethics to a pagan world and which, in its prophetic expression, was, and still is, the magna carta of the poor and the oppressed, as Thomas Huxley called it - the greatest instigator of revolt against all forms of despotism.

And this message - suppressed, ignored, misunderstood - is needed today more than ever, for we live in a world in which the gap between the achievements of science and the yearnings of the heart is getting wider by the day, and in which the quality of life has fallen prey to an obsession with standard of living. We know what contributed to this situation: the two world wars; the decay of traditional religion in spite of the ascendance of religious institutionalism; the discovery of nuclear fission; the incredibly fast mastery

by science of the physical universe. All this caused an alarming increase of materialist influences in the whole environment. Among large segments of young people -- who have an answer to everything -- hope, the handmaid of spirit, is dying, to be replaced by cynicism, indifference or juvenile delinquency. Among the more mature people -- mature in years, I mean -- a lack of sophistication has created a natural disposition toward vulgarity. The ideals we serve -- there are only a very few left to cherish -- are mostly external. External glitter and quantitative colossalism are the cry of the hour. "Not being able to make our values beautiful," Flin says, "we make them huge."

Quantitative colossalism tends to become the criterion of all values, for every value -- including those considered priceless -- has a price tag attached to it. The best business firms are those that are the largest. The society leaders are those that are richest. The largest theatres are the best. The best show is that which attracts most people. The greatest scholar is he who is paid the largest salary and attracts the largest audience. "The biggest firm"; "The largest store"; "The widest circulation"; "The tallest buildings"; "The highest paid star"; "The supermarket"; "The superspectacular" etc. But while in external colossalism, size is the measure, in the inner portrayal of man -- the way he is depicted in modern art and literature -- lowliness is the subject.

"There is a morbid fascination," to quote Prof. Sorokin's powerful little book "The Crisis of our Age," -- "in our period of sensate art on pathological types of persons and events." Contemporary art is primarily a museum of social and cultural pathology. It centers in the police morgue, the criminals' hideouts, and the sex organs, operating mainly on the level of the

social sewers and labeling it "artistic truth" just because such levels exist and are sensory. Anything that is above the senses and beyond them -- from the conception of God to the Spirit of Man -- anything that is non-material, non-tangible, non-sizeable, -- anything, in brief, that could not be seen in the way of daily experience, nor heard, tasted, touched or smelled -- is regarded as unreal, non-existent and of no value. That's exactly what is happening in the world we live in.

But in the world we died in, in the world that Hitler had annihilated, other things happened. Long before the emergence of the tyrant, the Jews in Europe lived a life devoid of any external glitter and any vestige of what we referred to as "quantitative colossalism." They lived in small villages; they dwelt in humble abodes; they existed on humble means; but they were concerned with what Paul Tillich would have referred to as the "ultimate concern" -- with the glitter of the inner spark and the colossalism of the Ever-Living God. They didn't build magnificent structures, visible to the eye; they didn't raise statues or erect monuments. Anything that was too external, too glittering, too showy, was abhorrent and, consequently, classified as something forbidden, like graven images. These people, who were killed, but refused to kill themselves, lived an inward life.

Prof. Abraham Joshua Heschel, whose book "The Earth Is The Lord's" is one of the most magnificent lamentations on the exterminated Jewry of Eastern Europe, describes the Eastern European period in Jewish history as the period in which the Jew had attained the highest degree of inwardness. Deep within his consciousness, there burned a recognition of a unique spiritual destiny, and his entire existence was bound up with the fulfillment of this mission. For a hundred generations, Judaism was motivated by a constant urge toward a specific spiritual norm which was the highest expression of Jewish

selfhood. This norm was a puzzle to the world as it was a burden to the Jews who didn't grasp its meaning. The world, the non-Jewish world that is -- and I am referring to the intellectual illuminaries of Christianity -- had always felt -- and still does -- that there was something about our existence which, being a denial that matter alone determines the destiny of peoples, was an ode to the spirituality of life. But while the ignorance of the Christian world in general about the Jew grew side by side with the deepening of the Jew's inwardness -- the ignorance of many so-called enlightened Jews about the ultimate meaning of our inwardness -- stood out, and still does, as an example of self-denial which, in many cases, degenerated into self-hatred, Judaism, forbidden as it is to make proselytes, and, hence, to advertise itself as others do, is the least-known religion in the world, and the Jew, -- as long as there is left a vestige of his inwardness -- the least -- known human specimen. Those who gained a glimpse of this inwardness perceived eternity. Those who were incapable of perceiving it, however, besmirched it with their ink. At the same time when a Matthew Arnold or a Renan, a Tolstoy or a Huxley, a Victor Hugo or a Longfellow, a Mark Twain or an Oliver Wendell Holmes -- to mention just a few -- placed the Jew on the highest pedestal of human greatness, regarding him as "the unsurpressed conscience of humanity"; as "that sacred being which has brought down from heaven the eternal fire"; as "the Swiss guard of Deity"; as "the first to brave the seas of God and emerge with the pearl of wisdom"; as "the founder of whatever is morally great and spiritually eternal in western civilization," -- and I am using only a few quotations -- this same time when humanity's most enlightened minds saw in us, in our finite existence, an image of the infinite, so-called Jewish intellectuals found a morbid fascination in

concentrating not only on the finite in us, but on whatever was deplorable in the finite. The fact of the matter is that the Jew, like the Bible which he had given to the world, and in whose accent, as Heine put it "Freedom spoke since the Exodus from Egypt," - the Old Testament, that is, whose rediscovery by the Christian world Edward Chauncey Baldwin, in his "Our Modern Debt to Israel" regards as the crowning glory of the nineteenth century, - that eternal book becomes truly beautiful only when it is properly understood in depth and not just translated. And the Bible is as much, or as little understood as the Jew -- and the Jew as the Bible.

We like to talk about our Jewish heritage, but what is this heritage all about? If Judaism is only a heritage, no matter how noble, its decline is unavoidable. It's in the nature of a heritage, if it isn't squandered away by unappreciative heirs, to degenerate into a museum piece, a fossil. But if we regard Judaism not only as a heritage but also as a mission, if an accident of birth grows into an assignment of fate; if Judaism is, as Prof. Heshel puts it, "God's stake in human history"; if it's true what Matthew Arnold said, that as long as the world lasts, all who want to make progress in righteousness will come to Israel for inspiration; if Renan was right when he said that the pure religion which we dream of as the bond that shall in days to come hold together the whole of mankind, will be the realization of the religion of Isaia, the ideal Jewish religion, - if all this is true - and heaven and earth and seas of innocent blood bear witness to this truth - then let's make our mission clear before God and man. Let's make it clear that if we are the ancients of the earth, we are also the morning of the times; that if we were the challenge, we are also the test; that if ours was the Via Dolorosa, ours

is also the Arch of Triumph. But, above all, let's put it clearly to ourselves and to the world that if our enemies are so evil, so dark & what are we, if not the bearers of a great light?

Something went wrong with us, and we know what it is basically: the desire to conform, to be like the others, the fear of being different. But is there anything great in the history of mankind which was created by those who were not different? When D. H. Lawrence cries out "For God's sake, let's hang on to our sacred differences!" he cried out in pain at the sight of a world which lost its personality through the loss of personalities. Too many of us remember only the penalties of being a Jew. Its inwardness being hidden from us, we hardly enjoy Judaism; we only know the burden it imposes upon us. Our souls are often anguished by the vastness of our martyrdom, but they are rarely illuminated by the distinctiveness of our light. This distinctiveness we are trying to cast aside for the sake of fellowship with others, but what does a Jew, who tries to be accepted by others at the expense of his distinctiveness, bring to this hoped-for fraternity? A hollow shell, a Hebraic cipher, a vacuum, a masquerading self, a washed-out personality who has nothing to give because he had destroyed his uniqueness which alone was the reason for the ignorant's fury and the wise man's reverence.

I have lately compared two well-written books on the subject of Jewish martyrdom, one in English and the other in Hebrew. The first is Hanna Arendt's "Eichman in Jerusalem" in which a Jewish woman who wasn't there dares to be objective about gas chambers; and the other by Joseph Barzilai-Berger, a former leader of the Communist party in Palestine, who was cured of his Communism in Siberia where he spent 25 years of his life in hard

labor with a Stalinist death sentence hanging over his head. If Henna Arendt's book tries to tell us, among others, about dwarfs who were reduced to mud, - and why shouldn't dwarfs be reduced to mud if giants were reduced to ashes? - Barzilai-Berger tells us about Giants who rose from the mud and the ashes. When Joseph Zadkin and Dr. Avraham Haritt, of blessed memory, former communist idealists who came to the conclusion that they betrayed the truth of their people to serve the lie of a graven image - they not only came back to Judaism with a vengeance as they say, but they started to conceive Jewish martyrdom as a concept which invests one with dignity, as a mission of spiritual grandeur. They accepted their torments stoically and warned against complaints. "We deserve all this," Joseph Zadkin, devoured by remorse, keeps on saying. "We have sins to atone for...No complaints. No, no complaints." Dr. Haritt, on the other hand, had only one great worry even when he expected to die soon of leukemia: namely, lest a Jewish prisoner, by his behavior, bring dishonor to the sacred name of Israel! Most of them perished, or were executed - there were as many deaths in those days in the Siberian concentration camp of Norilsk as there were in Bergen Belsen - but the element of remorse had added there a strength to the character of the Jew which was beyond reason.

I always shudder when I hear Jewish spiritual leaders going out of their way to prove that Judaism was all reason. But isn't it a fact that Jewish soul has reasons which reason does not understand? Isn't it a fact that Jewish history as a whole is one great miracle, inexplicable by reason? When a sceptical French king once asked his pious minister whether he can prove to him the existence of miracles, he answered: "Why, sure, Your Majesty - the Jews!" The minister was referring to the miracle of spiritual

strength which is beyond any logical formulae and cannot be explained with what people call common sense. Jewish history is uncommon sense. It is the history of a partly expressed redeeming message which we carry in our blood and which craves full expression. Judaism possesses the richest spiritual oil fields in the world, but it hardly digs for the oil. At a time when the world we live in - whose two super powers possess enough atomic explosives to destroy two hundred globes the size of our planet earth - is looking all over for new resources of spiritual strength, the separate voice of Judaism is hardly audible. And don't let anybody tell us that a separate voice is undesirable since normalization is our aim. But if the grand finale, so to speak, of the unique Jewish performance on the stage of history - to quote the eminent Hebrew writer Avraham Kervive - will be marked by imitational normalcies - for what is normalcy, the way it is commonly understood, but a desire to be like the rest? - not only that all our history will become meaningless, but all our Prophets, martyrs and sages down the ages will turn into sterile and pitiable Don Quixotes..

The Jews cannot be just another people, as Israel cannot be just another state. We have promises to keep; we have messages to deliver; we have a story to tell; we have a way to show. Thousands of years ago we wiped the nose of a paganistically infantile humanity, stuck a prayer book under its arms and told it: Go on, walk! Now when this humanity, in its older days, has lost its way in the jungle of history - it is for us to help find it. That's what we expect from ourselves, and that's what the world, the soulful world that is, expects from us. That world is not misled by the word "normalcy:" What's so normal about the world's greatest democracy - the USA - spending 45 billion dollars a year for entertainment and being bored stiff?

And what's so normal about Europe's oldest democracy whose most widely read newspapers are vying with each other for the publication rights of the memoirs of two prostitutes? And I am mentioning only the free countries. We don't have to lose a word about the pathology of the totalitarian regimes. No, my friends, the world is, at best, subnormal; and if Judaism is to subscribe to this trend, the secret of the spiritual tigers of our people will be forever buried under the skin of the assimilationist lamb or the self-hating skunk. Judaism, in its true sense, is a call to rise above normalcy; for the Jew, the historical Jew, if he is not above it, is below it. And it all depends on ourselves. If we shall regard ourselves, as Yehuda Halevi regarded his people -- namely as the "heart" of the peoples -- Israel will become the heart of the nations, for that is what it was meant to be.

But if we shall continue to regard our people only as victims of persecution who happened to be carriers of a heritage, then the maximum we can hope for is equality, and equality alone will not secure survival. But we are not only the trustees of a heritage, we are the carriers of a mission: We are not only victims of persecution, we have the recipe how to do away with it by providing the world with a deterrent against evil which spiritual Judaism possesses. And I use the word "deterrent" advisedly, for not too long ago a German author was quoted in "The New York Times" as having expressed himself that the Germans, within themselves, have no deterrent against evil.

The ingathering of the exiles, which you make possible, is not only an act of physical rescue and rehabilitation but, in the long run, a deed of releasing and assembling suppressed sparks so that they can rekindle the great flame on the mountains of Zion and pronounce the words which had been only partly spoken. "There is still a long road ahead of us," writes the great

Rabbi Kook, "to finish what we have begun to do ... we began to speak a great word among ourselves and in the ears of the entire world, and we have not yet completed it. We stand in the midst of our speech...we cannot stop it, nor do we want to. The truth within us is sufficiently powerful, but it is so rich and overflowing that we are not capable yet of expressing it in clear language...In our inwardness we understand our thoughts; and in the course of time, our speech, too, will be liberated from the stultifying cobwebs of exile, so that we shall be able to speak again."

It's time for a change, a change in our attitude toward our past and in our thoughts about the future. And the first condition for such a change is the abolition of indifference. I am never tired of quoting a Jewish author in Poland, Edward Joshinski, who died in a communist prison and who wrote down, before he died, the following legacy: "Don't be afraid of your enemies, the most they can do is kill you; don't be afraid of your friends, the most they can do is betray you; those you should be afraid of are the indifferent; they are neither friends nor foes, they neither kill nor betray, but because of their indifference there are so many killings and betrayals in the world."

These words are sacred, or should be, particularly to us Jews, and especially now. Right now, and before our very eyes, two attempts are being made in two different places by two opposing forces to destroy us. One such attempt - aimed at the physical elimination of the State of Israel - is being made by Nazi scientists in Egypt who are engaged in the production of forbidden weapons so as to enable Egypt to launch a blitzkrieg against us; the other attempt is being made in Russia and is aimed at our spiritual elimination or, as I put it earlier, at the assassination of our souls.

In the struggle against this unholy alliance of Moslem fanatics, Nazi scientists and Russian anti-semites, we stand alone. But in Israel, in spite of this aloneness, or maybe just because of it, there are signs, side by side with her growing concern with the defense of her hallowed ground, of an attempt to rise above it, to touch heaven. "What happened to our Hazon?" you hear people ask whenever they notice a slackening of spiritual values. "What are we without it?" And "Hazon" means vision, inspiration, Prophecy!

And there is a story about Our Prophecy with which I would like to conclude my remarks. In the library of Almighty God - so the story goes - great, powerful volumes were vying for divine recognition. There rose one enormous volume called "Roman Civilization"; there rose another, beautifully bound called "Greek Civilization"; there rose a third called "Eastern Culture." But then, a humble little volume rose, and when it identified itself by the words it uttered, all other volumes fell back in silence and reverence, and the words it uttered were few: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want."

Thank you very much.

CONFIDENTIAL

NOT FOR REPUBLICATION

Address By

RABBI ISADORE BRESLAU

AMERICAN JEWISH
to the
ARCHIVES

THIRD ANNUAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

of the
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

New York Hilton Hotel

September 14, 1963



It is so characteristic of our Jewish life, and of Jewish behavior in general, that on this Shabbas morning the sermon was delivered by Zvi Kolitz, and the lessons derived from it will have to be presented by Rabbi Breslau. I hesitate to take you from that lofty Mount Sinai where he has left us and bring you down to the foot of the mountain where we have to deal with the day-to-day problems that might, in time, lead all members of our community -- through an accomplishment and dedication -- to that same pinnacle where he brought us.

He may not know it, but Zvi Kolitz paid you a very, very high compliment by the selection of his theme and by the manner in which he delivered it. It was the kind of a sermon which could be preached not only to top-level leadership, but to a top-level group of people concerned with the philosophy and the history of our people.

I want to come down to the area of operations where you and I belong in our respective communities, and attempt to answer the question: "What does it mean to be a responsible Jew?" I want to deal with your experience and my experience in our own communal fields.

I have no sermon to preach, no philosophy to teach, but to deal with certain pragmatic things. To begin with, you who are here today, I am not asking why you are here. This very lofty philosophical sermon we listened to is a by-product, an additional dividend on what we came here for, but we are here not merely because you received an invitation to this Youth Conference. Hundreds of others received it and didn't come. You came.

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Why? Basically, if you stop to think about it, it is because your coming and my coming and our coming here together testifies to an inner concern; a real, personal concern for Jewish survival. You wish to help insure it, and that is why you are here and that is why I am here.

I don't know who selected the theme. I received a note some time ago from Irving Bernstein that I was to make a talk about "responsible Jews." He said, "I heard that you made some kind of a talk like that in Washington and that it was well received. I want you to talk about it here."

I didn't select the subject. I find it difficult even now to deal with it.

What does it mean to be a responsible Jew? First of all, of course, it means simply to be a responsible adult, to assume the responsibilities of adulthood. I have observed that in our respective communities, far too long do our sons and daughters get that free ride on the coattails of their fathers and mothers. They realize and appreciate the fact that they need certain so-called services to make their lives full and rich and complete: services in terms of Jewish education, Jewish religious life, Jewish communal organizations, even an expression of concern for fellow Jews everywhere in the world. They realize this is important to them.

Somehow it is being taken care of by somebody else. Papa is paying the bills. Mama is the president of Hadassah. They are doing it. We wait too long, and the responsibilities are being sloughed off by us of the older generations—and sloughed off by the hands of the Reaper when we are no longer here. This gap and your resumption of responsibility, this is what is our concern.

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If we fail at all in assuring the continuity of Jewish life and Jewish growth, it is because of this gap. We become adults in every other respect. We become fathers and mothers in the general sense, but as Jews it takes us an awfully long time to become adults. This is our complaint and our plea with you.

In speaking of a "responsible Jew", you may think I am dealing in semantics. There is a difference between the terms: "responsible to," and "responsible for"; responsible to something or responsible for something.

All of us recognize, even from an adolescent period when we begin thinking like grown-up people, that we have responsibilities to this, that or the other thing. We express our responsibility. We try to love our parents. We try to be good boys and girls at school. We try to do what is expected of us. We are responsible to something. That is not enough. To guarantee the continuance of Jewish growth and life, there comes a moment when you have got to begin to recognize that you are responsible for these things. When no one else speaks, you have got to speak. When others fail to initiate a program, you have got to initiate one.

We have done very well by you. We sent you to college; we enabled you to get degrees. We would like to believe that the time has come when you begin accepting responsibilities for things, whatever they are.

You know, really, it is far more your concern than it is ours. I will tell you why. One of the most embarrassing moments I ever experienced was in relation to this question. Some years ago - twenty-three years ago, to be exact - a group of us who were termed the "Young Turks" started a revolution in the Zionist organization. We went to Pittsburgh to a convention

and we turned things upside down. We fought such giants as Stephen Wise and Louis Lipsky, really tremendous personalities. They couldn't understand that we were young people and were unhappy about conditions.

One night, the night before the historic meeting when we really threw them out of office, Stephen Wise called a group of people to his room. This was at two o'clock in the morning. Most of the men he called were his students, what he called his disciples, his boys. We came there. We sat on the floor, on the beds, all around.

Stephen kept talking to us and asking us, "Why are you boys in such a hurry? Why aren't you reasonable? Why don't you wait a while? Look at Lipsky; he deserves the best from us. Why can't you wait? Let us come to an understanding, let us compromise."

When no one said anything, I had the nerve, and I said, without thinking, "Doctor, the reason we are so impatient is that we are going to live with this problem a lot longer than you." I could have bitten my tongue when I said that. Stephen Wise was an old man and I was a youngster, presumably. I wasn't so young, really. I looked younger than I was.

This is a fact; you are going to live a lot longer with this problem than we are. That is why it is so important to you, far more important to us that you begin to take over these responsibilities and become responsible for the things I and your fathers and mothers have been working for for so many generations. It is your future.

Without becoming philosophical, without preaching at you, I know you quite intimately. I have children of my own. I know that you are interested in a good life and I know that you want a good, healthy environment in the

world or in the community when your children begin to grow up. It is not going to happen by itself. You have got to do something about it. That is all I can say with respect to responsibility for it. It is your job because it is your future and it is your world. I wish to God that I could be here with you. It would be impossible to expect these things. We won't be here. A few short years hence and you will be the elders of the community.

You know, this business of always leaving the job to papa, maybe somehow that is the fault of our own tradition. We always spoke of the elders that sat in the gate, the elders for whom everyone had respect, who were presumed to have all the knowledge, and they made all the decisions. It is no longer so. When it was so, maybe it was all right. We no longer give the elders this authority, and letting the elders only foot the bill isn't enough. Let us get into harness early. Let us get into harness early and take on these responsibilities.

One of the finest things, I think -- and this is not a political pitch from me -- one of the finest things that the Kennedy Administration has projected in American life is the business of the Peace Corps. It is a fantastic thing. Young men and women in America are willing to go to the four corners of the earth in pursuit of an ideal, in pursuit of some altruistic program. They have imagination and they are picking it up. That is fine and there are many Jews among them.

Some have talked to me and said, "Well, this is really it." I started thinking how wonderful it is that our children are so responsive to that kind of an appeal.

What about our own Peace Corps? Why is it more noble to spend your

young life in Kenya for the sake of an ideal? It is important, it is noble. Why is it more important to go to Kenya than to go to the other hell points of the world where Jews are in misery and need your help? Why is it more important to go to Kenya than to Israel; more important to go to Kenya than to Marseilles, to Paris or to Vienna or other areas where Jews are under pressure and need help? Why isn't there a movement from within you, a desire to move along in the same spirit? I have no fault to find with the kind of demands that the older man Ben Gurion places upon the Jews in the world. I am not arguing with him in his philosophy. He has every right to expect that within the lines of our Jewish youth there could come the same kind of response that a Kennedy could evoke from the lines of American youth for general, human needs.

Someone asked a question this morning at the session that was held with regard to NYANA in New York. Does NYANA only concern itself with the Jewish immigrant? We support as many non-Jewish programs of relief and rescue as anyone else, but, in heaven's name, right now we are concerned with the most pressing problem that faces our people. No one takes this load from us, no one carries it for us. You won't find at a meeting of some Catholic organization anyone saying, "What are we doing for the Protestants or what are we doing for the Jews?"

We have a right to ask you: "What are you doing for Jews lately?"

I must say that it is wonderful that so many of you came, and I can speak with some measure of satisfaction because there is a good representation from our community. Even so, however, we are only a handful. How many are here from Washington? Half a dozen, five? We ought to have fifty here from Washington. We should have had fifty from Cleveland and fifty from Detroit

76
and fifty from all our cities. We have only a handful but we are thankful and grateful for those that came.

I am reminded of when I was much younger, maybe the age of some of you here, and I was preparing for the rabbinate. I wanted to go to the Jewish Theological Seminary and I needed some special instructions, so I studied with an uncle of mine who was an orthodox rabbi in Albany, New York. After each evening's study we would have some disputation with regard to what I was getting involved in. He didn't think much about the rabbinical field I was going into. To him, I wasn't going to be any kind of a rabbi, but he was a saintly person.

One night I found him a little bit impatient, and I said, "Uncle, tell me, do you really believe that in the Herkimer Street shul where you are the rabbi and every Sabbath only a handful of people come, that with that kind of approach to the Jews in America you are going to capture the American Jewish community and revive them and make them help?"

He wasn't disturbed and he said, "I know there are five million Jews in America. Where is it written that it has to be five million Jews in America? If there will be fifty thousand good Jews in America, it is enough. Because of these fifty thousand good Jews in America, there might come salvation for all the Jews in the world."

I have often thought of that. How true it is, and how few we are. If you were to add up all the presidents and all the chairmen of UJA's and all the big shots, you wouldn't get fifty thousand who, in the first instance, are concerned for Jewish responsibilities.

The thing that we miss most of all, is the kind of fire and passion,

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warmth and zeal, and the kind of expressed idealism we used to find in the earlier meetings of some twenty or thirty years ago.

For example, we had in 1948, 1949 and 1950, that kind of zeal when we rescued hundreds of thousands of Jews. When we emptied the camps we got together and didn't talk about quotas. We emoted. We never calculated how much we could devote to these causes. I am getting a little impatient with our present area of action when we begin to calculate, with the precision of a slide rule, how much we are going to devote now for the UJA program, for the Joint Distribution Committee or for the Jewish Agency. We are speaking of human lives that are in need of saving, lives that are on the brink of catastrophe -- men, women, children, old and young, and we are calculating with practical programs.

This is something that you can contribute to our councils which we have already forgotten, gotten cold about, perhaps. That is the passion and the zeal and the excitement and the imagination of youth and of young people. That is how important you are to us. You are the most important element of this program, of this responsibility.

There is more hope around these tables than there is amongst the five million Jews in America. You can do it.

I have spoken that way to other young groups in some such fashion, and I have had something like this asked me, "Well, that is all fine, but look, in our own community in Washington, we even have a Brotherhood for the Home for the Aged, of young people. We have all kinds of activities. I do this."

I think it is wonderful. I think it is fine if young people become involved in all programs that serve in one fashion or another the progress and the conservation of Jewish life and values. But make no mistake about it:

if you want to point your goal hard, there have been references made to challenges. We have been challenged by this and challenged by that. What was the challenge of my generation, and what is the challenge of your generation? It isn't the challenges that my generation created nor that you created.

Implicit in what Zvi Kolitz said, the challenge was in the kind of a world in which we live and of the pressures that developed.

For centuries we had problems in a closed-up ghettoized Europe. For centuries we did very little. We manipulated within the area of conserving scholarship and learning and all that, but in the last fifty years, a short period, we have found it necessary to go beyond the early vision of self-emancipation. We have had to help emancipate not a handful of people from this village or that village or this community, but peoples from whole areas of the world. We have helped save since 1948 over a million and a half Jews. The next million and a half Jews is your responsibility. If you want to attach yourselves to a program that has appeal and that has substance, this is it. Whether you like it or not, somebody will have to do it or our people will be lost in the attempt. In the next ten, fifteen or twenty years, we will have to emancipate not a million or a million and a half but maybe two and a half, or even three million Jews. They are there waiting, and they have the same right and the same justification for their case as we had when we were emancipated.

Who were we? What is fifty years in the wide history of the people, certainly in our history? If some day, one thousand years from now, someone were to write with a broad pen what happened in this period, we would find ourselves, you and I, as part of the same migration that began in the Eighteen Eighties and Nineties, when the doors were opened.

We are not apart from the problem, the raw problem that now exists in North Africa and behind the Iron Curtain. We are part of it. This is the challenging responsibility for which we have to ask you to accept responsibility. We have saved a million and a half, and it is little enough when we consider that we have lost six million. You have to save the other million and a half.

Over the years, like Herb Friedman and all our rabbis in or out of the pulpit, I have talked to young groups time and again. This is different. You know why? Because most often we have talked to young people at college campuses and the communities at the academic level. We theorize about the future of Israel, its history, its contribution. We are not theorizing here. Here we are dealing with the actual substance, the fact of life or death, of the future which rests in your hands. You are a different kind of group of people, and that is why you give us hope. Before we get too tired please, please push us aside and take over the job alongside us. You are the most helpful unit in the United Jewish Appeal.

Thank you.

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AN ADDRESS

by

U. S. SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
of Minnesota

DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ANNUAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

New York Hilton Hotel

September 14, 1963

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Tonight I want to talk to you a little bit about matters that you already know about. But after all, Americans are peculiar people. They can't sit down to eat without having a speech, and if I were to go to a dinner where they didn't let me speak, I don't think I could digest my food. You just become a creature and victim of habit.

I want to talk tonight to the young in heart. I am going to try not to talk to you as a senior citizen. There was a time when I could come before an audience like this and talk about "we young people".

I was at a wedding reception this afternoon. There were several little ladies about 10, 11, 12 years of age, and I was introducing them, and they were introducing me, and one of them said when she introduced me to her neighbor, a new neighbor, "He grew up with us."

I sort of feel that I am the right speaker for tonight. If a 12 year old girl can say that I grew up with her, that makes me one of the younger members of this group, too.

I want to talk to you about your responsibilities. You have heard all this as to what you are supposed to do, but maybe there is something that we can say here that will tell you what you are really supposed to do.

First of all, every person in this room who is associated with or affiliated with the United Jewish Appeal has inherited a wonderful, wonderful gift. The United Jewish Appeal is a going program, an institution, a spirit and a movement. In fact, I call it one of the great evident voluntary instruments for lifesaving and life-building ever created by Americans, and the slogan on the backdrop behind me and facing you tells vividly, in simple, precise terms and language and numbers what it means. When you can be responsible for rescuing or aiding 3,000,000 people who are needy and destitute and saving their lives and not merely saving their lives but helping make a better

life for them, you have indeed inherited a precious gift.

In fact, it is a heritage that no one can afford to abandon. Anyone that inherits something has an obligation to use it well and to add to it. We should never be exploiters; we should be conservationists; we should conserve that which we have and add to it.

I have made a lot of commencement addresses in my life and most of them that you hear are rather dull, and I suppose mine are, too, but I have spoken to young people, much younger than those here tonight and told them that I didn't sympathize with their problems one bit.

Many people come to us these days, even people at my age, and they will say, "Oh, isn't it a terrible world, and isn't it terrible what we're leaving to the young people - all these problems, all these ideas, and we're moving too fast, going from the nuclear age to the space age. Once there was radio, and then there was television, and now it is space," and so on, down the line.

Well, it has always been the same. Every generation is of the opinion that its problems are the most difficult to face any generation. When you get along a little bit in the future, and you can't do much about the problems, then you talk about how difficult it is going to be for your children. And your children begin to believe it.

I am not here to tell you that things are going to be difficult. I think we have spent far too much time talking about the problems and the difficulties. We ought to talk about the challenges and the opportunities, because problems and difficulties immediately set up all kinds of negative reactions. Challenges and opportunities really get a hold of you, if there is anything to you, if you are young at heart, if you are young of spirit, if you have the vitality, the emotional, the intellectual, the spiritual and physical vitality

that young people ought to have -- and youth has nothing to do with age.

I met David Ben-Gurion in Israel in 1957, for the first time, and I had just been to another country where I met a leader who was much younger. All this younger leader told me about was the miserable problems he had faced and how difficult it was going to be and he insulted and assailed the United States.

Well, I was on a good-will mission, and I wasn't in the mood to engage in an argument, so I listened politely and then went on my way.

Then I came to Tel Aviv, and I went on over to Jerusalem, and I met with Mr. Ben-Gurion, who was then Prime Minister, and he was quite an old man in terms of years: you know, the white hair and the open shirt. And we were looking at the map of Israel, and he was pointing out to me some of the projects that you might call problems that they had, and he was telling me what they were going to do. He was telling me about Elat, he was telling me about matters in the Tel Aviv area, and he was telling me about the great desert area, and what they were going to do in each of these areas.

He said: "We're making room here, Senator, for more people. We're going to build more schools, more farms and provide more jobs."

And I said to him, "Isn't this exceedingly difficult in light of your present problems and commitments?" I will never forget, I said to him, "It seems to me that it is almost impossible." And he said, "It is, and that is why we're going to do it." Anybody can do what is possible."

You can go out here in the street and just stop somebody along the street and ask him to do what's possible and he'll do it. Almost everybody is a good fellow. We always hear that term these days, "He's a good fellow."

So what? We're brought up to be good fellows. It doesn't make you amount to anything particularly.

What we need today are not just good fellows, but people who cannot only do the possible but who are willing to face up to what some people say is impossible, and then do it.

That's the way we gained our freedom, that's what Abraham Lincoln did with the Emancipation Proclamation, that's what Franklin Delano Roosevelt did when they told him it is impossible to build 50,000 airplanes a year, but he saw to it that it was done.

When others said it was impossible to split the atom, Einstein said it could be done, and there have been some others also who have done the impossible.

Therefore, we tell our youth today, our boys and girls, your sons and daughters, my daughter and sons — I tell them that what we need today is not just mediocrity. This country can't survive on that nor can the world be saved in terms of its freedom and a better life by just mediocrity. We need excellence.

So, we are insisting on better performance in our schools. Industry insists on better performance from its management, and with automation, the challenge is going to be better performance from workers. We're going to be pushed to do better, and sometimes I think we are almost fortunate to have the kind of opposition we have in the world.

I read an article in the Chicago Sunday Times by a reporter whose name for the moment escapes me, and he said, "Thank You," to the Red Devil. Practically everything we do in Congress these days is finally done because if we don't do it somebody says, "The communists will win."

I would like to get some things done because they are the right things to do. If we have to be afraid of the communists to get it done, all right, then maybe we ought to use that fear.

I repeat: What we need is a higher standard of performance in every area of life: in Politics, in Government, in Business, in Professions, in Social Work, in Community Work, whatever it may be, because that is the only way that we are going to be able to live and to compete. In foreign trade, every business man knows today that we have our competition and it isn't all from people of another ideology. It comes from people who believe as we believe, think as we think, do as we do, only do it better in some instances. The fact of the matter is we can do it better ourselves if we really want to, and when we want to, we demonstrate it.

So, I say to those of you who are here at the Young Leadership Conference, that we have to set new standards for this generation just as another generation set its standards.

One can use many analogies. I remember that it was not long ago when a man who could run the 100 yard dash in 10 seconds was a good runner. Some of you may remember Charlie Paddock, who was the champion when I was a boy. He was fast. He would be walking backwards now compared to what today's sprinters do. We go faster, we do bigger things, and why? Because each generation has to set its own standards. There's the four-minute mile. This is what they ran once in Madison Square Garden. It was great. Why, nowadays you can get a fellow that's almost got a "Charley Horse" in both legs to run a four-minute mile.

We do better. The pole vault. Each year sees a new record in the pole vault.

But that doesn't mean that we scorn the past, it means we accept what has been done in the past, we take it, we husband it, we nourish it in a sense, we build on it. And we build a better record, a better performance,

and I believe that is what you are out to do here.

When I came to this meeting, I talked with some of your officers and your leaders and said, "Well, just what emphasis can I put here that will be of help?" And of course it is quite simple and great.

The truth is that most of us have not experienced some of the tragedies of life that others have. I talk to my sons and daughter about the depression and they look at me and say, "Cut it out, Dad." They look at me and say, "The old boy has let his imagination get the best of him."

My sons have never known what it was to be poor, nor my daughter, my son-in-law and my daughter-in-law. They have never had the experience. They have never seen a dust storm that has made a whole city one mass of darkness. I saw them for weeks on end. They have never seen the top soil blown away. They have never seen the banking structure of a great industrial and financial nation collapse. They have never seen bread lines. They don't know about the depression -- and I hope they never have to learn.

But because they have never seen it doesn't mean that they are removed from obligation to help the poor or the needy, or to be good Americans and good citizens. In fact, they have a greater obligation.

I never did feel that one who was forced to go on relief, or WPA, or call it what you will, had much of an obligation to his community. I heard many people say, "Well, they got help from the Government and they ought, therefore, to be grateful."

Do you know the man who ought to be grateful? The man who didn't have to go on relief. That is the man who should be grateful. What a break. How lucky I was. My family didn't have to. We came mighty close to it. We were living off people who were on it; we were in business.

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I never have forgotten that. I have never felt high and mighty, and I have been very, very concerned about what conditions might prevail in this country 'n the years ahead.

I think that those of us who have been fortunate enough to have a better break in life ought to remember our heritage, and we ought to remember the experiences of our elders; we ought to remember the history of our community; we ought to remember what other people have gone through to give to us, and then we ought to do something about it and make sure that what we have received will never be squandered or exploited or wasted, but that we will add to it, and we will use it for good purposes.

Many an immigrant came to this country with nothing. Fortunately, they came to a country that offered opportunity, where there was a sense of compassion, where there was charity, where there were organizations -- if not the United Jewish Appeal in those days, similar organizations -- people that helped you and helped your parents and your grandparents. And out of this help, out of this act of compassion and charity came capable people, successful people, educated people, people with prestige, people who gained respect and admiration in their community, people who accumulated worldly goods. Some of the most generous people in America --- who have contributed to this nation's economy, to the arts and culture of our country -- are the very people who came to us with little or nothing, the hungry, the weary, the tired and the sick. When they were given the privilege of making something out of their lives, they didn't forget that fact and they have contributed generously, not only to America but to others, who were in similar circumstances far away.

My fellow Americans, we are blessed people in this country.

We have a fabulous social structure that provides for the needy where there is need. But not all areas of the world are the same.

Now, it just goes without saying that if you are one of the fortunate ones, one who lives in the good house, in the good neighborhood, with your children in good schools, in good health, and that it seems as if God shines upon you with his beneficence and his generosity, then you have a special obligation to one that is not in those circumstances, and that is what the United Jewish Appeal is all about.

UJA is not an organization; it is a sense of personal commitment to compassion, to charity, to helpfulness, to assistance to the needy, to those who need a helping hand. And what better thing is there you can do? It makes a better citizen out of you. The best citizens that we have, the best people that we have, are the people who learn how to share. I am going to make a statement here tonight that I don't think anyone can disprove.

I have never known a nation or an individual that bankrupted itself or himself by sharing, by generous sharing. But I have seen individuals who lived a life that was ingrown; a life that was selfish; I have seen nations that lived a life that was selfish, and they came crumbling and tumbling down in despair and distress.

We saw it in America in 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932. We closed our gates to immigration, closed our gates to foreign trade, closed our foreign financing, closed our minds, closed our hearts, closed our banks and closed our business, and we almost went into a total collapse until someone reminded us that the purpose of society and of government was social justice and not just budgets, or double entry bookkeeping, or what some people called efficiency.

I have seen individuals the same way, who have lived the miserable life of protecting themselves only, only to lose everything either through sickness or tragedy or miscalculation in business. And it is to the eternal credit of this nation as a nation that we have shared of our tremendous production and wealth with others and as we shared with them we have grown more prosperous.

I know I'm a politician, I get all the mail. I get a thousand letters a day at a minimum -- and I read many of them. And I pay taxes, and I've got the Internal Revenue Service looking at me just like it looks at you, and I've got a lot of others looking, too.

I know what it means to face up to these problems. I have a family. I am not a man of wealth, but I want to tell you, I am proud of the fact that I have been able to live in a time when the United States of America has been able to help others to help themselves, when we have been able to be generous, when we have been able to extend to people not only our money, our wealth, but also our youth, our people, our technology, our science, our know-how. What a wonderful thing that is. And I am pleased that I have been able to live in a time when I can come to group after group such as yours and urge you, literally, implore you, to give, not only of wealth and of money, but of yourselves; to pour yourselves, your soul, your body, your spirit into the good works and the good deeds that need to be done, and there is so much that needs to be done, so terribly much.

Thank goodness for young people. They are younger than most of you. First of all, they are idealistic. When you meet an eighteen-year-old, or a nineteen, or twenty-one year old in college, he is filled with idealism, he has the answers. You know it right away.

Well, those answers are almost as good as the answers of those that have got bigger answers and such youngsters talk to you with a sense of purpose, a sense of idealism that comes from our heritage, our Judaeo-Christian heritage. It comes from what we call our Western culture, this democratic heritage. The day young Americans don't have this sense of idealism, that is the day to worry and that sense of idealism needs to come along with young families, because we as parents can't impart it unless you believe it, and the best way to believe it is by example.

When young people see mother and father doing what needs to be done for those who can't do it for themselves, then the ideals of giving, of sharing, of compassion, of charity, of faith, come alive.

You can talk about sharing all you want, and it doesn't mean much. But when you share, the act and example are powerful, and I happen to know that in this audience tonight are the very people who are setting that good example, not only for families, but for communities.

I repeat: charity, voluntary service, is good for the soul and good for the citizen, and good for the citizenry.

One of the virtues distinguishing the United States from other societies is our voluntary activity. We don't depend upon organized government for everything. We depend upon individual citizens, groups, organizations, ethnic groups, religious groups, cultural groups and civic groups to do things that need to be done. We have got to have a continuing line of leadership coming up.

When I go home to my home state of Minnesota I have to be very sure that I am doing well politically. There are more young men and women wanting my job than I can count, and they are in my party. When I started out in

politics they called it "Humphrey's diaper brigade." I was the old man. I was thirty-four when I was elected. The present Secretary of Agriculture (Orville Freeman) was one of our diaper brigade; Senator Eugene McCarthy was one of our diaper brigade; the present Governor of Minnesota (Arthur Maklin) was one of our diaper brigade, he was my secretary. He was twenty-three years of age, when I was thirty-four years of age when I was mayor of Minneapolis, and we have dozens like him.

We started out with young people. Mrs. Eugenia Anderson, wife of the present Ambassador to Bulgaria, came in to work with us politically. I have prided myself on one achievement in politics; not election results, but the fact that we have been able to inspire literally hundreds of young people to come into the political process, and we have had no corruption, no bossism. We have people that make sure that the party is clean because they are looking to clean out anyone who gets out of step. This is what I mean by taking over the responsibilities of leadership. As some of us may falter, through age, infirmity, mistake or abuse, or getting too big for ourselves, then others move in and we leave them with a good heritage, just as you have been left a mighty good heritage.

Let me just wind up this message on what I think are two paramount issues that are going to require your help. I don't need to tell you that you have an obligation. Much has been handed on to you and much is expected of you. I am sure you know that today in the emerging countries, youthful leadership is ever-present, making many mistakes but also leading. I want to make sure that our country, this United States of America, is in tune with this youthful leadership and doesn't find itself being worried about those who are out of tune with the forces of progress. We have a tendency to do

that because a powerful, rich nation such as this occasionally gets a little streak of conservatism which once in awhile turns even into reaction. That is why we need young people.

I don't ask you about your political party, but we need young leadership in every avenue and every walk of American life to make sure that America doesn't become reactionary, to make sure that the radicals of the right don't destroy the rightness of our cause, and if we don't have you young men and women working in the voluntary organizations to set the pattern of social conduct and social morality we are not going to be able to hold this country to the path of sensible, responsible liberalism and progressivism. If we don't stay on that path we will lose the path of leadership and rightly so, because this world is going to move. The question of where it moves and how it moves depends upon leadership.

Leadership means to be informed, to understand people, to understand the social forces that are at work; to have a program and be willing to sacrifice for that program and go out and do battle for that program. That is the way we make changes.

There are two great issues before the American people today. One is called Civil Rights and the other one is called the Nuclear Test Ban. Put it another way; human rights and peace. That is simplifying it. My public life and in a very real sense my private life have been identified with these two issues. I am very grateful to Alan Sagner tonight for mentioning that in 1948 in Philadelphia it was my privilege to stand up before the Democratic convention and introduce a minority plank to the Democratic platform and overturn that convention and make that political party face up to the truth, and to its responsibilities in the field of human rights.

Certainly we had the Dixiecrat movement, but we would have had it any way. We just must face up to that, too. That is another force in American public life that needs to be exposed for what it is; reaction, selfishness, not just conservatism.

Conservatism has a legitimate role to play in life, public or private, because at least it does conserve. But reaction turns back, retreats before reality and refuses to face problems and challenges. In 1948 many men asked me, "Why did you stand up for civil rights?"

I said, "Because we did it in Minneapolis."

My city was known -- and you can read the book of Carey McWilliams -- as the next worst anti-semitic city in the United States. We had the Christian Fronters, the Gerald K. Smiths, and all of them. We set out to do something about it. Maybe it was because we were young and we didn't know that we couldn't do it.

We broke the back of this ugly social phenomenon. We opened up the clubs in what was then a civil rights issue. We had a community self-survey where we put a mighty mirror over the whole city and took a look and saw dirty faces. We found hospitals that discriminated against doctors who were Jewish or Catholic. We found all kinds of practices, even in our schools that people didn't even know about. We found clubs with by-laws that they had never read and some of us made up our minds that we would resign from the clubs or we would stand up, amend the laws and we did.

It happened there with a group of young people who took on leadership. We passed the first municipal Fair Employment Practice ordinance with enforcement powers in the United States. They said it couldn't be done. The City

Council said they wouldn't vote for it, and I said we would get a new City Council; there will be another election. We got a half new City Council and the rest of them got religion.

We got the FEPC. It wasn't easy. So, when Philadelphia came it was but another step.

In 1956 I introduced a resolution in the Senate of the United States to establish a special committee in the field of disarmament and arms control and I was assailed in many areas: "Humphrey is an appeaser, a communist sympathizer, undermining the security of the United States." A lot of bunk! But you expect that, or you get out of politics. If they didn't do that I wouldn't think that I was worth while. The day I don't get some criticism I'll quit. Of course, that will give me a long tenure, the way it looks.

We started with this little committee and three years later we recommended in 1958 a limited nuclear test ban treaty to prohibit further nuclear tests in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space. We held hundreds of hearings but nobody paid much attention to them. I used to complain to the newspapers, and I said, "Why don't you cover it?"

They said, "Well, it is not news. Who is getting killed, who is being assaulted, who is being accused?" We didn't accuse anybody, we didn't kill anybody, we didn't find any crooks. Therefore, it wasn't news. All we did was study, work, prepare the first great bibliography of disarmament material in the United States and bring all the literature together, get people talking and working in this area, instructing our delegation to the United Nations in 1958, in 1959, in 1960, every year, to take this up and to take the lead.

Ladies and gentlemen, in May of this year the Senator from Connecticut, Mr. Dodd, and myself, with thirty-four other Senators, introduced a resolution. We broke the back of the opposition on the Nuclear Test Ban treaty, on that day when we had thirty-four Senators. Until then, there had been nothing but an attack upon anything that was considered to be a limited nuclear test ban treaty or any kind of a nuclear test ban treaty. People said, "You can't trust the Russians; they will never agree; you are going to weaken our security." We hear the same arguments. Then one day the President of the United States decided to try once again. We tried in Geneva. I was there several times working with our delegation. We got no place, and I said in Geneva last February that if we couldn't get a nuclear test ban treaty by this summer, that we might never get one.

I spent ten years of my life studying in this field. Eight years active chairmanship in a committee, and then came June and July and President Kennedy sent a note to Premier Khrushchev, to Prime Minister Macmillan, and Macmillan and Kennedy sent a note to Khrushchev and they said, "We would like to discuss with your representative the possibility of not only a comprehensive treaty that covered underground tests as well, but a limited nuclear test ban treaty for specific purposes and spell it out."

Strange as it may seem, Mr. Khrushchev said he was interested. Of course he was interested. He wanted other things tied into it too. We said that we are not interested in tie-ins. One thing at a time. Ladies and gentlemen, the treaty will be settled this coming week before the United States Senate. A great historic decision will be made this coming week; whether or not the Senate of the United States will advise and consent by a two-thirds majority of the members present, and voting to the treaty that was negotiated

at Moscow and signed by the Secretary of State on behalf of the United States of America. I predict that it will be ratified.

This took some initiative: it took a young president who in June, at American University, made a commencement address in which he laid down a different policy, declaring that peace is a process, and one must build it step by step, opening the door just a little for sensible negotiations. That statement had an electrifying effect.

Many people have asked, why have the Russians now accepted a treaty which they wouldn't accept before? There are maybe a dozen reasons, some of them favorable and some of them not so favorable. But I am sure of one thing, that when President John Kennedy went before that audience at American University, with strength of character and strength of purpose and yet with a sense of understanding and reasonableness, and pleaded with the world to search unceasingly for the key to peace and to search for the process of peace, he exemplified leadership in its finest form and it brought a favorable reaction.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, we have before the Congress of the United States a tremendous program in the field of civil rights. We have before the Senate of the United States the first great post-war treaty that will put some kind of a brake, limited as it is, upon the arms race.

Let this be crystal-clear to you: the arms race, if it goes on without inhibition, if it proceeds pell-mell, will result in catastrophe, not only for us but for the world. Any responsible person should know this, and I say in all reverence, thank God that the President of the United States knows it and seeks to put some kind of restraint upon the great force of science called nuclear energy which can be used for massive destruction

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or for so much good; it only depends upon what man wills.

Meanwhile: one hundred years after 1863: the American Negro wants equality now, and I know many people, many of us, including myself, may have said "it seems to me that they are going too fast," or "it seems to me that there are too many demonstrations," or, "it seems to me this or that." I suppose we have all said such things privately.

But, ladies and gentlemen, of all the patient people in the world these fine citizens have been more patient than anyone else. One hundred years ago this year, Abraham Lincoln declared slavery dead and in those one hundred years the American Negro still has not been given the opportunity to realize full participation in American democracy.

If our people had been as concerned about the "citizenship gap" as we were about the missile gap, we wouldn't have these demonstrations, we wouldn't have this disorder, we wouldn't have this ugly scene of police and police dogs setting upon Americans because they want the right to sit at a lunch counter, or the right to vote, or the right to go into a public park. How ridiculous can we be?

The Constitution of the United States doesn't provide for second class citizenship; it provides for one citizenship, a Citizen of the United States of America, with equal privileges and immunities and equal protection under the law and no state may pass any law that denies any person life, liberty or property without due process of law. That is the Constitution.

What has happened in America is not radical. It is very, very conservative. We are trying to conserve a great constitutional system, but it is in a sense, a revolution because many people, not only colored, are

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determined that we are going to eliminate from this society every vestige of bigotry, of intolerance, of discrimination. My fellow Americans, you can't eliminate it for you or me unless it is eliminated for other people. We have to remember that. In many areas of the world there is bigotry to be found and discrimination against Catholics, Protestants and Jews, white and Negro, or those of other colors.

What is our goal, what is our purpose?

It is first: a unity of humanity - people created in the image of their maker, with equal rights, equal privileges, equal responsibilities, equal opportunities - not that they all will necessarily end up equal, but they should have an equal start, and they haven't had it in many areas of American life and we are paying for it.

Oh, I know it is going to be untidy. I know it is going to be ugly and I know that many of us are going to be very disturbed. You can honestly criticize some of the things that are happening. But just remember this, we never did have "separate but equal" opportunities in American schools of this country. The "separate but equal" doctrine in the South denied both the white and the colored, decent education and the South has been the victim of its own social pattern, as has many a northern community, but at long last we are going to do something about it. Like any period in human history where there is upheaval, where long time wrongs are being righted and where people want to hurry to overcome the abuses of centuries in only a decade, there will be untidiness, there will be ugliness, there will be disorder, there may even be violence.

What can we do about it? We can set the patterns of tolerance, of understanding, in our lives, in our activities, in our organizations that give good examples.

So, I leave you with this thought that what we are doing is not merely to survive. I have heard many people say, "Well, we have to build the strong defenses, that we have today. We need strong defenses, if we look upon them as a shield that protects us while we reach out to do the good work ahead."

Many people say that we must have this to survive. I want to go on record that I do not just want to survive. Just survival is not good enough for God's finest creation called the human being. If all you want to do is survive then you can be a coward, you can deny the faith of your fathers, you can run away from responsibility, you can deny that you are an American or a Jew and you will survive. But if you want to live a good life and if you want to put meaning to what we call life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, you are going to have to do something more than survive. You are going to have to come to grips with the issues of the day. You are going to have to take a stand and you are going to have to be a leader in your own community, in your own block, in your own synagogue or your own group and in your own county, or in your own state or your own country, and you are going to have to be willing to stand up and be counted and you are going to have to realize that to give of one's self for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, requires dedication, requires great sharing of not only wealth and resources, but of spirit, of body, of energy and minds.

So, let us make a commitment that survival is not enough for our civilization. You can "survive" under communism, you can survive under Nasserism, you can survive under every form of totalitarianism, you can survive if you will sell out, if you will repudiate what you are. But if you really want to live and if you really want to assist those who want to live,

then you are going to have to lead and that means you take up where your
elders left off. You build on what they gave to you and you pass on to the
next generation a better world, a better home, a better city and a better UJA.

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ADDRESS BY

RABBI HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN

to the
AMERICAN JEWISH
THIRD ANNUAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
ARCHIVES
of the

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

New York Hilton Hotel

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זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Ladies and gentlemen, I have heard Senator Humphrey speak many times. However, I have never heard him speak with as much warmth and generosity and breadth of vision as he spoke tonight.

What you did, Senator, whether you realize it or not, was something quite fantastic. You talked on the broader scope of human aspirations with no reference at all to country, nation, citizenship, parochialism or sectarianism.

You talked about man and what man wanted; what man needs and what man has to achieve in this world, the small planet on which we live. There couldn't have been a broader canvas on which to paint the outlines of a credo than that.

You were able to do that simultaneously with expressive concern for what might appear to be small problems compared to those big ones: namely, the small problems which we face as a small group of 12 million people on a planet of 3 billion.

You talked about the condition of man on the planet, and you talked about the problems of our tiny little segment of man.

The broadest, the grandest, the greatest, the tiniest, the most confined, the most sectarian, and you created a state of non-incongruity between the two. The two became congruous and they became blended. That, Senator Humphrey, is why you struck that sympathetic note in this group. All of us are thrilled and motivated by the challenge which is given us to be broad and liberal, human and loving. We respond to the challenge of immediate responsibility for the faith and future and destiny of the people with whose heritage we are entrusted.

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The man who understands what goes on in the beating heart of the black : is the same man who understands what goes on in the beating heart of the Jew. The man who understands that the whole human species is seeking its salvation also understands that our particular segment of it feels that it has something to contribute to the future welfare of the whole human species. Therefore, the safety, the assurance of life for our small segment is vital not only for it alone, but also for the whole human race who will benefit from that which we can produce if we are enabled to live in peace.

The blending between the microcosmic and the macrocosmic is what you did here tonight, Senator, and this is why you struck in us the fantastic response you did.

We have called this Young Leadership Conference into being -- this level of responsibility in the organized Jewish community -- in order to plunge you young men and women into the middle of an historic process.

Your fathers started it, and they did magnificently for a quarter of a century. Maybe you are aware of the origins, during those black days of a quarter of a century ago. Maybe you have read the books or talked to the people who lived through it. Maybe some of you are old enough to have been actually on the fringe of it, or had it impinged upon your conscience. I speak, of course, of those dark and evil days when men and women all over the civilized world ate their daily bread while Jewish babies were being reduced to glowing piles of ashes, and nobody did anything about it.

Those were the days of our darkest defeat. Those were the days of a weakness and a palsy which set in, causing us almost to lose our faith in mankind. However, we did come through. We came through with a fantastic

sense of reinvigoration and rededication and the determination not to admit defeat, even though a third of us have been lost.

We plowed forward, decade after decade, to the high point of respectable achievement which now lies behind us.

The State of Israel has been created. A political and economic fact exists in the world today which guarantees that there will never again be crematoria for Jewish children. A certain number of Jews in the world have been transmigrated from a condition of servitude to a condition of freedom. That's the midpoint at which we stand now. All that has been done was done by others.

You Young Leaders now have the opportunity of continuation. What is required is a simple philosophical credo so that you know what you believe in, the simple agenda of action so that you know what you have to do, and the simple determination that you will maintain the same shining dedication. Our way is not one of bombast or braggadocio, but rather a simple, pragmatic, almost factual approach.

"What are the facts?" say you. That is not what your fathers said. Your fathers reacted emotionally.

You say, "What are the facts?" We give them to you.

"What do we have to do?" you ask. I shall tell you. All that's left is for you to say, "All right, we will do it." If you say that, reinforced philosophically by what you believe and reinforced pragmatically by what needs to be done, then I am convinced that your determination will carry you as brilliantly as it carried the generation before toward the accomplishment of these goals.

What we believe is very simple. The philosophical basis of this is not hard to comprehend. We do not live our lives for our own personal pleasure alone. We do not live our lives for the good of our families alone. We do not live our lives even for the good of our nation alone.

We live our lives for the good of the entire human race to which we belong. That general theory of human conduct applies to our Jewish theory of human conduct, and it imposes upon us the responsibility of living on behalf of all the other Jews in the world.

There is no indivisibility except by neurotic self-hatred, indulgence or selfish withdrawal. These are your only ignoble ways out.

There is no indivisibility, and you are responsible for the life and the faith of the farthest Jew in the meanest corner of the globe, whether it is a village high in the Andes Mountains or a village beyond the Ural Mountains.

He is yours to worry about. That's the whole credo.

We are the largest, biggest, richest, safest, Jewry in the world. The monkey is on our back, and there is no way to divest ourselves of it except by cheap and vulgar repudiation of duty and responsibility. That is something you are not about to indulge in.

So, accepting the philosophical basis for this and accepting the sense of duty that is implicit in it, all you have to know is what has to be done. Quite simply, quite unmelodramatically, the agenda of history which unfolds itself as we look at the next decade is this:

The impossible things, which we shall make possible, are these:

We shall determine that every Jew on the face of this earth shall come to live in a condition of political freedom. If he does not enjoy it in

the country of his birth or residence, we shall transmigrate him to a place where he shall enjoy it. In this regard, we are heavily involved in the process of migrations from lands in the Communist bloc and from lands in the Moslem bloc.

With that process, we are substantially on the way toward completion, for the reservoir of people left behind in the countries in those two blocs is now considerably less than the number of people we have already taken out.

Second, we shall attempt to achieve a condition of spiritual freedom which includes all of the things that men considers important -- his mind, his health, his education, his opportunity to make a living. All of these things, too, we shall seek to obtain for every Jew, wherever he may live on the face of the earth. In many lands, large transmigrations of the population are not necessary in order to achieve that objective.

We can work successfully inside many countries of the world to attain that higher standard of excellence to which we aspire.

Third, we shall work with no cessation until the land of Israel is absolutely free, secure, self-sufficient and in such a state of perfect health from every point of view that it can go on to contribute to the less-developed nations of the world. This is the ultimate satisfaction we seek -- not merely our own security, but achieving a position where we can then go forward to do things for others.

That means many things. It means that every new immigrant into Israel must be made free and strong, prosperous and educated and healthy.

It means that the country's long borders must be defended, its vast deserts irrigated, its industry developed.

Switzerland has 4 million citizens. Israel will have 4 million citizens before two more decades have run their course.

When Israel reaches the population, the safety, the security and the prosperity of Switzerland, we hope that she will already have learned to do explosive miracles in helping dozens of other nations throughout the world achieve the same things.

I love Switzerland, but it is a country which is quiet, stagnant and without impact. This is not for us. We are too volatile, we have too much to do and to say and to contribute, and we shall make Israel the vehicle through which the Jewish spirit, from the days of the prophets in the Bible, will find its expression in modern political terms so that other nations can understand and copy and enjoy.

This is the agenda. In practical terms, it means that we have a huge problem as far as the Jews of Russia are concerned for the next few years. It means we shall have to watch and be careful for that population in South Africa which may very well be in the jaws of a great jeopardy.

It means we shall have to watch carefully in Latin America, particularly in Argentina, where we have half a million people, and where the struggle for democracy is so fragile and insecure that no one knows what the future of that great subcontinent will be.

There are specific, intangible things for which we will watch. There are specific, tangible problems which you will have to solve.

Every one of these impossible things will be done, and it will be done with your participation. A few years from now it will be done with your control, and a few years after that with your enjoyment as you see these huge social forces being manipulated successfully and great human gains being made.

Knowing what you believe in, knowing what tests you have ahead, knowing that there is only one weapon at our disposal besides our faith and determination -- that weapon being our money -- you will address yourselves with diligence to the task which lies before you. This is the task of insuring the flow of that money, and that's what the UJA is all about.

This is a time for freshness, a time for enjoyment of the assumption of responsibility.

At many meetings of your elders, there is talk about this being the time for feeling tired. Not for you. Everything has a sense of timing.

Nobody understood it better than the old preacher in the Bible. Remember the passage in the book of Ecclesiastes:

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: a time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; a time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance; a time to cast away stones, and a time to gather stones together; a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing; a time to seek, and a time to lose; a time to keep, and a time to cast away; a time to rend, and a time to sew; a time to keep silence, and a time to speak; a time to love, and a time to hate; a time of war, and a time of peace. To everything there is a time and a season."

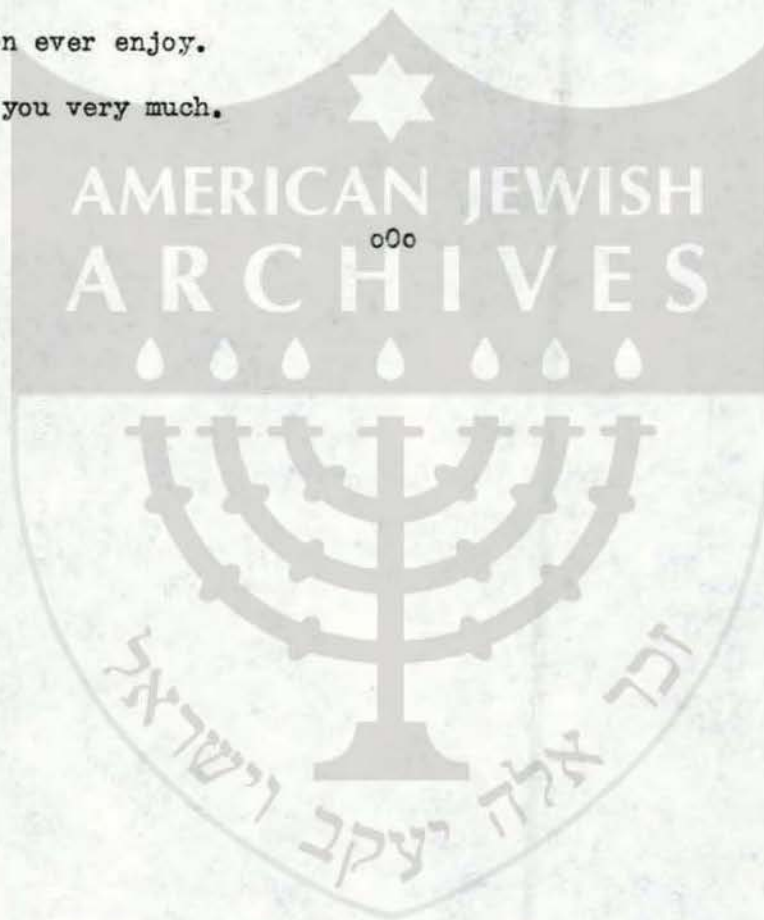
There is a time to be soft, there is a time to stay strong. This is no time to relent, not when we are half-way through an historical process.

No relenting! Fascination with the opportunity to control history, fantastic determination to act as the giants in our past acted, great and

glorious thankfulness that we live in an environment of pure freedom where we can do what we want with our lives, our destiny, our time, our money.

This is the time for gathering the strength of our people again in the hands of the successor generation; a time when, with a new burst of energy, we shall go forward to conquer a new series of problems with the possibility that we may see the completion of it in our own lifetimes. That is something that few men can ever enjoy.

Thank you very much.



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ADDRESS OF

AVRAHAM HARMAN

ISRAEL AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

to the

YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

of the

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זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Thank you very much, Mr. Sonnabend. Friends, I am delighted to have the opportunity of being here with you this morning. The last time I met some of you, it was at what you called a "retreat," and I can see from the evidence before my eyes this morning that it was a retreat in preparation for a very big advance.

I would like to congratulate you on that. I heard a great deal when I was in Israel this summer about the success of the Young Leadership Mission.

Listening to the reports this morning and knowing what I do about the purpose of the Young Leadership program of the UJA, I hope you will forgive me if I spend a few minutes reminiscing a bit about the past. Then I will have something to say about the future.

I was very vividly reminded of my own past and the immediate past of Israel when I was back there about a month ago. I managed to get a few days off, and went up to Upper Galilee to visit friends of mine at a kibbutz called Kfar Blum. That night, while talking with my friends, I was reminded of the fact that 25 years ago some of them had come over from England to Palestine. It was the same year in which I came to Palestine to settle.

I remembered visiting them just a few weeks after I arrived in Palestine in 1938, and I tried to sum up to myself that night what these people have achieved in the space of 25 years. They have built a wonderful village where they have achieved a graceful way of living, providing great happiness and satisfaction to them and their children. They have invested 25 years of ceaseless toil to cultivating one tiny corner of the land.

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During this 25-year period, they have trained many hundreds of young people who have since gone on to settle elsewhere in Israel. They started a little industry which a few years ago was handed over to the nearby immigrant town of Kiryat Shmone. Today, this industry provides employment to between 20 and 30 people, and it is now engaged in export. What is this industry? It is the production of dried alfalfa. A very prosaic thing, but it brings in a neat sum of pounds sterling every year because its market is in England.

When I first met my friends, shortly after they settled in this place, nearly all of them were down with malaria. Among the old-timers in this village, there isn't a man or woman who hasn't at one time or another had a malarial attack.

After 25 years, their lands are so clean of mosquitoes that there isn't a single case of malaria, nor have there been any among their children.

They also made sacrifices for the land and for freedom. One of their members, Dr. Segeman of England, was killed in the Western Desert. There was another who came to Israel in 1948, planning to be a member. Instead, he was caught up in the War of Independence, and he was killed by an Arab shell while operating on a wounded soldier in a field surgical station.

Harry Laschner of the United States was killed in 1948 by a sniper. Borah Jacobson of Riga lost his life in World War II as one of a party of 23 Jewish commandos who were on their way to Syria, when it was under enemy control, to carry out sabotage on behalf of the Allies.

And so they have their record of sacrifices, too, and this in brief is the story of their 25 years. It is not an exhilarating story, but it is a

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record of very solid achievement during the most stirring and dramatic period in Jewish history. In 25 years, they have created a living and continuing monument to the unshakeability of the Jewish spirit and of Jewish vitality.

A couple of days after spending that evening with those friends, I went down to Eilat, some 30 kilometers or so from Beersheba. In the middle of what is today an uninhabited wasteland, the first stakes are going in for the future. It will take 25 or 30 years before the settlers here will be able to produce the record of achievement which is on the books today at Kfar Blum.

It is a very courageous step. They are tackling it very sensibly, and the founding fathers of Eilat are young families who have come from settled parts of the country. The plan provides for the formation of a leadership corps to get the place started on the right economic, social and educational lines. This will provide the nucleus which will, in the years ahead, be able to absorb thousands -- perhaps tens of thousands, if they are successful -- of newcomers to the country. It will build for them a pattern into which they can fit and adapt themselves.

I am saying this because I believe that there is no reason at all why in your work with the UJA, you need ever feel that you are doing anything prosaic, or feel disappointed or occasionally bored by doing the same thing year after year. That is what we all have to do, and I think it should be our hope and prayer that in the 25 years that lie ahead of us we will not be called upon for the dramatic self-sacrifice which so many of our people made during the past 25 years.

I hope we will be able to avoid war, not only in the Middle East, but throughout the world, and that nobody will have to do again what so many

of you did in World War II or in Korea, or what so many of our people in Israel had to do in the war of liberation in 1948. Let us hope that we will be able to expend our energies on building. The technique of building is essentially prosaic: you put brick on brick, or you pour the cement into forms. You need a lot of vision to see the final product before you stop work.

Many of the problems which have arisen in the past 25 years are essentially prosaic. I remember one settler saying to me, "Abe, you remember the big speeches we used to listen to about saving the Jewish people? When I go out into the fields and spend eight, ten or twelve hours lifting potatoes, it seems to me that lifting potatoes is lifting potatoes. There is nothing very exciting about it."

The whole purpose is that while you are lifting potatoes, you must convince yourself that unless you do it the Jewish people won't be saved. You can't say it to yourself with every pailful that you stick into a sack, but every now and again you have to remind yourself, or you won't be able to stand the pace. Of course, it is true, you don't build freedom, nor do you maintain freedom which is very often more difficult than building it. You don't do that unless you can persuade yourselves all the time that these prosaic daily chores are the stuff of freedom and that without them nothing will emerge.

Let me say something about this business of maintaining freedom, because that is the big chore.

The land of Israel is strewn with monuments that should remind us that all our civilization is very tenuous indeed. The buildings of the past that have been excavated throughout Israel are visible remnants of very rich and very successful civilizations that fell into ashes and dust.

There is nothing essentially durable about the civilization of the Twentieth Century unless men are prepared to sustain their achievements, and they won't be able to sustain them unless they are guided by the conviction that these achievements were created by men to serve men, and that they can only be preserved if they continue to serve human beings.

The maintenance of freedom is, therefore, a much more difficult thing than its initial attainment. All of us who have been in revolutionary movements and who have been part of a struggle for the shaking off of foreign rule can tell ourselves in retrospect that that was an easy period because there was a clear target to reach. It was also an exciting period. Men and women are prepared for self-sacrifice during a period of war for they can tell themselves all that is needed is a tremendous burst of energy which will end in peace. How much more difficult it is to mobilize people around the task of maintaining peace and using that peace for its own rightful objectives.

People will undergo rationing in time of war, but it is much more difficult to persuade them to be self-disciplined in time of peace. I hope that this is the kind of difficulty that we are going to face in the 25 years that lie ahead.

In the next 25 years, I hope our children will not have to witness bloodshed, whether it be Jewish blood or any other blood. Our job during the next quarter of a century will be to maintain the advances of the Jewish people which have been made since the end of the war and to perpetuate and extend the freedom which the Jews have won for themselves in Israel.

I think there is going to be a big job ahead of us in the next 25 years. The content of this job is going to be what it has been in the past: the building of people.

Just one or two remarks about that: the building of people. Those of you who have followed the problems of the newly emerging countries are hearing, more and more, a new piece of sociological jargon called "human resources" which means, simply, "people." It took sociologists working in various universities to rediscover a very ancient truth: namely, that the source of human society is the individual human being, and the quality of a human society is entirely decided by the quality of the individual human beings that make up that society.

One of the tendencies that I think we have to resist in Israel is the tendency on the part of the people that are concerned for their community, its welfare and its future, to look for the easy road; to build buildings rather than to concern themselves at all times with the basic question of whether those buildings are there to serve anybody. They are there to serve people and are, therefore, the essence of every project. The criterion for the measuring of every project is, do human beings need it and to what extent is this project going to serve human beings. It is the quality of human resources that is going to sustain the freedom that has been won in the free world, that is going to sustain the measure of freedom which the Jewish people have won in the last twenty years. In addition to that, the question that preoccupies us is, are there human beings in the Jewish communities in various parts of the world that still have not been provided with the opportunity of being free.

The emphasis in Israel today and, I hope, for the next 25 years, is on the building of human quality, on education and training in their various forms, and on enabling human beings to find the measure of their own innate capacities. I hope that that will be the criterion that will be applied to

projects of Jewish communal service throughout the free world. There is a long way to go there, a very long way.

Now a little prosaic fact, ladies and gentlemen: in 1962, last year - nobody knows about it, it didn't appear in any newspaper headline - but in 1962, two hundred thousand Jews migrated from their countries of origin (to various lands) including the Jews of Algeria, or most of them. That hasn't happened in a very long time. The previous peak year was 1950 or 1951 when the figure wasn't very much higher. That process of Jewish migration hasn't come to an end, as we all know, and as many of you saw when you were in Israel just a few weeks ago on your Leadership Mission.

The figures of the first six months of immigration in 1963 show that we are headed in the same direction as we were in 1962. The figure for 1963 could well be a bit higher than 1962, and that is going to make our growth of population in Israel in 1963 at least as high as it was last year - - namely, about a four percent population growth. This is going to call for a lot of resources to serve human beings: education, schools, training, hospitals, clinics, jobs, houses and lots of little services to enable these people to live as they ought to live, to give these people the tools and resources that they require in order to express their free personalities for their advantage and for that of their community.

That, of course, is also the situation in the greatly expanded Jewish community of France, which is very like Israel in this sense. Like Israel, it grew to its present size after the war and like Israel, its population is composed of two more or less equal parts: the Jews of central and eastern Europe and Jews from the Arabic-speaking countries of Northern Africa.

These are some of the things that are going to face us these next 25 years, and I mention them for the reason that I am convinced a great movement like the United Jewish Appeal just doesn't work unless it is sustained by a sense of mission. The real question facing you, and facing us in Israel, is, what is the vision by which we will live and work in the quarter of a century that lies ahead of us? What is the vision that we would instill in our children that will rise to maturity during this period? What will we hand over to them in terms of human vision and of Jewish vision? We cannot succeed without a sense of vision. No great movement in human history ever has. We always fall short of the vision, but we must have a clear sense of purpose by which to measure and judge everything that we do day by day.

I believe that this sense of purpose must consist of two or three major components. First, is a clear understanding by all of us that liberty has got to be sustained and can never be taken for granted.

The central problem of all human society is that it is never static, that history never stops at one point, that there is always movement. If there isn't a drive pushing that movement forward, then the automatic part of movement in human affairs has always been retrogressive. Civilizations are destroyed from within unless they are led by people who are consciously and deliberately pushing them forward in a constructive direction. If we want to maintain peace in the world, if we want to preserve the institutions and practices of human freedom in your country, in my country, in every free country in the world, we are going to need that kind of vision ourselves and to instill it in our children. May we have an unremitting consciousness of the need to sustain freedom, to relive it and rebuild it day by day, week by week and year by year. We cannot

do it by speeches, but by reducing this vision to a constant succession of finite, tangible, prosaic objectives: another school, another class in the university, another social project, another social utility -- thousands and thousands of little things that serve and enoble human beings and enable them to live in freedom.

The other part of our vision for the future of the Jewish people is that the way we live -- you in America and we in Israel -- is the way in which every Jew in the world wants to live. This is the way in which every Jew in the world has the right to live -- to be free as a human being, and free as a Jew to live in accordance with his own conscience. We remind ourselves that there are millions of Jews in 1963 who still do not have that right, but who do have that will.

We've got to sustain their will and help them reach the day when they can acquire that right.

People who believe in freedom have to believe that the attainment of freedom is an historical inevitability. This is how men were created to live. Freedom can be taken away, but the will for it cannot. As long as they have the will and yearning for it, those Jews will reach it. When they do, we must be there to help them cross the bridge into freedom which we are building for them.

These are great generalizations, but these are the generalizations by which men move themselves and move others. Men cannot move themselves or others unless they have the courage -- and this is the real courage -- to understand that the road to the attainment of goals like these is oftentimes a prosaic road.

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It is not a dramatic road, this road of annual campaigns. It is the road of raising the percentage in one community, of persuading a single individual, of increasing one's own knowledge about this or that segment of the front, of moving forward from one objective to the next. It is the ability to sustain one's vision, not in periods of greatness, but from one committee meeting to the next, and getting a project on the road. I hope there are going to be many campaigns ahead of you. I hope this not because I believe in fund raising for its own sake, but because I know that there is going to be a tremendous need for money.

There are going to be many campaigns ahead of us. You won't be able to summarize them or their significance to you or their general historical significance except at intervals of a quarter of a century. I first went to Palestine a quarter of a century ago -- a month after Munich. It wasn't easy in those days to believe in the future of the world or of humanity, or in the future of the Jewish people.

In November of 1938, a few weeks after I came to Jerusalem to settle, the synagogues went up in flames throughout Germany.

The prospects in 1963 are different. The reality is more positive and, therefore, the challenge is greater. The opportunity is also greater. I think that we are going to need your kind of courage in the next 25 years, and that is why I am so greatly moved by this spectacle. You Young Leaders are tackling your job intelligently and are driven forward by a sense of vision. You have the ability to plan the implementation of that vision in a highly intelligent and instructive way.

We are going to need that kind of approach in the quarter of a century that lies ahead. I do not think that we shall ever attain the vision,

for there is never any completeness in human affairs. However, we shall move very considerably towards the attainment of our goal. Twenty-five years from now, your children will look back on the record of your work and they will be able to say that you helped the Jewish people toward the attainment of the final goal. Because of what you are doing today, the situation of the Jewish people at that time will be infinitely more secure. The horizons which stretch before you today will be even wider, and the reality of our living dream even more intense than at this moment when you are assembled here to sustain this great effort on which you are now engaged.

Thank you.

