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PROGRAM

UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

SECOND NATIONAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER 10-12, 1961

WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL

NEW YORK CITY

AMERICAN JEWISH
FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10

LUNCHEON

12:30 P.M.

JADE ROOM

JOSEPH MEYERHOFF
General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal

PRESIDING

LEON URIS - MOSCOW

The Jewish Position Today

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

•
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 12

9:30 A.M.

MORNING SESSION

ASTOR GALLERY

Showing of Film on Current Immigration

Remarks

THEODORE KOLLEK

*Director General
Office of the Prime Minister
State of Israel*

AMERICAN JEWISH
QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSION
ARCHIVES

Remarks

EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
*Honorary Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
Chairman, Joint Distribution Committee*

Report on UJA Young Leadership Mission of 1961

JAMES H. NOBIL
Akron, Ohio

Consideration of 1962 UJA Young Leadership Mission

**THE AMBASSADOR OF ISRAEL
REQUESTS THE PLEASURE OF YOUR COMPANY
AT 12 O'CLOCK FOR LUNCHEON
IN THE JADE ROOM**

**First United Jewish Appeal
Young Leadership Conference
November 18-20, 1960**



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established 1922

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November 18, 1960. Addresses By:

- Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
Executive Vice-Chairman
United Jewish Appeal

November 19, 1960. Addresses By:

- Avraham Harman
Ambassador of Israel to the United States
- Chet Huntley
Commentator, NBC
- Edward M.M. Warburg
Honorary Chairman, U.J.A.
- Philip M. Klutznick
National Chairman, U.J.A.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

ADDRESSES

**FIRST UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**

NOVEMBER, 1960.

ADDRESS — UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
HERBERT A. FRIEDMAN
EXECUTIVE VICE-CHAIRMAN
UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
NOVEMBER 18, 1960

To Leonard Sherman
loyal soldier of the
Jewish people and nation -
with respect & love,
Herb Friedman
10/9/98

I will try to cover a period of a hundred years. I intend to go from 1880 to 1980 — and I pick those dates not at all whimsically. These dates have meaning.

I shall begin with 1880 — the key year in relation to the life and existence of the millions of Jews who lived in Eastern Europe, and it is the first topic I would like to discuss with you this afternoon.

There was a part of Eastern Europe called "Pale of Settlement." Let us not try to trace the origin of the name or to analyze what it represented. It was a huge area that began up at the Baltic and went all the way down to the Black Sea. It extended some 800 miles, north to south; and it went all the way from East Prussia, almost clear to Kursk, covering a space of 600 miles, — east to west.

This area, designated by Czarist bureaucrats as "Pale of Settlement" held five and a half million Jews.

In effect, the Pale was a vast Ghetto, 800 miles long and 600 miles wide. It consisted of hundreds and thousands of small communities referred to nostalgically — as "Shtetls", a small "shtot," a little city. Many of these cities and villages were almost homogeneously Jewish; many others were populated by Jews as well as by Polish, Russians, Latvians or Estonians. But they did not live together; they merely co-existed, because customarily there was one section of town that was Christian, and there was another section of town that was Jewish.

Life in this shtetl was a self-contained Jewish autonomy. Everything revolved around the little synagogue. The synagogue was the social center of the town, it was the place from which charity was disbursed, it was the school where the children went to study, and it was the hostel where the stranger slept — often on the floor.

The synagogue was the feeding place for the transient, the wanderer; it was the place where all the town politics occurred. The synagogue was the main source of religion and cultural life, intellectual and social life, and gossip — all of it took place in the little wooden building which was the shul.

Many of the Jews in the town earned a livelihood from operating around the one focal point, — the synagogue. One Jew would earn his money by carrying a stick and rattling on the shutters of the window, waking everybody up to come at 6 o'clock in the morning for the early minyan. That was the greatest job he did all day. That is how he earned his money.

Another earned his livelihood by killing the chickens. Another by handing out the books. Another by writing books as they got torn up.

In order to understand the "economics" of the shtetl, we must visualize a community in which there was utter poverty and misery, in which the one real meal of the week was eaten on Friday night.

The great goal was to earn enough money for the once a week repast of fish and chicken, bread and wine.

This was a city in which the husband, usually an itinerant peddler, would be away all week, but he would come back by Friday night for the traditional meal.

You have to think of people who lived without material hopes. The one hope they had was in their hearts.

How did they live?

They lived in utter fear of the possible drunken orgies of the neighbors. They lived without any perceptible relation with the non-Jewish population of the town.

You had five and a half million Jews who lived in the area of the world I have described, amidst millions of peasants who also were oppressed, by the way, -- let us never forget it. The social hierarchy was simple: the baron, or landowner, the peasant, the Jew. The landlord would beat the peasant, and the peasant turned around and beat the Jew, who was at the bottom of the totem pole. While the peasants themselves were oppressed, they had somebody else they could turn around and bear down on and break heads, and let blood run; it was catharsis. You get drunk, you drag a Jew out, you bang him on the head, and then you go back and slave. This was the peasant's way of life.

There is a passage in a history book written by Howard Sacher which, by the way, I would like to recommend to you. The author is the son of the historian Abram Sacher, presently the president of Brandeis University. The book is called "The Course of Modern Jewish History."

Howard Sacher's book begins in recent times; it begins with the emancipation, at the end of the eighteenth century, and it covers about 150 years of contemporary Jewish life.

I found in this book a passage which particularly impressed me and which describes life in the shtetl. It was a quotation from Sholem Aleichem, one of the great Yiddish authors who captured the mood of Jewish life in Russia. The superb translation is by Maurice Samuel.

Sholem Aleichem is describing the Shtetl Kasrievky.

Kasrievky could also be Kozodoyevka, Bohopolie or Bohuslav, or any one of a hundred Jewish or half-Jewish centers in Old Russia.

"The town itself is a jumble of wooden houses clustering higgledy-piggledy about a market place, at the foot of a hill.

All around is the spaciousness of mighty Russia, but Kasrievky is as crowded as a slum; in fact, is a slum. The streets of Kasrievky -- let us be courteous and call them streets -- are as tortuous as a Talmudic argument. They are bent into question marks and folded into parentheses. They run into cul-de-sac like a theory arrested by a fact; they ooze off into lanes, alleys, back yards, like a thesis dribbling into an anti-climax.

Sewerage and paving are as unknown in Kasrievky as the steam train. Most of the market-place was occupied by peddlers, hangers-on, parodies of commission men, women with baskets of eggs or with bundles of old clothes. And the richest Jew in Kasrievky could be bought out on the lower margin of four figures.

Rich or poor, peddler or artisan, their livelihood was drawn from the market-place, and from semi-annual fairs.

Yerechmiel Moses, the Hebrew teacher, blind in one eye and shortsighted in the other, used to wear spectacles without lenses. Asked why, he would answer triumphantly, "Well, it's better than nothing, isn't it?"

That was Jewish life in the 19th century, in the year 1880, which is the starting point that I take for the story of five and a half million people.

The richest of them could be bought out for four figures. Yet, as I said before, this community had something inside itself; it had hope.

This community is the source spring from which you and I come.

I was born in the United States in 1918. My father was born in Vilno, seventy years ago. He came to this country in 1903. So you can call me first generation American, because I was born here.

Some of us in this room are first generation, some are second, because our fathers were born here. But that is it; that is the farthest we go back. I dare say, grandfathers of 95 per cent of us in this room, certainly were born in Europe. The majority came from the "Pale of Settlement"; many came from Germany, some from England, others from France and few from various other places.

We are talking not about our ancestors' geographic origin, but about their spiritual heritage. What they had in their hearts in all that grinding poverty, is something which I am not sure we have in all our blinding prosperity. They had concepts they believed in, and you couldn't shake them if you cut their throats. You could not shake their faith in the principles they had.

They were either religious or socialists.

They were religious — that accounted for a great bulk of them — and if you are able to look back some 20 or 25 years you could see a reasonable facsimile of the old way of life on the lower East Side of New York, as I have seen it. You could go into a small shul, a shtiebel, a tiny, one-room synagogue, — none of our great \$3,000,000 contemporary palaces — you could go into this place of prayer and see Jews sitting there, and they were just pouring out the love of God. Their prayers were real and God was realistically close to them.

Religion was one thing they had. Socialism was another thing they had. They were filled with a passionate zeal for improvement of the lot of humanity.

Their life was full of contradictions.

They were starving beggars and they were intellectual elite. They would make long theoretical arguments about how they have to have equality. They dreamt of a brilliant future for a free mankind.

Don't forget we are still in the 19th century, when the last major war was fought in 1815 and ended in Napoleon's defeat.

So in 1880 you could really believe that Messiah was around the corner.

Our ancestors had socialism. They had religion. They had the dream of Palestine. They had the conviction that life on earth wasn't even important, because there was always the Messiah, and there was a popular song about the fish that you eat when you get to the other world. And they had these tight ideals which sustained life when food was non-existent.

Therefore, let us understand them properly. They were a very rich community, very rich, wonderful community in terms of what they produced.

They produced scholars.

Hundreds of thousands of people read and many wrote books, and taught their children with books. There was no television — books.

They had writing and literacy.

Find another way to save the same ageless ideal, and dream! Find another people and find another way to capture beauty, aesthetics, yearnings, hopes, as our ancestors did. Divorce yourself from this hungry, ugly, barren, muddy world!

Now, that was the world of the "Pale of Settlement"; it "encased" five and a half million people.

This way of life came to an end in the 1880's.

There was in Russia a man by the name of Pobyedonostsev, who was the mentor, guide and advisor to Czar Alexander III.

Pobyedonostsev was a reactionary, he was anti-liberal, he was a Jew-hater.

In the spring and summer of 1881, Pobyedonostsev, after a year's hard work, finally managed to create "spontaneously" a whole series of pogroms throughout Russia. It took him a year to arrange these "spontaneous demonstrations." All through southern Russia and the Ukraine, hundreds of Jews were killed and tens of villages were burned. The Jews knew this was the handwriting on the wall, it was the beginning of the end.

After those explosions of spring and summer, in October 1881, the Russian government appointed a new Minister of the Interior, Count Ignatiev. Count Ignatiev established a central committee for the resolution of the "Jewish question."

This is very nice. How do you resolve the Jewish question? That central committee put the Jews of the "Pale of Settlement" under the sentence of death.

The committee was established in October, 1881. In May of 1882 the new laws were passed, which are sometimes called the May laws, after the month of May. They are also called the One-Third Laws — and I shall tell you why they became known as the One-Third Laws.

The new laws said that in the "Pale of Settlement", Jews could not live in the villages. The Jews could not live in certain towns, since their designation as towns or villages was left to local authorities.

The Jews were required to have a passport at all times and to have a "certificate of residence".

A Jew could not get on the train without a pass; he could not go to the market from one town to another without a pass.

The Jews became an easy prey for the greedy Czarist police.

There were 20,000 Jews living in Moscow at that time; they were all expelled. The great synagogue of Moscow was closed and boarded up. The shtetl was broken, and huge, congested urban ghettos began to develop as the Jews were shoved into some towns, but thrown out of some other towns. They broke the shtetls in this gubernia or that gubernia. Jews were sent into the Ukraine. The May laws broke up their patterns of earning a livelihood, broke up their families. By the end of 1882, 40 per cent of the Jews in the "Pale of Settlement" were pauperized and were living on charity. From whom? From the other three-fifths who had just barely more than they did.

Finally, Pobyedonostsev came out with a very simple statement — and this is why I call these the one-third laws — "One-third of the Jews will die out, one-third of the Jews will leave the country, one-third of the Jews will be completely dissolved in the surrounding population and will assimilate."

So this is how you solve your Jewish question. You starve to death a third of them; you drive away a third of them; and you force the other third to assimilate, to disappear as Jews.

The flight started in 1882. There was one more orgy of explosion in 1903, and that was the year my father left and came here, as I dare say, many, many other fathers did, when in the city of Kishinev a pogrom broke out, a pogrom instigated by a new Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve.

That Kishinev pogrom of 1903, and another pogrom of 1905, broke the back and destroyed the community of five and a half million people.

What actually happened?

A mass migration started. To move, to go away became the order of the day by which the Jews decided to solve their own problems regardless of how Pobyedonostsev, Ignatiev and Von Plehve wanted to solve them. One-third did not die, one-third did not assimilate and become absorbed into the Russian population, but more than one-third emigrated. It was the Jewish solution, — migration. It is the key to the survival of the Jewish people. Never forget, — migration.

Every time the pressure in a particular country became unbearable, the Jews found the way out by migration, voluntary or involuntary but always migration. They made their home in new lands, until pressure began again — perhaps in another hundred years, or another two hundred years, or five hundred years.

In 1882, when the migration started, it was hoped, that the resettlements would be permanent ones, and there would be no need for further population movement, because this migration went in two directions: one went to the United States; and the other started toward Palestine.

I would like to talk now about the great migration to the United States. Between 1881 and 1914, — when World War I started, and crossing of the ocean became almost impossible, — in these 33 years, three million Jews, mainly from the "Pale of Settlement", came to the United States. I am not talking about other places to which they went. Some went to Canada, some went to South America, some went to Western Europe — to stay in France, to stay in England. But the greatest number of Jews came to the United States; three million Jews immigrated in those 33 years.

Thus we are here, and that is where we came from.

One and three-quarter million of the Jewish immigrants left Europe via Bremen and Hamburg, on German ships.

The huge transmigration created its own problems. Responsible German Jewish leadership began to realize that the Jewish migrants needed aid. In the 1890's they began to organize societies to make the movements at Bremen and Hamburg more orderly. They brought food and started fund-raising on a small scale.

Another three-quarters of a million Jews passed through Liverpool to board Cunard Line ships. They all came steerage — and I don't have the time to describe it to you in full detail. But you ask somebody who came steerage.

The ticket cost \$25; and the average crossing of the Atlantic was twelve, thirteen, or fifteen days. The ships had no sanitation facilities, no beds, and you had little food, and little water.

Ask about the names which are historic now in the annals of America. Did anybody here ever hear of Castle Gardens? Anybody ever hear of Ellis Island? - right out here, in the harbor of New York.

The relentless flow of immigrants to our shores necessitated the services of a voluntary agency. In 1884 the HIAS, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, was established.

There were so many Jews, that somebody had to meet these people at Ellis Island. They came here with two dollars in their pockets, or very often penniless. If an immigrant had fifty dollars, he was considered rich.

There was another group that got organized in 1893 -- a group called the Council of Jewish Women. In the early period of the Council's activities, its main task was to help hapless and innocent Jewish girls coming off the boats to avoid the lures of the white slave traders standing on the docks to try to take them into prostitution.

That is very important. There was a real danger for the helpless Jewish girl to be lured into prostitution.

Young people coming into the United States were frightened, brutalized, running scared across borders, destitute, with a notion somewhere in the back of their minds that America was the "goldene medina" and "the streets were paved with gold," and still not quite sure whether to believe it.

We were a compassionate and generous people and we began to organize a philanthropic machinery -- I do not want to take you through the history of it.

All I want to tell you is that mass migration came to a sudden end when we, in the United States, decided that this big, rich and important country was getting too full.

In 1924 a law called the Johnson Act was passed in the United States which ended the saga of migration to America.

The Johnson Act of 1924 said, in effect, "Oh, yes, we will be delighted to have new people come to America. But we are getting too many, and perhaps not the right kind of people. So I tell you what we had better do. We had better impose quotas."

The quota system that went into effect permitted entrance into the country of 2 per cent of the number of any national group that was here in 1890. In other words, the act allowed an immigration of Greeks at the annual rate of 2 per cent of whatever the Greek population of the U.S. was in 1890.

These quotas went on and on, and our immigration into the United States since 1924 has been governed by these quotas, with the exception of certain changes that were pressed upon us by unusual circumstances. Every once in a while, under some emergency pressure, as in the case of the famous Hungarian revolution, we had to take care of victims of political upheavals. What was our share? Out of 200,000 Hungarian refugees that ran across the border a few years ago, we, the big America, brought in some 38,000 excapees.

We became xenophobic. We became exclusive.

The quotas are peculiar, you know, because the German numbers come to about 25,000 a year; England to about 65,000 a year; but for the Greeks they set aside 100. They don't want the "south Mediterraneans", they don't want the Italians, Greeks, and other people from the Balkins.

The 1924 quotas favor the Nordic groups and certain other stocks.

The quota for Poland was about 5,900. It is burned into me, so I will never forget it, because of the time I was working in Germany among the D.P.'s — displaced persons—camps.

When I was there, many Jews wanted to come to America; they were mostly Polish Jews. America has 6,000 quota numbers for the Polish. It would have taken the Jewish D.P.'s thirty years to come into America under the quota system. This is important, — the quota issue—; it closed America.

It seems to me that the 1924 quota system in combination with other factors drove the Jewish D.P.'s in the direction of Israel. Had there been an open door here in America, I am not so sure that the pressure toward Palestine would have occurred, and thus perhaps the establishment of the State of Israel might not have occurred when it did.

At any rate, every American, non-Jew, governmental official, should realize that the restrictive immigration policy of the United States had a very heavy share in the creation of the State of Israel.

When you close a door in one place, you are going to open a door in another place. And that is exactly what happened.

We have come a long way since the time that the Tenth Ward in New York, down in the Lower East Side, had in one square mile of territory 350,000 Jews. It was in 1890. By 1917 that one square mile had 700,000 Jews living in it.

That is where Eddie Cantor came from; that is where many prominent American Jews came from. It is all over now; it is our past. It is history.

Take a walk in the Lower East Side. It is a mixed neighborhood now; the Jewish Ghetto is gone. There are no more Jewish tenements; the Jews are scattered. They live in Bronxville; and in Tuxedo Park; in Westport, Connecticut; Rockville Centre, Long Island, and they are integrated.

In the last 12 or 15 years the collective Jewish community built hundreds of millions of dollars worth of capital plants in the U.S. We spent many millions on hospitals, community centers, synagogues, old folks' homes, and other things.

Some people say we, the American Jewish Community, elect presidents. Some people say we have power far beyond our means. Some people say we are thoroughly at home, we are integrated and absorbed; we are equals. Some people say we are not. You can get any description you want of the nature of the American Jewish community. But one thing everybody will agree upon; it is strong, it enjoys freedom, it is secure. Our people have an opportunity to make a living anywhere they want. They have freedom of movement.

But what interests me is whether this community of five and a half million people living in the freest society that has ever been established on the face of the earth feels itself to be Jewish or not; feels itself identified with the same Jewish dreams, hopes and aspirations that our fathers and grandfathers had in the shtetl. This is of supreme interest to me.

I do not care how many automobiles you have, and how many television sets are in your homes, or how many temples exist in the town, or how big the hospital is. What I care about is: how does this free, rich and prosperous community feel about its Jewish responsibility?

And I am not overdramatizing when I say:

How you people in this room feel about Jewish responsibility decides how this American Jewish community of five and a half million people feels, because ten years from now you are going to be leading it. I am sure of it. Ten years from now you are going to be raising the big money; going to decide whether this community cares or does not care about our collective Jewish responsibility.

So how you feel and what you intend to do is the most important thing in the world.

However, I would like, if I may, to proceed with my third topic.

The first topic dealt with Eastern Europe. The second -- with the building of the American Jewish community.

And now, in our third topic we would like to review the whole question of Zionism and Palestine.

You know, there was a big fight -- an intense fight with which you may be familiar and which you may remember. This fight went on for fifteen or twenty years; it is all over now, except for a tiny little fringe group in the United States.

There was a great debate on whether there should or should not be an independent Jewish state. There were some people against it whose arguments were petty and provincial. There were some other people against the independent state, people with a logical rationale, and, I think, we have to take the time, courtesy and intellectual honesty to analyze and understand them.

There were many people who were against the independent Jewish state, because they said "Let us not hem ourselves in to be just another tiny, little, narrow nation."

"We Jews are bigger. We are an international people with an international outlook. We believe in the equality of all men, and we believe in the international brotherhood of all men.

"It is dead wrong for any portion of the Jewish people to narrow itself down to be another little, ~~narrow~~ nation. What are you going to create there at the eastern end of the Mediterranean; something as "big" as Albania, something like Montenegro, another little Balkandot on the map?

"You want to try to take away the great majesty of the universal idealism of the Jewish people? We talk about the Messiah; we talk about world peace; we read of the prophets, and talk of world brotherhood. Do you want to reduce that all down to some tiny, little Coney Island of a state?"

And those Jews who spoke in terms of universalism, internationalism, the prophetic message, the mission of the Jew to go out among all the other nations in the world and fertilize all the other nations with our ideas -- those people who spoke that way had a point of view they felt was legitimate.

I don't agree with it; most of you don't agree with it. But we have to understand it.

This view stems from the time in which the idea of a Jewish state first came to pass. Zionism and the idea of a state — of a national entity — was born at the end of the 19th century when other states were being created in the world.

Germany was born as a state — a modern state — after the war of 1871 with the French. Before that there was no such thing as Germany. There was a series of principalities.

Italy was born because of political activities of Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi in the 1860's and 1870's. There was no Italy before that.

We think these countries always existed, but they did not.

Zionism was born at the end of the 19th century in a period when nationalism was riding high. There are three men who are responsible for the birth of modern Zionism. There was a man by the name of Eleazar Ben Yehuda. He did a very simple thing. He said, "The Jews ought to speak Hebrew." Nothing more complicated than that.

What he did was, to take his wife and move with her to Palestine. He wouldn't speak anything else to her but Hebrew. She didn't understand a word of it.

He wrote the first Hebrew dictionary.

You ought to read Robert St. John's biography of Ben Yehuda.

Ben Yehuda insisted that the Jews possess all the traits of nationhood; they have a common history, several thousand years of it; they have a common memory; and they ought to have a common language. And if they have a common language, they will create a nation.

That is one man.

The next man is Moses Hess. Moses Hess wrote a book called "Rome and Jerusalem". He wrote this book in 1862. Read it.

He wrote at the time of Mazzini, at the time of what the Italians call the *resorgimento*, when they were trying to build Italy.

He said this: "Look, if they have a right to rebuild Rome —" which was his symbolic way of saying "rebuild the Italian state that has been destroyed for 1,400 years" — "then we have the same right at Jerusalem."

It is why he called the book "Rome and Jerusalem". It was born out of the ferment of Italian nationalism in 1862.

There began to develop a gestating national sentiment, the cell was beginning to form, a new embryo was forming inside the Jewish people.

Chaim Weizmann has a beautiful phrase for it. He describes it this way: "In the depths of the masses an impulse arose, vague, groping, unformulated, an impulse for Jewish self-liberation. It was genuinely of the folk, it was saturated with Jewish tradition, it was told with the sweetest kind of language where Jewish life had first expressed itself in freedom."

Another name I want you to remember is Leon Pinsker. Leon Pinsker wrote a book called "Auto-Emancipation". The year was 1881, it was the eve of the May Laws.

Leon Pinsker had a very simple theory. He asked the question: why do they hate us? And he faced the issues clearly. They hate Jews because Jews are ghosts who wander on the face of the earth and they haven't a place to call their own.

You don't like somebody who is rootless; you don't like somebody who is not the same as you.

There is a Pinsker paragraph worth listening to:

"Men are always terrified by a disembodied spirit, a soul wandering about with no physical covering. And terror breeds hatred. The Jews are not a living nation, they are everywhere aliens; therefore, they are despised."

What, in effect, was Pinsker's message? Nations live side by side in a state of relative peace which is based chiefly on the fundamental equality between them, but this is different with the people of Israel. This people is not counted among the nations because, since it was exiled from its land, it lacks the essential attributes of nationality by which one nation is distinguished from another.

We are spiritually a distinguished nation, but this spiritual nationality, far from giving us status in the eyes of others, is the very cause of hatred for us as a people.

The civil and political emancipation of the Jews — which they began to enjoy, by the way, in the 1880's — not in Russia, but in Western Europe — was not sufficient to raise them in the esteem of peoples. The only proper remedy would be the creation of a Jewish nationality of a people living upon its own soil. Hence, the auto-emancipation of the Jews.

He was wrong about one thing — or maybe right, I don't know. Pinsker said in one of his speeches:

"The financial accomplishment of the undertaking, that being to establish a separate Jewish nation, the financial accomplishment of the undertaking can, in the present state, encounter no insuperable difficulties."

No insuperable difficulties — theoretically, he was right there. Do you know, if somebody had put up \$25 million in 1883, he could have bought the whole of Palestine? It's a fact. If you thought of Palestine in these terms, then it was not an insuperable difficulty to finance it.

Regrettably, few thought of a Jewish national home in terms of "financial accomplishment".

Eleazar Ben Yehuda, Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker — they were precursors of modern Zionism.

Often we have a notion, a wrong notion, that ideologists are daydreamers and utopians. But Ben Yehuda, Hess, and Pinsker were forward looking men, they had anticipating minds and ability to formulate instinctive but still incoherent aspirations of their people. In fact, these three men were not at all divorced from reality. While they were laying the intellectual foundation for modern Zionism, practical pioneering to Palestine began. It began in the 1880's with a group called "Hovei Zion", who collected money and taught Hebrew. They organized themselves into Maccabee Clubs for self-defense. This was a good beginning; this was the first beginning of the Jews saying "I better learn how to fight back."

In 1882, the Hovei Zion movement sent to Palestine seven thousand people. Thus the recruitment started.

Another group, formed in this period, was Bilu; they were dedicated socialists and Jewish nationalists at the same time. Thirty-six of them went as the first explorers. They said: "Let us go to that country as Jewish nationalists, but let us build it along Socialist lines."

The Hovei Zion and the Bilu started sending people. Migration to Palestine proceeded on a modest scale until the time of the Dreyfus case. I am sure you are familiar with the Affaire Dreyfus.

Dreyfus, an honorable Jewish officer, was charged with being a spy. The trial was rigged; he was sent to Devil's Island. Later on, they called him back, and they restored all honors.

They admitted it had been a framed-up deal. But in the whole affair Captain Dreyfus himself was not as important as the passions that were unleashed in France.

France, of all countries, the most civilized land in the world, witnessed an explosion of anti-Jewish hatred which shocked everybody, including a certain Jew who came from Vienna as a newspaper correspondent to cover the trial. He was a very rich, assimilated, cultured Jew by the name of Theodor Herzl. He wrote for the Neue Freie Presse of Vienna, had a lot of money, had social status.

Herzl came to Paris to cover the trial. What are they doing to this Captain Dreyfus? He regarded the Affaire Dreyfus as an interesting international episode.

He sat up in the balcony, listened to the deliberations, wrote dispatches back home to the paper in Vienna, and couldn't have cared less.

But then Herzl walked down the streets of Paris and saw what was happening, and he was shocked by the writings on the walls "A bas les Juifs" "Down with the Jews." "Death to the Jews." "Kill the Jews."

"The Jews are our misfortune, the Jews sold us out to Germany. Jews caused us to lose the war of 1871."

The fact that this could have happened in France was just as shocking to him, as it would have been to you and to me if this would have started here in the United States.

He was shocked to the extent that everything he believed in changed. He wrote a book. It is called "The Jewish State." A very simple title.

He reached the conclusion that if anti-Semitism, Jew hatred, could happen in France, it could happen anywhere. And there is no other solution to the Jewish problem but their own state.

I will show you how little he cared about where the Jewish state was to be. He writes a plan. He talks about organizing the movement of Jews to this new state, forming a financial company to liquidate the business interests of Jews who are going to leave the countries of their residence, to organize commerce and trade in this new state.

Then he comes to the end of the plan and he says "Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina? Shall we take what is given to us or what is selected by Jewish public opinion? Jewish society will determine both these points.

"Argentina is one of the most fertile countries of the world. It extends over a vast area, has a sparse population, a mild climate. The Argentine Republic would derive considerable profit from giving us a portion of its territory," et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Zionism, a movement for a Jewish national country, was politically conceived by this dignified, assimilated western Jew.

It came as a logical conclusion that the problem of the Jews would never be solved until there was a national center from which strength and dignity could emanate.

He soon found out what the Jewish masses felt, because he started to travel around in the shtetl.

He went to the "Pale of Settlement". He had a long period of travel; he was a handsome man, and he used to wear beautifully cut Parisian clothes, with a high hat, and he was a kind of Messiah-demigod, a free western Jew.

Wherever he went on his train all through the "Pale of Settlement", Jews used to come in the tens of thousands to the railroad station to see him. But they let him know, the Jews in the Shtetl, that they did not want Argentina; they let him know they wanted Palestine, and they let him know in unmistakable terms.

After he wrote the book, "The Jewish State", in 1896, he started to organize a movement, and called a Zionist International Conference, in 1897. It convened in Basle, Switzerland, and all of the people who were thinking and dreaming about it during the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's, came to the conference. Even some delegates from America came to this conference.

Later on he wrote, "I founded the Jewish state at Basle in 1897."

He also wrote another thing. He said, "This will come true in five years," and then he hedged — "if not in five, then fifty." In this he was prophetic because he wrote it in 1897; and the United Nations voted the partition of Palestine in 1947, fifty years on the button. One of those historic freak coincidences.

Herzl started the organization. He travelled around for three or four years; peddling the idea that the Jews ought to have a state. Finally the British — and our fate has been linked with theirs from that day to this — the British made a proposal: they had a lovely chunk of real estate which they would like to offer. It happened to be in Africa. It is called Uganda. But if you want it, you can have it.

Six years later, in 1903, the Zionist Congress had on its agenda the question of "Shall we go to Uganda?"

Remember what happened in 1903? In 1903 was the Kishinev pogrom. The Jews in Russia were terrorized. And somebody comes up to you and says, "Here is a piece of real estate; you can have it, as your national independent state." What do you do?

This is where the ancient feeling about Palestine really came to the fore. Herzl said, "Yes, let us take Uganda. The Jews are suffering in Eastern Europe, in the Ukraine."

And do you know who walked out on him? The Russian Jews themselves walked out of the congress and said; "Never mind Kishinev and the pogroms and what we are going through. We get Palestine or we get nothing."

He died shortly after that of a heart attack at the age of 44, burned and worn out. But it was settled; it was "Palestine or nothing." And that was the beginning of the modern movement.

Then Ben-Gurion went to Palestine in 1906. His father did not want him to go; his father was probably a good Zionist, but opposed to immigration.

Ben-Gurion said he would go, anyway. He changed his name from David Green; it became David Ben-Gurion.

Ben-Gurion went to Palestine in 1906, and Ben-Zvi went there in 1906. I want to share with you a story once told to me by Ben-Gurion.

There were 54 people in his original group. 52 of them never stuck it out; they turned around and went back to Poland, back to Russia; they couldn't stand it.

The swamps, the malaria, the breaking of rocks; no food; fighting the Arabs — it is all true what you read in "Exodus" — so 52 of them quit. Two of them stayed. And then in a joke, Ben-Gurion said, "Well, that is how you get to be president, or the prime minister." (Laughter) Because he and Itzhak Ben-Zvi, the president of Israel today were the two who stayed; the rest of the story you know.

The Balfour Declaration came along; the British said, "We will agree to the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine." But they never said whether in the whole of Palestine or in a part of it. At the same time, they hedged — they made promises to the Arabs, sometimes called the McMahon Declaration. And you know, once you hedge, confusion results.

There was the constant push to try to build up Palestine. Of course, you know what really brought Jews there, Hitlerism. Not all of the Zionist movements nor all the pogroms in Russia — contributed as much as Hitler to the growth of population in Israel. And this brings up the other part of the story that I want to get to before I close.

In 1939 — again, by one of those historic coincidences — the year World War II started was the year the British decided they had to make a compromise with the Arabs, they just couldn't go on any longer showing so much favoritism to the Jews. So they issued a document called the White Paper.

In 1939, (of all years) the British issued a paper in which they said to the Yishuv: "we will give you 15,000 immigration certificates annually for five years. You can have 75,000 Jews more come in."

"By the way, let us make some rules about how much land you can buy," and part of the White Paper contained regulations about restrictions on Jewish land purchases.

Ben-Gurion wonderfully formulated the Jewish position in 1939, when there was an awful tension inside Palestine because everybody said, "The damned British." But then, also, everybody said, "But the British are our allies in the war against the more damnable Hitler. What do we do?"

Ben-Gurion said, "We shall fight the war on the side of the British as though there were no White Paper. And we shall fight against the White Paper as though there were no war."

And that was the policy they pursued.

In 1939 when the war started, there were 550,000 Jews in Palestine.

In the first month of the war, out of a total population of 550,000 people, 119,000 registered for voluntary service with the British Army. Fantastic.

The Jews were going to fight the war against Hitler on the side of the British, on the side of the French, and on the side of anyone else who was going to do it. (America was not yet in the war).

But they were going to fight the British on the question of open Jewish immigration into Palestine. The real fight came after the war was over. The Haganah started to organize a blockade-running procedure with ships to get Jews to Palestine, against the will of the British. An immigration without certificates, without numbers. And during that period 63 ships were chartered and loaded of which the British intercepted 58.

Five ships broke through the British blockade and landed their passengers on the beaches. The British intercepted all the others and dealt variously with the migrants. One main decision the British finally made was to send the illegals to the island of Cyprus. And then one fine day they decided that sending the Jews to the island of Cyprus was much too good, because the Jews were not upset by that. Cyprus was only 160 or 170 miles away from Palestine.

The JDC — about which I will tell you in a moment, sent in great help to the island of Cyprus. Behind the barbed wire of the camps established in Cyprus, Jewish Social Service was working; the Haganah was there.

At one point the British decided, to change their policy, "Back to Germany." And that they applied to a ship called EXODUS, 1947, which was the last ship that I personally had anything to do with.

We gathered our 4,500 refugees and D.P.'s from inside Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy — 4,500 men and babies and mothers were brought down to Marseilles, in June, 1947. They never left from Marseilles.

The ship bought for this occasion was a Chesapeake Bay ferry boat, a flat-bottom. It used to run from Baltimore to Wilmington.

The boys tried to take it across the Atlantic twice. It almost foundered twice. It made it on the third trip. It had a crew of twenty-odd people.

They tried to pick up water and fuel, they couldn't. They scouted around in Lisbon, in Stockholm, on the western coast of Europe; they came in late; they couldn't berth in Marseilles. They put into a little place called Sete; they loaded our 4,500 people on the ferry boat, Exodus nee Wallis Warfield, and set sail.

Sitting outside of the three-mile limit, was the British cruiser, the AJAX. The AJAX had sunk the GRAF SPEE off the coast of Montevideo in 1940. It was the best ship the British had.

This mighty cruiser was waiting for the little ferry boat, and as it slid into the sea the AJAX picked it up, followed it, rammed it about twelve miles off the coast of Palestine after due warning; the steel prow of the AJAX, ten stories high, just nudged into the side of this little ferry boat and cut a big gash.

There was a fight. And the Marines came down and the Jews tried to slow them by putting oil out on the water to make it slippery, and they threw the kosher corned beef at the British marines — and that is no joke. The invading party got up and took the wheelhouse, and there was an American boy, Bill Bernstein, he was at the wheel, and he was clubbed to death.

The crew tried to run the ship from another wheel, which they had down in the aft part, below deck. But the Haganah from the shore ordered them by radio to surrender. They surrendered, and the British towed them in.

The British transferred them right there at the dock of Haifa into three little prison ships.

The British said, "No Cyprus for you; back to where you came from. We are going to break this bloody Jewish illegal migration once and for all." The Jews were taken back to where they came from, to France. They wouldn't disembark. There they declared a hunger strike.

The British said, "Okay, back to where you came from." They took them back to Hamburg, Germany, pulled them off the ships at Hamburg, put them in trains and sent them back to the camp at Bergen-Belsen. Remember, it happened in August of 1947. And that did it. It woke up the conscience of the world.

In November 1947, three months later, the partition of Palestine came, and the vote in the United Nations was 33 to 13.

That was in November, 1947. One day later the fighting in Palestine started. They went through the guerrilla warfare which lasted until the spring of 1948. The British left on May 15th.

Real war started. The Arab armies, not mere guerrillas, went on the warpath all through 1948. The isolated Israel fought until 1949, when truce finally came.

An armistice is a document signed by warriors to halt hostilities. What we have today in the Middle East is an armistice agreement which the Arabs signed separately, country by country. By the way, Iraq has never signed an armistice document. Iraq is still at war with Israel.

Normally an armistice agreement must be followed by a peace treaty. Well, there has been no peace treaty signed, and this is why Nasser maintains that Egypt is still at war with Israel. That is why he closes the Suez Canal and keeps Israeli shipping out.

I will come back to Palestine and Israel. I would like to return in a flashback to the Nazi-Hitler period.

There are two factors which have made up contemporary Jewish history. One is Zionism, Israel with the valiant Palestine struggle, which I reviewed with you at length, because we have a tendency to forget it.

The second factor stems from the Hitler period, the saddest period of modern mankind.

On January 30, 1933 (Roosevelt's birthday) Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany.

On April 1st, 1933 Hitler announced the boycott of Jewish business; Jewish stores were painted with the Star of David, storm troopers were put in front of stores, and Germans were told not to go in.

In September, 1935, Nazi Germany passed the Nuremberg laws. These were the most fantastically complicated mathematical determinations of whether you were a quarter Jew, a half Jew, or an eighth Jew.

On November 5, 1938 a young Jewish boy, Herschel Grynszpan, shot and killed Ernest von Rath, the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris. Herschel did it in an act of personal human desperation, because he received word that his parents had been expelled from Germany.

Retribution for that single act came swiftly and massively. On the night of the 9th to the morning of the 10th of November, 1938 there was organized in Germany the most impressive, widespread, efficient operation that ever took place. Every synagogue in Germany that night was burned and looted, and the phrase, "Kristall Nacht" came from the sound of the tinkling of breaking glass.

The windows were smashed, the crystal chandeliers were pulled down in a billion fragments of broken glass. The Crystal Night shattered the last hope of the German Jewish population for a better future, for a return to normalcy. Fifty thousand people were taken that night and put into concentration camps -- fifty thousand.

Five hundred synagogues were burned and destroyed, and the next day Hermann Goering imposed on the Jewish population of Germany a fine of one billion Reichmarks.

The Reichmark was worth 40 cents. \$400 million fine imposed and paid. That was the end of life and fortune, and of any opportunity for resistance.

Hitler, as I said, came in 1933, and the Nuremberg laws were put into effect in 1935. Between those two years 60,000 Jews left Germany, 10 per cent of the population.

The Nuremberg laws accelerated Jewish emigration from Germany. By September 1939, when the war started, some 215,000 Jews left their native land.

215,000 German Jews escaped. More than 350,000 were trapped.

On July 30, 1941, Goering ordered Heydrich "To take all preparatory measures required for the final solution of the Jewish question in the European territories under German influence." That was the first time we saw the word "the final solution."

A book has been written that I would like to commend to your attention. It is called "The Final Solution."

It is written by Gerald Reitlinger, and published by the Beechhurst Press, 1953. Reitlinger dedicated the book to his daughter, "that one day she may read and know the tragedy of her race."

That final solution was ordered on July 30, 1941. America was not in the war as yet. But even the Germans, with all their efficiency, take a certain amount of time to get things organized. Six months later, in January, 1942, Heydrich called a conference of 15 people. They were the heads of the S.S. and the Gestapo.

The meeting was held in a villa on the Lake Wannsee outside of Berlin, and they made two decisions at this meeting.

The original plan was to deport every Jew to the Island of Madagascar, and there to hold them until they would kill them all.

They found that was not feasible, so they ruled that out. They decided they had to kill them all in Europe.

There were two extermination systems. In Russia, the method they used was the digging of pits, shooting the victims and covering the corpses with lime. But that took too long, and it was expensive. A bullet costs 6 cents. They had to use a lot of bullets.

At the Nuremberg trial of 1945 a German civilian engineer, one Hermann Graber, gave testimony on a typical action (the word was "Aktion" in German) which he witnessed in a certain province in Russia.

"An old woman with snow-white hair was holding this one-year-old child in her arms and singing and tickling it. The parents were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about ten years old and speaking to him softly, the boy was fighting his tears.

"The father pointed toward the sky, stroked the boy's head and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the S.S. man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about twenty persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound.

"The family I have described was among them. I well remember the girl, slim, and with black hair, who, as she passed me, pointed to herself and said, 'Twenty-three years old.'

"I then walked around the mound and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible.

"Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving, some lifted their arms and turned their heads to show that they were still alive.

"The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it held a thousand people.

"I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into it. He had a tommy-gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette.

"The people — they were completely naked — went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of those who were lying there to the place where the S.S. men directed them. They lay down in front of the dead and wounded. Some caressed the living and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots."

In Kiev, 33,000 people were murdered in two days in the largest single massacre of the war. They were shot and buried in a huge ravine called Babyi Yar, where there were so many of them that a few months later their gas-bloated bodies literally exploded out of the earth.

30,000 Jews in Dnepropetrovsk machine-gunned to death and buried in the ditches outside of the city.

20,000 slaughtered at Poltava.

20,000 in Kharkov.

35,000 in Odessa.

10,000 in Simferopol.

170,000 in Latvia.

250,000 in Lithuania.

By 1943 the S.S. had largely completed its assignment in occupied Russia. 800,000 Jews had been executed by that time. That is the way they did it there.

In Poland it was different. In Poland they did it by gassing and burning.

You know the system; deportations to the large extermination camps, to places like Auschwitz, Treblinka; trains bring four, six, eight, ten thousand people to the place; people taken off the trains; divided into two groups, those who were to be killed immediately were put to the left; those who were allowed to live a short while, because they could do work inside the camp, were put to the right.

Those put to the left were led to a room, were ordered to take their clothes off, were given a towel, and in some cases, a piece of soap and were told that they were going to be cleaned and bathed.

Over the door of the entrance to this gashouse it said Brause bad, — the showerbath. They were packed in, the men, the women and children, all naked. Some of these shower rooms had space for 100 people, some for 200 people.

There were showerheads in the ceiling up on top. There was a man with cans of gas cyklon B which had been developed in a factory in Hamburg.

This man put the gas in the canister; it was fizzled down through the showerhead in the ceiling and it took a matter of minutes before everybody was dead.

Every couple of months or so the room had to be replastered, the fingernails clawing at the concrete pulled the concrete down; people were trying to get out.

After 30 minutes the door at the other end would be pulled open, the Sonder-Kommando — the Jews, those who had been left alive because they were strong enough to work, would do their duty. What was it? Shovel out the bodies, take them and put them on trolleys, wheel the trolleys on the tracks.

They rolled them on the trolleys over to the ovens, pushed the bodies into the ovens, burned them up, cracked the bones for fertilizer.

But before they put them in the oven, they opened the teeth, took the gold out of the teeth and arranged them in neat piles. They cut off their hair, and saved it. Hair was used for making all kinds of things; human hair, that is.

I myself saw the chambers at Auschwitz. I went to the camp at Auschwitz in 1958.

The total capacity of all these factories of death still wasn't enough to satisfy the Germans, because they could kill only 10,000 people a day. The only reason that in some places there are Jews left alive today is because the Germans could not work any faster than that.

Gassing and burning was the method used in Poland. Shooting in the pits was the method used in Russia.

One of the deputies of Heydrich was a man by the name of Eichmann. He had the responsibility for Western Europe.

He had responsibility for the Dutch Jews, Belgian Jews, French Jews, and the miscellaneous, like Greeks, Jews in Salonica and other places.

Eichmann's trial is beginning on March 6th. When his trial begins, hundreds of newspaper reporters will be there. They will listen to the trial and the whole story will come out for the world to remember again. It seems to me, at times, that not only the world has forgotten the mass graves and the gas chambers, we too forget it—for one or two reasons:

Either because it is too horrible to remember, and this I can understand; Or we do not want to be reminded of the recent past because it forces us to do something about its consequences. Now, to me this is outrageously bad, because that is walking away from a problem.

If there is one thing that we Jews in America should not do, it is walk away from any problem.

There are survivors of this period who are still our responsibility. The JDC is caring for tens of thousands of them. Some of us don't want to be reminded of it because it is too ugly — too bloody and too brutal —.

There wasn't very much we could do about it between 1939 and 1945. However, we can do an awful lot about it now. We can do it in partnership with the free Jews of Israel.

But we must be sure that we remain angry.

If we lose our capacity to be moved by this unparalleled tragic event in 4,000 years of our history, then we don't deserve to call ourselves Jews and we may as well forget all our burdens and all our problems.

When I speak of anger, I have in mind not only the ability of individuals or nations to be aroused by brutality, oppression and mass crimes committed against our people. Moral indignation is a reaction, a noble reaction against all forms of discrimination and inhumanity. It is an expression of anger — spontaneous and short-lived.

Our anger must go far beyond reaction. Our anger must prompt us into creative actions. Our anger must be constructive. It must generate in us a manly determination to give not only of our wealth, but of ourselves as well.

We must not only be sympathetic onlookers of historic processes; we must be angry enough to be active participants in the all important mission of saving and building Jewish life whenever we can and wherever we can.

To me there is nothing more ludicrous than the Jew who is interested in his temple and in becoming president of it, or a Jew who is interested in his hospital and in becoming a chairman of the board, or wanting to be a Jew and live among Jews and deal with Jewish problems and call oneself a Jewish community leader. There is nothing more ludicrous than a man who does all that but who has lost his capacity for anger over the things that happened to us.

Don't call yourself a Jewish leader if your blood doesn't boil at the memory of our dead, and don't forget it because if you forget this, then nothing else makes any sense.

They will try Eichmann, it will be all over, finished — whatever they will do to him. They may shoot him, they may give him ten years in jail. But it is not important. The things we must understand are important and simple:

Herzl was upset by what happened to the Jews of France, and he came to the conclusion that something ought to be done about it, and he started a movement he believed would help our people.

We ought to be upset about what happened in the '30's and '40's, and we must maintain what has already been started. We must assist in keeping it going, keeping alive our work and deep human concern for those who need our aid.

I said before that the safety and the survival of the Jewish people depend upon the possibilities of free migration. This possibility for the mass of our people exists in one place only, in Israel, and if it takes us 30 years to put Israel on its feet, then the anger we feel that there were those who died because there was no place to go, should sustain us for one, two or three decades of labor, however long it takes.

The subject of my speech was supposed to be "What is the U.J.A.?" You might have been thinking what has the U.J.A. to do with the Polish Shtetl in the 1880's or with the breaking of the British blockage in the 1940's, or feeling pain at what happened in the 1930's?

I would like to tell you about the U.J.A. as I conceive of it.

One part of the United Jewish Appeal is an organization called the JDC, the Joint Distribution Committee. No organization is worth anything except what it accomplishes, and the JDC has been at work for almost a half century. Quietly, efficiently, with dignity, JDC has participated in the process of transforming moral anger into philanthropic aid. JDC works legally where it is able to, and illegally when it must bring help.

The JDC has taken hundreds of millions of dollars that the Jews of this country have given and has saved hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives.

When I think of JDC, I think of a ship, St. Louis, that in 1939 couldn't land in Cuba and couldn't land in Miami, and of a fellow member of the JDC, Morris Troper, who had the heartbreaking task of finding a refuge for the stranded St. Louis passengers. He was angry, persistent and resourceful. St. Louis came back to Europe, and Troper found countries that would take the 900 Jewish passengers, thus saving their lives. The JDC has done these things magnificently for almost 50 years. I believe we should pay tribute to the devoted work the JDC staff has done, the anonymity with which they have done it, to the depth of love and to the passion with which they have done it; to the efficiency with which they served the high cause of saving lives.

In 1961, the JDC will spend \$23 million in trying to help Jews around the world. \$17 million they want from us, from the United Jewish Appeal. Those seventeen millions that we will give them, will represent the difference between life and death for a quarter of a million people on the face of the globe.

The other part of the UJA is the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency moves people across borders, puts them on trains, takes them to Israel, settles them on farms.

One million Jews have been taken into Israel, one million since 1948, since the state was established.

The third organization to which we give our money is NYANA, the New York Association for New Americans. There is a pitifully small number of people who can come into the United States. They have to be taken care of when they arrive here, and about two-thirds of the people who come to the United States settle in the Metropolitan area of New York. They have to be looked after and cared for, and this New York Association for New Americans does.

What a nice word, you don't call a man a "refugee", you do not call him an immigrant, you call him a New American.

The fourth organization is the United HIAS Service. You remember I told you the HIAS was organized way back in 1884. I said it has gone through mergers and changed its name. Its present name is the United HIAS Service.

Those four organizations receive funds from the United Jewish Appeal. All four of them are doing the work; they provide humanitarian services in a completely non-duplicated way. What we have here is a wonderful division of labor.

The JDC takes care of needy Jews around the world. In Israel, it has established Malben for the sick and aged newcomers.

The Jewish Agency transports the immigrants into Israel, settles them on farms and houses them.

The NYANA takes care of those who come here to these shores and stay in New York City.

The United HIAS Service takes care of Jewish migrants who go to countries other than Israel. Jews who want to go to Canada, to Australia, to South America, to Western Europe, to the United States outside of Metropolitan New York are taken care of by the United HIAS.

So you have four organizations. When I said I did not care about organizations, I was not demeaning their work — what I meant to say was that loyalty to an organization is less important than loyalty to an idea and an ideal, and thank God an organization has been created to express that ideal and perform the service that we want it to perform.

I would like to share with you some thoughts that constantly preoccupy me. I believe history holds two things in store for us.

The first thing history may hold in store for us is a drastic deterioration in Israel-Arab relations. This is a personal, unofficial opinion, not to be quoted anywhere, but it is for us to understand what lies ahead. The Arabs are implacable in their hatred for Israel.

The arms balance is shifting in favor of the Arabs. They had received arms from Russia that is superior to Israel's armament. The Arabs have nine submarines operative in the Eastern Mediterranean, have fully-trained crews, and Israel has two.

The balance is shifting fast and badly. I think the Arabs may try to take advantage of their superiority. I believe we have to take into account the Arab-Israel position. Clearly, we cannot do a thing about it. We cannot start or stop it, it will be out of our control.

Our attitude toward it, our reaction toward it, and what we will do about it, is something that we can control.

There is one other matter I should like to discuss with you, speaking of the needs of future migrations.

These are figures on Jewish populations, they are estimates, they may not be too accurate.

North Africa:

Morocco	200,000	
Algeria	130,000	
Tunisia	<u>63,000</u>	393,000

Eastern Europe:

Rumania	200,000	
Poland	30,000	
Hungary	100,000	
Czechoslovakia	<u>20,000</u>	350,000

Asia:	Iran	<u>80,000</u>	<u>80,000</u>
Total all countries			<u>822,000</u>

I will make a flat statement, at the risk of being completely wrong, because all flat statements and generalizations usually are wrong: if one were to ask what are the migration needs of the Jewish people today, I would say that between 700,000 and 800,000 need to be rescued. This leaves out completely the Soviet Union, with 3 million Jews.

If one were to say, do these 800,000 people all need to be rescued, or deserve to be, or should be, I would say yes. Because I think that is their only future.

I want you to know we have four kinds of Jews: there are Jews who are already in Israel, there are Jews now coming to Israel, there are Jews who will come, and we know they will come, and we know from where they will come, and at what rate.

In the fourth category are Jews who cannot come. Many of them cannot come, and that is why the JDC is there, because somebody must take care of them.

I do not know where they would go or what they would do without JDC.

Israel is a very small country, it is a tiny country, but the soul of the country is big. The soul of the country is big because it is the soul of a people which has known death and overcome it.

Israel is built on two things: a Biblical vision and six million dead souls.

It is because of our tribute to the one and the loving memory for the other that we make this pledge to go on working as long as our work is needed.

We are trying to save the people and build a land, and we are not going to stop until the last one of you quits on us. We will save our people wherever it can be saved, and we will build that land into a state of utter strength, independence and self-sufficiency.

We will work until the last Jew on the face of the earth is saved, and to the very minute Israel feels so secure it will not need us any more. Until those two things happen, you and I must keep working.

Our fathers gave 22 years to this organization, the United Jewish Appeal. Our fathers poured the treasure of their whole generation of twenty or thirty years into it, and we have a right to ask the same of you. You will want to give it.

I think the answer is totally and completely in your hands.

ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
H. E. AVRAHAM HARMAN,
AMBASSADOR OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED STATES
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I understand that you had an analysis from Rabbi Friedman about the past eighty years of Jewish history, and I would like to pick up from that point and say a few things.

I think that in the past eighty years we had two very serious reverses in Jewish life and two very, very positive and hopeful advances.

The first reverse was the cutting off of Russian Jewry from the body of the Jewish people about forty years ago. That was a serious blow to the course of Jewish history and the course of Jewish development. I don't think that the final word has been said on that particular subject. I think that our history moves in very devious ways. But it has been a serious reversal.

And the second, of course, was what happened during the Nazi period.

The two great advances in Jewish life in this period have been, first, the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, preceded by about two or three generations of very tough pioneering work. And against that background I would like to say just a few things about the role of American Jewry in the shaping of Jewish life, particularly in the last forty years or so. Because I think it is vital to grasp this if we are to plan for the Jewish future.

United States Jewry emerged as an international Jewish factor during the First World War. It emerged in those days in two very important forms. It emerged the first time as a political factor shaping Jewish life.

Justice Brandeis, through his leadership in the American Zionist movement, together with his associates, Justice Frankfurter and others, played a very important, perhaps, decisive role in the events that led to the Balfour Declaration and to the Palestine Mandate and to the appearance of Jews at the Peace Conference after World War I.

At that time, too, the political significance of an American Jewry was reflecting itself in the deep concern which we Jews were showing at that time -- beginning from that time -- in the lot of the Jews whose status was being menaced in various parts of the world.

The second form in which you emerged at that time as a growing force on the world Jewish scene, was through the creation of the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Now, since those days, about forty years ago, the role of American Jewry on the international Jewish scene has been growing, and you played a decisive role during World War II and afterwards in bringing help to Jews in need of it and after World War II in pushing forward the reconstruction of the Jewish people after the Nazi period.

I think that any observer of world Jewish life today must come to the conclusion that the two dominant, constructive forces active on the Jewish scene today are the Jewish community of the United States of America and the Jewish community of

Israel. Everything that has been accomplished in the last fifteen years since the end of the war that is positive in Jewish life has been accomplished by these two forces in association.

The reconstruction of Jews after 1945 would have been unthinkable without American Jewry, and to a very large extent it would have been impossible without the assistance of Israel. And that applies not only to the absorption of Jewish migration, it applies also, I think, to the cultural and spiritual reconstruction of the Jewish people that has been moving forward since 1945.

I am quite convinced myself that the Jewish future is going to be entirely dependent, as far as self-motivating Jewish action is concerned, on the continued association of these two forces in Jewish life: American Jewry and Israel.

I think that this is going to be true in the future as it has been in the past fifteen years in two vital areas which I believe do concern us, and I am sure ought to concern us: First the status of Jews, the physical needs of Jews, and their need for freedom and dignity. And, secondly, the whole area of Jewish cultural, spiritual and religious survival and reconstruction.

On this first point, I would like to say one or two things quite bluntly, if I may. The United Jewish Appeal is a fund-raising organization. And, therefore, it goes in for the use of gimmicks, because it has to come back to the same people every year and tell the story, and it always runs the risk of being told that "we heard this before." And, therefore, there is a natural, understandable desire to dress this story up fresh every year and give it a kind of new look. And the more sensational that new look can be, the better.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, Jewish blood is not being shed today, and I believe that there is every reason to hope that it won't be in the decades that lie ahead of us. Anybody that believes and hopes that the world is going to be able to avoid a cataclysm of war -- and if you don't have that hope, then it is very difficult to live in 1960 --, but anybody that has that hope must hope, too, that this will apply to Jews, even in the most exposed places.

We must rule out these considerations from our thinking while at the same time looking very carefully and being terribly vigilant about the position of Jews in all the trouble spots. But I don't believe that Jewish blood will flow. That isn't the problem.

The problem is for the Jews who enjoy freedom in America and the Jews who enjoy freedom in Israel to make up their minds that just as they regard this as being a natural and desirable order of things, they should base their Jewish policy on the assumption that every Jew would like to enjoy the same freedom and the same dignity. There is nothing more in the thing than that. But this is the essence of it. This is the essence of our moral obligation.

What is the nature of your freedom as individuals and of ours in Israel from a Jewish point of view? I think it is compounded of two things, that we are free as individuals, living in democratic societies -- and, secondly, that we are not

expected to surrender our Jewish personality as a price of being free, that we are also free to be Jews in accordance with our own conscience. That is an essential part of this concept of freedom for us.

The problem that we face, if we accept this moral obligation, as we have up to now, the problem that we face is not that Jews somewhere will be murdered or massacred or pogromed, but that Jews in quite a number of places, unfortunately, will continue to lack these two distinguishing characteristics of Jewish freedom that you and I possess.

We have to make up our minds, I think, that this is going to be the challenge of our generation -- those who are sitting in this room with the prospect of twenty and thirty years of public life and activity ahead of them. The problem that we face as we assume obligations in this public activity, the problem that we face is how to get this essential story across to our respective constituencies, even though the blood is not going to flow and in the unremitting hope that it won't flow; and that we won't have headlines and that there won't be any spurious dramas.

We in Israel live in the hope that the book "Exodus" relates to our past, not to our future. We have a national aspiration in Israel, which is to work our way back from the front page of "The New York Times" to about page 50, where they list the new companies established. A nation which is on the front page has got problems; a nation which is happy doesn't get a prominent part in the newspapers. And I think that this has to be the hope of our generation, not to deal with pogrom situations, but to deal with the fundamental issues that we face, which are that this course of Jewish history, which has created your community in freedom in America and ours in freedom in Israel, has not yet been moved to its final accomplishment, and that there are still regrettably very many Jews who lack either freedom as individuals, or freedom as Jews, or both, although they are not being murdered and, I believe, won't be.

This is the situation. There are two facets to this problem of Jewish migration, ladies and gentlemen. One is the desire of Jews to move, and the other is the provision of outlets for them to which they can go. Until 1948 all of us were concerned with the second question and not with the first. The question until 1948 was, Where could Jews go who wanted to move, who needed to move from a situation of lack of freedom to a situation of freedom.

And then came Israel, and the role of Israel in all this is that we by design were created to solve that problem or to continue to a solution of that problem, with the result that since the end of World War II, since 1945, 1,300,000 Jews have moved and a million of them have been able to come to Israel. There is no longer a question of where Jews who want to move can go.

The first aspect of the question is still there: How can Jews leave places that they want to leave because they don't have the conditions there that they would like to have? And in regard to this, ladies and gentlemen, I think that we should continually be reminding ourselves that if you and I could not for a moment imagine that we would live without the conditions of freedom we enjoy as individuals or as Jews, why should we for a moment suppose that other Jews, who

are like us in every respect and in every instinct, should want to stay in conditions that deprive them of the freedoms which you and I possess?

This is the essence of our moral obligation in this field.

I would like to say just one other thing on that subject, which is this: In our history, in all human history, you never write anything off. There is no such thing as a complete chapter of history. The great hope in our world is that things are not set for all time; they are going to change. No regime is monolithic and unchangeable. The most monolithic regimes in the world experience internal changes and very often, though you can't see them clearly on the surface, internal revolutions through their own forms and methods.

The fact is that after forty years, deprived of the right to educate their children in their own faith, deprived of the right of free association for cultural, spiritual and religious purposes, the Jews of the Soviet Union persist as Jews. It is amazing that, at the beginning of 1960, when the results of the census of the Soviet Union were published, two and a half million people in the Soviet Union in 1960 registered as Jewish nationals, and of them a fifth stated that their native tongue was Yiddish. This is after forty years of the revolution and of a policy which was assumed to lead to mass assimilation and a new nation of Jews.

It is not for nothing that we are described in the Bible as a stiffnecked people. This force, this instinct for liberty in this sense, liberty as individuals and liberty as Jews, this instinct is working all the time.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to tell you something very briefly about what the implications of this is to my country, Israel.

Those of you who have been to Israel recently or who will go there may not be fully aware of one of the basic problems that my generation in Israel is today experiencing and that the country as a whole is experiencing. We are a country in the mid state of development. Parts of our life in Israel are highly developed; and on the surface they look magnificent. Building, industry, the economy, thank God, is improving year by year. This year Israel is going to export goods and services to the value of \$350 million. It is an enormous advance.

But, as against that, there is a constant need for pioneering in Israel, because there is a constant process of absorbing new immigration, and there is still a need of consolidating the absorption of the immigration that we got in the last ten years. And so you get this dichotomy going on in Israel today, between the need for maintaining on a high pitch a forward-looking, pioneering spirit, and, at the same time, a very natural and a very understandable desire on the part of people to relax.

I would like to sum it up by the story of a friend of mine, a Jew from Germany, quite a wealthy family that had happen to it what happened to the Jews of Germany, and he came to Palestine in 1939 with nothing, as a land worker, and joined a kibbutz.

In 1936 to 1939 there were Arab riots in Palestine and he was in the Haganah, and when the war broke out he joined the British forces in Palestine, he was a member of the Jewish Brigade and came out of the war in 1945, and looked around and asked himself what was his personal future, and left Palestine to study to become an animal surgeon somewhere in Europe for a couple of years, and returned to Israel in 1947 as a qualified vet and got a job in one of the agricultural cooperatives based on Haifa. And for the first time since 1935 this man began to relax again. He got himself an apartment with his wife and they had one or two children, youngsters, and he had a steady job as a vet, servicing the villages in the Valley of Jezreel which stretches from Haifa in the direction of the Sea of Galilee.

1947 wasn't exactly a relaxing year in Palestine. There was a good deal of bother with the British administration. And by the end of 1947 came the UN resolution. In 1948 we had a war of liberation, and this man was a reservist, he was in it.

In the beginning of 1949 he came out of it finally and went back to his job as a vet; but in 1949 a quarter of a million Jews migrated to Israel; and in 1949 we began the policy of establishing new villages to absorb some of these immigrants, give them jobs, and also to enable them to grow some of the foods that we need. Many of those villages were in the western end of the Negev, between Beersheba and the sea, or between Beersheba and the Gaza Strip. And when you have villages and you go in for dairy farming and you go in for breeding of cattle, you need vets. And the new immigrants didn't bring vets with them. They brought precious little with them in the way of money or in the way of skill. 50,000 Yemenite Jews came to Israel in the last 12 years, 50,000 people, and they didn't bring with them a single doctor, a single nurse, a single engineer, a single secular teacher, nothing in the way of skills of that kind.

So my friend was asked to leave Haifa and go and settle in Beersheba to be a vet in this new area that was opening up. He said to me he had a very difficult time selling this proposition to his wife. There were no schools in Beersheba of his standard. His children in the Haifa area were going to very good schools. Beersheba in 1949, 1950, was a little hovel of a place. (Today there are 40,000 people there, and they have pretty good schools that are getting better every year.)

Well, this is an illustration of what I call the problem of Israel, the need to move forward, the need to be tense, if you like, the need to insist on more pioneering and more sacrifice and, as against it, a very natural understandable desire to relax on the part of people whose last twenty years have not been very relaxed, who think that they earned a little bit of relaxation.

We are trying to make our way between these two poles in Israel. We need to develop economically. We would like our people to relax. A relaxed people is a healthy people. A people shouldn't be living on its nerves all the time, certainly not our people. We need the therapy of relaxation.

Well, we know that the time hasn't come yet. There is one area, of course, in which all of us Israelis understand we can't relax for the moment, and we must maintain vigilance, and that is in relation to the problem we have with our neighbors, our security question, and we are not relaxing in that area. We won't until there is peace. We know very well that by not relaxing in this area, by throwing into it everything that it needs in the way of manpower and in the way of money in the defense area, we are not achieving merely the capacity to defend ourselves against aggression; we are achieving something much more important than that. We are achieving -- we have, thank God, so far achieved -- the avoidance of aggression, the deterrence of aggression. The military policy of Israel is not directed towards fighting wars; it is directed towards preventing wars. This is the objective of the concentration of our national purpose in the defense area, and in that area we are carrying a very heavy load. But the problem in Israel is how to get the people to go on year by year carrying an additional load that is not related to defense, that is related to this business of immigration, of our continuing to serve as an instrument in the hands of the Jewish people to meet Jewish needs.

That is more difficult, but I think that our people are conditioned to it and will carry this burden.

Now, I would like to describe the burden very briefly. By the end of 1960, in the course of these past twelve months, about 25,000 Jews will have come into Israel from various places. How do they come in? Realistically, physically, technically what happens to them? They are picked up somewhere in Europe by the Jewish Agency and they are put on a plane, or they are put on a ship, and they come to Israel. In the overwhelming majority of cases they come with nothing except some luggage that they are able to take out with them, but with no funds. On arriving in Israel they are taken over by the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency which gives them a few pounds in Israel currency so that they may have something to go out and buy a cup of coffee with, and brings them to some kind of shelter, some kind of home, however rudimentary, in which they must find, the modicum of utility furniture that they may need -- a bed, a mattress, a blanket for every member of the family, and a few pots and pans in the kitchen, and a broom to sweep the floor with, and things like that; and a package of food for two weeks, staples like flour, oil, and so forth.

Then the next day, literally, the man is taken to the labor exchange, and the Jewish Agency leaves him there. That is to say, the UJA leaves him in the labor exchange. The only exception are those people who go and live in the agricultural villages -- and then the Jewish Agency, the UJA, is responsible for nursing those people in the villages until they have received all the equipment needed with which to earn their own livelihood.

Now, this process of bringing this Jew from somewhere in Europe to the door of our labor exchanges costs \$1,600 per head, including the cost of his house. It is a lot of money. We Jews in Israel don't contribute towards that; that is your money. But we pay a price. We pay a price. And I would like to describe briefly what that price is and what it is going to continue to be.

You bring the Jew to the labor exchange, but we have to make sure that the man in the labor exchange has got a job to send him to, and under our laws the man in the labor exchange has got instructions that however many local unemployed there are in an area, if this man is a new immigrant he has got to be given immediately on arrival some days of work per month, depending on the size of his family. If he is a married man with two or three children, he has got to get 21 days of work the month immediately after his arrival; otherwise, what will he live on?

So if the economy is not spoiled, if there are jobs to be available, then public works have got to be set up for that man in the area where he is being settled. There is no point in sending a man to Dimona, if there is going to be no work in Dimona. If the Jewish Agency in conjunction with our Ministry of Labor says, "We will send people to Dimona," our Ministry of Labor has got to have work available in Dimona. And if there is no natural work, then there is got to be made work. Made work costs money. It is financed out of the Ministry of Labor, out of my taxes.

But you can't keep a man in a job only on the basis of public works. The economic objective is to see that there will be an economy that will expand continuously year by year to be able to provide real jobs, permanent, productive jobs to this man; not only to enable him to earn his own living, but to enable him to earn the living of the country, and that calls for economic investment.

When we don't have private investors doing this job entirely -- there is more than one private investor, thank God --, then we have to have government initiative, in resource development and in building the economic and social reconstruction, and we have to finance that. We finance that by selling obligations of the government of Israel, by borrowing money, including Israel bonds. My taxes pay the interest on that. My children will be repaying those bonds, and will be able to, because the economy of Israel will make it possible for them to pay them back. But this is an obligation which we are accepting. 25,000 people come in this year -- I don't know, I suppose there are at least 5,000 people of school age or potentially of school age in that group. There must be 50 in a class; that means 100 new classes, 100 new teachers who have got to be trained, 100 new classrooms to be built and equipped; all of that goes into the budget of the Israel Ministry of Education.

All the service areas: education, health, social welfare in Israel, all of them are financed out of my taxes. When they make their plans for each budgetary year, you must take into account not only the natural population increase, that is to say, not only the need of my children in education, but the needs of the children who, when the budgets are written, are not yet in the country. For them, too, next September there is going to be a class going in the primary school or in the kindergarten. For them, too, there is going to be a hospital bed -- at least one for every 2,000 of the population. The estimated costs of all this must be added to the budget, and they must come out of my income tax or the cigarettes people smoke or the whiskey people drink or the brandy they drink, or out of my gasoline tax. They come out of taxes which have meant that an American-assembled car which costs \$2,000 in America including your taxes, in Israel costs me \$6,000 including my taxes which go into this.

So we make our contributions. And it is not made automatically, and it cannot be made automatically, because we are a democratic society. People don't pay taxes unless they know what they are paying and why. And this story has got to be argued out with our electorate every four years. It has to be argued out in our Knesset every year when the budget estimates come out. But, beyond all that the children in our schools are taught that the declaration of independence of our country dedicated our country not merely to pursue the interests of the citizens, but the State of Israel exists in order that its doors should be open to Jews wanting to come in. National policies in the field of external affairs or particularly in domestic affairs, have to be geared to this central national purpose, that our country exists not only to serve me and my children, but equally to serve man and his children who, five years from now, thirty years from now, will feel that because he is a Jew he has to get out of where he is and who will look to Israel to take him in.

This is an unsensational thing. It will go on year by year. And, really, ladies and gentlemen, there is going to be nothing new to say. We can't wring tears out of ourselves every year. We are not that kind of a people, and also it is not true.

Israel is in a good position today. Things in Israel are getting better year by year. The economy is getting more resilient. We are glad of that because you don't attract economic strength to a situation of economic weakness. Why has there been a great expansion of private investment in 1960? Because the economic climate in Israel today looks good and is good, is incomparably better than what it was ten or twelve years ago. And I believe, and have every reason to believe, that this story is going to improve year by year.

I believe that after five or six years, we may achieve economic balance in Israel -- an economic balance, not with a diet of bread and olives for our people -- because you can't sustain a civilization on that diet -- but at a reasonable, decent standard of living; not the American standard, as it is too big for us, but a Western European standard. This should be our objective economically; it is our objective economically but even if we reach that after six or seven years, would you then be disposed to say that if, in 1970, 30, 40 thousand penniless, poverty-stricken Jewish immigrants come into Israel, that we should then carry the burden of that? Should it be only our responsibility, or a joint responsibility? There will be no pity about this situation, nothing to draw tears. On the contrary, it is a joyous thing. A man comes out of a situation that was so bad that he wanted to run away from it and to a country which will be blooming and prosperous. Should it then be our sole responsibility?

You wouldn't want it that way. Your community is not that kind of community. This is a community that is shot through with a sense of responsibility. It has been demonstrated in every turn in the Jewish history of our generation.

So I am persuaded that this situation will not be manageable if we go around every year looking for new gimmicks. This situation has got to be regarded as a continuing situation in Jewish life, and let me add, a very happy situation.

ADDRESS- H.E. AVRAHAM HARMAN
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

9.

Would that it were more than 25,000 that were coming out this year; and I am sure that this is the sentiment of every Jew in America who understands the meaning of the freedom which he automatically lives under; that he would like other Jews to share that.

It is a happy circumstance that unites us in this mission, and we can meet this challenge only by the continuation and the deepening of the association which has enabled us in the last 12 or 13 years to achieve miraculous results, not just in saving human beings, but in the reconstruction of Jewish life. Permit me just one concluding word on that subject.

We have never concerned ourselves exclusively with the health of the Jewish body; always with the health of the Jewish spirit. We took a very big licking in this respect during the Hitler period. Not only six million Jews were killed, but 30,000 communities and everything that was in those communities -- all the scholarship and all the learning and all the tradition and all the intelligence that was destroyed, all the creative capacity that was destroyed and ground into the dust. This was a reverse from which a lesser people might never have been able to recover.

The leadership -- the cultural, spiritual, religious leadership -- was destroyed in Europe. But we are recovering from it. You are recovering from it here. Your communities, like ours in Israel, were nurtured for two or three generations by these Eastern European Jews. You found inside yourselves factors which are enabling you gradually to recover from it. And we are finding it in Israel -- it is a very tough struggle -- again, because it is not dramatic, but invisible. But, nonetheless, very real.

And let us bear that in mind, too, that by this association of forces we can also move forward in that direction, as well. I personally am convinced that this is the spirit in which we should be meeting the problems of the Jewish future, in a spirit of hope, and working from strength and working from a complete confidence in our capacity to create. Yours is a community that has got more competence, more ability, more resources, than any Jewish community that has ever been in the whole history of the Jewish people. There is nothing that is beyond your resources or your capacity to achieve in Jewish life. And Israel -- nearly two million Jews, who have gotten where they have gotten as a result of this expression of tough determination to hang onto their right to exist and to be free -- this, too, is an enormous incalculable reservoir of Jewish creative strength. So we must look at it with a feeling of strength and in a spirit of confidence. And because I am convinced that this should be the approach, that I think at this time again of the men and women who have 30 or 40 years of activity in communal leadership ahead of them and I say that this type of conference could well be decisive in the next chapter of Jewish history as it unfolds.

ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
CHET HUNTLEY,
COMMENTATOR, NBC-TV
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I come here to be with you for a few moments because I bear a sense of involvement in the present and the future, in the hope and in the success of the State of Israel. It must not only survive, it must flourish; and flourish it will, if work and sacrifice and dedication count for anything.

There are some parts of me in Israel. May I count a few of the parts? Out of those lovely time-and element-softened hills on which loving hands are now replanting the forests on the cover which once characterized them, came the basic precepts of my religious faith and most of my personal basic philosophy, and my religious convictions are only one of the several seeds which this fantastically lovely little land gave to mankind.

It gave me the rudiments of language, it fashioned the lovely prototype of a precious gift which was handed to me and which has been such a source of joy and satisfaction and material prosperity, the art, if you please, of transforming language into written characters so that thoughts might be either preserved or transported far beyond the reaches of the voice and the ear and distributed widely.

This little land applied to the early science of mathematics and contributed to that trim, stable, lovely world of numbers; that clean, orderly, predictable world where two and two usually do make four.

It gave me the stories of the prophets and it taught me the meaning and the value of quiet contemplation and scholarly application, and it gave me examples, a host of them, of heroism and perseverance and faith, and it gave to me and all who would listen the indestructible lesson that there is indeed a thing which we call spirit, and it is unquenchable and indestructible.

In later years in my life-time, again this little land of Israel has been a reminder and an amelioration of great sorrow; but it has also been the living proof of what can germinate and develop from an idea fed and nourished and watered by the spirit and blessed by sacrifice.

In these later years Israel is the living proof that there is some heart and humanity in man. There is in this world a thing which, for the lack of a better word, I can only call caring.

Israel is living proof that even the stones can be made to produce and water can be made to appear where there was none, if only the spirit and the fierce determination are there. And there is a thing called Jewish culture, rich and abundant and prolific. And in a thousand and one ways I am the inheritor of liberal portions of that culture, whether it be literature, art, music, words, ideas, or whatever; and if someone in this year 1960 suggests that this phenomenon, this rare prize, this treasure, is ending or that it has played out its time, and is now to fall silent and be still and quiet, I think not.

There is another part of me in Israel today: the hope and indeed the promise that it will yet demonstrate to a set of unruly and volatile neighbors, the prophets and beatitudes, and the loveliness of peace, and on the day when

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

peace is secure in the Mid East the world will have eliminated one of its most tremendous problems and greatest present dangers.

But there is Israel, right smack in the middle of it, occupied with her husbandry and her soil and her water and her food and her caring and all the million and one occupations and other preoccupations of a nation; and ultimately the Arabs ^{must take notice} that Israel is a bright promise for them as well. Israel is an example, too, of democracy or popular government, the dignity and nobleness of man in a part of the world which has not heard of those wonderful things for centuries, if at all.

What hope would there be in the Mid East at this moment were it not for the presence and the example of the State of Israel?

Finally, there is in Israel a dynamism and an electric supercharge which is a joy to behold and a thrill to discover, and each visitor will discover it in his own way and with his own perceptiveness.

As I left Israel on that cool, fragrant April morning, the girls and the young men of the army of Israel were undertaking their annual marching competition. They strode the highways, down the seacoast, past Caesarea, swung around the outskirts of Haifa with its flower beds and its lovely gardens, and down past Tel Aviv and down the valley of Sharon from the hills of Galilee to the astringent valley of the Negev, from Dan to Beersheba past the orange groves of Rehovoth, and out of Jerusalem. All of Israel that morning was stirring to the marching songs and cadences of healthy, young bodies, as in platoon and company strength they swung along the roads. They sang the old songs and they sang new ones, and their faces were raised to the warm sun and their voices filled the land and the heart and the soul.

Marching, just marching; for what? For the sheer joy and exuberance of it; not aimlessly. Each unit with its own chosen objective, confident, purposeful, energy, if you please, under mild restraint.

Now, if I may, these are just fragments of memories of Israel jotted down and put together, if you please while waiting in an airport this afternoon.

And there was Anna. Seventeen years old, her gay brown pony tail, an excited tell-tale of her abundant overflowing energy.

Anna with the flashing smile and great, blue, wondrous eyes, and she greeted us that day as we drove on past Beersheba into the Negev and turned off to the right and approached the volatile border of Egypt. We were out to film some of the life and activities in a youth project. These youngsters were serving their military obligation, about 50 boys and 35 girls in this one camp; but nothing is wasted in Israel, military service above all.

Around the clock the patrols went out to guard against Egyptian incursion, but meanwhile inside the camp, young Israelis of Moroccan or Yemenite extraction were being instructed in mathematics, in the Hebrew language and other phases of basic education, and simultaneously something else was going on. These boys and girls had sunk a well and had managed to extract

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

from the reluctant earth a few gallons of precious water each day, and this water was being used experimentally on the surrounding soil to test what it might produce under more favorable and various sets of circumstances.

And there was in this camp, if you please, a threefold, at least threefold purpose out there on the remote fringe of the frontier: the soil had to be tested so that it might be used in the most productive way. For it was Anna who explained in the first rush of halting English that a year hence the pipeline would bring water down from Tel Aviv and the declivities and the bottom lands of the Negev would be turned to green.

Anna was an only child. Her proud and adoring parents lived in Haifa. Her father, a government official, was a proud descendant of Sephardics and the son of a long line which had brought scholarship and brilliance to the Spanish court and thence to the Island of Rhodes, and finally on to Israel.

Anna's mother was an Ashkenazi, a daughter of those who had taken the western circle following one of the diasporas to Germany and then on to the Pale in Western Russia. And here was Anna, a teenager, carrying a submachine gun with all the self-assurance and ease of a marine sergeant, who represented the full circle of Jewish wandering.

And Israel was Anna's home, intensely and passionately, every crag, every orchard, every sprig and every grain of it. There was Tamena, the girl lieutenant running a training school in Haifa, and in the course of the interview I asked her what Tamena meant. And she said it meant innocence and virtue. And I said, "Tamena, does it apply and is it true in your case?" And she blushed and said, "Fifty-fifty."

Your culture is so rich and wonderful in words and one of my favorites is "chutspah." It is a delight to say.

I think one of the great examples of chutspah -- someone mentioned it a moment ago -- was the beginnings of El Al, an old, broken-down DC-4. And it had "El Al" on top and in Hebrew another inscription. And I saw this airplane come into Paris one morning and the crew landed in nice uniforms and very resplendent. And I said to someone standing at the gate, "I wonder what that means in Hebrew." And he said, "It means always on top." Here was El Al, one broken-down airplane, "always on top."

Have I said or implied that Israel is a heaven or a paradise? I didn't mean that. It has problems and dislocations, all of them ever invented, and a hundred more besides, but it will endow you with a conviction that human problems and a lot of the natural ones can be solved.

I would only add two urgings: one, support in whatever way you may choose this human adventure which is Israel, and, second, I urge you to go there and taste of the experience at the first opportunity. Go there, I beseech you, go there to be proud; go there to be amazed and be puzzled and overcome. You may indeed even be insulted by a brash young Israeli, who may say, "Why don't you stay here with us?"

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

Go and see a land where the people talk more, and walk farther and where the traffic moves faster and where the children play harder and where the heart is touched quicker and stronger and better, and in a more lasting way than anywhere else on earth.

Now may I borrow one more word from your culture, one of the most lovely words in the world: shalom.



ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
HONORARY CHAIRMAN, UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I wasn't impressed by your youth; I was impressed by your freshness, and I mean that in the nicest sense. This helps speakers because you wanted to know the answers, and you asked the questions. You didn't want to make statements. This is unusual in Jewish life.

I might also say that you proved yourselves already good leaders because you followed so well. Now, I learned in the army a funny thing -- I must say that this is only true of American generals, because, of course, we have with us our distinguished general from Israel --, but we found in the army very quickly that if you wanted to get anything done you had to kick the generals ahead of you, and this is one of the things about leadership that I would like to emphasize. There is no prerogative that any of us have by divine inheritance or any other way that gives any kind of justification to get up in front of you and talk as leaders. Each one of us has been part of a team, and each one of us has been assigned a task, and if it happened to be that one of us had a broad chest and narrow shoulders, he was made chairman so he could take the medals, but he didn't have to carry too much responsibility.

Sometimes a narrow mind helped him, too.

The army taught me lots which I found useful in the later work of the J.D.C. and of the U.J.A. Let me stop kidding around for a few minutes.

Some people have asked me at various times, "How did you get involved in this work?" Well, I couldn't avoid it. And I say that quite seriously. I came from a family that had been involved in the founding of these organizations, and I think the first air I breathed was filled with the cigar smoke of those who were deciding which kind of an organization the J.D.C. was going to be. After my father's death we all took various interests in various aspects of his work -- not that we didn't have them before, but we allowed ourselves to be used wherever possible, and I went into this work, and I was just that, something that they could use for whatever benefit it had because it had been an inherited job.

And then I enlisted in the army. Shortly after all the usual things that we went through, all of us, in the army, in one form or another, I found myself over in England prior to D-Day. Then over, much too shortly after D-Day, dealing with, of all things, refugees. They were world refugees. They were refugees representing some 49 different countries and national origins. It was typical of the U. S. State Department that they had given us a card form that contained some 112 questions which were to be filled out in the language of the registrant. One of my interesting tasks was to get this filled out in triplicate by these 43 national origins. One gentleman in Chinese wrote what he thought of me across the face of all the questions, and I turned to my sergeant who was pretty tired, as I was, from having been up for 48 hours straight and said, "All right, you fill that out in triplicate."

But in the course of these extraordinary days of the gradual liberation of Europe, we arrived in Paris, and my colonel came to me one day and said, "What do you know about a place called Drancy?" And I said, "Well, all I know about it, sir, is it is the deportation center outside of Paris which usually leads to the gas chambers hidden behind the enemy lines."

ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

"Well, find out all you can about it, because we are about to uncover it."

And so I went to the place which I thought would know most about it, the headquarters of the J.D.C. I want you to know I was in the uniform that I had slept in, the helmet that I had on, wearing the 45 which I was scared to death I might some day have to use, and I walked into this place which was the office which I headed up, but there wasn't a soul there whom I knew, nor who knew me. And they all fled in terror, because they felt that this was the new Gestapo. And finally I cornered a man and said, "Who is in charge here?" And I found out. I said, "As far as I know, the Joint Distribution Committee gave orders you are to continue to borrow money on the last months' ^{budget} prior to the closedown. Were you able to do this?" "Yes, we were, up to recently." "Well, have you the ability to do it now, now that liberation has set in?" "Yes. But I haven't the authority." And I said to him, "Well, I give you the authority." And he said something to me which always has given me a funny goose-pimple feeling; he said, "Who are you?" And I said, "My name is Edward Warburg." And he said, "What relation are you to the chairman of the J.D.C.?" And I said, "I happen to be the same person."

And on the basis of that we managed to get the soup kitchens on the streets that night and to get the population -- the Jewish population of Paris -- fed two days after liberation, and were able to set the wheels in motion that had been stopped by the Nazi occupation. On the basis of that also a cable went to New York, and on the news that it arrived here funds were raised many times over which enabled us to pay back the borrowings that we made in those very early days of liberation in France.

But possibly the thing that cemented me more than anything to this work and has kept me involved in it was the experience shortly thereafter in Belgium. I was the D.P. officer for the First Army then located in Brussels in the SHAPE mission, and mine was the job of going down to every train that came in from Buchenwald, from Dachau, and from the P. W. camps along the line, to see who these people were and what we could do for them. I had a military phone in my billet as well as my office and the notification came to me supposedly ahead of anybody else that a train was on its way and would arrive at a certain time; but I was never able to get down to that railroad station in Brussels before there was an enormous crowd assembled hoping against hope that one of these people would be the lost member of their family who they had been waiting for and desperately hoping might have survived the holocaust that was Europe at that time.

And I went down there, and I watched these walking skeletons in their obscenely striped uniforms go out and face the barriers and see the recognitions come from behind the barriers and the sudden realizations that there was family and friends and hear these little squeaks of recognition as these two people fell in each other's arms. And they were home and they were taken care of and they were part of a new world that could be built for them.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

Invariably there remained behind a group who knew before they ever stepped onto that platform that this scene would not take place in their case because their families were part of the ash heaps of the crematoria of Europe. They were the Jews, and you didn't have to look to see if they had hooked noses or dark skins or dark complexions or whatever it is that is supposed to be the hallmark of being Jewish. Their homes were probably the very same ones we were living in because we took over the homes that the military Nazis had taken over, and the Nazis had taken over the Jewish homes. Their businesses had been expropriated, their families had been disseminated all over the place, and there was very little for them to come home to, and they stood there and faced those barriers and looked across them, and in the silence of their glance there screamed across to the civilization of the world the simple phrase, "Who the hell gives a damn?"

And to the undying credit of all of us who were involved in this work there stepped forward on your behalf and on my behalf the representative of the J.D.C. and said, "Come along, we will take care of you."

Years later I went through one of those deadly occasions in Tel Aviv where at the American legation there was a cocktail party which was a command performance, and we all came there and sat around and talked. And a sunny dispositioned man with big, sparkling blue eyes came up to me and said, "You don't remember me?" Usually when that happens, I say, "I remember your face, but do help me out with your name." But in this case I didn't even remember his face. And I said so. And, to my amazement he answered, "Thank God." I said, "What do you mean?" He said "The last time we saw each other, you were carrying my stretcher in the station in Brussels."

This man is one of the leading doctors in Israel. His life has opened up into a new chapter, a brilliant chapter, an exciting chapter.

I needed very little else besides that to tell me what this work was about.

Now, what has all this, these two days, been about? It is about what you can do, why we want you involved, and what the job is. Unfortunately, possibly we don't have functional jobs for you. We don't have committees for you to join on the questions of child care or geriatrics, on hospitals or in different sections of our work. Because I think you can appreciate as much as we that it is impossible to work that way with the many thousands of miles that separate us from the actual operations. Unfortunately, too, our job is fund-raising and our job is getting the story across to make an informed giver out of the giver who gives solely because this is what he can get away with giving rather than what he can give. And if these few days have meant anything to you, they will mean the fact that you will become elements in getting our story across.

The older generation has built magnificently. But a new era has dawned and we have moved from immediate, desperate emergency to long-range planning and construction, and as this process goes on, responsibility for the American Jewish communities' share in the program will fall into the bright, willing and vigorous hands of you young leaders.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

The older generation has found one thing to be true, and I want you to be able to understand it, because you are a partner in this revelation. We hear a lot about security and we hear a lot about—well, I sit at speakers' tables night after night, and I am accustomed to have some nice old gentlemen say, "What shall I do about my son? I have given him every opportunity, I have trained him in every way possible. He is now at Harvard, and, frankly, he isn't the least interested in this work. And despite all the money I put at his disposal, I am afraid I will have to go and invest even more and place him in the hands of a psychiatrist because he is so unstable and upset."

The security that your parents can leave you in terms of trust funds is meaningless unless you get along with it a sense of values and a sense of responsibility. The nobility which moved them into a realization of their responsibility in the past generation must in our generation, as it did in theirs, give us a sense of noblesse oblige. We need to broaden the base, we who no longer are of the immigrant group ourselves. We no longer have our own personal history as immigrants which gives this work that kind of meaning to us. But as Americans and as Jews we have an inheritance, not necessarily in money alone, but in the values of what it means to contribute to this great country in the traditions that are so eloquently spelled out in almost every public document that has become our inheritance. As has been said to you this evening, in this work you are in good company. The associations are fun, they are tough, they are awful, they are every gamut that you want.

I have to tell you one little story.

One time I got finally to see a head of a very famous chain of stores who is also a very famous non-contributor. After I got into his office to see him, he said to me "The only reason I gave you an appointment is, I want to know what you personally make out of this?"

I don't know how long you have to wait before you swing, but I waited, and the good Lord sent me the best wisecrack I ever pulled, and I said to him, "You know, I am terribly socially ambitious, and if it wasn't for this occasion, I don't think I would ever meet you."

ADDRESS - - UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
NOVEMBER 20, 1960

We have got a very complicated thing to look at this morning. By now you must know that we are confronted with a huge and impressive mobile program and problem, and I want to tell you that for some of us who have been traveling around the country and around the world there have been some uneasy moments as to whether or not we had within the makeup of the American Jewish community enough persistence to finish the total job that we are confronted with.

There has been, time and again - - and last night it was uttered to me by an Israeli, of good meaning - - the thought that maybe we in the American Jewish community were only short-distance runners, sprinters, that we didn't have the capacity and the strength for the real long jaunt that was involved in facing the problems of the mid-twentieth century. But as I sat here last night and I listened to Dewey Stone and to Chet Huntley and then to that incomparable autobiographical sketch by Eddie Warburg, and I watched the people who were in front of me, suddenly there came to me the flash of a bit of Americana.

All of you I am sure have read your American history, and you remember that supreme moment in Philadelphia at the closing of the Constitutional Convention when Benjamin Franklin arose and uttered these few remarks, which I paraphrase. As he looked upon the assemblage, he said, "Throughout this meeting I have of times wondered as I faced the Chair - -" and George Washington was in the Chair - - "whether the sun that was depicted behind that Chair was rising or setting."

He said, "Now, we are about to adjourn, having accomplished a great work. I am certain that this is a rising and not a setting sun."

And for some reason or other, as I sat here last night, that kept coming back to me because, as I looked into the faces of the people that were there and those who are here this morning, I am confident that we have a rising sun in the American Jewish community, and that we will prove ourselves capable of facing the long-distance pull that is still ahead.

What makes it a long-distance pull? Is it because there is a conflict between overseas needs and domestic needs? Is it because our community is unable to handle both?

No, not at all. Quite the contrary, there is not only not a conflict between overseas and domestic needs; if anything, they complement each other and help one another. Nor is it true that we are ill-equipped to handle what lies ahead.

What may be true is that we have not yet come to understand the full significance of what we have been immersed in through our generation and what we may well be immersed in for another generation to come. And it is with respect to this, the interpretation of what has happened and what I think will happen that I would like to spend my time.

Now let me first place a very simple question, about whether taking care of 575,000 more or less people who require our help abroad is in conflict with this tremendous pressure to meet domestic needs.

I think not, for a number of reasons. Some of you were not born yet when there was a tremendous change in the whole concept of raising money in the American Jewish community. Some of you here will remember with me the days when in the homes of our parents, if not our grandparents, the mashulac came regularly. It got to be a standing joke. And in latter-day American Jewish society some were so ignoble as to call these fine gentlemen with nice beards, "bearded bandits."

I remember those days when the pushka, the blue-and-white box of the Jewish National Fund, was in every home. I remember those days well when my parents and the parents and grandparents of some of you who are here never stopped to figure if what they gave was deductible or not, taxwise. It didn't make any difference. It didn't make any difference because taxes were not high, and, secondly, they didn't pay taxes because they didn't earn that kind of money.

I remember when the community was a great community of a couple of million, two and a half million, Jews at the turn of the century. And when it still was getting its infusions of strength more than demonstrating it.

It is only really a generation ago that the Federation movement as we know it in this country today began to prosper. True, there are a few federations that claim a long and ancient history, of sixty years. I think the oldest is in that range. The two largest communities, Jewish communities, in America have not yet been federated in the sense that St. Louis is federated, that Omaha is federated, that Buffalo is federated, that many of the communities are federated. When I was in your age bracket I recall attending a first meeting of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. And people speak of it now as if it were here all the time. I was serving as the organizer and first president of the Plain States Region of the Federation of Welfare Funds.

We have gone through a whole period of experimentation in fund-raising in America, of sociological studies, of attempts to arrive at formulas by which we could collect more and distribute more. And we take for granted what is here today in our respective communities as if it were always here in that form and always will be here in that form. Neither of these statements is correct. It was not here in the form in which it is in today, and because of people like you it will change in the days ahead as change must come to meet the needs of the society which we live in.

I want to be very careful about the next few things that I am going to say, as I have been reasonably careful about what I said up to now.

I have written a book that is in galley now. It isn't even salable, I am afraid, because it only talks about our Jewish community. But in it I discuss some of the things I am about to discuss with you now. And because I can be misunderstood more than I can be understood, I hope the question period will enlarge the areas of our discussion.

I think for a good part of recent years we have spent more time in figuring out the best techniques to raise money and in the examination of the beneficiaries to receive our money than we have actually spent in raising the money in the course of meeting the need. I am not pleased with our record of performance in recent years. I say this as a prelude to what I am going to enlarge upon. There is no logical way to support what has happened.

If, in 1948, when we had a 250 or 300 billion dollar economy in the United States, we raised double what we have raised in many communities today, then it can only be because we were more excited in raising money in a kind of doped atmosphere and not because the needs today are less and not because there is less ability to pay for these needs.

We have a 500 billion dollar economy in this country today, and maybe what has been happening is that we have been spending too much effort in being certain that we are sterile and that everything goes in the right pocketbook, and not enough effort in obtaining more money.

We need to wake up again to a certain realization that one of the prime attributes of being an American Jew is the capacity to have a sympathetic understanding of the needs of others; and you are neither a good American nor a good Jew until you develop within your heart and your mind the full meaning of zedakah in the ancient history of our people, which means doing justice to those that need it done, and which means quitting this business of "settling." Settling with whom? With people who are in desperate need, with people whose lives tomorrow may not be worth a dime, with people who need to be educated, with people who need welfare assistance, with people who need hospitals, with people who need old folks homes?

Are these the people we settle with? The community I came from, Omaha, in 1931 when I was chairman of the Jewish Philanthropies, raised \$34,000 and the campaign was a success. And later it raised nearly a million dollars, and now feels that it is a success when it raises \$450,000.

I tell you the world has not changed that much. Something has happened to us which makes your presence here so important, and I want to get at a few of the grand illusions that have permeated fund-raising in recent years.

Number one — and I say this bluntly: I don't consider that the federated organization in any community is necessarily the Jewish community of that community. We ought to quit kidding ourselves. It is the arm of that Jewish community to serve that community, but only so long as the leadership of that federation or fund-raising unit represents the heart and will of that community, is it, in fact, that community.

Herb has paid me the privilege of saying I have been in a lot of communities. I have been in communities where federated movements are dying because people have been sitting at the helm too long and still living in yesterday, and have forgotten the world in which we live today. And you and I — and I consider myself young enough to be counted in this crowd — owe it to the concept of federation to keep it in ferment and alive. Federation and unified fund-raising is too important to die. It is one of the great contributions of the American Jewish community to world Jewry. It has been spied in other parts of the world. True, there were kothillas that used to have tax-raising powers, but only in this great free society of America have we created a voluntary instrument as noble and meaningful as some of these community organizations, whether we call them federations, community councils or whatever we call them. And these instruments are in great danger if their leadership dries up and if they start living in the present and in the past and forget about the tomorrows before us.

What do I mean? I have been to too many communities where my contemporaries

are willing to say, "Well, this is all we can raise. So you go out and have a supplemental campaign to the federation for the hospital or something else, or the Joint Defense Appeal. You go out and have yourself a little supplemental campaign; it is all right."

This you must not permit to happen in your communities: Federation and community fund-raising organizations are no different from families. When papa quits bringing in enough money to take care of all of the needs of the family, the first thing that happens is that mother goes to work. Then the children go to work, and pretty soon in too many families the family breaks up. What we need is a fresh spirit in these federated communities where some of these things are happening that must come from the young people who are interested on the part of these communities and say "We can raise what we need. We are a 500 billion dollar society today, and tomorrow a three-quarters of a billion dollar society. We can raise our share of \$70 million for the U.J.A. and still do everything we have to do on our own home front."

The two are inseparable. We can't sleep if we fail on either front. And there is no priority, my friends, that suggests that because an agency lives in a community and operates an old folks home whose director and whose board are those who are constantly irritating the allocations committee, that therefore their needs must be met 100 per cent -- whereas, though we have taken an honorable commitment to people who need help in Poland (or elsewhere overseas), that with them we can compromise.

What sense or logic is there in that kind of approach other than the sense of convenience? This is not dignified. It is not in keeping with the high standards of either sound Americanism or good Judaism.

There is only one answer to these kinds of problems. If there are 575,000 people that we feel a sense of responsibility to, who depend upon us for their livelihood -- it may be for their bread and their butter and maybe their matzohs on Passover or an opportunity for freedom -- , they are no less a responsibility of ours than those who happen to be close at home.

The answer to these problems in a responsible community is not to compromise but to raise more.

And I am just a little bit fed up with those who say -- and this is another one of the grand illusions -- "We have taken care of everything overseas for so long, we have so many deferred needs at home; now let us take care of them."

Let's analyze that. I live at home, too. Let us analyze that in its real significance. Since the 1940's, just before the State of Israel was declared, when we first started looking at large overseas budgets in great numbers, and after the State was reborn, 200 million dollars was not a scary figure, and 100 million and 150 million were bandied about as being a cheap price to pay for the return to the Jewish fold and for an opportunity to save our own and to save the dignity of our people. Since that day what has happened on the domestic front? Do any of you come from a community that lacks a new synagogue or temple? Do any of you come from a community that has failed to double and treble its Jewish education budgets? I Haven't met them yet.

I have been in a certain organization for six years. We more than doubled our budget during this period of time, and we even built a home debt-free in Washington. I know something about the great organization, Hadassah, as well as B'nai B'rith and the National Council of Jewish Women. Look at their budgets in this period of time. What has happened to them? And look at the domestic budgets of your own welfare agencies. What has happened to them? Adequate? No. More to be done? ⁵/....

Yes. Not only in your community, though, but with respect to these deferred needs that we didn't meet, either, abroad. I don't know what figures were used yesterday. But I sit on the Jewish Agency with Dewey and with Morris Berinstein. There are debts running -- take one figure. It is 107 million. Take another figure; it is over 200 million -- because you and I and our communities didn't meet the quotas and the goals that were the irreducible ones if we were to save the people that needed to be saved.

Now, the fact is during this whole period of time our community of 5½ million in America, aside from paying whatever we have paid for what we call overseas needs, has built up within itself instruments of local service of a kind which we never had before.

But there is another aspect of this thing -- an aspect in which these instruments ought to be re-examined. When they had the Arab riots over in Palestine, the late 20's or early 30's, I went to an emergency meeting -- I was still in college. It must have been the late 20's. And I shall never forget the discussion in those days. We were on the eve of the great depression. And we were raising, as I indicated to you, in my home community, in a federated community, in the range of 30 or 40 thousand dollars a year. And this was an emergency. There was money needed immediately, and people began to debate; "How can we send any more money? Our Talmud Torah is extremely short. Our Jewish community center hasn't paid its last payment on the mortgage. We strained ourselves to the utmost." And the man whom I always consider to be the one I learned most from in fund-raising, untrained, not a college graduate, just an ordinary businessman, but steeped in the tradition of his people, arose and said, "Wait a minute. What are we talking about? Are we talking about Jewish education for ourselves? Are we talking about a Jewish community center for our own children; and we are equating this with the needs of people whose lives are at stake, where Jewish blood is running? One is zedakah and the other is taking care of your own family. And even a pig takes care of its own litter."

I shall never forget those words. Sure, we have a great need for Jewish education in this country. We have it because, though we are beginning to succeed in that field, and we have a half million children who are going to school, we always had an inadequate standing. But are we going to equate this need with the need of a poor fellow some of our people saw in Czechoslovakia a year ago who wants to be a Jew, and whose only hope to be a Jew is to get out -- equate this with wanting my children to be better educated as Jews? We, the richest and most powerful Jewish community in the world, are we going to equate this with the need of somebody in a country that I understand from Herb Friedman cannot be mentioned any more, whose only hope to live as a Jew is to escape? I don't believe that of the people I see before me.

I believe that the people I see before me have the will and the spirit to recognize that these things we have to do for ourselves we will do, and that we will become better Americans and better Jews by helping the people that we have to help abroad to maintain their own sense of dignity and status.

Many of the things we have done for ourselves we have only been able to do -- and let us be honest with ourselves -- because someone stretched the goals of Jewish community life in America. It became easy to double budgets that were 3 million dollars for domestic needs when we were raising 150 million for overseas needs, it became easier to pull out another \$100,000 for this need or that need

domestically when we were raising \$150,000,000 for overseas needs.

Abe Sacher, the President of Brandeis University, once told me of an experience he had with a little girl who came to see him after she had been to school a couple of years at Brandeis. And he said to her, "How do you like your experience?" And she said, "Dr. Sacher, Brandeis has stretched my mind, and it will never return to what it was."

The needs of Israel, the desperate needs of that Hitler era, stretched the ambitions and the minds and the capacities of the American Jewish community and made possible a better American Jewish community while at the same time accomplishing something for those overseas that we had to do and have to continue to do to be true to ourselves.

And having stretched ourselves, we will never return to the small and ignoble level from which we came; and your generation will go even beyond what some of us were able to do with the tools we had at hand.

So I say it is a grand illusion to consider a federation represents unity when it fails to meet the needs of that community -- and the community means the total community -- , or to say that raising money for overseas has caused us to defer essential domestic needs, and that during this whole period of fifteen years more or less that we deprived ourselves of the synagogues and the temples and the hospitals. We have not. And this is not to say there isn't more to do and that I hope we will have the will to do.

Somehow I feel totally inadequate in studying this subject with you today because what I am trying to do is to put myself in your position. But what do we do about it? In a few hours we break up and you go back home. Many of you consider yourselves the youth of the community. I don't think so. You are the young leaders of the community; and for a nation that just finished electing a fellow who is only 43 as president of all the United States, I am not sure you couldn't start one hell of a revolution if you wanted to in your own communities. But I am not suggesting that. I am suggesting to you that you must go back to your communities with a feeling that the greatest happiness in being an American and a Jew is to be a total personality. And that total personality can only come from having a sympathetic understanding and an appreciation and perhaps even a sense of priority in helping to finish the task of rebuilding what was destroyed so rudely and so crudely and so horribly in the generation before.

And your full and total personality can only be fulfilled if as a Jew you realize that the world is really one world -- and also understand as an American trying to help lead the free world that unless we strengthen those outposts that still believe in what we believe in, that we will have been untrue to both America, the land to which we owe a full allegiance, and to the Judaism from which we spring.

There must be a challenge in Jewish community life. There must be a ferment in Jewish community life. I believe in unity, but I don't believe in being so peaceful that we die a sterile Jewish community. I think every community I have been in where there have been people who challenge the status quo, intellectually, not as anarchists, but as informed personalities, has been a better community for it.

Such communities have better leaders, they have better understanding, they have a better appreciation that the world is a world of movement and that to sit still is to die. And, therefore, I look upon the role of this group as the role of the people who will bring an intellectual ferment to the Jewish community of America, an intellectual understanding of the needs abroad and at home, which are inseparable. (there is no dichotomy in helping to realize both sets of ambitions), an intellectual understanding that with our 500 billion dollar economy everything that we need can be done and no one will yet in doing it will even give up his second Cadillac if he has one or his first if he has acquired just one.

These are the things we can do when we are young enough and have energy enough, and have idealism enough and romance enough, if you please, to want to do it.

I made reference to Jack Kennedy as being 43. I watched him -- I don't know, since he was 26, 27, 28 -- and I have read a number of his earlier speeches, and I think what I am about to allude to has reference to another tendency I see in the community.

I have met with a lot of people, some only last week, who spend all of their time worrying that the world is going to come to an end. Their view is it is so chaotic -- we have hydrogen bombs, we have A-bombs, we have now got missiles, and anti-missile missiles -- what is the use of wasting time on such unimportant things as an old folks home or somebody who is not well in Israel, or somebody who needs to get out of an Eastern European country -- these are all inconsequential things.

There are such people. I have in mind a scientist who is so up in the stratosphere that to bring him down to the world of realities is almost impossible. And I have found it with my own children -- one who is at college, one doing graduate study. They are disturbed, and they are worried.

Well, I am disturbed and I am worried, too. But there is a great danger that if we get so worried about the things that we can't do anything about, we will fail to do the things we have to do and can do.

I refer back to Jack Kennedy. A number of years ago I read a little speech he gave in which he referred to an incident that is alleged to have taken place in the Connecticut Assembly during the early days of the Republic. You know, people in those days were worried about signs and omens, even as I guess we are today. We keep saying that we are a much more intellectual people. But there are signs and omens that distress us, too.

And the place was beginning to get dark, a tremendous storm was coming. And it appeared to be the kind of storm that was going to be overwhelming, and in the middle of the day you couldn't see. And one man arose in the assembly and said, "It is quite apparent that the world is coming to an end. That which is about to be visited upon us will mark the conclusion of the world, and, therefore, I move that this assembly or House of Delegates adjourn."

And one of the members of the House arose and in these words -- paraphrased, again -- said, "I don't know whether what is about to happen presages the end of the universe. I haven't the slightest notion whether that is in prospect, although I suspect this really is only a huge storm. But even if it presages the end of the universe, I know no better way to end my days on earth than at work in my obligation to my people. So bring on the candles, and let us light them instead of adjourning."

I think what I have been trying to say all the time to the people who are here is about that. I think the American Jewish community is going through a severe trial. I don't feel that we have yet found the real answer to all of our problems. There is a great conflict in many of our communities of people who want many things in the way of service and who want to ignore many things that are needed still elsewhere.

I believe that all this trial that we speak of is not the end of the world. It is the beginning of the new world. And I think people like you have got to become the candles that light up the crevices of our community, that push us into a realization that we, too, have stretched our skins and our minds and that all that you have been told about both what is needed elsewhere and needed here can be accomplished under the hammer of your will and your persistence and your fresh outlook. And there is no magic formula other than your devotion and your zealous attachment to this tremendous responsibility which this generation of Jews has taken unto itself, of standing not only witness to the recreation of the State of Israel, standing not only witness to the building of the largest Jewish community and the most affluent of all time here in America, but of having within its grasp the realization of perhaps the most golden age of all Jewish life when a secure Israel and an informed American Jewry give to one another the massive strength that is inherent in both.

And this, which my generation began, only you and the people who follow you can finish.



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UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
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I will try to cover a period of a hundred years. I intend to go from 1880 to 1980 -- and I pick those dates not at all whimsically. These dates have meaning.

I shall begin with 1880 -- the key year in relation to the life and existence of the millions of Jews who lived in Eastern Europe, and it is the first topic I would like to discuss with you this afternoon.

There was a part of Eastern Europe called "Pale of Settlement." Let us not try to trace the origin of the name or to analyze what it represented. It was a huge area that began up at the Baltic and went all the way down to the Black Sea. It extended some 800 miles, north to south; and it went all the way from East Prussia, almost clear to Kursk, covering a space of 600 miles, -- east to west.

This area, designated by Czarist bureaucrats as "Pale of Settlement" held five and a half million Jews.

In effect, the Pale was a vast Ghetto, 800 miles long and 600 miles wide. It consisted of hundreds and thousands of small communities referred to nostalgically -- as "Shtetls", a small "shtot," a little city. Many of these cities and villages were almost homogeneously Jewish; many others were populated by Jews as well as by Polish, Russians, Latvians or Estonians. But they did not live together; they merely co-existed, because customarily there was one section of town that was Christian, and there was another section of town that was Jewish.

Life in this shtetl was a self-contained Jewish autonomy. Everything revolved around the little synagogue. The synagogue was the social center of the town, it was the place from which charity was disbursed, it was the school where the children went to study, and it was the hostel where the stranger slept -- often on the floor.

The synagogue was the feeding place for the transient, the wanderer; it was the place where all the town politics occurred. The synagogue was the main source of religion and cultural life, intellectual and social life, and gossip -- all of it took place in the little wooden building which was the shul.

Many of the Jews in the town earned a livelihood from operating around the one focal point, -- the synagogue. One Jew would earn his money by carrying a stick and rattling on the shutters of the window, waking everybody up to come at 6 o'clock in the morning for the early minyan. That was the greatest job he did all day. That is how he earned his money.

Another earned his livelihood by killing the chickens. Another by handing out the books. Another by writing books as they got torn up.

In order to understand the "economics" of the shtetl, we must visualize a community in which there was utter poverty and misery, in which the one real meal of the week was eaten on Friday night.

The great goal was to earn enough money for the once a week repast of fish and chicken, bread and wine.

This was a city in which the husband, usually an itinerant peddler, would be away all week, but he would come back by Friday night for the traditional meal.

You have to think of people who lived without material hopes. The one hope they had was in their hearts.

How did they live?

They lived in utter fear of the possible drunken orgies of the neighbors. They lived without any perceptible relation with the non-Jewish population of the town.

You had five and a half million Jews who lived in the area of the world I have described, amidst millions of peasants who also were oppressed, by the way, -- let us never forget it. The social hierarchy was simple: the baron, or landowner, the peasant, the Jew. The landlord would beat the peasant, and the peasant turned around and beat the Jew, who was at the bottom of the totem pole. While the peasants themselves were oppressed, they had somebody else they could turn around and bear down on and break heads, and let blood run; it was catharsis. You get drunk, you drag a Jew out, you bang him on the head, and then you go back and slave. This was the peasant's way of life.

There is a passage in a history book written by Howard Sacher which, by the way, I would like to recommend to you. The author is the son of the historian Abram Sacher, presently the president of Brandeis University. The book is called "The Course of Modern Jewish History."

Howard Sacher's book begins in recent times; it begins with the emancipation, at the end of the eighteenth century, and it covers about 150 years of contemporary Jewish life.

I found in this book a passage which particularly impressed me and which describes life in the shtetl. It was a quotation from Sholem Aleichem, one of the great Yiddish authors who captured the mood of Jewish life in Russia. The superb translation is by Maurice Samuel.

Sholem Aleichem is describing the Shtetl Kasrievky.

Kasrievky could also be Kozodoyevka, Bohopolie or Bohuslav, or any one of a hundred Jewish or half-Jewish centers in Old Russia.

"The town itself is a jumble of wooden houses clustering higgledy-piggledy about a market place, at the foot of a hill.

All around is the spaciousness of mighty Russia, but Kasrievky is as crowded as a slum; in fact, is a slum. The streets of Kasrievky -- let us be courteous and call them streets -- are as tortuous as a Talmudic argument. They are bent into question marks and folded into parentheses. They run into cul-de-sac like a theory arrested by a fact; they ooze off into lanes, alleys, back yards, like a thesis dribbling into an anti-climax.

Sewerage and paving are as unknown in Kasrievky as the steam train. Most of the market-place was occupied by peddlers, hangers-on, parodies of commission men, women with baskets of eggs or with bundles of old clothes. And the richest Jew in Kasrievky could be bought out on the lower margin of four figures.

Rich or poor, peddler or artisan, their livelihood was drawn from the market-place, and from semi-annual fairs.

Yerechmiel Moses, the Hebrew teacher, blind in one eye and shortsighted in the other, used to wear spectacles without lenses. Asked why, he would answer triumphantly, "Well, it's better than nothing, isn't it?"

That was Jewish life in the 19th century, in the year 1880, which is the starting point that I take for the story of five and a half million people.

The richest of them could be bought out for four figures. Yet, as I said before, this community had something inside itself; it had hope.

This community is the source spring from which you and I come.

I was born in the United States in 1918. My father was born in Vilno, seventy years ago. He came to this country in 1903. So you can call me first generation American, because I was born here.

Some of us in this room are first generation, some are second, because our fathers were born here. But that is it; that is the farthest we go back. I dare say, grandfathers of 95 per cent of us in this room, certainly were born in Europe. The majority came from the "Pale of Settlement"; many came from Germany, some from England, others from France and few from various other places.

We are talking not about our ancestors' geographic origin, but about their spiritual heritage. What they had in their hearts in all that grinding poverty, is something which I am not sure we have in all our blinding prosperity. They had concepts they believed in, and you couldn't shake them if you cut their throats. You could not shake their faith in the principles they had.

They were either religious or socialists.

They were religious -- that accounted for a great bulk of them -- and if you are able to look back some 20 or 25 years you could see a reasonable facsimile of the old way of life on the lower East Side of New York, as I have seen it. You could go into a small shul, a shtiebel, a tiny, one-room synagogue, -- none of our great \$3,000,000 contemporary palaces -- you could go into this place of prayer and see Jews sitting there, and they were just pouring out the love of God. Their prayers were real and God was realistically close to them.

Religion was one thing they had. Socialism was another thing they had. They were filled with a passionate zeal for improvement of the lot of humanity.

Their life was full of contradictions.

They were starving beggars and they were intellectual elite. They would make long theoretical arguments about how they have to have equality. They dreamt of a brilliant future for a free mankind.

Don't forget we are still in the 19th century, when the last major war was fought in 1815 and ended in Napoleon's defeat.

So in 1880 you could really believe that Messiah was around the corner.

Our ancestors had socialism. They had religion. They had the dream of Palestine. They had the conviction that life on earth wasn't even important, because there was always the Messiah, and there was a popular song about the fish that you eat when you get to the other world. And they had these tight ideals which sustained life when food was non-existent.

Therefore, let us understand them properly. They were a very rich community, very rich, wonderful community in terms of what they produced.

They produced scholars.

Hundreds of thousands of people read and many wrote books, and taught their children with books. There was no television -- books.

They had writing and literacy.

Find another way to save the same ageless ideal, and dream! Find another people and find another way to capture beauty, aesthetics, yearnings, hopes, as our ancestors did. Divorce yourself from this hungry, ugly, barren, muddy world!

Now, that was the world of the "Pale of Settlement"; it "encased" five and a half million people.

This way of life came to an end in the 1880's.

There was in Russia a man by the name of Pobyedonostsev, who was the mentor, guide and advisor to Czar Alexander III.

Pobyedonostsev was a reactionary, he was anti-liberal, he was a Jew-hater.

In the spring and summer of 1881, Pobyedonostsev, after a year's hard work, finally managed to create "spontaneously" a whole series of pogroms throughout Russia. It took him a year to arrange these "spontaneous demonstrations." All through southern Russia and the Ukraine, hundreds of Jews were killed and tens of villages were burned. The Jews knew this was the handwriting on the wall, it was the beginning of the end.

After those explosions of spring and summer, in October 1881, the Russian government appointed a new Minister of the Interior, Count Ignatiev. Count Ignatiev established a central committee for the resolution of the "Jewish question."

This is very nice. How do you resolve the Jewish question? That central committee put the Jews of the "Pale of Settlement" under the sentence of death.

The committee was established in October, 1881. In May of 1882 the new laws were passed, which are sometimes called the May laws, after the month of May. They are also called the One-Third Laws -- and I shall tell you why they became known as the One-Third Laws.

The new laws said that in the "Pale of Settlement", Jews could not live in the villages. The Jews could not live in certain towns, since their designation as towns or villages was left to local authorities.

The Jews were required to have a passport at all times and to have a "certificate of residence".

A Jew could not get on the train without a pass; he could not go to the market from one town to another without a pass.

The Jews became an easy prey for the greedy Czarist police.

There were 20,000 Jews living in Moscow at that time; they were all expelled. The great synagogue of Moscow was closed and boarded up. The shtetl was broken, and huge, congested urban ghettos began to develop as the Jews were shoved into some towns, but thrown out of some other towns. They broke the shtetls in this gubernia or that gubernia. Jews were sent into the Ukraine. The May laws broke up their patterns of earning a livelihood, broke up their families. By the end of 1882, 40 per cent of the Jews in the "Pale of Settlement" were pauperized and were living on charity. From whom? From the other three-fifths who had just barely more than they did.

Finally, Pobyedonostsev came out with a very simple statement -- and this is why I call these the one-third laws -- "One-third of the Jews will die out, one-third of the Jews will leave the country, one-third of the Jews will be completely dissolved in the surrounding population and will assimilate."

So this is how you solve your Jewish question. You starve to death a third of them; you drive away a third of them; and you force the other third to assimilate, to disappear as Jews.

The flight started in 1882. There was one more orgy of explosion in 1903, and that was the year my father left and came here, as I dare say, many, many other fathers did, when in the city of Kishinev a pogrom broke out, a pogrom instigated by a new Minister of the Interior, Von Plehve.

That Kishinev pogrom of 1903, and another pogrom of 1905, broke the back and destroyed the community of five and a half million people.

What actually happened?

A mass migration started. To move, to go away became the order of the day by which the Jews decided to solve their own problems regardless of how Pobyedonostsev, Ignatiev and Von Plehve wanted to solve them. One-third did not die, one-third did not assimilate and become absorbed into the Russian population, but more than one-third emigrated. It was the Jewish solution, -- migration. It is the key to the survival of the Jewish people. Never forget, -- migration.

-- Every time the pressure in a particular country became unbearable, the Jews found the way out by migration, voluntary or involuntary but always migration. They made their home in new lands, until pressure began again -- perhaps in another hundred years, or another two hundred years, or five hundred years.

In 1882, when the migration started, it was hoped, that the resettlements would be permanent ones, and there would be no need for further population movement, because this migration went in two directions: one went to the United States; and the other started toward Palestine.

I would like to talk now about the great migration to the United States. Between 1881 and 1914, - when World War I started, and crossing of the ocean became almost impossible, - in these 33 years, three million Jews, mainly from the "Pale of Settlement", came to the United States. I am not talking about other places to which they went. Some went to Canada, some went to South America, some went to Western Europe - to stay in France, to stay in England. But the greatest number of Jews came to the United States; three million Jews immigrated in those 33 years.

Thus we are here, and that is where we came from.

One and three-quarter million of the Jewish immigrants left Europe via Bremen and Hamburg, on German ships.

The huge transmigration created its own problems. Responsible German Jewish leadership began to realize that the Jewish migrants needed aid. In the 1890's they began to organize societies to make the movements at Bremen and Hamburg more orderly. They brought food and started fund-raising on a small scale.

Another three-quarters of a million Jews passed through Liverpool to board Cunard Line ships. They all came steerage -- and I don't have the time to describe it to you in full detail. But you ask somebody who came steerage.

The ticket cost \$25; and the average crossing of the Atlantic was twelve, thirteen, or fifteen days. The ships had no sanitation facilities, no beds, and you had little food, and little water.

Ask about the names which are historic now in the annals of America. Did anybody here ever hear of Castle Gardens? Anybody ever hear of Ellis Island? - right out here, in the harbor of New York.

The relentless flow of immigrants to our shores necessitated the services of a voluntary agency. In 1884 the HIAS, the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, was established.

There were so many Jews, that somebody had to meet these people at Ellis Island. They came here with two dollars in their pockets, or very often penniless. If an immigrant had fifty dollars, he was considered rich.

There was another group that got organized in 1893 -- a group called the Council of Jewish Women. In the early period of the Council's activities, its main task was to help hapless and innocent Jewish girls coming off the boats to avoid the lures of the white slave traders standing on the docks to try to take them into prostitution.

That is very important. There was a real danger for the helpless Jewish girl to be lured into prostitution.

Young people coming into the United States were frightened, brutalized, running scared across borders, destitute, with a notion somewhere in the back of their minds that America was the "goldene medina" and "the streets were paved with gold," and still not quite sure whether to believe it.

We were a compassionate and generous people and we began to organize a philanthropic machinery -- I do not want to take you through the history of it.

All I want to tell you is that mass migration came to a sudden end when we, in the United States, decided that this big, rich and important country was getting too full.

In 1924 a law called the Johnson Act was passed in the United States which ended the saga of migration to America.

The Johnson Act of 1924 said, in effect, "Oh, yes, we will be delighted to have new people come to America. But we are getting too many, and perhaps not the right kind of people. So I tell you what we had better do. We had better impose quotas."

The quota system that went into effect permitted entrance into the country of 2 per cent of the number of any national group that was here in 1890. In other words, the act allowed an immigration of Greeks at the annual rate of 2 per cent of whatever the Greek population of the U.S. was in 1890.

These quotas went on and on, and our immigration into the United States since 1924 has been governed by these quotas, with the exception of certain changes that were pressed upon us by unusual circumstances. Every once in a while, under some emergency pressure, as in the case of the famous Hungarian revolution, we had to take care of victims of political upheavals. What was our share? Out of 200,000 Hungarian refugees that ran across the border a few years ago, we, the big America, brought in some 38,000 escapees.

We became xenophobic. We became exclusive.

The quotas are peculiar, you know, because the German numbers come to about 25,000 a year; England to about 65,000 a year; but for the Greeks they set aside 100. They don't want the "south Mediterraneans", they don't want the Italians, Greeks, and other people from the Balkins.

The 1924 quotas favor the Nordic groups and certain other stocks.

The quota for Poland was about 5,900. It is burned into me, so I will never forget it, because of the time I was working in Germany among the D.P.'s -- displaced persons-camps.

When I was there, many Jews wanted to come to America; they were mostly Polish Jews. America has 6,000 quota numbers for the Polish. It would have taken the Jewish D.P.'s thirty years to come into America under the quota system. This is important, -- the quota issue--; it closed America.

It seems to me that the 1924 quota system in combination with other factors drove the Jewish D.P.'s in the direction of Israel. Had there been an open door here in America, I am not so sure that the pressure toward Palestine would have occurred, and thus perhaps the establishment of the State of Israel might not have occurred when it did.

At any rate, every American, non-Jew, governmental official, should realize that the restrictive immigration policy of the United States had a very heavy share in the creation of the State of Israel.

When you close a door in one place, you are going to open a door in another place. And that is exactly what happened.

We have come a long way since the time that the Tenth Ward in New York, down in the Lower East Side, had in one square mile of territory 350,000 Jews. It was in 1890. By 1917 that one square mile had 700,000 Jews living in it.

That is where Eddie Cantor came from; that is where many prominent American Jews came from. It is all over now; it is our past. It is history.

Take a walk in the Lower East Side. It is a mixed neighborhood now; the Jewish Ghetto is gone. There are no more Jewish tenements; the Jews are scattered. They live in Bronxville; and in Tuxedo Park; in Westport, Connecticut; Rockville Centre, Long Island, and they are integrated.

In the last 12 or 15 years the collective Jewish community built hundreds of millions of dollars worth of capital plants in the U.S. We spent many millions on hospitals, community centers, synagogues, old folks' homes, and other things.

Some people say we, the American Jewish Community, elect presidents. Some people say we have power far beyond our means. Some people say we are thoroughly at home, we are integrated and absorbed; we are equals. Some people say we are not. You can get any description you want of the nature of the American Jewish community. But one thing everybody will agree upon; it is strong, it enjoys freedom, it is secure. Our people have an opportunity to make a living anywhere they want. They have freedom of movement.

But what interests me is whether this community of five and a half million people living in the freest society that has ever been established on the face of the earth feels itself to be Jewish or not; feels itself identified with the same Jewish dreams, hopes and aspirations that our fathers and grandfathers had in the shtetl. This is of supreme interest to me.

I do not care how many automobiles you have, and how many television sets are in your homes, or how many temples exist in the town, or how big the hospital is. What I care about is: how does this free, rich and prosperous community feel about its Jewish responsibility?

And I am not overdramatizing when I say:

How you people in this room feel about Jewish responsibility decides how this American Jewish community of five and a half million people feels, because ten years from now you are going to be leading it. I am sure of it. Ten years from now you are going to be raising the big money; going to decide whether this community cares or does not care about our collective Jewish responsibility.

So how you feel and what you intend to do is the most important thing in the world.

However, I would like, if I may, to proceed with my third topic.

The first topic dealt with Eastern Europe. The second -- with the building of the American Jewish community.

And now, in our third topic we would like to review the whole question of Zionism and Palestine.

You know, there was a big fight -- an intense fight with which you may be familiar and which you may remember. This fight went on for fifteen or twenty years; it is all over now, except for a tiny little fringe group in the United States.

There was a great debate on whether there should or should not be an independent Jewish state. There were some people against it whose arguments were petty and provincial. There were some other people against the independent state, people with a logical rationale, and, I think, we have to take the time, courtesy and intellectual honesty to analyze and understand them.

There were many people who were against the independent Jewish state, because they said "Let us not let ourselves in to be just another tiny, little, narrow nation."

"We Jews are bigger. We are an international people with an international outlook. We believe in the equality of all men, and we believe in the international brotherhood of all men.

"It is dead wrong for any portion of the Jewish people to narrow itself down to be another little, minikin nation. What are you going to create there at the eastern end of the Mediterranean; something as "big" as Albania, something like Montenegro, another little Balkandot on the map?

"You want to try to take away the great majesty of the universal idealism of the Jewish people? We talk about the Messiah; we talk about world peace; we read of the prophets, and talk of world brotherhood. Do you want to reduce that all down to some tiny, little Coney Island of a state?"

And those Jews who spoke in terms of universalism, internationalism, the prophetic message, the mission of the Jew to go out among all the other nations in the world and fertilize all the other nations with our ideas -- those people who spoke that way had a point of view they felt was legitimate.

I don't agree with it; most of you don't agree with it. But we have to understand it.

This view stems from the time in which the idea of a Jewish state first came to pass. Zionism and the idea of a state -- of a national entity -- was born at the end of the 19th century when other states were being created in the world.

Germany was born as a state -- a modern state -- after the war of 1871 with the French. Before that there was no such thing as Germany. There was a series of principalities.

Italy was born because of political activities of Cavour, Mazzini and Garibaldi in the 1860's and 1870's. There was no Italy before that.

We think these countries always existed, but they did not.

Zionism was born at the end of the 19th century in a period when nationalism was riding high. There are three men who are responsible for the birth of modern Zionism. There was a man by the name of Eleazar Ben Yehuda. He did a very simple thing. He said, "The Jews ought to speak Hebrew." Nothing more complicated than that.

What he did was, to take his wife and move with her to Palestine. He wouldn't speak anything else to her but Hebrew. She didn't understand a word of it.

He wrote the first Hebrew dictionary.

You ought to read Robert St. John's biography of Ben Yehuda.

Ben Yehuda insisted that the Jews possess all the traits of nationhood; they have a common history, several thousand years of it; they have a common memory; and they ought to have a common language. And if they have a common language, they will create a nation.

That is one man.

The next man is Moses Hess. Moses Hess wrote a book called "Rome and Jerusalem". He wrote this book in 1862. Read it.

He wrote at the time of Mazzini, at the time of what the Italians call the resorgimento, when they were trying to build Italy.

He said this: "Look, if they have a right to rebuild Rome --" which was his symbolic way of saying "rebuild the Italian state that has been destroyed for 1,400 years" -- "then we have the same right at Jerusalem."

It is why he called the book "Rome and Jerusalem". It was born out of the ferment of Italian nationalism in 1862.

There began to develop a gestating national sentiment, the cell was beginning to form, a new embryo was forming inside the Jewish people.

Chaim Weizmann has a beautiful phrase for it. He describes it this way: "In the depths of the masses an impulse arose, vague, groping, unformulated, an impulse for Jewish self-liberation. It was genuinely of the folk, it was saturated with Jewish tradition, it was told with the sweetest kind of language where Jewish life had first expressed itself in freedom."

Another name I want you to remember is Leon Pinsker. Leon Pinsker wrote a book called "Auto-Emancipation". The year was 1881, it was the eve of the May Laws.

Leon Pinsker had a very simple theory. He asked the question: why do they hate us? And he faced the issues clearly. They hate Jews because Jews are ghosts who wander on the face of the earth and they haven't a place to call their own.

You don't like somebody who is rootless; you don't like somebody who is not the same as you.

There is a Pinsker paragraph worth listening to:

"Men are always terrified by a disembodied spirit, a soul-wandering about with no physical covering. And terror breeds hatred. The Jews are not a living nation, they are everywhere aliens; therefore, they are despised."

What, in effect, was Pinsker's message? Nations live side by side in a state of relative peace which is based chiefly on the fundamental equality between them, but this is different with the people of Israel. This people is not counted among the nations because, since it was exiled from its land, it lacks the essential attributes of nationality by which one nation is distinguished from another.

We are spiritually a distinguished nation, but this spiritual nationality, far from giving us status in the eyes of others, is the very cause of hatred for us as a people.

The civil and political emancipation of the Jews -- which they began to enjoy, by the way, in the 1880's -- not in Russia, but in Western Europe -- was not sufficient to raise them in the esteem of peoples. The only proper remedy would be the creation of a Jewish nationality of a people living upon its own soil. Hence, the auto-emancipation of the Jews.

He was wrong about one thing -- or maybe right, I don't know. Pinsker said in one of his speeches:

"The financial accomplishment of the undertaking, that being to establish a separate Jewish nation, the financial accomplishment of the undertaking can, in the present state, encounter no insuperable difficulties."

No insuperable difficulties -- theoretically, he was right there. Do you know, if somebody had put up \$25 million in 1883, he could have bought the whole of Palestine? It's a fact. If you thought of Palestine in these terms, then it was not an insuperable difficulty to finance it.

Regrettably, few thought of a Jewish national home in terms of "financial accomplishment".

Eleazar Ben Yehuda, Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker -- they were precursors of modern Zionism.

Often we have a notion, a wrong notion, that ideologists are daydreamers and utopians. But Ben Yehuda, Hess, and Pinsker were forward looking men, they had anticipating minds and ability to formulate instinctive but still incoherent aspirations of their people. In fact, these three men were not at all divorced from reality. While they were laying the intellectual foundation for modern Zionism, practical pioneering to Palestine began. It began in the 1880's with a group called "Hovei Zion", who collected money and taught Hebrew. They organized themselves into Maccabee Clubs for self-defense. This was a good beginning; this was the first beginning of the Jews saying "I better learn how to fight back."

In 1882, the Hovei Zion movement sent to Palestine seven thousand people. Thus the recruitment started.

Another group, formed in this period, was Bilu; they were dedicated socialists and Jewish nationalists at the same time. Thirty-six of them went as the first explorers. They said: "Let us go to that country as Jewish nationalists, but let us build it along Socialist lines."

The Hovei Zion and the Bilu started sending people. Migration to Palestine proceeded on a modest scale until the time of the Dreyfus case. I am sure you are familiar with the Affaire Dreyfus.

Dreyfus, an honorable Jewish officer, was charged with being a spy. The trial was rigged; he was sent to Devil's Island. Later on, they called him back, and they restored all honors.

They admitted it had been a framed-up deal. But in the whole affair Captain Dreyfus himself was not as important as the passions that were unleashed in France.

France, of all countries, the most civilized land in the world, witnessed an explosion of anti-Jewish hatred which shocked everybody, including a certain Jew who came from Vienna as a newspaper correspondent to cover the trial. He was a very rich, assimilated, cultured Jew by the name of Theodor Herzl. He wrote for the Neue Freie Presse of Vienna, had a lot of money, had social status.

Herzl came to Paris to cover the trial. What are they doing to this Captain Dreyfus? He regarded the Affaire Dreyfus as an interesting international episode.

He sat up in the balcony, listened to the deliberations, wrote dispatches back home to the paper in Vienna, and couldn't have cared less.

But then Herzl walked down the streets of Paris and saw what was happening, and he was shocked by the writings on the walls "A bas les Juifs" "Down with the Jews." "Death to the Jews." "Kill the Jews."

"The Jews are our misfortune, the Jews sold us out to Germany. Jews caused us to lose the war of 1871."

The fact that this could have happened in France was just as shocking to him, as it would have been to you and to me if this would have started here in the United States.

He was shocked to the extent that everything he believed in changed. He wrote a book. It is called "The Jewish State." A very simple title.

He reached the conclusion that if anti-Semitism, Jew hatred, could happen in France, it could happen anywhere. And there is no other solution to the Jewish problem but their own state.

I will show you how little he cared about where the Jewish state was to be. He writes a plan. He talks about organizing the movement of Jews to this new state, forming a financial company to liquidate the business interests of Jews who are going to leave the countries of their residence, to organize commerce and trade in this new state.

Then he comes to the end of the plan and he says "Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina? Shall we take what is given to us or what is selected by Jewish public opinion? Jewish society will determine both these points."

"Argentina is one of the most fertile countries of the world. It extends over a vast area, has a sparse population, a mild climate. The Argentine Republic would derive considerable profit from giving us a portion of its territory," et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

Zionism, a movement for a Jewish national country, was politically conceived by this dignified, assimilated western Jew.

It came as a logical conclusion that the problem of the Jews would never be solved until there was a national center from which strength and dignity could emanate.

He soon found out what the Jewish masses felt, because he started to travel around in the shtetl.

He went to the "Pale of Settlement". He had a long period of travel; he was a handsome man, and he used to wear beautifully cut Parisian clothes, with a high hat, and he was a kind of Messiah-demigod, a free western Jew.

Wherever he went on his train all through the "Pale of Settlement", Jews used to come in the tens of thousands to the railroad station to see him. But they let him know, the Jews in the Shtetl, that they did not want Argentina; they let him know they wanted Palestine, and they let him know in unmistakable terms.

After he wrote the book, "The Jewish State", in 1896, he started to organize a movement, and called a Zionist International Conference, in 1897. It convened in Basle, Switzerland, and all of the people who were thinking and dreaming about it during the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's, came to the conference. Even some delegates from America came to this conference.

Later on he wrote, "I founded the Jewish state at Basle in 1897."

He also wrote another thing. He said, "This will come true in five years," and then he hedged — "if not in five, then fifty." In this he was prophetic because he wrote it in 1897; and the United Nations voted the partition of Palestine in 1947, fifty years on the button. One of those historic freak coincidences.

Herzl started the organization. He travelled around for three or four years; peddling the idea that the Jews ought to have a state. Finally the British — and our fate has been linked with theirs from that day to this — the British made a proposal: they had a lovely chunk of real estate which they would like to offer. It happened to be in Africa. It is called Uganda. But if you want it, you can have it.

Six years later, in 1903, the Zionist Congress had on its agenda the question of "Shall we go to Uganda?"

Remember what happened in 1903? In 1903 was the Kishinev pogrom. The Jews in Russia were terrorized. And somebody comes up to you and says, "Here is a piece of real estate; you can have it, as your national independent state." What do you do?

This is where the ancient feeling about Palestine really came to the fore. Herzl said, "Yes, let us take Uganda. The Jews are suffering in Eastern Europe, in the Ukraine."

And do you know who walked out on him? The Russian Jews themselves walked out of the congress and said; "Never mind Kishinev and the pogroms and what we are going through. We get Palestine or we get nothing."

He died shortly after that of a heart attack at the age of 44, burned and worn out. But it was settled; it was "Palestine or nothing." And that was the beginning of the modern movement.

Then Ben-Gurion went to Palestine in 1906. His father did not want him to go; his father was probably a good Zionist, but opposed to immigration.

Ben-Gurion said he would go, anyway. He changed his name from David Green; it became David Ben-Gurion.

Ben-Gurion went to Palestine in 1906, and Ben-Zvi went there in 1906. I want to share with you a story once told to me by Ben-Gurion.

There were 54 people in his original group. 52 of them never stuck it out; they turned around and went back to Poland, back to Russia; they couldn't stand it.

The swamps, the malaria, the breaking of rocks; no food; fighting the Arabs — it is all true what you read in "Exodus" — so 52 of them quit. Two of them stayed. And then in a joke, Ben-Gurion said, "Well, that is how you get to be president, or the prime minister." (Laughter) Because he and Itzhak Ben-Zvi, the president of Israel today were the two who stayed; the rest of the story you know.

The Balfour Declaration came along; the British said, "We will agree to the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine." But they never said whether in the whole of Palestine or in a part of it. At the same time, they hedged — they made promises to the Arabs, sometimes called the McMahon Declaration. And you know, once you hedge, confusion results.

There was the constant push to try to build up Palestine. Of course, you know what really brought Jews there, Hitlerism. Not all of the Zionist movements nor all the pogroms in Russia — contributed as much as Hitler to the growth of population in Israel. And this brings up the other part of the story that I want to get to before I close.

In 1939 — again, by one of those historic coincidences — the year World War II started was the year the British decided they had to make a compromise with the Arabs, they just couldn't go on any longer showing so much favoritism to the Jews. So they issued a document called the White Paper.

In 1939, (of all years) the British issued a paper in which they said to the Yishuv: "we will give you 15,000 immigration certificates annually for five years. You can have 75,000 Jews more come in."

"By the way, let us make some rules about how much land you can buy," and part of the White Paper contained regulations about restrictions on Jewish land purchases.

Ben-Gurion wonderfully formulated the Jewish position in 1939, when there was an awful tension inside Palestine because everybody said, "The damned British." But then, also, everybody said, "But the British are our allies in the war against the more damnable Hitler. What do we do?"

Ben-Gurion said, "We shall fight the war on the side of the British as though there were no White Paper. And we shall fight against the White Paper as though there were no war."

And that was the policy they pursued.

In 1939 when the war started, there were 550,000 Jews in Palestine.

In the first month of the war, out of a total population of 550,000 people, 119,000 registered for voluntary service with the British Army. Fantastic.

The Jews were going to fight the war against Hitler on the side of the British, on the side of the French, and on the side of anyone else who was going to do it. (America was not yet in the war).

But they were going to fight the British on the question of open Jewish immigration into Palestine. The real fight came after the war was over. The Haganah started to organize a blockade-running procedure with ships to get Jews to Palestine, against the will of the British. An immigration without certificates, without numbers. And during that period 63 ships were chartered and loaded of which the British intercepted 58.

Five ships broke through the British blockade and landed their passengers on the beaches. The British intercepted all the others and dealt variously with the migrants. One main decision the British finally made was to send the illegals to the island of Cyprus. And then one fine day they decided that sending the Jews to the island of Cyprus was much too good, because the Jews were not upset by that. Cyprus was only 160 or 170 miles away from Palestine.

The JDC -- about which I will tell you in a moment, sent in great help to the island of Cyprus. Behind the barbed wire of the camps established in Cyprus, Jewish Social Service was working; the Haganah was there.

At one point the British decided, to change their policy, "Back to Germany." And that they applied to a ship called EXODUS, 1947, which was the last ship that I personally had anything to do with.

We gathered our 4,500 refugees and D.P.'s from inside Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy -- 4,500 men and babies and mothers were brought down to Marseilles, in June, 1947. They never left from Marseilles.

The ship bought for this occasion was a Chesapeake Bay ferry boat, a flat-bottom. It used to run from Baltimore to Wilmington.

The boys tried to take it across the Atlantic twice. It almost foundered twice. It made it on the third trip. It had a crew of twenty-odd people.

They tried to pick up water and fuel, they couldn't. They scouted around in Lisbon, in Stockholm, on the western coast of Europe; they came in late; they couldn't berth in Marseilles. They put into a little place called Sete; they loaded our 4,500 people on the ferry boat, Exodus nee Wallis Warfield, and set sail.

Sitting outside of the three-mile limit, was the British cruiser, the AJAX. The AJAX had sunk the GRAF SPEE off the coast of Montevideo in 1940. It was the best ship the British had.

This mighty cruiser was waiting for the little ferry boat, and as it slid into the sea the AJAX picked it up, followed it, rammed it about twelve miles off the coast of Palestine after due warning; the steel prow of the AJAX, ten stories high, just nudged into the side of this little ferry boat and cut a big gash.

There was a fight. And the Marines came down and the Jews tried to slow them by putting oil out on the water to make it slippery, and they threw the kosher corned beef at the British marines -- and that is no joke. The invading party got up and took the wheelhouse, and there was an American boy, Bill Bernstein, he was at the wheel, and he was clubbed to death.

The crew tried to run the ship from another wheel, which they had down in the aft part, below deck. But the Haganah from the shore ordered them by radio to surrender. They surrendered, and the British towed them in.

The British transferred them right there at the dock of Haifa into three little prison ships.

The British said, "No Cyprus for you; back to where you came from. We are going to break this bloody Jewish illegal migration once and for all." The Jews were taken back to where they came from, to France. They wouldn't disembark. There they declared a hunger strike.

The British said, "Okay, back to where you came from." They took them back to Hamburg, Germany, pulled them off the ships at Hamburg, put them in trains and sent them back to the camp at Bergen-Belsen. Remember, it happened in August of 1947. And that did it. It woke up the conscience of the world.

In November 1947, three months later, the partition of Palestine came, and the vote in the United Nations was 33 to 13.

That was in November, 1947. One day later the fighting in Palestine started. They went through the guerrilla warfare which lasted until the spring of 1948. The British left on May 15th.

Real war started. The Arab armies, not mere guerrillas, went on the warpath all through 1948. The isolated Israel fought until 1949, when truce finally came.

An armistice is a document signed by warriors to halt hostilities. What we have today in the Middle East is an armistice agreement which the Arabs signed separately, country by country. By the way, Iraq has never signed an armistice document. Iraq is still at war with Israel.

Normally an armistice agreement must be followed by a peace treaty. Well, there has been no peace treaty signed, and this is why Nasser maintains that Egypt is still at war with Israel. That is why he closes the Suez Canal and keeps Israeli shipping out.

I will come back to Palestine and Israel. I would like to return in a flashback to the Nazi-Hitler period.

There are two factors which have made up contemporary Jewish history. One is Zionism, Israel with the valiant Palestine struggle, which I reviewed with you at length, because we have a tendency to forget it.

The second factor stems from the Hitler period, the saddest period of modern mankind.

On January 30, 1933 (Roosevelt's birthday) Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany.

On April 1st, 1933 Hitler announced the boycott of Jewish business; Jewish stores were painted with the Star of David, storm troopers were put in front of stores, and Germans were told not to go in.

In September, 1935, Nazi Germany passed the Nuremberg laws. These were the most fantastically complicated mathematical determinations of whether you were a quarter Jew, a half Jew, or an eighth Jew.

On November 5, 1938 a young Jewish boy, Herschel Grynszpan, shot and killed Ernest von Rath, the third secretary of the German embassy in Paris. Herschel did it in an act of personal human desperation, because he received word that his parents had been expelled from Germany.

Retribution for that single act came swiftly and massively. On the night of the 9th to the morning of the 10th of November, 1938 there was organized in Germany the most impressive, widespread, efficient operation that ever took place. Every synagogue in Germany that night was burned and looted, and the phrase, "Kristall Nacht" came from the sound of the tinkling of breaking glass.

The windows were smashed, the crystal chandeliers were pulled down in a billion fragments of broken glass. The Crystal Night shattered the last hope of the German Jewish population for a better future, for a return to normalcy. Fifty thousand people were taken that night and put into concentration camps — fifty thousand.

Five hundred synagogues were burned and destroyed, and the next day Hermann Goering imposed on the Jewish population of Germany a fine of one billion Reichmarks.

The Reichmark was worth 40 cents. \$400 million fine imposed and paid. That was the end of life and fortune, and of any opportunity for resistance.

Hitler, as I said, came in 1933, and the Nuremberg laws were put into effect in 1935. Between those two years 60,000 Jews left Germany, 10 per cent of the population.

The Nuremberg laws accelerated Jewish emigration from Germany. By September 1939, when the war started, some 215,000 Jews left their native land.

215,000 German Jews escaped. More than 350,000 were trapped.

On July 30, 1941, Goering ordered Heydrich "To take all preparatory measures required for the final solution of the Jewish question in the European territories under German influence." That was the first time we saw the word "the final solution."

A book has been written that I would like to commend to your attention. It is called "The Final Solution."

It is written by Gerald Reitlinger, and published by the Beechhurst Press, 1953. Reitlinger dedicated the book to his daughter, "that one day she may read and know the tragedy of her race."

That final solution was ordered on July 30, 1941. America was not in the war as yet. But even the Germans, with all their efficiency, take a certain amount of time to get things organized. Six months later, in January, 1942, Heydrich called a conference of 15 people. They were the heads of the S.S. and the Gestapo.

The meeting was held in a villa on the Lake Wannsee outside of Berlin, and they made two decisions at this meeting.

The original plan was to deport every Jew to the Island of Madagascar, and there to hold them until they would kill them all.

They found that was not feasible, so they ruled that out. They decided they had to kill them all in Europe.

There were two extermination systems. In Russia, the method they used was the digging of pits, shooting the victims and covering the corpses with lime. But that took too long, and it was expensive. A bullet costs 6 cents. They had to use a lot of bullets.

At the Nuremberg trial of 1945 a German civilian engineer, one Hermann Graber, gave testimony on a typical action (the word was "Aktion" in German) which he witnessed in a certain province in Russia.

"An old woman with snow-white hair was holding this one-year-old child in her arms and singing and tickling it. The parents were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about ten years old and speaking to him softly, the boy was fighting his tears.

"The father pointed toward the sky, stroked the boy's head and seemed to explain something to him. At that moment the S.S. man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about twenty persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound.

"The family I have described was among them. I well remember the girl, slim, and with black hair, who, as she passed me, pointed to herself and said, 'Twenty-three years old.'

"I then walked around the mound and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible.

"Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people shot were still moving, some lifted their arms and turned their heads to show that they were still alive.

"The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it held a thousand people.

"I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into it. He had a tommy-gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette.

"The people — they were completely naked — went down some steps which were cut in the clay wall of the pit and clambered over the heads of those who were lying there to the place where the S.S. men directed them. They lay down in front of the dead and wounded. Some caressed the living and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots."

In Kiev, 33,000 people were murdered in two days in the largest single massacre of the war. They were shot and buried in a huge ravine called Babyi Yar, where there were so many of them that a few months later their gas-bloated bodies literally exploded out of the earth.

30,000 Jews in Dnepropetrovsk machine-gunned to death and buried in the ditches outside of the city.

20,000 slaughtered at Poltava.

20,000 in Kharkov.

35,000 in Odessa.

10,000 in Simferopol.

170,000 in Latvia.

250,000 in Lithuania.

By 1943 the S.S. had largely completed its assignment in occupied Russia. 800,000 Jews had been executed by that time. That is the way they did it there.

In Poland it was different. In Poland they did it by gassing and burning.

You know the system; deportations to the large extermination camps, to places like Auschwitz, Treblinka; trains bring four, six, eight, ten thousand people to the place; people taken off the trains; divided into two groups, those who were to be killed immediately were put to the left; those who were allowed to live a short while, because they could do work inside the camp, were put to the right.

Those put to the left were led to a room, were ordered to take their clothes off, were given a towel, and in some cases, a piece of soap and were told that they were going to be cleaned and bathed.

Over the door of the entrance to this gashouse it said Brause bad, — the showerbath. They were packed in, the men, the women and children, all naked. Some of these shower rooms had space for 100 people, some for 200 people.

There were showerheads in the ceiling up on top. There was a man with cans of gas cyklon B which had been developed in a factory in Hamburg.

This man put the gas in the canister; it was fizzled down through the showerhead in the ceiling and it took a matter of minutes before everybody was dead.

Every couple of months or so the room had to be replastered, the fingernails clawing at the concrete pulled the concrete down; people were trying to get out.

After 30 minutes the door at the other end would be pulled open, the Sonder-Kommando — the Jews, those who had been left alive because they were strong enough to work, would do their duty. What was it? Shovel out the bodies, take them and put them on trolleys, wheel the trolleys on the tracks.

They rolled them on the trolleys over to the ovens, pushed the bodies into the ovens, burned them up, cracked the bones for fertilizer.

But before they put them in the oven, they opened the teeth, took the gold out of the teeth and arranged them in neat piles. They cut off their hair, and saved it. Hair was used for making all kinds of things; human hair, that is.

I myself saw the chambers at Auschwitz. I went to the camp at Auschwitz in 1958.

The total capacity of all these factories of death still wasn't enough to satisfy the Germans, because they could kill only 10,000 people a day. The only reason that in some places there are Jews left alive today is because the Germans could not work any faster than that.

Gassing and burning was the method used in Poland. Shooting in the pits was the method used in Russia.

One of the deputies of Heydrich was a man by the name of Eichmann. He had the responsibility for Western Europe.

He had responsibility for the Dutch Jews, Belgian Jews, French Jews, and the miscellaneous, like Greeks, Jews in Salonica and other places.

Eichmann's trial is beginning on March 6th. When his trial begins, hundreds of newspaper reporters will be there. They will listen to the trial and the whole story will come out for the world to remember again. It seems to me, at times, that not only the world has forgotten the mass graves and the gas chambers. We too forget it—for one or two reasons:

Either because it is too horrible to remember, and this I can understand; Or we do not want to be reminded of the recent past because it forces us to do something about its consequences. Now, to me this is outrageously bad, because that is walking away from a problem.

If there is one thing that we Jews in America should not do, it is walk away from any problem.

There are survivors of this period who are still our responsibility. The JDC is caring for tens of thousands of them. Some of us don't want to be reminded of it because it is too ugly — too bloody and too brutal —.

There wasn't very much we could do about it between 1939 and 1945. However, we can do an awful lot about it now. We can do it in partnership with the free Jews of Israel.

But we must be sure that we remain angry.

If we lose our capacity to be moved by this unparalleled tragic event in 4,000 years of our history, then we don't deserve to call ourselves Jews and we may as well forget all our burdens and all our problems.

When I speak of anger, I have in mind not only the ability of individuals or nations to be aroused by brutality, oppression and mass crimes committed against our people. Moral indignation is a reaction, a noble reaction against all forms of discrimination and inhumanity. It is an expression of anger — spontaneous and short-lived.

Our anger must go far beyond reaction. Our anger must prompt us into creative actions. Our anger must be constructive. It must generate in us a manly determination to give not only of our wealth, but of ourselves as well.

We must not only be sympathetic onlookers of historic processes; we must be angry enough to be active participants in the all important mission of saving and building Jewish life whenever we can and wherever we can.

To me there is nothing more ludicrous than the Jew who is interested in his temple and in becoming president of it, or a Jew who is interested in his hospital and in becoming a chairman of the board, or wanting to be a Jew and live among Jews and deal with Jewish problems and call oneself a Jewish community leader. There is nothing more ludicrous than a man who does all that but who has lost his capacity for anger over the things that happened to us.

Don't call yourself a Jewish leader if your blood doesn't boil at the memory of our dead, and don't forget it because if you forget this, then nothing else makes any sense.

They will try Eichmann, it will be all over, finished — whatever they will do to him. They may shoot him, they may give him ten years in jail. But it is not important. The things we must understand are important and simple:

Herzl was upset by what happened to the Jews of France, and he came to the conclusion that something ought to be done about it, and he started a movement he believed would help our people.

We ought to be upset about what happened in the '30's and '40's, and we must maintain what has already been started. We must assist in keeping it going, keeping alive our work and deep human concern for those who need our aid.

I said before that the safety and the survival of the Jewish people depend upon the possibilities of free migration. This possibility for the mass of our people exists in one place only, in Israel, and if it takes us 30 years to put Israel on its feet, then the anger we feel that there were those who died because there was no place to go, should sustain us for one, two, or three decades of labor, however long it takes.

The subject of my speech was supposed to be "What is the U.J.A.?" You might have been thinking what has the U.J.A. to do with the Polish Shtetl in the 1880's or with the breaking of the British blockage in the 1940's, or feeling pain at what happened in the 1930's?

I would like to tell you about the U.J.A. as I conceive of it.

One part of the United Jewish Appeal is an organization called the JDC, the Joint Distribution Committee. No organization is worth anything except what it accomplishes, and the JDC has been at work for almost a half century. Quietly, efficiently, with dignity, JDC has participated in the process of transforming moral anger into philanthropic aid. JDC works legally where it is able to, and illegally when it must bring help.

The JDC has taken hundreds of millions of dollars that the Jews of this country have given and has saved hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives.

When I think of JDC, I think of a ship, St. Louis, that in 1939 couldn't land in Cuba and couldn't land in Miami, and of a fellow member of the JDC, Morris Troper, who had the heartbreaking task of finding a refuge for the stranded St. Louis passengers. He was angry, persistent and resourceful. St. Louis came back to Europe, and Troper found countries that would take the 900 Jewish passengers, thus saving their lives. The JDC has done these things magnificently for almost 50 years. I believe we should pay tribute to the devoted work the JDC staff has done, the anonymity with which they have done it, to the depth of love and to the passion with which they have done it; to the efficiency with which they served the high cause of saving lives.

In 1961, the JDC will spend \$28 million in trying to help Jews around the world. \$17 million they want from us, from the United Jewish Appeal. Those seventeen millions that we will give them, will represent the difference between life and death for a quarter of a million people on the face of the globe.

The other part of the UJA is the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency moves people across borders, puts them on trains, takes them to Israel, settles them on farms.

One million Jews have been taken into Israel, one million since 1948, since the state was established.

The third organization to which we give our money is NYANA, the New York Association for New Americans. There is a pitifully small number of people who can come into the United States. They have to be taken care of when they arrive here, and about two-thirds of the people who come to the United States settle in the Metropolitan area of New York. They have to be looked after and cared for, and this New York Association for New Americans does.

What a nice word, you don't call a man a "refugee", you do not call him an immigrant, you call him a New American.

The fourth organization is the United HIAS Service. You remember I told you the HIAS was organized way back in 1884. I said it has gone through mergers and changed its name. Its present name is the United HIAS Service.

Those four organizations receive funds from the United Jewish Appeal. All four of them are doing the work; they provide humanitarian services in a completely non-duplicated way. What we have here is a wonderful division of labor.

The JDC takes care of needy Jews around the world. In Israel, it has established Malben for the sick and aged newcomers.

The Jewish Agency transports the immigrants into Israel, settles them on farms and houses them.

The NYANA takes care of those who come here to these shores and stay in New York City.

The United HIAS Service takes care of Jewish migrants who go to countries other than Israel. Jews who want to go to Canada, to Australia, to South America, to Western Europe, to the United States outside of Metropolitan New York are taken care of by the United HIAS.

So you have four organizations. When I said I did not care about organizations, I was not demeaning their work — what I meant to say was that loyalty to an organization is less important than loyalty to an idea and an ideal, and thank God an organization has been created to express that ideal and perform the service that we want it to perform.

9 I would like to share with you some thoughts that constantly preoccupy me. I believe history holds two things in store for us.

The first thing history may hold in store for us is a drastic deterioration in Israel-Arab relations. This is a personal, unofficial opinion, not to be quoted anywhere, but it is for us to understand what lies ahead. The Arabs are implacable in their hatred for Israel.

The arms balance is shifting in favor of the Arabs. They had received arms from Russia that is superior to Israel's armament. The Arabs have nine submarines operative in the Eastern Mediterranean, have fully-trained crews, and Israel has two.

The balance is shifting fast and badly. I think the Arabs may try to take advantage of their superiority. I believe we have to take into account the Arab-Israel position. Clearly, we cannot do a thing about it. We cannot start or stop it, it will be out of our control.

Our attitude toward it, our reaction toward it, and what we will do about it, is something that we can control.

There is one other matter I should like to discuss with you, speaking of the needs of future migrations.

These are figures on Jewish populations, they are estimates, they may not be too accurate.

North Africa:

Morocco	200,000	
Algeria	130,000	
Tunisia	<u>63,000</u>	393,000

Eastern Europe:

Rumania	200,000	
Poland	30,000	
Hungary	100,000	
Czechoslovakia	<u>20,000</u>	350,000

Asia:

Iran	<u>80,000</u>	<u>80,000</u>
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Total all countries 823,000

I will make a flat statement, at the risk of being completely wrong, because all flat statements and generalizations usually are wrong: if one were to ask what are the migration needs of the Jewish people today, I would say that between 700,000 and 800,000 need to be rescued. This leaves out completely the Soviet Union, with 3 million Jews.

If one were to say, do these 800,000 people all need to be rescued, or deserve to be, or should be, I would say yes. Because I think that is their only future.

I want you to know we have four kinds of Jews: there are Jews who are already in Israel, there are Jews now coming to Israel, there are Jews who will come, and we know they will come, and we know from where they will come, and at what rate.

In the fourth category are Jews who cannot come. Many of them cannot come, and that is why the JDC is there, because somebody must take care of them.

I do not know where they would go or what they would do without JDC.

Israel is a very small country, it is a tiny country, but the soul of the country is big. The soul of the country is big because it is the soul of a people which has known death and overcome it.

Israel is built on two things: a Biblical vision and six million dead souls.

It is because of our tribute to the one and the loving memory for the other that we make this pledge to go on working as long as our work is needed.

We are trying to save the people and build a land, and we are not going to stop until the last one of you quits on us. We will save our people wherever it can be saved, and we will build that land into a state of utter strength, independence and self-sufficiency.

We will work until the last Jew on the face of the earth is saved, and to the very minute Israel feels so secure it will not need us any more. Until those two things happen, you and I must keep working.

Our fathers gave 22 years to this organization, the United Jewish Appeal. Our fathers poured the treasure of their whole generation of twenty or thirty years into it, and we have a right to ask the same of you. You will want to give it.

I think the answer is totally and completely in your hands.

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ADDRESSES

FIRST UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

NOVEMBER, 1960.

ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
H. E. AVRAHAM HARMAN,
AMBASSADOR OF ISRAEL TO THE UNITED STATES
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I understand that you had an analysis from Rabbi Friedman about the past eighty years of Jewish history, and I would like to pick up from that point and say a few things.

I think that in the past eighty years we had two very serious reverses in Jewish life and two very, very positive and hopeful advances.

The first reverse was the cutting off of Russian Jewry from the body of the Jewish people about forty years ago. That was a serious blow to the course of Jewish history and the course of Jewish development. I don't think that the final word has been said on that particular subject. I think that our history moves in very devious ways. But it has been a serious reversal.

And the second, of course, was what happened during the Nazi period.

The two great advances in Jewish life in this period have been, first, the creation of the State of Israel in 1948, preceded by about two or three generations of very tough pioneering work. And against that background I would like to say just a few things about the role of American Jewry in the shaping of Jewish life, particularly in the last forty years or so. Because I think it is vital to grasp this if we are to plan for the Jewish future.

United States Jewry emerged as an international Jewish factor during the First World War. It emerged in those days in two very important forms. It emerged the first time as a political factor shaping Jewish life.

Justice Brandeis, through his leadership in the American Zionist movement, together with his associates, Justice Frankfurter and others, played a very important, perhaps, decisive role in the events that led to the Balfour Declaration and to the Palestine Mandate and to the appearance of Jews at the Peace Conference after World War I.

At that time, too, the political significance of an American Jewry was reflecting itself in the deep concern which we Jews were showing at that time -- beginning from that time -- in the lot of the Jews whose status was being menaced in various parts of the world.

The second form in which you emerged at that time as a growing force on the world Jewish scene, was through the creation of the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Now, since those days, about forty years ago, the role of American Jewry on the international Jewish scene has been growing, and you played a decisive role during World War II and afterwards in bringing help to Jews in need of it and after World War II in pushing forward the reconstruction of the Jewish people after the Nazi period.

I think that any observer of world Jewish life today must come to the conclusion that the two dominant, constructive forces active on the Jewish scene today are the Jewish community of the United States of America and the Jewish community of

Israel. Everything that has been accomplished in the last fifteen years since the end of the war that is positive in Jewish life has been accomplished by these two forces in association.

The reconstruction of Jews after 1945 would have been unthinkable without American Jewry, and to a very large extent it would have been impossible without the assistance of Israel. And that applies not only to the absorption of Jewish migration, it applies also, I think, to the cultural and spiritual reconstruction of the Jewish people that has been moving forward since 1945.

I am quite convinced myself that the Jewish future is going to be entirely dependent, as far as self-motivating Jewish action is concerned, on the continued association of these two forces in Jewish life: American Jewry and Israel.

I think that this is going to be true in the future as it has been in the past fifteen years in two vital areas which I believe do concern us, and I am sure ought to concern us: First the status of Jews, the physical needs of Jews, and their need for freedom and dignity. And, secondly, the whole area of Jewish cultural, spiritual and religious survival and reconstruction.

On this first point, I would like to say one or two things quite bluntly, if I may. The United Jewish Appeal is a fund-raising organization. And, therefore, it goes in for the use of gimmicks, because it has to come back to the same people every year and tell the story, and it always runs the risk of being told that "we heard this before." And, therefore, there is a natural, understandable desire to dress this story up fresh every year and give it a kind of new look. And the more sensational that new look can be, the better.

Well, ladies and gentlemen, Jewish blood is not being shed today, and I believe that there is every reason to hope that it won't be in the decades that lie ahead of us. Anybody that believes and hopes that the world is going to be able to avoid a cataclysm of war -- and if you don't have that hope, then it is very difficult to live in 1960 --, but anybody that has that hope must hope, too, that this will apply to Jews, even in the most exposed places.

We must rule out these considerations from our thinking while at the same time looking very carefully and being terribly vigilant about the position of Jews in all the trouble spots. But I don't believe that Jewish blood will flow. That isn't the problem.

The problem is for the Jews who enjoy freedom in America and the Jews who enjoy freedom in Israel to make up their minds that just as they regard this as being a natural and desirable order of things, they should base their Jewish policy on the assumption that every Jew would like to enjoy the same freedom and the same dignity. There is nothing more in the thing than that. But this is the essence of it. This is the essence of our moral obligation.

What is the nature of your freedom as individuals and of ours in Israel from a Jewish point of view? I think it is compounded of two things, that we are free as individuals, living in democratic societies -- and, secondly, that we are not

ADDRESS- H.E. AVRAHAM HARMAN
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

3.

expected to surrender our Jewish personality as a price of being free, that we are also free to be Jews in accordance with our own conscience. That is an essential part of this concept of freedom for us.

The problem that we face, if we accept this moral obligation, as we have up to now, the problem that we face is not that Jews somewhere will be murdered or massacred or pogromed, but that Jews in quite a number of places, unfortunately, will continue to lack these two distinguishing characteristics of Jewish freedom that you and I possess.

We have to make up our minds, I think, that this is going to be the challenge of our generation -- those who are sitting in this room with the prospect of twenty and thirty years of public life and activity ahead of them. The problem that we face as we assume obligations in this public activity, the problem that we face is how to get this essential story across to our respective constituencies, even though the blood is not going to flow and in the unremitting hope that it won't flow; and that we won't have headlines and that there won't be any spurious dramas.

We in Israel live in the hope that the book "Exodus" relates to our past, not to our future. We have a national aspiration in Israel, which is to work our way back from the front page of "The New York Times" to about page 50, where they list the new companies established. A nation which is on the front page has got problems; a nation which is happy doesn't get a prominent part in the newspapers. And I think that this has to be the hope of our generation, not to deal with pogrom situations, but to deal with the fundamental issues that we face, which are that this course of Jewish history, which has created your community in freedom in America and ours in freedom in Israel, has not yet been moved to its final accomplishment, and that there are still regrettably very many Jews who lack either freedom as individuals, or freedom as Jews, or both, although they are not being murdered and, I believe, won't be.

This is the situation. There are two facets to this problem of Jewish migration, ladies and gentlemen. One is the desire of Jews to move, and the other is the provision of outlets for them to which they can go. Until 1948 all of us were concerned with the second question and not with the first. The question until 1948 was, Where could Jews go who wanted to move, who needed to move from a situation of lack of freedom to a situation of freedom.

And then came Israel, and the role of Israel in all this is that we by design were created to solve that problem or to continue to a solution of that problem, with the result that since the end of World War II, since 1945, 1,300,000 Jews have moved and a million of them have been able to come to Israel. There is no longer a question of where Jews who want to move can go.

The first aspect of the question is still there: How can Jews leave places that they want to leave because they don't have the conditions there that they would like to have? And in regard to this, ladies and gentlemen, I think that we should continually be reminding ourselves that if you and I could not for a moment imagine that we would live without the conditions of freedom we enjoy as individuals or as Jews, why should we for a moment suppose that other Jews, who

ADDRESS- H.E. AVRAHAM HARMAN
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

4.

are like us in every respect and in every instinct, should want to stay in conditions that deprive them of the freedoms which you and I possess?

This is the essence of our moral obligation in this field.

I would like to say just one other thing on that subject, which is this: In our history, in all human history, you never write anything off. There is no such thing as a complete chapter of history. The great hope in our world is that things are not set for all time; they are going to change. No regime is monolithic and unchangeable. The most monolithic regimes in the world experience internal changes and very often, though you can't see them clearly on the surface, internal revolutions through their own forms and methods.

The fact is that after forty years, deprived of the right to educate their children in their own faith, deprived of the right of free association for cultural, spiritual and religious purposes, the Jews of the Soviet Union persist as Jews. It is amazing that, at the beginning of 1960, when the results of the census of the Soviet Union were published, two and a half million people in the Soviet Union in 1960 registered as Jewish nationals, and of them a fifth stated that their native tongue was Yiddish. This is after forty years of the revolution and of a policy which was assumed to lead to mass assimilation and a new nation of Jews.

It is not for nothing that we are described in the Bible as a stiffnecked people. This force, this instinct for liberty in this sense, liberty as individuals and liberty as Jews, this instinct is working all the time.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to tell you something very briefly about what the implications of this is to my country, Israel.

Those of you who have been to Israel recently or who will go there may not be fully aware of one of the basic problems that my generation in Israel is today experiencing and that the country as a whole is experiencing. We are a country in the mid state of development. Parts of our life in Israel are highly developed; and on the surface they look magnificent. Building, industry, the economy, thank God, is improving year by year. This year Israel is going to export goods and services to the value of \$350 million. It is an enormous advance.

But, as against that, there is a constant need for pioneering in Israel, because there is a constant process of absorbing new immigration, and there is still a need of consolidating the absorption of the immigration that we got in the last ten years. And so you get this dichotomy going on in Israel today, between the need for maintaining on a high pitch a forward-looking, pioneering spirit, and, at the same time, a very natural and a very understandable desire on the part of people to relax.

I would like to sum it up by the story of a friend of mine, a Jew from Germany, quite a wealthy family that had happen to it what happened to the Jews of Germany, and he came to Palestine in 1939 with nothing, as a land worker, and joined a kibbutz.

ADDRESS- H.E. AVRAHAM HARMAN
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

5.

In 1936 to 1939 there were Arab riots in Palestine and he was in the Haganah, and when the war broke out he joined the British forces in Palestine, he was a member of the Jewish Brigade and came out of the war in 1945, and looked around and asked himself what was his personal future, and left Palestine to study to become an animal surgeon somewhere in Europe for a couple of years, and returned to Israel in 1947 as a qualified vet and got a job in one of the agricultural cooperatives based on Haifa. And for the first time since 1935 this man began to relax again. He got himself an apartment with his wife and they had one or two children, youngsters, and he had a steady job as a vet, servicing the villages in the Valley of Jezreel which stretches from Haifa in the direction of the Sea of Galilee.

1947 wasn't exactly a relaxing year in Palestine. There was a good deal of bother with the British administration. And by the end of 1947 came the UN resolution. In 1948 we had a war of liberation, and this man was a reservist, he was in it.

In the beginning of 1949 he came out of it finally and went back to his job as a vet; but in 1949 a quarter of a million Jews migrated to Israel; and in 1949 we began the policy of establishing new villages to absorb some of these immigrants, give them jobs, and also to enable them to grow some of the foods that we need. Many of those villages were in the western end of the Negev, between Beersheba and the sea, or between Beersheba and the Gaza Strip. And when you have villages and you go in for dairy farming and you go in for breeding of cattle, you need vets. And the new immigrants didn't bring vets with them. They brought precious little with them in the way of money or in the way of skill. 50,000 Yemenite Jews came to Israel in the last 12 years, 50,000 people, and they didn't bring with them a single doctor, a single nurse, a single engineer, a single secular teacher, nothing in the way of skills of that kind.

So my friend was asked to leave Haifa and go and settle in Beersheba to be a vet in this new area that was opening up. He said to me he had a very difficult time selling this proposition to his wife. There were no schools in Beersheba of his standard. His children in the Haifa area were going to very good schools. Beersheba in 1949, 1950, was a little hovel of a place. (Today there are 40,000 people there, and they have pretty good schools that are getting better every year.)

Well, this is an illustration of what I call the problem of Israel, the need to move forward, the need to be tense, if you like, the need to insist on more pioneering and more sacrifice and, as against it, a very natural understandable desire to relax on the part of people whose last twenty years have not been very relaxed, who think that they earned a little bit of relaxation.

We are trying to make our way between these two poles in Israel. We need to develop economically. We would like our people to relax. A relaxed people is a healthy people. A people shouldn't be living on its nerves all the time, certainly not our people. We need the therapy of relaxation.

Well, we know that the time hasn't come yet. There is one area, of course, in which all of us Israelis understand we can't relax for the moment, and we must maintain vigilance, and that is in relation to the problem we have with our neighbors, our security question, and we are not relaxing in that area. We won't until there is peace. We know very well that by not relaxing in this area, by throwing into it everything that it needs in the way of manpower and in the way of money in the defense area, we are not achieving merely the capacity to defend ourselves against aggression; we are achieving something much more important than that. We are achieving -- we have, thank God, so far achieved -- the avoidance of aggression, the deterrence of aggression. The military policy of Israel is not directed towards fighting wars; it is directed towards preventing wars. This is the objective of the concentration of our national purpose in the defense area, and in that area we are carrying a very heavy load. But the problem in Israel is how to get the people to go on year by year carrying an additional load that is not related to defense, that is related to this business of immigration, of our continuing to serve as an instrument in the hands of the Jewish people to meet Jewish needs.

That is more difficult, but I think that our people are conditioned to it and will carry this burden.

Now, I would like to describe the burden very briefly. By the end of 1960, in the course of these past twelve months, about 25,000 Jews will have come into Israel from various places. How do they come in? Realistically, physically, technically what happens to them? They are picked up somewhere in Europe by the Jewish Agency and they are put on a plane, or they are put on a ship, and they come to Israel. In the overwhelming majority of cases they come with nothing except some luggage that they are able to take out with them, but with no funds. On arriving in Israel they are taken over by the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency which gives them a few pounds in Israel currency so that they may have something to go out and buy a cup of coffee with, and brings them to some kind of shelter, some kind of home, however rudimentary, in which they must find, the modicum of utility furniture that they may need -- a bed, a mattress, a blanket for every member of the family, and a few pots and pans in the kitchen, and a broom to sweep the floor with, and things like that; and a package of food for two weeks, staples like flour, oil, and so forth.

Then the next day, literally, the man is taken to the labor exchange, and the Jewish Agency leaves him there. That is to say, the UJA leaves him in the labor exchange. The only exception are those people who go and live in the agricultural villages -- and then the Jewish Agency, the UJA, is responsible for nursing those people in the villages until they have received all the equipment needed with which to earn their own livelihood.

Now, this process of bringing this Jew from somewhere in Europe to the door of our labor exchanges costs \$1,600 per head, including the cost of his house. It is a lot of money. We Jews in Israel don't contribute towards that; that is your money. But we pay a price. We pay a price. And I would like to describe briefly what that price is and what it is going to continue to be.

You bring the Jew to the labor exchange, but we have to make sure that the man in the labor exchange has got a job to send him to, and under our laws the man in the labor exchange has got instructions that however many local unemployed there are in an area, if this man is a new immigrant he has got to be given immediately on arrival some days of work per month, depending on the size of his family. If he is a married man with two or three children, he has got to get 21 days of work the month immediately after his arrival; otherwise, what will he live on?

So if the economy is not spoiled, if there are jobs to be available, then public works have got to be set up for that man in the area where he is being settled. There is no point to sending a man to Dimona, if there is going to be no work in Dimona. If the Jewish Agency in conjunction with our Ministry of Labor says, "We will send people to Dimona," our Ministry of Labor has got to have work available in Dimona. And if there is no natural work, then there is got to be made work. Made work costs money. It is financed out of the Ministry of Labor, out of my taxes.

But you can't keep a man in a job only on the basis of public works. The economic objective is to see that there will be an economy that will expand continuously year by year to be able to provide real jobs, permanent, productive jobs to this man; not only to enable him to earn his own living, but to enable him to earn the living of the country, and that calls for economic investment.

When we don't have private investors doing this job entirely -- there is more than one private investor, thank God --, then we have to have government initiative, in resource development and in building the economic and social reconstruction, and we have to finance that. We finance that by selling obligations of the government of Israel, by borrowing money, including Israel bonds. My taxes pay the interest on that. My children will be repaying those bonds, and will be able to, because the economy of Israel will make it possible for them to pay them back. But this is an obligation which we are accepting. 25,000 people come in this year -- I don't know, I suppose there are at least 5,000 people of school age or potentially of school age in that group. There must be 50 in a class; that means 100 new classes, 100 new teachers who have got to be trained, 100 new classrooms to be built and equipped; all of that goes into the budget of the Israel Ministry of Education.

All the service areas: education, health, social welfare in Israel, all of them are financed out of my taxes. When they make their plans for each budgetary year, you must take into account not only the natural population increase, that is to say, not only the need of my children in education, but the needs of the children who, when the budgets are written, are not yet in the country. For them, too, next September there is going to be a class going in the primary school of in the kindergarten. For them, too, there is going to be a hospital bed -- at least one for every 2,000 of the population. The estimated costs of all this must be added to the budget, and they must come out of my income tax or the cigarettes people smoke or the whiskey people drink or the brandy they drink, or out of my gasoline tax. They come out of taxes, which have meant that an American-assembled car which costs \$2,000 in America including your taxes, in Israel costs me \$6,000 including my taxes which go into this.

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So we make our contributions. And it is not made automatically, and it cannot be made automatically, because we are a democratic society. People don't pay taxes unless they know what they are paying and why. And this story has got to be argued out with our electorate every four years. It has to be argued out in our Knesset every year when the budget estimates come out. But, beyond all that the children in our schools are taught that the declaration of independence of our country dedicated our country not merely to pursue the interests of the citizens, but the State of Israel exists in order that its doors should be open to Jews wanting to come in. National policies in the field of external affairs or particularly in domestic affairs, have to be geared to this central national purpose, that our country exists not only to serve me and my children, but equally to serve man and his children who, five years from now, thirty years from now, will feel that because he is a Jew he has to get out of where he is and who will look to Israel to take him in.

This is an unsensational thing. It will go on year by year. And, really, ladies and gentlemen, there is going to be nothing new to say. We can't wring tears out of ourselves every year. We are not that kind of a people, and also it is not true.

Israel is in a good position today. Things in Israel are getting better year by year. The economy is getting more resilient. We are glad of that because you don't attract economic strength to a situation of economic weakness. Why has there been a great expansion of private investment in 1960? Because the economic climate in Israel today looks good and is good, is incomparably better than what it was ten or twelve years ago. And I believe, and have every reason to believe, that this story is going to improve year by year.

I believe that after five or six years, we may achieve economic balance in Israel -- an economic balance, not with a diet of bread and olives for our people -- because you can't sustain a civilization on that diet -- but at a reasonable, decent standard of living; not the American standard, as it is too big for us, but a Western European standard. This should be our objective economically; it is our objective economically but even if we reach that after six or seven years, would you then be disposed to say that if, in 1970, 30, 40 thousand penniless, poverty-stricken Jewish immigrants come into Israel, that we should then carry the burden of that? Should it be only our responsibility, or a joint responsibility? There will be no pity about this situation, nothing to draw tears. On the contrary, it is a joyous thing. A man comes out of a situation that was so bad that he wanted to run away from it and to a country which will be blooming and prosperous. Should it then be our sole responsibility?

You wouldn't want it that way. Your community is not that kind of community. This is a community that is shot through with a sense of responsibility. It has been demonstrated in every turn in the Jewish history of our generation.

So I am persuaded that this situation will not be manageable if we go around every year looking for new gimmicks. This situation has got to be regarded as a continuing situation in Jewish life, and let me add, a very happy situation.

ADDRESS- H.E. AVRAHAM HARMAN
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

9.

Would that it were more than 25,000 that were coming out this year; and I am sure that this is the sentiment of every Jew in America who understands the meaning of the freedom which he automatically lives under; that he would like other Jews to share that.

It is a happy circumstance that unites us in this mission, and we can meet this challenge only by the continuation and the deepening of the association which has enabled us in the last 12 or 13 years to achieve miraculous results, not just in saving human beings, but in the reconstruction of Jewish life. Permit me just one concluding word on that subject.

We have never concerned ourselves exclusively with the health of the Jewish body; always with the health of the Jewish spirit. We took a very big licking in this respect during the Hitler period. Not only six million Jews were killed, but 30,000 communities and everything that was in those communities -- all the scholarship and all the learning and all the tradition and all the intelligence that was destroyed, all the creative capacity that was destroyed and ground into the dust. This was a reverse from which a lesser people might never have been able to recover.

The leadership -- the cultural, spiritual, religious leadership -- was destroyed in Europe. But we are recovering from it. You are recovering from it here. Your communities, like ours in Israel, were nurtured for two or three generations by these Eastern European Jews. You found inside yourselves factors which are enabling you gradually to recover from it. And we are finding it in Israel -- it is a very tough struggle -- again, because it is not dramatic, but invisible. But, nonetheless, very real.

And let us bear that in mind, too, that by this association of forces we can also move forward in that direction, as well. I personally am convinced that this is the spirit in which we should be meeting the problems of the Jewish future, in a spirit of hope, and working from strength and working from a complete confidence in our capacity to create. Yours is a community that has got more competence, more ability, more resources, than any Jewish community that has ever been in the whole history of the Jewish people. There is nothing that is beyond your resources or your capacity to achieve in Jewish life. And Israel -- nearly two million Jews, who have gotten where they have gotten as a result of this expression of tough determination to hang onto their right to exist and to be free -- this, too, is an enormous incalculable reservoir of Jewish creative strength. So we must look at it with a feeling of strength and in a spirit of confidence. And because I am convinced that this should be the approach, that I think at this time again of the men and women who have 30 or 40 years of activity in communal leadership ahead of them and I say that this type of conference could well be decisive in the next chapter of Jewish history as it unfolds.

ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
CHET HUNTLEY,
COMMENTATOR, NBC-TV
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I come here to be with you for a few moments because I bear a sense of involvement in the present and the future, in the hope and in the success of the State of Israel. It must not only survive, it must flourish; and flourish it will, if work and sacrifice and dedication count for anything.

There are some parts of me in Israel. May I count a few of the parts? Out of those lovely time-and element-softened hills on which loving hands are now replanting the forests on the cover which once characterized them, came the basic precepts of my religious faith and most of my personal basic philosophy, and my religious convictions are only one of the several seeds which this fantastically lovely little land gave to mankind.

It gave me the rudiments of language, it fashioned the lovely prototype of a precious gift which was handed to me and which has been such a source of joy and satisfaction and material prosperity, the art, if you please, of transforming language into written characters so that thoughts might be either preserved or transported far beyond the reaches of the voice and the ear and distributed widely.

This little land applied to the early science of mathematics and contributed to that trim, stable, lovely world of numbers; that clean, orderly, predictable world where two and two usually do make four.

It gave me the stories of the prophets and it taught me the meaning and the value of quiet contemplation and scholarly application, and it gave me examples, a host of them, of heroism and perseverance and faith, and it gave to me and all who would listen the indestructible lesson that there is indeed a thing which we call spirit, and it is unquenchable and indestructible.

In later years in my life-time, again this little land of Israel has been a reminder and an amelioration of great sorrow; but it has also been the living proof of what can germinate and develop from an idea fed and nourished and watered by the spirit and blessed by sacrifice.

In these later years Israel is the living proof that there is some heart and humanity in man. There is in this world a thing which, for the lack of a better word, I can only call caring.

Israel is living proof that even the stones can be made to produce and water can be made to appear where there was none, if only the spirit and the fierce determination are there. And there is a thing called Jewish culture, rich and abundant and prolific. And in a thousand and one ways I am the inheritor of liberal portions of that culture, whether it be literature, art, music, words, ideas, or whatever; and if someone in this year 1960 suggests that this phenomenon, this rare prize, this treasure, is ending or that it has played out its time, and is now to fall silent and be still and quiet, I think not.

There is another part of me in Israel today: the hope and indeed the promise that it will yet demonstrate to a set of unruly and volatile neighbors, the prophets and beatitudes, and the loveliness of peace, and on the day when

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

peace is secure in the Mid East the world will have eliminated one of its most tremendous problems and greatest present dangers.

But there is Israel, right smack in the middle of it, occupied with her husbandry and her soil and her water and her food and her caring and all the million and one occupations and other preoccupations of a nation; and ultimately the Arabs ^{must take notice} that Israel is a bright promise for them as well. Israel is an example, too, of democracy or popular government, the dignity and nobleness of man in a part of the world which has not heard of those wonderful things for centuries, if at all.

What hope would there be in the Mid East at this moment were it not for the presence and the example of the State of Israel?

Finally, there is in Israel a dynamism and an electric supercharge which is a joy to behold and a thrill to discover, and each visitor will discover it in his own way and with his own perceptiveness.

As I left Israel on that cool, fragrant April morning, the girls and the young men of the army of Israel were undertaking their annual marching competition. They strode the highways, down the seacoast, past Caesarea, swung around the outskirts of Haifa with its flower beds and its lovely gardens, and down past Tel Aviv and down the valley of Sharon from the hills of Galilee to the astringent valley of the Negev, from Dan to Beersheba past the orange groves of Rehovoth, and out of Jerusalem. All of Israel that morning was stirring to the marching songs and cadences of healthy, young bodies, as in platoon and company strength they swung along the roads. They sang the old songs and they sang new ones, and their faces were raised to the warm sun and their voices filled the land and the heart and the soul.

Marching, just marching; for what? For the sheer joy and exuberance of it; not aimlessly. Each unit with its own chosen objective, confident, purposeful, energy, if you please, under mild restraint.

Now, if I may, these are just fragments of memories of Israel jotted down and put together, if you please while waiting in an airport this afternoon.

And there was Anna. Seventeen years old, her gay brown pony tail, an excited tell-tale of her abundant overflowing energy.

Anna with the flashing smile and great, blue, wondrous eyes, and she greeted us that day as we drove on past Beersheba into the Negev and turned off to the right and approached the volatile border of Egypt. We were out to film some of the life and activities in a youth project. These youngsters were serving their military obligation, about 50 boys and 35 girls in this one camp; but nothing is wasted in Israel, military service above all.

Around the clock the patrols went out to guard against Egyptian incursion, but meanwhile inside the camp, young Israelis of Moroccan or Yemenite extraction were being instructed in mathematics, in the Hebrew language and other phases of basic education, and simultaneously something else was going on. These boys and girls had sunk a well and had managed to extract

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

from the reluctant earth a few gallons of precious water each day, and this water was being used experimentally on the surrounding soil to test what it might produce under more favorable and various sets of circumstances.

And there was in this camp, if you please, a threefold, at least threefold purpose out there on the remote fringe of the frontier: the soil had to be tested so that it might be used in the most productive way. For it was Anna who explained in the first rush of halting English that a year hence the pipeline would bring water down from Tel Aviv and the declivities and the bottom lands of the Negev would be turned to green.

Anna was an only child. Her proud and adoring parents lived in Haifa. Her father, a government official, was a proud descendant of Sephardics and the son of a long line which had brought scholarship and brilliance to the Spanish court and thence to the Island of Rhodes, and finally on to Israel.

Anna's mother was an Ashkenazi, a daughter of those who had taken the western circle following one of the diasporas to Germany and then on to the Pale in Western Russia. And here was Anna, a teenager, carrying a submachine gun with all the self-assurance and ease of a marine sergeant, who represented the full circle of Jewish wandering.

And Israel was Anna's home, intensely and passionately, every crag, every orchard, every sprig and every grain of it. There was Tamena, the girl lieutenant running a training school in Haifa, and in the course of the interview I asked her what Tamena meant. And she said it meant innocense and virtue. And I said, "Tamena, does it apply and is it true in your case?" And she blushed and said, "Fifty-fifty."

Your culture is so rich and wonderful in words and one of my favorites is "chutspah." It is a delight to say.

I think one of the great examples of chutspah -- someone mentioned it a moment ago -- was the beginnings of El Al, an old, broken-down DC-4. And it had "El Al" on top and in Hebrew another inscription. And I saw this airplane come into Paris one morning and the crew landed in nice uniforms and very resplendent. And I said to someone standing at the gate, "I wonder what that means in Hebrew." And he said, "It means always on top." Here was El Al, one broken-down airplane, "always on top."

Have I said or implied that Israel is a heaven or a paradise? I didn't mean that. It has problems and dislocations, all of them ever invented, and a hundred more besides, but it will endow you with a conviction that human problems and a lot of the natural ones can be solved.

I would only add two urgings: one, support in whatever way you may choose this human adventure which is Israel, and, second, I urge you to go there and taste of the experience at the first opportunity. Go there, I beseech you, go there to be proud; go there to be amazed and be puzzled and overcome. You may indeed even be insulted by a brash young Israeli, who may say, "Why don't you stay here with us?"

ADDRESS OF CHET HUNTLEY OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

Go and see a land where the people talk more, and walk farther and where the traffic moves faster and where the children play harder and where the heart is touched quicker and stronger and better, and in a more lasting way than anywhere else on earth.

Now may I borrow one more word from your culture, one of the most lovely words in the world: shalom.

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ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
EDWARD M. M. WARBURG
HONORARY CHAIRMAN, UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
NOVEMBER 19, 1960

I wasn't impressed by your youth; I was impressed by your freshness, and I mean that in the nicest sense. This helps speakers because you wanted to know the answers, and you asked the questions. You didn't want to make statements. This is unusual in Jewish life.

I might also say that you proved yourselves already good leaders because you followed so well. Now, I learned in the army a funny thing -- I must say that this is only true of American generals, because, of course, we have with us our distinguished general from Israel --, but we found in the army very quickly that if you wanted to get anything done you had to kick the generals ahead of you, and this is one of the things about leadership that I would like to emphasize. There is no prerogative that any of us have by divine inheritance or any other way that gives any kind of justification to get up in front of you and talk as leaders. Each one of us has been part of a team, and each one of us has been assigned a task, and if it happened to be that one of us had a broad chest and narrow shoulders, he was made chairman so he could take the medals, but he didn't have to carry too much responsibility.

Sometimes a narrow mind helped him, too.

The army taught me lots which I found useful in the later work of the J.D.C. and of the U.J.A. Let me stop kidding around for a few minutes.

Some people have asked me at various times, "How did you get involved in this work?" Well, I couldn't avoid it. And I say that quite seriously. I came from a family that had been involved in the founding of these organizations, and I think the first air I breathed was filled with the cigar smoke of those who were deciding which kind of an organization the J.D.C. was going to be. After my father's death we all took various interests in various aspects of his work -- not that we didn't have them before, but we allowed ourselves to be used wherever possible, and I went into this work, and I was just that, something that they could use for whatever benefit it had because it had been an inherited job.

And then I enlisted in the army. Shortly after all the usual things that we went through, all of us, in the army, in one form or another, I found myself over in England prior to D-Day. Then over, much too shortly after D-Day, dealing with, of all things, refugees. They were world refugees. They were refugees representing some 49 different countries and national origins. It was typical of the U. S. State Department that they had given us a card form that contained some 112 questions which were to be filled out in the language of the registrant. One of my interesting tasks was to get this filled out in triplicate by these 43 national origins. One gentleman in Chinese wrote what he thought of me across the face of all the questions, and I turned to my sergeant who was pretty tired, as I was, from having been up for 48 hours straight and said, "All right, you fill that out in triplicate."

But in the course of these extraordinary days of the gradual liberation of Europe, we arrived in Paris, and my colonel came to me one day and said, "What do you know about a place called Drancy?" And I said, "Well, all I know about it, sir, is it is the deportation center outside of Paris which usually leads to the gas chambers hidden behind the enemy lines."

ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

"Well, find out all you can about it, because we are about to uncover it."

And so I went to the place which I thought would know most about it, the headquarters of the J.D.C. I want you to know I was in the uniform that I had slept in, the helmet that I had on, wearing the 45 which I was scared to death I might some day have to use, and I walked into this place which was the office which I headed up, but there wasn't a soul there whom I knew, nor who knew me. And they all fled in terror, because they felt that this was the new Gestapo. And finally I cornered a man and said, "Who is in charge here?" And I found out, I said, "As far as I know, the Joint Distribution Committee gave orders you are to continue to borrow money on the last months' budget prior to the closedown. Were you able to do this?" "Yes, we were, up to recently." "Well, have you the ability to do it now, now that liberation has set in?" "Yes. But I haven't the authority." And I said to him, "Well, I give you the authority." And he said something to me which always has given me a funny goose-pimple feeling; he said, "Who are you?" And I said, "My name is Edward Warburg." And he said, "What relation are you to the chairman of the J.D.C.?" And I said, "I happen to be the same person."

And on the basis of that we managed to get the soup kitchens on the streets that night and to get the population -- the Jewish population of Paris -- fed two days after liberation, and were able to set the wheels in motion that had been stopped by the Nazi occupation. On the basis of that also a cable went to New York, and on the news that it arrived here funds were raised many times over which enabled us to pay back the borrowings that we made in those very early days of liberation in France.

But possibly the thing that cemented me more than anything to this work and has kept me involved in it was the experience shortly thereafter in Belgium. I was the D.P. officer for the First Army then located in Brussels in the SHAPE mission, and mine was the job of going down to every train that came in from Buchenwald, from Dachau, and from the P. W. camps along the line, to see who these people were and what we could do for them. I had a military phone in my billet as well as my office and the notification came to me supposedly ahead of anybody else that a train was on its way and would arrive at a certain time; but I was never able to get down to that railroad station in Brussels before there was an enormous crowd assembled hoping against hope that one of these people would be the lost member of their family who they had been waiting for and desperately hoping might have survived the holocaust that was Europe at that time.

And I went down there, and I watched these walking skeletons in their obscenely striped uniforms go out and face the barriers and see the recognitions come from behind the barriers and the sudden realizations that there was family and friends and hear these little squeaks of recognition as these two people fell in each other's arms. And they were home and they were taken care of and they were part of a new world that could be built for them.

ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

Invariably there remained behind a group who knew before they ever stepped onto that platform that this scene would not take place in their case because their families were part of the ash heaps of the crematoria of Europe. They were the Jews, and you didn't have to look to see if they had hooked noses or dark skins or dark complexions or whatever it is that is supposed to be the hallmark of being Jewish. Their homes were probably the very same ones we were living in because we took over the homes that the military Nazis had taken over, and the Nazis had taken over the Jewish homes. Their businesses had been expropriated, their families had been disseminated all over the place, and there was very little for them to come home to, and they stood there and faced those barriers and looked across them, and in the silence of their glance there screamed across to the civilization of the world the simple phrase, "Who the hell gives a damn?"

And to the undying credit of all of us who were involved in this work there stepped forward on your behalf and on my behalf the representative of the J.D.C. and said, "Come along, we will take care of you."

Years later I went through one of those deadly occasions in Tel Aviv where at the American legation there was a cocktail party which was a command performance, and we all came there and sat around and talked. And a sunny dispositioned man with big, sparkling blue eyes came up to me and said, "You don't remember me?" Usually when that happens, I say, "I remember your face, but do help me out with your name." But in this case I didn't even remember his face. And I said so. And, to my amazement he answered, "Thank God." I said, "What do you mean?" He said "The last time we saw each other, you were carrying my stretcher in the station in Brussels. "

This man is one of the leading doctors in Israel. His life has opened up into a new chapter, a brilliant chapter, an exciting chapter.

I needed very little else besides that to tell me what this work was about.

Now, what has all this, these two days, been about? It is about what you can do, why we want you involved, and what the job is. Unfortunately, possibly we don't have functional jobs for you. We don't have committees for you to join on the questions of child care or geriatrics, on hospitals or in different sections of our work. Because I think you can appreciate as much as we that it is impossible to work that way with the many thousands of miles that separate us from the actual operations. Unfortunately, too, our job is fund-raising and our job is getting the story across to make an informed giver out of the giver who gives solely because this is what he can get away with giving rather than what he can give. And if these few days have meant anything to you, they will mean the fact that you will become elements in getting our story across.

The older generation has built magnificently. But a new era has dawned and we have moved from immediate, desperate emergency to long-range planning and construction, and as this process goes on, responsibility for the American Jewish communities' share in the program will fall into the bright, willing and vigorous hands of you young leaders.

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ADDRESS OF EDWARD M. M. WARBURG OF NOVEMBER 19, 1960

The older generation has found one thing to be true, and I want you to be able to understand it, because you are a partner in this revelation. We hear a lot about security and we hear a lot about--well, I sit at speakers' tables night after night, and I am accustomed to have some nice old gentleman say, "What shall I do about my son? I have given him every opportunity, I have trained him in every way possible. He is now at Harvard, and, frankly, he isn't the least interested in this work. And despite all the money I put at his disposal, I am afraid I will have to go and invest even more and place him in the hands of a psychiatrist because he is so unstable and upset."

The security that your parents can leave you in terms of trust funds is meaningless unless you get along with it a sense of values and a sense of responsibility. The nobility which moved them into a realization of their responsibility in the past generation must in our generation, as it did in theirs, give us a sense of noblesse oblige. We need to broaden the base, we who no longer are of the immigrant group ourselves. We no longer have our own personal history as immigrants which gives this work that kind of meaning to us. But as Americans and as Jews we have an inheritance, not necessarily in money alone, but in the values of what it means to contribute to this great country in the traditions that are so eloquently spelled out in almost every public document that has become our inheritance. As has been said to you this evening, in this work you are in good company. The associations are fun, they are tough, they are awful, they are every gamut that you want.

I have to tell you one little story.

One time I got finally to see a head of a very famous chain of stores who is also a very famous non-contributor. After I got into his office to see him, he said to me "The only reason I gave you an appointment is, I want to know what you personally make out of this?"

I don't know how long you have to wait before you swing, but I waited, and the good Lord sent me the best wisecrack I ever pulled, and I said to him, "You know, I am terribly socially ambitious, and if it wasn't for this occasion, I don't think I would ever meet you."

Friends, in this work, let us not think of it in terms of a parochial problem that we face. I don't know in the short time that we are on this earth how we can lift ourselves out of the humdrum of the routine of our daily lives in any more noble or more exciting way than to lift ourselves and identify ourselves to something a great deal bigger than any of us, into the real tides of history which carry us on to more and more magnificent elevations -- and where we can also see beyond the shores that have so much meaning to any one who believes in the verities which are our double heritage as American and Jews. In this exciting voyage -- which is the voyage that all of us, I think, can look forward to with real pleasure and excitement -- it is a joy to be in your company.

ADDRESS -- UJA YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN, UNITED JEWISH APPEAL
NOVEMBER 20, 1960

We have got a very complicated thing to look at this morning. By now you must know that we are confronted with a huge and impressive mobile program and problem, and I want to tell you that for some of us who have been traveling around the country and around the world there have been some uneasy moments as to whether or not we had within the makeup of the American Jewish community enough persistence to finish the total job that we are confronted with.

There has been, time and again -- and last night it was uttered to me by an Israeli, of good meaning -- the thought that maybe we in the American Jewish community were only short-distance runners, sprinters, that we didn't have the capacity and the strength for the real long jaunt that was involved in facing the problems of the mid-twentieth century. But as I sat here last night and I listened to Dewey Stone and to Chet Huntley and then to that incomparable autobiographical sketch by Eddie Warburg, and I watched the people who were in front of me, suddenly there came to me the flash of a bit of Americana.

All of you I am sure have read your American history, and you remember that supreme moment in Philadelphia at the closing of the Constitutional Convention when Benjamin Franklin arose and uttered these few remarks, which I paraphrase. As he looked upon the assemblage, he said, "Throughout this meeting I have of times wondered as I faced the Chair --" and George Washington was in the Chair -- "whether the sun that was depicted behind that Chair was rising or setting."

He said, "Now, we are about to adjourn, having accomplished a great work. I am certain that this is a rising and not a setting sun."

And for some reason or other, as I sat here last night, that kept coming back to me because, as I looked into the faces of the people that were there and those who are here this morning, I am confident that we have a rising sun in the American Jewish community, and that we will prove ourselves capable of facing the long-distance pull that is still ahead.

What makes it a long-distance pull? Is it because there is a conflict between overseas needs and domestic needs? Is it because our community is unable to handle both?

No, not at all. Quite the contrary, there is not only not a conflict between overseas and domestic needs; if anything, they complement each other and help one another. Nor is it true that we are ill-equipped to handle what lies ahead.

What may be true is that we have not yet come to understand the full significance of what we have been immersed in through our generation and what we may well be immersed in for another generation to come. And it is with respect to this, the interpretation of what has happened and what I think will happen that I would like to spend my time.

Now let me first place a very simple question, about whether taking care of 575,000 more or less people who require our help abroad is in conflict with this tremendous pressure to meet domestic needs.

I think not, for a number of reasons. Some of you were not born yet when there was a tremendous change in the whole concept of raising money in the American Jewish community. Some of you here will remember with me the days when in the homes of our parents, if not our grandparents, the mashulac came regularly. It got to be a standing joke. And in latter-day American Jewish society some were so ignoble as to call these fine gentlemen with nice beards, "bearded bandits."

I remember those days when the Pushka, the blue-and-white box of the Jewish National Fund, was in every home. I remember those days well when my parents and the parents and grandparents of some of you who are here never stopped to figure if what they gave was deductible or not, taxwise. It didn't make any difference. It didn't make any difference because taxes were not high, and, secondly, they didn't pay taxes because they didn't earn that kind of money.

I remember when the community was a great community of a couple of million, two and a half million, Jews at the turn of the century. And when it still was getting its infusions of strength more than demonstrating it.

It is only really a generation ago that the Federation movement as we know it in this country today began to prosper. True, there are a few federations that claim a long and ancient history, of sixty years. I think the oldest is in that range. The two largest communities, Jewish communities, in America have not yet been federated in the sense that St. Louis is federated, that Omaha is federated, that Buffalo is federated, that many of the communities are federated. When I was in your age bracket I recall attending a first meeting of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. And people speak of it now as if it were here all the time. I was serving as the organizer and first president of the Plain States Region of the Federation of Welfare Funds.

We have gone through a whole period of experimentation in fund-raising in America, of sociological studies, of attempts to arrive at formulas by which we could collect more and distribute more. And we take for granted what is here today in our respective communities as if it were always here in that form and always will be here in that form. Neither of these statements is correct. It was not here in the form in which it is in today, and because of people like you it will change in the days ahead as change must come to meet the needs of the society which we live in.

I want to be very careful about the next few things that I am going to say, as I have been reasonably careful about what I said up to now.

I have written a book that is in galley now. It isn't even salable, I am afraid, because it only talks about our Jewish community. But in it I discuss some of the things I am about to discuss with you now. And because I can be misunderstood more than I can be understood, I hope the question period will enlarge the areas of our discussion.

I think for a good part of recent years we have spent more time in figuring out the best techniques to raise money and in the examination of the beneficiaries to receive our money than we have actually spent in raising the money in the course of meeting the need. I am not pleased with our record of performance in recent years. I say this as a prelude to what I am going to enlarge upon. There is no logical way to support what has happened.

If, in 1948, when we had a 250 or 300 billion dollar economy in the United States, we raised double what we have raised in many communities today, then it can only be because we were more excited in raising money in a kind of doped atmosphere and not because the needs today are less and not because there is less ability to pay for these needs.

We have a 500 billion dollar economy in this country today, and maybe what has been happening is that we have been spending too much effort in being certain that we are sterile and that everything goes in the right pocketbook, and not enough effort in obtaining more money.

We need to wake up again to a certain realization that one of the prime attributes of being an American Jew is the capacity to have a sympathetic understanding of the needs of others; and you are neither a good American nor a good Jew until you develop within your heart and your mind the full meaning of zedakah in the ancient history of our people, which means doing justice to those that need it done, and which means quitting this business of "settling." Settling with whom? With people who are in desperate need, with people whose lives tomorrow may not be worth a dime, with people who need to be educated, with people who need welfare assistance, with people who need hospitals, with people who need old folks homes?

Are these the people we settle with? The community I came from, Omaha, in 1931 when I was chairman of the Jewish Philanthropies, raised \$34,000 and the campaign was a success. And later it raised nearly a million dollars, and now feels that it is a success when it raises \$450,000.

I tell you the world has not changed that much. Something has happened to us which makes your presence here so important, and I want to get at a few of the grand illusions that have permeated fund-raising in recent years.

Number one — and I say this bluntly: I don't consider that the federated organization in any community is necessarily the Jewish community of that community. We ought to quit kidding ourselves. It is the arm of that Jewish community to serve that community, but only so long as the leadership of that federation or fund-raising unit represents the heart and will of that community, is it, in fact, that community.

Herb has paid me the privilege of saying I have been in a lot of communities. I have been in communities where federated movements are dying because people have been sitting at the helm too long and still living in yesterday, and have forgotten the world in which we live today. And you and I — and I consider myself young enough to be counted in this crowd — owe it to the concept of federation to keep it in ferment and alive. Federation and unified fund-raising is too important to die. It is one of the great contributions of the American Jewish community to world Jewry. It has been aped in other parts of the world. True, there were kohillas that used to have tax-raising powers, but only in this great free society of America have we created a voluntary instrument as noble and meaningful as some of these community organizations, whether we call them federations, community councils or whatever we call them. And these instruments are in great danger if their leadership dries up and if they start living in the present and in the past and forget about the tomorrows before us.

What do I mean? I have been to too many communities where my contemporaries

are willing to say, "Well, this is all we can raise. So you go out and have a supplemental campaign to the federation for the hospital or something else, or the Joint Defense Appeal. You go out and have yourself a little supplemental campaign; it is all right."

This you must not permit to happen in your communities; Federation and community fund-raising organizations are no different from families. When papa quits bringing in enough money to take care of all of the needs of the family, the first thing that happens is that mother goes to work. Then the children go to work, and pretty soon in too many families the family breaks up. What we need is a fresh spirit in these federated communities where some of these things are happening that must come from the young people who are interested on the part of these communities and say "We can raise what we need. We are a 500 billion dollar society today, and tomorrow a three-quarters of a billion dollar society. We can raise our share of \$70 million for the U.J.A. and still do everything we have to do on our own home front."

The two are inseparable. We can't sleep if we fail on either front. And there is no priority, my friends, that suggests that because an agency lives in a community and operates an old folks home whose director and whose board are those who are constantly irritating the allocations committee, that therefore their needs must be met 100 per cent — whereas, though we have taken an honorable commitment to people who need help in Poland (or elsewhere overseas), that with them we can compromise.

What sense or logic is there in that kind of approach other than the sense of convenience? This is not dignified. It is not in keeping with the high standards of either sound Americanism or good Judaism.

There is only one answer to these kinds of problems. If there are 575,000 people that we feel a sense of responsibility to, who depend upon us for their livelihood — it may be for their bread and their butter and maybe their matzohs on Passover or an opportunity for freedom — , they are no less a responsibility of ours than those who happen to be close at home.

The answer to these problems in a responsible community is not to compromise but to raise more.

And I am just a little bit fed up with those who say — and this is another one of the grand illusions — "We have taken care of everything overseas for so long, we have so many deferred needs at home; now let us take care of them."

Let's analyze that. I live at home, too. Let us analyze that in its real significance. Since the 1940's, just before the State of Israel was declared, when we first started looking at large overseas budgets in great numbers, and after the State was reborn, 200 million dollars was not a scary figure, and 100 million and 150 million were bandied about as being a cheap price to pay for the return to the Jewish fold and for an opportunity to save our own and to save the dignity of our people. Since that day what has happened on the domestic front? Do any of you come from a community that lacks a new synagogue or temple? Do any of you come from a community that has failed to double and treble its Jewish education budgets? I Haven't met them yet.

I have been in a certain organization for six years. We more than doubled our budget during this period of time, and we even built a home debt-free in Washington. I know something about the great organization, Hadassah, as well as B'nai B'rith and the National Council of Jewish Women. Look at their budgets in this period of time. What has happened to them? And look at the domestic budgets of your own welfare agencies. What has happened to them? Adequate? No. More to be done? 5/....

Yes. Not only in your community, though, but with respect to these deferred needs that we didn't meet, either, abroad. I don't know what figures were used yesterday. But I sit on the Jewish Agency with Dewey and with Morris Berinstein. There are debts running -- take one figure. It is 107 million. Take another figure; it is over 200 million -- because you and I and our communities didn't meet the quotas and the goals that were the irreducible ones if we were to save the people that needed to be saved.

Now, the fact is during this whole period of time our community of 5½ million in America, aside from paying whatever we have paid for what we call overseas needs, has built up within itself instruments of local service of a kind which we never had before.

But there is another aspect of this thing -- an aspect in which these instruments ought to be re-examined. When they had the Arab riots over in Palestine, the late 20's or early 30's, I went to an emergency meeting -- I was still in college. It must have been the late 20's. And I shall never forget the discussion in those days. We were on the eve of the great depression. And we were raising, as I indicated to you, in my home community, in a federated community, in the range of 30 or 40 thousand dollars a year. And this was an emergency. There was money needed immediately, and people began to debate; "How can we send any more money? Our Talmud Torah is extremely short. Our Jewish community center hasn't paid its last payment on the mortgage. We strained ourselves to the utmost." And the man whom I always consider to be the one I learned most from in fund-raising, untrained, not a college graduate, just an ordinary businessman, but steeped in the tradition of his people, arose and said, "Wait a minute. What are we talking about? Are we talking about Jewish education for ourselves? Are we talking about a Jewish community center for our own children; and we are equating this with the needs of people whose lives are at stake, where Jewish blood is running? One is zedakah and the other is taking care of your own family. And even a pig takes care of its own litter."

I shall never forget those words. Sure, we have a great need for Jewish education in this country. We have it because, though we are beginning to succeed in that field, and we have a half million children who are going to school, we always had an inadequate standing. But are we going to equate this need with the need of a poor fellow some of our people saw in Czechoslovakia a year ago who wants to be a Jew, and whose only hope to be a Jew is to get out -- equate this with wanting my children to be better educated as Jews? We, the richest and most powerful Jewish community in the world, are we going to equate this with the need of somebody in a country that I understand from Herb Friedman cannot be mentioned any more, whose only hope to live as a Jew is to escape? I don't believe that of the people I see before me.

I believe that the people I see before me have the will and the spirit to recognize that these things we have to do for ourselves we will do, and that we will become better Americans and better Jews by helping the people that we have to help abroad to maintain their own sense of dignity and status.

Many of the things we have done for ourselves we have only been able to do -- and let us be honest with ourselves -- because someone stretched the goals of Jewish community life in America. It became easy to double budgets that were 3 million dollars for domestic needs when we were raising 150 million for overseas needs, it became easier to pull out another \$100,000 for this need or that need

domestically when we were raising \$150,000,000 for overseas needs.

Abe Sacher, the President of Brandeis University, once told me of an experience he had with a little girl who came to see him after she had been to school a couple of years at Brandeis. And he said to her, "How do you like your experience?" And she said, "Dr. Sacher, Brandeis has stretched my mind, and it will never return to what it was."

The needs of Israel, the desperate needs of that Hitler era, stretched the ambitions and the minds and the capacities of the American Jewish community and made possible a better American Jewish community while at the same time accomplishing something for those overseas that we had to do and have to continue to do to be true to ourselves.

And having stretched ourselves, we will never return to the small and ignoble level from which we came; and your generation will go even beyond what some of us were able to do with the tools we had at hand.

So I say it is a grand illusion to consider a federation represents unity when it fails to meet the needs of that community -- and the community means the total community -- , or to say that raising money for overseas has caused us to defer essential domestic needs, and that during this whole period of fifteen years more or less that we deprived ourselves of the synagogues and the temples and the hospitals. We have not. And this is not to say there isn't more to do and that I hope we will have the will to do.

Somehow I feel totally inadequate in studying this subject with you today because what I am trying to do is to put myself in your position. But what do we do about it? In a few hours we break up and you go back home. Many of you consider yourselves the youth of the community. I don't think so. You are the young leaders of the community; and for a nation that just finished electing a fellow who is only 43 as president of all the United States, I am not sure you couldn't start one hell of a revolution if you wanted to in your own communities. But I am not suggesting that. I am suggesting to you that you must go back to your communities with a feeling that the greatest happiness in being an American and a Jew is to be a total personality. And that total personality can only come from having a sympathetic understanding and an appreciation and perhaps even a sense of priority in helping to finish the task of rebuilding what was destroyed so rudely and so crudely and so horribly in the generation before.

And your full and total personality can only be fulfilled if as a Jew you realize that the world is really one world -- and also understand as an American trying to help lead the free world that unless we strengthen those outposts that still believe in what we believe in, that we will have been untrue to both America, the land to which we owe a full allegiance, and to the Judaism from which we spring.

There must be a challenge in Jewish community life. There must be a ferment in Jewish community life. I believe in unity, but I don't believe in being so peaceful that we die a sterile Jewish community. I think every community I have been in where there have been people who challenge the status quo, intellectually, not as anarchists, but as informed personalities, has been a better community for it.

Such communities have better leaders, they have better understanding, they have a better appreciation that the world is a world of movement and that to sit still is to die. And, therefore, I look upon the role of this group as the role of the people who will bring an intellectual ferment to the Jewish community of America, an intellectual understanding of the needs abroad and at home, which are inseparable. (there is no dichotomy in helping to realize both sets of ambitions), an intellectual understanding that with our 500 billion dollar economy everything that we need can be done and no one will yet in doing it will even give up his second Cadillac if he has one or his first if he has acquired just one.

These are the things we can do when we are young enough and have energy enough, and have idealism enough and romance enough, if you please, to want to do it.

I made reference to Jack Kennedy as being 43. I watched him -- I don't know, since he was 26, 27, 28 -- and I have read a number of his earlier speeches, and I think what I am about to allude to has reference to another tendency I see in the community.

I have met with a lot of people, some only last week, who spend all of their time worrying that the world is going to come to an end. Their view is it is so chaotic -- we have hydrogen bombs, we have A-bombs, we have now got missiles, and anti-missile missiles -- what is the use of wasting time on such unimportant things as an old folks home or somebody who is not well in Israel, or somebody who needs to get out of an Eastern European country -- these are all inconsequential things.

There are such people. I have in mind a scientist who is so up in the stratosphere that to bring him down to the world of realities is almost impossible. And I have found it with my own children -- one who is at college, one doing graduate study. They are disturbed, and they are worried.

Well, I am disturbed and I am worried, too. But there is a great danger that if we get so worried about the things that we can't do anything about, we will fail to do the things we have to do and can do.

I refer back to Jack Kennedy. A number of years ago I read a little speech he gave in which he referred to an incident that is alleged to have taken place in the Connecticut Assembly during the early days of the Republic. You know, people in those days were worried about signs and omens, even as I guess we are today. We keep saying that we are a much more intellectual people. But there are signs and omens that distress us, too.

And the place was beginning to get dark, a tremendous storm was coming. And it appeared to be the kind of storm that was going to be overwhelming, and in the middle of the day you couldn't see. And one man arose in the assembly and said, "It is quite apparent that the world is coming to an end. That which is about to be visited upon us will mark the conclusion of the world, and, therefore, I move that this assembly or House of Delegates adjourn."

And one of the members of the House arose and in these words -- paraphrased, again -- said, "I don't know whether what is about to happen presages the end of the universe. I haven't the slightest notion whether that is in prospect, although I suspect this really is only a huge storm. But even if it presages the end of the universe, I know no better way to end my days on earth than at work in my obligation to my people. So bring on the candles, and let us light them instead of adjourning."

I think what I have been trying to say all the time to the people who are here is about that. I think the American Jewish community is going through a severe trial. I don't feel that we have yet found the real answer to all of our problems. There is a great conflict in many of our communities of people who want many things in the way of service and who want to ignore many things that are needed still elsewhere.

I believe that all this trial that we speak of is not the end of the world. It is the beginning of the new world. And I think people like you have got to become the candles that light up the crevices of our community, that push us into a realization that we, too, have stretched our skins and our minds and that all that you have been told about both what is needed elsewhere and needed here can be accomplished under the hammer of your will and your persistence and your fresh outlook. And there is no magic formula other than your devotion and your zealous attachment to this tremendous responsibility which this generation of Jews has taken unto itself, of standing not only witness to the recreation of the State of Israel, standing not only witness to the building of the largest Jewish community and the most affluent of all time here in America, but of having within its grasp the realization of perhaps the most golden age of all Jewish life when a secure Israel and an informed American Jewry give to one another the massive strength that is inherent in both.

And this, which my generation began, only you and the people who follow you can finish.



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