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Young Leadership Conference. Yachdav 77: "A Mission of  
Unity." 1960, 1977.

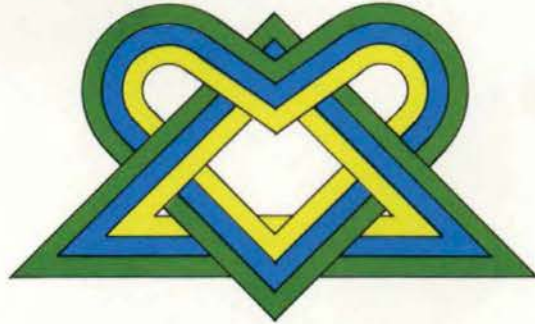
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**יחדיו 77 YACHDAV**  
A MISSION OF UNITY

מפגש עולמי של דור ההמשך  
World Young Leadership Mission



BE A PART OF OUR  
WORLD YOUNG LEADERSHIP MISSION

JOIN US  
FOR A UNIQUE EXPERIENCE  
AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
PROCLAIM  
**יחדיו 77 YACHDAV**  
A WORLDWIDE  
MISSION OF UNITY WITH ISRAEL



קרן היסוד-המגבית המאוחדת לישראל  
KEREN HAYESOD·UNITED ISRAEL APPEAL



**The Young Leadership of Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal** consists of men and women, between the ages of 25 to 40, whose task it is to assume the future leadership roles of the Appeals associated with Keren Hayesod throughout the world.

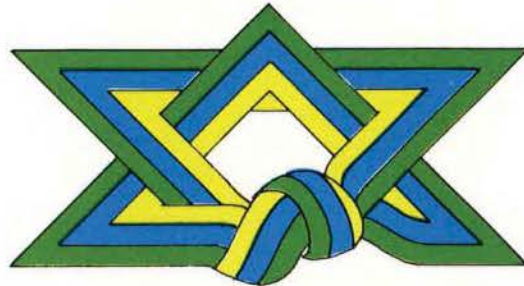
Within a few years, Young Leadership has grown into a network of nearly 50 groups on five continents.

The Young Leadership program centers on education and training, in order to build up Jewish identity, knowledge and understanding of Israel, and participation in actual campaign work. The goal is to strengthen the bonds between young Jewish leaders throughout the world and the people of Israel. These bonds are expressed through involvement in the Keren Hayesod Appeals.

The first rule is setting a personal example by making one's own contribution.

To carry out its program, a variety of activities is undertaken by Young Leadership, including seminars, lectures and retreats. The most important of these activities are study missions to Israel.

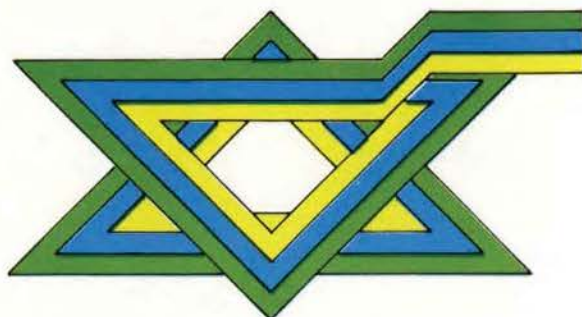




A **study mission** is a way of getting to know Israel unlike any other way. To see, hear, discuss, experience. A way to get involved with the country. A chance to visit places no ordinary visitor gets to see. A study mission is designed to give an in-depth perspective on the main issues facing Israel today. Security. Immigration and absorption. Social gap. Settlement. Education.

It is a chance to meet personally with the country's top leaders. Listen to experts, tour across the land, participate in festive highlights. A study mission is more than the sum total of its components. It is a group experience going beyond passive participation. It is an expression of commitment, an affirmation of Jewish identity.

**In the summer of 1977**, from July 20th to 31st, the Keren Hayesod Young Leadership will hold its largest mission ever. The World Young Leadership Mission will bring together men and women from around the globe. They will come for an exciting ten-day program, to share, to get to know each other and their Israeli counterparts. Whatever their national background, they will be joined by a common bond, by being one with Israel and her people.



**YACHDAV 77 I'TTI' – A Mission of Unity**  
will include:

**Wednesday, 20 July – Arrival**

Evening: Welcoming get-together  
(Overnight: Jerusalem)

**Thursday, 21 July**

Morning: Tour of Jerusalem  
Afternoon: Join mass parade in streets of Jerusalem marking closing of 10th Maccabiah  
Evening: Light-and-sound show at Massada  
(Overnight: Jerusalem)

**Friday, 22 July**

Morning: Visit socially deprived areas in Jerusalem. Memorial service at Yad Vashem  
Pilgrimage to Mt. Herzl  
Shabbat eve: Home hospitality by Israeli families  
(Overnight: Jerusalem)

**Shabbat, 23 July**

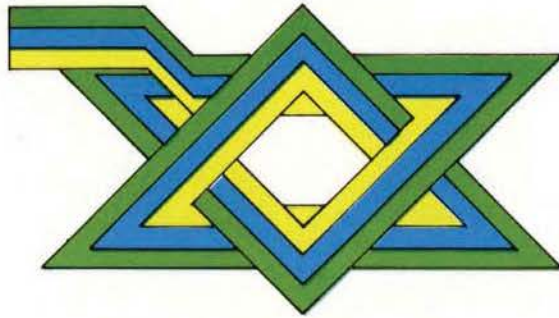
Morning: Walking tour of Jerusalem (optional)  
Evening: Tisha B'Av at the Western Wall  
(Overnight: Jerusalem)

**Sunday, 24 July**

Morning: Tour of settlements in Jordan Valley, military outposts on Golan Heights  
Evening: Lectures on "Development of the Galilee"  
(Overnight: Galilee)

**Monday, 25 July**

Morning: Visit and study in small groups at development towns, kibbutzim and moshavim in Galilee  
Evening: Guest of honour and speaker – The Prime Minister of Israel  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)



**Tuesday, 26 July**

Morning: Flight to Sharm-el-Sheikh. Visit Naval Base, Air Force Base  
Afternoon: Visit kibbutz Sde Boker. Ceremony at graveside of David Ben Gurion  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)

**Wednesday, 27 July**

Morning: Seminars at Tel Aviv University  
Lunch: Host and speaker – The World Chairman of the Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal  
Afternoon: Discussion on Young Leadership and its campaign. Lecture by the Director General of the Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal. Reports by National Delegations  
Evening: Guest speaker – The Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)

**Thursday, 28 July**

Morning: Visit to immigrant absorption centers in the South, the new town of Yamit and Rafiah Area  
Evening: Guest speaker – The Minister of Defence  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)

**Friday, 29 July**

Entire day and Shabbat eve with specially matched Israeli counterpart families  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)

**Shabbat, 30 July**

Evening: "Yachdav 77 – A Mission of Unity" – a multi-media open-air presentation  
Guest of honour: The President of the State  
(Overnight: Tel Aviv)

**Sunday, 31 July** – Departure



**Meet your Israeli counterpart.** . . . Mission participants will join Israeli counterparts for an entire day, at work, at home, and for Shabbat evening. Lawyers on the Mission will be matched with Israeli lawyers, businessmen with businessmen, and so on. The wives will get together while the husbands are on the job. You will become familiar with a matched Israeli family. Experience day-to-day life in the country. Form a bond of friendship into the future.

**Study for yourself.** . . . Visit a development town in the Galilee. A Moshav. A border settlement. Meet with a local councilman, a teacher, a settlement official, a plant manager. Talk, examine and enquire. Gather information. Then report on your findings to other Mission participants. You will gain an understanding far beyond mere listening.

**Mark historical dates.** . . . At the graveside of David Ben Gurion, born 90 years ago, you will recall the vision and deeds of the man who led Israel into independence. On Mt. Herzl, near Yad Vashem, on the 80th year of the Zionist Movement, you will experience the fundamental meaning of Jewish sovereignty. You will see the tremendous progress of Jerusalem, since re-unification 10 years ago. Above all, you will join the people of Israel, as the State enters its 30th year of existence as the Jewish State.





**And the next generation . . .** A special feature of the World Young Leadership Mission will be an international summer camp for children between the ages of 8 to 14. It will enable parents to join the Mission, while their children attend camp at the Hadassim Youth Village, near Netanya. The program is specially designed to be instructive as well as enjoyable, imparting elements of Jewish heritage and Israeli culture.

There will be swimming and touring, talks and games, song and dance. Hadassim has attractive living facilities, workshops for arts and crafts, sports grounds including a pool, and a medical station. The camp will be under the guidance of a qualified staff. Attendance will be limited to the children of Mission participants. (See the map of Hadassim attached herewith).

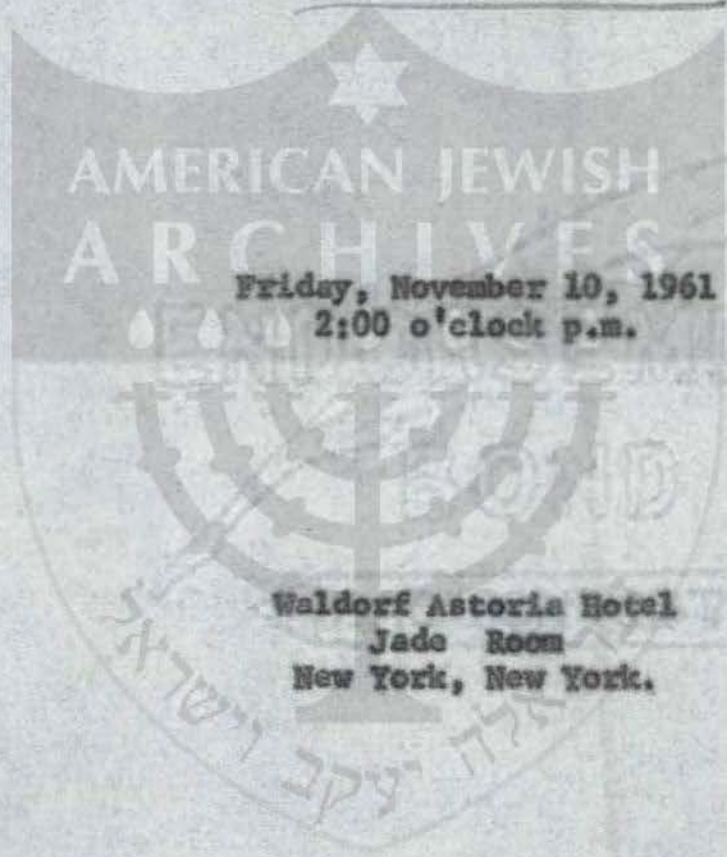
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**SECOND NATIONAL YOUNG LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE**

**OF THE**

**UNITED JEWISH APPEAL**



Friday, November 10, 1961  
2:00 o'clock p.m.

Waldorf Astoria Hotel  
Jade Room  
New York, New York.

**SILLS REPORTING SERVICE, INC.**

38 Park Row New York 38, N. Y.

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The Second National Young Leadership Conference of the United Jewish Appeal met in the Jade Room of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, on Friday, November 10, 1961, at 2:00 p.m., Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal, presiding.

\* \* \*

RABBI FREIDMAN: We will now open the Second Annual UJA Young Leadership Conference. Amen.

That sentence will sound impressive when we start to say the 25th Annual Young Leadership Conference, and you won't be here and I won't be here, and somebody else will be here.

Mr. Meyerhoff, the General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal, had wanted to come and extend his greetings and open this conference, but he is not able to, but will be here later today or the first thing tomorrow morning. He will be here a good part of this weekend. He will certainly do so at the very first opportunity.

There is one mechanical announcement that I would like to have Mr. Levy, the Publicity Director of the UJA, make at this time. He will make another one at the end of the marathon, when I finally get through.



Ray, do you want to make your announcement now?

MR. LEVY: Those of you who were here last year will remember that we took photographs for use in your local newspapers. At the end of this session we are going to do the same thing. At the end of this session I will announce where the photographers will be located, and I will invite your cooperation at that time.

RABBI FRIEDMAN: There go the first eleven paragraphs.

We want to thank all of you for coming. A lot of hard work went into the preparation of this. We pin a great deal of importance to it. We think it is one of the most significant things that we do because this whole great cause that we believe in depends upon a conviction -- and a conviction can only come from knowledge.

So that we run this thing, as you know, on the basis of sort of a seminar, questions and answers. We try to keep the other speeches short. This one today is a monster, and we will get through it, and I hope it will be worthwhile.

When I say that we consider this important, the very top leadership of the UJA pays time and attention to this, and I would like you to know that sitting here in the



room with us today is one of the men who has put in a lifetime on the UJA. A great symbol to the American Jewish community, I would like him to stand and take a bow. You all make sure that you know that he is here. Mr. Edward Warburg. He is sitting right there.

(Applause)

As a matter of fact, he figures in this story probably before he was born, because it goes way, way back.

There is another fellow who has got to leave right now and has just got a minute or two -- he came, had lunch with us, had General Frank Howell, the former Commandant of Berlin, waiting in his room. He can't stay. He wanted to come, say hello. He is just back from a trip which included a visit to Berlin and Russia.

It is a pleasure to present Mr. Leon Uris. He wrote a complete book:

MR. LEON URIS: I am in town trying to sell them this week and Ray Levy, the Publicity Director, is really in anguish. I have been on television and with newspaper people in 15, 20-minute intervals for four, five days. "My God," he said, "You have not mentioned UJA once."

I am really happy that it fell at this time that



I could drop in and just say hello, make one or two comments on my trip to Moscow.

The part that we are interested in. You heard a lot of real good speakers come back from Moscow and you heard the whole story before. We have come back with broken hearts.

It is tough to keep getting renewed interest when Israel isn't in trouble and when there isn't a great migration. But I believe that we are ushering in the great generation of Jewish destiny. The last great pool of Jews in the world without a freedom of choice is in the Soviet Union, and the last great pool of Jews which can do something about it is represented in this room.

I don't attend synagogue regularly but I felt compelled to go to the one in Moscow, and it was a horrible and depressing thing to see 16 or 18 very old people in a building that is coming down with prayer books so decrepit, the words have just faded. The fervor in which they pray and you hear some secret prayers in the basement that they are training a few youngsters lets you know that something is representing these half million Jews in Moscow.

As I traveled around and got into conversation



I speak a mixture of Yiddish and German. Every once in a while no matter where I would be, the conversation of course was always through an interpreter. Someone would drop a Yiddish work in. It would work around to the fact that you are an American Jew. They would go on to say "We have it very good here."

"Incidentally, what do you do?" I would say I wrote about Israel. They would say, "Yes, we heard about it." You could see this tremendous suppressed desire to really know what it is like; they are completely isolated. There is one radio station in Moscow, a city of six and a half million people. They are cut off from the outside world. Only minor contacts from time to time let them know that there are people on the outside that care about them.

I think that I can best express this by my intourist guide. For some reason or another they were trying to impress me very much in Moscow because they didn't want me to write about them the way I wrote about the British in "Exodus." They sent me a top gal who had taken around people like Nixon and all the Senators and the generals. When they come in, they get this girl. She was a crackerjack.



She was a hard-boiled Communist. I mean, hard-boiled. I mean second generation. Her father had lived through many purges and was dedicated down to the heels, and toward the end of the day we would always end up in this Lenin Hotel in a semi-violent argument. They believe very much in what they are doing.

This went on for 16 days with her only identification as a Jew was once in an answer, "I am 100 per cent Jewish" and just dropped it there. She refused to go to the synagogue with me but on the last day I was in Moscow we were getting nice to each other and she said, "I would like to see you out to the airport." She wanted to come an hour early. They are not allowed up in the room. We went down and had tea in the lobby. She said "We really had a rough go for the 16 days because I had a hard work to do, and we work sometimes 12, 14 hours for a day. I am going to keep quiet for the next hour and you are going to tell me about Israel." She cried when she said that.

We got a job, and Herb is going to tell you more about it later. I am really happy for this very brief opportunity, but if you knew how General Howley drank scotch, you would all wish me to get back to the room very



fast.

(Applause)

RABBI FRIEDMAN: As he said, he is not going to get off the Jerish kick, and I think his next book is going to be about the Berlin Airlift of the 1948 and maybe 1962 -- who knows?

This talk that I <sup>would like to give you</sup> want to make today is a log <sup>was</sup> historic summary in order to put our problem into <sup>the right</sup> perspective.

When I say our problem, there are so many facets to this <sup>it</sup> problem that it is almost impossible to know where to begin. The safest <sup>way</sup> place to begin, therefore, is to proceed from the known to the unknown.

~~Therefore,~~ I would like to begin to deal with some facts which I covered <sup>in</sup> last year's talk at great length, <sup>I would like</sup> just skip over them very quickly, this time to recap, <sup>for the essential points</sup> for the those of us who were here last year, and to indicate

highlights for those who were not here, and then to proceed on to some other <sup>aspects</sup> subjects of the central theme, namely <sup>the problem of Jewish survival</sup>

The first thing that I wrote up there was as some of you may recall, the historical panoramic background 1880 to the present time.

<sup>of my last year's address, extended from</sup> I pick 1880 because that was the year when the <sup>it</sup> great flourishing Jewish communities of Russia and Poland



*gradually*  
 began to ~~come to an end~~. They came to an end in a *and*  
 physical sense when the Jews were killed, literally, in  
 the Nineteen Forties. But they ~~came to an end earlier~~ *concrete miles*  
 than that spiritually and psychologically when in 1880 *destroyed and*  
 and 1881 *with special* laws were passed in Russia which were called the  
 May laws, by a prime minister under the name of *eclipse began*  
 Semite *known as* (Poubdonsev). *These laws incorporated the basic anti-*  
 and *concept of Pobilsnostsev, a close advisor*  
*and tutor of* ~~the~~ *tsar* Alexander III

The May laws or one-third laws as they were  
 called, said simply that one-third of the Jews should be  
 converted to the Greek-Orthodox faith, one-third of the  
 Jews should be *perish and* called. One-third of the Jews should  
 emigrate. This was the way that Russia in *old mother* those days  
 saw the solution of the Jewish problem. Very neat, very  
 mathematical, *solution of the Jewish problem* finish it. It didn't happen that way, thank  
 God.

*instead -*  
 What did happen was a huge wave of migration  
 started. While Jews had been coming from Europe to the United  
 States very early, the first Jews landing here I think  
 in 1634, the first 23 Jews from South America, from  
 Recife, in Brazil. Jews kept coming *in* from the 1600's  
 and 1700's. By the time of the Revolutionary War there  
 were 3,000 Jews in America. They kept coming through the  
 1800's. *The great majority of them were* German Jews.



By the time of the Civil War there were 300,000 Jews.

Nevertheless, it wasn't until 1880 that the United States began to be <sup>replete</sup> packed full of tens of thousands of Jews per month. <sup>From</sup> 1880 to 1914, the time of World War I, that <sup>some</sup> 34-year period <sup>was interrupted</sup> saw 3 million Jews emigrate into the United States. Three million in a 34-year period. Almost 100,000 a year on the average.

They came here because this was the place in which they could find freedom. The shtetl life, the life of the small Jewish community, <sup>with its</sup> that rich, warm full, vibrant life, <sup>with the unique blend of</sup> there is homogeneity, where religion and culture, <sup>and with its</sup> tradition and family habits, weddings, bar mitzvahs, the little shawl, the Hebrew teacher, where Jewish life flourished and produced enormous outcroppings of <sup>poise</sup> writing and poetry, and literature, <sup>were a great sack of</sup> ideals, idealism, <sup>and new</sup> that began <sup>to</sup> to come to an end and began to crumble as the shtetl <sup>was still there in the ravines and forests of</sup> disappeared and the Jews came through Hamburg, Liverpool, <sup>life</sup> Amsterdam and <sup>found</sup> flooded here into strange, funny places <sup>source</sup> called Rivington Street, Houston Street; Cincinnati, Ohio; even ultimately Galveston, Texas, which was a great port of entry in those days. <sup>in an</sup> The Jewish immigrants, <sup>live away</sup> As that stream fled and came here in search of

Poland, Lithuania & Byelorussia and on the steps of the Ukraine, its whole lands were shattering and



freedom and truth and democracy and making a living,  
great things and ordinary bread-and-butter things.

Another twin stream also developed that started to  
almost at the same time, <sup>of considerably later force</sup>  
to in the other direction, namely, toward Palestine.  
Early, <sup>a barely noticeable</sup> tiny, little beginnings, in the 1880's, 1890's.  
Before the Zionist Movement started, <sup>throughout the</sup> Before Theodore  
Hertzl wrote his book, before the Dreyfuss case, <sup>and the other major</sup> people  
in Russia and Poland began to see that there was a <sup>It just</sup>  
renaissance possible in the other direction and in little <sup>did</sup>  
tiny bands, <sup>of Jews</sup> 20, 30, 40, 100, that was a big group, went going  
to the Promised Land.

It was broken, rocky, inhospitable, Turkish-  
administered place, where you got off at the port of  
Jaffa, <sup>They were taken to Petah-Tikva,</sup>  
(Jaffa), and the drayman held you up for money to take you  
to a house in (Petiktikva) where you could sleep on the  
floor with other Jews.

<sup>except for the climate there is very little in</sup>  
You look at Israel today and think of what  
it was in the 1880's and 1890's. <sup>Even the landscape itself</sup> It was a different  
world completely.

The concept that we have to have is that, in 1880,  
it was almost as though someone were saying, "History,  
faith," (faith in the Greek sense <sup>of the word</sup> was saying to the Jewish  
people; "Get out of Europe now and go elsewhere, because 50



years from now the Jews will have to be planted strongly and firmly somewhere else in order to be able to brace themselves for the shock which is going to happen."

It is as though in 1880 someone <sup>with</sup> could foretell <sup>possessed a sharp historical vision</sup> what would happen in 1930, 1940 and that there would have <sup>ordered</sup> ~~be~~ to be strong rooted powerful Jewish communities in other places to take care of what was lying in the womb, <sup>of history</sup> namely, the total destruction in Central Europe, which could only be alleviated, <sup>be!</sup> helped, <sup>and narrow</sup> by Jews being somewhere on this earth strong enough, able to take up the slack. <sup>to rise to the different protest</sup> ~~save~~ <sup>presenting and</sup> ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> ~~substituting~~

*smaller and poorer than ourselves, but energetic and determined that we should bring*

I have an overwhelming sense of history. I live with it all the time. I think it is no accident that the events of 1880 <sup>brought</sup> happened that in order that in 1930, in 1940, <sup>us to these shores</sup> we would be here in all of our numbers, in all of our rootedness, all of our money, all of our free strength to do what could be done, and simply <sup>would in</sup> a group would be in Palestine and that <sup>in the victims of other less well</sup> between the two of us we could pick up <sup>that was</sup> whatever parts of the remnants of the tragedy to be, which <sup>we were the enablers to the ugly excesses of history</sup> history had lying in wait for us.

So that is the background with which we have to view. I can't sketch that background any more thoroughly than this. This is the background in which we have to view the events of our more immediate lifetime.

*enabling them*  
*of history*  
*Eastern and Turkish victims of the*  
*Colony*  
*Jews*  
*life*  
*events*



*THE BATTLE*  
The colorful, warm and spiritually rich <sup>12</sup> state  
~~that was home to~~  
Russian and Polish Jewry went down the drain by

movement outward and by distraction under Hitler.

*The Jewish community in the United States*  
American Jewry built itself up here through a  
great process of searching for forms, searching for

content, deciding how it wanted to organize itself; and  
*the Jewish settlement in*  
Palestinian Jewry built itself up by the sheer process of  
*the Yishuv*  
breaking the rocks and learning how to watch guard over  
the sheep and fighting for every piece of land, ultimately  
coming into its own independence, its own sovereignty.

Our story really begins then against this  
backdrop in 1914. *In that year*  
1914 was the first time that the American  
Jewish community was called upon to do *bring* any kind of what we  
might call legitimately massive help.

*In 1914, World War I started.* On the 28th day  
of July when Austria declared war on Serbia, and within a  
week all the major countries were in the conflict; Russia,  
*on one side; Germany, Austria and Turkey -*  
France, England, and World War I had begun. *on the other*

In 1914, a cable was sent by the United States  
Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Senior. He  
cabled to two men here in America, Mr. Louis Marshall and  
Mr. Jacob Schiff, ~~both names known to you, I am sure.~~

*who*  
They were at that time leaders in the American  
Jewish Committee. His cable pleaded that \$50,000 -- that



is all he asked for -- should be sent at once, to save <sup>Jews</sup> from actual starvation, ~~that is how he wrote it,~~ the 60,000 Jews in Palestine <sup>they</sup> who had been cut off by the warring armies. Palestine was under Turkey <sup>is rule</sup> and Turkey was on the side of Germany. Palestine Jews who had been trying to get something started and with large numbers of them poor, religious Jews who had depended upon a system of charity collections called (chalukka), from a Hebrew word which means divided up. Tens of thousands of Jews earned nothing but spent their lives studying. They depended upon this money to live on. They were cut off because of war and Mr. Morgenthau sent that cable.

Approximately <sup>within</sup> a matter of another month or so, similar pleas came from Polish territory and Russian territory <sup>from</sup> and Galicia. These pleas were addressed primarily to the Orthodox groups in the United States. The Orthodox group, and the American Jewish <sup>Committee</sup> community group <sup>Both</sup>, acted on those pleas <sup>with dispatch</sup> at approximately the same time. One group acted on October 4, this cable came: "Don't forget in August."

<sup>After some two</sup> of preparatory work, it took a couple of months for a reaction to develop. <sup>they were ready for the new and important task to</sup> The Orthodox group reacted on October 4 and the <sup>same</sup> other group reacted on October 25. <sup>group</sup>



The first group formed something called the <sup>an organization</sup> Central Relief Committee. The second group formed something <sup>established</sup> called the American Jewish Relief Committee.

<sup>The latter met</sup> They had a meeting <sup>in</sup> here in Temple Emanuel here in <sup>City</sup> New York. They called representatives from 40 organizations. <sup>Louis</sup> Lewis Marshall was elected <sup>the</sup> P president. Mr. Felix <sup>as</sup> Warburg -- and I told you, you would hear that name right from <sup>the</sup> beginning of the story -- he was elected <sup>the</sup> T treasurer. <sup>Cyrus</sup> Silas Sultzberger was elected <sup>the</sup> Secretary, and <sup>they</sup> <sup>The committee</sup> issued the following statement of policy.

" Representatives of the national leading organization<sup>s</sup> and of the important Jewish communities of America have formed a general committee for the relief of the Jews of the several European <sup>nations</sup> countries and of Palestine, who now or may hereafter -- ~~1914~~ -- require aid in direct or indirect consequence<sup>s</sup> of war. All Jews of every shade of thought, irrespective of the land<sup>s</sup> of their birth are solemnly admonished to contribute with the utmost generosity <sup>to</sup> ~~with~~ the fund<sup>s</sup> which must be gathered to meet their superlative need. ↗

<sup>blows</sup> The committee recognizes the economic distress which now ~~weighs~~ heavily on all. That only emphasizes the obligation of making sacrifices and ennobles every gift the



more."

In November these two committees met and they agreed to establish a special agency for the distribution of funds which they would raise.

So the Joint Distribution Committee for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers was constituted with Felix Warburg as a chairman.

A year later the labor group formed a group called the Labor People's <sup>Relief</sup> Committee. You ~~now had these~~ <sup>These</sup> three organizations raised funds for the J.D.C. until 1924.

In 1924 the J.D.C. launched its own first <sup>fund-</sup> ~~fund-~~ <sup>raising</sup> campaign.

There was ~~fund-raising~~ <sup>philanthropic solicitation</sup> going on for Palestine and Israel through an organization called the Kerin Haim Sod. <sup>Keren Hayesod</sup> There ~~was one~~ <sup>An</sup> effort <sup>was</sup> made to put together the relief <sup>JDC</sup> fund-raising and the pro-Palestine fund-raising in something called the United Jewish Appeal. It lasted for two years, 1934 and 1935. Then it broke up.

Finally, <sup>late in fall of 1938</sup> in 1939, after all the years of separate fund-raising and fighting and arguing, the J.D.C., the U.P.A. -- the United Palestine Appeal -- and the Coordinating Committee for Refugees, that referred <sup>assisted Hitler's victims</sup> to people coming <sup>and needed help</sup> into the United States here who ~~had~~ had to be taken care of,



finally merged and formed the United Jewish Appeal.

1939 was the first year that there was a <sup>of the new consoli-</sup>  
<sup>dated</sup> United Jewish Appeal campaign. We are now conducting the  
 23rd U.J.A. Campaign, thank God, with no breaks in this <sup>or</sup>  
<sup>serious & internal obstacles</sup> interim of years that amounted to anything and we have <sup>believe, we</sup>  
<sup>urgency of situation</sup> hopefully finally, established a pattern, I think it is  
<sup>inspiration so enduring</sup> clear that after 23 years, you have got the president and  
<sup>that</sup> history on your side and we are looking forward now to the  
 25th anniversary campaign of the U.J.A. which will be  
 conducted during the year 1963.

*But let us go even for a while*

I think you ought to be interested in knowing <sup>product</sup>  
 what these early campaigns raised. What our first  
 reaction was back in 1914. During <sup>1915</sup> the first year of activi-  
<sup>organization</sup> ties, the year of 1915, the committees working, the <sup>being engaged in</sup>  
<sup>People's Relief and</sup> Orthodox Committee, the Leber Committee, the American  
 Jewish Committee <sup>group</sup>, collected -- what do you think? --  
 one and a half million dollars.

At the end of that year, 1915, it became evident  
<sup>new methods must be taken</sup> that something would have to be done to change the tone  
<sup>raise</sup> and change the level and really get <sup>of giving. It would be wrong</sup> American Jews to  
<sup>the nature of needs. Fund-raising was in its infancy</sup> understand that that was not an adequate response.

*failed to*

So on December 21, in 1915 a mass meeting was  
 held in the Carnegie Hall. Does anybody remember the name

*fund-raising - this is the campaign which was held in Carnegie Hall and raised \$1,500,000*



of Judah Magnus? He was a rabbi here in New York. He <sup>tried heroically to establish a centralized one in the</sup> broke his neck trying to get a welfare fund that (Carilla) <sup>largest city of our land</sup> organized but never got it. New York is still the <sup>He failed</sup> (lovl jounkel). He went over and became the first president of the Hebrew University. <sup>to Palestine</sup>

Magnus was a great orator, and he was the <sup>talented</sup> speaker at that meeting in Carnegie Hall. <sup>An overflow audience was eager to support the vital</sup> Between December 21 and <sup>the drive gained momentum and attained</sup> the first few days in January they worked very hard to get <sup>national prominence with the proclamation</sup> to President Wilson. <sup>issued by</sup>

more effective

<sup>designating</sup> on January 27, 1916, President Wilson proclaimed that that day should be called Jewish Relief Day, and <sup>as</sup> on that one day alone, \$1 million was collected. <sup>Remember</sup> That is in <sup>it happens 46 years ago!</sup> January 1916.

other major fund-raising meetings

<sup>Newspaper-raising methods were developing rapidly.</sup> In 1917 the campaign was organized on the <sup>and quota</sup> a community basis. Now we are getting systematic. <sup>Individual</sup> Every <sup>such cities were asked to raise their share of funds</sup> community gets a goal and quota. There was a nationwide goal of \$10,000,000. <sup>A</sup> A new standard of giving was set that year with a gift from Mr. Julius Rosenwald, whose name <sup>domestic</sup> is familiar to all of you. <sup>He initiated the</sup> Sears Roebuck's massive <sup>auto donation</sup> contribution to Negro universities.

Mr. Rosenwald <sup>always inventive and person</sup> in that year of 1917 set the <sup>my</sup> standard by giving a gift on the <sup>the</sup> \$10 million quota of \$1 million. He expected and hoped that nine million other



dollars would be raised ~~all through the United States.~~

In our modern UJA parlance, that was the first  
pace-setting gift.

Of the \$10 million which ~~was the national goal,~~  
New York <sup>City</sup> State set for itself a \$5 million target. Mr.  
Felix Warburg, Mr. <sup>and I</sup> Edwin Goldwasser, ~~they~~ worked very  
hard on that. They attained the \$5 million in ten days.

<sup>I</sup> Personally, ~~I think~~ <sup>believe</sup> that is the way to raise  
money. These campaigns that drag on for ~~three, and four, and~~  
five <sup>or even</sup> ~~and~~ six months, <sup>they are</sup> ~~I think that is~~ for the birds, if you  
will pardon my slang.

<sup>Certainly, I realize that fund-raising nowadays</sup>  
~~If you are going to do it, you can do it. Or~~  
~~if you are not, you are not.~~ <sup>is more complex than it was</sup>  
<sup>des ago, and still, I would say, that a</sup>  
In 1918 again we had a \$10 million goal.

<sup>well planned, well staffed campaign</sup>  
<sup>and, above all, the ~~secret~~ <sup>secret</sup></sup>  
(Continued on page 19.)

<sup>participation of the lay leader-</sup>  
<sup>ship, could cut campaigning</sup>  
<sup>time to three months and bring</sup>  
<sup>effective results</sup>



*from ill-effects of severe upheavals and hunger.*

b2-1

*Insert I*

Then something else began to develop. ~~Mr. Uris~~ talked about Russia, people began to think in terms of Russia, *the large Jewish settlement there that* ~~after the war~~. During the Civil War in Russia of 1917 to 1920, the Jews of the Ukraine were again badly pogromized. Somewhere between one-quarter of a million to *one-third* three-quarters of a million Jews were killed. *The pogroms* It was spread into Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria.

The JDC paced its form of activities after World War I. *Insert II*

It sent its first overseas unit abroad in 1919 to inaugurate large-scale welfare programs and a network was established in Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria and Palestine.

*The needs were numerous, the needy countries*  
There were Jewish war refugees numbering one and a quarter million people. *in Russia and Austria* There was medical aid that was required due to war deprivation, hunger, crowded conditions, acute malnutrition; more than two million people were involved in a medical support program -- Jews.

*JDC representatives reported that*  
*were placed* In 1919, on child care there were almost 150,000 children registered in JDC homes as war orphans.

*Insert III*

From the vantage point of today we know that the great upheaval of 1941-1919 never died and the overseas relief units that were sent abroad in 1919 have been working



2-2

continuously ever since.

In 1920 there was a Dr. Goldman who was the Director General of the JDC in Europe and he recommended, "The JDC should confine its activities to reconstruction with the aim of permanently rebuilding the lives of the Jews in eastern Europe and new and more substantial economic foundation."

AMERICAN  
Concretely <sup>by Goldman</sup> he suggested -- notice this -- <sup>at least</sup> developing agricultural colonies. The same thing that was <sup>remarkable that</sup> thought of as the solution in Palestine, was the thought, of <sup>of pressing Jewish needs</sup> the solution in Europe. <sup>It was planned to</sup> Developing agricultural colonies, <sup>to open</sup> and trade schools, in order to rebuild the economic life <sup>and to establish credit inside</sup> of the people who were ~~slaughtered~~ <sup>suffered so much during</sup> by World War I. *Indones*

Insert I

Mr. Herbert Lehman was appointed the Chairman of this Reconstruction Committee which was established in 1921 in Europe. Credit Cooperatives were started, <sup>fee free</sup> loan societies were started in order to get people back on <sup>to enable them to</sup> their feet, earning their own living.

Then <sup>a new impressive social enterprise</sup> something started which was called the <sup>It came into being</sup> (AGRO, short for agriculture). That was started in Russia. *Jan*

In 1926 the Jewish population of <sup>the Soviet Union</sup> Russia was <sup>at</sup> estimated to be two and three-quarter million. Most of <sup>They were the same - helpless,</sup> them were declassified, broken, small artisens, petty <sup>the</sup> all of whom were <sup>the</sup> *in charge*



2-3

bourgeois. People who could have no future, no hope under the Communist regime. To help these former merchants, storekeepers, <sup>the</sup> <sup>joint</sup> AGRO was formed to start a large agriculture program. <sup>an American of Russian origin, a pioneer</sup> A fellow by the name of Dr. Joseph Rosen, started this program.

In 1937 after ten years of work, maybe, AGRO - <sup>Joint</sup> jointly had resettled 300,000 Jews on three million acres of the land.

<sup>this was</sup> That is a massive kind of solution.

So, what began <sup>on a</sup> <sup>scale</sup> very small in 1914, that developed over these years into a <sup>a new</sup> way of life here for the American Jewish community. We began to understand that this responsibility was an historic one, <sup>it</sup> that could not be thought of as <sup>a</sup> one year or two year or <sup>project as an</sup> immediate reaction to immediate program or <sup>an</sup> immediate crisis. A historic pattern had to be develop and we did develop it.

I would like to go on to the next point, because we have ~~get to~~ tell the story fast, and I would like to take it <sup>as a point of departure 1939, the year the</sup> starting with the formation of the United Jewish Appeal in 1939. <sup>was formed.</sup>

<sup>passed</sup> Hitler came in 1933. <sup>But let us see what led to it.</sup> The Nuremberg laws came <sup>yet,</sup> were in 1935, <sup>most frightening</sup> as you know. The worst thing, the great thing was what happened on the night of November 10, 1938.



"Crystal night." What a pretty caption!  
But ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> ~~crystal~~ night I am talking  
about shall forever live in our memory  
as a symbol of a cold-blooded brutality.

If you don't know a single solitary word of  
German, you should learn two German words, "Kristall Nacht."

Crystal chandeliers. Glass windows.

~~Nacht - Night~~

On the night of November 9 and 10, 1938, every the  
~~were~~  
synagogues in Germany was burned and looted, and the windows  
were smashed, and the chandeliers symbolically were pulled  
down. The breaking of the glass that night was <sup>one of</sup> the ~~unmistakable~~  
~~signals of what Hitler's New Order had in store~~  
~~beginning of the real reign of terror designed to break and~~  
~~kill German Jewry, and from then ultimately~~ the final  
~~solution~~ <sup>that</sup> would emerge for all European Jewry. [That is a  
polite phrase meaning the physical extermination of all Jews  
so that Europe would be <sup>re</sup> Juden-rein]

~~What touched off the brutalities of~~

You know what happened on November 9 and 10,

because a couple of days earlier, <sup>Two</sup> in Paris on November 7,  
a sort of a crazed demented grief-stricken young Polish  
boy, by the name of Herschel <sup>Herschel</sup> Grynszpan shot and killed the  
third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris, a man  
by the name of <sup>Ernest</sup> von Rott.

As an act of retribution for the murder of that  
man the full weight of the whole Nazi machine was finally  
brought to bear on the German Jewish population. In one  
night of terror, <sup>the Nazi synagogues</sup> they smashed them all and levied a fine of  
one billion gold marks on the German Jewish community which

meaning of the paper here, we would have  
understand that the crystal night was  
the



2-5

was paid, *promptly*.

Some say it was paid within four days.

*was their*  
That is another form of "fund-raising."

On the night of November 10, 1938 the die was cast. That ~~December~~, *in December* ~~A~~ month later, 1938, and I am pretty sure in my own mind although there is no *way* to prove *possible* this, ~~it was~~ under the impact of that enormous event, the three organizations that I spoke about before got together and organized the United Jewish Appeal. ~~I could prove it but it would seem to me quite logical.~~

*Now, let us follow the sequel of events:*

November 10, Kristall ~~nacht~~, December the Jews of America got together, *and in effect said:* "let's put our differences aside if we had any, and let's *us* see what muscle we have to flex *can be done* in order to respond to these overwhelming Jewish needs."

*naturally*  
It was in December of 1938 that this decision took place and 1939 saw the first UJA real campaign.

*I would like to share with you some history*

~~As a matter of fact, it was~~ *about* January 11, 1939.

*about*  
(That is 22 years ago) that the New York Times carried the

*news* story, that Mr. Edward Warburg, who is sitting here in the room, sent a telegram to Mr. Abraham Landsau, who was presiding at the testimonial dinner for the late Sidney Hillman, the labor leader, announcing to him, ~~to be announced at that dinner,~~ that the UJA had been formed.



2-6

Two days later on January 13, a news release was saying, "Major American agencies unite in unprecedented campaign to aid refugees and victims of oppression in central and eastern Europe."

The goal for that first year's campaign of 1939 was set at twenty million dollars.

It was a fateful year. ~~It was also the year in which World War II started in September.~~

*Intensified* Migration of Jews from Germany seeking to escape had been taking place during 1935, 1936, 1937, <sup>and</sup> although I must say here now, and all of us must understand this, *That* more of <sup>them</sup> ~~them~~ could have saved their lives if they had left earlier. It is a Jewish tragedy that in every country, and under every circumstances where this occurs, people always wait too late.

I once received a letter when I was in Germany after World War II working in the DP <sup>camp</sup> period from a man who wrote a most awesome plea: "My family was killed, I am here alone on this bloody German soil, I am living in a DP camp; life is <sup>hell is here</sup> for animals, it is miserable. You have got to get us out, you have got to get me to Palestine. But I have a few things to do before I am ready to leave so will you ~~save~~ give a place for me on the last ship."



2-7

This was written to me. I threw the letter on the <sup>desk</sup> table and I said, "Gentlemen, when is the last ship? Somebody write a letter to this man and tell him, when is the last ship."

~~Maybe the last ship has already sailed from Algeria for all we know today.~~

Nobody <sup>leaves</sup> knows ever when the last ship goes and we lose countless tens of thousands of people because they don't understand our own history. We lost many <sup>lives</sup> unnecessarily in German <sup>books to the words in time</sup> because they didn't understand that, but many, many did understand it. I would like you to know what the migration figures were. By the end of 1939 <sup>Jews from Germany</sup> 430,000 German <sup>had left their native lands</sup> Jews had gotten out. This is out of a total of something like 700,000. The rest <sup>perished</sup> went down the drain.

It is very interesting to see where they went. ~~Don't bother to write this down but just as you think of the countries, think of the figures.~~ I will give you first European places to which they went. The largest country of first refuge was England. 40,000 went to England. This was by the end of 1939. From September to December, there was very little movement because the war already started. ~~It is really the first nine months and the year before that, maybe.~~ England 40,000, France 38,000,



2-8

Netherlands, thirty, Belgium, 30,000, Switzerland, eight;  
Denmark, three, Portugal, one.

United States 90,000. Palestine, 60,000.  
Shanghai, 18,000; South and Central America, 84,000;  
Canada, Australia, New Zealand, British Commonwealth  
countries, 30,000.

*was an example of*  
Shanghai, for instance, how desperately Jews  
*for a haven*  
were looking to live. The majority who came to Shanghai  
between September 1938 and September 1939 were Austrian  
*from*  
Jews and some few Germans and Polish *had*

*release*  
Many of you met, I think -- many of you who came  
on the Young Leadership trip met a fellow by the name of  
*after World War II he was stationed*  
Charles Jordan. He used to be situated in Shanghai,  
*where was reduced to*  
caring for this group of 15,000 to 20,000 people.

*As mentioned before,*  
in 1939, the first campaign of the United Jewish  
Appeal, *conducted its*

*In that year UJA*  
The goal was to try to collect 15 million  
*It is interesting to note that*  
dollars. The three separate organizations, the year before,  
when they were campaigning separately raised seven million  
*As you can see, the unified effort*  
dollars. They were trying to double it. *the amount raised*

I am trying to skip things here in order not to  
bore you.

As one of the interesting items that I have got







I would like, if I may, to digress for a while, and to share with you thoughts that never leave me, ideas that have guided me in my work for the past 15 years. 28

2-10

some few.

This phrase that I just used, "to get people out," is the keynote <sup>idea</sup> phrase that I would like to <sup>convey</sup> try to give to you <sup>today</sup> as my own personal philosophy, <sup>because it sums up surely</sup> and there will be some who agree with it and there will be <sup>others</sup> some who disagree with it.

I would like to give it to you as my own personal philosophy, <sup>because I</sup> in regard to it <sup>as a lasting, historically suggested</sup> being the solution of the Jewish problem.

What I am saying <sup>is this:</sup> very simply is that when things get bad, and history deals us some <sup>blows</sup> blue in some country under some circumstances, while we should and have done <sup>that reverse with an unmitigated</sup> everything that we can possibly do to get inside <sup>the streets</sup> a place where there is <sup>the</sup> pain and anguish <sup>of our people</sup> and need which must be <sup>then</sup> alleviated, <sup>we must conclude that</sup> nevertheless the ultimate, the final, the definitive solution for a problem is to get the people out of the situation in which they find life to be untenable. <sup>Knowing the fact as I, and of us do, can we maintain that</sup>

If there are two ways of looking at this, namely, bringing relief <sup>to</sup> in or get the people out, it seems to me that <sup>reluctantly</sup> an historic point of view, I always held the conclusion that any migration or migration, migration is the solution to the Jewish problem, <sup>because conditions</sup> when it <sup>are</sup> gets that bad.

Let me assure you, that whenever and wherever it is possible give aid to the best of your ability.



If you followed my reasoning carefully, as I am sure you did, you understood that the answer itself is not in our hands.

conclusion <sup>29</sup>

2-11

Especially so, because people who dwell in safety "shall not play with the decisions of people who live in danger."

I know there are those who attack this because they say "Jews should not run from one place to another. Jews should not always be on the run. Jews should not always feel that when they get into trouble somewhere, the only way they can solve that trouble is by running away."

There is an unfair formulation. It isn't a question of running away from something that you like. It is a question of trying to decide what the most effective lifesaving procedure is. Can you save more life by curing trachoma of children inside Morocco, or can you save more life by taking these children out of Morocco and resettling elsewhere, whether it is in Norway as some Moroccan Jewish children have been resettled or whether it is in Israel.

But, please understand, that recent events do not leave room for alternative answers. History narrows our choice to one solution - migration. It seems to me this process of migration is the effective way that we have developed over Jewish history, over many a century, to meet the problems which are perennially the same.

Jews lived in Babylonia for a long time. When life in Babylonia became untenable, (if you were to look at Jewish history you would see the pendulum swinging where in the year 1000 the center of Jewish life was in Babylonia, and one year later, the center of Jewish life was in



2-11

Spain.

The center of Jewish life remained in Spain from the year 1000 to 1500 or 1492. Then it shifted (from 1500 to 1900) to Poland and Russia. This was accomplished by huge migration of the Jewish people wandering across the <sup>continent</sup> face of Europe.

The negative concept part of the concept is the wandering Jew. The positive part of the concept <sup>is</sup> the way it is administered, <sup>It was</sup> is not the wandering Jew running stick in hand, no one helping him, everyone beating him; the <sup>Now it is</sup> migrating Jew assisted to migrate, <sup>There is</sup> in a firm policy decision <sup>see and know</sup> by his co-religionists who decide that this is the best way to solve the problem, and in a very precise and farsighted way, one arranges destiny in that fashion.

I am sorry for that personal interruption, <sup>their</sup> <sup>of events. However</sup> <sup>often</sup> <sup>S.S.</sup> <sup>carrying</sup> <sup>to safety</sup> <sup>held</sup> <sup>cc</sup>  
<sup>Perhaps</sup> it is not chronological in the recital, except that every time I think of episodes such as the Seruma, where people were trying to migrate, and there were no doors open and they sank, <sup>perished</sup> <sup>I believe you should know and remember</sup> <sup>to story of St. men.</sup> <sup>held</sup> <sup>cc</sup>  
~~If you don't know that story you should all know it. It is about a ship by the way which was carrying about 800 Rumanian Jews in 1941 trying to get off the continent of Europe away from Hitler. Flying under the~~  
<sup>passengers</sup> <sup>who tried to run</sup>



2-12

*reach* Panamanian flag, *They got to Turkey. Turkey wouldn't*  
*struck a mine and* let them land. The ship sank in the harbor. *It happened on*  
*February 25, 1942*

Our job is to get doors open and to keep them  
open and to use migration as an instrument *guarantee of*  
Jewish survival.

That became the determining policy after World  
War II ended. During the *years of the war* 1941 to 1945, we  
were not raising too much money. We did what we could.  
It was a period in which *of the* our own faith and destiny were  
not in our hands. Other people were controlling us and  
we were puppets. *subjects of their* We were powerless conscious-stricken  
*destructive will. The JDC and the Jewish Agency*  
but puppets. People worked as hard as they knew how in  
those years. *But* *progress* We made very little incidents in these years  
of saving the Jewish people.

In 1945 *the door opened.* The war was over. The  
opportunity was here. Now, if anything could be done to  
have free control over our own destinies, *was the same* it was in our  
hands to determine what we wanted to do. *grief-stricken,*

We took stock of the losses. *in pain and in sorrow we concluded* There is a very  
careful statistician who says that the exact number of  
Jewish losses, *that* *of us died* we use six million as a round figure, was  
5,814,000.

I have no way of knowing whether you can pinpoint



*Think only what it meant to us!*

2-13

~~it accurately. There are people perhaps that do. In rough figures you say six million people, and you are talking about 16 million Jews who were alive before that, and ten million, who were alive after that.~~

*The word when war started only at war's end*  
Of the ten million who were alive after that, ~~and a~~ five, half of us were here, in this country.

Our task from 1945 onward became a task of trying to pick up the remnants. *In the first place time Spring of 1945, we*  
~~Found alive on German soil, not all German Jews,~~

~~Polish Jews, Russian Jews, -- found alive on German soil in 1945 were 85,000 Jews;~~ *Some they came from every country of the continent, but mostly from the East*

Those were the ones we began to be concerned about. Those were the ones who formed the nucleus <sup>of</sup> which came to be called the DP population. Displaced persons.

They were displaced because they could not go back to their <sup>natives lands</sup> countries from which they came; they didn't want to <sup>go back,</sup> and they had no other countries to which they could <sup>go to</sup> go forward.

There were not many doors open. Not United States, <sup>to the</sup> and not even ~~to~~ Palestine.

In those days it required certificates <sup>one needed</sup> to get into Palestine which was issued by the British government. *with*  
*The entry into Palestine was regulated by*  
They issued a white paper. They said, "We will allow <sup>immigrants</sup> only certificated refugees to come in." The number of



2-14

*Came*

certificates they were willing to issue was 1500 per month.

How <sup>on earth</sup> the hell do you handle a problem of this magnitude with 1500 certificates per month?

Europe was devastated. <sup>P</sup> In Poland a new pogrom took place after the war. I was in Poland on the 4th of

July 1946. I was in a town called Kielce <sup>(Kielce where)</sup> 42 Jews were killed. <sup>This was the first post-war occurrence of the post-war</sup> A year and two months after the war was over the remnant of Polish Jewry, perhaps 250,000 <sup>counted at close of hostilities</sup> (out of the

<sup>pre-war</sup> three and a quarter million) was again terrorized by a series of pogroms which started on that day, on the

4th of July, and which left the entire community in such

<sup>state of</sup> shock, because of the <sup>It was</sup> unbelievable fact that a year and two months after Hitler <sup>'s</sup> death this could happen again.

<sup>The shock was provoked not by the number of people killed</sup> You say it was only 42 people. Yet I am convinced if it

had been four <sup>person</sup> people, Polish Jewry would have reacted with the trigger-like <sup>speed</sup> reaction that it did; because of the fantastic incredibility of this, <sup>the pogrom, because of</sup> the almost nightmarish-like quality of the repetition beginning again. <sup>of ugly things that</sup>

<sup>belong to the past</sup> The church in Poland was notoriously inhospitable and unhelpful <sup>in the early stages</sup> at the beginning. (I tell this

from personal knowledge). In July, I think it was the 5th or 6th, a day or two after that, <sup>Kielce</sup> we went to see the

*It is the last pogrom. The last pogrom. The impact of*



*representative of the Church*  
 Cardinal, ~~the ranking Cardinal in Poland, a man by the~~  
~~name of Glon, who said the Jews had brought this pogrom~~  
~~upon themselves because they have turned the beloved~~  
~~country Communistic and the population is paying them back~~  
~~for what they have done.~~

*He maintained*  
~~The American Ambassador, a man by the name of~~  
~~Mr. Lane, he was equally hospitable. He was sitting in a~~  
~~room with a foot up on the hassack, all swollen with~~  
~~gout. He was in pain and that accounted for part of his~~  
~~problem.~~

He said, "What do you want us to do about it?  
 This is a country where there is a lot of brigandige  
 going on on the streets and roads." That is a fine excuse  
 for irresponsibility.

*True,* *frequent in Poland*  
 There were daily shootings. There was  
 terrorisation, beatings, more killings and *a* very simple  
 thing resulted. *Jews took to the roads*  
 A huge flow started out of Poland west-  
 ward into Germany and Austria. What the people wanted to  
 do was get into a place where they would be under the  
*as you know in*  
 American flag, and under German and Austrian soil there were  
 American camps to which they could go. *PP* The DP population  
 swelled to a quarter of a million Jews who were in camps *lined*  
*Austria and Italy.*  
 on German soil, and they came in to Germany, from Poland,



[I would like to object a little, but a pertinent remark.  
The DPs were not helplessly left alone. We in America  
became more sensitive and more responsive to the Jewish <sup>35</sup>  
needs abroad]

from Rumania, Hungary, Russia. A quarter of a million  
people packing into the camps. <sup>UJA</sup> The campaigns of 1946, <sup>and</sup>  
1947, they were massive campaigns. <sup>graciously successful</sup> It went way over the  
one hundred million dollar level. <sup>The Jewish community gave feelingly, quite</sup>

<sup>You recall, I am sure, was in</sup> Don't forget, 1939 I was saying to you the  
<sup>UJA</sup> campaign was trying to raise fifteen million dollars. In  
1945 after the war, the campaign was talking about raising <sup>aimed to</sup>  
one hundred million dollars, and in 1946 it was achieved.  
<sup>The exact figure was</sup> One hundred two million dollars was raised.

<sup>In a slangish-kind of expression, we may say</sup>  
In 1947 I think one hundred fifteen or twenty  
<sup>that UJA income went over the 100 million mark</sup> million, I am not sure.

<sup>was</sup> Before the establishment of the State of Israel.  
<sup>It is my considered opinion that</sup> Remember that. This was a reaction based on horror and  
shock of what had happened in the Hitler period and <sup>it evoked</sup>  
~~based, I am sure, so far as I can feel it, again maybe this is~~  
~~subjective, based upon an enormous overpowering crushing~~  
feeling on the part of the Jews in America, that they had  
done nothing <sup>little</sup> during the <sup>period of extermination</sup> murder. But now <sup>us</sup> that there was  
a chance for them to do something and to help, <sup>things changed. Now</sup> they wanted <sup>was exactly what</sup>  
to, <sup>do. but</sup> some people <sup>bring a fuller message of</sup> say very cruelly, the campaigns of 1946  
and 1947 really represent <sup>of</sup> conscious money.

I think that is too cruel and too cold and too  
cynical and too harsh. There is no doubt <sup>whatsoever</sup> that the generous

were saying that in reality



giving was brought out by the freshness of the European tragedy. Five six million of us who perished left us with <sup>an enormous</sup> stinging wound that we commonly shared. The pain united us and pruned us into constructive compassion.

conscience hurt in 1946 and 1947.

Let us continue with the main topic  
We moved in those years <sup>embarrassed</sup> on the illegal method. <sup>merit</sup>

The illegal method.

Jews out of those camps -- and I am trying to get the figures for you now -- about 40,000 people. This was in an illegal movement. Here it is right here.

Between November 1945 and July 1947 ships owned or chartered by the Jewish Agency which I will explain in a moment and manned by Hagannah members, and I assure I don't have to explain that, brought to Palestine almost forty thousand non-certificated illegal immigrants.

~~These ships made 37 voyages.~~  
There were 37 voyages. The total number of

people, 39,804 migrants.

<sup>Aliyah Bet</sup>  
This illegal immigration, of course, brought

the British Navy back into full strength and the British Navy patrolled the Mediterranean and most of these

~~37 ships~~ <sup>then</sup> were caught. Let's have no illusion about that.

<sup>early stage of the illegal immigration</sup>  
At the beginning when these ships were caught,

the British still let the people disembark into Palestine.

In 1946 British <sup>the non-certificated</sup>  
Later they decided to put them on the Island

of Cyprus as a detention camp. There <sup>some</sup> were fifty thousand people on Cyprus.

Later they didn't want to send them to Cyprus

When that failed, the British decided to

Surviving this 21 months - long period

The desire to leave camps was so strong that even the detention camps did not deter our people.

The migration delayed by vessels



This brings us to the famous episode - "Exodus" 37

and they said, "Back to Germany from whence you are coming."

There is actually a case, the famous case of the actual book Exodus, not Leon's ship, where he has got a children's ship sailing from Cyprus, the actual ship Exodus was <sup>in fact an unseaworthy</sup> a Chesapeake Bay ferry boat by the name of the Wharf Eagle. <sup>It barely made the port of</sup> It picked up people in Marseilles, <sup>where</sup> ~~where~~ <sup>illegals</sup> They didn't even want to send them back to Cyprus. They <sup>The British caught it.</sup> send them back to Bergenbelt to try to break the spirit <sup>Aliyah Bet, they still Exodus back to Germany</sup> of this illegal migration. That was in July of 1947. <sup>It happened</sup>

On November 29, 1947 the United Nations voted the partition of Palestine <sup>six-and-a-half-months later</sup> thing and then the fight started and the war and, in May 14 of 1948, Israel became independent and again the war. <sup>and found itself at</sup> <sup>with the Arab neighbors</sup> <sup>the impact free Israel</sup>

I should like you to know very simply that from <sup>had upon</sup> <sup>migration</sup> <sup>in</sup> May 15, 1948 to December 31, 1948, <sup>entered</sup> seven and a half months, one hundred and one thousand free Jews migrated into

Israel. One hundred and one thousand people in seven and a half months. <sup>With</sup> <sup>obstacles removed</sup> Once the political opportunity was unblocked and once there began <sup>with</sup> <sup>migration</sup> to be enough money to handle it, <sup>Israel</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>flooded</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>new-arrivals</sup>. Let me just mention <sup>that</sup> because the campaign of 1948 was the greatest campaign <sup>that</sup> we ever <sup>had</sup> <sup>we</sup> <sup>did</sup> that raised one hundred and fifty million <sup>What a lump!</sup> <sup>collected</sup> dollars. From <sup>In</sup> 1939 when we are talking about fifteen <sup>as much</sup> million. 1948 ten times that amount. That was <sup>people</sup> the

I would just give you one last figure. One hundred

and sailed for Palestine

to get this



IP never closed its

~~one thousand Jews entered into Israel in those first~~ *dist.*  
~~seven and a half months.~~ In the first thirteen years  
of the establishment of the State, now, from May 1948 until  
July 1961, ~~thirteen years,~~ one million immigrants have  
*settled*  
come into Israel. One million Jews saved by the "system  
of migration," and that is why I am a very great believer  
in it. From a very raw elemental, ~~simple,~~ practical  
point of view, ~~that is how you save people.~~ *the way of*

When we talk about saving people, we talk about  
transporting them, and moving them, and getting them out of oppression  
and getting them in. *to freedom.*

*usually answer,* By the way, if anybody asks me what does UJA  
*when*  
stand for, I say: it represents *UJA stands for aiding people, for*  
~~rescuing people in this~~  
~~out -- in process and building the land of Israel, to so as to~~  
*for*  
enable it to receive them. *up* We build the land of America,  
~~or we build the land of Canada, or any other land we live~~  
~~in as citizens of that country.~~ We build these countries,  
*free*  
(which are also receiving countries for Jewish migrants)  
by our general labor, *to raise up our countries*  
~~as citizens of these countries to~~  
whose strength, and growth and economic future we add by  
the living out of our daily lives, without giving an  
extra time.

We pay our taxes, We make our money. We conduct



So, as you see, our task can be and must be stated in the simplest way possible. We don't need embellishments. As Synthesis knows definitions

When the cause is right, its description about Jews and Synthesis

our business, we are patriotic citizens, we build America stronger by being Americans.

So we help America to be a receiving country for migrants by our action as Americans.

We help Israel be a receiving country, ~~for migrants~~ as our actions as Jews. Not Israelis, but as Jews. The two things that the UJA is all about, you rescue people and you build a country which can receive these people.

I think that the simplest of all the explanation of what this campaign is always about, and it is always the same. It doesn't change. It has not changed since 1914. It has not changed since 1939. It won't change in 1970 or 1980. The next point that I would like to come to is point No. 4, migration.

Operating on this theory of migration and using the phrase, as I did, 1960, 1970, 1980, what am I talking about?

I would like to try to throw a look into the future. Talking in terms of trying to solve the Jewish problem of the future, we have got to know where that problem exists. Where are the reservoirs of Jewish migration, where are Jews living in places in which we might



*Jews find themselves so*  
*deeply* that  
legitimately say that they are in trouble and the only *possible*  
*way to solve* solution to their trouble will be to help them *to* migrate.

I would like you to know these figures. These  
*outline the geography and*  
*approximate*  
~~maybe you better write it down.~~ This is our future  
work.

*divide*  
I will give them *to* you in two areas. Eastern  
Europe and the Moslem countries.

Rumania 225,000.

Hungary 100,000.

Poland 30,000.

Czechoslovakia 18,000.

Bulgaria 7,000.

*gives us of*  
A total of that is 380,000 in Europe

Moslem countries.

Morocco, 180,000.

Algeria 130,000.

Tunisia 62,000.

A total of 372,000. Add 380,000 + 372,000 and it is *752,000*

*Now, the*

752,000

Good friends, we are talking about three-quarter  
*geographic*  
of a million Jews. Three-quarter of a million in two blocks.  
*they* who are the potential future *migrants* reservoir for whose rescue  
we are responsible.



*conscientiously*

*responsibility*

That is a very strong statement and I have got to saddle us with it. You have <sup>must</sup> got to accept it because if you accept it you will do it; it is exactly this which is the burden <sup>placed upon</sup> upon you for the next-what <sup>will be your</sup> shall we say, <sup>do</sup> five years, ten years, twelve years -- I don't know <sup>for how long</sup> I know we have taken a million people in the first thirteen years. If the future reservoir is 750,000 people in these eight countries, and if we were to get every single one <sup>of</sup> of them out, the entire burden would be only three-quarters of that which we have already finished. We have done the first million. There are only three-quarters of a million to go.

Therefore, it certainly isn't a horrendous burden, it is not an inconceivable one nor is it an endless one. It has its limitations. <sup>brought out</sup> I throw it down as a challenge because that really is the challenge to your generation. The challenge of understanding the concept that if you accept this as the way to solve the Jewish problem, and here is the size of the problem to be solved.

*detailed analysis of individual*  
I don't think there is much point in going into conditions in each one of those countries. <sup>each</sup> Each one of them would deserve a lengthy



*Survey*  
analysis of what the condition of Jewish life was like. *is there*

Let me simply tell you what we are doing, not what life is like there.

In spite of my constant stress on migration as the only solution to the problem, that is not the only thing we do about the problem. We try to give relief inside these countries at the same time that we try to get people out.

As far as the Communist bloc is concerned, we are talking in the absolute intimacy of this room. Nobody will get the transcript of what I say except myself. You will not talk to newspaper people and that is all I care about. Tell this to every other Jew you want but not a word to newspaper people. That is the great fear we have.

Here is what we are doing. We have a program called Relief in Transit which is a program of bringing relief inside the iron countries to people who need it. It is a program that involves cash, food parcels, medicine, any one of a number of things.

Politically it is dynamite to talk about this and we don't talk about it. I wanted you to know about it.

We spend -- hold your breath -- five million



dollars a year on this. It is a very large amount of total amount of money we have at our disposal. Yet there is nothing more important. Not only because of the material relief involved but because of the morale fact that the people in those countries know we have not forgotten them.

That it is almost as important as the food parcel or the penicillin. Let them never have the feeling that they are cut off the way Uris talked about.

So for morale value and material aid we have committed five million dollars to this.

That is what we do in trying to help inside.

As far as the migration is concerned, there is no migration at all from Hungary, not a one. There is no migration at all from Czechoslovakia, not a one. Poland is practically done. There is still some but it is down to a trickle. It seems to me that we are almost through there. You can say what will happen to the 30,000 Jews who will be left there. I think they will remain there. I think they are -- they consist of either very old people who are too tired to move, too afraid to move, they will die there. There is another fairly sizable chunk of several thousand people who are inter-



a moment ago. I referred to these countries, divided into two geographic areas, as reservoirs of Jewish migration. Why? Let us analyze, in which you can see source.

I would like to state briefly that our beneficiary agencies provide extensive welfare aid in countries where we are permitted to operate. 44

married and afraid to bring their non-Jewish wives to Israel. I am sorry that is a fact. I think it is Israel's fault.

I think some of the non-Jewish wives of the Polish refugees of two or three years ago were badly received and word of that got back to Poland. That is unfortunate. Fortunate or not, that is the facts of life and you have to live with it.

So I think several thousand will not move for that reason. Then there are several thousand who are dedicated and devoted members of the Communist Party and won't leave Poland for that reason. By several thousands, I mean fathers of the families. If you have several thousand fathers of families, that accounts for 30,000 people. I think, therefore, that movement from Poland has come to an end. Hungary is closed. Czechoslovakia closed. Poland practically finished. Bulgaria the last seven thousand in my judgment will not move.

*I would like to stress that migration*  
I don't think we have a problem of 750,000 people. I said that is a theoretical potential reservoir. They <sup>Jews in these areas - some</sup> All won't move. They will solve their <sub>will not</sub> problem by remaining where they are. If they want to stay, <sup>they will</sup> let them stay.



Therefore, the one big country from which there is a great movement now is Rumania.

I want to tell you that Jews are coming out of Rumania roughly two thousand five hundred a month. I am telling you in all the intimacy of this room. Repeating this, there is not to be a written word, not a printed word. Nothing that you should ever talk about in a situation where there might be a reporter from a newspaper present.

Let me explain it very basically. Any stories that will appear in print about this movement will have one single result, they will stop the movement.

There isn't any sense arguing about it. No sense in saying it is unfair, it is foolish. Forget it. That is the deal. Don't beat your head against the wall. Publicity will cause the movement to stop.

You take it on your hands if you want to be responsible for that. I am telling you this. You treat it with the full knowledge that it is classified material. It is to be repeated exactly. That is all. To those who you know, that is all.

Two thousand five hundred persons a month is what we are getting now from Rumania. It is an incredibly



(2) Hungary holds 100,000 Jews, - a second largest Jew in concentration among satellite countries. At the present, the outlook for a more liberal policy is gloom. In all other respects, the Jewish position in Hungary resembles that of Rumania, or, perhaps, a bit more straitened.

We may reasonably expect a more liberal attitude toward Jewish migration. We may hope that many of our fellow-Jews who have difficulties in adjusting themselves to the social conditions of Rumania, a very expensive thing. It is a very difficult thing. It is a complicated movement because we don't know how many people are coming out any given day. That is why we took the mission to Vienna. Vienna was the transit point. We were not running anywhere near that figure in June when we were there. It is now November. It has mounted to that. I don't think it will go higher.

I think it will stabilize like that.

If we have good luck and no talk, it may continue that way for a long time because while the door has opened and closed in Rumania four separate times, some of the times when it has been opened we have gotten as many as a hundred thousand people out before they close it again.

Let us begin with Rumania. The pre-Hitler population in Rumania, just so that you know, was over eight hundred thousand. <sup>It is</sup> We are now talking about being down to the last 225,000. <sup>reduced to</sup>

If history will be good to us and if we have no bad breaks, and if this thing will go on, and if we can continue the pace of raising the money, I personally would hope that we would be able to get down to the bottom of that barrel as many as they want to get out.

Try as hard as we can to get relief for them

Have just relatives moved, with 6 or 7 able to leave.



*Except for Poland*  
inside. *By comparison we are a program*  
*more can return. But we*  
*hope, that 47*  
*day wrong*  
to *in an orderly effective way*  
can  
to do when we get them outside. Put them in new houses  
in Israel, Some few in Canada, South America. Re-  
establish them as free people again.

That is as far as the eastern European bloc  
*In regard to*  
is concerned. As far as the North African bloc is  
concerned, let me give you these figures.

I am telling you all the secrets. Movement  
~~from Morocco up to now has been illegal.~~ Morocco  
*politically,*  
throughout the French joined the Arab League. It went  
"all the way." Cut off postal communications with Israel.  
Cut off telegraph and telephone *services* communication so that  
Jews who had migrated from Morocco to Israel and families  
that were separated now, they were separated without any  
form of communication whatsoever and no immigration was *not*  
allowed out. This was the situation *held* for approximately  
three years.

Approximately a year ago, thirteen months ago,  
an illegal movement was set up out of Morocco because  
if Jews can't get out legally they are going to get out  
illegally, because the pressure is strong. It is strong  
enough to cause them to go through all kinds of hell and  
hardship. Many of you remember the sinking of a small



ship in the Mediterranean in January, ten months ago.

How many people remember it? 42 people on board. There were 42 Jews who were trying to escape from Morocco illegally and the ship sank, and they paid the price with their own lives.

I found out the story subsequently of why every single person went down. I was on that little ship myself, not when it went down, although three crew members were saved. I was on her in Gibraltar in October, thirteen months ago.

I tried to find out why every single person went down, why there wasn't one, two, three or four survivors. The reason was there were five men on board among the 42 people. These were five families. Average number of persons eight. Average number of children, seven, six. One father trying to get and save a wife and six babies, saved nobody, not himself either. 26 or 27 bodies were recovered the following noon by British destroyer that picked them up. I think the interesting thing for you to know is that the ship went down at 3:00 o'clock in the morning. It was known on the radio at 6:00 in the morning. At 9:00 in the morning the next fifty people who were supposed to be at the rendezvous



point to go on the next day's ship were at the rendezvous point knowing that a ship had sunk during the night, hoping there would be another one.

It is fantastic manifestation of how strong the urge is to get out.

At this illegal pace for the past year we have been managing to move 700, 900, get up to one thousand people a month.

Now something new is happening. This is what is so great as an opportunity and so awfully obsessively overwhelming as a responsibility to try to raise the money to achieve it, the opportunity now is that we will be able to get Jews out of Morocco legally, It could run to three thousand, four thousand, five thousand per month. That is the opportunity and the awesome responsibility is where the hell do we get the money to do it. We are now talking about a lot of people.

A lot of people.

(Continued on next page.)



We are talking about 2,500 Rumanians, pick a figure. 3,500 go on the down side, 3,500 Moroccans; 4,000 Moroccans.

Next you come to Algerians.

I hope you are all intimately aware of what is happening in Algeria. If you are not, you are going to be in for a shock three months from now or six months from now.

As the situation is crumbling in Alberia and as the fighting gets worse between the French and Moroccans -- the French and the Moslems in Algeria, it is coming to the point where the climax will be reached in which the 130,000 Jewish population is going to have quite a special problem, different from the Moslems and different from the French, both of whose destinies are going to be violently altered by the explosion which will take place in a matter of months, but, of all the destinies that will be changed, Jewish destiny will be changed the most. The reason for it is that the Jews are like the unlucky one who is caught in the middle between the two conflicting forces. The French are pressing on the Jews and saying "You are Europeans, you stick with us." The Moslems are pressing on them, the F.L.N. The Algerians saying, "You are underdogs, you are underprivileged. You always should



stick with the minority. You know that your fate is with us. If you don't go with us when we get our independence, and we will, we will cut your throat."

This is no guesswork by the way. This is no guesswork because the knives are out and the street fighting has taken place since the second day of Rosh Hashanah. These are facts that you should know.

Since September to now and November, there have been many, many casualties running up almost to a score of people, Jews killed. They were killed as Jews. Knives and guns, literally -- there is a small Jewish self-defense corps that is being organized, that has been armed, and if you read nothing more than the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, you learn:

"Paris, Nov. 9 (JTA) -- Anxiety again gripped the Algerian Jewish community today when 60-year-old Camille Levy was shot to death by three unidentified terrorists.

"Today's killing followed the murders this week of David Zemati, president of the Jewish community of Setif, Algeria, and Dr. Joseph Cohen, a well-known Algiers physician.

"Algerian police said today they could not determine whether the terrorists who killed Mr. Levy were



members of the Algerian FLN rebel organization or of the OAS, the French European underground group."

They are getting it from both sides. The rabbi of the community had a hand grenade thrown at him. People going to shul on Yom Kippur, there have been 15 or 20 incidents in this now open anti-Jewish -- this is not just individuals caught in cross-fire by action on the street. I am telling you this with all solemnity. There is physical danger present today in Algeria for 130,000 Jews.

Altogether, too many of them are waiting for the last ship. It will do no good to cry tears for them when it is too late. I think in the great way it is already too late.

We will get some time in 1962 a gush of a flow, 10,000, 20,000 at once. Either to France or to Israel when the axe comes down. That will be the first spurt of the artery when it is cut. Then it may normalize itself or grow more chaotic, I don't know. I can't give you a figure per month on a regular systematic orderly basis of what a migration might be from Algeria; I don't know. I can only tell you that in the month of October, which just closed, there were 500 people from Algeria. In



the month of September before that, there were 1,000 people. In the month of August before that there were 700 people from Algeria.

That is Morocco and Algeria and Tunisia.

I don't want to take a lot of time to talk about it. You remember the fighting that took place in (Bersiti). The Jewish population of Tunisia which was resting for two or three years now believe a turn for the worse has been taken in its status, and the talk in Tunisia is leave, leave, leave.

The talk on the part of Mr. Bourguiba's government which up to now has been free, friendly, democratic and pro-Western, now ironically is turning to pro-Arab League and anti-Western. You know the speeches that Bourguiba has been making against Israel. So that at the time when the Jews could have left under Bourguiba's pro-Western orientation they didn't. Now they feel the time is coming to an end and they just must, Bourguiba is turning pro-Arab, and they might not be able to; it will be another ironic twist of fate, and they will get caught. They know it. This is not an analysis which I made for them and they are blind. No. This is made by me from a Tunisian Jew. Nevertheless, there is no



A month ago, I refused to make any prediction in regard to the size of future immigration from the areas discussed above. I pressed hard, I would venture a guess that

movement.

I have a hunch we will get a gush from Tunisia in 1962.

Under this point, point 4 of migration, what I really tried to do is give you the historic events as they are occurring, and I want you to know, these are the facts of the 1962 campaign at the same time. These are not just historic things.

Now I would like, <sup>if I may,</sup> to go to point 5, <sup>move the next,</sup>

Point 5 is about Russia.

I have never made a speech in public about Russian Jews, never. ~~This is going to be the first one.~~

I think that the three-quarter of the million people that I spoke to you about, under this item of migration will <sup>in fact,</sup> never materialize. We will never move all these three-quarter of a million people. There will be a residue left in Morocco. There will be a residue left in a <sup>a Warsaw bank</sup> Rumania. <sup>European country</sup>

← ~~My hunch will be of the three-quarters of a million people we are talking about, 500,000 people who we may move as the ultimate solution of their problem.~~ <sup>persons</sup> <sup>some</sup> <sup>may be</sup> <sup>considered as the potential migration reserves</sup>

That is if we have the political freedom to do so.

You will notice, I have not said anything about



Russian Jews. I have kept that for a separate point, <sup>it as</sup> <sup>issue</sup>

I have never permitted myself to talk <sup>publicly</sup> about

Russian Jews before because it is a very sensitive subject.

I <sup>often</sup> don't always find the opportunity such as this where it <sup>gathering</sup>

is closed and quiet, where I don't have to worry about

press.

<sup>travel much and frequently address meetings on behalf of USA. But rarely I do</sup>  
I don't always or very often stand in front of <sup>to them</sup>

people to whom I am talking about something for ten years

<sup>a distant</sup> in the future, not tomorrow. Most of the time that I talk

or have to talk I talk about <sup>the immediate task at hand</sup> let's raise more money in at

this meeting, tonight. <sup>"</sup> <sup>(us)</sup>

<sup>friends,</sup> With you, people I can talk about a five-year, and <sup>outside</sup> <sup>will not be</sup> a ten-year look and 15-year look, and you don't get scared.

So I want to talk about the Jews of Russia with

you people. <sup>It is believed that</sup> <sup>in the Soviet Union</sup>

I think there are 3 million Jews there. It is anybody's guess, but that is a close enough figure.

The 3 million Jews are in great danger. They

have lived under the Communist regime for 43 years. The <sup>Bolshevik</sup> <sup>assimilation, which</sup>

basic policy for 43 years has been to try to break their <sup>The aim of the post-war assimilation is to eradicate Jewishness</sup> backs spiritually, religiously, culturally, languagewise, <sup>and linguistically</sup>

<sup>Lately, the</sup> physical terror -- any way that you want to mention it. <sup>of the Soviet Union</sup>

This Jewish population has been under the most severe

in various periods of Communist rule there was other state sponsored, sponsored or forced



harassment because, <sup>in spite of</sup> <sup>claims</sup> as far as the official policy of the regime <sup>that</sup> is concerned there is no discrimination <sup>against Jews</sup> in the Soviet Union; and as far as the facts of life are concerned, <sup>Russia but</sup> <sup>the Jewish</sup> this population of Jews has never been free for one hour of these 43 years. It has never been free in any real sense of the word.

<sup>To be sure, during</sup> <sup>of Communist regimes</sup> <sup>care have been</sup>  
 The time of these four decades has seen many fluctuations. There have been periods of relative quiet and <sup>mild tolerance as well as</sup>. There have been periods of awful terror. Do you remember 1953 with the <sup>direct</sup> Doctors' plot? Do you remember that? Nine doctors, six of whom were Jewish, were accused of poisoning high <sup>officials</sup> <sup>Soviet State and</sup> leaders of the Communist Party, of poisoning Stalin. <sup>arrested</sup> Hundreds of Jewish writers were taken, and <sup>or</sup> deported and shot and killed. Jewish writers. Not just <sup>any</sup> any writers. Not just intellectuals, not just anti-Communists. Jewish writers, <sup>specifically</sup> especially.

We stand, we, the five million Jews of America, stand before the 3 million Jews of Russia in a very, very <sup>position</sup> awkward posture.

We want to help them, <sup>but</sup> we don't know how to help them. <sup>cannot</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>government will</sup>

Russia is not going to permit us to send in food packages to 3 million of her 200 million people. It is



Old Mother Russia never learned too kindly upon Jews. The supposedly re-invaded Russia treats them like step-children, with severity and cruelty.

an <sup>them</sup> "insult to her." "Nobody in Russia is hungry. Nobody on the outside has to send a food package to somebody on the inside of Russia."

There is no internal Jewish welfare organization operating in Russia.

There is no international Jewish migration agency operating in Russia, so we <sup>cannot</sup> can't help them inside <sup>and we cannot</sup> can't help them to emigrate outside.

What can we do?

There is only one thing that we can do now at this moment. At this moment now that I talk to you in 1961 the only thing we can do now is learn <sup>all the facts very concisely</sup> thoroughly <sup>in many years.</sup>

Keep alive in our hearts the knowledge of the facts together with the hope that <sup>someday</sup> we will be able to do something to bring Russian Jewry back into the fold of the Jewish people. Keep the knowledge <sup>growing</sup> burning in us and keep the hope alive in us that <sup>it</sup> we will be able to do something <sup>when</sup> the time comes, and I don't know whether that will be 1963 or 1966 or 1974 or ever.

<sup>I must be frank with you -</sup> judiciously  
From "pure" <sup>point of view</sup> I have, That is a logical statement to say, or ever. It is an emotional or illogical statement, <sup>what I am about to say</sup>

But contrary to the pure logic which, incidentally, is not the best compare to the one by Leibniz with a history, I am going to answer the following



that I believe with every fiber of my being that we will  
 be able to <sup>bring</sup> get the Russian Jews back into the fold of  
 the Jewish people. <sup>The</sup> That is just a matter of belief. <sup>I+</sup> That  
 is a matter of faith. I believe that we have to keep  
 ourselves to vigilant and so strong <sup>and</sup> on this item that when  
 the opportunity comes to do something about it we will <sup>shall</sup> be  
 able to do it. <sup>a moment ago it is</sup>

<sup>As</sup> I said <sup>the</sup> important thing was to know some  
<sup>about Russia</sup> facts; I think I would like to give you some facts. <sup>share with news items</sup>  
<sup>information as my possession consists of</sup>  
<sup>that I carefully</sup> These are all things that everybody can read if  
 he reads and if he collects a folder of newspaper clippings,  
 nothing else.

The New York Times, November 23, 1958 -- I am  
 just picking the most recent things of the last few years.  
 Headline: "Jews Most Hurt By Bias in Soviet Union."  
 Subheadline: "Data gathered here shows other faiths  
 suffer less from discrimination than Jews do."

May 20, 1959. New York Times headline: "Anti-  
 Jewish Curb in Soviet Union Revived." Subheadline:  
 "Kremlin said to have seized synagogue and prohibited making  
 of matzoh."

November 25, 1959, New York Times headline:  
 "Anti-Jewish Bias Denied by Russia." Subheadline:



"Minister of Education says Jews account for ten per cent of student body in higher institutions." He was accused that there was a number of classes in Russia. He said no, that is not true. Jews are in 10 per cent of the schools.

November 1, 1959. "New Drive Noted on Jews in Soviet." Subheadline: "Provincial newspapers tell of sharp rise in violent incidents."

I have that clipping of 1959, November 1st. It tells what happened in Molcova. I think you ought to know it. Molcova is a suburb of Moscow.

"Anti-Semitic violence and propaganda in recent weeks reported to have been far more extensive than the single incident in Moscova where an attempt to burn down the synagogue took place November 4th. It is now reported that the woman who died in that incident did not die by accident as was first believed but was strangled and her body thrown into the place."

Copies of the anti-Semitic leaflets posted at that time have now reached the United States. These leaflets show that they were signed by an organization called "Kill the Jews and save Russia."

In Kiev on the eve of Rosh Hashanah, all private



prayer groups in homes were dishoveled leaving only one small synagogue for the city, which is believed to have 200,000 Jews. In Kharkov where there has been no synagogue for several years, all private prayer groups were disbursed several months ago. On the eve of Rosh Hashanah, the authorities are reported to have confiscated the eight scrolls of the Torah in the apartments where small groups have met.

It is a long two-column story in The Times, November 1, 1959, two years ago.

January 31, 1960, New York Journal-American, a long feature story, the plight of the Jews in Russia. There is no peace. There is fear. Second article: Kremlin kills identity as a people. Third article: Soviet crushing Jewish freedom to worship. February 18, 1960, J.T.A. Soviet newspaper attacks Minsk synagogue leaders.

March 16, 1960, New York Herald Tribune. Senator Dodd of Connecticut prepared a 10,000-word analysis and inserted it in the Congressional Record describing Soviet anti-Semitism. He says, "For some strange reason the terrifying story of persecution of Jews under Communism has not penetrated the public consciousness of the free world. So far as is known no Jew is to be found in the



foreign service of the Soviet Union, among the higher ranks of the armed forces or in the various military academies. Jews are also excluded from leading posts in the Communist Party, from the Central Party newspapers and the foreign section of the Soviet press. Jews are progressively being excluded from admission to the universities.

Senator Dodd quoted a group of professors of the Social Science Division of Fairleigh-Dickinson University, New Jersey, who toured the Soviet Union in the summer of 1959 and were appalled about the many evidences of the Soviet anti-Semitism.

The professor wrote: "Our observations have led us to the unhappy conclusion that anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. is not a remnant of Czarist Russia but is the official government policy of the U.S.S.R."

On May 16, 1960, a press release was issued by Mrs. Roosevelt, Justice Douglas, Thurgood Marshall of the N.A.A.C.P. and the Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr appealing to world leaders to give serious consideration to the situation of Russian Jewry. These four distinguished civil libertarians cited the fact that although the Jews are specifically recognized as a nationality in the Soviet Union, "they are



the only group of this kind which since 1948 has been deprived by official policy of any of the attendant rights accorded to all the other nationalities of the Soviet Union. These include schools, newspapers, publishing houses, theaters, in the national language and instruction in the cultural and historical traditions of their people." The statement also notes that religious Jews are hampered by the closing of synagogues and the official ban on the Hebrew language, unlike the Russian Orthodox, the Baptists, and the Moslems, who are permitted to have nationwide association of their churches; Jews are prevented from having a nation-wide federation of Jewish communities.

The four leaders call for the following five steps. One, reinstatement of full cultural facilities for the Jewish minority. Two, permission for Jewish religious institutions to practice their rights freely and to establish formal contact with each other. Three, permission for Soviet Jewish cultural and religious institutions to establish contact with Jews in the outside world. Four, permission for Soviet Jews to be re-united with their families in Israel or elsewhere throughout the world. Five, to end the anti-Jewish press campaign.

Seymour Freedman is a columnist in the New York



Post. On June 5, 1960 he wrote a column called "The Interior." The first sentence was "Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union is more and more the fashion of the day." The last sentence was "The tragedy of the Jews in the Soviet Union today is that they can neither live normal lives nor leave the country."

The basic situation was in a report that was made by a rabbi in Detroit by the name of Richard Hertz to the White House which was quoted in the Congressional Record. "Jews and Judaism in the U.S.S.R." It was reported by the American Jewish Committee in a pamphlet called "The Plight of the Jews in Eastern Europe," which was published in 1959 when the leaders of the American Jewish Community went to see Mr. McCoy and to ask him if it was true that there was a rumor that all the Jews in Russia were going to be deported to Siberia by June, and he denied the rumor.

Following that luncheon, which was held in the Carlyle Hotel before Kennedy used the hotel. Following that luncheon this pamphlet was put out by the American Jewish community.

These facts all came to a head in the last two or three weeks. There was a story on the front page of



the Herald Tribune, Monday of this week.

Front page, Herald Tribune, It told for the first time the fate of Jewish leaders in the Soviet. This is a Jew from Leningrad by the name of Pechersky. He has been given twelve years in jail in the trial that was held in secret in October. Two other Jews were sentenced with him.

The reason that these three Jewish leaders in the city of Leningrad, a 60-year-old man given 12 years in jail will never come out.

Now, this week, the reason that three Jewish leaders in Leningrad are put in jail after a secret trial as Jews is they are trying to keep alive Jewish life in Leningrad, which is one of the most stubborn Jewish communities un all of Russia. Their synagogue is one of the best in terms of the people who come to it. They circulate little books written by hand. We have a photostatic copy of a hand-printed calendar in Leningrad.

An article in the London Jewish Chronicle says: It is ironic in a country which is literally reaching out for the stars and able to shoot rockets to the moon, a book should have to be produced today in so primitive a way. This is a handwritten book which is a Jewish calendar.



You cannot print a Jewish calendar. It is illegal to do so. They take a calendar, copy it down by hand or hand write it. Make ten copies, twenty copies, thirty copies. They will know when is Rosh Hashanah, when is Purim. Keeping Jewish life alive is something which is a dangerous secret and underground thing which you have to try to do.

The last thing I would like to tell you -- by the way, get hold of an editorial of the Herald Tribune of the 7th of November, called "The Plight of the Soviet Jews." I won't bother to read it to you. It is all here.

The last think I would like to tell you about is the poem that was written. This really the best tip-off to the whole situation here.

There is a young poet who is quite popular and famous in Russia called Yevgen Yevtushenko. He is young, he is famous. He is sensitive. The poem that he wrote created a sensation. The name of the poem is "Babi Yar." Babi Yar is a ravine, a great big chasm outside of the city of Kiev. The Germans machine-gunned a very, very large number of people, killed them; the figure that is used, that seems to be most accepted, is 130,000. Shot down, chewed up by machine gun fire and toppled into this great



big ravine and the ravine covered up. 130,000 Russian Jews. They are buried in there.

This non-Jewish, young -- I stress young, because it means he was born under the Communist regime. He is not an old man with old pre-Soviet ideas of freedom. He is a Communist product. He wrote the poem "Babi Yar" saying that the Soviet government has never even put a memorial over that ravine to indicate that great tragedy, and really symbolically the reason that there is no memorial at that ravine is because the winds of anti-Semitism are blowing through the Soviet Union, which he calls his beloved country.

In other words, this is a sensitive soul who sees something happening which hurts him. He writes the poem:

There are no memorials over Babi Yar --

The steep slope is the only gravestone.

I am afraid.

Today I am as old in years as the Jewish people.

It seems to me now that I am a Jew.

(He isn't)

And now, crucified on the cross, I die.

And to this very day I bear the marks of the nails.



It seems to me that I am Dreyfus.

The worthy citizenry denounce me and judges me.

I am behind prison bars.

I am trapped, hunted, spat upon, reviled.

And good ladies in dresses flounced with Brussels

lace,

Shrieking, poke umbrellas in my face.

It seems to me that I am a boy in Byelostok.

Blood flows and spreads across the floor

Reeking of onion and vodka.

The leading lights of the saloon bar

Are on the rampage.

Kicked aside by a boot, I am helpless:

I plead with the pogrom thugs

To roars of "Beat the Yids, and save Russia."

A shopkeeper is beating up my mother.

O my Russian people!

I know that you are really international.

But those with unclean hands

Have often loudly taken in vain

Your most pure name.

I know how good is my native land

And how vile it is that, without a quiver in



their veins,

The antisemites styled themselves with pomp

"The union of the Russian people."

It seems to me that I am Anne Frank

As frail as a twig in April.

And I am full of love

And I have no need of empty phrases.

I want us to look at each other,

How little we can see or smell,

--Neither the leaves on the trees nor the sky.

But we can do a lot,

We can tenderly embrace in a dark room.

Someone is coming? Don't be afraid --

It is the noise of spring itself.

Come to me, give me your lips,

Someone is forcing the door

--No, it is the breaking up of the ice...

Wild grasses rustle over Babi Yar.

The trees look down sternly, like judges.

Everything here shrieks silently.

And, taking off my cap,

I feel how gradually I am turning grey.

And I myself am nothing but a silent shriek



Over the thousands of thousands buried in this place.

I am every boy who was shot here.  
No part of me will ever forget any of this.  
Let the "Internationale" ring out  
When the last antisemite on earth is buried,  
There is no Jewish blood in mine,  
But I am hated by every antisemite as a Jew,  
And for this reason,  
I am a true Russian.

He is pleading the last sentence. What he is trying to say, to be a true Russian you must free yourself of this poisonous hatred. He is pleading with his people to free themselves.

Well, it was a bomb when that bomb went off. It stirred up such a tremendous fuss all through Russia because by implication, what he is doing here is saying that his country, his countrymen are not true Russians, they are as bad as the Nazis. He is saying that the winds are blowing evilly and foully, and

The poem, "Babi Yar," by the non-Jewish poet was recited in synagogue by Moscow Jews during Succoth as though it were a prayer.



This is reported here in Paris by the French Journalist, Michel Tuto, Moscow correspondent of the daily Le Mond.

In Moscow, the Jews read "Babi Yar" as though it were a prayer during the Succoth holiday. That is how much it meant to them.

The greatest Russian culturist of them all, Ilya Ehrenburg -- he is 70 years old now. He is never notorious to take the Jewish side of things. He has been a Russian who they will let go out to Congresses or Paris or London and not worry about his defecting. He always come s home.

Ilya Ehrenburg once made a statement, it was last January during his 70th birthday party. "I am a Russian writer -- Russian -- but as long as there is even one anti-Semite, I will respond by having written in my passport I am a Jew."

In other words, every Russian carries an internal passport in his pocket. We only carry it when we travel. But they carry it where they go from every city. There are 100 legal nationalities inthe Soviet Union. One of them is Jewish. When you write in your nationality, you say White Russian, Turkestan, Armenian, whatever you are. And



one of these lists -- Ilya Ehrenburg says by implication "I would rather write in my passport that I am White Russian. But I will put in Jew so long as there is one anti-Semite left in the Soviet Union."

Ilya Ehrenburg has in his passport today Jew because there still is one anti-Semite.

They asked him what his opinion was of Yevtushenko's poem on Babi Yar, because the Russian writers have been criticizing the man like crazy. Ilya Ehrenburg has defended him. He has got a right to pen such a poem. He should pen such a poem in order to try to extirpate this poison that exists.

I give this long thing to you to indicate that it is not just a question of our saying on the outside that there is anti-Semitism and discrimination in the Soviet Union. They say it on the inside, too.

The case rests, ladies and gentlemen.

There isn't anything you can do about it.

You can read a book. There is a book called "The Jewish Problem in the Soviet Union; an Analysis and Solution." Written by B. S. Goldberg. I think you ought to read it. He has got a good sentence in here which to me describes everything that Uris was trying to say in that



little story about the intourist guide.

He tells about going to a synagogue. He says a man was talking to him in broken Hebrew. The man says, 'Have I ever told you the story about the man and the mirror? A man was standing opposite a mirror and observing his own image in the glass, pointed to it with his finger and said, 'One of us will squeal.'"

This is descriptive of fear which hangs over every single Russian Jew. One of us will squeal, says a man to himself. They are dead afraid to talk.

We will pick this problem up. There is no question in my mind about it. Unless something happens, of course. The something that might happen is the last item on the agenda. I don't have it on the blackboard here. I have not got room to write it.

The last item <sup>my</sup> on the agenda is the nature of philanthropy in the United States.

~~We will pick up~~ <sup>be able to meet, when</sup> the Russian Jewish problem unless <sup>if we present</sup> something happens to our concept of philanthropy <sup>which we have developed here</sup> in the United States.

What can happen to it? I will give it to you in <sup>compactly as possible</sup> one sentence. ~~Then I would like to document the point.~~

<sup>It</sup> What can happen to ~~it is~~ that it can go berserk <sup>philanthropy</sup>



*way, it may dissipate the efforts and aims, thus*

and all wrong and go down non-productive pathways which will make us incapable of meeting the greatest challenge of all,

the Russian challenge whenever it occurs. Unless we must

take steps to make sure that philanthropy does not alter its

course. *We must take various social actions* I have some fears that it is now beginning to go in the

*will* I am going to state my fears clearly. *Philanthropy wrong direction*

First of all, let me say very simply that

philanthropy is big business in America. *The social significance of philanthropy is reflected in the* It is big

business socially in the communities. The important leader

in the community is the one who is the head of the

philanthropic agency or who participates with it or

works with it or achieves his social status through it. *This participation contributes to his prestige and he often acquires a living*

achieves his power role in the structure in the

community through a big gift. *mean when* All of this you all know

very well, and you know what I am saying that philanthropy

is becoming big business in America. *It is even more than* Because of that;

it has become a big social enterprise and therefore

requires a philosophical approach which altogether too few people have.

(Continued on page 74.)

COTTON CONTENT  
IRASABLE



4-1

last 74

So, the whole point of my bringing this topic <sup>to the work in which you will be</sup> ~~to your attention is that over the course of the next~~ <sup>engaged in the immediate future</sup> ~~years of work, as you will work, I plead with you, don't~~  
 just work blindly, trying to raise money without knowing  
 what you are raising money for. Raising money is not an  
 objective in itself. You <sup>must</sup> ~~have get to~~ have a philosophical  
 approach, a long-term approach, a rationalization of  
 what you are trying to accomplish, <sup>by its very nature</sup> ~~Because~~ philanthropy  
 in America the way it is handled and the way it is  
 organized is a great social mover. It is <sup>markedly</sup> ~~different~~ from  
 charity. Charity, you give a poor guy a dollar. He  
 goes to buy a cup of coffee and hamburger or a glass of  
 vodka.

Charity is a hand-out. <sup>It mends the ugly holes of poverty a</sup> ~~Philanthropy is con-~~  
 structive enterprise. Philanthropy is to build, not just  
 to <sup>relieve an</sup> ~~relieve~~ immediate pain or trouble. We are past the  
 Lady Bountiful stage of charity where we hand out a pair  
 of shoes to a needy Jewish child. If that <sup>it must</sup> ~~has to be~~  
 done, we do it. <sup>But it</sup> That is not the main objective. The  
 main objective is <sup>to</sup> ~~reconstruct~~ the life of that <sup>the</sup> ~~child~~.

I am stressing this, because if you don't  
 develop a social philosophy about the use of this massive  
 and powerful <sup>lovingly and stubbornly forged</sup> ~~weapon~~ that we ~~build up~~, all you are doing



*will be doing your work*  
~~is following blindly, all you are doing is following~~  
~~blindly. Get another five thousand dollars or another~~  
~~three thousand dollars. You don't know what you are doing~~  
~~it for.~~

*structure*  
 Philanthropy is important social construction  
*must*  
 and, therefore, you have to decide what you want to  
*how to use it*  
 construct.

*maintain*  
 Do you want to construct the great big migration  
*of* machine or *would like to build large homes for*  
~~do you want to construct the great big old~~  
*the aged are often* folks home that is over-built, and it cost three million  
*on occasion*  
 dollars, to house one hundred people, all of whose parents  
*and all they do* are rich and dump them in the old folks home because they  
*Some of our aged have*  
~~are rich and dump them in the old folks home because they~~  
*well-so-do the old, living in spacious houses.*  
~~don't want them at home.~~  
*can't find a place for elderly parents.*

*support*  
 What do you want to constructively?  
*To decide rightly, you must*  
 This is what I mean by having a social

~~philosophy in this thing.~~

*facts*  
 I think there are some figures that you ought  
 to know. I think you have to look at the future very  
 realistically.

*facts*  
 The figures that you ought to know are very  
 simply these.

*creat*  
 Imperceptibly but definitely a trend has ~~been~~  
*up upon us, which indicates that* established since the very top years of high fund-raising  
*centralized*



of Federation and is on the decline, <sup>76</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>will</sup> ~~be~~

for the Central Welfare Funds of the community to raise less and less and less, and for other fund-raising, <sup>the so-called independent</sup> projects, drives, <sup>and separate</sup> ~~campaigns~~, <sup>are on the ascent</sup> institutions, on the outside, to raise more and more and more.

Let me make clear what I am saying.

There has been a shifting away from the Central Welfare Funds into increased building funds <sup>To start</sup> with. <sup>which over the years, expanded</sup> considerably.

How does a building fund get started? <sup>Not</sup> always because the will of the community expressed itself <sup>not because</sup> and everyone in the community decided that a great new three million dollar <sup>edifice</sup> something has to be built. Very often one or two, or three people decide, <sup>it</sup> wouldn't be nice if we had another wing on the hospital, and <sup>surprisingly</sup> what happens is that a head of steam begins to develop, <sup>it gains</sup> and a momentum begins to develop, and pretty soon before everybody knows it, more and more people in town are talking this way, <sup>about it, and you're in the building fund</sup> and then before you know it, you begin to ask less big important givers about it. Then <sup>what</sup> you find <sup>you find</sup> is all of the important people in the community <sup>involved in the building campaign</sup> behind it and who began to sandbag everybody else and nobody can say no.

If you ever took a halt at a certain moment in



you would pose a second question, do we need it?  
or, do we need it now?

77

4-4

amidst

"you would  
this process of dynamic inevitability and stepped off  
on the side and took a look at this and said, "Do we  
really want to take and spend three million dollars on  
this thing in our town which means one hundred and fifty  
thousand dollars a year to support it ad infinitum in-  
definitely, do we really want to do this?" - Then, I am sure,

Good friends, I have been in every city in <sup>land</sup> our  
this country. Not once and not two times, and not yet  
three times and five times. I have yet to see the cases  
where somebody stood up as the steamroller was going  
and said no. Let's take a second look at this. I could  
count it on two hands where somebody had the guts to  
stand up and say, "Let's take a second look." Maybe a  
second look will still prove that you need it, but I  
have seen few "second looks."

I want to put some figures down on the black-  
board. Central Welfare Fund. The Allied Jewish campaign  
The Jewish Federation of, the Jewish Welfare Fund of.  
Whatever you call it. You know what I mean by the  
Central Campaign. I will give you some comparative  
figures, 1946, 1948, 1959. The Central Campaign raises  
131 million, it raises 200 million, (that was the year we  
got 150 million out of this 200 million that was raised in



4-5

all the campaigns. It drops down to 130, *in 1959*

Independent campaigns (outside of the Central Welfare Fund), 19 million in 1946; 26 million in 1948; 55 million in 1959.

Building funds, *They are conducted separately.* ~~This is independent campaigns for a lot of other things, everything you know. Brandeis University, Hebrew University. You name it. You know then all.~~

Building funds. 1946, 8 million dollars. 1948, 15 million dollars. 1959, 35 million dollars.

What is happening? Jews in the United States *in 1959 than they were in 1948* are not less generous, ~~at all.~~ They are not even giving away less money. They are just diverting it. They are changing. *the pattern* They are altering the *destination of the* place to which it is going. *philanthropic dollar*

It is their choice, but they have got to do it *must* in the full knowledge of what they are doing. No *more* phony tears. No saying, "Oh, these poor Jews in Marsee *more* or *degenerate this country & we would like so much to help Jews to get out of that country* gee we want to get the Jews of Russia." And then at the same time, go ahead and divert *continue to* and alter and re-channel *the* the nature of their philanthropy. You can't do both. *these altering*

*Not at the same time*  
I don't want this to be construed as an attack on building funds. ~~And~~ I want this to be construed

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

*The Continuation of...*



4-6

as is an effort to <sup>bring</sup> put a problem before you. We in the United States, in the American Jewish community have built for ourselves Between 1946 and 1960, ~~we have built~~ for ourselves (presumably because we wanted to) \$485 million worth, ~~one-half a billion dollars~~ worth of capital plant: Synagogues, hospitals, clinics, community centers, educational buildings, homes for the aged, et cetera.

We have put up, <sup>committed nearly \$500,000,000</sup> sent money for one-half billion <sup>in all probability</sup> and we have raised, that ~~is~~ in pledges about another <sup>\$500,000,000</sup> half billion which are on the books, yet to be paid in ~~three-year pledges, five-year pledges.~~

Anybody in this room owe a five-year pledge on something or a three-year pledge on something?

I am talking about almost half a billion dollars worth of money that has been committed already. It is probably that amount that is raised in pledges that will be spent.

All right. I would like to give you another figure, <sup>it with the hurdlings fund</sup> to contrast to that, and then I am all through. ~~Either I have made my point or I have not.~~

The other figure is this: From 1939, first year that we started <sup>the</sup> this combined campaign through 1961, and I am estimating what the final figures of 1961 will



4-7

~~be, but we can make the estimate close enough. The UJA~~  
 has received ~~(for overseas relief, for rescuing Jews and~~  
 building Israel) one billion four hundred million dollars.  
<sup>This</sup> That is the result of 23 years of fund-raising. <sup>It</sup> That is  
~~the total sum of~~ what the UJA has received. *receipts*

That has "bought" the following things, and I give  
 you two figures. That <sup>It</sup> has bought Welfare <sup>aid</sup> help, relief,  
 cash, shoes, food, welfare-relief for two million seven  
 hundred thousand <sup>this</sup> Jews. That is the number of Jews who  
<sup>by UJA-beneficiary agencies</sup> have been assisted, who have been aided, who have been  
 helped.

Secondly, that money <sup>contributed to UJA</sup> has "bought" migration,  
 (physical transportation of movement from one continent  
 to another) continent for one million four hundred seventy-  
 seven thousand Jews.

We spent one billion four million dollars to  
 move one million and a half Jews and to aid and assist  
 two and three-quarter million Jews. That is global,  
 that is vast. <sup>It</sup> ~~It is enormous.~~ That is historic. *and pledges*

We have spent a billion dollars, ~~not a billion~~  
~~dollars four hundred thousand, but one billion dollars,~~  
~~half of it already spend and another half of it available~~  
~~in pledges for some physical structures here in two~~  
<sup>at</sup> hundred and three hundred American Jewish communities.

*We spent one billion four hundred million on welfare and given to 2,700,000 Jews and on resettlement of 1,477,000 Jews.*



4-8

What is the social philosophy behind philanthropy on this scale?

Should we not have spent that billion on capital fund drives and put another billion into this? What would we have done with it if we had run our course that way?

Should we not have put one billion four million dollars into this and maybe put two billion into capital building funds, would we have better Jewish in America, more creative Jews, would we have more religious Jews?

You see these are the questions that I think we have to pose to ourselves.

I can only give you one answer. I can only give you the answer that <sup>is supported by my</sup> ~~comes out of it~~, all the conviction, all the knowledge, that I have accumulated in my lifetime; <sup>sustained by</sup> all the strength of feeling that I have about ~~what~~ <sup>our</sup> the priorities are of ~~any one~~ generation. I can only say to you that I ~~think~~ we have misspent some of the billion. The capital plant <sup>growth</sup> ~~in United States~~ <sup>should not have</sup> ~~could have waited.~~ <sup>some of the project</sup> We are not a poverty-stricken generation. We have buildings. <sup>at our disposal</sup> We could have waited for better buildings. We have hospitals. We could have waited for <sup>larger</sup> bigger hospitals. We have synagogues, we have ~~have~~ <sup>could</sup> waited for new, modern glass temples another ten years, or



4-9

another ~~twenty~~ years. I don't think this would have thwarted us. I don't think this would have inhibited us. I don't think this would have held us back. I don't think it would have dwarfed us. I think the creative act <sup>believe that</sup> ~~our generation performed is well expressed in the~~ which we can do in this generation is pour one billion <sup>hundred dollar given to</sup> four million into this. <sup>aid and relief.</sup>

immediate and intrinsic

The reservoirs I talked about in the satellite countries, Russia that I talked to you about. Not a word did I say all day about the problems of Israel. (I hope you hear about these from other people <sup>there</sup>) This is the closest thing to the heart. <sup>It is so close that it</sup> ~~That is taken for granted.~~ That is the thing you know the most about. Perhaps <sup>hundred</sup> another billion four million <sup>Israel</sup> had poured into this problem <sup>in</sup> for the next ten or twenty years is the way we should <sup>to</sup> spend our money and ~~soft pedal the things for another~~ <sup>rationally and most beneficently</sup> ten or twenty years. This is not a question of being pro or <sup>contra</sup> anti. It is a question of developing a social philosophy of philanthropy. Where do we put the great <sup>force</sup> bulk of our thinking, our emphasis, our yearnings, and our vision. <sup>?</sup>

Well, it would seem to me that if philanthropy is a social weapon which can be used to alter the course of history, and believe me it is just that, that



4-10

*seems to me that phi-*  
*lanthropy*  
is the greatest, noblest thing I can say about it. It is

a social weapon which can alter the course of history.

If philanthropy is that, then it should not be used for

luxuries, it should be used for necessities. I think

that it is a necessity to educate our children, Jewish-

speaking, but that can be done *in less expensive centers*. I am not saying that we

ought to, but that can be done in a basement. I don't

say we should keep our children in basements.

I am saying that if we tried to differentiate

in a brutal, raw elementary, primitive way between what

is a necessity and what is a luxury, then *we would conclude* the saving of

life is a necessity and the building of a prettier building *construction*

is a luxury.

I am not sure about that. I included in this

*same category* whole judgement which I am now rendering, the pretty

buildings that *off* the Hebrew University and the Weizmann

Institute *in Israel* over there as over here. It is the same

indictment, it seems to me. I understand their yearnings *the Israeli's*

for pretty buildings. I understand the yearnings of

people who *only recently became* and once they are free, want to express and manifest

that freedom in a great cultural outpouring. I think they *put* too

could have waited, too.

Guilt is always shared equally. *perhaps, I am so* *sever.* It is not a guilt,

but misjudgment



4-11

question really of guilt perhaps, and now I am sort of  
 reminiscing because I am all bushed, just as you are.  
 It isn't a question of guilt. Maybe it is a question of  
 not having the wisdom, not having the wisdom of having  
 to see far enough ahead. I am pleading now for the wisdom  
 to see far enough ahead and to alter the course of what  
 has been developing. *philanthropic trends:*

The diminution of the Central Fund. The  
 diminution of the amount of money coming to the UJA.  
 The expansion of other things, *drives* not just building funds;  
*separate* other campaigns, *and so forth* outside things.

I think it centrally gets lost in the daily  
 fight that we all conduct in our communities. I am just  
 sort of pleading for perspective. Pleading for balance.

~~I am pleading for just balance.~~ I am pleading  
 for comprehension of what is possible within a given  
 length of time. *I am selling up to you so fully and frankly because this*  
 You are going to control the way it will go for the next  
 20 years. If you control it right, it will go right. If  
 you control it wrong, it will go wrong.

*is exactly in the main*  
 The whole purpose of this Young Leadership  
 Program, ~~we are trying~~ to develop *it* in the UJA as far as I  
 see it, *it* ~~is the dream in my mind~~ for *it* several years. It

*your check my  
 point in  
 Philanthropic*



4-12

*came to*  
 is a fruition. Now it is real, you have got to make something out of it quite real. The whole purpose of this three-day seminar, last year, this year, next year, is simply to develop that sense of balance which will make of you real leaders.

*would like to quote*  
 I want to close by reading a paragraph from Professor Baryen, of Columbia University, He talks about the future of Jewish life.

"Since neither forcible elimination from America, nor voluntarily disappearance on the part of the Jews seems to be a realistic possibility," in other words, since we are not going to be kicked out in a pogrom, and since we are not going to commit suicide as Jews and stop being Jews, and assimilate, "the only genuine question is what kind of Jews there will be in America and elsewhere a century hence. No one in his census will have the timidity to predict the type of Judaism and the type of Jewish community that is likely to emerge from our present world. Yet one thing may confidentially be asserted. If American Jewry turns from quantity to quality, if it builds its communal coexistence less upon the quantitative criteria of financial success, statistically measurable memberships, costly and outwardly



4-13

impressive buildings and institutions and devotes more attention to the cultivation of the genuinely creative personality, then the new type of American Jewry will be a cause of pride and satisfaction. To put it bluntly, if someone were to guarantee that in the next generation American Jews will harbor one hundred truly first-rate scholars, one hundred first-rate writers and artists, one hundred first-rate rabbis, one hundred first-rate communal executives and one hundred first-rate lay leaders, the total number would not exceed five hundred persons, a negligible segment of the Jewish population. If there could be five hundred such persons, one could look forward confidently to American Jewry's reaching new heights of achievement."

Well, one hundred first-rate rabbis we won't get out of this room. <sup>Neither</sup> One hundred first-rate writers we ~~won't get out of this room.~~ One hundred first-rate communal leaders we might get out of this room, ~~or damn near.~~ You could change and alter the course of the way the American Jewish community <sup>you could determine the way it</sup> would go and <sup>alive</sup> you could keep us ~~on the path of thinking which is the~~ most important thing to us for which we live or die, the <sup>the</sup> path of keeping our survival <sup>issue</sup> on a high creative productive <sup>the</sup> <sup>of our</sup> <sup>of</sup>



4-14

level so that <sup>T</sup> if we survive and the Jews of Israel survive and the Jews of Europe survive, and if we can get <sup>bring a lot</sup> the rescuing of <sup>below</sup> the Jews of Russia, then we, this stubborn, nasty, little people who are on the stage of history and who will not allow themselves to be exterminated, <sup>the</sup> we will go forward, to what is really nothing else than a huge <sup>inspired by</sup> than a messianic role which is to go on with the creating of a better world not only for us, but on this <sup>not of</sup> <sup>not by us separately</sup> blasted little planet. <sup>in friendly cooperation with others</sup>

We are slated for great things. <sup>issues</sup> We fought through horrible things. <sup>darkest hour of history, if we are knowing</sup> They will never get rid of us <sup>forward. We want a better, kinder, warmer world</sup> until the end of time. But in order to do this we get to <sup>need</sup> have one hundred first-rate lay leaders.

<sup>This is the central point of my speech</sup>  
Now, that is the whole point of my standing up here two and a half hours to torture you and torture myself. I want to thank you all very much for listening.

(Applause)

THE CHAIRMAN: We got the rest of the conference to do. First of all, Mr. Levy wants to make announcements about taking pictures now. Secondly, it is only 4:30 and you will get to the party in plenty of time. Third, the service tomorrow morning, you know, remember. Shabbos. It starts at 8:30 and Rabbi Morris



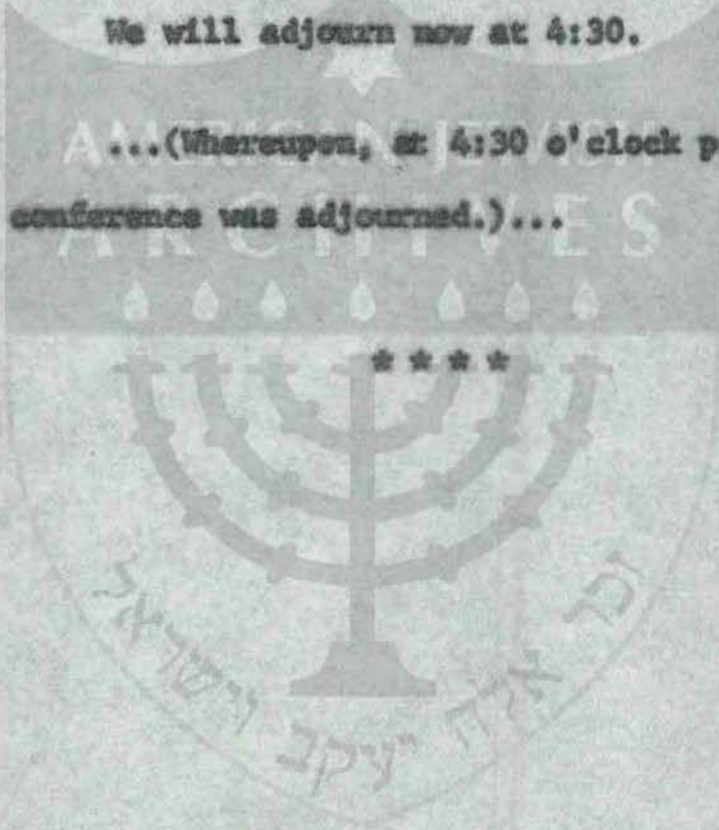
8-15

Adler of Detroit, the Chairman of the UJA National Rabbinical Advisory Committee will be conducting the service.

Then, after that, the morning session will start and who knows before the morning session?

We will adjourn now at 4:30.

...(Whereupon, at 4:30 o'clock p.m. the conference was adjourned.)...



UNCLASSIFIED  
 CONFIDENTIAL  
 EXEMPT FROM GDS



1. Russia - 1881

2. Two streams - U.S. - Palestine

3. Hitler

4. St. Louis - <sup>39</sup> - <sup>25 Feb 42</sup> - <sup>769</sup> - Rumanian - Turkey - mine  
2 saved

4a. DP period - Berlin

5. Wandering Jew (running) vs. Migrating Jew (assisted)

6. Migration is tool of survival -  
we will usually face "last ship" psychology

7. Future reservoir of migration

8. Russia

LESSON: HISTORY PREPARES FOR FUTURE

CONVICTION: FIRE IN BELLY

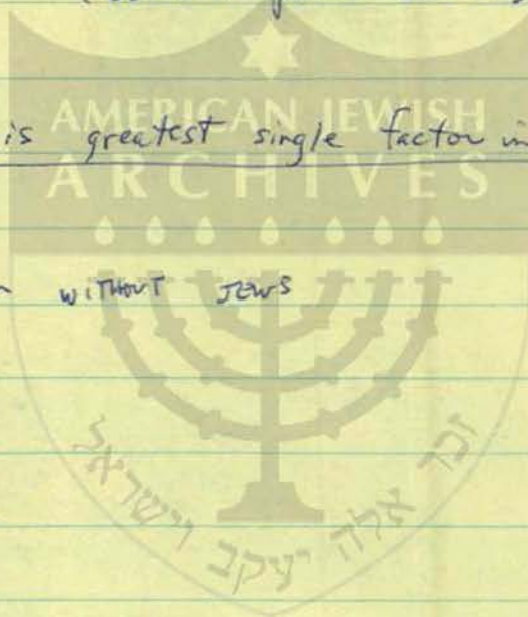


UJA deals with survival

1. physical - of the individual (migration)
2. communal - of the group (JDC)
3. spiritual + psychological - of the whole  
(wounded parts weaken)

ISRAEL is greatest single factor in this survival

NO JUDAISM WITHOUT JEWS





I would like to begin by dealing with some facts which I covered at great length in last year's talk. I will skip over them very quickly, to recap the essential points and then touch upon some other aspects of the central theme, namely the problem of Jewish survival.

As some of you may recall, the historic panorama of my last year's address extended from 1880's to the present time.

I picked 1881 because it was the year when the great flourishing Jewish communities of Russia and Poland began gradually to slide down until they came to an end in a physical sense, when the Jews were exterminated and the communities destroyed in the 1940's. The spiritual and psychological eclipse began in 1881 when special laws were passed in Russia. These laws, also known as May Laws, incorporated the basic anti-Semitic concept of Pobiedonostsev, a close adviser and tutor of Czar Alexander III.

The 1881 laws had still another name. They were called the "One-Third Laws", and for a good reason. These laws simply stated: one-third of the Jews should be converted to the Greek Orthodox faith; one-third of the Jews will perish; one-third of the Jews will emigrate. This was the way old Mother Russia worked out her solution of the Jewish problem. A very neat, very mathematical solution. But it did not happen that way, thank God.

What did happen instead was a huge wave of migration. Jews had been coming from Europe to the United States very early, -- the first Jews landed here in 1634 -- they were the first 23 Jewish settlers who came from Recife, Brazil. Jews kept coming in the 1600's and the 1700's.



By the time of the Revolutionary War, there were 3,000 Jews in America. They kept coming through the 1800's. The great majority of them were German Jews. By the time of the Civil War there were 300,000 Jews in the States.

Nevertheless, it was not until 1881 that the United States became a centre of attraction for tens of thousands of Jews. From 1881 to 1914, the beginning of World War I, some 3,000,000 Jews immigrated into the United States. 3,000,000 in a 33-year period, which makes it an average of almost 100,000 immigrants a year.

They came here because this was the place where they could find freedom.

The Shtetl life, the homogeneous life of the small Jewish community, with its rich, warm vibrancy, the unique blend of religion and culture, with its colorful tradition of family habits, weddings and bar-mitzvahs, the little shul and the Hebrew teacher; the Shtetl where Jewish life flourished and produced an enormous outcropping of prose and poetry, where a great literature took its roots and new ideas found their life-source -- this Shtetl had begun to crumble. While the Shtetl was still there in the ravines and forests of Poland, Lithuania and Byelorussia, and on the steppes of the Ukraine, its inhabitants were streaming into Hamburg, Liverpool, Amsterdam, and then by ships into strange, funny-sounding places called Rivington Street, Houston Street; Cincinnati, Ohio; even as far as Galveston, Texas which was a great port of entry in its day.

The Jewish immigrant, like every immigrant, came here in search of freedom and rights. All he wanted was an opportunity to earn a livelihood and some equality.



Another twin stream, of considerably lesser force, flowed toward Palestine at the same time. Throughout the 1880's and the 1890's this migration was a barely noticeable beginning. There is a bit of historic curio in this migration. It preceded the modern Zionist movement. Before Theodore Herzl wrote his book, before the Dreyfuss Case gained notoriety, people in Russia and Poland began to observe a spontaneous, unorganized Zionist Renaissance which expressed itself in little bands of 10, 20, 30 or 100 Jews going to the Promised Land.

Palestine was a broken, rocky, inhospitable Turkish-administered place. Jews came to the Port of Yaffa.

They were taken to Petakh-Tikva, to small houses where they slept on the floor with other Jews. The concept of Renaissance that we have is that in 1881 someone was prophetically uttering two words: "History. Fate". (Fate in the Greek sense of the word). As if someone were saying to the Jewish people: "Get out of Europe now, and go elsewhere because 50 years from now the Jews will have to be planted strongly and firmly somewhere else in order to be able to brace themselves for the shock which is going to happen."

It seems as though in 1881 someone possessed with a sharp historical vision, which enabled him to foretell what would happen in 1930 and 1940, ordered: "there shall be a strong, powerful, rooted Jewish community to take care of what lies in the womb of history, namely, the total destruction of Eastern and Central Europe." "The lot of the victims of the calamity can only be alleviated by Jews somewhere on this earth, strong enough to rise to the difficult proposition of saving, preserving and rebuilding Jewish life."



I have an overwhelming sense of history. I live with it all the time. I think it is no accident that the events of 1881 brought us to these shores where we were preserved in all of our rootedness, all of our wealth, all of our strength. But we are not alone. Another group, smaller and poorer than ourselves, energetic and determined, came into being in Palestine. Between the two of us, we could pick up whatever parts of the remnants of the tragedy there were. We were the correctives of the ugly excesses of history. We were chosen to bring aid for the victims of the historical events of the thirties and the forties.

The colorful, warm and spiritually rich Shtetl that was home to Russian and Polish Jewry went down the drain by outward migration and by destruction under Hitler.

The Jewish community in the United States reached its present position through a great process of searching for forms, searching for content, and decided that it wanted to organize itself; and the Jewish settlement in Palestine, the Yishuv, built itself up by the sheer process of breaking the rocks and learning to stand guard over the sheep and fighting for every piece of land, and ultimately coming into its own independence, its own sovereignty.

Our story begins then in 1914 against this backdrop. In that year the American Jewish community was for the first time called upon to offer what we might legitimately call massive help.



On the 28th day of July 1914, Austria declared war on Serbia, and within a week all the major countries were in conflict: Russia, France, England on one side, Germany, Austria and Turkey on the other. World War I had begun.

In August 1914, a cable was sent by the U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Sr. He cabled to two men in America, Mr. Louis Marshall and Mr. Jacob Schiff, who at that time were leaders of the American Jewish Committee. His cable pleaded that \$50,000 -- that is all he asked for -- should be sent at once to save 60,000 Jews in Palestine from actual starvation. Palestine under Turkish rule was on the side of Germany, and the Jewish settlement there had been cut off by the warring armies. Approximately at the same time, similar pleas came from Polish territory in Russia and from Galicia. These pleas were addressed primarily to the Orthodox group in the U.S. Both the Orthodox and the American Jewish Committee acted on those pleas with dispatch.

After two months of preparatory work, they were ready for the new and important task, to raise funds. The Orthodox group convened on October 4 and the other group on October 25.

The first group formed an organization called the Central Relief Committee. The second, established the American Jewish Relief Committee.

The latter met in Temple Emanuel in New York City. They called representatives of 40 organizations. Louis Marshall was elected president. Mr. Felix Warburg -- as I told you, you will hear the name right from the beginning of the story -- was elected Treasurer, Cyrus Sulzberger, Secretary. The Committee issued the following statement of policy.



"Representatives of the national leading organizations and of the important Jewish communities of America have formed a general committee for the relief of the Jews of the several European nations and of Palestine, who now or maybe hereafter require aid in direct or indirect consequence of war. All Jews of every shade of thought, irrespective of the land of their birth are solemnly admonished to contribute with the utmost generosity to the fund which must be gathered to meet their superlative need. The Committee recognizes the economic distress which now bears heavily on all. That only emphasizes the obligation of making sacrifices and ennobles every gift the more."

In November these two committees met and they agreed to establish a special agency for the distribution of funds which they would raise.

So the Joint Distribution Committee for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers was constituted, with Felix Warburg as Chairman.

A year later, the labor group formed the People's Relief Committee. These three organizations raised funds for the JDC until 1924.

In 1924 the JDC launched its own fund-raising campaign. There was philanthropic solicitation already going on for Palestine through Keren Hayessod. An effort was made to put together JDC collections and the pro-Palestine fund-raising in one agency called the United Jewish Appeal. It lasted for two years, 1934 and 1935. Then it broke up. Finally, late in Fall of 1938, after all the years of separate fund-raising, fighting and arguing, the JDC, the UPA -- United Palestine Appeal -- and the Coordinating Committee for Refugees (which assisted Hitler's victims coming into the U. S.) finally merged and formed the United Jewish Appeal.



1939 was the first year of the new consolidated campaign. We are now conducting the 23rd UJA campaign, with no breaks or serious internal obstacles and we believe we have established a pattern of unique and dedicated cooperation so enduring that we are looking forward now to the 25th anniversary campaign of the UJA which will be conducted during the year 1963.

But let us go back for a while.

I think you ought to be interested in knowing what this early campaign produced. During 1915, the first year of activities, the organizations engaged in fund-raising: the Orthodox Committee, the American Jewish Committee and the People's Relief Committee, collected one and one-half million dollars.

At the end of that year, 1915, it became evident that some new measures would have to be taken in order to raise the level of giving. It would be wrong to say that the American Jews failed to understand the nature of needs. Fund-raising was in its infancy. So on December 21, 1915 a mass meeting was held in Carnegie Hall. Does anybody remember the name of Judah Magnes? He was a Rabbi here in New York. He tried heroically to establish a central welfare fund in the largest city of our land. He failed. Magnes left the country for Palestine and became the first president of the Hebrew University.

Magnes was a talented orator and he was the principal speaker at that meeting in Carnegie Hall. An overflow audience was eager to support the vital relief work. Other mass fund-raising meetings followed.



The drive gained momentum and attained national prominence with the proclamation issued by President Wilson designating January 27, 1916 as Jewish Relief Day. On that day alone, one million dollars was collected. Remember, it happened 46 years ago!

New, more effective fund-raising methods were developing rapidly.

In 1917, the campaign was organized on a community quota basis. Individual cities were asked to raise their share of funds in the nationwide goal of ten million dollars.

A new standard of giving was set that year with a gift from Mr. Julius Rosenwald, whose name is familiar to all of you. He initiated the concept of massive philanthropic gifts and made an outstanding contribution to Negro universities.

Mr. Rosenwald, always inventive and pioneering, decided to donate one million dollars with the proviso that another nine million dollars would be raised through the United States.

In our modern UJA parlance, that was the first pacesetting gift.

Of the ten million dollar national goal, New York City set for itself a five million dollar target. Mr. Felix Warburg and Mr. Edwin Goldwasser worked very hard on it. They obtained the five million dollars in ten days.

(I personally believe that this is the right way to raise money. Campaigns that drag on for four, five or even six months, have a tendency to become less effective.) Certainly, I realize that fund-raising nowadays is more complex than it was four-and-a-half decades ago. Still, I would say that a well-planned, well staffed campaign



involving above all, the dedicated participation of the lay-leadership, can cut campaign time to two or three months in all but the very largest metropolitan centers, and bring effective results.

In 1918 again we had a \$10,000,000 goal.

News coming from abroad was alarming. The war - tortured Eastern and Central parts of Europe were now in flames of a social upheaval that spread from the Black Sea to the Baltic and through the Ural Mountains into the Asian regions of the Pacific. The enormous expanse, in excess of nine thousand miles, held the bulk of the European Jewry. All this imposed additional obligations upon JDC and required considerable structural changes.

Until 1919 JDC conducted its activities primarily through bona fide Jewish organizations in various European countries: The EKOPO (abbreviated from the Russian: Evreiskii Komitet Pomoshti - Jewish Relief Committee in Petrograd, St. Petersburg rechristened); the Juedisches Hielfscomite fuer Polen und Litauen in Berlin, and the Israelitische Allianz in Vienna.

Basically, it was an emergency welfare program confined to the form of direct relief on behalf of war victims.

The real test came after the Armistice. As a result of wars and revolutions the political map of Eastern and Central Europe changed impressively. New regimes and new states sprang into being, affecting (not always favorably) the fate of Jewish communities.



During the Civil War (1917 - 1920) the Jews of the Ukraine were brutally pogromized. Some 250,000 - 300,000 were killed. Political upheavals generated anti-semitic excesses that spread over Poland, Lithuania, Rumania and Hungary.

To cope with the aftermath of World War I, JDC changed its pace and form of activities.

The first Overseas Unit, established in 1919, went abroad to inaugurate large-scale welfare programs. A JDC network was established in: Soviet Russia, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Palestine.





The needs were numerous, the needy - countless. There were the Jewish war refugees in Russia and Austro-Hungary totaling 1,250,000. There were more than 2,000,000 persons suffering from war deprivation, hunger, crowded conditions, acute malnutrition who required medical aid. In 1919, JDC representatives reported that almost 150,000 registered Jewish war orphans were placed in children's homes.

(From the vantage point of today, we know that the great upheaval of 1914-1919 never died. It merely subsided into a 20-year long intermission. Actually, peace-time life in Eastern Europe proceeded without noticeable stabilization of political and social conditions. As a matter of fact the whole geographic area was drifting from a position of relative democracy to one of unmistakable dictatorship and while it was moving that way it was imposing additional restrictions upon Jews. Rumania - special laws; Poland - economic restrictions; Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary - numerus clausus in professions and trades. Only Czechoslovakia remained untouched by the political corrosion).

I hope you understand what prompts me to recall the social conditions and political situation of the past. I am doing this because I am firmly convinced that nothing explains better the history of changing forms of aid than the history of the changing Jewish position abroad. And may I add, the historic term "change" as it is applied to our own people became almost synonymous with "deterioration."

As the emergency period came to a close, it became evident that the Jewish communities in Eastern Europe would require lasting measures of aid. In October, 1920, Dr. Julius Goldman, Director General of JDC in Europe, recommended that "..... the JDC should confine its activities to reconstruction ... with the aim of permanently rebuilding the lives of the Jews in Eastern Europe on new and more substantial economic foundations."



Concretely, Dr. Goldman suggested -- please notice this -- setting up agricultural colonies. Now, I find it truly remarkable that what was conceived as the solution to the pressing Jewish needs in Palestine was also thought of as one of the solutions of Jewish needs in Europe. It was planned to develop agricultural colonies, to open trade schools, and to establish credit institutions in order to rebuild the economic life of the people who suffered so much during World War 1.

Let us, perhaps belatedly, pay respect to Dr. Goldman, who authored the plan and to the lay leaders who accepted it.

The plan combined creative social imagination and political wisdom. JDC soberly assessed the position of Jews in Eastern Europe. The broad, many-faceted program of economic rehabilitation was based on the pragmatic assumption that without it, Jewish communities in this area would face stagnation.

Herbert H. Lehman was appointed Chairman of the Reconstruction Committee, which was established in 1921 in Europe.

Credit cooperatives were started, Free Loan Societies launched and this was done in order to get Jews back on their feet, to enable them to earn their own living.

Then a new impressive social enterprise called Agro-Joint (Agro-short for agricultural) was started. It came into being in Russia.

In 1926, the Jewish population of the Soviet Union was estimated at 2,750,000. Most of them were declassed. They were former store-keepers, small artisans, all of whom were put in category of petty bourgeoisie, people without future, without hope under the Communist regime.

To help the former merchants and store-keepers was the aim of Agro-Joint. An American of Russian origin, a prominent agronomist,



Dr. Joseph Rosen, started this program. In 1937, after ten years of work, the Agro-Joint had resettled 300,000 Jews on 3,000,000 acres of land.

This was a massive kind of solution. What began on a very small scale in 1914, developed over these years into a new way of life for our American Jewish community. We began to understand that this responsibility was a historic one. It could not be thought of as a one-year project, or as an immediate reaction to an immediate crisis. An historic pattern had to be developed -- and we did develop it.

I would like to go on to the next point, because we have to tell the story fast, and I would like to take as point of departure, 1939, the year the United Jewish Appeal was formed.

But let us see what led to it.

Hitler came in 1933. As you know, the Nuremberg laws were passed in 1935. Yet the worst, the most frightening thing, happened on the night of November 10, 1938.

If you don't know a single word of German, you should learn two words "Krystall Nacht".

Crystal chandeliers. Glass, windows.

"Crystal night"...what a poetic caption! But this crystal night I am talking about shall forever live in our memory as a symbol of a cold -- blooded brutality. On the night of November 9-10, 1938 the synagogues in Germany were burned and looted, windows smashed, and the chandeliers symbolically pulled down. The breaking of the glass that night was one of the macabre signals of what Hitler's NEW ORDER had in stock for German Jewry. If we would have been able to read Hitler's message at the proper time, we would have understood that the crystal night was suggestive of the "final solution" that would emerge for all European Jewry.



That is a polite phrase meaning the physical extermination of all the Jews so that Europe would be Jueden-rein).

What touched off the brutality of November 9-10?

Two days earlier on November 7, a grief-stricken Polish boy Herschel Grynszpan, shot and killed Ernest von Rath, the third secretary of the German Embassy in Paris.

As an act of retribution for the murder of that man, the full weight of the whole Nazi machine was brought to bear on the Jewish population. In one night of terror Nazis smashed synagogues and levied a fine of one billion gold marks on the German community, which was paid promptly.

Some say it was paid within four days.

That was their form of "fund-raising."

On the night of November 10, 1938 the die was cast. A month later, in December, under the impact of the enormous event, the three organizations that I spoke about before got together and organized the United Jewish Appeal.

Now, let us follow the sequence of events:

November 10 -- "Krystall Nacht". December -- the Jews of America got together and in effect said: "Let us put our differences aside and let us see what can be done in order to respond adequately to this overwhelming Jewish need." It was in December of 1938 that this decision took place, and 1939 saw the first UJA campaign.

I would like to share with you a historic memento.

On January 11, 1939, almost twenty-three years ago, the New York Times carried a news story that Mr. Edward Warburg, who is sitting here



in this room, sent a telegram to Mr. Abraham Landau, who was presiding at the testimonial dinner for the late Sydney Hillman, the labor leader, announcing that the UJA had been formed. Two days later, on January 13, a news release said: "Major American agencies unite in unprecedented campaign to aid refugees and victims of oppression in Central and Eastern Europe."

The goal for the 1939 campaign was set at \$20,000,000. It was a fateful year. World War II started in September.

Intensive migration of Jews seeking to escape from Germany had taken place in 1935, 1936 and 1937. Although I must say here now, and all of us must understand it, that more Jews could have saved their lives if they had left earlier. It is a Jewish tragedy that in every country, under every circumstance where this occurs, people always wait until it is too late.

I once received a letter, when I was in Germany after World War II working in the DP camps, from a man who wrote a most awesome plea: "My family was killed. I am here alone on this bloody German soil, I am living in a DP camp. Life here is bad, it is miserable. You have got to get us out. You have got to get me to Palestine. But I have a few things to do before I am ready to leave, so will you save a place for me on the last ship."

Nobody ever knows when the last ship leaves, and we lose countless tens of thousands of people because they do not understand our own history. We lost many lives unnecessarily in Germany because these Jews



did not take to the roads in time.

I would like you to know the migration figures from Germany. By the end of 1939, some 430,000 Jews from Greater Germany had left their native lands. This is out of a total of more than 1,000,000. The rest perished. It is very interesting to see where the refugees went. I will first name the European places of refuge. The largest number of migrants went to England -- 40,000; France accepted 38,000; the Netherlands, 30,000; Belgium, 30,000; Switzerland, 8,000; Denmark, 3,000; and Portugal, 1,000.

Now let us move to other continents and other lands. The United States admitted 90,000, Palestine welcomed 60,000, Shanghai, (yes, Shanghai, China!), admitted 18,000, South and Central America 84,000, the British Dominions -- Canada, Australia, New Zealand, 30,000.

Shanghai may serve as an example of how desperately Jews were looking for a haven. The majority who came to Shanghai between September, 1938, and September, 1939, were Austrian Jews, and some from Germany and Poland.

(Many of you I believe, met Charles Jordan. After World War II he was stationed in Shanghai for the JDC caring for Jewish refugees).

As I mentioned before, in 1939 the United Jewish Appeal conducted its first campaign. In that year UJA collected \$15,000,000. It is interesting to note that, the year before, the three organizations campaigning separately raised \$7,000,000. As you can see, the unified effort doubled the amount.

While the campaign was successful, the need for aid was growing constantly.



During the period of the "Phony War", September 3, 1939 - May 9, 1940, Jews in Belgium, France, Holland, and in Scandinavia were living under trying conditions of uncertainty and apprehension. In May, 1940, the Phony War turned into a real one. In June, 1940, Paris fell. France was defeated. The Germans took over. So the JDC office was moved from Paris down to Lisbon. It remained there until September, 1944.

Under the direction of Dr. Joseph Schwartz, the JDC worked from Lisbon attempting to bring some measure of relief to fellow-Jews locked inside the Festung Europa, (Fortress Europe,) and doomed to utter destruction by Hitler's New Order.

Switzerland, being neutral, became an important center of JDC philanthropic activity. Other outlets and outposts of JDC aid were established in such far-away and unlikely places as Istanbul, Turkey, and Teheran, Persia.

Because we were closer to the scene, knew more, and felt stronger the impact of the calamity that had befallen the Jews, we wanted desperately to help. We were stubborn and inventive. We found ways of smuggling food and money in, and, most importantly, smuggling people out. Let me give you an example of our inventiveness. Upon consultation and, in cooperation, with the proper authorities it was decided to parachute \$800,000 into Poland. The cash was actually parachuted and attempts were made to distribute it, and to see that it got to the right people. Not all of it ever did.



But I repeat, our foremost desire was to help our people to get out. I would like, if I may, to digress for a moment, and to share with you thoughts that never leave me, ideas that have guided me in my work for the past fifteen years. This phrase I have just used, "to get people out," is the keynote idea that I would like to convey to you today, because it sums up my own personal philosophy. Surely, there will be some who agree with it and there will be others who disagree with it.

What I am saying is simply this: when things get bad and history deals severe blows in some country, under circumstances that reveal with unmistakable clarity that everything we do inside the stricken place is failing to alleviate the pain and anguish of our people, then we must conclude that the ultimate, the sole solution to our problem is to get the people out of the situation in which they find life to be untenable.

There are two ways of looking at this, namely: to bring relief in or to get people out.

Let me assure you that whenever and wherever it is possible we give aid within the place and we do it to the best of our ability.

But it seems to me that recent history forces upon us the conclusion that migration is the sole solution to the Jewish problem.

If you followed my reasoning carefully you understand that the answer itself is not in our hands.

I know there are those who attack this conclusion because they say: "Jews should not run from one place to another. Jews should not always be on the run. Jews should not always feel that when they get into trouble somewhere, the only way of avoiding trouble is to run away".



This is an unfair formulation. Especially so, because people who "dwell in safety" should not play with destinies of people who live in danger. It isn't a question of running away from something you like. We try to save life by curing trachoma of children inside a country and we try to save life by taking these children out of a country and settling them elsewhere, be it Norway or Israel. But, please understand, that recent events do not leave room for alternative answers. History narrows our choice to one solution - migration. It seems to me that this process of migration is the effective way we have developed over the great span of Jewish history, of many a century, to meet the problems which are perennially the same.

Jews lived in Babylonia for a long time. When life in Babylonia became unbearable (if you were to look at Jewish history you would see the pendulum swinging, and in the year 1,000 the center of Jewish life was swaying away from Babylonia) Jews left, and shortly the center of Jewish life was in Spain.

The center of Jewish life remained in Spain from the year 1,000 to 1,500 or to be exact 1492. Then it shifted -- from 1500 to 1900 -- to Poland and Russia. This was accomplished by huge migration of the Jewish people wandering across the continent of Europe.

The negative part of the concept is the wandering Jew. The positive part of concept is the way it is administered. It is no more the wandering Jew, running staff-in-hand, no one helping him, everyone beating him; now it is the migrating Jew, assisted to migrate. There is a firm policy decision made by our correlative religionists who see and know that this is the best way to solve the problem, and in a very precise and far-sighted form one arranges the destiny of the people in that fashion.



I am sorry for this personal interruption. Perhaps it is not chronological in the recital of events. However, I often think of episodes such as the S.S. Struma carrying our people who tried to reach safety, but there were no doors open, - and they perished.

I believe you should know and remember the story of the Struma. This was a ship which held 769 Rumanian Jewish passengers who tried to run from Hitler. - Flying a Panamanian flag, the S.S. Struma was bound for Turkey. Passengers' documents were not in order and Turkey would not let them land. The ship struck a mine in the harbor and sank. It happened on February 25, 1942. All but two persons perished.

Our job is to open doors, and to keep them open; to use migration as an instrument of Jewish survival. This became the guiding policy after World War II ended.

During the war years, 1941 to 1945, we were not raising too much money. We did what we could.

It was a period in which the fate and destiny of our own people was not in our hands. Other people were controlling us. We were subjects of their destructive will. The Joint Distribution Committee and the Jewish Agency worked as hard as they knew how. But we made little progress in saving the Jewish people in these years.

In 1945 the war was over. The door opened. The opportunity was here. Now we had control over our own destinies. Now was the time to determine what we wanted to do.

We took stock of our losses. Grief-stricken, in pain and in sorrow, we concluded that 6,000,000 of us died.



Think only what it meant to us! There were about 16,000,000 Jews when war started and only 10,000,000 at war's end.

Of the 10,000,000 who remained alive, 5,500,000 were here, in this country. Our task from 1945 onward became a task of trying to pick up the remnants.

In the first peacetime spring of 1945 we found alive on German soil some 85,000 Jews; they came from every country of the continent, but mostly from the East.

These were the ones we began to be concerned about. These were the ones who formed the nucleus of the DP population - "Displaced Persons". They were displaced because they could not go back to their native lands; they did not want to go back; they had no other countries to go to. There were not any open doors. Not in the United States and not even in Palestine.

In those days to get into Palestine certificates were needed, which were issued by the British Government. The entry into Palestine was regulated by a White Paper. It ordered: "Only certificated immigrants would be permitted to come in". The number of certificates the British were willing to issue came to 1,500 per month.

How on earth, do you handle a problem of this magnitude, with 1,500 certificates a month?

Europe was devastated.

In Poland, a new pogrom took place after the war. I was in Poland on the 4th of July, 1946. I was in the town of Kielce where 42 Jews were killed. This was the first perturbing occurrence of the post armistice era. It is not difficult to understand the impact of the Kielce pogrom.



A year and two months after the war was over, the remnants of Polish Jews, counted at 250,000 (out of the pre-war 3,500,000) were again terrorized by pogroms which started on that day of July 4, and which left the entire community in a state of shock. It was unbelievable that a year and two months after Hitler's death pogroms could happen again. The shock was provoked not by the number of people killed. I am convinced if it had been four persons, Polish Jewry would have reacted with the trigger-like speed that it did; it reacted so strongly because of the fantastic incredibility of the pogrom, because of the almost nightmarish quality of the repetition of ugly things that belong to the past.

There were frequent shootings in Poland. There was terror, beatings, more killing. A very simple thing resulted: Jews took to the roads. A huge flow started out of Poland westward, into Germany and Austria. All the people wanted was to get to a place where they would be under the American flag. The American Army and the UNRRA maintained camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. These places were the immediate goal of the migrating Jews. The Jewish population in the DP camps swelled to a quarter million. They came from Poland, Rumania, Hungary and Russia.

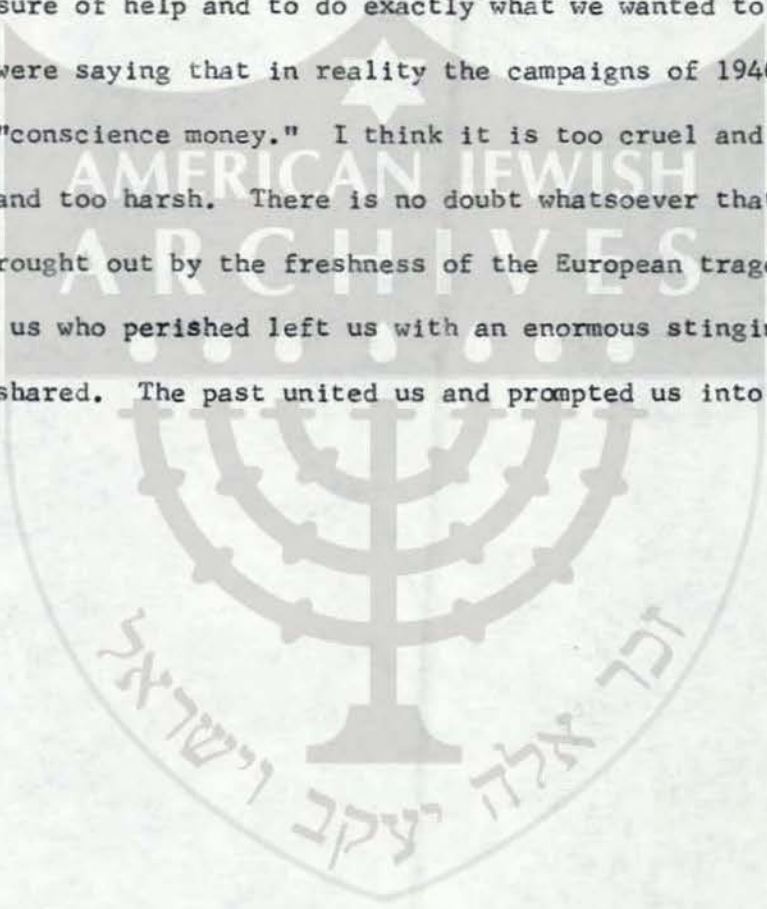
The DP's were not helplessly left alone. We, in America, became more sensitive and more receptive to the Jewish need abroad.

The UJA campaigns of 1946 and 1947 were gratifyingly successful. The Jewish community gave feelingly, generously. You recall, that in 1939 UJA raised \$15,000,000. In 1945, the year of Hitler's defeat, the campaign aimed at \$100,000,000, and a year later, in 1946, this was achieved. The exact figure was \$102,000,000. We may say that UJA income went over the \$100,000,000 mark even before the establishment of the State of Israel.



It is my considered opinion that this was a reaction based on horror and shock and what had happened in the Nazi period and it evoked an enormous, crushing feeling on the part of the Jews of America, a feeling of guilt that they had done little during the period of extermination.

But now times changed. Now there was a chance for us to bring a fuller measure of help and to do exactly what we wanted to do. Yet, some people were saying that in reality the campaigns of 1946 and 1947 represented "conscience money." I think it is too cruel and too cold, too cynical and too harsh. There is no doubt whatsoever that the generous giving was brought out by the freshness of the European tragedy. The 6,000,000 of us who perished left us with an enormous stinging wound that we commonly shared. The past united us and prompted us into constructive compassion.





Let us return to our main topic - migration.

For a variety of reasons, the Jewish Agency embarked upon Aliyah Bet, which the British Administration regarded as "illegal immigration". In fact, it was a secondary, complementary channel of Jewish access into Palestine. It was designed to overcome the woefully inadequate, the dated and bureaucratically rigid quota system of 1,500 certificated monthly entries into Palestine. The DP camps were a mere staging area, with the prevailing and irritating sense of homelessness,

Moreover, there was an acute political synchronization of aspirations and interests between Palestine and Jewish displaced persons. In the summer 1946, a year after V-E Day, "the atmosphere", as the European calls it, was changing. The upheavals of World War II rendered the status of Palestine obsolete. A new dramatic change of the Jewish position there was expected. It was clear that a reborn Yishuv would welcome the DPs; the displaced persons, in their turn, needed a home, permanency, rootedness.

Between November, 1945, and July, 1947, ships owned or chartered by the Jewish Agency and manned by Hagannah members were plying the sea between Europe and Palestine. These ships, filled with 39,804 non-certificated migrants, made 37 voyages.

The Aliyah Bet brought the British Navy back into full strength for patrol duties in the Mediterranean. The Hagannah transports were slow, dilapidated vessels and most of them were caught.

At the early stage of the illegal immigration ships apprehended by the British were permitted to disembark their passengers in Palestine.



In 1946, the British decided to put the non-certificated migrants into detention camps at Cyprus. But, virtually, nothing could stop the Jewish DPs. The desire to leave Europe was so strong that even the detention camps would not deter our people: within a 29-month period (August 14, 1946 - February 11, 1949) the Cyprus detention camps "accommodated" some 50,000 "interrupted" migrants.

The forced, punitive rerouting of migrants failed. The British apparently felt compelled to undertake new, more drastic steps.

This brings us to the famous episode - "Exodus". "Exodus", in real life, was an unseaworthy Chesapeake Bay excursion ship "President Warfield". It barely made the French port of Sete, where it picked up the illegals and sailed for Palestine. The British intercepted it. Trying to break the spirit of Aliyah Bet, they sent Exodus back to Germany, not Cyprus. It happened in July, 1947. The world was shocked to read of Jews being returned to the camp at Bergen-Belsen.

It was a fascinating period in our history. Events moved in rapid succession.

On November 29, 1947, the partition of Palestine. Six-and-a-half months later, on May 14, 1948, Israel became independent and found itself at war with the Arab neighbors.

I would like you to know the impact free Israel had upon migration. From May 14, 1948, until December 31, 1948, in seven-and-a-half months, one hundred and one thousand Jews freely entered Israel. With political obstacles removed, with enough money to handle transportation, Israel was flooded with new arrivals.

Let me just mention that the 1948 campaign was the greatest fund-raising effort UJA ever made. We collected one hundred and fifty million dollars.



What a jump! In 1939, we "took in" about \$15,000,000. In 1948, ten times as much. A large share of the UJA income went into transportation of migrants and their absorption into Israel.

You may be sure, Israel never closed its doors. In the first 13 years of independence, that is from May, 1948 until July, 1961, one million immigrants settled there. One million Jews settled by the "system of migration", and this is the reason why I believe in it so completely. From a raw, elementary and practical point of view, this is the way of saving people.

When we talk about saving people, we talk about transporting them, moving them, getting them out of oppression and getting them into freedom.

When asked what does UJA stand for, I usually answer: UJA stands for aiding people, for saving the people and building the land of Israel, so as to enable it to receive them.

As free citizens we build the land of America, we build the land of Canada, or any other land we live in. We build these countries, by our general labor; these are our countries, whose strength, growth, and economic future we aid by the living out of our daily lives.

We make money. We pay our taxes. We conduct our business, we are patriotic citizens, we build America stronger by being Americans.

By our own activities as Americans, we help America to be a receiving country for migrants. By our activities as Jews, we help Israel to be a receiving country. We help not as Israelis, but as Jews. These are the two fundamentals of UJA work: to rescue people and to give aid to people wherever and whenever we can.



I think that this is the simplest of all the explanations of what the UJA campaign is about, and it is always the same. It does not change. Our work has not changed since 1914. It certainly did not change since 1939. It would not change in 1970 or 1980.

So as you see, our task can be and must be stated in the simplest way possible. We do not need embellishments or sophisticated definitions. When the cause is right - its description becomes clear and simple.

Now I would like to discuss the next point - future migrations.

Operating on the theory of migration and using the dates of 1960, 1970, 1980 - what do I have in mind?

I would like to take a long view into the future. I am doing this for a very practical reason: we must ascertain where our next problems lie.

Where are the reservoirs of Jewish migration? -

In whatever places or areas Jews find themselves so deeply in trouble that the only possible solution to their problem will be migration.

I would like to share with you these statistical data. They outline the geography and approximate the scope of our future work.

I will divide the data into two major areas: Eastern Europe and the Moslem lands. First, Europe: Rumania - 225,000, Hungary - 100,000, Poland - 30,000, Czechoslovakia - 18,000, Bulgaria - 7,000.

That gives us a total of 380,000 Jews in Europe.

Now, the Moslem countries: Morocco - 180,000, Algeria - 130,000, Tunisia - 62,000.

That gives us a total of 372,000 Jews in the Moslem lands.

Add 380,000 to 372,000 and you have a grand total of 752,000 Jews.



Good friends, we are talking about three quarters of a million persons. Three quarters of a million divided into geographic blocks. They are potential migrants for whose rescue we are responsible. It is a very strong statement which, I feel, requires some amplifications. We must accept our future work conscientiously, because, I am sure, once we have accepted it, we will do it. It is a burden placed upon you and which will be yours for the next -- what shall I say, five, ten, twelve years? -- I don't know for how long. I do know that we have brought a million people into Israel. If in these eight countries the reservoir is 750,000 people, and if we are to take out every single Jew, the entire burden will be only three-quarters of what we have already accomplished.

We have done the first million. There are only three-quarters of a million to go.

Therefore, it certainly is not a horrendous burden. It is not an inconceivable one nor is it an endless one. I brought it out as a challenge because it is the challenge of your generation. The challenge of understanding the concept of migration. If you accept this as a way to solve the problem then you must know the size of the problem to be solved.

It will be absolutely pointless to go into the detailed analysis of the Jewish position in every individual country. Taken by areas, we can generalize the conditions as follows:

In Eastern Europe the main problem is adjustment to the requirements of the Communist satellite states. Private initiative in economy is discouraged. The majority of our fellow Jews there belong to the "old



class" of small entrepreneurs, artisans, store keepers. Like in the Soviet Union three decades ago, they are considered "superfluous elements". They are subject to political restrictions. In the best case, Jews in Eastern Europe are a minority not much trusted by the regime of "People's Democracy". (The common name for all satellite lands).

Additionally, Jews are suspect of Zionism which is anathema in Eastern Europe. As far as we know, there are no organized movements, clubs or any other attributes of a political underground.

True, Jews would like to leave. There is one country that would accept them, - Israel. Is it political Zionism or -- to coin a word -- "suvarol" migration?

In Moslem countries, primarily in those of North Africa, Jews are victims of civil war, intense nationalism and expanded influence of the Arab League. Jews are terrorized by the new weapon, the plastic bomb, (and that is in addition to the customary throat-slashing, back-stabbing and other ways of murder). Stores are often looted, the streets unsafe.

In countries that have achieved a measure of normalcy and stability, secular Jewish education is being nationalized and some forms of Jewish welfare aid -- state supervised. Jewish business suffers. Employment opportunities diminish.



The two areas remote from each other, have something in common, namely, the extremely inhospitable environments.

Can we make projections? - Only in the most general way.

As long as Jews are in distress - social, political, economic -- as long as they are not free and not equal in their native lands, they will look toward migration as the sole remedy left them. What will the ultimate size of the future migration be? Only time will tell.

But, I am confident, that you of the new generation, you will never fail them. You will help the migrating Jew to reach his new home and to build it securely.

I would like to move to the next point. -- Russia.

I have never made a public speech about Russian Jews.

A moment ago, I refused to make any prediction in regard to the size of future migration from the two areas discussed above. If pressed hard, I would venture a guess, that of the three-quarters of a million persons we talked about, some 500,000 may be considered as the reservoir of potential migration. That is if they have the political freedom to move out.

You will notice, I have not said anything about Russian Jews. I have kept it as a separate issue.

I have never permitted myself to talk publicly about Russian Jews because it is a very sensitive subject. I do not often find opportunity such as this gathering, where I can speak freely and not worry about the press.



I travel much, and frequently address meetings on behalf of UJA. But rarely do I stand in front of people talking to them about a distant future. Most of the time I talk about the immediate task at hand: "Let us raise more money at this meeting, tonight".

With you friends, I can talk about a five year, a ten year, and fifteen year outlook, and you will not be frightened.

So I want to talk about the Jews of Russia.

It is believed that there are 3,000,000 Jews in the Soviet Union. It is anybody's guess, but that is a close enough figure.

The three million Jews are in great danger. They have lived under the Communist regime for forty-four years. The basic Bolshevik policy has been assimilation, which in various periods of the Communist rule was either state-sponsored, state-prompted, or state-forced.

The aim of the post-war assimilation is to eradicate Jewishness, - spiritually, religiously, culturally, and linguistically. Lately, the Jewish population of the Soviet Union has been under the most severe harrassment in spite of the official claims that there is no discrimination against the Jews in Russia. AS far as the facts of life are concerned the Jewish population has never been free there in any sense of the word.

To be sure, during the four decades of Communist regime there have been fluctuations. There have been periods of relative quiet and moderate tolerance, as well as periods of terror. Do you remember the Doctors' Plot of 1953? Nine doctors, six of whom were Jewish, were accused of poisoning high officials of the Soviet State and of the Communist Party. Hundreds of Jewish writers were arrested, deported



or killed. Jewish writers. Not any writers. Not any intellectuals. Not anti-Communists. Jewish writers, specifically.

We, the five and a half million Jews of America, stand before the three million Jews of Russia in a very awkward position.

We want to help them, but we cannot.

Russia's government will not permit us to send food packages to 3,000,000 of her 200,000,000 people. It is an "insult" to them. "Nobody in Russia is hungry."

There is no internal Jewish Welfare Organization operating in Russia.

There is no international Jewish Migration Agency operating in Russia. We cannot help them inside and we cannot help them to migrate outside. What can we do?

There is only one thing we can do: We can learn thoroughly all the facts concerning Jews.

Old Mother Russia never looked too kindly upon Jews. The supposedly rejuvenated Russia treats them like stepchildren, with severity and crossness.

Let us keep alive the knowledge of the facts together with the hope that some day we will be able to bring Russian Jewry back into the fold of the Jewish people. Keep the knowledge growing, and keep the hope alive; when the time comes, we will be able to do something. And I do not know whether it will be 1963, 1966, 1974 or -- I must be frank with you -- ever.



I said it in order to be judiciously accurate. From a "pure" logical point of view I have to say "or ever." But, contrary to the pure logic which, incidentally, is not the best compass through the messy labyrinth of history, I am going to make the following emotional or illogical statement: I believe with every fiber of my being that we will be able to bring the Russian Jews back into the fold of the Jewish people. This is just a matter of belief. It is a matter of faith. I believe that we will be able to keep ourselves vigilant and strong, and when the opportunity comes to do something about it, we will be able to do it.

As I said a moment ago, it is important to know some facts about Russia. I would like to share with you the information in my possession consisting of news items that I have carefully collected over the years. The New York Times alone, (the reliable, solid and anti-sensational news establishment), printed within a year's time, November 1958 - November, 1959, five major items on the Jewish position in the Soviet Union.

What do these items reveal?

They give a running account on religious discrimination against Jews. On Rosh Hashanah of 1959 private prayer houses in Kiev and Kharkov were searched, scrolls confiscated, affiliated groups disbanded. There was indication that regular synagogues were seized. During Passover it was reported that baking of matzohs was prohibited.

It is believed that numerus clausus exists in institutions of higher learning; although the Ministry of Education officially denied it.

Finally, there were distressing dispatches about acts of violence against Jews. In a suburb of Moscow an attempt was made to burn a synagogue. During these incidents a Jewish woman was murdered. Soviet provincial newspapers reported a sharp rise in attacks on Jews.



Early in 1960, the New York Journal American published a series of three articles that dealt with the precarious Jewish position in Russia. Public opinion in the United States could not, and would not, remain indifferent to the sad lot of Russian Jewry.

On March 16, 1960, the New York Herald Tribune reported that Senator Dodd of Connecticut prepared a ten thousand word analysis on Soviet anti-Semitism. The newspaper quoted the Senator: "for some strange reasons the terrifying story of persecution of Jews under communism has not penetrated the public consciousness of the free world. So far as is known, no Jew is to be found in the foreign service of the Soviet Union, among the higher ranks of the army forces or in the various military academies. Jews are also excluded from leading positions in the Communist party, from the central party newspapers and the foreign section of the Soviet press. Jews are progressively being excluded from admission to the universities."

Senator Dodd inserted the analysis in the Congressional Record. His effort in calling public attention to the Jewish position in the Soviet Union was soon repeated by four distinguished Americans.

On May 16, 1960, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Justice Douglas, Thurgood Marshall, formerly of the NAACP and the Reverend Reinhold Niebuhr, in a special press release appealed to world leaders to give serious consideration to the situation of Russian Jewry. The four civil libertarians cited the fact that although the Jews are specifically recognized as a nationality in the Soviet Union, "they are the only group of this kind, which since 1948 has been deprived by official



policy of any of the attendant rights accorded to all the other nationalities of the Soviet Union. These include schools, newspapers, public houses, theatres in the national language and instruction in the cultural and historical traditions of their people."

The statement also notes that religious Jews are hampered by the closing of synagogues and by the official ban of the Hebrew language -- Jews are prevented from having a nation wide federation of Jewish communities. After stating authoritatively the facts on the precarious position of the Jews in the Soviet Union, the four leaders called for the following five steps.

One, - reinstatement of all cultural facilities for the Jewish minorities.

Two, - permission for Jewish religious institutions to practice their rights freely and to establish formal contact with each other.

Three, - permission for Soviet Jewish cultural and religious institutions to establish contact with Jews in the outside world.

Four, - permission for Soviet Jews to be reunited with their families in Israel or elsewhere throughout the world.

Five, - to end the anti-Jewish press campaign.



We must assume that the Russian government was apprised of the appeal issued by four prominent Americans. It would be naive to expect the Kremlin to react immediately and definitively on the valiant effort of our four liberal citizens.

Some veteran Kremlinologists believe that, traditionally, the ruling body of the Community party is well insulated from any pressure of public opinion. The Bolshevik political concepts, the Kremlinologists claim, are based on the application of force and not on popularity of issues. Every new political turn, every new political line is forced into "popular" acceptance.

Other serious students of Soviet affairs maintain that traditional Communist insulation is beginning to weaken. The present exuberant exponent of Sovietism, Nikita Khrushchev, is more sensitive to public opinion than his inflexible predecessor, Joseph Stalin.

Recent events revealed the co-existence of various attitudes to Jews in the Soviet Union proper.

Again, let us turn to the facts.

On Monday, November 6, 1961, the New York Herald Tribune printed a front-page story concerning Jewish leaders who were brought to secret trial in Leningrad, in October 1961. A 60-year-old Jewish communal leader, Pechersky and two other Jews were sentenced to jail. Pechersky was given 12 years in prison and there is little hope that he will ever come out. It is assumed that the three leaders were jailed because they tried to preserve some measure of Jewishness in Leningrad, - reportedly one of the most stubborn Jewish communities in Russia. That is the extent of their crime.

The "Leningrad case" indicates that the severe punitive official line continues.



But unlike some nine years ago (January, 1953, the time of "Doctors' Plot) not all Russians are deadly obedient, meek and silent.

In September 1961, a young talented poet, born and raised in the Soviet Union, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, denounced in beautiful noble verse, anti-Semitism.

Yevtushenko wrote a poem, Babi Yar. Babi Yar is a ravine, near Kiev. In 1941, forty thousand Jews were marched off, by German Occupation Force in Kiev, to Babi Yar. They were directed to a cliff, hanging over the ravine. They were machine-gunned, methodically, indifferently, by the Germans, by the Nazis, by the robots who called themselves "German Occupation Force".

The machine-gunned bodies tumbled from the cliff into the ravine, Bulldozers covered the mass grave with sand. Let us not cry. Let us not sob. Let us remember these two Russian words Babi Yar. Babi Yar - the darkest, tragic hour in the history of our people.

Yevtushenko is not Jewish. He expressed the feeling of his heart that the Russian people had taken no cognizance of the great wound inflicted upon Jews, had not even placed a monument to mark the spot. Yevtushenko is chagrined that the Russian people carry in them traits of potentially dangerous anti-Semitism.

The young poet, a communist, was chanting a poetic lesson to his Russians, telling them how badly he felt.

The poem was written in Russian. I read to you the translation by Marie Syrkin:

No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;

Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.

Such dread comes over; I feel so old,

Old as the Jews. Today, I am a Jew ...



Now I go wandering, an Egyptian slave;  
And now I perish, splayed upon the cross,  
The Marks of Nails are still upon my flesh.

And I am Dreyfus whom the gentry hound.  
I am behind the bars, caught in a ring.  
While dainty ladies in their lacy frills.  
Squealing, poke parasols into my face.

I am that little boy in Bialystok  
Whose blood flows, spreading darkly on the floor.  
The rowdy lords of the saloon make sport,  
Reeking alike of vodka and of leek.  
Booted aside, weak, helpless, I, the child  
Who begs in vain while the pogromchik mob  
Guffaws and shouts: "Save Russia, beat the Jews!"  
The shopman's blows fall on my mother's back.  
O my own people, my own Russian folk,  
I know you international at heart;  
But often those unclean of hand have dared  
To brandish your most pure and lofty name.  
I know the goodness of my native land.  
How vile that anti-Semites shamelessly  
Preen themselves in the title they defile:  
"The Russian People's Union."

Now, in this moment, I am Anna Frank,  
Frail and Transparent as an April twig,



I love as she; I need no ready phrases....  
Only to look into each other's eyes!  
How little we can smell, how little we see...  
Leaves are forbidden us, the sky forbidden...  
Yet now much still remains; how strangely sweet  
To hold each other close in the dark room,  
They come? No, do not fear. These are the gales  
Of spring; she bursts into this gloom,  
Come to me; quickly; let me kiss your lips...  
They break the door? No, no, the ice is breaking.  
On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees  
Like Judges loom and threaten...  
All screams is silence; I take off my cap,  
And feel that I am slowly turning gray,  
And I too have become a soundless cry  
Over the thousands that lie buried here.  
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot,  
None of me will forget.  
Let the glad "Internationale" blare forth  
When earth's last anti-Semite lies in earth,  
No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,  
But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate  
Detest me like a Jew.  
O know me truly Russian through their hate!



Now, you read the verse. You are impressed, I am sure, with the noble spirit of humaneness that inspired Yevtushenko and guided him through the poem, Babi Yar.

Yevtushenko is merely saying that true Russians, like all true men on earth, must take the poison of anti-Semitism out of their hearts.

In Moscow synagogues, during the Succoth holiday, Jews read Babi Yar as though it were a prayer. It meant that much to them.

Officially, Jews are singled out for special treatment as a least trusted minority. But, Russia is no more the gigantic ice-box it used to be in Stalin's time. State-sponsored pressure upon Jews is resented. True, there were no mass protest meetings in Moscow, Kiev or Odessa. Nor were there letters of indignation sent to Pravda and Izvestia. We are encouraged that men of letters took a stand.

Take Ilya Ehrenburg, the famous indestructible Soviet publicist, who verily is an "institution unto himself."

On his 70th birthday, Ehrenburg stated: "I am a Russian writer, but as long as there is even one anti-Semite, I will respond by having written in my passport I am a Jew". It was a challenging statement. Ehrenburg, whose extremely well developed caution was responsible for his survival during purges of the 30's and the 40's, the same Ehrenburg feels now free to protest anti-Jewish practice in the Soviet Union.

Slowly, hesitantly, the mood in Russia is changing. Surely, it is not even the dawn of a new era. Perhaps, it is a weak, tender spark in the darkness of the night.

We must know the facts. We must look for the sparks. We must have faith in our future.



And now I wish to turn to the last point - the nature of philanthropy in the United States.

We will be able to meet the Russian problem if we preserve our concept of philanthropy which we have developed here in America.

What can happen to it? I will answer the question as compactly as possible.

It may happen that philanthropy will go the wrong way, it may disperse its efforts and aims, thus making us incapable of meeting the greatest challenge of all, the challenge of Russian Jewry -- whenever it occurs. We must take steps to prevent philanthropy from altering its course. We must take measures soon, because I have some fears that philanthropy is beginning to go in the wrong direction.

I will state my fears clearly.

Firstly, let me simply say that philanthropy is big business in America. The social significance of philanthropy is reflected in our community. The important leader in the community is customarily the head of the philanthropic agency. He participates in its works. This participation contributes to his prestige and to his social status. He often acquires a leading role in the community through a big gift. All this you know well, and you know what I mean when I say that philanthropy is big business in the United States. It is even more than that; it is an enormous social enterprise and therefore requires a philosophical approach.

So, the whole point of my last topic is to call your attention to the work, in which you will be engaged in the immediate future.



I plead with you, do not work blindly, trying to raise money without knowing what you are raising money for. Raising money is not an objective in itself. You must have a philosophic long-term approach, a rationalization of what you are trying to accomplish. Because, by its very nature, philanthropy in America is a great social mover. It differs markedly from charity.

Charity is a handout. It mends the ugly holes of poverty. Philanthropy is a constructive enterprise. Philanthropy - is to build, to find a lasting solution; not just to relieve an immediate pain or trouble. We are past the Lady Bountiful stage of charity where we hand out a pair of shoes to a needy Jewish child. If it must be done, we do it. But it is not the main objective. The main objective is to reconstruct the life of the child.

I am stressing this, because if you do not develop a certain philosophy about the use of this massive and powerful weapon that we lovingly and stubbornly forge, you will be doing your work blindly.

What do you want to support? How would you like to use the philanthropic dollar? - In order to make the right decision you must have a social philosophy.

Imperceptibly but definitely a trend crept up upon us, which indicates that centralized fund-raising of federations and welfare funds is on the decline, while the so-called independent drives and separate campaigns are on the ascent.

Let me make clear what I am saying.



To start with: there has been a shift, from the central welfare funds to building funds, which over the year/s expanded considerably.

How does a building fund get started? -- Not always because of the expressed will of the community and not because everyone in the community decided that a great new \$3,000,000 edifice has to be built. Very often one, two, or three people decide: it would be nice to have another wing on the hospital, or a new center, or a new home-for-aged. Surprisingly, a head of steam begins to develop; it gains momentum, and pretty soon more and more people in town are talking about it and joining the building fund. Suddenly, you find all the important people in the community involved in the building campaign.

If amidst the process of "dynamic inevitability" you would step aside and take a detached and sober look and ask yourself: "Do we really want to spend \$3,000,000 on this edifice in our town, which, incidentally, will require an additional \$150,000 a year to support ad infinitum. Do we really want this" - Then, I am sure, you would pose a second question: "Do we need it?" Or, "Do we need it now?"

Good friends, I have been to almost every city of any size of our land. Not once, and not twice, but many a time. But in all my visits, I have encountered perhaps a dozen courageous and reasonable men who said: "Let us take a second look at the building drive." It is possible that a second look would prove that you need it, but I have seen few "second looks."

I am going to write some figures on the blackboard.



Centralized Campaign: this includes the Allied Jewish Campaigns, Federation Drive, and other fund-raising efforts conducted by the local Welfare Funds. I am giving comparative figures for the years 1946, 1948 and 1959.

In 1946, the Centralized Campaign raised \$131,000,000; in 1948 it raised \$200,000,000, (out of which it allotted \$148,000,000 to the UJA). In 1959 it dropped to \$130,000,000.

Independent Campaigns, (outside of the Welfare Funds for various causes), 1946 -- \$19,000,000; 1948 -- \$26,000,000; and in 1959 the Independent Campaigns reached a total of \$55,000,000.

Building Funds, which are conducted separately, showed the following development: 1946 they claimed \$8,000,000; 1948 -- \$15,000,000 and 1959 some \$35,000,000 were committed to the Building Funds.

What is happening?

Jews in the United States were not less generous in 1959 than they were in 1948. They were not even giving away less money. They are just diverting it. They are changing the pattern; they are altering the destination of the philanthropic dollar.

It is their choice, but they must have the full knowledge of what they are doing. No more tears. No more saying: "Oh, these poor desperate Jews in such and such a country." or "We would like so much to help Jews to get out of that country." And, at the same time, to continue to divert and rechannel the contributed dollar, thus altering the nature of our philanthropy. You cannot do both. Certainly, not at the same time.



I do not want this to be construed as an attack on building funds. I want this to be construed as an effort of bringing an important problem before you. Between 1946 and 1960, we in the United States have built for ourselves \$485,000,000 worth of capital plant: synagogues, hospitals, clinics, community centers, educational buildings, homes for the aged, etc.

We have already committed and spent nearly \$500,000,000, and in all probability, we have raised in pledges another \$500,000,000, that are on the books yet to be paid in three or five years.

I would like to give you another figure to contrast it with the Building Fund.

The other figure is this: from 1939 -- the year UJA started combined campaigning, -- through 1961, UJA has received (for overseas relief, for rescuing Jews and helping build up Israel), \$1,400,000,000. This is the result of twenty-three years of fund-raising.

It is the total sum of UJA receipts.

This sum has "bought" the following: welfare aid, relief, cash assistance, shoes, food for 2,700,000 Jews. This is the number of persons who have been assisted by UJA beneficiary agencies during the twenty-three years.

This sum has "bought" migration (physical transportation from one continent to another), for 1,477,000 Jews.

We spend \$1,400,000,000 to move one-and-a-half million Jews and to assist 2,750,000 others. This is global. This is historic.

We have set aside, in commitments and pledges \$1,000,000,000, for capital plant in 200-300 American Jewish communities.

What is the social philosophy behind philanthropy on this scale?



I can only give you one answer. I can only give you the answer that is supported by my own conviction, knowledge, accumulated in my lifetime, sustained by the strength of feeling that I have about priorities of our generation. I can only say to you that we have misspent some portion of the billion dollars. The capital plant of the United States should not have grown so fast. Some of the projects could wait. We are not a poverty stricken generation. We have buildings at our disposal. We could wait for better buildings. We have hospitals for our use. We could wait for larger hospitals. We have synagogues to pray in. We could wait for new modern temples. I don't think that the waiting period would have thwarted us. I don't think it would have inhibited us. I don't think it would have held us back. I believe that the creative act of our generation is well expressed in the \$1,400,000,000 given to aid and rescue.

A moment ago I talked about the immediate and historic reservoirs. Not a word did I say about the problems of Israel. This is the closest thing to the heart. It is so close that it is taken for granted. This is the issue you know most about. Perhaps, another \$1,400,000,000 poured into Israel in the next ten or twenty years is the way to spend money rationally and most beneficially. This is not a question of pro or contra. This is a question of developing a social philosophy of philanthropy.

Where do we put the great force of our thinking, our emphasis, our yearnings and our vision?

It seems to me that philanthropy is a social weapon which can alter the course of history. If philanthropy is that, then it should not be used for luxuries, it should be used for necessities. I think that it is a necessity to educate our children, but it can be done in less expensive centers.



I am saying that if we tried to differentiate in a brutal, raw primitive way between what is necessity and what is luxury, then we would conclude that saving of life is a necessity and the construction of handsome buildings is a luxury.

I include in the same category of pretty buildings the recent construction program of the Hebrew University and the Weitzmann Institute in Israel. I understand Israel's yearning for pretty buildings. I understand the yearnings of people who only recently became free and want to express and manifest it in a great cultural outpouring. But I think that Israelis, too, could wait.

Guilt is always shared equally. Perhaps I am too severe and I should call it not guilt but misjudgment. I am pleading now for the wisdom of seeing far enough so as to be able to alter the course of philanthropic trends.

We have seen a moment ago that there is an expressed diminution in income of central welfare campaigns. It adversely affects the revenue of the UJA. We have also noticed the expansion of other drives, not just building funds but the so-called separate campaigns as well.

I am pleading for the right perspective. I am pleading for balance. And I am pleading for comprehension of what is possible within a given length of time. I am talking to you so fully and frankly because this is your starting point in philanthropy. You are going to control it in the next twenty years. If you control it right, it will go right. If you control it wrong, it will go wrong. This exactly is the main purpose of the young leadership. It took us several years to develop a program. Now it came to fruition.



I would like to close by reading a paragraph from Professor Baron, of Columbia University. He talks about the future of Jewish life.

"Since neither forcible elimination from America, nor voluntary disappearance on the part of the Jews seems to be a realistic possibility, the only genuine question is what kind of Jews there will be in America and elsewhere a century hence. No one in his senses will have the temerity to predict the type of Judaism and the type of Jewish community that is likely to emerge from our present world. Yet one thing may confidently be asserted. If American Jewry turns from quantity to quality, and builds its communal coexistence less upon the quantitative criteria of financial success, statistically measurable memberships, costly and outwardly impressive buildings and institutions and devotes more attention to the cultivation of the genuinely creative personality, then the new type of American Jewry will be a cause of pride and satisfaction. To put it bluntly, if someone were to guarantee that in the next generation American Jews will harbor one hundred truly first-rate scholars, one hundred first-rate rabbis, one hundred first-rate communal executives and one hundred first-rate lay leaders, the total number would not exceed five hundred persons, a negligible segment of the Jewish population. If there could be five hundred such persons, one could look forward confidently to American Jewry's reaching new heights of achievement."



Well, we could hardly bring forth one hundred first-rate rabbis from this group. Nor one hundred first rate writers. But this meeting may produce one hundred first rate communal leaders. You could change and alter the course of the American Jewish community, you could determine the way it would go, and you should keep alive the most important issue for which we live and die, the survival of our creativity. If we survive, and the Jews of Israel and Europe survive, and if we can bring aid to our fellow-Jews, then we, the stubborn people who are on the stage of history and who will not allow anyone to exterminate us, we will go forward, inspired by a Messianic role to create a better world, not only for us, not by us separately, but in friendly cooperation with others.

We are slated for great issues. We fought through horrible dark hours of our history. We are looking forward. We want a better, kinder, warmer future. But to do this we need the hundred first-rate lay leaders, with a social philosophy regulating their communal and philanthropic endeavors.

