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"My Credo" pages 451-749. undated.

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achieved, were willing to lay down their arms. The United Nations entered the picture, and in a very short time, by November 15, a UN force was in place in the Sinai, separating Egypt and Israel; and by a few weeks later, Dec. 22, the French and British forces withdrew from Port Said, since the Suez Canal was once again open to international shipping.

The actual military operation on Israel's part had taken only a few days, some commentators referring to it as the "100 Hour War". Ben Gurion himself understood that Israel would ultimately have to withdraw completely from the Sinai, and even verbalized that realization to his closest associates. He sensed the absolute fury of President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, who wanted no global confrontation with the Soviets over so minor an issue as a Middle East squabble. He knew Israel could not stand up to a barrage of American anger. And yet he wanted to draw as much advantage as he could out of the deadly and costly game which had just been played. He instructed his Foreign Minister, Golda Meir, to stall and struggle, both in the UN and in Washington, to obtain a commitment from the Americans that they would support Israel in any future Egyptian attempt to close the Suez Canal. That commitment was finally forthcoming, in a letter from the White House, and Israel withdrew completely from the Sinai on March 1, 1957. The entire episode had taken four months, at the end of which Israel had gained four benefits:

1. Destruction of bases in the Sinai and Gaza from which murdering fedayeen raiders had

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come.

2. Opening the Canal, which meant opening the port of Akaba, via the Red Sea, as well.
3. Obtaining an American guarantee that she would support Israel in any future threat to the Canal.
4. Acquiring from the French a 24-megawatt nuclear reactor.

In addition to these concrete achievements, there was the huge moral gain of having stood up to a dictator. In the Iraqi-created crisis of 1990, President George Bush found an immediate response from many other nations whom he called upon to form a multi-national force, when he described Saddam Hussein as a Hitler who attacked and over-ran a neighboring small country. Evoking that image from the 1940's, Bush succeeded brilliantly in arousing other world leaders, and even the UN Security Council, many of whose members were Third World countries not even in existence a half-century ago, yet who reacted to the challenge that a dictator must be stopped in his tracks. It was an incredible display of the power of that evil image to produce a quick consensus that such conduct must not be permitted today.

This was exactly Israel's point in 1956, in her effort to stop Nasser, a minor dictator, who had made his deal with a major dictatorship a year earlier and was now well supplied with Russian arms. I wrote a letter to my constituency on November 7, about a week after the Sinai Campaign started. The very first

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sentence made this same point:

"Thinking as an American, a Jew, and a citizen of the world, what would it have meant to you if someone had stopped Hitler dead in his tracks in 1933 or '36 or '39? What an outpouring of thanks future generations would have bestowed upon those who stood firm at a time when only a little firmness was required.

When Israel moved into the Sinai wilderness last Monday, and France and England followed with such breathtaking speed, they were dealing with Nasser in a manner and at a time which would undoubtedly save the world much headache later on. Dictators are vulnerable at the beginning of their march to power. They must be toppled early, when it can be done at the smallest cost of blood and treasure.

Let me speak frankly. I have noticed two types of reactions which can be called the dilemma of the American liberal and the dilemma of the moral Jew. As for the first, there is a kind of uneasiness on the part of some to whom the words "native independence" and "colonialism" carry certain connotations. Behind these slogans there lies a sympathy for a nation which tries to assert itself (i.e. Egypt, which nationalizes a waterway passing through its territory) and then is faced with the bombing planes of "colonial" powers (i.e. England and France) which try to re-establish a

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19th century type of sovereignty in a 20th century whose hallmark is self-determination of small powers. There is a certain squeamishness on the part of liberals as to the harshness of English and French methods.

Regarding the dilemma of the moral Jew, there is the feeling that the teachings of the Bible and ethics are inconsistent with night attacks, aggression, retaliation raids. Fighting in self-defense might be one thing, but taking the initiative in attack and slicing across an Egyptian border cannot be squared with the Ten Commandments.

Believe me, I am aware of these twin dilemmas, perhaps because my own training and disposition are exactly those of a liberal American and a moral Jew. I can feel the pinch of these arguments as well as anyone.

But in these very same two capacities I know one lesson of history which takes precedence over all else. Liberalism cannot thrive when evil is rampant in the world, and Judaism cannot survive when it fails to fight evil. The role and task of the liberal and the Jew in all human history have been happily synonymous - to recognize evil, point out its dangers, refuse to compromise with it, and even at the risk of fighting it alone, to oppose it to the limit of capacity.

Israel's move the other day was in the best tradition

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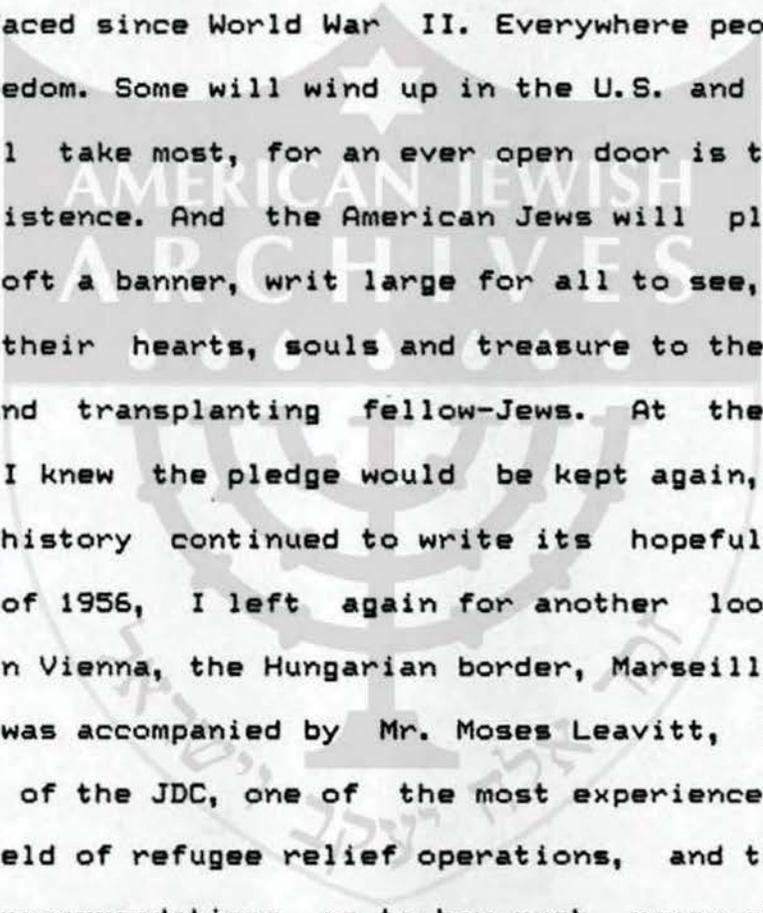
of this function. Israel's very survival was at stake, for by every sign the day of her Pearl Harbor was soon at hand - and to every nation there is the right and duty of self-preservation. But even above and beyond that, the people of Israel were once again challenging the existence of dictatorship in the world. I believe this was gallant, courageous and worthy of the gratitude of the world."

In the closing months of 1956 many events were moving with a dizzying speed. Egypt was expelling Jews in the aftermath of the recent war; Hungary was in revolt, with scores of thousands fleeing, including many Jews; Poland was seething with a suddenly renewed anti-semitism, causing the flight of Jews; Rumania was permitting emigration; Morocco was unable to stem the constant outflow, despite orders to close air and sea-ports. We appeared to be deep in the midst of a new refugee period, almost world-wide, involving more than 100,000 Jews from many lands, coming during the year ahead in one of the largest streams since the first two years of statehood. Many of us felt, somehow, that we were back a decade in time, at the end of the Hitler period, when the roads of Europe were filled with refugees seeking haven.

At a hastily-assembled leadership meeting on November 30, all the facts were laid out in detail, including all the speculation as to what might happen, and estimates of numbers to be expected, resulting in a decision to continue the special fund

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approach, and calling for an Emergency Rescue Fund of 100 million dollars above and beyond the regular UJA campaign for 1957. There was no argument. The picture, as 1957 dawned, was quite clearly one of flight, terror, deportees, escapees. There were more Jews on the roads, leaving old countries, seeking new countries, than we have faced since World War II. Everywhere people are running toward freedom. Some will wind up in the U.S. and elsewhere, but Israel will take most, for an ever open door is the very premise of her existence. And the American Jews will play their role - holding aloft a banner, writ large for all to see, containing the pledge of their hearts, souls and treasure to the noble task of rescuing and transplanting fellow-Jews. At the end of that meeting, I knew the pledge would be kept again, as the moving finger of history continued to write its hopeful story. On the last day of 1956, I left again for another look at the whole picture, in Vienna, the Hungarian border, Marseilles, Naples and Paris. I was accompanied by Mr. Moses Leavitt, executive vice-president of the JDC, one of the most experienced professionals in the field of refugee relief operations, and the man who made the basic recommendations as to how much money should be spent where. Sharp, acerbic, quick, not talented in social chit-chat, impatient of mediocrity, he was just the right companion in the fast moving scene we were entering. He would analyze a situation, make suggestions for handling problems, check back with his staff of excellent field directors for advice if he felt it necessary, and did all this with such self-confidence as to engender respect



from those with whom he was dealing. Leavitt was an expert in his work.

On January 6, we stood on the dock in Naples and watched the arrival of the vessel S.S. MISR, an Egyptian ship whose very name was reminiscent of the Hebrew word for Egypt - Mitzraim. Normally she carried Moslem pilgrims to Mecca. This time her cargo was 1000 Jews being expelled from Egypt. The ship had been chartered by the International Red Cross as a mercy vessel to bring to freedom Jews who were in Egyptian prisons. The pain and shock, the anger and bewilderment felt by these Jews poured out in a torrent when they found sympathetic people waiting to receive and greet them. They did not know we would be there. When they saw the large group of friendly JDC workers; officials of HIAS who would help process documents; Jewish officers of the Italian community; Jewish Agency personnel who would arrange further transportation to Israel; non-Jewish Italians from the Ministry of Labor who offered temporary shelter in an emigrant center; to say nothing of Jews from far-off America - when they saw this reception, they cried for joy, knowing that they were not forgotten. And then they poured out their stories, purging themselves in an emotional outburst of all the pent-up feelings.

Most of the stories contained a similarity of pattern, with only minor variations of small details. The terror usually began with a knock on the door in the dead of night, when a police officer, sometimes in uniform, sometimes in mufti, would deliver an order for expulsion or for prison. For those imprisoned, there

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was a day in the Cairo Citadel, on paperwork; then transfer to the Abassich (a Jewish school owned by the community which had been requisitioned and converted into a prison) for two months; then transfer to the Alexandria Prison for one day (the train ride made in handcuffs); and finally onto the expulsion ship, where the deportee signed a statement that he was leaving Egypt of his own free will! Two months and some days in prison - often enduring police brutality, often hungry, always taunted and mocked, filled with anguish concerning the rest of the family now separated and scattered - this was the fate of thousands.

For those not imprisoned, but simply ordered for expulsion, there was the frantic scurrying for boat and plane tickets; the selling of furniture and personal possessions to scrape together a few dollars; and the endless bribes for the necessary papers. All bank accounts were blocked, jobs lost, businesses confiscated, in a program of robbing the Jews and gathering their wealth into the dictator's coffers.

As of that moment, more than 8000 Egyptian Jews, some with various European passports which had been in their family for generations, most stateless, having been stripped of their Egyptian nationality, had already been expelled. The people on the MISR, with whom we spoke, were fully convinced that there would be a total expulsion of the entire Jewish population of Egypt numbering somewhere between 45 and 55,000 within a few months. The officials of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem were frantically preparing to receive such a flood. Other vessels were

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scheduled for Naples and Athens in the weeks ahead. We left with a feeling that the plans for temporary settlement of this stream in these two cities were very much in order, and the staffs of the various organizations were well motivated to provide as much physical and psychological comfort as possible. We left, also, with the feeling that we were well equipped to transmit to our followers back home the urgent need of relieving the misery we had seen.

From Naples and Rome, we went on to Vienna. This wondrously beautiful city, sitting in the center of Europe, through which all roads and rumors pass, was ever the place to learn the latest gossip and underground information as to what was happening to the Jews in any place on the continent, and sometimes even anywhere in the world. Information could always be bought, from a journalist, government official, professional spy, or plain drunken businessman passing through. Here we caught the first serious whispers of the new wave of anti-semitism developing in Poland. Strangely enough, it has nothing to do with the Jews themselves, but anti-semitism as a principle has become a factor in the struggle for power that is continuing between communists and nationalists on one hand, and between Stalinists and Gomulka, the present leader of the party. The issue between them is the question of who is a true anti-semite. The Revolutionary Student Council of Wroclaw (Breslau) University demanded the expulsion of all Jewish students from the university. Gomulka refused to accede to this demand. He is now charged with being soft on Jews.

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Two young men, presumably from the Student Council, recently walked into a crowded restaurant in the center of Warsaw shouting that they wanted to kill a Jew. They attacked a man who appeared to be a Jew, although in fact was not, and beat him unconscious as most patrons watched in silence. This whole story appeared in an article in the New York Times of January 8. The information from our informant was that a low-level panic is setting in, and many Jews are migrating to other countries. Total Jewish population in Poland was presently between 45 and 70,000; impossible to estimate the number who will leave.

We picked up a second rumor - namely that legal migration might soon be starting again from Rumania. In that country, the exit of Jews is usually on-again, off-again, and no one is quite sure how to predict the next move. But one thing is usually reliable in Vienna - where there is smoke, there is a fire. And sure enough, as we continued to poke around we found people who had been keeping watch at the South Station, and seen bedraggled looking Jews disembarking from the Bucharest train. At first, just a handful, but now a handful almost every day. It looked as though something was truly happening.

From Vienna we drove eastward through the province of Burgenland to the Hungarian border. Two months ago, on November 4, the Russians drove their tanks right into the center of Budapest to crush the revolt which the people were trying to mount. The Hungarians were the first, before the East Germans or the Czechs, to attempt to ameliorate the harshness of Russian

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domination. The Soviets understood what was at stake, and decided to crush the freedom movement with utter brutality. The street fighting was intense, hundreds killed, reprisals severe, and all this resulted in a mass flight. During December alone it is estimated that 150,000 Hungarians fled their homes and belongings, risking their very lives, for border guards were ordered to shoot to kill. They fled primarily westward, toward the Austrian border, for that at least was a neutral country, where they could feel safe. Up and down the Burgenland border, there were Hungarian watchtowers, manned often by Russians, on one side, and emigrant reception centers on the Austrian side. Winter is very cold in that area, with much snow and many small rivers. The Austrians therefore set up their receiving points as close to the border as possible, in large tents containing gas heaters, for the refugees staggered in, freezing wet, and were immediately treated to hot drinks and warm blankets. Gradually the panic and adrenalin which had sustained them during that final spurt, trying to avoid bullets, and falling in the river, would recede, leaving them flat and exhausted.

At dawn, we walked down to the river bank. Across the frozen fields we saw them coming - running, staggering, falling, running again. They came empty-handed, for the knapsack had grown too heavy on the back, and the suitcase had long ago been thrown aside during the final 20 or 30 kilometers which must be made on foot across plowed up and muddy terrain. Their clothing was ice-encrusted, their eyes red with weariness, and they have suffered

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casualties. We talked to one man whose wife had been shot by drunken Russian soldiers. We talked to another whose two children, 8 and 2, he had been forced to leave behind in a hospital with frostbite. It was a choice between leaving them, perhaps forever, or dragging them along with him, perhaps to their death. He elected to give them life, albeit as orphans, albeit under Soviet control. He cried bitterly. There was much shooting to be heard along the length of the canal on whose bank we stood, which marked the actual frontier. The Hungarian soldiers, not fifty meters opposite, shot as we turned our backs and walked away from the border-line.

Earlier, a JDC worker in Vienna had told us that approximately 10% of those fleeing were Jews, thus our relief efforts, after the immediate first-aid in the border tents, when the people were sorted out and distributed to the various Jewish and Catholic agencies, would encompass a number somewhere around 17,000. Now, standing at that spot on the canal, swirling with fog and mist, lonesome in the bleakness of winter, heavy with danger and far from normal habitation, we perceived something of the great adventure of the human spirit as people seek to escape the tyranny of armed communist might. Would we want to desert them, the twice-persecuted, the Jews with Auschwitz numbers on their arms who are now running a second time to save life itself? No one among our people, Leavitt and I promised ourselves, will walk away from this problem. We shall feed and clothe, house and nourish, heal and counsel, finally resettle these 17,000 and more

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who come each night in a manner which Jewish dignity demands.

Upon returning to Vienna, we watched the process by which the refugees were handled. Great acts of heroism were performed with devotion by the small corps of social workers in the JDC and United HIAS working 16 hours daily. Thousands of people passed before them, nervously asking questions. Each one was treated in a kindly and careful fashion. The eager and pathetic queries about visas to various countries must be answered with tact and patience. Sometimes I was not sure who was more tired, the refugees themselves or those sitting at the little wooden desks trying to help them. The care and maintenance of this caseload constituted a tremendous financial burden, which was my responsibility. I would go home and try to do it well. And I was encouraged immensely as I watched the social workers assuming their responsibility of giving personal attention to so many thousands of bewildered and anxious people. They were conducting their crushing job with love and efficiency. I left Vienna, proud to be associated with such devoted colleagues.

A quick stop was made in Marseilles, where I wanted to inspect a camp in the hills behind the city. This was a holding area, where immigrants waited en route to Israel. Transports out of Morocco were sporadic, and sometimes unable to be coordinated with onward transport to Haifa. The holding area was a vital link, known to the French authorities, who resisted all complaints from Rabat. The conditions in the camp were very good, and the inhabitants had no complaints either. At the moment there

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were about 3500 persons in residence, and all the programs to keep them occupied were functioning nicely. I stayed overnight, talked with the camp leaders, the teachers, the kids in school, and left with a wonderful feeling. For once there was no crisis, no danger, no emergency, everything normal.

Our trip ended in Paris. Officials from the Jewish Agency flew in from Israel and Geneva to meet us, for a recapitulation of the entire problem. Now we could begin to see numbers, estimates, costs, timetables. It was clear that a possible total figure of 100,000 Jewish refugees entering Israel in 1957 was an underestimate, or at least was on the minimum side. It was also clear that the housing program in Israel would have to be drastically revised and accelerated. Careful social engineering was required to place these new groups of immigrants in a pattern of dispersal throughout the country. Since there were large numbers of children in the Egyptian and Polish groups, much attention would have to be paid to the availability of schooling in the areas to which these groups would be sent. Brain power and money would have to be available with speed and abundance.

Ben Gurion himself realized all this intuitively, before he had the statistical results of our survey. On January 3, he made a major policy speech to the Central Committee of the Mapai Party, in which he spoke these urgent words:

"One of the important results of the Sinai campaign is that we have assured ourselves of a lull on the military front...Hence the

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priority must be given once again to the needs of immigration and economic independence...This year we may expect from sixty to one hundred thousand immigrants. This is a heavy burden, but it is a sacred and precious burden, and it must now have first priority."

I returned to New York in time to report on a closed-circuit TV network which had been set up for January 15. The miracle of modern technology and the co-axial cable made it possible to set up very large movie-size screens in a synagogue social hall or a community center auditorium, where thousands of people could be gathered to hear a message, and then take whatever action had been determined by the local Federation running the campaign on behalf of the UJA. We had rented one hour of time on the cable, and had arranged with some 30 large communities for the screens to be placed. I gave a detailed, emotional report, covering the period from the Sinai War to the present, designating these 75 days as among the most eventful in our recent history, ending with these words:

"Our campaign is beginning to mount in pace and intensity. People realize this is an extraordinary moment. Already gifts are being made beyond the previous highest level of many individuals' giving history. Every man and woman who is counted in the leadership

group of the American Jewish community must now step forward and make a maximum personal gift to the Emergency Rescue Fund, in addition to his or her normal gift. This is now the moment for heroic and noble action."

The year was rich in action and results, packed with travel to many communities in the U.S. and many countries abroad, filled with progress in Israel and good work in Morocco and Eastern Europe, resulting from successful fund-raising. We did \$15 million more than two years ago - jumping from \$58 to \$73 million. After the hectic year, it was a relief when the quiet period of August finally arrived, and i began to savor the thought of a couple of weeks resting, swimming and reading.

One fine summer morning, Friday, August 30, 1957, a phone call came from brother Sam in New Haven, saying that our mother had died in her sleep. She had been at my house in Westport, just a week earlier, sitting on the deck, enjoying the children at play on the grass below, content, chatting with my father and me. She had been afflicted for many years with several ailments, including frequent gall-stone attacks, a mild diabetes, and something she referred to, non-specifically,, as "heart trouble." None of these was life-threatening, as far as my knowledge went. Therefore, the notice of death shocked me.

I was overwhelmed with two emotions, guilt and sadness. The tempo of my life, based on constant journeying, left little enough time for my wife and children, and almost nothing for my

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parents. I knew how much pride she felt in my accomplishments and how she cherished my visits. Thus, I was flooded with guilt that I had given her so little of myself over the years. And yet I knew that she understood, for she had often articulated her pleasure in the work I was doing for Israel and Jews. These two causes were extremely important to her as well, which made it easy for her to be so forgiving.

The sadness stemmed from the great love and respect I had for her. She was the ideal mother - caring for us, but not nagging; transmitting her values by example instead of preaching; devoted to my father, sustaining him through the years of the depression, never demeaning him; possessed of a sense of communal duty, expressed in her social welfare work through the synagogue; wonderful cook and hostess, the natural center of a wide circle of friends. I was so proud of her, was so profoundly influenced by her in my youth, that I could not imagine never seeing her again. Losing her, so unexpectedly, was very very hard. I have thought of her, and spoken about her often in the ensuing decades. Her sweetness and her strength in the face of pain and adversity will remain with me forever.

CHAPTER SIX

Section Three

In June 1958, I made a move in the direction of another segment of world Jewry which was also cut off and largely unfamiliar to the American Jewish audience. This time it was Iran, the home of a population claiming a heritage of 2500 years of continuous existence, since the destruction of the First Temple. The territory known today as Iraq and Iran constitutes the area called Babylonia in ancient times. When the Babylonians conquered Judea and destroyed the Temple in 586 B.C.E., they took away with them the greater part of the Jewish population, to serve as slaves. Only 50 years later the Babylonians themselves were conquered by the Persians, whose ruler permitted the Jews to return to the land of Judea. Only a small number took advantage of this noble amnesty. The huge majority remained in the hospitable environment of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, and the present inhabitants are proud to call themselves direct descendents of the original Judeans. When the new State of Israel came into existence, a small but steady flow of immigration developed and has continued to this very day. There have been no formal diplomatic relations between Iran and Israel, but right up to the Khomeine government, there has been an Israeli presence in Teheran, variously denominated as a consular mission or a trade mission or a technical aid mission. Iran has received enormous assistance of all sorts from Israel, and in reciprocation Iran

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has permitted this constant emigration to continue.

On 11 July 1958, upon returning to Jerusalem, I wrote from the King David Hotel to my UJA mailing list:

"There is an Air France flight non-stop from Tel Aviv to Teheran, and I made the trip a few weeks ago. As many American Jews as possible should try to visit Iran. There are about 83,000 Jews now in the country, of whom 80% are so poverty-stricken that daily bread is a real problem.

The people need every kind of help - food, clothing, baths, medicine, sanitation, schools, jobs, money, and a whole range of medical care. The ghettos are horrible - hundreds of people living in crowded courtyards. Sanitation and hygiene are the main problems. One toilet for 50 people becomes a major cause of disease. Public baths must be built. People must be taught to keep their hands clean. All water is infected, and to teach the women to boil water raises the question of the few pennies needed to buy fuel for a fire. Health and utter poverty are interconnected.

The Joint Distribution Committee is doing a terrific job. There are only 8

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foreign staff members (i.e. American, British, etc.) who must train local personnel, administer the whole network of programs, provide the guidance and inspiration. I really had the feeling that this was a tiny band of heroes, working in a far outpost, selflessly. I saw wonderful progress among children. The Joint has a young American child care expert. She has taught several score local girls to be kindergarten teachers. They receive \$18 per month. Two kindergartens have been organized, taking care of 1000 children. They are fed at the school, receive new clothing twice yearly, a bath once weekly, a haircut when needed, and have the services of a nurse on hand at all times. This is paradise, compared to the situation a few short years ago.

Our duty in Iran is clear. Through hospitals, clinics and personal training we must help eliminate disease. Through the issuance of supplies we must help combat hunger and nakedness. Through schools, we must make educated humans out of ghetto-urchins. Through emigration we must help those who wish to go to Israel. All this can

be done and is being done. To sum it up, here is another section of world Jewry, not very large, but terribly in need, towards whom we must stretch our hands in the task we have set ourselves - to relieve the want of every Jew we can reach."

That letter was written one-third of a century ago, and it takes only one sentence to say that the situation described then has been completely eradicated. The Jewish population in Iran today is much smaller. The small middle class of that time has since completely emigrated to Israel and other lands; the poorer class of the past has become the middle class of today; and there are no longer any of the totally helpless poor of those earlier years. While the economic condition has improved, the political condition has worsened since the downfall of the Shah more than a decade ago, and if one were to predict the future of Iranian Jewry, the picture would include a steady emigration down to a zero base in the near mid-term.

In September a new situation developed in Rumania. That poor country had been low, even on Hitler's list, and the Nazis did not occupy it until the last year of the war. The Jewish population, at the beginning, consisted of approximately 800,000 souls. In only one year of their unholy work, the Nazis managed to murder half that total. A large migration to Israel started immediately upon the establishment of the new state, but was cut off after one year by the communist government's decree. From

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1949 to 1958 there was almost no movement allowed. Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen, an enigmatic personality, worked extremely hard to maintain morale among the Jewish communities scattered around the country, keep a spirit alive through establishing kosher kitchens for the needy, schools for the children, and exercising a public role as a member of the Rumanian Parliament. There are some who derogate by hinting that he collaborated with the oppressive regime, which is how he managed to obtain these various "favors" for his flock, and that the collaboration consisted of political and financial support in the West for Rumanian officials, including the Prime Minister. Others say that he was an authentic hero, who disregarded his personal safety, sought to protect the Jews solely through the power and authority of his office, and made strong representations in the highest offices of the land, demanding help for his people's needs. There is no evidence to support the former allegation, and even though he seemed to enjoy extraordinary success, including the right to travel freely to Israel, western Europe and the U.S., to become an officer of the World Jewish Congress, to maintain an apartment in Jerusalem, and to retain contact with the JDC, still the conclusion seems to be that he was completely legitimate in all his dealings with the Rumanian government, with no sordid political chicanery to tarnish his reputation. As a matter of fact, I have always thought of him as a remarkable person, who maintained himself as a symbol of Jewish pride, practicing both his stewardship and leadership, remaining with his people to this very day,

shepherding them from their post-Hitler status of 400,000 to their present number of 20,000. His has been a unique regime, and his famous Choral Synagogue in Budapest has been host over the decades to thousands of Jewish visitors and mission members who have come to witness the phenomenon of a Jewish community in a steady state of emigration, while the dwindling numbers simultaneously maintained the dignity of a fully-functioning Jewish community. It will continue to the end, when the last Jew to leave will turn off the lights in the synagogue.

To return to our chronology, after nine years of no migration, suddenly Jews from Rumania began to appear on trains arriving in Vienna. It was as unexpected a resumption as had been the stoppage years ago. A system to provide assistance was quickly inaugurated and further transport to Israel was organized. The people were of all ages, from all provinces, with the smallest hand baggage, and almost no money. The volume mounted rapidly to hundreds per week, and then thousands. It was difficult to know whether this movement would continue permanently, in which case a more elaborate infrastructure of support would have to be established. Planning was therefore provisional, almost on a day-to-day basis. In October I went to Geneva, to meet with Mr. Charles Jordan, European Director of the JDC, and Mr. Eran Laor, European Head of the Jewish Agency, to consult and make operational and financial decisions as to management of this welcome flow. It was clear also that I would have to plan a trip to Rumania as soon as possible, which turned

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out to be January, for November and December were completely devoted to organizing and preparing for the 1959 campaign. During those two months, the emigration tempo increased, new routes were opened through Athens and Belgrade, previous budgetary estimates became obsolete, and I finally flew off the first week in January in possession of a tourist visa, although the record shows clearly that I stated on my application both my occupation and my interests in making this visit. I am mentioning this fact regarding my open identification as a Jewish philanthropic official because of the unpleasantness which developed later when the Rumanian secret police charged me with hiding my real identity as CIA agent and Zionist spy behind a false "tourist" identity.

I suspected from the very start of the trip that there might be trouble. At the Rumanian Embassy in Washington, where I received my entry visa, they indicated a preference that I fly via their airline, named TAROM, which I would pick up in East Berlin. Those were days of very very cold war, and I was not particularly pleased to pass over from West Berlin, through Checkpoint Charlie, but one recognizes code words, and "preference", in professional diplomatic language, was a command. I decided not to make an issue over this item, because I wanted very much to get inside, and didn't want to risk a visa refusal. When I boarded the TAROM DC-3 in East Berlin, bound for Bucharest, I was the only passenger. And so I remained the entire day, as we made the entire communist circuit, stopping at Warsaw,

Budapest, Belgrade, Sofia, Tirana and finally Bucharest. It was an eerie feeling to sit all alone, never being allowed to disembark, speaking to no one, the silence and solitude creating a mood in which all kinds of scenarios flashed through an overly-excited mind. What next?

As I descended to the tarmac at Bucharest Airport, two men were waiting at the bottom of the steps. They introduced themselves as TAROM agents, but the long belted leather coats, polished boots, and practiced manner in which they arranged for me to walk between them, with each one sliding his arm through mine on each side, indicated that they were police or army, and my intuition favored secret police. Before leaving Washington, I had made arrangements to be received by the American Ambassador in Bucharest, should I need his good offices for any reason. And, of course, there were similar arrangements with the resident Israeli Ambassador. As the two policemen and I entered the cavernous, but empty terminal building, I spotted a small group of men standing some distance away. When they saw who was accompanying me, one shook his head imperceptibly, which I understood immediately to mean that they would not approach me. I next heard one of them say in Hebrew that he had no idea where I was staying. I asked my pseudo-airline-agents in German (our only common language) the name of the hotel to which I was going, and when he answered, I repeated it very loudly so that my friends were sure to hear, whereupon they immediately left the terminal. The Tarom men drove me to the hotel, arranged the formalities at

the desk and unabashedly came up to my room with me. When I entered the bathroom, one accompanied me. That was the final straw, and I decided that some ground rules would have to be determined then and there, or I would be having this problem for the next two weeks.

With cold politeness, which verges on sarcasm when executed properly, I asked if I might make a phone call to my old friend the American Ambassador (whom I had never met). Equally politely the security man said he knew the number and would place the call for me. In a great gush of simulated old-school enthusiasm, I explained to the Ambassador that I had just dropped into town, wanted to come over for a drink to gossip about old times, and after a suitable pause, thanked him and said I would be right over. I stalled a bit with the unpacking, hoping the two goons would disappear, but they simply made themselves comfortable in a matter-of-fact manner, thereby sending me a message that I had better get used to them. When I explained that I was going to the chancery, they shrugged and said they would take me. Upon arrival, they attempted to drive right through the gate, into the porte-cochere, up to the front door, but the Marine guard refused them entry, indicated I should disembark in the street, passed me through the gate which he locked behind us. They were obviously angry but stymied. When I emerged several hours later, they were sitting in their car waiting for me, took me up to my room, ostentatiously took two chairs from the room, placed them in the hall right outside my door, and made it perfectly clear that they

would see me in the morning.

Inside the Ambassador's living room, I felt safe and comfortable for the first time that long day, not simply because the room was familiar in its furnishings, books, and cheery fireplace, but because I knew that the people in it would be concerned for my safety. The American was a State Department professional, a black man, named _____ Matthews, calm, seasoned, confident; and the Israeli _____ had been hastily summoned after my phone call. Each had one or two aides. Chatting over drinks, I slowly relaxed, only to be brought back to the reality of the time and place, by the host's whispered instructions that the Israeli and I should enter the bathroom, where we would have two or three minutes alone in which to make whatever arrangements we wished concerning times and places for rendezvous in the days ahead. Telephones were not safe, nor were conventional verbal codes, nor was the Hebrew language. All this seemed melodramatic to me, yet the circumstances obviously mandated such precautions. We fixed alternative cafes (whose location I would have to learn) on certain days and hours. A sharp rap on the door indicated that our planning session was finished.

We sat to dinner, the radio in the center of the table turned up to full volume, and whispered to each other. Our host and his staff were completely sympathetic to the emigration of the local Jews, and offered assistance where possible, the only caveat being that they could not jeopardize the status of the

give as many details as possible about this trip - EXHIBIT 17

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United States by violating any Rumanian laws. I therefore felt perfectly open with them, talking freely about various obstacles I would have to overcome in order to achieve the purpose of my visit. The main obstacle was to get rid of the two alter egos who had attached themselves to me. There was no way in which I could permit myself to be tailed every day and night. We discussed it for some minutes, getting nowhere, when one of the Israelis said very simply that I would have to slip out of the hotel unnoticed, and not return to it for as many days as it would take to finish the most crucial negotiations on my agenda. He assured me that the policemen would be furious at having lost me, but would wait patiently for my return, since they would understand the moment they forced entry and saw all my clothes, that I would be coming back. So it worked out. But first I decided to waste two days and act the tourist. They followed me everywhere, bored and tired.

Once I managed to lose them for a few hours, giving myself enough time to reconnoiter various exits from the hotel. The easiest was a fire-escape ladder outside my bathroom window. Early one morning I left, returning four days later. One night I slept on a bench in a small synagogue; another night I curled up in a blanket on the ground under a vegetable wagon in the market in the Jewish quarter; a third, I didn't sleep at all; and the fourth was spent on the couch of a man to whom I gave the \$5000 in gold I had brought with me. The purpose of the whole operation was to make certain that the emigration would continue, that the arrangements previously made regarding payments to various

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government officials were secure, that new bribes were given to new low-level functionaries in key positions such as the visa offices and the railroad stations. There had been stops and starts in the past few months, and we were eager that the flow should be smooth and continuous. The machinery had to be greased so that it would not creak. On that trip I was re-asserting to all the interested parties in Rumania that the international Jewish organizations would continue to pay \$1200 for every Jew permitted to leave. That price had been agreed to months ago, without any haggling. That was the price that had been fixed by the Rumanians, because that was the highest price they could imagine. It was equivalent to the price of a good horse, the most highly deemed living object.

I read recently that the chief negotiator for the Mossad, the man who was the real hero of the most delicate and difficult dealings with Prime Minister Ceaucescu, whose family pocketed most of the ransom money, recalled that the price was \$3000 per capita. If that hero, Mr. Shaiké Dan, recollects an amount different from mine, his is undoubtedly the more correct one. Tall and thin, unwearying in his pursuit of every opportunity in country after country to enable Jews to move, legally or illegally, Shaiké Dan is the major unsung champion of the past 40 years. At the age of 80, he still boards planes at BenGurion Airport for distant destinations to work out sticky problems. The Jewish people and the State of Israel owe much of their new-found strength to this dauntless modest man.

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I returned to the hotel exhausted, but exhilarated. I had accomplished my mission, and had a head full of impressions and stories. I felt empowered by my experiences to make a forceful advocacy of the case for maximum support and pressure on behalf of the migration of Rumanian Jews to Israel. The people are tense, nervous, fearful, distraught. When they register to emigrate, they lose jobs immediately. This is a terrible thing in a controlled economy where there is no free labor market, and one simply cannot go out and look for other work. The breadwinner in a household has the great worry of maintaining the family until departure, which might be a matter of months. Money represents a real problem. The cost of all the departure documents for a family often runs more than a full year's salary. There is only one thing to do. Jews are selling their private possessions and the market for such sales is poor, since it is flooded with such merchandise. Prices are ridiculously low.

As I walked through the streets of the Jewish quarter, I saw lists posted on the front of buildings offering for sale furniture, bedding, radios, lamps, clothing. There are places called consignment stores, where sellers bring their property and leave it, joping it will be sold. I stood before the windows of the largest such shop in Bucharest - and as I looked at the chinaware, glassware, paintings, flatware, I thought of all the family meals represented by these objects and what a wrench it must be for each family to give up these precious familiar things. Yet there is no choice, for these sentimental objects of

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the past must be sacrificed in order to pay for the future which beckons. If the property is not sold, it must be left behind anyhow, for there is a limitation on outgoing baggage. A person may take 40 or 70 kilograms (88 or 154 pounds) depending on the work status they are assigned.

I went to a small synagogue one Saturday afternoon where some Jews gathered in a "Chevra Shass" - a Talmud study group. It grew dark. After the study we broke a meager crust of bread in the symbolic third meal of the Sabbath. They gave me jam made from an Etrog they had received from Israel the past Sukkot. There was love and warmth and sentiment in the room, even though our physical surroundings were dark and cold and dirty. We huddled together. The man next to me asked about Beersheba. He was worried, explaining that he was a radiologist, age 55, and was going there without equipment or books - just his clothing. Could he find a job? I gave him the answer he already knew - that they would welcome him, try to find a workplace for him, and while his first adjustment would be difficult, still he would find what he wanted most - peace.

They all sighed. This was the deepest dream of all, to be at home, at peace, among Jews, in a place where they could not be hurt again. From Hitlerism to Communism represented almost 20 years of no freedom. At last the chance was here. Any wonder that they were registering to leave, despite the difficulties described above and the risks lying ahead?

On Friday night I went to the great Choral Temple, where the

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Chief Rabbi, Dr. Moses Rosen, presided. The place was jam-packed with hundreds of men, with women filling the balconies all around. I do not know whether they came to worship, or to enjoy the tight in-group feeling. They pressed together, and as the choir sang mightily (by far the best synagogue music I had ever heard in my life) you could almost literally feel the Jews unite with one another in a physical and psychological mass. The members of the Israeli Legation came, and as a path to the front pew was cleaved for them, the reaction of the crowd was fantastic. People reached out to touch them, people buzzed, whispered, looked at these few young men as though they were the forerunners of the Messiah.

I left the synagogue in their company, and always behind us, as we walked in the dark and icy streets, for the next few blocks, we heard voices asking when they would get permits, how long would they have to wait, questions followed by blessings being bestowed on the diplomats and Israel itself. We heard but did not turn around. The people are not allowed to have contact with the Israel Legation, and if they dared to follow us in the street, knowing that there were secret police present in the synagogue crowd, there was no sense in our further jeopardizing them by turning to talk. But out of the darkness continued to come the whispered voices of the Jewish people seeking to be whole once again with the land these young men represented.

And those voices were speaking to me, too - even though they did not know who I was. But I heard, and I knew who I was. In

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hearing, I assumed the responsibility for me and for you. Because you were there too, if I was. We heard, and we must answer.

I was finished and ready to leave the country, but my friends the secret policemen were not so inclined. They were angry, frustrated and determined to take some revenge. When they learned I was back in my room, they pounded their way in at 6 a.m. to inform me that, since I had declared myself to be a "tourist", we would all go touring to beautiful Lake Snagov, where the delightful winter sport of ice-fishing awaited us. Some hours later we stood far out on the solid ice covering the lake, they properly dressed and shod, I hopelessly inadequate in thin-soled oxfords, and they showed me how to cut a hole in the ice with a circular saw. Seated on the blocks of ice which had been cut out in order to reach water below, we dropped our lines and patiently waited. I patiently began to freeze, obviously in great misery, to their great delight. Every attempt to bring this torture to an end was rebuffed, and they kept me there until they saw that a limit had been reached. Depositing me back in the hotel, they grinned reassuringly that they would have an equally interesting "tourist" day planned for the morrow.

The next day I was taken to a cellar room in what was probably their headquarters building and interrogated the entire day, standing, rarely sitting, under bright lights, concerning my real identity as a Zionist spy and CIA agent. I do not recall the extent or depth of the fear I felt. I do recall that I kept trying to reassure myself that nothing serious could happen, that

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I should not be melodramatic, that this situation would work itself out to some normal conclusion. At the same time that I was calming myself with such bromides, down deep I heard another voice saying that crazy things did happen in real life in this cold war period. It was a fearsome day, and when they kept me overnight, I did feel despair. The next morning the questioning resumed, more threatening in tone, when suddenly it was interrupted by a uniformed officer who hustled me outside, into a vehicle where I saw my suitcase, drove me to the airport, escorted me onto a Sabena aircraft bound for Brussels, waited in the cabin until just before the door was to be closed, and departed without a single word of explanation. After I reported the entire episode to the American Embassy in Brussels, and they made enquiries in Bucharest, the official reply was that I had been deported because of currency irregularities involving gold. The only serious repercussion was the registration of my name in the black book of undesirable visitors to their country, which list was also passed on to the Soviet Union. I found this out only several years later, when I applied for a visa to Russia and was refused. When I pressed for an explanation, the Russian vice-consul in Washington offered me the polite and friendly advice to forget it, since I was obviously considered some sort of security risk. As a result I have never been in Russia, no matter what my eagerness or curiosity during the great migration years of the 70's. I presume if I applied today those old lists would no longer be operative, but somehow I have not inquired.

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The important fact is that the Rumanian flow worked beautifully that year. A vessel, the S.S. Transylvania, left Constanza, a Rumanian port on the Black Sea, every Sunday, with 2000 Jews aboard, arriving in Haifa three days later. A quick turn-around, return trip, reloading, meant that once every week 2000 immigrants arrived in Israel from Rumania. In one year, that vessel brought 100,000 people to freedom and a new life. Thus, almost the entire post-Hitler population of 400,000 Jews has now been transplanted in the Jewish State.



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CHAPTER SIX

Section Four

In the middle of 1957 there were approximately 35,000 Jews in Poland, most of them repatriates from the Soviet Union where they had found refuge more than 15 years ago. The attitude of the Polish Government toward the desire of many of these people to emigrate to Israel was just fine. There were no administrative or bureaucratic roadblocks. The American Jewish Committee issued a report dated August 1959 saying:

"The movement of Jews from Poland to Israel has been voluntary, free and humanely conducted. Emigrants have been permitted to take their personal property. Polish officialdom has treated them with consideration and there have been no attempts to influence their decision to leave."

On September 1, I wrote in my Personal Letter:

"Yes - the last fragments of the once-great Polish Jewry are now being transplanted. New roots are growing in Israel. Go to Holon or Bat-Yam, near Tel Aviv; go to Kiryat ha-Yovel near Jerusalem; go to Kiryat Shmoneh in the Galilee, or Beersheba in the Negev, and you will see the new roots of Polish-Israeli communities. In the pressure cooker which is Israel, one new nation is being forged and

some day it will be hard to tell who came from Poland and who from Yemen. All traces of origin will disappear as the new Israeli Jew emerges.

But at the moment, anyhow, it is good to hear the Yiddish which still recalls the old places, and to know that even if Cracow and Lemberg and Lodz are no more, the knowledge of what took place there still exists in the minds of the remnant who will contribute those memories to the upbuilding of the new land.

We must help that remnant come from Poland to Israel. We must help them settle. We must finish the houses and schools and farms to absorb them. That will be our answer to the world which watched them burn twenty years ago."

At the end of 1959, I wrote a summary from Jerusalem of what we had accomplished to date, and what remained to be done. It had been a year of relative quiet and peace in Israel. There were no severe military tensions, which the IDF loved because such a period gave them an opportunity to catch up on serious training. There was no emergency on the immigration front, and the internal political situation was calm. The elections held in November gave the Labor Party a larger vote than they had won four years

earlier.

In the eleven years since the establishment of the State, more than one million immigrants had entered the country, and of these fully 2/3 were already self-sufficient. They were free and independent in a land of their own, working hard, producing, building an even brighter future for themselves and their children. Israel of 1959 presents a picture of a busy, bustling society where the sound of jackhammers penetrates one's hotel windows; the whistle of ships comes from the port; and the whirring of cement mixers fills the air everywhere as new apartments go up in the largest construction boom this country has yet witnessed. Some Americans, touring the country, say that it gives the impression of prosperity, even wealth. And some Americans, not looking beneath the surface, seem to have the feeling that Israel's problems are solved. Nothing could be farther from the truth. One must know how to look at this picture - to be joyful over the wonderful progress being made, yet at the same time, to be aware that there are deep-seated discrepancies in the structure of this society which must be overcome before we can relax and say that Israel has no problems.

Two-thirds of the new immigrants are living as I have described above. But one-third strike a jarring note of disharmony, for they are ill-housed, ill-clothed, and probably even ill-fed, to use Roosevelt's immortal phrase. There are still 60,000 people living in ma'abarot. Most of them have been living in these tin huts and canvas shacks as long as six or seven

years. Normal family life under these conditions is impossible. Husband and wife have no privacy. Children have no table at which to study. When a floor is made of dirt, it becomes mud in wet weather and dust in the dry summer. Cleanliness is beyond the pale. Sickness is more common, especially since the w.c. is outdoors, with no running water. The simple task of washing hands is problematic. People living in such conditions feel discriminated against and cannot understand why others obtain permanent housing shortly after arriving in the country, while they must wait so unconscienably long. A housing program with enough money behind it could liquidate these shanty-towns in two years, while simultaneously accomodating the current immigrant flow.

There are still 32,000 farmers, heads of families living in agricultural settlements established by the Jewish Agency, but never fully provisioned because of lack of funds. This means that barns and sheds are missing, or enough livestock to earn a proper revenue, or sufficient tractors to clear the fields. A large investsment has been made, but it is incomplete, and therefore the farm cannot make a profit from its labor. It's the old poem "for want of a nail, a kingdom was lost." And so the farmers must leave the settlement every day to find work elsewhere. There is an emergency public works program for such men, but they can earn only about \$50 per month. This is obviously inadequate to support a family.

Israel is now a State which must become a Nation. We must

progress from transportation to transformation. If we have accomplished the miracle of bringing in one million people, we must now achieve the follow-up miracle on the economic front, and see that all new citizens be given full opportunity to earn their living, thus contributing to the growth of the country as well. We can end 1959 with a great sense of satisfaction, if we promise ourselves that in 1960 we will make a giant step forward toward the elimination of bad housing and poverty.



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CHAPTER SEVEN

Section One

It was my habit, when a year's campaign was substantially finished, usually by June or July, to take survey trips through the countries where we were in action, to see what might be needed in the year ahead, as I planned for the next campaign. These visits were longer in each place, more penetrating, more searching than the frenetic visits in the first half of the year, wherein some particular problem had to be solved quickly. And after a solid analysis, I would write a report which would look both backward and forward. One such was written from Geneva in September 1960, after a thorough visit to Israel and several JDC operations.

"Israel is progressing remarkably. It is impossible to compare the country of today with the infant state of 1948. Even a visitor as frequent as myself simply does not believe he is in the same land. Everything is jumping ahead so rapidly that last month's achievement is forgotten as some new stride captures the public imagination.

Mind you, I am speaking almost exclusively of the physical and material accomplishments. There are grave and fundamental problems of a spiritual nature. Serious people in Israel debate the question of whether the old pioneering spirit isn't being lost; whether the youth of today is as idealistic as the previous generation;

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whether the quest for a higher material standard isn't destroying the sense of national purpose which once characterized the old chalutzim.

I. HOUSING

We have spoken often about the terrible conditions in the ma'abarot - the transit camps of huts, shacks, tin boxes. This problem is slowly but surely coming under control. There are still about 11,000 families living in such sub-standard conditions, but I have a good feeling that the matter is progressing toward a satisfactory solution.

II. IMMIGRATION

Immigration continues at the rate of 25,000 yearly. They come from all countries and continents - they come because they have to and because they want to. Families are reunited every day in touching and beautiful scenes. One day I followed a busload of 32 East Europeans from the dock at Haifa to their flats in Upper Nazareth. The buildings are lovely - three rooms for each family. It was twilight when the bus clattered along the rocky road to the new settlement. The hills of Galilee were bathed in a purple glow. Luggage was thrown down from the roof of the bus. A hasty lottery was arranged, pulling numbers from a hat, to determine who got the first, second or third floor. Then the cots, mattresses, stools, lamps, which had been

deposited earlier by the Jewish Agency truck, were quickly hauled up the narrow stairwells by the people themselves - for it was night already and they were tired.

The Agency official packed up his papers, piled into the car with us, and was stopped to listen to yet one more story. A young couple, speaking only French, told of leaving Egypt ten years ago for the Congo, and were now refugees again from that turbulent place. Could he get work, he asked. The Agency man patiently replied that not all problems could be settled the first day - he would be back tomorrow. We drove away silently in the night, and I wished every Jew in America could have witnessed the last two hours which involved not 25,000 persons but only 32. Anyone who saw and heard would have felt and understood the incredible beauty of bringing one person to safety and home.

III. REHOVOT CONFERENCE

In August a remarkable conference took place at the Weizmann Institute, under the chairmanship of Hon. Abba Eban, who had recently completed his Ambassadorships at Washington and the United Nations, to assume the presidency of the Institute. It was called the "International Conference on Science in the Advancement of New States", and was graced by the attendance of several Nobel Prize winners as well as political

leaders, educators and labor leaders from 39 countries, mostly from Africa and Asia. Such persons were present as the Prime Minister of Nepal, the President of the (French) Congo Republic, the Health Minister of Cameroun, the Finance Minister of Nigeria, the Vice-Premier of Chad, and many, many others. In their colorful costumes and with serious demeanor, these people from proud young states, many of them having achieved their independence only in recent weeks or months, and most of them young men themselves, scattered throughout Israel to look and learn.

At the Conference sessions they heard from leading scientists of the western world on irrigation, sleeping sickness, atomic energy, population control, economics, and a dozen other matters of vital interest to underdeveloped countries. They praised Israel enthusiastically for having arranged such a conference, from which they had learned so much. At the end Foreign Minister Golda Meir announced that Israel would provide 1000 scholarships next year to African and Asian students to come to Israel for study. The conference was a brilliant idea and an extraordinary practical success.

IV. ATOMIC REACTOR

Another "first" was scored this summer, when the reactor at Sorek went critical on 16 June at 6:45 pm.

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It had been made possible by a grant of funds plus enriched uranium from President Eisenhower, and was expected to produce neutrons for study in genetics; isotopes for medical and industrial purposes; and to train scientists and technicians, obviating the need of sending them abroad. It was located on the coast, at the point where the brook Sorek emptied into the Mediterranean.

The name of the place intrigued me. I found it in the Book of Judges. It was the place where Samson's romance occurred. "And it came to pass afterward that he loved a woman in the Valley of Sorek, whose name was Delilah." Thus the strong man of ancient days, whose legendary strength was the most powerful in the world, is connected with this fabulous new strength of today. Somehow or other, to see the ziggurat-like building of the future located on this site of the past, is to epitomize Israel, where time and space have a manner of blending so that the mind sometimes reels and prophecy seems to be the most reliable of all arts.

V. JDC WORLD-WIDE OPERATIONS

I have been spending a few days in Geneva, catching up on the multi-faceted program of the JDC in the 25 countries where they are providing both basic and sophisticated help for hundreds of thousands of Jews. There have been 22,000 children attending 102 summer

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camps in Europe, North Africa and Iran. There is an acute shortage of teachers, nurses, social workers and administrators. So, training programs have been instituted for local personnel. Scholarships are offered to qualified candidates. A young woman is pursuing a course in psychiatric social work in Amsterdam. Another young woman is studying at Bar-Ilan University and will return to teach at the Jewish school in Antwerp. Girls have been sent from Morocco, Tunisia and Iran to study for their R.N. degree at the London Jewish Hospital.

It is impossible to encapsule this tremendous program in a few paragraphs. I would like to conclude on a strongly optimistic note. I have a brighter feeling after this summer's experience. Progress is perceptible. Problems are being solved in the Jewish world. Israel is becoming stronger. Poverty and disease are under vigorous attack in various ghettos. Immigration continues. The happy knowledge that it is possible to help constructively stimulates us to further effort - and so we go on in this constant battle for Jewish independence, security and dignity. Please accept my personal good wishes for a Happy New Year for you and your family."

In October, the annual Mission to Israel was assembled, with a planned stop in Rome en route. Here an extraordinary event made front-page news. It was not anticipated, but came as a complete surprise to everyone present except the central figure in the drama. What was anticipated was exciting enough. On October 17, 1960 the first large delegation of American Jews ever to be received by any Pope was to meet with John XXIII in the Vatican. The appointment had been arranged through a triumvirate of friends, Mr. Benjamin Swig of San Francisco, Francis Cardinal Spellman of New York, and James Zellerbach, the American Ambassador in Rome. The meeting had taken a half-year to organize, was important as a breakthrough, might be more important as a precedent for future encounters, possessed significant theological and political possibilities, and was filled with great expectations.

The delegation consisted of 130 top-level men and women. Our research had discovered that this Pope, when he was Papal Nuncio in Turkey, had performed a truly great act of humanity in 1942. The Aliyah Beth, working underground in Eastern Europe, had rescued 700 orphan children, under the very noses of the Nazis, brought them to a port on the Black Sea, acquired two vessels and set out for Palestine. They would have to pass through the Strait of Dardanelles, controlled by Turkey, which was a German ally. The Papal Nuncio, with great courage, had intervened strongly with the Gestapo and obtained permission for these two vessels to pass. He literally saved the lives of the children, and we wanted

to thank him, in the name of the Jewish people, for his deed of 18 years ago. Cardinal Spellman was impressed with our sincerity, and successfully urged the Vatican bureaucracy to accept our request for an audience.

Once agreement was reached in principle, the technical details and arrangements took months to settle. I had suggested that we employ classical languages: I would address the Holy Father in Hebrew and he would respond in Latin. Some Vatican officials hesitated. There was a certain stiffness in the air. They feared that the use of Hebrew in this setting might imply recognition of the State of Israel, whose official language it certainly was. They were not altogether wrong about my motive. Their decision was that we would speak in our vernaculars - I in English and he in Italian. The texts flowed back and forth across the ocean for approval on both sides, and were finally settled. We prepared a hand-written parchment scroll, encased in olive wood from Jerusalem, beautifully crafted, for we hoped it would reside in the Vatican museum, and they demurred at first, for it seemed too much like a Torah scroll, but we finally convinced them that even a Torah scroll would have been quite familiar to their Lord.

On the morning of the audience, everything went smoothly, exactly according to the script and choreography. He was seated on a white throne, garbed in white, and we were standing in a semi-circle around him. Their preference in this detail was correct, for they wanted to create an intimate environment,

rather than to utilize a large formal chamber, where everyone could have been seated, but distanced from him. Our speeches were exchanged, gifts given, photographs taken, the mood very satisfying, and the deed looked as though it were done. I gave the signal for our group to turn and leave, when, suddenly with no word of warning, the unexpected happened. In a 180-degree about-face from the previously stylized performance, he rose, lifted his hand in a friendly gesture to recapture our attention, beckoned for us to crowd closer and started to speak extemporaneously. A certain Monsignor Paul Marcinkus, originally of Chicago, stepped into the breach as translator. According to the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, every word of the Pope is sacred. Here he was, speaking without a text. Standing nearby was the editor of the Osservatore Romano, the official Vatican newspaper. He began to write furiously, trying to catch every word. All the Church dignitaries looked anxious, for they had no idea what was coming.

Only the Pontiff knew what he had in mind, and what he was about to hint at. He began by saying that all of us understood the set-piece nature of the previous ceremony, and its mandatory character. But now that we had gone through that, he wanted to say something personal, intimate and meaningful. He had been thinking of his personal name, Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli. Giuseppe translates as Joseph. This had brought him to the thought of the Biblical Joseph sitting on his throne as vice-premier of Egypt, dealing out food to all the petitioners from the neighboring

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drought-stricken countries, including Canaan. As Joseph's eleven brothers - the very ones who had earlier sold him into slavery and thought he was long since dead - entered the hall, the Bible tells us the Joseph recognized them at once, although they did not recognize him. After some conversation, he decided to reveal himself to them, stretched forth his hand, and said, to their amazement, "I am Joseph your brother!"

After telling the story, with its dramatic closing line, the Pope animatedly, almost excitedly, said that he felt he was Joseph our brother, and wanted us to know this. He felt that Jews and Christians were truly brothers and should act that way toward each other. He felt that we had to cross bridges toward each other, and overcome centuries of hatred, bloodshed and misunderstanding. His closing word was that he had a plan in mind to achieve this end. None of us had any idea that he was referring to Vatican Council II, which he was to convene, and which, a few years later, was to reverse the Church's pernicious doctrines against the Jews. All we knew at that moment was that this friendly, jovial, almost simple man was offering his hand in brotherhood and friendship, revealing his inner feelings about Jews. The air was charged with excitement. It was an incredible moment.

In the document, *Nostra Aetate* (In Our Time), issued by a council of 2000 bishops in 1965, the Church turned its face toward the Jews, not away from them. The charge of deicide has been repealed; the doctrine that the Jews have been rejected by

God has been eliminated; the replacement of the Jews as the chosen people by Christianity has been discarded. Catholic theologians have agreed that significant progress has been made toward eliminating the negatives mentioned above, and there is significant willingness be Catholic teachers to implement Nostra Aetate. But there must be new doctrines to further the process of bridge-building and understanding. I recently attended a two-day seminar under the joint auspices of Fordham University (Catholic) and the American Jewish Committee, at which there spoke a representative of the Vatican, Fr. Fumagalli. He has studied for years in Jerusalem, and warned the audience that he would be clearer in Hebrew than in English, but they chose the latter. In his official capacity, he made several cogent points:

1. The Jewish people has a unique role in God's design for human salvation.
2. The Church must dialogue with the Jews.
3. God will reveal Himself to the Jews in a mysterious way.
4. The persecutions suffered by Jews have finally opened many hearts.
5. The Church admits that medieval Christianity contributed to anti-semitism, which the Church today condemns as a sin.
6. The Church must prepare a document on the Holocaust.

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7. In the past 25 years, the Church has issued 29 documents on anti-semitism. These doctrines against prejudice must be taught in all seminaries and included in all school curricula.

A Jewish participant in the seminar, Rabbi Ronald Sobel of Temple Emanuel in New York, made the point that anti-semitism was not the only issue involved. He stressed that the Church's attitude toward Israel was particularly disappointing, and that the Church simply did not comprehend the depth of Jewish feeling for Israel. Recognition of Israel by the Vatican was long overdue, he remarked, and the Church should face that fact. If its reason for non-recognition was a desire not to offend the Arab world, there were dozens of countries who keep their relations with both Israel and the Arabs; and if its reason was that it insisted on the internationalization of Jerusalem, that was simply a non-starter which the Church should simply acknowledge and forget about. The important thing was the sanctity of Christian holy places, and the Vatican's own observers have consistently reported that Israel takes scrupulous care of the non-Jewish sancta.

Well, that extraordinary session with John XXIII and its slogan, "I am Joseph your brother", which led to Nostra Aetate, which has continued in a quarter-century of dialogue and exploration, was a high-water mark in the experience of the participants, and a crucial turning-point in the collective life

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of the Jewish people. There is still much ground to cover, but the air is filled with hope for further and constant progress, so that one by one the issues which have separated the two faiths will be replaced by ties that bind. It is fitting to pay tribute to the memory of Pope John XXIII, who started the march down the path of reconciliation.

As a footnote, it should be added that there were two other occasions in my life marked by similar visits. One was a long and satisfactory conversation with Pius XII in September 1946, when I accompanied Rabbi Philip Bernstein in an episode told in an early chapter; and the other was with Paul VI in October 1963, after Vatican Council II had started, accompanied by a UJA Mission. These are rare events in the life of any individual, and I feel enriched by the experiences. The three men were sharply different, in their personalities and their attitudes to the substance of the moment. John was easily the warmest and most human. Pius was friendly, proper, acted quickly on the problem we placed before him, yet retained a slight touch of regal distance. Paul was aloof, cool, correct in word and bearing, but clearly was doing his duty in receiving us, but nothing more.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Section 2

From Rome, the Study Mission continued to Israel, completed a successful itinerary, pledged more money for the 1961 campaign than these same persons had contributed in 1960, and went home. I remained to spend time studying the conditions in the agricultural settlements, for this was a major component in the whole process of absorbing the immigrants and enabling them to earn their livelihood. In the twelve and one-half years since Statehood we had established 485 new farm villages, whose total population was around 140,000 persons. They were all new immigrants and most of them came from backward areas in various Moslem countries or communist areas in Eastern Europe. This group of settlements represented a major project in both the economic and social adjustment fields.

These people were not particularly anxious to go out to the new farm villages. They would much rather have gone to the large cities where life would have been easier. In the Moslem world, farming was looked down upon as the lowliest of occupations. No one dreamed of becoming a farmer voluntarily. And in the communist world the Jews had had enough of cooperatives, which was the structure of these new villages. They went only under pressure and the promise of support. They were convinced that they were performing a national service, to grow food and industrial crops for export, to earn dollars for a sorely-pressed economy. They were promised specific help, in specific amounts,

over a specific period of time, to bring their farms up to the point of self-sufficiency and profit-making. Many of these promises were not kept, because the Jewish Agency lacked funds, due to the failure of the campaigns world-wide to reach hoped-for goals.

In the years since independence, \$350 million were spent on the farm settlements. The first step was to build small houses for the families and to link the villages to the national irrigation system and the electric grid. The second step was to bring water right to the individual plot and house, and to construct all the farm buildings such as barns, cowsheds, chicken runs and silos. Most of this work was completed at the cost mentioned above. But then comes the final stage of investment - to supply livestock whose products will earn money; to complete the orchards whose fruit will earn money; to irrigate the fields whose cotton will earn money. An additional \$175 million must be invested before the farmer can begin to earn a living and/or profit. It is a peculiar fact of agricultural economics that the heavy initial two-thirds investment can do no more than place the farmer on the land. It is the final one-third investment which is needed to put the tools and equipment in his hands with which to bring income. This final one-third remains today an incompleting commitment. Inability to provide it has resulted in the great majority of the farm settlements being as yet unproductive, even after 6, 8 and 10 years of existence. As of the end of 1960, the score looks as follows:

<u>On the way toward success</u>	120
<u>At mid-point, barely holding</u>	265
<u>Just starting, future uncertain</u>	80
<u>Failed, village empty, people dispersed</u>	_20
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I went into the story of one moshav in depth, in order to understand the details. It is named RAMOT MEIR, a lovely place nestling on rolling land not far from Rehovot. A cool breeze coming in from the sea blows over the 1800 dunam (450 acres) which belong to them. There are 40 little white houses. The moshav has never achieved the 80 families for which it was originally planned. It is ten years old and has been struggling for the entire decade. The 40 families came from all over the globe and speak 17 languages among them.

The head man of the village was a tall thin Jew from Manchester, England, named Albert Starr. He came to Palestine in 1948, with his background as a British Army Infantry Sergeant, to help fight in the War of Independence. Several thousand such as he, from many countries in the free world, were known by the Hebrew acronym "Machalniks" (Volunteers from Outside the Land). They performed in many specialist capacities in the Air Corps and Armoured Force, as well as the ground forces, and contributed to morale in the sense that the Israelis then felt they were not alone. When the fighting was over, Albert remained and wound up in Ramot Meir from the beginning of its existence. I spent the better part of a full day with him, analyzing his village with

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him. i think it would be more interesting to put down his story in his own words.

The Story of Albert Starr _____

"We have a fine settlement here and have been trying for ten years to overcome our problems. We have a variety of soils, from heavy to loose sand. We grow peanuts but cannot take a crop each year without exhausting the soil. We must discover crop rotation, in order to know what we can grow in between. We also have citrus groves, but we received them in bad condition. We had to prune and rehabilitate them, as well as plant new saplings, which don't deliver fruit for the first seven years.

What Does Our Settlement Need?

1. Equipment - We received an HD-5 (Allis Chalmers) tractor and a TD-6 International from the Jewish Agency in 1950 and 1952. By now our equipment is old and inefficient. We need one large new Caterpillar D-4 to replace the first two. This is the best and most dependable.

There are only two ways for us to get this new equipment - either for the Agency to give it to us - or for us to borrow the money (at 15-20%) and buy. This would put us in hopeless debt from which we'd never get out.

Also we need manure-spreaders, and a new baler which can make up to 1600 bales per

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day. The old one is broken, needs constant repair, and anyhow was of a type that could only do 800 bales per day. Old machinery always takes more upkeep money than new. With the Caterpillar we would need new plows, discs, cultivators, which would be more efficient.

2. Water - We have 450 additional dunams of heavy soil which could be good for cotton and sugar beet. This would balance our work-load problem, for we could then do our citrus in December-April and have cotton from April-October. If there were money, we could tie into the Yarkon water line which runs quite near us. This irrigation would solve our financial problems and our work balance between summer and winter.

3. Levelling Ground - Much of our soil is on rolling slopes. This is OK for citrus groves, because you can plant trees according to contour. But for other crops like corn, peanuts, potatoes, we need level ground or at least gradual slope. It takes a great deal of money to level off and then re-treat the soil for fertility.

4. Night Watering - Extra pipes, sprinklers

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and pumps. We found that night watering is better. There is less evaporation by the sun and less interference by the winds of the day. At night we get better exploitation of our precious water and more regular distribution by the sprinklers. But night watering takes more equipment. In day watering we move the pipes every few hours from area to area and use high-power sprinklers for the wide throw. Night watering means no moving and changing every few hours. It means setting pipes in position with low pressure and gentle sprinkle, leaving them all night. It takes more equipment, but is cheaper in the long run.

5. Public Amenities - We would like to have a meeting hall or community centre building where we could have meetings of all the 40 families, and listen to music or have a film or a lecture or some dramatic presentation. So far we have no central communal building.

6. Resume - Originally we had a high turnover of people. Most of the original group has left, as a matter of fact. But in the last 3 years there seems to be a stabilization. We feel now that we are at the crossroads. If we

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could make it now, the present population would stay - and we feel sure the additional 40 families would be attracted to come - and we could be fully self-sufficient.

We earn a quarter-million pounds per year, and it takes 280,000 pounds to run our village. Thus, the annual deficit is only 30-50,000 pounds (\$15-25,000). We either tighten the belt or borrow money. For instance, in ten years we have been able to afford convalescent leave for sick people only three times - and that was at the express insistence of the doctor. When we give our people their annual vacation of ten days, we can only afford to give them 25 pounds to spend. This is the one real way of belt-tightening."

Well, the story of Albert Starr and Ramot Meir is the story of 265 such villages which are at the cross-roads or the mid-point, dealing with the fate of about 100,000 human beings. After I took down his story, in his own words, I thought through the implications, the consequences, and decided this matter was crucial enough for me to send an emergency communication to New York, for distribution to the Jewish communities throughout the United States. Here is what I wrote on October 30, 1960:

"As I see Israel today, this matter of the agricultural

settlements is the number one problem, because there is a real danger of failure. Twenty villages have collapsed over the years, due to the strain of undercapitalization and working against odds which could not be conquered. Only 120 of these villages may be said to be out of danger.

What would happen if scores more started to crack and go down because the people could not wait any more for additional help and could not stand the strain? If they started deserting, the towns and cities would clog up, a huge social welfare case-load would develop, hundreds of millions of pounds would be wasted, the morale of the country would sag, the enemy would seize the opportunity to start border harassment again, and a chain of events would be started which could have devastating effects.

And in the eye of this storm would be standing the one figure we must never forget - the one Jew, from the Atlas Mountains of Morocco or the forests of Transylvania, who came to this free land to start a new life, who worked hard and wanted to work, and would be bewildered at his defeat, for he would not understand what had happened.

We would know what happened. We would know that so far we have invested in him, over the many years, \$350 million dollars, which is a tremendous amount of money, but we did not invest the other \$175 million at a rate fast enough to keep his head above water. We failed him, which is not fair. If we understand this, in all its complexity and yet simplicity, I think we will see

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clearly the work that must be done in the next years, as we seek to bring all the farm settlements up to the full level of consolidation, and thus prepare the way for the future, when yet additional multitudes will come and be placed on the land by the events of history which still lie ahead of us."



CHAPTER SEVEN

Section Three

It sometimes happens that an idea which appears correct in concept and therefore worth trying turns into a blockbuster with such unanticipated results as to be judged of actual historic worth. The Young Leadership concept was one such triumph, and there are many in the top ranks of the Jewish world who describe it as the most significant achievement of all the decades of my efforts on behalf of the Jewish people. The praise has often been extravagant and sometimes even embarrassing. Upon reflection, it seems to me there are several reasons for such a judgment: the success in converting an abstract idea into a concrete institution; the length of life of the institution, now more than 30 years, a complete generation; the number of people who passed through the process (close to 3000); their influence on others in multiples reaching to the tens of thousands; the effect on the campaigns in their communities across the entire country; and the replication of the program throughout every other national and local organization in America, as well as international and Israeli organizations as well. The factors which led to such results are few and simple: the articulation of an ideology; the creation of an elitistic esprit de corps; and the imposition of a sense of duty and obligation.

The Young Leadership idea and program grew from a feeling I had at the end of the 50's that a new generation of leaders would

have to be created, to replace those I had first met decades earlier. Forget not that I had been appalled at the end of the 30's by the apathy, weakness, absence of organized protest, even fear on the part of the American Jewish community I saw around me. It was only in the second half of the 40's, when the war was over and the full facts of the Holocaust began to impact and the comprehension that an independent Jewish state was the only solution, that I met for the first time a set of determined, zealous, capable lay leaders who were almost fanatical in their compulsion to solve all the problems. It was such a group whom I met in Berlin in 1946, and I was smitten by their devotion. They had come to see the DP's in Germany, gone on to Poland to soak up the sights and smells of that massive cemetery, and returned to the United States to awaken their fellow-Jews. I fell in love with their activism, and upon rejoining them in America in 1948 threw my lot in with them for years to come. Strongly influenced by the charismatic genius of Henry Montor, their flawed professional director, the lay leader of the group was Sam Rothberg. He was absolutely incredible in his energy, whose raw flame poured from his eyes and mouth, as he commanded and demanded and cajoled and pleaded and inspired, swinging in mood from sweet patience to haranguing aggressiveness, as he explained and then tongue-lashed. He was constantly on fire for 40 years, as an officer of the UJA, the officer of Israel Bonds, then the chairman of the Hebrew University - an entire lifetime spent in the volunteer service of Israel. I never met another like him.

And the scores who followed him with utter loyalty were as close to clones as they could possibly make themselves. These men put life into the American Jewish community in the late 40's - awakened the fire - created the modalities for action. The 1948 reaction to the birth of Israel, when the American Jews finally began to lend their strength, was due to the massive push provided by the agitation of these few score men whose passion was contagious, and who flew from city to city with an almost messianic sense of mission.

All of this is said with profound respect for their role, and with deep love for their comradeship. I worked together with them for years. But it is said with yet another motive: that I be not misunderstood in my intuitive feeling that, even as they were the answer to what was immediately needed in the 50's, they could not supply the needs of the 60's. Why? Because they were people of raw emotion. Intellect, logic, rationality played no part - neither in their personality make-up nor in their value system. They felt no need to "explain". Either you understood them or you didn't. Whether they were actually born in Eastern Europe (as many were) or not, they carried the memory of Minsk or Lodz or Vilna deep within their souls, and the cries which came from their hearts on behalf of murdered Jews or stateless Jews were so genuine as to be demeaned by any complicated explanations. The ghetto and the shtetl were speaking. What more was needed? The evocation of memory was basically an emotional approach, and for a certain audience produced the desired Pavlovian reflex. That

first generation of leaders did their job magnificently by obtaining an automatic gut reaction. Would that hold for the next generation of audience? I did not think so. The next audience did not possess the historic memory. Instead, it possessed a university degree. And its leaders would have to possess similar degrees, plus an intellectual appreciation of the emotional component now lost through the passage of time. That intellectual appreciation could not be cold and sterile, and would have to be supported with as much emotion as possible, by visiting sites of the Destruction in Europe and making prideful excursions to the new State and listening to powerful and passionate speakers.

Out of these various convictions, a plan began to form in my mind. I would seek to accumulate a list of younger men (this was long before the feminist revolution) who possessed leadership characteristics. When I had a large enough pool, I would convene a national conference, and sense whether it would be possible to start some sort of national program of education and inspiration. I know this all sounds very tentative, exploratory, and it was exactly that. I have never been one for making loud bombastic pronouncements of grandiose schemes to come. I prefer post-achievement announcements of what has been accomplished. Thus, what was to become the famous Young Leadership Cabinet began as a quiet, unheralded process, with a thought in my head and a notebook in my pocket.

Beginning in the Fall of 1959, I adopted the practice of jotting down in that notebook the name of every young man who

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caught my attention, for whatever reason. I travelled constantly throughout the communities for a variety of reasons, and whatever type of meeting I was attending, I watched carefully for those young persons who stood above the level of the crowd. Someone might have an especially keen mind and the ability to express himself with crisp precision; another might have a strong speaking voice and a commanding presence; still another might announce a particularly large gift for a person of his age; a fourth might take exception with the majority view and possess the self-confidence to stand against the trend; and a fifth might come up to me quietly after the meeting to state his opinion or just to ask a question. These and other examples which displayed keen interest, plus impressive personality, plus willingness to volunteer, plus steadiness, plus intelligence marked the person as someone to be remembered. After a full campaign season of travelling, the notebook contained approximately 400 names.

It was time to mobilize them, and test the water. I decided to convene a National Conference on the weekend of November 18, 1960. I wrote to the executive directors of the community Federations, telling them I was going to try to form a group of young men whom we would teach, train and inspire to assume leadership roles. I told them of the pool of potential candidates I had assembled, urged them to add names of those in their community who fit the profile, and asked their opinion of the idea in general. I have the file of replies, which is remarkable in its opposition. Some simply objected to the date. Others were

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more substantive, insisting this was not the job of the UJA, but should be better left to the Council of Federations, or the local Federation itself. I wasn't very surprised at this reaction, for it represented the usual narrow-mindedness of turf protection, rather than the broader concern of what might be beneficial for the larger national and international goals. Also, I had run into the same type of opposition from within the Zionist ranks, several of whose leaders suggested that my job was to raise money, not to get involved in "educational work", which should be left to X, Y, or Z organization.

Under the stimulus of such bureaucratic thinking, and thanks to it, I began to formulate the simple principle which motivated my entire professional approach. IN ORDER TO RAISE MONEY, ONE MUST FIRST RAISE PEOPLE. Whenever in my life I was asked to explain the art or science of fund-raising, I always replied with that one sentence. Raise people - educate them with the facts of the case you wish them to make; build an ideology onto the factual base; provide the inspirational component necessary to achieve conviction. When you have raised such advocates, they will go forth and raise the money. Money is raised, fundamentally, by one person asking another to give it. Peripheral support systems are helpful - brochures, advertising, large public meetings with famous speakers, films, videotapes, and many other devices - but the root of it all is one dedicated person exerting influence on a friend, peer or even a stranger. If the cause to be served has raised an army of capable and

devoted people, that cause will enjoy the financial fruits it is seeking. And so, in a nutshell, if my job, as CEO of the UJA was to raise money, then the only possible route to success was for me to concentrate on raising people - and that is exactly what I have spent my life doing.

The call to that National Conference in 1960 produced 250 persons, all of whom came at their own expense. It was a spectacular success, in numbers, quality and enthusiasm. The program we fashioned for that weekend was impressive:

Hon. Michael Comay - Israeli Ambassador to the U.N.

Maj.Gen. Meir Amit - IDF, later head of the Mossad

Mr. Chet Huntley - NBC Correspondent

Mr. Philip Klutznick - incoming General Chairman, UJA

Mr. Moses Leavitt - Executive Vice-chairman, JDC

Never had such an array of personalities been assembled for an audience of unknowns, young, untested, not large contributors. And that audience understood, intuitively, that an investment was being made in them; they were being treated with a sense that they were important to the future, and when people are so treated, they react correspondingly. It all went well, according to plan. The total impact of the star-studded program was stupendous.

I took my personal gamble in the form of a four-hour lecture entitled "One Hundred Years of Jewish History - 1880 to 1980". If my premise was correct - namely, that we had to lay in an educational foundation, to fill in the knowledge they lacked, and

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only then add the overlay of emotion - the topic I selected was correct, for it dealt with events in the lives of their fathers and grandfathers, with which I was attempting to connect them. If neither the topic nor the educational approach succeeded in capturing them, then the gamble would have failed. I was nervous, for I sensed how much of the future was at stake, and yet I recall distinctly my feeling, from the moment the weekend started, that it would be a brilliant success. And so it was.

I picked 1880 because that was the watershed year, the beginning of the huge migration to America. After the assassination of the liberal monarch Alexander II, a reactionary czar took over. His prime minister, Pobiedonostzov, suggested that the Jewish problem in Russia could be solved by a simple arithmetic formula: 1/3 of the Jews should be killed; 1/3 forcibly converted to the Greek Orthodox Church; and 1/3 expelled. These decrees were published in May 1881, and came to be known as the "May Laws". They triggered a massive movement westward, in wagons, on trains, by foot, to the ports of Hamburg and Liverpool, where steerage tickets to the United States cost \$25.00. Two-and-one-half-million Jews tumbled into New York, Baltimore, and Galveston by the time World War I interrupted the shipping schedules. Your grandfathers and grandmothers came then, clutching their meager belongings. At the same time, tiny numbers of "BILUim", pioneers inspired by the new Zionist movement, trekked to Palestine and started the first farms and kibbutzim. The American and Palestinian Jewish communities grew in tandem,

not knowing that they were marching toward a joining of their destinies a half-century in the future. Between 1900 and 1910, sure signs of strength were already manifest in the New World; and these very same years produced the famous Second Aliyah crop of those leaders who would one day take Palestine into sovereignty and statehood. The timing of Hitler's rise in the late 20's and early 30's was unfortunate, for much of the attention of the American Jewish community was focused, in those Depression years, on its own tenuous existence, as well as on its fears of drawing too much notice to itself if it protested too loudly on behalf of its brethren in far-off Europe. America was very isolationist in those days. For six years World War II raged, and the fires burned and the ashes of millions darkened the sky. The souls, if not the bodies, of American Jewry were seared in those fires, and a new strength was tempered, a sharp determination to find the path toward retributive action. The opportunity came almost immediately, as the push for an independent Jewish State exploded into its climactic period. The next 36 months, from 1945 to 1948, gave Jews all over the world the chance to ventilate, to let the adrenalin rush take command, to do something to assume control over their own fate. Your fathers and mothers came alive with a roar, gathered the money, raised the political consciousness of themselves and non-Jews around them, and sang and danced their way through the night of May 14, 1948, after the British flag came down and the Star of Israel rose to a new glory in a miraculous turn-around of

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History.

The things I told them in that lecture summed up a period of history they did not know very well, and started an appetite to learn more. In addition, I was consciously trying to create an emotion of pride - something I was certain had not existed within them up to now. I wanted them to be proud of being Jews and of being connected to Israel. And simultaneously they should also feel the sense of responsibility which accompanies the possession of something as precious as freedom. This new sense of independence and pride required a pretorian guard to protect it, strengthen it, nourish it, to yield ever more fruits. Each one of you has to become a guardian, I told them. I am very hard on that point. No one has the right to share in the joy who does not also share in the work of keeping the dream-come-true alive and strong. If you want to be part of this great cause, I told them, you must enlist as a soldier for the rest of your life. If you don't want to take part, good-bye. Get out of the boat - join some other group. You are no longer a Jew. We lost six million, so we will lose you and another few thousand. It won't matter. We will conduct our struggle with those who wish to volunteer as loyal soldiers. If you stay, remember, it's for life. Otherwise, go. I told them the story in the Bible of the commander Gideon who separated his men into those who wanted to fight and those who didn't. The latter he sent home.

And I told them my own story, from the formation of an ideology in the 30's, when still a teenager; through the war

chaplaincy in the 40's; working with the DP's and serving secretly with the Haganah to the end of the 40's; joining the UJA in the 50's, first as a volunteer then as the chief professional. I outlined the bare bones of the ideology which motivated and sustained me, urging them to accept it: respect for the people of Israel; love for the land of Israel; and faith that the message of Israel was of benefit to all mankind, hence worth preserving. This basic rubric was a combination of intellectual and emotional elements, which I have always felt to be the successful formula.

Many years later, when a researcher from the Hebrew University was interviewing me regarding the start-up of the Young Leadership movement, he asked "Is it really just the intellectual involvement that is important? Don't you have to create a certain emotional involvement? Intellectual involvement is nothing. You can get people intellectually involved with the Chinese or the Hottentots." I agreed, and reminded him that I said all along that intellect alone was insufficient; on the other hand, if you depend on the emotions alone, you will lose this generation because they don't have any background from which to comprehend the emotion you are talking about. The grandfather had the necessary apperceptive mass. All you had to say to him, for instance, was one word like "Cossack". The first story Golda Meir told in her autobiography occurred when she was six years old, and retained the memory of Cossacks riding into town on their big horses, swinging curved swords, and she was a frightened little girl. After moving to America, when in

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Milwaukee, she saw a policeman on a big horse, and felt the same fear, until someone explained to her that in America the policemen are not there to hurt people, but to help them. So the little girl learned that even though the horse looked the same, the Cossack and the policeman were very different. With the present generation, their reaction is not automatic. First you have to teach them what a shtetl in Russia was, and then what a Cossack was, and only then can you get down to the bedrock of what their emotional reaction as free Jews must be, should they ever be summoned to help fellow-Jews in danger of Cossacks anywhere.

The first National Young Leadership Conference ended on a high note of resolution. I asked for a vote on the question of organizing a first mission to Israel this coming summer, reminding those who would vote affirmatively that I fully expected to see them on board when the flight departed. I wanted to establish the fact from the very beginning that a vote on any issue was not a matter of raising one's hand, but was a matter of making a commitment, which absolutely had to be honored. If one voted for an issue, one simply had to perform; otherwise, vote negative. Just over 100 hands went up, and when the flight took off seven months later, 140 persons actually participated. They came from 49 communities, and their average age was 32. In addition to the mission, a program evolved from many suggestions made during the floor discussions: a book was to be sent to every member every month on some subject of Judaism or Israel;

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attendance at a national retreat or a regional conference once a year was expected of each member; some measure of participation in one's local Federation-UJA campaign was mandatory.

As it started, so it progressed and grew. During that Hebrew University interview referred to earlier, which took place in 1975, fifteen years after the start of the program, the researcher asked whether I could quantify the results. I gave him one statistic. There were at that time 68 communities in America raising more than \$1 million in their annual campaign. In 57 of those cities, the chairman of the campaign was someone who came out of the Young Leadership movement.

I felt that a seasoning period was required, in order to shake down the original group, dropping those who were not really leadership material, and recruiting others who were emerging now that it was widely known that this movement existed. This winnowing and adding went on for three years, at the end of which I felt the time had come to formalize the group, now down to a core of 33 truly first-class persons, dedicated, somewhat educated, and experienced in community work. We named it the Young Leadership Cabinet, decided to unveil it publicly at the large annual UJA conference in December 1963 and asked Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, former Governor, to dedicate it. Thus, in the records, we say the Cabinet was formed by him, and each year subsequently the Lehman Award has been given to the outgoing chairman. That group of 33 are considered the founding fathers and hopefully their names will exist a century from now

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in the UJA archives. Today's Cabinet has 350 members - much too large a group, in my opinion - and a separate Women's Cabinet has been formed, with its own 150 members. Much argument over the years concerning a merger of the two, has resulted in a mutually satisfactory conclusion that they should remain separate. Each doing its own work will contribute more to the communal welfare, in funds raised, projects completed, new talent recruited and general enthusiasm.

A wider development has also taken place over the years. The communities quickly realized that this was a valuable new instrument and began to create local leadership training courses. Thus my thesis that an increase in knowledge would result in a better performance on the part of community volunteers was validated in city after city. The Federations organized all sorts of educational-social devices, bringing young leaders together for a 9-month course in Judaism, or a 6-month course in familiarization with the major communal agencies, or a 1-day mission to Washington to learn about national and international problems. There was no limit to the ingenuity displayed in creating curricula, and most efforts produced enthusiastic new recruits. I myself visited scores of communities, taking part in the local Federation programs, lecturing, leading discussions, answering questions, urging the formation of missions overseas. So often, in the field of communal service, people work very hard and do not see immediate or even long-term results of their efforts. I have had the unusual gratification to witness, over

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the span of one-third of a century, the expansion of this Young Leadership concept into a permanent feature of Jewish life on a local, national and international scale. Every organization employs it, and even governments recognize it. Very large scale young leadership conferences in Washington and Jerusalem have the power to draw presidents and prime ministers as invited speakers. I think the concept and its systems have a long life ahead of them, capable of serving yet another generation. Naturally, this gives me much satisfaction.

For the sake of the future, to clear up possible misconceptions, I must make some comments on a document written in 1980 by the then Executive Director of the Cabinet, Rabbi Larry Rubenstein. He is a fine young professional, with good experience in the pulpit and in community service, having served in many capacities in his local Federations in Omaha and Philadelphia, and having himself been invited to join the Cabinet because of his excellent community record. A year later he was employed by the UJA as executive director of the Cabinet. He wrote in his introduction: "There is nothing in writing about the Cabinet except for some few PR descriptions at UJA. There is nothing that describes how the Cabinet operates....I discovered that virtually no one in UJA could adequately describe them - perhaps no one really understood what they were. Now, after two years... I have decided to write this extensive analysis." The author lists those he interviewed in his search for answers, including Cabinet members themselves, Federation executives, UJA

staff, national and local lay leaders, but one source is singularly missing from his list - namely, myself. And after its completion, he circulated the paper to several persons for their comments, once again not consulting me. Rubenstein was discreet concerning the distribution of the document, which was confined to a small circle. Still, the errors in it, and omissions, must be noted, for some future researcher to find.

He stated: "An analysis .. indicates that by and large the first members of the cabinet were the 'sons of' those major Jewish figures who were financial and intellectual leaders of the UJA at that time." And once again, the same: "As a general rule, the cabinet then was comprised of people who came from highly successful families, and who were being groomed for administration of the family holdings. The cabinet was a place where the successful leaders of UJA could be assured that their sons would be able to meet the sons of their friends." Lastly: "The cabinet today is moving away from an aristocracy and toward a polity."

None of the above is accurate. I described earlier the method by which I gathered the first list of invitees, and gradually winnowed them down to the founding group three years later. I was looking for talent, commitment and executive ability. It is natural that some sons of families with long traditions of community service should have come to my attention, because they were simply present at the meetings I attended when visiting their cities. But I was not looking for an

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"aristocracy."

Nor do I understand why he reports confusion as to the Cabinet's function. I conceived it as a new generation of leaders to replace those dynamic figures of the 40's. It was to be a special Task Force functioning on behalf of the UJA, whose individual members, or groups of members, would undertake any assignment given them by the UJA. Its primary function was to assist in the campaign, by soliciting gifts, training other solicitors, educating themselves as to the specific needs in Israel and abroad which were being served by the current year's campaign, representing the UJA at allocations meetings in local federations, and in every way possible spreading the UJA story to their contemporaries. Their executive director was a senior UJA staff person, who helped them with internal administration, planning retreats, organizing overseas missions for them, overseeing the continuous self-education process, and coordinating the assignments out in the field which the national campaign director of the UJA wished to give them. Lastly, they were to be at the service of the local Federation director to help in the local campaign in the community of their residence. Actually, this is the arena in which they might be expected to contribute mightily. Here there was room for possible tension and misunderstanding over the issue of "loyalty". Rubenstein described this phenomenon quite correctly: "Federations can be separated into those who view the Cabinet as a resource for the local community and those who see it as a threat. The first kind

of Federation perceives sending a man to the Cabinet as a vehicle for 'turning on' a young lay leader to performing at an even higher level at home. In the second kind, sending a man to the Cabinet means that he has been siphoned away from local activity and has gone on to national involvement with little time left for Jewish chores at home." A skillful Federation director, with a broad point of view, knows he has more to gain from the first attitude rather than the second.

The matter of missions to Europe and Israel correctly occupied a goodly number of pages in Rabbi Rubenstein's manuscript, but one fundamental error must be noted. He wrote: "The mission was initiated by the Cabinet many years ago as an innovative program and is now widely used by both national UJA and local Federations as a pre-eminent fund-raising tool." I wish this were accurate, for it would indeed add to the luster which the Cabinet rightly deserves, but the fact is that the first mission went in October 1954, with a dozen persons, organized by my predecessor Dr. Joseph Schwartz. Sensing the value of this experience, I invested great effort in strengthening the 1955 contingent; the 1956 mission took place in the immediate pre-war week; and in each successive year for the next five this annual event grew larger and better, more interesting as we experimented with the content and logistics, and more productive of financial results. By the time the first Young Leadership Mission went in 1961, the mission, as instrument for building commitment and knowledge, was already well-perfected, or so we thought.

The Cabinet made it much better. With their ingenuity and enthusiasm, they gave a special character to various types of missions. They invented the HADOR, a mission requiring pre-departure study and post-return solicitation of a certain number of cards; the HOLOCAUST AND REBIRTH, to establish the connection between those two seminal events; the FAMILY, in which wives and children were invited to join; and many others. One chairman, Alan Rudy of Houston, a tall, good-looking, powerfully energetic, strongly Israel-centered person, took on the daunting challenge in 1975 of recruiting 1000 young leaders on a national basis, in a mission entitled KOACH, whose intention it was to fly the flags of dozens of cities in a parade through Jerusalem to display the strength of American Jewish commitment to the State. He succeeded. It took 14 years before a group of such size was again organized, this time by Philadelphia, which instituted the concept of mega-mission. After that many other cities were encouraged to attempt similar projects.

The most ambitious undertaking to date is the biennial 3-day gathering in Washington to which the Cabinet has managed to assemble 3000 attendees, achieving a remarkable height of enthusiasm, and arranging a program of luminaries whose presence and presentations remain in the memory of the participants for years to come. The speeches and workshops, the singing and socializing, the impact of American President and Israeli Prime Minister, who attend either in person or with a message - all create a mood in which the message is crystal-clear: be proud of

your Judaism, draw strength from Israel's achievements, enjoy the special relationship which exists between the U.S. and Israel, and commit yourself to work for the Jewish people and their land. The standing ovations, sustained applause, loud cheering all testify to the level of adrenalin pumping through the crowd. The event is a "happening" in the understood meaning of that word, and a feather in the cap of those who work so hard to bring it about.

Rubenstein has a good insight into the psychology of the average cabinet man. He asks the question - "What brings a man to want to be part of the Cabinet and eventually to become a good member?" - and gives the answer in three parts. "The first motivation is the man's tradition. He may have grown up in a family where all of this is important and it was taught to him. Such a person usually has a fairly good understanding of the complexity of the Jewish community and the frustrations and rewards of involvement in it.

The second motivating source is the 'flash' experience. Someone may suddenly 'see the light' while on a mission to Israel. The sudden realization of loyalty, belonging, identity and homeland may come in a flash, when landing at Ben Gurion airport or riding in a bus through the Galil or touching the Wall for the first time.

The third kind of commitment is what I would term 'practical'. A person may see his activities in the Jewish community as furthering his business and/or social contacts. This

kind of commitment is more likely in a strong federation community where the leaders and captains of industry are also the leaders and captains in the federation.

All three of the above bring men to the Cabinet. They may come because it is a family tradition to serve and be active in the community. They may come because they have suddenly been turned on and develop a commitment to a community they have just discovered. They may come because it serves many business and social purposes for them to be there. The ideal is for all three motivations to exist in one person." Rubenstein offers a most telling statistic. As of the time of his writing (1980), one quarter of all Cabinet members maintained kashrut in their homes and almost 50% sent their children to day schools. This indicates a degree of reaching out for a strong Jewish identity hitherto unsuspected in this largely non-orthodox group of men. The statistics today must be even larger.

As good as the Cabinet was and is, no institution is beyond improvement. There are many defects, problems requiring solution, and aspects in need of correction. Some families suffer, due to the cabinet man's overly zealous concentration on communal activity. Methods should be found to bring his wife and teen-age children into the work he does. Some men over-pledge, because of the intensity of peer pressure during the "full disclosure" system of cabinet solicitation at the annual retreat. Escape hatches must be provided for those who need relief. Some men shirk their duty to the local federation, because the "national"

work, which takes them to other towns on various assignments, is more glamorous. This is not healthy, and a careful monitoring system should be in place to ensure a proper balance. Some men do not work at all, and just come to a retreat or sit on a committee to enjoy the company of their fellows. This makes of the Cabinet a social fraternity, which, in itself, is not a bad thing, but certainly is less idealistic and productive than the original concept envisioned. All the above items, and others not mentioned, are waiting for repair. Future chairmen and executive committee members must address them with creativity.

The best tribute I can pay to a wonderful cadre of men is to suggest tasks as yet undone, difficult tasks but not beyond the capability and talents of this regiment, which already has a long list of achievements engraven on its escutcheon. Seize hold of these challenges, conquer them, and yet more glory will await you:

1. Move your best people upward in the UJA national hierarchy. This will meet with resistance, but you must insist. There must be found within your ranks those who can serve as general chairmen within the very near future.
2. Bring in to the cabinet more academics and rabbis. Your membership now is approximately 50% business-men; 40% professionals (lawyers, doctors, dentists, miscellaneous others); 10%

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all others. You are missing an intellectual and inspirational element which could be very beneficial.

3. Arrange for more subsidies to be at the disposal of your mission committee, to enable some number of the above-mentioned academics and rabbis to join every mission you send overseas. Their presence can make the already powerful event even more meaningful.

4. Select promising cabinet members to "buddy-up" with senior UJA officers, accompanying them on their assignments. The purpose is to learn the trade and move up the ladder, both nationally and locally.

5. Devise a method to make your membership conversant with the modern Hebrew language. As the decades roll on, the Israeli population will outnumber the American-Jewish, and the two may grow apart. Many glues will be needed to cement them. Language is one. In addition, there is a rich literature, both ancient and modern, written in Hebrew, which can strengthen your sense of identity. Lastly, your children will never learn it, unless they see you trying.

6. Making aliyah may be a goal which most of

you will never achieve. But living in Israel, as a family, for a year, is something you can manage, if you plan for it carefully. It takes far less money than you imagine, and a little coordination of everyone's schedule will quickly point out the year in the future when the project could be feasible. Push for it.

7. Offer to help the Keren Hayesod establish counterpart organizations to yours in every conceivable country, including now the countries in eastern Europe as well as western. You will make a massive contribution to the morale of the small Jewish populations everywhere if you bring to them your enthusiasm, sense of voluntarism, and experience in building communal structures.

In doing all of this, you will provide an agenda for the next third of a century. Placing such tasks squarely before your successor generation will strengthen them greatly and give them the opportunity to find the same pleasure you have in your achievements.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

Section Four

The two extraordinary events of the campaign year 1960 I have already described - the episode in October with Pope John XXIII in the Vatican, which produced the milestone statement, "I am Joseph your brother"; and the founding conference in November, which created the Young Leadership movement. The ordinary events of that year provide a picture of what our daily work looked like. The record shows that I made about 25 speeches in two dozen cities, beside an unrecorded number of trips for meetings and negotiations of all sorts. The following few examples offer a mosaic:

- January 25 - London - Big Gifts Dinner, Dorchester Hotel - fellow speaker - Jacob Bronowski.
- March 7 - Teaneck, N.J. - Mass Rally - with 14-year-old Yitzchak Perlman.
- March 15 - Denver - Opening Dinner - with Greta Thyssen, Miss Universe contestant from Denmark, representing the Danish people who aided the Jews in their escape from the Nazis on Yom Kippur 1943.
- March 20 - Bronx, N.Y. - Auschwitz Memorial Dinner - with Senator Jacob Javits and Dr. Nahum Goldmann.
- June 18 - Washington - Mid-year Conference -

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with Mike Wallace, Dr. Abram Sachar, and Ike Aronowicz, captain of the refugee ship Exodus.

The single most important function of each year was held in December, a three-day convention, at which significant decisions were taken regarding the next year's campaign, such as the monetary goal, the slogans and publicity approach, as well as reports on the needs in Israel and countries of distress. The one single item of greatest significance was the announcement of a new general chairman, for he was the symbol as well as the active leader. I always wanted a person of national prominence, if possible, for this draped the cause with a certain patina. The UJA for years had enjoyed the very best - Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Edward M.M. Warburg, and William Rosenwald. And now that it was time to select a new person, I searched for someone with a leadership name familiar to the Jewish communal world. The one I chose was Philip M. Klutznick of Chicago. He had risen to the top in the National and International B'nai Brith, when that organization was the largest in the country. Its Hillel Foundation was strong on almost every major campus, and its ADL chapters in every major city were bastions of defense against anti-semitism. He was a powerful leader in his own community, and a close ally of Dr. Nahum Goldmann in the work of the World Jewish Congress. After Goldmann completed negotiations with the German government for the payment of material claims to the victims of Nazism, and to the State of Israel, a portion of the

funds was set aside to subsidize Jewish cultural and intellectual creativity to make up for the scholars and writers murdered in the Holocaust. An organization was created and named The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, and Phil Klutznick was appointed chairman. He served for a third of a century, supervising grants to hundreds of individuals who have written monographs, doctoral dissertations and books. It was a strenuous compensatory effort, demonstrating that Hitler had not succeeded. And among all the projects which crowded his busy life, support of Israel was always a priority, whether through the Israel Bond Organization, or through private investment, such as the building of the Hilton Hotel in Jerusalem which he did with a few partners.

When I approached him with the invitation to serve as general chairman of the UJA, we began a series of analytical conversations in which he wanted to know all the details of what would be expected of him, with an eye toward determining whether he possessed the necessary talents. He was not being modest - that quality was never part of his personality - he knew his worth. He also knew that he had no time for useless meetings or egotistical politicking or lengthy "process" in the bureaucratic sense. When he was satisfied, he accepted, with pride and dignity, and I was so pleased to have his brain and energy at the head of the organization.

But he did have one caveat. He reminded me of his deep involvement in the Democratic party, together with a colleague in Chicago, Colonel Jake Arvey, one of the party's national leaders.

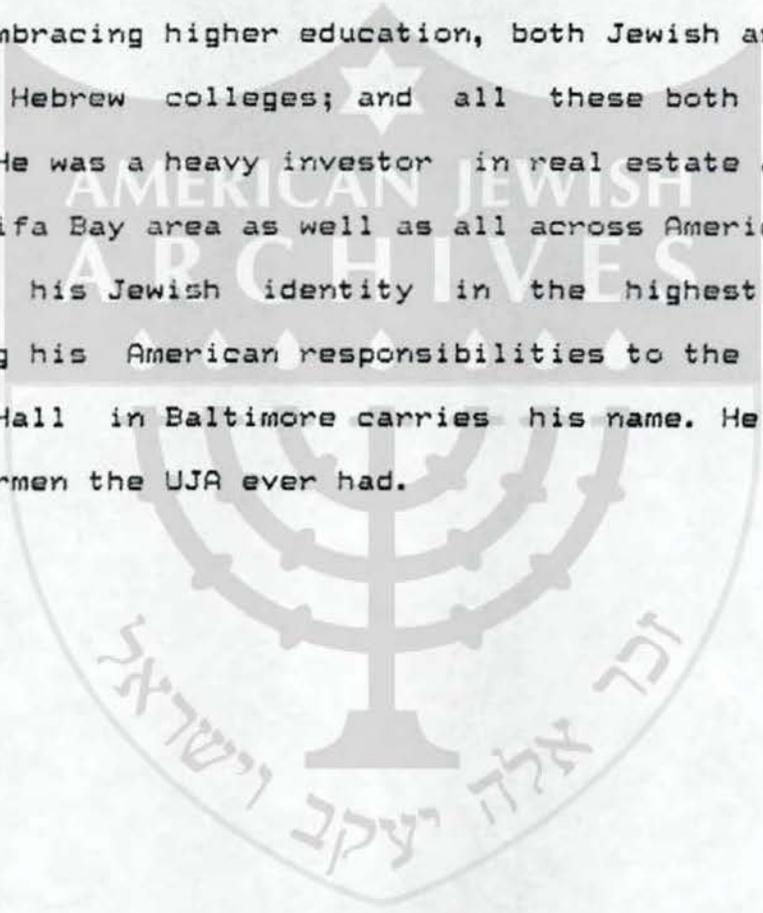
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They were working very hard on behalf of their candidate, John F. Kennedy, the first Catholic to run for the presidency. Phil revealed to me that Kennedy had discussed the possibility, if victorious, of bringing Klutznick into his administration in some important spot. Should Kennedy win in November, and after inauguration in January indeed offer a post, then Klutznick would be in the awkward position of having been appointed UJA chairman at the December Conference, only to resign a month or two later. He felt it would not be fitting for him to accept a major governmental position, and remain in this high-profile private philanthropic position simultaneously. Should neither a Kennedy victory nor appointment materialize, we would have no problem and Phil would serve happily as UJA chairman. Should the other possibilities occur, the dilemma would exist, and he was telling me, a priori, how he would decide. Having explained this caveat carefully, he then left the choice to me. I decided to take the risk, for he was such a perfect figure for us. And I lost. Kennedy won, Klutznick was appointed U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and resigned the UJA in February. We were rescued by the man whom I had in mind as chairman a few years later, when Klutznick's term would end, but who came to bat earlier as a loyal team player. I refer to Joseph Meyerhoff of Baltimore.

He was one of the most unusual leaders on the American scene, possessed of a broad perspective. Ten years earlier, he had offered himself as a personal example of how cooperation should work between the UJA and the new Bond Organization by

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stating that in his home community he would undertake the chairmanship of both campaigns, consecutively, and prove that there was no need to fear the new entry into the fund-raising scene. Both efforts were successful, because of his persistence and remarkable leadership qualities. He spread his largesse widely, embracing higher education, both Jewish and general; day schools; Hebrew colleges; and all these both in the U.S. and Israel. He was a heavy investor in real estate and construction in the Haifa Bay area as well as all across America. This man was loyal to his Jewish identity in the highest degree, while performing his American responsibilities to the extent that the Symphony Hall in Baltimore carries his name. He was one of the best chairmen the UJA ever had.



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CHAPTER EIGHT

Section One

As we fast forward during the next decade, astonishing and dangerous events will unfold. The people of Israel, in their State, will expand in numbers, deepen the economy, strengthen the defense capability, extend the industry into high-tech areas, flourish culturally with more universities, museums and orchestras. And the people of Israel, in their western diasporas, will also grow in wealth, political influence, solidarity with Israel, and search for their identity through an intensification of their educational apparatus. The Jewish future of the large bloc in the Soviet Union was still waiting in the womb of history, but its birth was not far distant. Freedom would come, enabling large-scale transfer to Israel, which seemed like fantasy in the depth of the Cold War, but the dream in the hearts of a few was to spread irresistibly until it exploded into reality for the many. War was also to come, horrible annihilating war, which held all the possibility of wiping the youthful state clear off the map. It was a Rubicon event, carrying Israel across into a new-found sense of its own strength, and world Jewry across into a passionate love affair it had not felt up to now.

On the American stage, in the decade ahead, one president would be assassinated, whether by an unbalanced individual, or a Russian-engineered plot, or a mysterious group of his own countrymen with an unknown motivation of their own. This tragic event followed an earlier episode with the Russians involving

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missiles 90 miles from Miami and a nuclear confrontation. The world's heart almost stopped beating, but missiles were withdrawn from Cuba and others from Turkey, and breathing resumed. Two succeeding presidents were drawn so deeply into Vietnam that the American public revolted, against them and that war. The nation was shaken with guilt, and the scars have not yet faded. Watergate came, and caused a crisis of trust in the very government itself. All these convulsions within a very short time disturbed the level of consciousness, causing tranquillity to flee, and leading to the refuge of heavy-beat music, drugs, and self-centered indulgences. The happenings in America affected the entire world. An interesting footnote is the fact that the Jewish people, going through its own turmoil during this same decade, seemed to be dealing with life-saving and life-creating enterprises rather than self-defeating and self-destroying acts.

In early 1961 the trial of Adolf Eichmann opened in the Community Center of Jerusalem, which was converted into a courtroom. The monster appeared to be such an utterly common man as he sat in the bullet-proof glass box set up on the left side of the room to prevent some grief-stricken survivor from sending a bullet or grenade his way. Partially bald, pale, average in height, weight, bearing, he seemed absolutely anonymous - that is, indistinguishable, simply any man on a crowded street. There was nothing fearsome, threatening, portentous about this lump in the box. He was Mr. Anybody and that is what was most awesome about this essence of evil.

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The Mossad (Israel's fabled Intelligence Service under the command of Isser Harel) had tracked him, with some help from outsiders like Simon Wiesenthal of Vienna and Paul(?) Friedman of Haifa, finally locating him in Argentina. A squad was sent, headed by Harel himself. They learned his daily movements, work and home addresses, alias, and rehearsed over and over exactly how and where to capture him, which they finally did as he walked from the bus stop toward his home late one afternoon. In the safe house, he realized immediately that he had been taken by Israelis and made no attempt to deny his identity.

The plan to smuggle him out of the country had been planned with equal care. The timing of his capture was made to coincide with the presence in Argentina of an EL AL transcontinental aircraft, which had arrived bearing Abba Eban as Israel's representative to an important Argentinian national anniversary. When the celebratory events were completed, the airplane, with its diplomatic immunity, was scheduled to return Mr. Eban to Israel. Harel's group hustled the tranquilized body into the plane, wrapped so that it simply looked like a large bundle, and kept it in the rear of the cabin, where Eban was unlikely to wander. They never informed him that Eichmann was on board, so that he could honestly say to the Argentinians, when the imbroglia would burst upon the world, that he had nothing to do with the kidnapping, was not even aware that the Nazi was on his plane, and thus could not jeopardize the position of the State he represented. These careful preparations did not help. Argentina

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broke diplomatic relations with Israel, furious that her sovereignty and territory had been violated (the fury probably in direct proportion to her frustration that the whole world knew of the hundreds of Nazis being harbored in South America). It took seven months of arduous negotiations, including a trip by Golda Meir herself to Buenos Aires, before the breach was healed. Meanwhile Eichmann was in jail in Jerusalem.

The open, public, theatrical nature of the trial was a decision by David Ben-Gurion. This was 1961, and the furnaces in Poland had ceased burning 15 long years ago. Half a new generation had already been born in Israel, for whom the Holocaust was past history. And hundreds of thousands of North African Jews had migrated into Israel during these 15 years who also knew very little of what had happened in Europe. For these two audiences the trial would be a learning experience. It would be reported daily (as it turned out, the trial took four months) in the newspapers, on television, in the cinema, and in schools. Hundreds of reporters from all over the world took up residence in Jerusalem for the whole period, and the knowledge that Hitler's crime would once more be laid open before the world's conscience was an additional benefit. But primarily he wanted the Israeli public to be sensitized, for he knew that the State Prosecutor, Mr. Gideon Hausner, would build his case slowly, in painstaking detail, explaining carefully the maniacal doctrines of Hitlerism, the passivism of the democratic world, the unspeakable horrors of the murdering of millions, and the part

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played by the Nazi "common man" in carrying out the evil program. Hausner's making of the case provided the education for the new generation. And his written account, "Justice in Jerusalem", remains for all future generations. I attended the trial during its opening days, for many weeks in-between, and the closing days. I was constantly amazed at the skillful manner in which the prosecuting team analyzed, explained, diagnosed the entire morphology of the Nazi disease, in quiet tones, without melodrama, letting the crimes condemn the criminals - no extra words needed. Although capital punishment does not exist in Israel, the exception obviously exists for such a key figure in the Nazi hierarchy, and one day Adolf Eichmann was hanged, his body cremated, and his ashes cast into the Mediterranean from the deck of an Israeli navy vessel.

On April 9, 1962 an interfaith act of some significance took place in the White House. A ceremony was scheduled by President Kennedy at the signing of a presidential order distributing food to various countries world-wide under a program entitled Food for Peace. The actual allocation as to amounts and destinations was to be handled by an organization called "American Voluntary Agencies for Overseas Relief." Many clergy and lay leaders, officers and lay leaders of these agencies, gathered in a separate room before the president was due to enter and sign. Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, UJA general chairman, and I, were among those present. A short discussion ensued, during which one of the presidential advisors indicated that the group should choose one

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among its members to serve as spokesman, and he felt the president would be pleased if it were a clergyman. A Catholic bishop spoke up, suggesting that since there were several priests and ministers present, but only one rabbi, it might be fitting if I were selected to speak on behalf of them all. This met with immediate acquiescence, and when President Kennedy entered the room, I was assigned to stand next to him to read the scroll of appreciation which the Voluntary Agencies had prepared. It was a moment of high thrill. He responded by commenting on the richness of the American tradition which treats respect for one's fellow man in such a wonderfully matter-of-fact way. Then he signed with several pens, so that each person received a souvenir directly from his hand. The pen was made of clear lucite, with the words THE WHITE HOUSE inscribed on the side in black letters. I asked my secretary later to have it properly mounted. It was returned to me encased in clear lucite, so that the pen itself had utterly disappeared and only the black words were floating in the lucite block. Some people think it is more interesting that way. I don't. As a result of this presidential order, large quantities of surplus foods were made available for distribution in Israel through Hadassah and other networks.

Later in 1962, a climactic event took place in Algeria. After years of fighting between Moslem insurgents seeking their independence and French colonists, backed up by the French Army, seeking to retain their status as a department of France, DeGaulle himself decided in favor of granting the Arab majority

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its independence. This was not only a blow for the colonists, thousands of whom returned to the homeland, but was a signal to the Jews to flee immediately, for they saw nothing but danger ahead. We had tried many times in the past few years to persuade them to organize a large-scale migration to Israel, for the denouement which had now occurred was easily foreseeable earlier. The Algerian Jews, however, contrary to their brethren in the neighboring country of Morocco, felt themselves to be French, whose citizenship and language they possessed as part of their very nature. They resisted the Zionist argument, were shocked when the ax fell, and fled in dismay and disorganization, leaving homes filled with furniture, shops filled with inventory, and cars with the keys in the ignition at airports and sea-ports. A massive operation was set up in France by the JDC to help receive these refugees, and the UJA had to throw millions of dollars into the breach. When the panic flight was over, some few months later, it became clear that about 35,000 families, composed of 150,000 souls, had jumped across the Mediterranean. A tabulation of Jewish population in various cities showed the status:

<u>CITY</u>	<u>JEWISH POPULATION</u>	
	<u>1957</u>	<u>1963</u>
Paris	175,000	300,000
Marseilles	12,000	60,000
Lyon	6,300	25,000
Toulouse	3,500	13,500
Bordeaux	3,500	6,400
Nice	2,100	6,400
Lille	2,200	3,200
Grenoble	1,200	2,800
Aix-en-Provence	265	1,200

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Today the Jewish population of France is approximately 750,000, making it the fourth largest in the world. It is gestating, forming and re-forming, erupting with new leadership and new values, basically seeking deeper Judaic roots, developing closer ties with Israel, sponsoring a small but steady migration, while retaining its Sephardic culture and French patriotism. As the generations go forward, the present gaps between this majority and the Ashkenazic minority will undoubtedly close. It is still too early to tell whether there will ever be a large-scale migration to Israel. Meanwhile an ever larger infrastructure of schools, synagogues, community centers and other service agencies is coming into existence, together with political and defense organizations.

In October 1963, there was another UJA mission which stopped in Rome on its way to Israel. The purpose was two-fold: to visit the Ardeatine Caves, just outside the city, where a Nazi slaughter of hundreds of Italian Jews had taken place 20 years earlier; and to visit the incumbent Pope Paul VI, as a follow-up to the visit with his predecessor three years earlier.

There had always been tension between Hitler and Mussolini regarding the matter of liquidation of the Jews. There was not a very large Jewish population in Italy; relations between Italian Christians and Italian Jews had always been relaxed and normal; fascism in Italy did not contain an anti-semitic plank in its platform; and there was no haste on the part of Mussolini's government to yield to the constant German pressure for severe

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anti-Jewish measures. As the war continued, Nazi pressure mounted and when the German Army came into Italy in large numbers, it became more difficult to resist Gestapo demands. Finally the Nazis took the matter into their own hands, and seized the occasion of the killing of some German soldiers by a resistance group, to round up some hundreds of Jews, truck them out to the caves, machinegun them all, as a lesson. The dead have since been carefully interred, with small photographs on each casket, which carries name, age and other information. The place has become a destination of pilgrimage, with a fairly constant flow of visitors, Jewish and non-Jewish, bringing wreaths of tribute. Our mission came, accompanied by the Chief Rabbi Elias Toaff and other heads of the Italian community, said its Kaddish, dropped its tears, and left with this memory etched alongside the other slaughter-houses most of the mission members had seen in other countries.

The previous visit to Pope John XXIII had ended with the historic sentence "I am Joseph your brother", following which the landmark Vatican II Council had issued its precedent-shattering document "Nostra Aetate" in which the Jews were declared innocent of the charge of Christ-killing. This was an incredible change from the centuries past in which the Church actively stoked the fires of Jew-hatred which so often resulted in death and persecution. John had died, and this visit with the new Pope was intended to continue the tradition of friendly drop-in audiences whenever a delegation of American Jewish community leaders was

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passing through Rome for any reason. Paul was cold. He was proper, correct, polite - but those who had experienced the warmth of the previous visit were shocked by the difference in tone. He made no reference to the Vatican II deliberations and conclusions, uttered no expressions of hope as to improved relations between Catholics and Jews which everyone hoped would result, and left the group feeling let-down and disappointed. Church policy had been set, his non-committal attitude could not change it, but it seemed clear to us that he did not approve of it. Some of us felt that this was a harbinger of a long period in which the Church hierarchy would have to grow accustomed to the new doctrines, and some might even try to avoid dealing with it, but my basic optimism prevailed. It is clear to me, a quarter-century later, that Catholic-Jewish relations have improved and will continue on that irreversible track.

On February 10, 1964, the annual UJA Inaugural Dinner, at which the first public announcement was always made of the very top gifts to the current year's campaign, was held in Washington, D.C. The few hundred people in attendance from all over the country were the front-line leaders in their communities, the ones willing to speak up first, to set the pace, to make the increases which determined the tone and mood of the entire national effort. Because of the unusual quality of this audience, President Lyndon Johnson was happy to receive them at a reception in the East Room of the White House, and they were thrilled at the invitation. There were too many to be seated, so they

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clustered around him as he spoke informally. His message was intended to encourage them in what they were doing. He spoke about voluntarism as a precious and uniquely American way of helping to solve social problems, and then grew more particular as he spoke about their work on behalf of Israel. His words of praise and compliment for the manner in which Israel was growing were so clearly genuine that the room basked in pleasure. They came away strengthened, enheartened, happy in the compatibility between their President and their cherished Israel.

The dinner that night was an outstanding success, and later, as a small group was sitting in a circle, having a nightcap before dispersing, someone asked me, once more, just to be sure, whether I thought the President was really sincere, or simply bring politick. I reassured them that, in my opinion, he was utterly honest, and told them of an episode which had occurred a month earlier, when Prime Minister Eshkol had visited Johnson at his ranch in Texas. The subject was, as usual, money and arms, with the latter more important. The air in the Mideast was heating up, and Nasser was threatening to destroy Israel when he was ready (three years later). Eshkol was pushing for offensive equipment, especially aircraft. Up to that point, the United States had not given or sold anything substantial to Israel. President Kennedy, a couple of years earlier, had sold some Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries, but that was all. Johnson interrupted their conversation, which was taking place in the ranch kitchen, around the stove, sitting in rocking chairs like

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the two old farmers they were, because he wanted a breather from the pressure Eshkol was diplomatically exerting. He suggested they take a jeep ride around the spread, along the Pedernales River which ran through his land, to see some of his prize herd. Eshkol agreed happily for he loved expeditions like that. As they drove across the scrub, Eshkol noticed there was a rifle in a scabbard alongside Johnson's left leg, and asked why that was necessary since they were not planning to leave the ranch. LBJ's reply was that there were lots of coyotes on the wide acreage, they were dangerous to the cattle, and one always had to be prepared to deal with them. Back in the kitchen, at the luncheon table, when the conversation resumed, Eshkol made his bid for some Skyhawks and Phantoms, America's best aircraft, pushing hard, and when Johnson asked him why he needed so many, at such expense, so quickly, Eshkol's quiet, almost innocuous reply was that he had lots of coyotes in his neighborhood and he had to be prepared to deal with them. Johnson must have chuckled, for Eshkol left for home with a firm promise to get American aircraft, for the first time. I thought this was good evidence of the President's sincerity.

ISRAEL EDUCATION FUND

Whenever the steady beat of campaigning offered an hour, or remarkably a whole day free of the incessant demands made by telephones, airplanes, planning meetings or speech-making, I would retreat into my favorite occupation - long-range thinking. Such moments always occurred, even during the most hectic operational periods. The trick was to catch that fleeting opportunity, to sit alone with a favorite idea, play with its pros and cons, its feasibility, how to coax it into birth and nourish it into full growth. Many ideas died, some few felt important, seminal, capable of yielding permanent fruit, and those were the ones on which I concentrated.

I always felt that my responsibility as the Chief Executive Officer obligated me to think and act on many different levels - providing inspiration, controlling administration, managing relations with the local communities, soliciting top gifts, setting financial targets, but, above all, creating new methods for achieving the goals of the UJA.

The decade of the 50's was filled with frenetic waves of hundreds of thousands of people flooding into Israel, needing food and shelter, at a time when the economy was often in recession, the military expenditure prodigious and the thin layer of leadership stretched beyond any human limit. Yet, even in the midst of this sleep-deprived, money-deprived, enemy-threatening environment, one had to find the moments of quiet in which to think ahead, not just for the next day's work, but for the longer future.

My mind was always focusing on the basic question - what is the character of the state we are building? Rescuing people and dealing with their physical needs was the easier part of the problem, for that dealt with houses, farms, jobs, villages - all tangible quantities. But the real strength of the nation would depend on its economy, army and morale. These broad areas demanded a well-educated and highly-motivated population. If we were to succeed in creating an Israel which could be a "light" unto its own citizens, and even more, in the traditional Biblical sense, a light unto all the nations, we would have to solve society's more complicated challenges than

simply its physical needs. Education was the elemental force which would elevate the economy, protect the state and drive the nation to greatness.

If one analyzed carefully the educational system in the Israel of 1960, the gap between the reality and what the ideal should be was really tremendous. It was clear that major remedial action was desperately needed. But first some consciousness-raising was necessary in order to help people realize that enhancing the level of education was as important as acquiring the next level of fighter aircraft. I came to the conclusion that the UJA should undertake a separate special fund to raise educational standards and achievements in Israel. The best way to accomplish this was to set up an internal competition - i.e. a new division (which I named in my own thinking, but never expressed aloud, the "Cadillac" division). Setting up this competition on the inside would pre-empt any other organization on the outside from attempting to satisfy the educational need that was obvious to any thoughtful person who cared deeply about Israel's future.

Actually, the record shows that I had written a letter dated 15 June 1961, that was probably the earliest formulation of thoughts on this subject: "In the face of larger immigration (principally from Roumania) into Israel, plus Soviet MIG-19's coming into Egyptian hands, Israel is constantly struggling. These are the two main financial burdens. But there are many other serious problems, not the least among them being education. I have long hoped that there might be a time when we (the UJA) could begin to contribute to education in Israel, which is not free beyond the 8th grade. With the traditional Jewish emphasis on higher education, Israel should be a land where everyone could receive university training. This is a beautiful dream, and we are today far from it."

There were many conversations between myself and the Ministers of Education, Zalman Aranne and Abba Eban, concerning the future education in the country. The basic situation was not good, for many reasons, but, of course, the most weighty was money. The goal of free, universal, secondary education was impossible to attain, and the law listed grade 8 as the limit. In addition, the school day was shorter than it should be, extra-curricular opportunities were few, athletics and sports were minimal, and many teachers were unlicensed.

I wanted very much for the UJA to find some way to assist in this area, and began to delineate the specific problems to be solved. First and foremost was the legal question of the tax-deductibility of the contributions we would be soliciting. Education was an Israeli Government responsibility, and philanthropic funds could not be applied to any program which was a basic government obligation. Therefore, we could do nothing to assist in the field covered by grades 1 through 8. However, the government had no legal obligation whatsoever to provide kindergarten (and earlier) services or grades 9 through 12 (high school). Thus, it became very clear that these would be the fields in which we would be free to work.

As a matter of fact, the pre-kindergarten area as as appealing as the high school, for the results of Operation Head Start in the U.S. had already demonstrated the outstanding effect of early reading skills. Strong reading ability was the base of all success in later schooling. Drop-out rates years later in high school were directly related to inadequate reading skill. So, we planned to concentrate, on pre-K, ages 3 and 4, as on the high school area.

Next was the question of developing a set of operating rules that would be satisfactory to the government in Israel and also to the federated communities in the United States among whom we would be raising the rather heavy sums required for school buildings. As for the former matter, the basic issue was to obtain agreement on the distinction between operating budgets and capital fund budgets. My thinking was that the UJA be responsible for raising the multi-millions required for construction, and the Ministry of Education undertake the operating budget. My reasoning was that the unusually large contributions we would be soliciting from individuals, who would also have to agree to maintain and even increase their contributions to the annual on-going regular campaign, would take them several years to pay off. Therefore, we could not expect to obtain still more money for a school's operating budget. Further, the government's taxing power could be expected to increase, as the population and the economy expanded, so that the school's budget could be handled by the Ministry.

In order to obtain local federation acquiescence to the concept of raising large sums in the local community, without sharing any of such funds with the local federation, and without hurting the annual campaign upon which the local federation depended for its own needs and agencies, a

set of regulations had to be established which would provide assurances concerning the above fears. I decided that the best approach would be to offer the strongest possible guarantees right from the start, rather than to negotiate and compromise my way through the usual "process" which marked most communal decisions. Therefore I wrote a most stringent set of regulations, designed to protect the interest of the local federation, and simply published them as the operating rules for the soon-to-be established Israel Education Fund.

These rules were as follows:

1. The minimal gift to the I.E.F. would be \$100,000.
2. Any gift to the IEF would require an increase to the annual campaign of that year.
3. Every prospect for an IEF gift would have to be cleared by the local federation in two regards - the amount to be solicited and the timing of such solicitation.
4. Schools built with IEF contributions would carry donors' names, if so desired, contrary to annual gifts which were anonymous.
5. Dedications of buildings in Israel would be public events, to which prospective future donors would be invited.

A strong lay and professional leadership would be necessary, and I did not want to divert any of the top UJA lay leaders from their work in the annual campaign. Furthermore, I wanted someone with qualifications in the field of education, someone whose experience would lend weight to the presentations and solicitations required. By the happiest of coincidences, I found the perfect candidate right in my own family - my father-in-law. Charles Bensley, Esq. was a former member of the Board of Education of New York for 13 years. He was chairman of the Building and Sites Committee, and had built more than 300 schools during that period, at a cost of several hundred million dollars. He possessed a fantastic background of knowledge, contacts and visions. He agreed to be the founding President of the IEF. This was a very lucky break, and augured a successful future for the new venture.

Mr. Bensley immediately addressed the question of providing the research which would be necessary to validate the need for this new campaign. He assembled a team of impeccable quality to accompany him to

Israel to gather the comprehensive data. The three experts were: Dr. Harold B. Gores, president of the Educational Facilities Laboratories of the Ford Foundation; Dr. William Jansen, former Superintendent of Schools of the City of New York; and Dr. Harold Wilson, dean of the School of Education of the University of California at Los Angeles. The staff person was Abraham S. Hyman, a brilliant lawyer and colleague of mine in the post-war years in Germany, who wrote the 218-page document entitled "Survey of Education in Israel" which summarized the data and the conclusions of the team. Led throughout the entire country for three weeks by the indefatigable Mr. Bensley; visiting dozens of schools, interviewing scores of teachers and principals; meeting with all the relevant politicians and finance ministry officials; and concluding with the top Ministers themselves, the group returned to the United States highly enthusiastic about the gains which could be made in the future educational system of Israel.

I was now ready to broach the matter publicly, and did so at the regular quarterly meeting of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, held in New York City on 13 March 1964. Our team was augmented by Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, of Baltimore, who was finishing a four-year term as General Chairman of the National UJA, and now joining Charles Bensley in the top rank of the Israel Education Fund, as well as Mr. Ralph Goldman, a seasoned officer of the Joint Distribution Committee, who was joining as Executive Director of the Fund. Plenty of time was allocated for presentation, followed by questions. It was an excellent meeting.

"I posed the basic question: why do we need this new fund?"

And then answered it from five points of view:

- 1. Economic
- 2. Defense
- 3. Political
- 4. Jewish tradition
- 5. The making of a Nation

Economy

In order to develop a highly skilled and technologically-advanced society such as exists in the smaller countries of Western Europe,

Israel will require major steps forward in both its general educational level, and especially in its scientific, engineering, computer and other high-tech skills. Without an educational system which can underwrite a constant advance in technology and science, Israel's economy will undergo a constant desperate struggle to grow.

Defense

Modern defense requires an almost unimaginable degree of training and skills for the handling of sophisticated armour, artillery and aircraft. In my own mind, I have often summed up this very complex matter in one short sentence: a small nation can lose a war in its classrooms. The art of war today begins, more than ever before, with a knowledge of mathematics and computer technology. Long-range big guns are aimed and fired from computers located in trailers often a kilometer distant from the guns themselves.

Any analysis of Israel's defense problems assumes that she will never be able to match her enemies quantitatively, but that she must match them qualitatively. This refers to the standard of training, in the classroom and in the field, of officers, tank commanders, pilots and all other critical branches. We are not speaking of morale and fighting spirit, which is always of the highest level, but of sheer technical skill which must be studied and absorbed. From a purely military point of view, Israel's very existence depends upon continuously improving the educational standards of the country.

Politics

Democracy depends upon stability, which, in its turn, rests upon rational attitudes of the citizenry to the imperfections of the government. If it is felt that there is discrimination in the system, a street mob, uneducated, fed by hysteria and/or demagoguery, may allow itself to explode into violence. It is a fact, and we are all proud of it, that in Israel we have the most solid, stable democracy in the entire mid-East. But we must never forget the Wadi Salib episode which occurred in Haifa some years ago. A mob, largely North African Jews, recent immigrants, relatively undereducated, living in slums, at a barely subsistence level, took to the streets, in an uncontrollable tirade, burning and looting, which took many hours to subside.

The root cause was a feeling on the part of these Sephardic citizens that they were being unfairly dealt with in a society dominated by Ashkenazic Jews who controlled all the levers. A sense of discrimination is a social evil which cannot be dissipated over night, yet must be dealt with if society is not to be constantly plagued by similar outbreaks. The worst symptoms of social inequality are found in the marketplace, where the illiterate or badly educated citizen will always be at an economic disadvantage. Better jobs will go to the better skilled; poorly paid jobs to the unskilled.

If nothing is done about this situation, if it is accepted as a "natural" social condition, the very foundations of democracy may become corroded. Personally, I am deeply convinced that the political stability and the democratic future of the country will depend directly upon a higher level of education being extended to all groups of Israel's population.

Jewish Tradition

We are the People of the Book, and, properly speaking, should be ashamed if the standard of learning in Israel remains permanently as low as it is today.

There is a highly educated elite in the country, stemming from continental Europe, America and the kibbutz, whose standard is excellent. Almost every kibbutz, or group of kibbutzim, has created for itself a high school. And this elite runs the country in all key elements - government, army, industry, universities and social services. But social conditions never remain frozen. What we consider today a satisfactory level of secondary education, fit to produce a ruling elite, may, by tomorrow's standards be considered merely mediocre.

Should Israel fail to keep pace with the ever more demanding requirements of a modern country in this sensitive area of education, how would we feel a generation from now if only a few would get much beyond high school, and even those few would not be able to compete in international arenas? Can we accept the prospect of an educationally declining Israel without violating our own ethos and our traditional pride in education. The image of the Jew we cherished most is that of an educated man. I sincerely believe that we must help Israel to satisfy its increasing educational needs, not only to assure her viability as a modern state, but also out of sentimental and traditional considerations.

The making of a Nation

In the past 15 years we have been active participants in the rescue and in-gathering of our people. With pride and concern we watched the slow, sometimes erratic process of state-building: the emergence of an effective Israel Defense Force; the growth of a foreign service sending more than 100 ambassadors all over the globe; the building of factories; the expansion of tourist trade; and many many other components of sovereignty. But the progress Israel has made in state-building should not divert our attention from the far more complex task of nation-building. How to integrate people coming from 70 other countries, speaking scores of other languages, at a wide variety of occupational skills (or none at all), with a tremendous disparity of cultural baggage and dreams in their heads, is a staggering challenge. But its solutions must be found or the experiment will founder.

Let me state very simply that a country-wide high school system is a tool by which the various strains of people can be cohesed into a nation. If we look at the history of the United States in the 19th and early 20th centuries, we will see the truth of this statement. The Poles and the Germans, the Scandinavians and Italians, the Jews and the Greeks, the Russians and Irish, the millions of people pouring into the U.S. every year became Americans through the process of schooling. They learned the English language, American culture and mores, civics and democracy. The day and night schools provided America with the foundation of a more or less homogenized citizenry.

We must not deceive ourselves. These tools do not exist in Israel today. We have brought to Israel over a million people. They are there, in safety, and free. But many of them are still immigrants, divided into separate and distinct groups; many living by their own old traditions; many resentful and suspicious, because in their own minds they are underprivileged and inferior. Dear friends, I am sure you will agree that Israel is still lacking the character of a nation. To blend the population into some sort of homogeneity we must have a country-wide high school system, and even with such an instrument, we must realize that the blending will take twenty or thirty years.

We have reviewed five major aspects of Israel's educational problem. Taken together, they point to a single conclusion: Israel's growth,

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phenomenal to this point, will be blunted and eventually come to a halt within a predictable number of years, unless the educational levels are pushed higher and made universal. There is a great, real danger of Israel's becoming a small Levantine state of three or four million Jews, with a small elite superimposed on a poverty-stricken population. I have no doubt that we, collectively would like to see a modern Israel, industrialized, well-defended, sustained in its economic progress by a literate, well-educated population. But it is also clear to me that we will see such a modern Israel, if we come to its aid, if we accept our share of responsibilities in the vital, challenging field of education, through the new Israel Education Fund being proposed to you today".

Following this presentation, the meeting addressed itself to various questions about the fund-raising, for this concerned the participants greatly.

Q. - "How are we going to prevent donors from wanting to divert money they are now giving to the UJA to this new fund instead, where they will get their name on a door?"

A. - "If it is a substitution, we won't take it."

Q. - "How firm is the conviction that nothing less than \$100,000 will be accepted?"

A. - "Night before last the officers of the UJA voted on the \$100,000 floor, and voted to recommend that number to the Executive Committee, which meets next Monday. If the Exec. Comm. votes it, that becomes policy.

Q. - "Suppose a man who gives \$1,000 annually to the regular campaign wants to give the IEF \$10,000 for ten scholarships, and this would give him great joy and pleasure. Would you take it?"

A. - "No, no."

Q. - "Then you would be throwing some money away."

A. - "Yes, we might be throwing some money away, but we are trying to obtain two greater goods: first, large sums, and second, protection for the annual campaign. Those are greater goods than this \$10,000 that we might lose.

Q. - "Assume a man gives you \$100,000 and pledges to pay it in four years, and in the third year he comes to the Federation and says, 'I'm having some trouble this year, and will have to reduce my annual gift in order to pay the \$25,000 I owe on my IEF pledge. What would you do?"

A. - "We have the responsibility of protecting the annual campaign to the maximum degree possible, but frankly we can't provide protection unto the third and fourth generation. There might be a case like that, but on the basis of experience with other large capital fund campaigns for hospitals, community centers, synagogues, etc., the number of such cases is not significant. For us to say that we would not accept a man's pledge because of some theoretical problem four years down the road wouldn't be realistic.

Q. - "Will Israel Bonds be accepted in payment of IEF pledges?"

A. - "Yes, just as they are accepted in payment of regular annual pledges.

Q. - "Will the Bond Organization be selling bonds on the basis that they will build schools with the proceeds of such sales?"

A. - "No. Some speakers at Bond meetings might try to refer to the educational problem in Israel, but the Bond Organization is not authorized to sell Bonds for the purpose of building schools."

Q. - "It has been stated that under the projected plan secondary education will not be free. Is that right?"

A. - "Yes, that is correct. Before you can make any social service free, you have to make it available. We have to build the schools first, and train more teachers. We can't hope to raise enough money at the same time to provide a full operating budget so that the education can be free for every child. It will still have to be on a tuition basis at the beginning. The average tuition for high school today is about 500 pounds per year. This is a tremendous amount of money for a kid from a large poor Moroccan family, where the average earnings are about 300 pounds per month, with lots of mouths to feed. Slowly but surely, as the government's ability to assume the school budget increases, secondary education cost will work its way toward zero, or almost zero for every child.

Q. - "You say that you do not intend to make the IEF a general appeal. Would you be willing to make it a 'restricted' appeal, approaching only those people who give to the UJA \$50,000 annually? That means you would be approaching only 200 or 300 people in the whole country, and we wouldn't be so worried about our local campaign.

A. - "Yes, we have decided on a restricted campaign. We are not going to approach the general public. Remember what we said about clearing names of those to be approached. But, restricted does not mean only people who already give \$50,000. We in this room are all sophisticated in fund-raising. We all know examples of individuals who give a fixed amount every year, and there is absolutely nothing anyone can say or do to obtain an increase. He gives his \$5000 every year with loyalty and enthusiasm, but that's it, not a penny more. Suddenly, he gives a half million to his university, or to a university in Israel, and the question on everyone's tongue is - 'How come? Who got to him? What happened? Why did he do it?' This kind of thing happens rather frequently, as a matter of fact. So - we will restrict this campaign to the smallest number of donors possible, but shall not fix arbitrary dollar limits to the prospect pool. I hope we shall always be looking for, and occasionally find, such 'sleepers'."

Q. - Is it possible that the annual campaign might eventually benefit from some sleeper, who will raise his regular gift after making a large IEF commitment?

A. - I'm convinced that there will be many such examples. Of course, the person must have the financial ability, but unlocking a person's motivation is the main key to increased giving.

(At that moment, I could offer no specific proof of my conviction, but in the very first year of IEF solicitation a case occurred in Washington, D.C. Morris Rodman, a well-known community leader, whose annual contribution was at the \$20,000 level, gave \$200,000 for a high school in Kiryat Yam, a suburb of Haifa. The following year, he raised his regular gift to \$50,000. Then, a few years later he gave another large high school gift, and raised his regular campaign contribution to \$100,000. There were other similar examples as the years went on.)

Q. - At a figure of \$100,000, you are eliminating any solicitation of dozens of people in small communities. With the possible exception of one or two people, there would be no potentials in my own community.

A. - It might very well be that, if in every such community as yours in the entire United States, there were two or three potentials, that would be enough. There is a certain boldness about this. There is a certain high imagination required. We won't know until we get into it - until we play with it and see what happens. The overeagerness on our part to protect the regular campaign might seem to you to be an inhibition on the boldness. I don't think so. Let's ride the two horses and see how it plays.

It may be that a year from now, if we have turned down an overwhelming number of ten and twenty thousands which we shouldn't have, we will have to take a second look and change the ground rules. But, for the beginning this is how we visualize it.

Q. - Is there any consideration being given to contacting the non-Jewish world with respect to this new educational fund? I am referring to large foundations like Rockefeller and Ford.

A. - The answer is definitely yes. Some of these large foundations might not be permitted, for example, to build a building, but they could get into teacher training, curriculum creating, language laboratories - all sorts of educational projects they have undertaken in many underdeveloped countries. Our intention is to seek them out. Also to seek contributions from non-Jewish family foundations.

Following this successful public exposition of the proposed plan, and all the subsequent similar discussions in many communities across the country, during the next few months, a NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE on Education in Israel was convened on September 24-25, 1964, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York. Mr. Ralph Goldman, the Executive Director of the IEF, had selected this hotel because of his emotional connection with David Ben Gurion, whose assistant he had been in the 1950's, and who had chosen this same hotel in 1943 at a conference he had organized to pass the first-ever statement calling for the establishment of a Jewish State. The statement went down in history as the Biltmore Resolution. Five years later the State was actually born. Goldman felt that the resolution officially creating the IEF should also stem from the Biltmore. And so it was decreed.

At the opening dinner, Mr. Abba Eban, Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister of Education, made a powerful, elegant plea for a massive re-invigoration of the educational system currently in vogue, concentrating on the pre-kindergarten and the secondary level as the two areas in most dire need of improvement. The more than 300 delegates from every major Jewish community in the U.S., as well as many smaller ones, listened spellbound to the unique oratory of the man whose sobriquet was "The Voice of Israel.

Dr. Harold Gores, President of the Ford Foundation's Educational Facilities Laboratories, and a member of the Study Team which had investigated the problem earlier in the year in Israel, spoke practically about the main problems, about functions which were missing, about enlarging the teaching pool, about the difficulties of construction, and many related issues. Having described what needed to be done, he stated his conviction with enormous vigor that Israel had the talent, will-power and energy to overcome all obstacles if U.S. Jewry and its friends lent the necessary financial support. His pragmatic approach gave way to an evangelical zeal, as he described the advances which could be made, and pleaded for a widespread enthusiastic response. The audience reaction augured well for the future of the new fund.

The following morning Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff opened with his remarks of support, and then a panel consisting of the other members of the Educational Mission to Israel gave their opinions and suggestions briefly. They were Messrs. Charles Bensley, Dr. William Jansen, and Dr. Harold Wilson. They carefully and fully supplied answers to the scores of questions which flooded from the floor. I gave an outline of the plan and answered questions as to how it would hopefully work. Mr. Ralph Goldman, and our assistant executive director, Mr. Abraham S. Hyman, the author of the Report, answered questions as well.

The program finished at lunch with remarks by Mr. Edward M.M. Warburg, a member of the Board of Regents of the State of New York; a former General Chairman of the UJA; and president of the Joint Distribution Committee. Warburg was one of the most devoted active leaders, the recipient of enormous respect because of his lineage, and a true intellectual. His unqualified testimonial of support for the new fund was of major value.

And the meeting ended with a formal endorsement from none other than the United States Commissioner of Education, Mr. Francis Keppel,

who spoke lyrically about the role free universal education had played in the growth and strength of America, and hoped that Israel would enjoy similar advantages if her educational system progressed along the lines we were contemplating. He offered whatever help and advice his office could give to us, whenever and as our evolving plans caused the inevitable dilemmas to arise. His tone and manner were so genuine as to provide a warm glow from Washington.

Eban's speech, as reported worldwide in the Jewish Telegraphic Agency's News Bulletin the next day, captured the essence of the whole conference. "Israel's immense burdens for defense, primary schooling and support for higher education, has made it impossible to open the high schools and vocational secondary schools to all. A very great proportion of those who do not pursue their education to the high school and university levels are the children of immigrants of Asian and African countries. This is a great threat to Israel's social cohesion. Recent progress by students of Asian-African background has been encouraging. But the gap is not being closed quickly enough. This is not a marginal issue. Israel's central interests lie in the balance. Nothing can more effectively promote Israel's historic purposes than an intense reinforcement of her educational program by the assistance of American Jewry."

THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE on Education in Israel ended on a high note. The delegates approved the concept and the plan of operation, and dispersed to spread the word in their home communities. Goldman, Hyman and I returned to our office, to begin the careful work of developing a prospect list; our chief lay leaders, Bensley and Meyerhoff, augmented by another, Philip Zinman of Camden, N.J., who ultimately became the third president of the IEF, awaited their assignments for the first solicitations; and a director in Israel was appointed, Mr. Eliezer Shavit, who started out as the liaison between the IEF and the Jewish Agency, but who became over the years one of the most zealous and successful solicitors. No trip of his to the U.S. failed to produce one or more large contributor. All in all, it was a strong and friendly team of laymen and professionals, motivated and efficient.

The very first project of the IEF showed the high imagination which we hoped would become the fund's trademark. It combined the richly

historic elements of Jerusalem, dramatic rescue from Hitler, Christian nobility, and American Jewry at its best. Conceived by Charles Bensley, the plan was: build the first high school in Jerusalem, and most particularly in the near-slum section of Katamon, heavily populated by exactly those Sephardic kids from North Africa who needed it most; give it the name "Denmark High School", in honor of the Danish people who saved the entire Jewish community of Denmark (some 7000 souls) on Yom Kippur eve when the Nazis had planned to round them up and ship them to their death; and secure the funding from whatever number of donors was required at the standard level of \$100,000 each.

When Bensley first revealed this idea to me, I loved its boldness plus the beauty of its symmetry - European Jews being rescued from physical death and African Jews being rescued from spiritual death - two celebrations with one stroke. I congratulated him for his ingenuity, but felt constrained to ask him a bottom-line type of question. If he was to be the engine driving this great plan to successful goal, was he able and willing to make the first contribution himself, for this would give the project instant credibility? His answer was an immediate affirmative, and my heart swelled for I knew that such a great project lifting off so quickly would have a major effect on the entire enterprise.

Shavit in Israel got the engineers and bureaucrats working, and soon the answer came back - the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mordecai Ish-Shalom gave his blessing and put his hand on the requisite piece of land; the technical people came up with the figure of \$1,100,000. That signalled a need for eleven donors, or ten more beside himself. He and the lay leaders went to work, and it was not long before the group was formed.

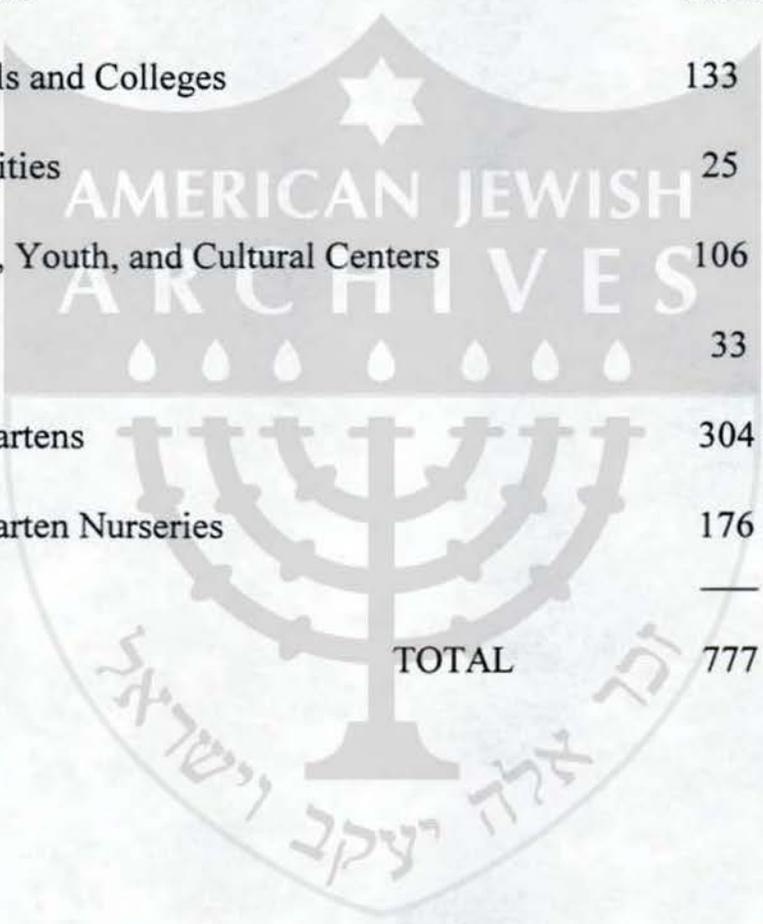
Now the final element had to be put in place, namely the approval of the Danish government. And once again, Bensley had a smashing idea. He suggested that we should obtain an audience with the King and Queen in the Royal Palace in Copenhagen for the entire group - eleven couples - and there ask for permission to attach the name Denmark to the school in Jerusalem. From Copenhagen, the group would fly together to Israel, and make the public announcement that the Denmark School was a reality. It worked! The royal couple graciously hosted the group to a gala dinner in the palace, expressed their delight at the idea of the name, and the evening became a precious memory for the eleven generous donors. The entire venture was a public relations coup, as well as a source of political harmony between the two countries, and a means of providing a new life for

hundreds of underprivileged kids. What more could anyone want from a single idea. This first project really demonstrated the huge potential of the Israel Education Fund.

RESULTS of the IEF - 1964-1994

Total Raised - \$250 million

Projects	Number
High Schools and Colleges	133
Sports Facilities	25
Community, Youth, and Cultural Centers	106
Libraries	33
Pre-kindergartens	304
Pre-kindergarten Nurseries	176
TOTAL	777



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CHAPTER EIGHT

Section three

Problems with water have been indigenous to Palestine-Israel since the beginning of agricultural development and tiny new settlements more than a century ago. The famous engineer Walter Lowdermilk made a thorough survey and issued his basic recommendation in 1944 that all the water resources in the area now comprising Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan should be unified and distributed to each country according to a mutually agreed upon plan. This beautiful idea lay fallow until President Eisenhower appointed Eric Johnston to try to negotiate the idea into reality. He worked for two years, and thought he had an agreement which gave the Arab countries 60% and Israel 40%, but at the last minute the Arabs backed away, and the effort failed.

The Israelis then (1960) started the construction of their own National Water Carrier which was completed in 1964. It involved drawing water from the Lake of Galilee, which was fed by the Jordan River, as well as two large aquifers and many wells, and sending it southward through open channels and buried pipe (9 feet in diameter) all the way to the Negev Desert, with numberless capillaries along the route to provide irrigation down to the very one-drop level.

When the Arab neighbors saw what Israel had achieved, they convened in Cairo in 1964, and decided to divert the headwaters of the Jordan by means of dams and tunnels so that major sources of water would never enter the Jordan River system. Part would be

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diverted to flow into the Mediterranean and be wasted; part would be side-tracked to flow into Syria. Lebanon was reluctant to agree that the diversionary projects should be situated on her territory, for she feared Israeli reaction. Prime Minister Eshkol and Deputy Defense Minister Peres both made it perfectly clear that denial to Israel of her share of the water was to be regarded most seriously. Peres warned of "punitive action by the injured party", and Eshkol said "any attempt to prevent Israel from utilizing her just share of the Jordan River system in accordance with the Johnston plan will be considered as if it were an encroachment on our borders." For the next three years, between 1964 and 1967, there were many military skirmishes, on land and in the air, especially between Israel and Syria, with the losses of many Migs, as the diversionary efforts were made and attacked. There is no doubt that the tension over water was one of the background causes which led to the Six-Day War of 1967. And the serious shortage of water has lasted to the 1990's, compounded by the increase in Israel's population and industrial capacity, all requiring more water than ever.

In 1965, one of the most extraordinary National Conferences of the UJA was held in New York during the weekend of December 9-12. Its theme was "LIBERATION - A TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY", and a unique medallion was cast for the occasion. The original intention was to sculpt the profiles of the four liberating commanders whose forces delivered Europe from Nazi bondage and freed the remnant of Jewish captives from the death camps.



However, Marshal Grigori Zhukov never replied to his invitation to participate, therefore the medallion carries only three portraits: General Pierre Koenig, Commander of the heroic French resistance forces; Field Marshal Lord Alexander of Great Britain, the Supreme Allied Commander in the Mediterranean; and General of the Army Dwight Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of all the Allied Expeditionary Forces. General Eisenhower was prevented from attending in person, owing to the heart attack he suffered a few weeks earlier. He asked his wartime deputy and close friend, General Lucius Clay - one of the great liberators in his own right, and a superb friend of the survivors in the DP camps in Germany - to represent him. Alexander and Koenig, accompanied by Max Fisher, the incoming chairman of the UJA, flew to Washington, to call on Eisenhower in Walter Reed Army Hospital and to bring back to the Conference his message and regrets.

At the banquet that evening, the medals were presented to the three honorees. The inscription, from ~~Ecclesiastes~~ ^{Ecclesiastes 48:7}, read: THEY WERE HONORED IN THEIR GENERATION AND WERE THE GLORY OF THEIR TIMES. The brilliant gathering of more than 2000 persons included a U.S. Senator, two Israeli Ambassadors, outstanding Jewish leaders from Britain, France, Canada, Israel, Argentina, South Africa and Iran, the presidents of many major American organizations, four former Advisers to Commanding Generals in Germany. The audience rose, applauding and cheering, with each presentation. There was huge excitement in the great room. In Field Marshal Alexander they saw the man who received the

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unconditional surrender on May 2, 1945 of a German Army of a million men. In General Koenig they saw a soldier who refused to believe that France was finished and led the fight of the Free French for the next five years. And in General Clay they saw a man endowed with great humanity who gave to the DP's every possible assistance in re-establishing their lives.

The audience re-lived the exhilaration of victory, took stock of the future, re-charged their feelings of commitment, re-inspired themselves for the work which they happily assumed. My belief always was that linking the UJA to the great historic events which shaped the future, and thus the destiny, of the Jewish people was the finest way to give the key workers and contributors the sense of majesty which was the reward for their efforts. Let them be swept up in the great waves and tides which carry men along the path of progress; let them enjoy the sense that their lives have real meaning, that they can control the stage in some measure, that they make a difference - for all these emotions are authentic. Some people do, indeed, succeed in pushing history forward, inch by inch. Great conferences, such as this truly was, do stir the blood.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECTION 4

A premonition that war was imminent must have sent me to my office at the unusual time of Saturday night, May 20, 1967. One did not have to be a soothsayer to divine the troubled air. A few days earlier Egypt had declared a state of emergency, and the next day Egypt and Syria declared themselves to be in "combat readiness". Such precise words could mean nothing, for overblown rhetoric and even bluff were almost standard elements of Arabic chest-beating. Yet the very next day, May 19, the UNEF (United Nations Emergency Force) which had been in place for almost ten years to monitor the armistice of an earlier war, was officially withdrawn at the request of the Egyptian president Abdul Nasser. That was serious and ominous. So, it was not without reason that I had gone alone to the office, for war meant money, and I relished the quiet which would permit me to look slowly and carefully at our accounts. I was looking for cities or individuals where large amounts were owing to the UJA from pledges previously made and not yet redeemed by payments. The usual procedure involved first a pledge from an individual to his community campaign, and secondly a payment in the subsequent months. For tax-deductible purposes, many persons attempted to complete their

payments before December 31 of the current year. About 2/3 of a given year's pledges were paid within that year. Most of the balance was paid off within the subsequent year, but that balance consisted of tens of millions, and if there were to be an authentic emergency, we would have to make every effort to pull in as much of that balance as possible by approaching the individuals quickly for help. Regarding the communities, they also had balances owing, in the form of allocations from the campaigns which were divided between the local agencies and the overseas agencies (where we fit). If the total campaign in a community realized X, and UJA share was Y, it was always a question of how much the community had collected and paid on Y. I wanted to look at the lists to find those places where large amounts were outstanding. I found about \$20 million which I judged could be brought in quickly, within a few days, if that were truly necessary; and an additional \$5 million which might take a couple of weeks, with pressure.

So here was a possible \$25 million, and I was starting to make notes on my yellow pad regarding assignments - i.e. which UJA officer was the best positioned to take which account - when the security officer outside my locked door called with the announcement that a visitor was seeking admittance with an urgent message. Only Francine knew I was here, and she would have given the information only to

someone we both knew and trusted. That was the case, of course, which was immediately obvious when he entered. It was Mike Arnon, Israel's Consul-General in New York, a close friend then, and for many years in the future, as our paths continued to cross. What the devil was he doing here late on a Saturday night?

He was carrying a cable from Prime Minister Eshkol, which had come to the consulate in code, with instructions that Arnon deliver it to me in person, for it was "eyes only" for just the two of us. The cable asked if I could place on deposit in the Bank of Montreal \$24 million to the account of the Jewish Agency, so that it would be available at the start of business Monday morning. Israel needed the money to buy aircraft, in a circuitous manner. President Johnson, for various and complex reasons, preferred that the sale not be made directly from a U.S. manufacturer, who would require an export permit license from the State Department. Instead, it should be made from a Canadian manufacturer who was making the identical aircraft under American license. And this arrangement had been cleared with the Canadian government. The aircraft were desperately needed because of the present explosive situation, the details of which he would be pleased to explain to me if I would please come over to Jerusalem immediately. The word "war" was not used in the cable, but the tone was obvious.

Mike was quiet, awaiting my reaction, while I literally gasped that here was ESP operating at a distance of 6000 miles. At the same moment Eshkol was writing a cable on his yellow pad, I was writing lists on mine. It was incredible! We wrote a return message which Mike would take back to his office for immediate coding and dispatch, saying that the money would be in the bank by the end of Monday, if not the beginning, and that I was planning to leave for Israel immediately. By coincidence, I had an appointment on Monday, May 22 with Pinchas Sapir, the Finance Minister, to discuss many details concerning the Israel Education Fund. I was sure that Mr. Sapir would agree that I should see the Prime Minister first, immediately upon arrival, and see him later. When I arrived at Ben Gurion airport on May 21, I heard the rumor that Nasser was threatening to close the Straits of Tiran (which he did two days later), thus blockading the port of Akaba, and shutting down one of the two sea lungs through which Israel breathed. The war suddenly seemed very real and close.

In Eshkol's office the first fact I learned, and one which had apparently shocked him more than any of the enemy threats, involved the Chief Chaplain of the Israel Defense Force. Rabbi Goren (Major General) had asked the Government to turn over to the Army a large plot of land in Ramat Gan for use as a cemetery,

which Goren wanted to consecrate immediately as a sacred place for the interment of military and civilian casualties alike. Eshkol was familiar with the exact acreage, for it was the only undeveloped piece of its size in the urban complex surrounding Tel Aviv, and asked General Goren why such a large plot was needed. The response was that the Army anticipated, as a worst-case scenario, under massive multiple-nation attack, that the casualties could reach the number of 40,000. This would be 2% of the entire population, man, woman and child - 2 out of every 100 people. Eshkol, of course, gave the permission, but as it turned out, the casualties were infinitely smaller. Later the land was used to build the large Sport Stadium, dedicated to life not death.

He then briefed me on many other aspects of the situation, and finished by suggesting that I should go down to the Negev, to see for myself the manner in which the Egyptian forces were massing in the Sinai desert, and how the Israeli forces, increasingly mobilized every day, were training during this waiting period. I went down and spent three days in the company of Col. Natan Zipori, commander of the artillery. He took me to a point on the Negev-Sinai border called Nitzana or El Auja in Arabic. It was as close as we could get. I was fascinated to learn that we were only a few kilometers from the famous oasis Kadesh-Barnea, now on the

Egyptian side, where Moses and the Children of Israel had spent 39 of their wandering years in the desert, before invading the Promised Land. Standing on the highest dunes we could find, we could see clearly, through the binoculars, the line of Egyptian tanks, T-55's from the Soviets, almost 1000 in number, just about 3000 meters distant. That is about the maximum range they possess, and if they had started firing at that moment they could have hit us. Thus, they were deployed as far forward as they could be, not hidden but wide open, filled with deadly intent and ready to spring.

I reported back to Eshkol and Chief of Staff Rabin, who, with their staffs were now occupying the third floor in the Dan hotel, in order to have the key military and civilian staff readily at hand instead of being spread around in various office buildings. I was filled with information and impressions, was ready to go back to New York, to mobilize a massive new campaign right on top of the just-completed regular 1967 campaign, with all the proceeds earmarked for Israel - an emergency war campaign. I assured them it would be the largest campaign ever conducted, surpassing even 1948. I needed only one more thing, and that was the approval of my chairman Max Fisher, who was in Athens at that moment, preparing to depart on an Aegean Sea Cruise with some friends. Eshkol, Rabin and Louis

Pincus, the head of the Jewish Agency, all suggested that it would be a good idea to bring Fisher over to Tel Aviv for a short visit, so he could imbibe the atmosphere for himself. I promised to do just that, and left for Athens, hoping to return in a few hours.

I met Mr. Fisher in Athens on Friday May 26 in his hotel, where he was accompanied by a friend of his, unknown to me. Later I learned it was Mr. Nathan Cummings, of the famous family from Montreal. I was tense, eager to get down to business with Max, nervous about each passing hour, and this stranger was wandering through the rooms of the suite, in his bathrobe, asking me all kinds of questions and interrupting. Finally, impatient, I asked him to leave us alone, for his mood was languid, the very opposite of the mood I needed to establish with Max. Perhaps I was rude, and I sensed I was making a bad beginning with Max. At last we settled down. I told him a big war was imminent - he was incredulous, suggested I was exaggerating, explained that he felt nothing in the air, wars did not suddenly emerge out of nothing, and tried to placate me as though I was an over-excited child, emotionally stretching some minor incident into a major catastrophe. I tried to be calm, and told him everything I had heard from Eshkol and Rabin, everything I had seen in the Sinai, and everything I felt about his and my responsibility to act. I

recited Nasser's threats and the timetable of events since Egypt had declared a state of emergency nine days ago. We talked for several hours, during which I focused on one request, namely, that he come to Tel Aviv with me, to talk privately with the key players, and absorb the atmosphere himself. By now Mr. Cummings was beginning to be impressed by the seriousness, realized something important was happening, and ceased being annoyed by my unexpected interference with their holiday plans. Herein lay the problem - the reason for Max's reluctance.

He and Cummings were in Athens, waiting for the arrival from Rome of Mrs. Fisher and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Ford, following which the whole party was embarking on a chartered yacht for a cruise through the Greek Islands. Max did not want to disappoint his wife nor embarrass the Fords by delaying the cruise for a day while he jumped over to Tel Aviv with me. By now it was late in the evening. They were due from Rome the next morning. Max suggested we sleep on the matter, and decide in the morning. I had no choice but to agree, and went to my own room, racking my brains for any idea which might move him. I decided to call the UJA deputy chairman, Edward Ginsberg of Cleveland, to enlist his aid, only to find that the international telephone service had been cut due to the bizarre occurrence of a coup d'etat a few hours ago in which a clique of colonels was trying to take over the

Greek government. Incredible! It took most of the night for me to get a call through, the difficulties being compounded by the fact that Eddie was not home, but was enjoying a 50th birthday party at the Commerce Club. This complication turned out to be helpful, because several of the national chairmen were present at the party, and I was able to make my case to more than Eddie alone. These younger fellows, including Ollie Adelman, Barney Barnett, Paul Zukerman, Mel Dubinsky and Irving Bernstein, understood me better, knew I was not hysterical, appreciated my zeal and eagerness, and supported my contention that we were obligated to launch an emergency war campaign. It was good to have their backing, and I felt better.

The next morning began with a comprehension on Max's part as to the gravity of the current Egyptian moves. I recapitulated the sequence of recent events:

May 15 - Nasser ordered mobilization

16 - Egypt declared state of emergency

17 - Egypt and Syria declared themselves to be in "combat readiness"

19 - UN force was ordered by Egypt to withdraw and U Thant complied on the same day

20 - Israel ordered partial mobilization

22 - Egypt had 80,000 troops in Sinai

23 - Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran

May 19 - UN force officially withdrawn

20 - Israel ordered partial mobilization

22 - Egypt had 80,000 troops in Sinai

22 - Nasser closed the Straits of Tiran

All of this had occurred only a few days ago, and upon reflecting overnight, Max realized the gravity of the situation. His concern for Israel was genuine, and he understood his cooperation was needed. Further, I informed him of the support of Ginsberg and other national officers. We then agreed to go to the Athens airport, await the arrival of the people coming from Rome, explain the situation to them, and bespeak their understanding. As they descended from their plane, I took Mrs. Fisher aside and quickly obtained her acquiescence. As for Henry Ford, we were not close friends, but had known each other since college days, having attended Yale in the same class. Back in the antediluvian days of the 30's, discipline rather than permissiveness prevailed, and seating in class was precisely alphabetical and fixed. This meant that Ford and Friedman were next-seat neighbors. Henry quickly agreed

that it was Max's duty to hop over to Tel Aviv, and the loss of a day on the cruise was meaningless. All having been congenially arranged, Max and I remained at the airport, to take off for Israel and the others went to the hotel in Athens, a bit worried and nervous.

At the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv, on Saturday, May 27, with Eshkol, Rabin and Pincus in attendance, the full story unfolded quickly, and Max was convinced. It was not only the factual data, or even the hours of brainstorming and attempting to anticipate a variety of scenarios, but the mood and atmosphere overwhelmed him. The highest officers of the General Staff, plus the Chief of Staff himself, were in the next rooms, shaping their alternatives, and Rabin would come in quietly to ask Eshkol a question or seek an opinion. Phones were ringing constantly, but there was a sense of strength and determination in the way military and civilian personnel handled the problems and made their decisions. It was deadly serious, yet not grim. Pincus, the Jewish Agency chief, wanted an estimate of how much money we thought could be produced, in what period of time. And when I said it was impossible to answer until I got back to the U.S. and took the temperature in a number of communities, his demeanor was not agitated but understanding. I promised him an estimate within a week. To jump to the end of the story, the UJA

share of the regular 1967 campaign, just ending, would be about \$75 million, and the emergency war campaign would be about \$175 million. This total of a quarter-billion dollars would be the highest amount ever raised in the history of the UJA, including the year the State was born. Before the day finished, many plans were made, including speakers who would come over immediately so that we could begin dispatching them throughout America to tell the story; an hourly transmission from Jerusalem to my office containing such information as I could transmit to the communities through a nation-wide telex network I started to set up that very day; and the use of a brand-new piece of technology, the videotape. This was most interesting, and most useful. Sony Corporation possessed in the United States only about 50 VCR's and we bought them all, placed them in Federation offices throughout the country, and sent out a five-to-ten minute tape every day to every city with a machine. It was either a taped message, made in my office, by an Israeli officer or political leader; or a piece of film we got from Israel by pouch overnight; or an excerpt from one of the news departments of the network TV channels. Fast communication was mandatory in establishing and maintaining a mood of crisis and need.

Max went back to Athens and his cruise. I went to New York that night to get started on the work of organization. The next day, Sunday, May 28, the Israeli Cabinet discussed the question of declaring war, and the vote was 9-9. No democratic nation goes to war on such a vote. Essentially, they decided to continue mobilization up to the full potential, and to await the result of Abba Eban's quick visits to Paris, London and Washington, seeking western support.

Abba Eban was and is Israel's most eloquent, intelligent and persuasive voice to the outside world. From the very beginning of Israel's existence, his public life has been devoted to an advocacy of her position on the international stage. As Ambassador to the UN, and to the U.S., as Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, his voice has resonated throughout the entire globe, explaining, elaborating, elucidating, teaching, cajoling, pleading. He is an authentic intellectual, author of many books, commentator on television series which he himself has designed and written, and while he has detractors inside Israel because of his liberal views on the Palestinian question and his civilized western manners, nevertheless the high offices he has held are testimony to the quality of his mind and lucidity of his speech. He is rightly called "The Voice of Israel" - an unparalleled orator.

In the days immediately following the Egyptian aggressive moves, and before the onset of actual hostilities, Eban was dispatched abroad with the mandate to survey the three major powers, United States, England and France; to explain how Israel analyzed Egyptian intentions; to stress Israel's sense of danger and how she might respond; to seek political help in fending off an attack and material help, should it come. The round trip was to be completed in less than a week, and upon his return an evaluation of the results would determine Israel's next steps. In Paris, May 29, DeGaulle was domineering, obstinate, totally unhelpful, and, as a matter of fact, threatening. He said that if Israel fired the first shot she would lose any chance of ever obtaining future assistance from France. His stance was a clear foreshadowing of France's future intimacy with Arab states, which resulted, inter alia, in supplying Iraq with a nuclear reactor which Israel was destined later to destroy in 1981. In London, May 30, Harold Wilson the Labourite Prime Minister and well-known friend of Labour Israel, begged poverty, explained regretfully that England had declined into a mini-power which was simply unable to help, no matter how much she wanted to. In Washington, May 30, a friendly and seriously interested Lyndon Johnson, offered to round up a group of naval powers, to create a multi-national armada which would challenge the Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Akaba. He was

sure Eban would understand that America was getting deeper and deeper into the Vietnam bog, which was consuming more and more of the presidential energy, but still he would find the time to deal with Israel's needs and felt pretty certain that he could organize something within three weeks. Eban's reply indicated an uncertainty as to whether Israel had three days, let alone three weeks. Johnson did try, and in the end the only naval power he could persuade to join the U.S. in a challenge to Egypt was Holland. When Eban returned, on June 1, and reported, the Cabinet vote at its next weekly meeting on Sunday, June 4, was 16-2 in favor of going to war, for it was clear that Israel would have to take her destiny into her own hands. There would be no help from the three western democratic powers.

A prior decision had been made by the military that if a pre-emptive strike was ordered by the government, the hour would be 0745 a.m. Israeli time, which is 0845 Cairo time, and so it did occur on Monday morning, June 5, 1967. There were four reasons for this selection of time:

1. Egyptian reconnaissance patrols which went up at dawn plus flights in readiness at the end-of-runway were both standing down by this time.

2. The Israeli pilots, who would have a long day's work ahead of them, could sleep until 0400 a.m.
3. Let the morning mist dissipate, the angle of the sun improve, and the air be still.
4. The Egyptian generals, commanders and pilots go to work at 0900 a.m. - so that at 0845 they are still caught in the maddening Cairo traffic.

The ruling doctrine of the pre-emptive strike was to gain control of the air (does this sound a familiar note regarding the air-land doctrine of the Gulf war in 1990-91?). The primary objectives were to destroy aircraft on the ground and bomb runways into inoperability. For the latter purpose special bombs, with delayed fuses, were designed to penetrate concrete, and to keep exploding at various times, so that runway repair was made very difficult and often impossible. Israeli aircraft flew under the radar, about 50 feet above the ground, therefore largely undetected, destroying the radar scanners as they came in. By Monday afternoon all 23 Egyptian radars (of which 16 were in the Sinai Desert) were knocked out, as well as 22 airfields. 416 aircraft were destroyed - 393 on the ground and 23 in dogfights. All this took place on the first morning, during two hours and 50 minutes. Subsequently

another 27 Arab aircraft were shot down in dogfights. Holding total control of the air on the first day, the Israeli ground forces fighting during the next five days were free to concentrate on destroying tanks and artillery, finally climbing the Golan Heights on the sixth day, pushing the Syrians back to a point 25 km. from Damascus.

Israeli losses in the air were 26 planes, including 21 pilots, of whom half were taken prisoner and the other half were casualties. None of these losses occurred during dogfights - all resulted from ground fire or being "jumped" from above while concentrating on ground targets. The world's military professionals have concluded that this remarkable record was the result of four factors:

1. Planning and practicing the operation for 16 years, largely under the command of Gen. Ezer Weizman, nephew of Israel's first President, flamboyant, cheerful, generator of great morale, British-trained pilot.
2. Superb intelligence - in every detail - concerning the layouts of the fields, the personnel files of the pilots, and anything else anyone could think of, whether actually needed or just nice to have.

- 3. Total operational control - ground always in touch with pilots, feeding them information, and receiving information from them - so that all planes in the air benefitted from the experiences of all others.
- 4. Turn-around time of 7 1/2 minutes for re-fueling and re-arming, which is fantastically below accepted norms, enables many more sorties to be flown, and is due to constant practice between pilots and ground crews.

A very graphic report was written by Randolph and Winston Churchill (son and grandson of Sir Winston) entitled simply "The Six Day War". In a closing chapter they offered this fascinating account of a conversation with Mr. Ben Gurion two weeks after the war ended:

"On June 29 David Ben-Gurion gave an interview to Winston which was broadcast on BBC. He declared that not only the Straits of Tiran but the Suez Canal should be free for Jewish navigation, according to international law; and Jerusalem must remain a Jewish city. As to the rest, he indicated that Israel should take nothing from this war if that were the means to make peace. He thought, however, that Hebron should go to Israel since 'it is more Jewish even than

Jerusalem'. Jerusalem became Jewish 3000 years ago under King David but Hebron became Jewish 4000 years ago under Abraham...Otherwise, said Ben-Gurion, the people of the West Bank of the Jordan should receive autonomy and lead their own life as a free people, but tied to Israel...

And finally Ben-Gurion was asked: "Do you see this great victory as being a turning point in your history?" He replied: "In a way, yes, but if I could prevent this war, I would prefer to remain as we are, without any conquests, because we've paid a very high price for that; the best of our youth was killed, something like 700 people...I prefer peace to any war, even if the war is a beneficent one, it's too high a price." Ben-Gurion insisted that two factors were prior conditions to Israel's surrendering any captured territory. One, that the Arabs should recognize the State of Israel; and two, that a genuine peace treaty be signed." Such was the vision of this giant.

Back in the U.S., the emergency war campaign took about five weeks to raise most of the \$175 million it ultimately produced. The Jewish community was on fire. Spontaneity and generosity were the hallmarks. People lined up to offer their money. I often said, in subsequent years, that the UJA really did not "raise" the money, in the sense of organizing and stimulating and explaining the needs, as we

customarily tried to do every year. On this occasion, the people simply stood up and gave it - in the synagogues, community centers, day schools, federation offices, or to any individual known to be a community leader. It was a heartwarming sight, even though there was a deep element of relief that the awful fear of another Holocaust had been avoided. No doubt, fear and the miraculous escape from danger were powerful stimulants; but the positive aspects of love for and identification with the people and land of Israel were equally strong. And the major emotions of love and identification were the feelings left behind as a heritage for the future, as the fear slowly died away. The attitude of American Jewry toward Israel, which peaked for a short time at the birth in 1948, but never took hold thereafter in any really solid permanent manner, came to maturity with the Six Day War, and has remained rock-solid ever since. Yes, there are disagreements with governmental policies, such as not dealing with the Palestinians, or too much dealing with the religious parties and their demands, or not loosening up on the centralized economy, and many other items, yet these disagreements do not, in the main, cause a weakening of the ties that bind.

Eddie Ginsberg led a wonderful team of lay leaders, he and I sitting in my office wearing the Australian-type canvas campaign hats with the upturned side-

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brim much favored by the IDF, working through long days and most nights in the bucket shop with 50 telephones which the New York Telephone Company had set up a few hours with enormous enthusiasm. The Israelis came over -Finance Minister Pinchas Sapir, former Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Haim Laskov, Jewish Agency head Louis Pincus, and others. They made their solicitations of selected donors, their videotaped speeches to be distributed, their astounding airplane flights night and day, as the Jews gathered at airports 2 o'clock in the afternoon or 4 o'clock in the morning, to listen to the message and pledge their money. The lay leaders came and served time in the bucket shop, making literally hundreds of calls per day, all around the country. Nobody refused to work, or to give. Interestingly, there was only one million-dollar gift in the entire country, for this was an unheard-of amount to a philanthropy which gathered funds every year. A million was capital-gift standard, not annual-gift. Yet Hon. Walter Annenberg, later to become U.S. Ambassador to England, responded affirmatively to his friend Albert Parker, a New York lawyer, who called from the bucket shop. And Mr. Annenberg has remained ever since as one of the largest contributors in the country. American Christians and American Blacks and American Moslems gave, and children brought in their piggy banks, and women pawned jewelry and people mortgaged their homes. It was incredible.

Toward the end of July it quieted down, by which time pressure from many leading donors resulted in a mission being formed, and Eddie and I took a large group to the Sinai, where there were miles of burnt-out tanks, trucks and other debris of war to be seen, let alone the destroyed aircraft on the runways of four airfields. There was great satisfaction in seeing this, and it took only a few days for every participant to become an arm-chair general, prophesying that the Arabs would never again challenge Israel's military prowess. Only two months later the Arab summit meeting was held at Khartoum in the Sudan, resulting in the famous "Three NO's" - no negotiations with Israel; no settlement; no peace. These no's meant more war, and this is exactly what I prophesied at the end of September at a quarterly meeting of the Council of Federations in Cleveland, Ohio.

Representatives were present from all the major communities in the country. There was legitimate joy at the victory, and there was talk about planning the future, deciding what priorities now had to be faced, whether there would be money available, after the recent massive outpouring. I rose to state my opinion that Israel would be under fire again by next summer - i.e. nine months from now - and gave all my reasons for this conviction which I expressed vigorously. Further, I proposed a resolution that we authorize for 1968 another emergency fund for Israel, in which

the local communities would not share, for Israel would need every penny to maintain herself at a proper level of preparedness. There was a huge outcry, including shouts from the floor that I was a "warmonger" and was promoting war simply as a means of keeping campaign totals high so that the UJA would look good. In addition, charges were hurled that I did not care what happened to the infrastructure of the local community services. All I cared about was Israel. The argument finally ended when some parliamentarian noted that this meeting had no authority to pass any such resolution. That was perfectly satisfactory to me. I had fired my shot across the bow. The proper resolutions were passed in the proper forum. An emergency fund was authorized and conducted in 1968, and the first artillery duels in what was later named the War of Attrition did take place that summer.

CHAPTER NINE

Section 1

On August 22, 1969 I wrote a long personal letter from Jerusalem to the several thousand persons in leadership positions in the United States, describing the paradoxical situation prevailing in Israel at the moment. The country, from many points of view, appeared to be perfectly normal in homes, shops, hotels, farms and factories. Yet the air was filled with fiery dog-fights, artillery duels and individual acts of terrorism. What was this? More than two years after the Six-Day War, Israel was undergoing an undeclared conflict which had assumed the designation "War of Attrition". This had begun in the summer of 1968 (as I had predicted in Cleveland in September 1967) and was continuing at a fierce pace. My letter attempted to summarize.

This has been a strange summer. About 25 Arab warplanes, MIG-21's and Sukhoi-7's, have been shot out of the skies over the Gulf of Suez, the Sinai Desert, the Golan Heights and other borders. And during this self-same summer the most normal events continued to transpire in civilian life:

- * the Maccabiah games drew 1600 visiting athletes from all over the world and a crowd of 35,000 to the opening ceremony in Ramat Gan stadium;

- * the movie houses are all full;

- * throngs overwhelm the Jaffa art fair every evening until midnight;

- * during July the red tourist busses surpassed all records in the history of tourism;

- * the Roman amphitheatre at Caesarea is already sold out for the Casals concert to be held at the end of August.

Prime Minister Golda Meir said recently: "Peace is far off. We are in the very midst of a war. Some call it a little war. Well, it's big enough for so small a country as ours." She declared that the nation must carry on its normal life, and at the same time consolidate its security position. It seems to me this is a perfect analysis of life in Israel today, reflecting itself in the phrase continuous emergency.

Nasser made a long speech on July 23. He bitterly attacked the United States and Britain for their support of Israel; praised France for its

neutrality; and expressed deep gratitude to Russia for its aid. He said: "Today we can be proud of our armed forces. We are ready to fight. The Six-Day War has not ended. It will be the two-year war, the three-year war, the four-year war. The Israelis were dancing in the streets in June 1967. In 1969 they are weeping. Thanks be to God the picture has changed."

World reactions to Arab threats are best summarized in the international press:

1. Herald Tribune, July 26

"Is President Nasser deluding himself? Most impartial western observers believe that the Egyptian military is still years away from developing the ability to defeat Israel in a full-scale war."

2. London Telegraph, July 28

"It is highly improbable that any marginal improvement in military effectiveness on the part of the Arabs would save them from yet another drubbing."

3. Associated Press, July 30

"United States analysts believe Egypt lacks the air power necessary to support a major ground attack across the Suez Canal into Sinai."

4. New York Times, July 30

"Israel would win again, though after a longer, bloodier struggle than the last one. The Israelis are still considered 'more than a match for all the Arab forces combined', in the words of an American general."

Israeli reactions, as I discovered through conversations in recent days with many of the very top leaders here, are a mixture of caution and confidence.

Leader A. - Nasser's speech of 23 July that the cease-fire no longer exists must be taken at face value. Egypt has chosen the path of war.

Leader B. - Nasser's speech meant that the Egyptian army has been given a free hand to attack Israel. We must reject suggestions that his statement was designed solely for internal propaganda purposes.

Leader C. - The Arabs think it will be difficult for us to hold out for a long time under this pressure. They think our only style is to mobilize fast, fight fast, demobilize fast and go home. We must organize ourselves, from

an economic and psychological point of view, to adjust ourselves to this long pressure.

Leader D. - The Arabs made a decision at Khartoum not to negotiate for peace, but to try to get us to withdraw by political means - i.e. UN, Big Powers, world pressure. This has failed. Now they are reverting to military means. We are actually fighting with only a portion of our force. We do not mobilize all our reserves because we want the country to live normally, take in the immigrants, etc. This will continue for a long time. We must hold out.

COHN - CONFERENCE ON HUMAN NEEDS

In the midst of the tension and uncertainty caused by the War of Attrition, a most remarkable meeting was conducted in Jerusalem during four days in June 1969, under the above title. It was a striking testimonial to the Jewish spirit of responsibility, social ethics, and caring for one's fellow, so often verbalized from the Biblical prophets down to the present day.

Ignoring all danger, and deliberately avoiding any discussion of the security situation, about 250 leaders of the international Jewish community came together from all over the world, without fuss or publicity, to examine such "unexciting" subjects as health, housing, immigration, education - all things pertaining to the needs and wants of human beings in search of a better life. Many of these men and women were at the very apex of fame and public responsibility in their home countries. All were serious, conscientious, devoted and thoughtful. What they tried to do was to summarize exactly what would be required in the field of social services to satisfy the needs of new immigrants and others in the years immediately ahead, when the energies and resources of the State would be so massively preoccupied with security and defence.

Obviously, in four days the participants could not master the complexities of the subjects studied, but their task was made easier by the existence of clear documents which had been in preparation for many months by the organizations convening the Conference - i.e. the UJA, CJFWF (Conference of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds), JDC (Joint Distribution Committee) and HIAS (Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society).

Through discussions in the workshops, reports by various Israeli experts, exchange of ideas among themselves, the participants did come to an understanding of what the next five years in Israel would look like, from point of view of these basic human needs.

An assumption was made that there would be an average annual immigration of 35 - 40,000, for a total of 175 - 200,000 persons during the five-year period under review. A further assumption was accepted that the entire philanthropic cost stemming from this migration must be undertaken by the Jewish communities outside of Israel, for the community inside would be completely concerned with defence and could not contribute to the humanitarian costs. It was estimated that the average annual cost for maintaining the minimum priority programs to absorb these immigrants would be somewhere between \$350 and \$400 million per year. This is one million dollars per day, expected to be contributed by the approximately eight and one-half (8 1/2) million Jews of the free world. This should be contrasted with the cost of maintaining the War of Attrition, at the rate of three million dollars per day, provided by the approximately two and one-half (2 1/2) million Jews of Israel.

Having digested these figures very soberly, the conference delegates displayed an excellent attitude and accepted the responsibility. What did this acceptance really mean? Basically, it was a moral matter, as these great issues always are. They were saying that they understood the magnitude of the challenge, would interpret this to their constituencies at home, and would endeavour with all might and main to educate, inspire and lead their communities to this standard of achievement. The COHN Conference was a beautiful demonstration of Jewish concern for a better future, while struggling through a difficult present.

Just a few weeks ago, General Moshe Dayan stood at the grave of Sergeant Ehud Ram, aged 24, in his kibbutz of Hanita, speaking the following words of eulogy: "At dawn yesterday we stood on the shores of the Gulf of Suez to await the return of our raiders from Green Island. The young soldiers returned after they had achieved their objectives and won the battle, carrying the price of victory, six dead and nine wounded, on their shoulders.

Sons such as these, who can live, fight and die like this are the most wonderful treasure we have as parents, comrades and as a nation. Ehud and his comrades were a legend which became a reality - the reality of independence, of a homeland, of Jerusalem, of the settlement of mountains and deserts, of flowering trees. But a reality also of blood, of funerals, of casualties, and of bodies carried home at dawn. We can do nothing but to strengthen our hearts in love."

The War of Attrition came to an end in August 1970, two years after it started, when the Egyptians realized that it was getting them nowhere. Parents in Israel breathed a great sigh, as did the leaders.



CHAPTER 9

Section 2

In 1970 two unusual events occurred, one in the area of fund-raising and the other in the more important area of Israel's geopolitical stature with, respectively, the United States and the Kingdom of Jordan. Both events took place in September, and both involved the personal participation of the Prime Minister, Golda Meir. There was a third matter, not a defined event, rather the beginning of a trend in Jewish migration from the Soviet Union which began in the middle of the year, but reached a steady flow only at the beginning of 1971. Hence, I will leave its telling until the next chapter.

As for the first item, I had been haunted since the Emergency Campaign following the Six-Day War by the fact that there had been no million dollar contributions in the several subsequent years, even though there had been a number of such gifts in that hectic post-war outpouring. I had tried all sorts of explanations and rationalizations in my mind, admitting the unusual nature of the extraordinary euphoria, amazing adrenalin and unparalleled joy following the victory. But still, once a precedent had been set for seven-figure giving, I felt that a certain momentum should somehow have been established which would produce similar levels in following years. Since that had not happened, I became consumed with the problem, spent much time analyzing it from every angle, but failed to find the solution. Suddenly, I realized it was fruitless to keep looking backward, seeking the clue as to why something had not happened, and instead I should be concentrating on how to make it happen in the future. At that moment my head began to swirl with creative ideas.

I had learned during the past 15 years of work in the UJA that when I wanted to engage in a new venture leading to a new goal, I must first plan the strategy down to the last possible detail, and then personally undertake the reconnaissance to determine the feasibility of the tactics. Thus, if I wanted to make million-dollar giving a normal part of large-donor mentality, so that it would occur on an annual basis, then I had to obtain such pledges in the framework of normal campaigning, without requiring the stimulus of war, earthquake, or huge tragedy. Easier said than done. But at least I was now on familiar ground, and could start figuring out how to

have a million-dollar dinner. I was a firm believer in the system of announcing in advance what was expected of attendees at any fund-raising function, and when an invitation was printed, I always insisted that somewhere on the card there be printed a discreet notice indicating the level. The highest I had ever gone was a luncheon at the 21 Club in New York, for a small selected list, with a note in the corner - "\$250,000 minimum". Well - now I had to create a dinner party where each invited guest would know that he/she was expected to meet the level of one million.

After conceiving and rejecting a dozen complex formulae, I settled on a simple one: three dinner parties in three private homes in three cities where the largest Jewish communities in the country were to be found - New York, Los Angeles and Chicago - on three consecutive evenings. The success of the plan would depend on three factors: the name of the host, the names of the guests, and the name of the star who would grace the evening. I decided that the star should be none other than the Prime Minister of Israel, Golda Meir herself, whose world-wide reputation was at its height. If she were willing to lend herself to this project, there would ensue an almost certain acceptance by the hosts, who would be honored to have her in their homes. After careful analysis I decided that Meshulam Riklis' town house in New York was the right place, as was the Chicago suburban home of Colonel Henry Crown and the Beverly Hills mansion of Max Firestein.

I visited with each person, explaining at great length that they would be participating in a plan whose design was intended to make a quantum jump in fund-raising on behalf of Israel, a cause particularly dear to all three men. If we could make seven-figure gifts a normal level in the annual campaign, then many more six-figure gifts would be solicitable and five-figure giving would expand exponentially. In other words, these men would be pioneers whose individual gifts in the amount requested, plus the use of their private homes enabling a few others in their city to be drawn into the magic circle, would result in many many more millions being raised across the country. All three understood what was at stake; agreed with the widespread additional goals to be realized; were sufficiently egotistic to anticipate the pleasure of being complimented by the Prime Minister, as well as by their business and professional peers. Each agreed to contribute

his million and his home. The plan was launched. You can imagine my great joy.

When Golda heard the concept and its acceptance by the three hosts, as well as the logistics, she agreed immediately. I had obtained permission from the FAA, for El Al airlines to be granted one-time landing rights in Los Angeles and Chicago, so that the Prime Minister's security arrangements would not be adulterated. Today such an exception would not be necessary, for El Al has regularly scheduled service to many U.S. cities, but then it was a friendly American governmental gesture. The plan was to fly from Tel Aviv to Los Angeles, for the dinner there on Tuesday, September 15, then to Chicago for the evening of 16th, then New York for the 17th. With Golda enrolled, the final element remained to be crafted - namely, the list of invitees in each city.

Here, again, a tremendous amount of thought and time was required . Names suggested themselves, for there was not a vast number of prospects, but research was necessary on financial ability, social background, especially concerning relationships to the host, size of close family members who would expect to be included if a family gift were contemplated, and many other factors. This was all delicate data and could not be entrusted to staff. Most of it I did myself. And once the short list was completed, I made yet another of the many trips to the cities, for the purpose of personally soliciting each individual. My idea was that at the dinner parties nothing was to be said concerning money. All the soliciting had to be done in advance. It was not simple, because there existed the underlying fact that the person I was talking with, face to face, was receiving a conditional invitation. He and his wife (and perhaps other first-degree relatives) were being invited to this most prestigious home to spend an evening in close and intimate conversation with the premier figure in the Jewish world --- on condition that they would make the minimum contribution. As tactful as I would manage to be, still it demanded a stiff backbone to speak straight to the point, to avoid misunderstanding. When all the solicitations were done, my sigh of relief was explosive.

Los Angeles resulted in three acceptances, in addition to the host, so it was a dinner for 12 persons which produced \$4 million.

Chicago provided a completely different story. I stayed in town four days, in residence at the Standard Club, and met with 24 persons, without obtaining one single acceptance. At the end of that debilitating experience, for which I had no rational explanation, I visited once more with Col. Crown, told him the facts and suggested that Mrs. Meir would overfly Chicago. I thanked him warmly and gratefully, at the same time stating that he should feel no obligation to adhere to the dinner conditions, because there would be no dinner, and that a repetition of his previous year's gift of one-half million would be extremely generous. This is exactly what he did, and I assured him that we would find the opportunity for him to meet with the Prime Minister privately on another occasion.

As for New York, the effort was much easier because of the presence of William Rosenwald, the spiritual father of the UJA, the last of the trio whose signatures had created the UJA back in 1938, and whose unbroken association with its work, year after year, decade after decade, earned him the title of pre-eminent lay leader of American Jewry. He helped me cull and sift, and when all was done, the Riklis dinner produced 4 additional gifts, beside the host. Thus, the project in New York and Los Angeles brought in nine million-dollar contributions to the normal 1971 campaign - a major breakthrough.

A word of tribute is due to the hosts, whose role was indispensable, and whose reward came in their satisfaction at the success. But even greater reward came in the manner in which Golda bestowed her personal gratitude upon them. The setting of the two parties was perfect in its informality. Black ties and evening gowns did not stiffen the atmosphere. One dinner table accommodated all guests in each home. The cocktail conversation was easy and natural. Everyone knew everyone else - it was like family. And after dinner, all sat around Golda in a circle of comfortable chairs and sofas, while she chatted and told stories and laughed and chain-smoked. They asked questions, to which she replied frankly, without diplomatic evasions. She treated them as insiders, as colleagues, as close friends. Those who had previous contact with her were quite familiar with the fact that she could be testy, abrupt, even curt; that she had a level of intolerance toward people she considered ill-equipped to ask delicate questions; that she didn't consider

fools lightly; and that social chit-chat was not her long suit. Nevertheless, on those two evenings, she was brilliant, at her sparkling best, and truly enjoying herself, because she appreciated the extraordinary effort every guest had made to achieve a certain goal for Israel and the Jewish people. She even agreed, most pleasantly, to sit on a sofa, and be photographed separately with each couple, however long it took, smiling through it all. And the happy ending came some weeks later, when each couple received its copy, personally autographed by her to them.

I said, at the beginning of this chapter, that two events occurred in September 1970, both involving Golda Meir. The second was of a geopolitical nature, and took place on Sunday evening, September 20, in the New York Hilton Hotel. Once Golda had agreed to come to the U.S. for the fund-raising dinners, I thought it would be useful to exploit her presence by exposing her to a wider audience, on a continental scale, if possible. Thus, we planned a national dinner, with a closed-circuit cable hook-up to as many communities across the country as were willing to be tied in. We rented the cable for one hour, and in each community they set up a location with a large screen to accommodate as many viewers as they wished. When all was said and done, Golda spoke that evening to about 1000 persons in the Hilton ballroom, and another 20,000 scattered in 40 communities across the country. The live audience, whom she could see in front of her, was in a gala mood. The dais was filled with top national and local Jewish lay leaders, as well as Israeli and American governmental personalities. She began a comprehensive review of the past few years, Six-Day war and War of Attrition; economic pressures; social welfare and educational problems; internal political affairs. Then she began with future military needs and immigrant absorption, indicating that Israeli Jewry would have to accept higher taxes to handle the first, while American Jewry would have to exert itself more strongly to handle the second. She knew that we had booked the cable for a full hour, and did not want to waste any of that expensive time by not using it, so she was timing herself carefully, to cover her complete agenda by the final minute.

About ten minutes before she was due to finish, I noticed some movements and whispering coming from the area behind the dais, sent someone back there to ascertain the problem, and learned that both the

Israeli and American Secret Service agents were receiving messages through their earphones that the White House was trying to reach Mrs. Meir. I sent a message back to the two chief agents that the White House should be told she was in the midst of a nation-wide closed-circuit speech and would be finished shortly; that she was due to leave immediately after the speech for J.F.Kennedy airport where an El Al plane was being held for her departure; that I would seek to take her from the dais to a room where she could be connected to the White House.

Some background information is necessary for the reader to understand the nature of this unusual situation. The Al Fatah military wing of the PLO was planning a coup to take over Jordan, and the revolt which they had organized broke out on September 6. Fighting and scuffling took place between Palestinians in refugee camps and the Beduin troops loyal to King Hussein. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan and General Ariel Sharon believed that the Palestinians deserved help. General Aharon Yariv, the head of military intelligence, did not agree. After a week or so of skirmishing, rumors started that Syria would intervene on the side of the PLO and this constituted a serious threat to the throne. It was then that King Hussein called Washington and asked Secretary of State Henry Kissinger for his assistance in persuading Israel to come to Jordan's aid.

This was the purpose of the White House call to Mrs. Meir. Speaking on behalf of President Nixon, as well as himself, he first briefed her as to last-minute developments - i.e. that Syrian armored columns, with tanks and artillery, had already crossed the Jordanian border and were moving south toward the capital of Amman. Then he made a specific request that Israel intervene militarily, to deflect the Syrians, force them back, thus defending the integrity of Jordan. The implications of this request were enormous. Jordan was an enemy. Why spill Israeli blood to defend her? How serious was Syria? Was she willing to fight Israel? And yet, the United States was asking. How could Israel refuse her best friend and strongest ally? What did Israel stand to gain or lose, if she acquiesced or demurred? I shall long remember that scene in the small room, with the tired woman slumped in a chair, after a long hard week trekking to the dinner parties across the country, and then , just a few minutes ago, having finished a tense, hour-

long speech on the TV, and now faced with agonizing questions from Nixon and Kissinger.

She asked for time to think. He said there was precious little of that commodity - the Syrians were already marching. She said she wanted to speak with her deputy, General Yigal Allon, now - because she was flying on a commercial El Al aircraft with no possibility of secure communication and therefore would be out of touch for 10-11 hours. Kissinger accepted that, asking her to call him back as soon as possible. She reached Allon, told him her instinct was to intervene, she felt that she knew the King, whom she had met several times in the past, as early as 1948, and that someday he would make peace with Israel. She asked Allon whether he had the physical capability to throw sufficient force across the Syrian line in time, and his answer was in the affirmative. There were brigades on the Golan, which could be dispatched almost immediately. She ordered him to do so.

Returning to the White House phone, she appeared suddenly to have a new bearing and demeanor. She was not the tired old lady slumping in the chair. She was the head of government, commander-in-chief of the army, a leader with her mind madeup, and with a certain crispness in her voice, she stated her conditions. These were hers, that is they came from her global understanding of international politics and war, and she spoke them with authority. She began by saying that she had given the order to stop the Syrians, but one never knows how combat escalates, where it spreads and to what degree. Therefore, she demanded American assurance on three points:

1. The U.S. was to inform the Soviet Union why Israeli troops were on the move against Syria, which was a Soviet client, and to state forcefully that the U.S. did not expect the Soviet Union to make any move, just as the U.S. was not making any move to support its client, Jordan.

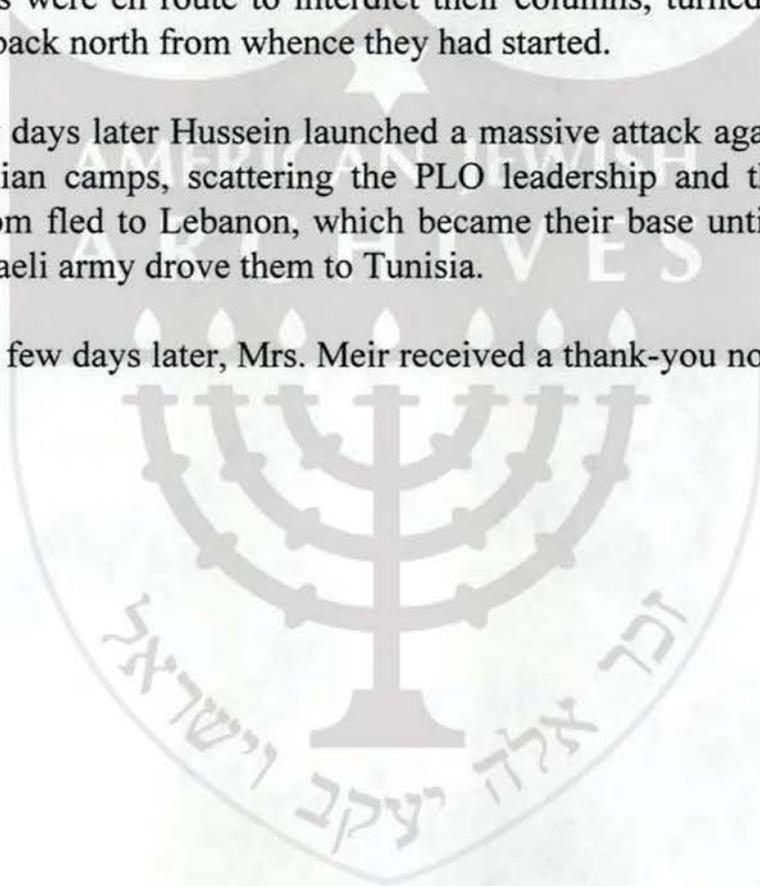
2. The U.S. was to send large-scale bombing maps of the entire region, which Israel did not possess, and which might be necessary if the conflict spreads to other countries. She suggested that such maps probably existed at U.S. 6th fleet headquarters in Naples, and could be flown to Tel Aviv in a few hours.

3. The U.S. was to agree to resupply all losses to Israeli materiel, including the heaviest items such as tanks or aircraft.

Messrs. Nixon and Kissinger consulted; accepted these conditions; thanked her for her courage and speedy action; and wished her bon voyage. She went to Kennedy Airport, and upon arrival home was met by Gen. Allon who gave her the good news that the Syrians, upon learning that Israeli troops were en route to interdict their columns, turned 180 degrees and headed back north from whence they had started.

A few days later Hussein launched a massive attack against the PLO and Palestinian camps, scattering the PLO leadership and their soldiers, most of whom fled to Lebanon, which became their base until the 1980's, when the Israeli army drove them to Tunisia.

And a few days later, Mrs. Meir received a thank-you note from King Hussein.



CHAPTER 9

Section 3

Zionism - the belief that Palestine was a centralizing factor in the life of the Jewish people, one of the basic elements, together with religion and historic memory, which served as the glue uniting them and sustaining them in the centuries-long struggle to remain alive -had been my basic ideology since my early teens. As a member of the debating club in our conservative synagogue youth group I upheld that viewpoint with emotion and intellect, the former often taking precedence. My passion derived from the times in which I was maturing. The year was 1933, I was 15 years old, and Hitler had just become Chancellor of Germany. It seemed obvious to me that the effort of the Zionist Movement to create an independent homeland was so logical and necessary that every Jew and even non-Jews should quickly and vigourously rally to support. When this did not happen, I grew more assertive, louder, forceful in my desire to convince. Of course I summoned all the facts I could to make my arguments impregnable, but it was the looming image of the mad dictator which drove me.

Our youth group challenged similar groups in other synagogues around the small state of Connecticut to debate the resolution that it was mandatory for all caring Jews to join the Zionist Movement. Soon our poor parents were sacrificing their Sundays driving us around to one town after another, for no one of us was old enough to possess a driver's license. In addition to the ideological issue, there was the sheer joy of energy flowing and laughter and looking to meet girls. I don't know whether we changed any adult minds, but there is no doubt we changed ourselves as we grew in self-confidence and experience.

Preoccupation with the Zionist agenda continued throughout college years, as did my sophistication regarding the proliferation of political parties within the movement. There developed a baker's dozen of such parties, ranging from left to right, each with adherents convinced that their version was the only true path toward realization of our ideal. I, the zealous advocate of the ideal, never joined a Zionist party in my entire life. They seemed so fractious, so concerned with their own pettinesses, so cruel in their derogation of others, so parochial, that I was repulsed and also could understand why the large mass of Jews remained uninterested.

But my career propelled me ever deeper into action on behalf of the goal. Action in the Haganah's program of Aliyah Bet in Europe kept me in Germany two full years after the war ended. Action in accumulating weapons in the United States (which was illegal at the time) in preparation for the inevitable War of Independence in Palestine kept me on the run for another year. And when the State of Israel was declared in 1948, my joy was so overflowing as to energize me to travel the country on the circuit of volunteer fund-raising for the next seven years, during which I was serving as rabbi in two very large congregations, first in Denver and later in Milwaukee. Then it all came to a head when I was mobilized as Executive Vice-President of the National UJA in 1955.

The next 15 years were the most intense in my life. I created and developed the major UJA programs which functioned for the next decades - missions for all ages to European concentration camp sites, to Israel, to North African countries; the Young Leadership Cabinet; the National Rabbinic Cabinet; the Israel Education Fund and many others. I travelled millions of miles; made speeches in scores and scores of cities (including Lincoln, Nebraska twice); personally solicited hundreds of millions of dollars from major donors; threw prodigious amounts of energy, both physical and mental, into doing my job in such fashion as to act the role model for my professional staff and lay leaders alike. During this period I was divorced, remarried, and fathered two more sons, in addition to the three children of the first marriage. I must confess there were times when guilt overtook me, because in times of crisis and extreme pressure (wars, huge immigration surges, political threats to some endangered Jewish community), I left my family behind and they saw me fleetingly.

Gradually, the feeling began to grow ever stronger within me that I must fulfill the urge to live in Israel. It was not enough to visit several times a year in the course of my work, nor to make incessant speeches about the centrality of Israel in the collective life of the Jewish people. Since direct action was the central feature of my personality, I could no longer merely talk about it, but must actually take up residence and live in Israel among millions of other Jews. Perhaps I needed rejuvenation after 15 years of such intense work, or perhaps an elementary sense of mortality reminded me that

it would be better to go now, while in my early 50's rather than wait until some senile "retirement".

Whatever it was, discussion began to grow in the family. Francine, whose first extended stay in Israel at 19, plus several subsequent lengthy visits, had a wonderfully positive attitude toward the idea of moving there. Her father, a strong supporter of the country, made a munificent gesture, generous beyond all expectation. He told his daughter that he would be happy to provide her with a home, whether it be on Park Avenue in New York or in Jerusalem, and that made the dream possible. We opted for Israel, and decided to build in Caesarea, a location on the Mediterranean coast, halfway between Tel Aviv and Haifa. A very large section of land, encompassing not only the coastal strip but including Zichron Yaacov, Binyamina and other settlements inland, had been bought a century earlier by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, known as Ha-Nadiv Ha-yadua, the Well-known Prince, to start the colonization process in the Holy Land. The property had come down through inheritance to the present Baron Edmond, who decided to develop the immediate area of Caesarea.

This city had once been the Roman capital of Judea. The famous Tenth Legion (Decimus) was stationed there. Herod had built the city as a fabulous tribute to the Emperor Augustus, and named it for the Roman Caesars. The shining marble columns outlining the quays running out to the sea were a welcoming sight to the triremes coming from Rome, and the temples, theatres, amphitheatre and hippodrome served as fitting accoutrements to a city whose population increased to a quarter-million of Romans and Jews. The engineering corps of the Legion had built an aqueduct, with two lines, running down from the Carmel mountains 30 kilometers to the north, to bring fresh water to the city. Pontius Pilatus, the Roman governor who presided over the execution of the Galilean Yehoshua, later known as Jesus, lived in the city. The Tenth Legion marched 100 kilometers to Jerusalem, sacked the city and destroyed the second Temple. In the following century, after the Akiba-Bar Kochba revolt against Rome failed, Rabbi Akiba was flayed alive in the central square of Caesarea.

Sometime thereafter the city fell into ruins, sand dunes drifted over everything and no sound except the lonesome wailing of jackals was heard

for hundreds of years until the Crusaders arrived in the 13th century. The French King Louis IX built a fortress atop the old Roman debris, surrounded it with a classic moat and drawbridge, and the Christian soldiers lived there until their final defeat by the Moslems. Once again, the site was empty and desolate until the 19th century, when some Moslems came from Bosnia, built a mosque and established a small colony. Old Baron Rothschild bought the land, and now in the 20th century it began to be populated by the Jewish descendants of Jesus and Akiba. The young Baron decided to develop it into what has become the single most beautiful residential area in the entire modern country of Israel.

He built a golf course in 1960, still the only one in the land. And he subdivided a tract into building sites for individual homes. That year I bought a site on the front line, with an unobstructed view of the sea, the aqueduct, the bougainvillea. The area between my property and the sea was reserved for future archeological excavation, and thus blocked from any other construction. The half-acre plot cost \$6000 at the time. Today a similar-size plot, far back from the sea, sells for \$150,000.

And so, in 1969 we began to talk in earnest with an Israeli architect, Zvi Toren of Tel Aviv. I knew his work from the many schools and libraries he had built under the Israel Education Fund of the UJA during the previous five years. A Czech by birth, an officer in their army, who had fled to England in 1939, after the Nazis took over Czechoslovakia, he was a skilled architect, knew the Bauhaus style, and most importantly of all, had a paternal sense of responsibility concerning every building he designed. This meant that he actually supervised the construction, which was vital in the building industry of those days. We discussed details with him, both in Tel Aviv and in New York, to which we invited him for a few uninterrupted days of work. He designed for us a stunning two-story structure, of white brick, both exterior and interior (almost unheard of previously in Israel), with large glass sliding doors, leading out to terraces, fireplaces downstairs and up, a garden with swimming pool, many bedrooms and bathrooms, and a bomb-proof shelter, as required by law.

Digging for the pool in the garden resulted in the discovery of a Roman sarcophagus which we recovered intact, with skull inside, and later used as a planter for a patch of roses. It was splendid. And further research

taught us that this particular spot had been reserved for Roman centurions to build their villas. So, here we were, immigrants from the New World, coming to the old-new Jewish land, outliving those Romans who had once ruled the Old World of Europe and parts of Asia. That sarcophagus uncovered on our land was the symbol of the eternity of the Jewish people over three and one-half millenia. Rome was long gone and we Hebrews were still around.

Mr. Toren hired Mr. Shuali, a building contractor from Netanya, a large town 20 minutes distant, to construct this house, unusual for the Israel of that time. The work started around Hanukkah, 1967, a half-year after the Six-Day War. Shuali, in Hebrew, meant "fox". Mr. Toren felt an obligation to keep tight supervision over the fox, thus requiring himself to be on site in Caesarea, one hour distant from his office in Tel Aviv, at 6.30 a.m. every day, to discuss with the contractor that day's work in detail. Toren is a wonderful person, not simply a good architect. Intelligent, honest, friendly, religious without fanaticism (he explained that our kitchen should be kosher so that we would be enabled to have guests of all persuasions), international in outlook, cultured, true patriot with no touch of xenophobia - the very best example of an ideal Israeli citizen. The house was completed at the end of 1969, and the furnishings which we had begun purchasing during the two years of construction were starting to accumulate in a storage room nearby. We were now ready to make serious preparations for the move.

I started discussions with Irving Bernstein, my deputy for the past six years, and Edward Ginsberg, my friend of many years, currently General Chairman. Eventually Max Fisher, the previous Chairman, was drawn into the conversation. I explained my reasons for wanting to settle in Israel, and suggested that the proper time had come, in terms of the ages of the two small boys, David and Charles. They were presently enrolled in the Child Development Center, a pre-school agency of the Federation of New York, and I wanted to move them to Israel at the beginning of their elementary school years, so that they could integrate properly with their peers in the Hebrew language. The younger the child, the easier it would be for the new language to become a "mother tongue".

I outlined the manner in which I could remain at the helm of the UJA, even while living in Israel. In essence the line of reasoning went as follows:

1. Since I had already created the main mechanisms and structures for the day-to-day running of the campaign, which could then be left to the capable administration of Irving Bernstein, who was completely familiar with the ideas behind each program, as well as the staffs to execute them; and

2. Since my contribution henceforth would best be in the realm of creative new ideas, suggestions, plans which would be required to keep the organization fresh and current with changing conditions inside Israel as well as outside in the scattered countries where the JDC was working; and

3. Since my presence in Israel, to which increasing numbers of missions were coming, could be useful in planning their itineraries and soliciting the bigger contributors, in the systems I had previously inaugurated of "back-seat-in-the-bus" and "caucus-in-the-hotel"; and

4. Since my knowledge of and friendships with the leaders of Government, Army and Jewish Agency, which were among the important assets of the UJA in running the campaign in the U.S., could be enlarged and strengthened by my more frequent contact with them, enabling them better to understand the mentality of American Jews; and

5. Since my permanent presence in Israel, available to every American communal leader who came over to visit, either alone or with his community's group, would enable me to arrange social meetings with top Israeli personalities, to the mutual advantage of that nebulous ideal of "Israel-Diaspora relations"; therefore

6. For all the above reasons, and others yet to emerge as a result of experience, I suggested that my moving to Israel would be no loss, but rather a gain for the UJA. My brain, energy, and devotion, the strongest attributes I had to offer, remained with me, wherever I lived.

I suggested the logistical arrangements as follows:

1. Irving Bernstein would sit in New York, with the title of Executive Vice-Chairman, and functioning in that capacity. He wanted this title very badly, and there was no reason for him not to have it. The only minor inconvenience was the necessity of inventing a different one for myself, since his new title was my old one. I would henceforth be called Executive Chairman (a professional designation, in contrast to the chief lay leader who was called General Chairman).

2. I would sit in Jerusalem, occupying an office in the Jewish Agency building, once used by David Ben Gurion, when he had served as

Chairman of the Agency, before the State was established. I could not understand why that historic room had been neglected, often left empty, often utilized by a pool of clerical workers. To me, Ben Gurion was the founder of the country and his room was a shrine. There was not even the smallest plaque to indicate its provenance. I was thrilled to enter it, every day.

3. Haim Vinitzky, the director of the UJA office in Israel, the skillful manager who opened doors to Prime Ministers, obtained rooms when every hotel was overbooked, and was dearly beloved by thousands of lay leaders whom he had helped with miracles over the decades, would remain in his office with his staff, performing his great work.

4. Irving and I would be in touch by telex and telephone every day, if necessary.

5. I would fly to New York every month for one-or-two days, to work out problems, exchange advice, put out fires, discuss long-range plans.

6. I would invite a senior staff person to accompany me to Jerusalem, and Rabbi Matthew Simon jumped at the opportunity. He and his family rented quarters in Jerusalem.

7. I would thus remain as the chief executive officer, making the policy decisions and fashioning the outlines of each year's campaign, according to the historic needs, as I saw them.

Gradually, during 1970, we discussed these and many other concepts, ideas and specific working plans. Naturally, rumors began to spread, and there was no gain in denying them. Professional colleagues, prominent lay leaders, just plain friends in other organizations, men and women in Federations across the country, would make enquiries and I would speak quite openly of fulfilling my dream to live in Israel, and at the same time to keep running the UJA.

The rumors reached Israel, even unto the Prime Minister's office. When Golda came to the United States in September, for that special program described in the previous chapter, she broached the matter to me. She stated the opinion, in her customary blunt style, that there was absolutely no sense in my moving to Israel. I was indispensable in my job in the U.S. Nothing I could possibly do in Israel would be as important for the State and the Jewish people as my remaining on duty at the UJA. I had no

right to desert my post. I was a commander, in battle, and could be relieved only when a person of equivalent rank and experience was available. Everything she said was filled with praise and compliments, yet her inflexibility somehow rubbed me the wrong way. And every explanation I tried to offer, met with her resistance. Finally, in an effort to lower the tone of the argument, I reminded her, with a smile, that I would invoke my rights under the Law of Return. This piece of Knesset legislation was the basis on which any Jew in the world had to be admitted to the country if he/she showed up on its borders. She turned away in annoyance and our discussion was finished. Of course I understood her position, and of course I was flattered at the high value she placed on my work, but my strong desire to experience life in Israel with my family was part of what made me tick. And I was convinced that I could continue to lead the UJA from my new base.

We spent the summer of 1970 breaking in the new house, arranging the furniture, entertaining guests, discovering sources of supply (chlorine for the pool, firewood for the coming winter, trees for planting, etc.), and meeting our neighbors. There were fewer than a dozen homes in Cluster #2, as our area was designated. We really were pioneers. Only simple food shopping was available in the nearby development village of Or Akiva, populated mainly by Moroccan immigrants and a few Roumanians. The larger town of Hadera was 15 minutes away, and a trip was necessary at least once every day for something or other. But the sun, the sea, the dunes and aqueduct were all so marvelous, as to give the feeling that we were living in some luxurious resort on the southern coast of France.

Across the street was the imposing villa of Reuven and Esther Rubin. He was one of Israel's most famous painters and visitors to his weekly Shabbat luncheons constituted the country's "Mi v'Mi" - Who's Who. The Rubins had come to Palestine in the 1920's, I think, and his reputation grew very quickly. When the State of Israel was proclaimed, and ambassadors had to be found who could represent the new nation abroad, Rubin was tapped to serve as the first ambassador to Roumania, since he had been born there and still spoke its language. He described that experience ruefully, for he had no knowledge whatsoever of statecraft, diplomacy or international affairs. All he had was great pride in Israel which helped him overcome the awkwardness he felt in the presence of professional ambassadors from large and famous countries. He was charming in Caesarea and enjoyed taking

walks holding hands with our David and Charles, regaling them with stories.

Next to Rubin was an empty lot, and then stood the lovely house of Jeffrey and Techiya Friedland, she a war widow who met him in London and brought him back quite willingly. He worked in Tel Aviv, and their house in Caesarea was for weekends. Later they moved to it full-time, with their four children. It was an active, bustling household and we became close friends. Around the corner were three more homes of English people, two families of permanent residents and one of frequent visitors. The latter individual was Michael Sachar, managing director of the great Marks and Spenser chain, related to the magesterial Sieff family, of Zionist fame, which had sponsored and supported politically Dr. Chaim Weizmann, later to become Israel's first president. We enjoyed Michael's occasional visits.

The permanent families consisted of Norman and Mona Edelshain, he a former colonel in a WWII regiment and she a skillful gardener. Two of their four children lived with them in Caesarea, one in London and one in Hongkong. There was much travelling in that family, but gradually they coalesced and the Edelshain residences grew to three. Across the garden from them lived Morris and Gila Holt, he a former furrier and she a gifted painter. They were lovely hosts to whom we went often and became close friends with their son Martin, an architect by profession and a painter by hobby. He decorated our pool with free-style designs along the bottom and sides which made it feel sprightly. Martin has his own gallery in Tel Aviv, where his slightly sardonic watercolors are favored by the tourists. The last house on the "English" street was a small cottage occupied periodically by Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the owner of all the land, and his family. Their son Benjamin was younger than our boys, so there was no common link. A few other families made up the entire population: Foca Hirsch, a bon-vivant gourmet, originally from Central Europe; the Sherovers, of Jerusalem, whose Mercedes-Benz car was a magnet for the children; Lola Beer, the foremost couturier of the country; and Edward Ginsberg of Cleveland, who lived next door to us.

After that summer of acclimitization, learning the immediate neighborhood, and the town of Hadera, it became clear to Francine, with her practical sense of the support system necessary to supply our needs, that Caesarea could not serve as a permanent base. There was no school for the

boys, no market for shopping, and a sense of loneliness when several of the other houses were empty between the periodic visits of their owners. We began to realize that when we returned for good the following year, we would need a residence in Jerusalem. This meant finding a rental flat, and coming to the villa by the sea on weekends and holidays. And indeed that is how it worked out.

In the fall of 1970, David entered first grade at the famed Ramaz school. Even though our personal life-style was not Orthodox, still we wanted him to absorb, both intellectually and emotionally, a body of knowledge and an attitude toward Judaism. Charles entered kindergarten at the Child Care Center. As for my first three children, they were already young adults, and when we would leave at school-end in June 1971, they would be, respectively, Judy 23, Dan 22, and Joan 18. And they knew they would be coming over to visit whenever the funds and the occasion permitted.

Everything proceeded according to plan, and in June 1971, the Friedman family embarked on its new adventure. Although we came as temporary residents, with the ultimate intention of accepting citizenship, and thus were eligible for the benefits and loans available to new immigrants, we decided not to seek or accept a single penny of public Jewish funds, from either the Agency or the Government. We paid our own passage and freight, came to our own house in Caesarea, rented our own flat and took no subsidy for anything. We found an apartment in Rehavia, the most central residential area in Jerusalem, at 15 Ibn Gavirol, around the corner from the Jewish Agency headquarters where my office was situated, and one block from the Gymnasium Rehavia, (much later re-named for Paula ben Gurion) in whose elementary school the boys were enrolled - David in grade 2 (Kita Bet) and Charles in grade 1 (Kita Aleph). The apartment was on the third floor (there was an elevator), possessed 80 square meters (880 sq.ft.) and a terrace, while the villa comprised 3850 sq.ft. and four terraces. We, four persons and one cat, lived in the flat 6 days per week and the villa just on Shabbat. It was a two hour drive late Friday afternoon to Caesarea and two hours back on Saturday night. But it was worth it. After a while Charles ceased asking "are we there yet?" And, of course, we had the big house for ten days at Hanukkah, the same at Pesach, and two months during the summer vacation. Not bad.

Slowly, life assumed a routine. Francine was the first to enter into a "normal" Israeli existence - i.e. she began a career indigenous to the country, not connected with the world we had left behind. Ruth Dayan, wife of the one-eyed general, had developed a craft industry among new immigrants, and a series of stores in which to display and sell the products of their creativity. The chain was called Maskit, and was lacking an outlet in Jerusalem. Ruth invited Francine to construct a shop in an old Arab house and to manage it. This new American immigrant entered into the complex business of negotiating a lease with the Catholic Church which owned the property; then working with architects and contractors to build the interior; then working with Ruth on the selection of an inventory of jewelry, rugs, clothing and souvenirs which would appeal both to tourists and locals. The result of this remarkable effort was an instant success, lauded by all who entered. Francine and Maskit were launched.

I set up my office, and began to make the rounds of meeting a rather long list of people with whom I would be having dealings. The boys settled down to the job of making friends in school, where they were obviously outsiders and had to make their way uphill, especially with regard to the Hebrew language. All of us had that same problem. Our family policy was to speak English at home, so that the boys, having come to Israel with fairly rudimentary language skills in reading and writing English, could develop that language properly. The flip side of that policy was to speak Hebrew in public, on the street, in Maskit, in school. Hopefully we adults would have to struggle only with Hebrew, while the boys would have to conquer both languages simultaneously.

One of the most vivid episodes in my memory occurred a year or so after our arrival. Francine was at work, and the boys and I were visiting the marvelous National Museum. We were strolling up the long promenade toward the entrance, speaking Hebrew, according to our policy. My voice is resonant and penetrating. My Hebrew was not as fluent as theirs. They were apparently embarrassed by my errors. Suddenly they stopped - turned to me and suggested in firm tones that I would do better to speak English, even in public. In an instant my mind flicked back almost 40 years, when I was walking one day with my father across the Yale campus, and even though his English was fluent, nevertheless a Vilna-born accent must have been

discernible, for I turned and asked him not to speak so loudly as to be overheard by fellow students on the same path. Wow!

Here was the turning of the wheel of Jewish history. From Lithuania to Connecticut to Jerusalem - three generations of wandering Jews, struggling with new languages, cultures, mores, repeating the same experience in each generation, making adjustments and renewals, yet always advancing.



CHAPTER NINE
Section Four

The power of the UJA, its appeal to the contributors, was the fact that it dealt with crises, and thus shaped history. This concept had long ago become the basis of my personal belief, and was the core of every speech, advertisement, rally, film and conference which it lay within my authority to design. Further, the power of the UJA derived from the power of the State of Israel, for the State had altered the basic condition of the Jewish people from one of powerlessness to one of power to control its own destiny. The UJA communicated to ordinary Jews, to "amcha", the plain people, that they too had the power to change both past and future history. This feeling was charismatic, was magic, because it was true and everyone could see this principle actually working.

When the UJA said that the vessel "Transylvania" was leaving the port of Constanza on the Black Sea every Thursday, carrying 2000 Roumanian Jews, disembarking them in the port of Haifa every Monday, then turning around, sailing empty to Constanza to reload - every ordinary Jew could do the arithmetic. Two thousand persons per week, times 50 weeks, meant 100,000 immigrants were coming in one year from that one country. When we whispered quietly what we had agreed not to publicize, namely, that every single soul cost \$1200 to get out, every ordinary Jew understood we were spending \$120 million dollars just for that one operation. And when the speaker would tell this story, at a closed meeting, with no press present, every listener knew it to be the truth. The speaker would then finish, leaving a rhetorical question hanging in the air: "Are you worth \$1200? Suppose it was you who needed to be rescued? Wouldn't you like to believe that some other Jew, somewhere in the world would be willing to pay that amount to bring you to freedom and safety in a Jewish State?"

I knew in my bones that connecting the rescue of endangered Jews with its costs produced the maximum contribution, for there were ingrained in the consciousness of most American Jews the basic elements of Tzedakah (doing justly by one's brother) and Mitzvah (holy commandment). Even highly assimilated Jews were responsive to these stimuli.

In January 1971, a small but steady flow of immigrants from the Soviet Union began to appear. Trickling out by train from various points and converging in Vienna, they were greeted by Jewish Agency and JDC officials who were prepared to meet the needs for food, shelter and information. Once safe and protected, the tired travelers could relax and listen to the plans for their flights to Israel. In New York, when I heard the news that this appeared to be a regular routine, not just a one-shot inexplicable shipment of people, something stirred in me, a physical sensation that this might be the start of a dream which had nourished me through all the years of hard work. My dream had been that the decades-long underground efforts of Shaul Avigur and his team to unfreeze Russia would succeed, that untold hundreds of thousands of Jews would come out, and that the UJA would rise to the challenge and provide the funds. Such a gush of intelligent, well-educated new immigrants would propel Israel to a new plateau of technological and economic advancement. Was this now beginning to happen? I had to see for myself, probe the depth of the phenomenon, both in Vienna and Jerusalem, so that I could begin to plan the campaign that must ensue.

Vienna was a city I had visited often in 1946, charting the flow of refugees and DP's coming from far eastern reaches of Russia, on their way to the American Zone of Germany in the west. The Aliya Bet man in charge in Vienna was known by the code name "Artur" and we met often in the Bristol Hotel and the Rothschild Hospital. Only some years later, when he was appointed Israel's first ambassador to Germany, did I learn that his real name was Asher ben Natan. When he finished the assignment in Germany, he was subsequently appointed ambassador to France - the only man in Israel's short history to have served in both positions. So, here it was 25 years later, and I was once again in Vienna, appraising a flow of migrants, but this time they were not enroute to some DP camp. They were going home. And I flew with a planeload of them one night to Tel Aviv. What a feeling.

I traveled around the country for a few days, watching the absorption process, which went very well. I made appointments with officials in various departments to learn the plans for speeding up construction of housing; to anticipate financial needs in the next 12 months; to see the charts for population dispersal; and to gather as much factual data as

possible with which to inform and inspire my lay leaders and staff so that they might achieve their objectives. Suddenly, I was shocked by the sad news that my father had died in his sleep the night before. I left within hours for New Haven, Connecticut, where he lived, and on the long flight home I had many memories of the quiet, gentle man, always polite and helpful, who had worked so hard to provide for all of us. He married my mother on New Year's Day 1918, and they lived peacefully, happily, through the awful years of the Great Depression, facing crushing financial crises, including the foreclosure of their house, but never their hopes. After almost 40 years of such a union, he was desolate when she died at the young age of 61 in the year 1957. He was bereft, lonesome, totally unaccustomed to being alone. She had always been the stronger, leading personality, and he depended on her. A few months after her death, he reminded me of the Biblical injunction that man should not live alone, and asked how we, the three sons, would feel if he remarried. He had loved her dearly, which we knew, and intended no disrespect to their past life together, but he could not face the future alone. At the end of the year of mourning he married a widow, Fanny Walhimer, who had been my mother's closest friend for the past 30 years and a constant visitor in their home. And now, after 14 comfortable years in that second marriage, he died in his sleep, age 79, as peacefully as he had lived, earning the 'death by a kiss' which is reserved for the righteous. The synagogue B'nai Jacob, which he served earnestly and lovingly all his life, as usher, board member, officer and willing volunteer, was filled at his funeral service. It was a testimonial to the fact that virtue and goodness do receive recognition, even though the deceased may possess neither fame nor fortune. He was buried in the congregational cemetery, next to my mother. I placed in his casket a small sack of soil which I had bought on Mt. Zion immediately after receiving the news of his death. At the same time I bought two small Hebrew Bibles for my two brothers, inscribed with the date of his passing.

The months after his funeral passed very quickly; we made our move in June; and I began to organize a plan for the campaign of 1972, which I felt should be based upon the now clear reality of a large influx of Soviet Jews. History was pounding on the door, thousands of immigrants were arriving every week, and it was obvious to me that this cherished opportunity must be brought to the forefront of the consciousness of every American Jew we could reach, without using any vehicles of public media.

The Russian government was succumbing to heavy pressure, in opening its doors. World opinion, expressed through political leaders of the West at the very highest levels, especially from the United States, was demanding free right of exit. A massive agitation was organized among Jewish students on every campus across the country to "Let My People Go". A group of English women chained themselves to the gate of the Russian Embassy in London, maintaining a constant vigil, chanting similar slogans. As all of this protest began to have its effect, and the exit visas began to be issued in larger numbers, a message also came from the Kremlin that they would look with disfavor on open publicity concerning the flow of immigrants to Israel. After all, the Cold War was at its height. The two world powers had opposing clients. America was linked to Israel; Russia was supplying arms to the Arab states, and would not welcome an Arab complaint that it was, at the same time, supplying manpower to Israel. The increasing flow could not be kept a tight secret, yet a widespread informational campaign was definitely out of the question.

And here was the dilemma, for a widespread fund-raising campaign was mandatory to maintain the flow. The costs were very high for each individual Russian Jew. Bribes, taxes, transportation, and the final document, the exit permit itself, came to a total of several thousand dollars for a family of 3-4 persons. There was no way that the emigrants themselves could come up with that kind of money. Even if they were fortunate enough to sell the one or two rooms in which they lived, or the few pieces of furniture, they did not realize any more than a distress sale would provide, for the non-Jewish buyer knew that the Jews would have no choice but to accept whatever was offered. No - the funds for the migration would have to be provided from the outside. First, a campaign in the U.S. under the most unfavorable condition of no publicity would have to succeed . Second, a channel would have to be created inside the Soviet Union to get the requisite amount into the hands of the migrants themselves. There was no Israel Embassy in Moscow, or Consulates in other cities, for Russia had severed diplomatic relations with Israel after the Six-Day War, when its Arab clients had been so thoroughly defeated. Once again, the historic link between the Netherlands and the Jewish people came into play. Without going into any details, let it simply be noted that the long lines of Jews around the Dutch Embassy were admitted inside, and after displaying all the required documents, from the army, the employer, etc., etc, were simply

handed the necessary amount of cash to cover these and to pay for the final permit. The migrant went from the Dutch Embassy to the OVIR office, got his permit and arranged for his train ticket to Vienna. The Dutch were marvelous, trustworthy, kind and handled scores of millions of dollars with scrupulous accuracy.

So, with a system arranged inside Russia to handle that end of the problem, the only thing left was to organize the UJA campaign inside the USA to raise the necessary funds. Unable to utilize conventional methods of getting the story across to our constituency (newspaper advertisements, various types of brochures, posters, photo albums, TV interviews with Israel officials or our own speakers) I had to create a private network based on personal communication with the leading donors in the local communities, who would then fashion a sort of oral chain-letter approach, asking ten people to pass the story on to ten other people, and so on down the line. After testing several variations in my mind, the strongest and simplest method seemed to me to use the immigrants themselves to tell their own stories, with all the local color of the harshness of life inside the Soviet Union, to as many individual Jews as we could crowd into a working day. It was to be a process of saturation of the top layer of leaders and donors in face-to-face encounters.

Here is how I structured it mentally:

1. There were approximately 50 communities in the U.S. in which 95% of the Jews resided.
2. The calendar would be divided into 4 quarters.
3. One Russian migrant would be posted in a community for an entire quarter - 90 days.
4. During that period, working very hard, and hoping that the local communal officials also worked as hard, the Russian could have appointments with 400-500 prospects, at the rate of 5-6 persons per day. And if the appointments were made in the prospect's home for breakfast or dinner, there could be the additional advantage of other family members and relatives being invited over to hear the story. I could think of no stronger force than the emotional energy pouring out of a person who had gone through a nerve-wracking hell trying to get himself and his loved ones out of slavery to the freedom of Israel. Sitting at the dinner table, explaining, answering questions, plumbing the depths of human emotion, was the most

effective way I could think of to get the historic dimensions of this new Exodus implanted in the minds of free American Jews.

5. Staying in one medium-sized community for 90 days would be sufficient for our hero-immigrant to reach every individual contributor of \$1000 and higher.

6. In larger communities it might be necessary to have residential Russians for longer, perhaps two quarters.

7. In the very large metropolises, we might have to maintain Russians in residence throughout all 4 quarters of the year.

8. No one person could be expected to remain longer than 90 days. After all, he/she had a family back in Israel, and being fresh new immigrants, they had many problems of adjustment and absorption. It was not fair to keep a mother or father away any longer.

9. Making a rough calculation, I was pretty confident that a pool of 125-150 qualified Russians could cover the entire 50 communities during one calendar year, participating in face-to-face solicitations of every contributor over \$1000, and that this process would bring in at least 90% of the total anticipated campaign.

10. I pledged myself personally to go through Israel from top to bottom, searching for new immigrants who had the right personalities, sufficient command of English, interesting enough personal stories to tell, and strongly enough motivated to undertake this historic task. I was certain that I could find and mobilize the necessary number, work out the logistical arrangements with their families, and assign them to congenial communities.

The above outline, properly expanded to include the multitude of details necessary to achieve successful implementation, was sent to Bernstein in New York. I was doing what I thought had been agreed upon as the definition of my role. I was setting policy, namely, that the eagerly-awaited Russian migration was to be the basis of the 1972 campaign; suggesting a method of executing that policy; and providing the kind of on-the-spot assistance in Israel by recruiting the personnel who could enable that method to succeed. All of the above was a perfect example of how I could work creatively in Jerusalem.

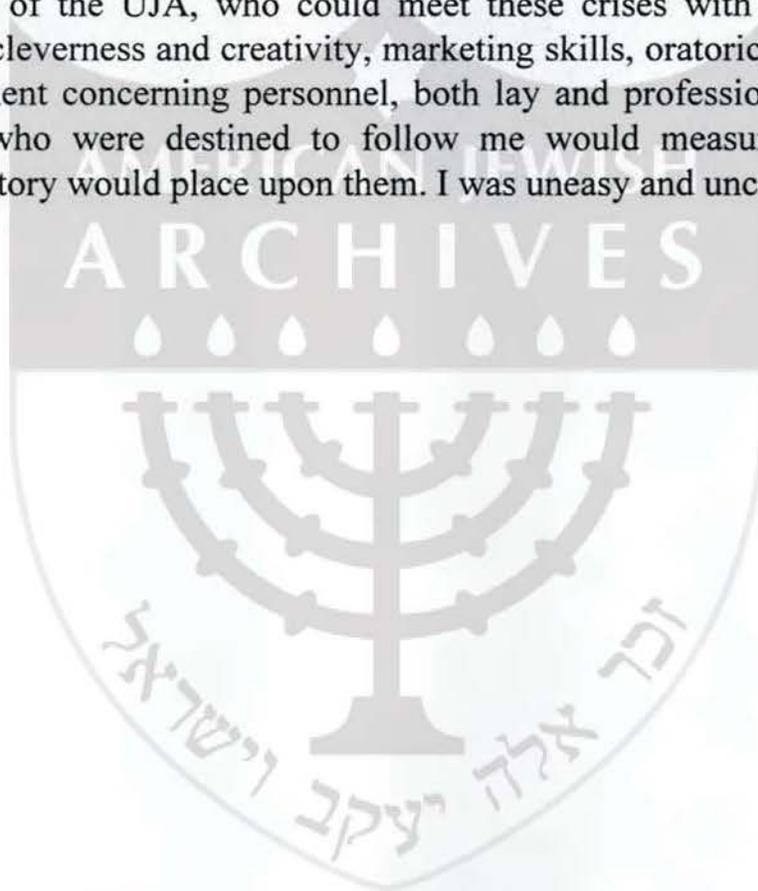
There was ominous silence from New York, and rumbling from the office on the opposite side of the Jewish Agency building where Mr.

Vinitsky worked. It seems he felt that his authority was being threatened, since he was the person previously empowered by the UJA to procure speakers for the annual campaign. Now, here was I, his superior, resident in the same Jerusalem, nay, even the same building, depriving him of an important function. He made his dissatisfaction known to Bernstein and Fisher, and they made their decision. They asked Vinitsky to provide them with 4 Russian immigrants, who would move around the U.S. making speeches. In effect, they were vetoing my plan.

According to our original arrangement I was to fly over to New York for a monthly tete-a-tete, and did so during September, October and November. Each visit included an exhaustive discussion on this basic subject. Bernstein pleaded administrative inability to carry out such an ambitious scheme, saying his staff was inadequate, or the local federation officials would never arrange the intensive schedule of appointments necessary, or some reporter would get hold of the story, or another reason, or another reason. I did not know what was going through his head or psyche. Was he afraid of managing a project of this size? Did he fear failure? Now that he was in New York alone, did the risk seem too large? All of this arguing, month after month, made the whole matter moot. Time was simply running away, and finally it was too late to execute the plan.

When I came over in December for the huge Annual National Conference of several thousand of the UJA faithful, I was prepared for a summit meeting with Max Fisher, Paul Zuckerman, the new incoming chairman, and Irving Bernstein. Their mood was polite, but firm. They accepted the fact that I wanted to live in Israel, but they wanted the power center to remain in New York. They agreed that I could probably "run" the UJA from Jerusalem, by my definition, but then their share in the decision-making process would be diminished. I was not interested in waging a war. I explained that my love and respect for the UJA would remain undiminished, and that I would undertake with enthusiasm any assignment in Israel they requested, but that I would no longer confine myself solely to UJA activities. Israel was a wide stage, with many interesting projects and I would wander across that stage at will. We discussed some financial items, and reached a partial parting of the ways. I would remain on a retainer until 1975, which would complete 20 years of professional service, the longest term of any CEO in the UJA's history right up to the present moment. And I

would start looking for other areas of work which would represent the challenge I always needed if I were to perform well. I confess to an inner sadness at leaving a great organization which I had built from a modest beginning to its present level of almost one-half billion dollars annually. And the sadness was compounded by a worry as to what my successors might be able to accomplish. Lying ahead was the continuing Russian exodus, perhaps another war, an election which might bring a change of government (always a delicate event), and the usual number of internal social and economic problems. The times would require a person and a team at the helm of the UJA, who could meet these crises with strength and conviction, cleverness and creativity, marketing skills, oratorical ability and sharp judgment concerning personnel, both lay and professional. I prayed that those who were destined to follow me would measure up to the demands history would place upon them. I was uneasy and uncertain.



CHAPTER NINE

Section 5

I have often wondered why I was, and still am so enthusiastic about the UJA. The answer stems, I suppose, from the deep idealism of my personality which reacts strongly to any action, or cause, or organization whose purpose it is to help other people in the solution of their problems. This attitude of mine has its roots in the moral and ethical dictates of Judaism, as well as in the liberal, democratic, egalitarianism of modern Western culture. That period called Enlightenment itself draws much of its inspiration from Old Testament prophets. Thus, the UJA has always been, to me, the epitome of what the Jewish and human response should be toward those whose need is clear and visible. There existed a synergy, a harmony between the organization and myself so complete as to be seamless; so nourishing as to fulfill each partner's aspirations.

I felt this way during the entire period of our relationship. Upon returning to Denver in mid-July 1947 from the army in Germany where I had worked with the Displaced Persons for two years, I plunged immediately into UJA volunteer work. How could this be otherwise, after all I had seen and done abroad. I knew better than almost anyone how badly money was needed in the camps for food, clothing, medicine, books. So I accepted the appointment as chairman of the UJA National Speaker's Bureau, which meant very simply that whenever the professional directors of the Bureau could not find the requisite speaker for a particular assignment in some city, they felt free to call upon me to fill in. I had returned to my original post in this vibrant congregation of 1000-plus families, older than the State of Colorado, founded by the Guggenheims when the area was still Indian territory, to be greeted most warmly, with high hopes that I would now stay put to serve the members after three years of absence. And yet, when the UJA called, and I had to fly away somewhere to make a speech or an appeal, and this occurred at least once every week, or sometimes twice, the strain between myself and the members could sometimes be felt. Repair was accomplished only by explaining, over and over, that the mitzvah of saving life took precedence over all other obligations. They came to know and accept my scale of values.

The following year, 1948, when Palestine became Israel, and the excitement exploded, a committee of the local Allied Jewish Appeal approached me to become the chairman of the city-wide campaign, a post usually held by a wealthy businessman, not by the local rabbi. I accepted immediately and spent several sermons attempting to indoctrinate my parishioners with the emotions and sense of responsibility I felt. Denver raised more money than ever before, as did every Jewish Community in the entire United States.

From mid-1947 until mid-1955, eight long years, which included a shift from Denver to a similar-sized temple in Milwaukee, I served both masters, the congregation and the UJA. No accurate account exists, but my recollections tell me that during this period I probably made 175-200 out-of-town speeches. And for the next 16 years, as chief executive, no longer a volunteer, I feel certain that I left my desk for the airport at least 1000 times. Upon our move to Israel in 1971, as explained above, the situation changed. And for the next four years, I went to the U.S. three times annually, for three weeks each visit, as a paid professional speaker. My passion has carried me almost six decades non-stop.

When someone asks - what is the purpose of the UJA - is it just raising money? - how can you get so excited about that? My one-sentence reply is - no, the main purpose is raising people. If you raise enough people, by giving them a basic ideology, a sense of motivation and inspiration, a conviction that they are seriously helping the State and People of Israel and rescuing endangered Jews everywhere, a sufficient number of such people can raise any amount of money which the goal requires. The amount of money available is infinite - the number of people who are trained and motivated is finite. The job of the UJA is to raise more people.

In the summer of 1973, Howard Sachar, a distinguished professor at George Washington University, and author of several books, one of which is the magisterial volume on the history of modern Israel, arranged to do a long interview with me, covering several topics. In the course of replying to the question asked in the paragraph above, I developed a fuller explanation. which embodied the essence of my respect and admiration for the organization. Parenthetically, if any human being knows its faults and deficiencies, that person is I. But the altruism and genuine sentiment which

marked the lay leaders and staff far outweigh its weaknesses. I gave Professor Sachar six basic achievements of the UJA, which, in my judgment were seminal to the growth and strengthening of the organized American Jewish community. These six do not include the financial successes. Here they are:

1. The leadership of the federated communities, (almost 200), to say nothing about the very small non-federated towns and villages (approx. 600) has received its education about Israel from the UJA. Whether one estimates that this leadership consists of 5, 10, or 15,000 men and women, the fact is that this is the thin layer which maintains the strength of both the local federation and the annual campaign in its hands. And it is this thin layer which is most thoroughly saturated with UJA educational material: missions (most of these people have joined several during the course of their communal careers); top-ranking Israeli speakers at meetings; films; video-conferences; personal letters from top UJA staff; major newspaper advertising. The Young Leadership Men's and Women's Cabinets produce extensive educational material, as does the Rabbinic Cabinet. At the Young Leadership biennial Washington Conference some 2500-3000 eager attendees absorb three days worth of information, poured out by dozens of speakers, including the highest echelons of both the American and Israeli governments. Knowledge is power, knowledge leads to conviction - power and conviction are major elements in leadership. The UJA teaches about Israel with a volume of material no other organization even attempts.

2. The UJA has continuously taught a central ideology to vast numbers of American Jews, and reinforced a sense of identity which has made them into followers, if not leaders. The three basic elements of this ideology are: the centrality of Israel to Jewish eternal existence; the unity of the Jewish people despite the divisiveness of time and space which separates the various populations; the responsibility of each individual for all the rest of the brethren. This set of principles, when applied, can help bridge differences between secular and religious, capitalists and socialists, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, Israelis and Diaspora-dwellers. The UJA has persistently taught an ideology which can and does unite.

3 The UJA has built community strength in the United States. The paradox is that this happy result was achieved only after a period of

several years of conflict. There was a time in the late 50's and early 60's when I was fighting with the federations over the share of the money being raised. Dividing the proceeds of a joint campaign which contained partners with differing interests, is always difficult, sometimes fraught with actual tension and severe arguments. My preference was to attempt to fix a formula between the federation and the UJA in advance. I set up a special staff to negotiate with each federation on a PCB, pre-campaign-budget, months before the next campaign was due to commence, so that each side would know what its share would be. Negotiations could sometimes be successfully concluded on the professional level, between the UJA and local federation's staffs. If arguments developed, the discussion was ratcheted up to a higher level, and sometimes it was necessary for a small delegation of top national officers of the UJA to meet with the small executive committee of top local federation officers. Thus it was lay leader arguing with lay leader. In several communities, whose names I shall not mention, I met personally with the entire board of a federation to announce our intention of withdrawing from an unhappy partnership, and to conduct a separate UJA campaign in that city. This brinkmanship invariably produced the charge by the federation people that their citizens were, of course, interested in Israel and overseas needs, but local needs had to come first, and therefore they were laying claim to the larger share. My counter-charge was that the largest donors, including some from their very own city, were motivated more by Israel's needs, and the proof lay in the fact that these very gifts were solicited by national UJA leaders on a mission to Israel. The fact is that we were arguing about relatively small amounts in each city (except for one or two egregious exceptions), but the accumulation of these resulted in tens of millions of dollars nation-wide. On an average, we attempted to maintain a 60% v. 40% result, with a plus-minus flexibility of a few points. And our staff had specific instructions always to budge in this area of flexibility. After several years of this PCB approach, the whole issue settled down to where the UJA was receiving a more-or-less steady 55%, and Israel could know in advance how much it would receive each year.

Now came the happier times, when the UJA could devote all its energy to helping the local campaign in every single way possible to raise more local leaders, to raise more money. The avenues to do so were multiple and we worked hard on them. There was frequent consultation on my part with local executive directors on all sorts of matters: bringing their leaders onto national committees, for exposure to peers in other cities;

offering to bring their leaders into direct contact with top Israeli personalities; asking their opinion on educational films we were making; soliciting their opinion on major policy decisions such as the formation of the new Israel Education Fund, or the new Project Renewal; and the usual bread-and-butter stuff, such as which speaker they wanted for their Big Gifts dinner, and when should we schedule Super-Sunday in order not to conflict with any major event they were planning. Gradually, an entire network of linkages on a wide variety of subjects drew the UJA and the federations into a much tighter working relationship. And that condition prevailed until I left the active leadership with our family move to Israel.

4. The UJA built leadership through specific training programs, and these spread rapidly into every community whose executive appreciated the value of this methodology. Incidentally, it also spread widely outside the UJA/federation system. Almost every single Jewish organization in America adopted the nomenclature "Young Leadership", and every Y.L. group set up its training program to achieve whatever the goals of that organization were. I never had the slightest objection. We did not copyright the phrase. If everyone achieved more, the greater was the common good. Often I was invited to come to a city to lead one class in a ten-class series, but that one visit was my opportunity to see, from the inside, the calibre of the people they were choosing, the seriousness of the curriculum, the skill of the teachers they were inviting, etc. By and large, I was pleased with the quality of the work I was witnessing, and I was convinced that these training programs were a valuable addition to the arsenal of the organized community

5. The UJA should always place long-term historic goals before American Jewry and did so regarding Soviet Jewry. The purpose of holding up the far future as something for present consideration was to remind our constituency that long-range challenges exist; that these may arise without much warning (such as a war), or may be growing slowly in the womb of history; that we can actually shape history; that our victories do determine our very survival. Such an approach, I think, empowers ordinary people with inner strength to accomplish superhuman tasks.

I referred to the example of Soviet Jewry. In 1955, after I accepted the UJA position, I ran into a friend, Rabbi Ely Pilchik of New Jersey, in a parking lot. We were each walking to his own car, met by

accident, and he challenged me, without any prelude, concerning my stupidity in leaving what he predicted would be a brilliant career in the rabbinate for this relatively unimportant bureaucratic job. His sharp question jabbed me - why the hell did you do it? And my answer jumped out of my unconscious - I want to move history by getting millions of Jews out of Russia and into Israel. He was shocked, rocked backward, almost as though I had hit him physically, gasped for breath, could hardly get the words out - what chutzpah! do you really believe that? can it be done?

I kept talking about this great historic possibility in order to keep the idea alive. No matter what the subject of any particular occasion, I would finish my analysis of that subject, and then segue off to a warning that someday those Russian doors would open, and every one of you listening to me will be responsible for meeting that huge challenge. It doesn't matter what year it was, or what hot problem was on the plate, I kept repeating my mantra that the Russian Revolution in 1917 had not killed the Jewish instinct for survival, nor could it, in spite of all efforts. Synagogues could be turned into stables; learning Hebrew could be forbidden by law; atheism was rampant according to communist doctrine; meetings of Jews in groups could be labelled as conspiracies against the state, and individuals could be imprisoned just for attending. And yet, I kept insisting, the Jewish initiative inside Russia is alive and the chance will come for it to express itself. Somehow, my repetition assumed the tone of an almost religious act of faith, held up as a shining hope which sustained morale - a far future reward which we would receive if we did our present work faithfully and efficiently.

Sometimes, during the question period after a speech, a person would ask if I had any factual basis for my belief, and if the meeting were closed, i.e. no press present, I would tell what I knew, which was not a great deal, but was something. There was an underground movement inside the Soviet Union attempting to keep the Jewish spirit alive. This movement was directed from Israel, led by Mr. Shaul Avigur, the brother-in-law of Moshe Sharett, the first Foreign Minister and second Prime Minister. A band of incredibly brave and daring operatives worked secretly throughout the vast Soviet Union, and even penetrated the Gulag, the prison camp system located in far Siberia, in which many Jews were incarcerated, either for some specific Jewish "crimes", or for general anti-Soviet crimes, or for no crimes whatsoever, the Soviet NKVD or KGB being what it was.

What could these operatives say or do? The mere fact that they identified themselves as free Israelis, and whispered the news that the inmates were not forgotten, provided a monumental injection of hope, which spread from prisoner to prisoner. This could not lessen the pain of hunger, frost, disease - but it could lift the spirit. And with the news, the operative would distribute tiny Hebrew calendars, the size of a paper match book, containing the dates of the holidays, so these men, and even some women, could know when it was Yom Kippur, even though the prisoner, the parents, and possibly the grandparents had not observed it during the past 70 years, still, vestigial memory recalled that it was an important day in Judaism, and suddenly the connection was made between the heritage of the past and the reborn power of the present in the form of a sovereign state whose agents were giving this gift of a tiny calendar. A spark ignited, Jewishness clicked in, another soldier enlisted in a common will to survive. Many years were to pass before that will could explode into action, but explode it did.

If I were leading the UJA today, after 3/4 million Russian Jews have already migrated to Israel, I would hold up the long-range goal of rebuilding a community in the Former Soviet Union for the estimated two or three million who still remain there. It will take 20 years to create an infrastructure of schools, synagogues, centers, universities needed to capture a full sense of Jewish identity - and there are two good reasons for so laboring: those who stay will be practicing and knowledgeable members of the tribe; and those who leave will be better citizens of Israel.

There are other long-range goals to place before American Jewry: recreating an international Jewish language, which today is Hebrew, as Yiddish and Ladino were in previous centuries; establishing a few more universities in Israel to care for a population which will grow by 50% in the next quarter century; helping build a desalination industry, for Israel's main problem in the near-term future will be water. Yes- holding up long-range objectives stretches the mind, animates the will, and makes current problems seem easier to solve.

6. The UJA has advanced education in Israel, which, in turn, has had a positive feedback to the U.S., where day school education has now moved to the front of the agenda. The whole story of the Israel Education Fund, which the UJA created in 1964, as told in an earlier chapter, is the best example of this thesis. Pouring money which was

specifically raised for this purpose into the creation of kindergartens, secondary schools, libraries, science laboratories, junior colleges and community centers, that Fund gave a giant push to the educational level of the growing nation. The work of that Fund had the additional influence of increasing the allocation from the general UJA funds to all the universities in the country. Relatively, enormous amounts of money poured into education in Israel.

All the solicitations for educational funds caused the larger donors to become aware of the theme we stressed so hard during those years of the mid-60's through the early 80's. The theme was taken from a paragraph coined by Avraham Harman, the Ambassador of Israel to the U.S. and later the President and Chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He said that the continued survival of the Jewish People depended on two things: education and immigration. The purpose of education was to root the next generation in its identity. The purpose of immigration was to find a new place to sink roots if the old place became dangerous and uninhabitable. I used Harman's argument ceaselessly, amending it to say that in America I did not think we would ever have to face a forced immigration, only a voluntary one, and therefore we could concentrate exclusively on his other remedy for our future - serious education on all levels, from kindergarten to adults.

The bottom line was achieved when Max Fisher began to discuss with his talented speech-writer, Mr. Raphael Levy, the fact that he wanted to start giving speeches on the subject of day school education in the U.S. as the best way to give our children the firmest foundation for their Jewish lives. At the peak of his power and authority, he gave the full credibility of his offices as Chairman of the UJA and Chairman of the Council of Federations to this point of view. Would that we had only moved faster along this road.

I have selected these six items because they seem to me to represent the widest and broadest objectives which the UJA could hope to achieve. They illustrate my opinion that the organization had far-reaching effects, in addition to its fund-raising capability. The values expressed by these goals were the most idealistic, and at the same time the most practical. It is my

fondest hope that, in the course of raising billions of needed dollars, the UJA has also morally and spiritually strengthened a great community.



CHAPTER 9, SECTION 6

CAMPAIGN CHAIRMEN

A fund-raising campaign of any size is a complex machine, involving many interlocking factors. It is much like a military unit, in many regards, even including its vocabulary. The very word "campaign" is listed in the dictionary with two primary definitions: 1) a series of military operations with a particular objective; and, 2) a series of organized, planned actions for a particular purpose, as for electing a candidate. Or, one might add, as for raising a large sum of money. The general chairman of the organization is the Commander-in-chief; the top professional serves as the Chief of Staff and executive officer. The particular purpose or objective is called "goal", denominated in a dollar sum, and decided upon by a duly constituted authority. The four G-branches, as in the army, G-1 for Plans; G-2 for Intelligence; G-3 for Training; and G-4 for Supply, must all be in place if the fund-raising is to succeed. The men and women who head the various "divisions" of the campaign are often called "captains." They are lay leaders, who volunteer their time, energy, expertise, as well as their own financial contributions, in their effort to inspire other people to participate in the effort. They are supported by a professional staff whose skills include making appointments with prospects to be solicited, writing advertising copy, gathering attendance for large meetings, escorting missions to overseas destinations (which is very important in UJA campaigning, for example), arranging speaking engagements in cities all across the country, and a multitude of other tasks to keep the campaign headed toward its target. As an illustration of the magnitude, let the years 1990-1995 serve. During that period a special goal of \$1 billion was set, and raised, on behalf of the flood of Russian Jews emigrating to Israel. In addition, the regular annual goal during those selfsame years had to be achieved, at an average of \$700 million per year, and it was.

While it is impossible to say who or what was responsible for this extraordinary success, one indispensable factor was the sterling reputation of the UJA organization, burnished during six decades of historic labor. And this reputation was established, not least of all, by the men who

willingly assumed the most visible role of General Chairman. That honor role of individuals included, from the very beginning, persons bearing the most aristocratic names in the American Jewish community. Each one understood the indefatigable labor expected of him, and performed with an elan and conviction which lifted the spirit of his fellow volunteers, as well as the contributors. And exactly because these men stood at the apex of society, occupying positions in public life which made them known to the entire American public, the Jewish public was delighted to acknowledge them as top leaders in the largest Jewish communal effort in the Diaspora.

Governor and Senator Herbert Lehman was never the actual chairman, but attended most of the inner policy-making meetings, accepted his assignment of speaking engagements, encouraged all the other members of his social crowd, chaired many meetings so that everyone knew of his support for the cause, and urged his family to join him in this public identification. Not only in New York and Washington was he prominent, but world-wide as well, through his chairmanship of UNRRA, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, whose role was to provide help to the millions of displaced persons in Europe after World War II. The fact that there were a quarter-million Jews in those D.P. camps in Germany made him especially keen to bring them succor.

A. HENRY MORGENTHAU

Although the UJA started campaigning on Jan. 1, 1939, some weeks after the infamous *Kristallnacht* action, large-scale fund-raising was not launched until the war was over in 1945. The first Chairman of international stature was Henry Morgenthau, Jr., who served with great tenacity from 1946 until 1950. He came from an outstanding family, his father having served as U.S. Ambassador to Turkey, and he himself reached the pinnacle as Secretary of the Treasury under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose personal friend and neighbor he was in the farming country of Dutchess County, New York. His son, Henry Morgenthau III, has written a family history entitled "Mostly Morgenthau", in which he analyzes his father's attitude toward his Jewishness. It focussed during the arguments concerning the Secretary's plan for post-war Germany. Debating this issue at the very highest level of the U.S. government, with FDR and the Secretaries of War and State, Morgenthau found himself the only one pushing hard for a policy

which would prevent Germany from ever again throwing the world into war. While the economic, political and international factors, of course, played a role in the discussions, Morgenthau's Jewishness finally entered the equation when the two other Secretaries accused him of taking such a hard line against Germany because of his "race".

Morgenthau's feelings about de-industrializing and pastoralizing Germany were very strong, deriving in no small measure from his outrage at the Holocaust. The argument raged through several meetings. At times he thought he had the President on his side - at other times FDR waffled. One of his closest associates in the Treasury, Harry Dexter White, suggested to Morgenthau that he should back down a bit and opt for the Ruhr to be internationalized instead of destroyed. Morgenthau thought that White was "going soft" on the Germans, who would go back and take it over in a few years, using the region to rebuild their industrial capability. He responded angrily to White's suggestion: "Harry, you can't sell it to me...You just can't sell it to me at all...There will be an Anschluss and the Germans will go in and take it....Just strip it down, every mine, every mill and factory, and wreck it...steel, coal, everything. Just close it down...I'm for destroying it first and we will worry about the German population second."

At a strategic meeting of Cordell Hull, Stimson, Harry Hopkins and Morgenthau, Stimson said: "kindness and Christianity" were called for in the reconstruction of Germany. John McCloy, later to be High Commissioner in Germany, proclaimed his admiration for Morgenthau, but nevertheless pigeonholed him as a "deeply passionate member of the Jewish race. He felt his racial position was affronted by the activities of the Hitler regime." Morgenthau had indeed become the avenging angel for the remnant of world Jewry, in the eyes of his colleagues. His son wrote: "It pained my father to be called a Jewish champion, or the champion of the Jews, yet it was something he could accept."

Morgenthau lost the argument, and the post-war Allied policy on Germany called for its economic reconstruction. Stalin disagreed completely. In 1946, when I was stationed in Berlin and followed carefully the meetings of the Four-Power Allied Kommandatura, I learned of the speech made by General Kotikov, the Russian representative, who said that

it was Russia's intention to strip her Zone of Germany of all factories, machine tools, coal, railroads, and anything which Russia could use, and ship all this material back to the Soviet Union, to replace, at least partially, everything which Hitler had destroyed in his invasion.

President Truman wanted his own appointees around him and selected Fred Vinson as Secretary of the Treasury. Morgenthau was out. He was upset about losing his "Program to Prevent Germany from Starting World War III" (which was always referred to as "The Morgenthau Plan") - an austere document of 3 pages containing 14 points in outline form. And he was bitterly disappointed about being dropped from the peak of influence once his in the government. Suddenly his life seemed without purpose, his days not engaged, his desk devoid of significant decisions to be made. A loyal member of his former staff, Henrietta Klotz, found the solution. She got him involved with Meyer Weisgal, who was Dr. Chaim Weizmann's secretary, and with Henry Montor, who was the executive director of the UJA. The national Jewish community had an urgent need for new leadership, and Morgenthau was a natural. The highest Jewish political figure in the country, scion of a distinguished family, reasonably wealthy, experienced in shaping policy, and now possessed of a heightened Jewish consciousness. So upset was he at the condition of Jewish DPs in Germany, he even tried to get Truman to allow a cabinet discussion on what should be done about this problem. Truman refused, but did agree to have a U.S. commission investigate conditions in the camps in Germany. Morgenthau managed to get Earl Harrison designated as head of the commission, and Harrison's scathing report in August 1945 made a lasting impression of Truman. Later, Truman recommended that 100,000 of the DPs should be permitted to enter Palestine, as a humanitarian move, with no relationship to any ultimate political solution of the Palestine question, and added that the U.S. Army would supervise and carry the expense of moving the people. Great Britain refused. But Morgenthau was showing his colors. His new career was launched, and he remained in the chair for the next five years.

Morgenthau's father, Henry Sr., was hostile to the Zionist goal of a sovereign Jewish State. But he did understand, from a philanthropic point of view, that something must be done to alleviate the suffering and uncertainty of the post-Holocaust survivors. Henry Jr., the new chairman, was not yet strongly Zionist in his outlook, but powered primarily by the imperative of

rescue. He understood the value of money, how it could help sustain the multitudes in the camps, and thus solicited individuals for their contributions whenever asked to do so. Montor steered him, and the two worked very closely. He worked the phones and held daily 9 a.m. staff meetings when he was in New York. Most of all he barnstormed the country in private planes, stopping in two or three cities every day. As I have told in an earlier chapter (ch.3, sect.13), I was requested by him to accompany him, and we had many long conversations in the air, between cities. Thus I came to know him as a person, which was different from the formal pose of Chairman. He felt deeply about the cause of helping people, grew more comfortable with the concept of a Jewish state, and often stated that this work was restoring to him a sense of the worthwhileness of his own life.

He went to Israel in October 1948, while the War of Independence was still on, and experienced mortar shells exploding just outside the Notre Dame Hospital, from which he was observing the enemy line. On Oct.27, a new settlement, down the hill from Jerusalem, was named for him - the highest honor the State could confer, in gratitude for his leadership. Morgenthau, in the Germany of his grandfather's birth, means "Morning Dew". This settlement was named in Hebrew "Tal Shachar", which is the exact translation of the German. He called the occasion "one of the greatest moments of my life". To the crowd he said: "You are showing the world that the Jew is a fighting man and in that way you have raised the standard of the Jew in the eyes of the Christian world. Unfortunately, the young Republic of Israel has very few friends in the outside world. You will therefore have to depend on your own strong right arm." This was the kind of exultant militancy that inspired the American Jewish community as well as the Israeli.

Some figures relating to his incumbency are revealing:

- 1945 - 35 million \$
- 1946 - 102 million \$
- 1947 - 124 million \$
- 1948 - 148 million \$

When the Israel Bond Organization was established in 1950, as a new method of mobilizing capital for the fledgling State, Morgenthau moved over, with Montor, from the UJA to the Bonds, whose chairmanship he

assumed. Even though there were some political and communal upheavals connected with this new situation, still, as far as his attitude was concerned, he was continuing, in seamless fashion, to aid in the growth of Israel and support to her people. Having given five years to the UJA, he was to give four more to the Bonds. These nine critical years covered the DP period, Israel's birth, waves of immigration, and the beginning of the state's financial expansion. He served longer than any other single leadership person in the half-century of history since the end of World War II.

B. EDWARD M.M. WARBURG

"The Warburgs" by Ron Chernow tells the family story. Father was Felix Warburg of the famous German banking family; mother was Frieda Schiff, daughter of Jacob Schiff, head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. a prince on Wall St., second only to J. Pierpont Morgan. This marriage of a Warburg and a Schiff linked the two most influential German Jews in New York, and produced 4 sons and 1 daughter. It was Felix, incidentally, who persuaded Julius Rosenwald, the head of Sears Roebuck, and John D. Rockefeller to contribute millions in the 1920's to the Agro-Joint, which subsidized one-quarter-million Jews on agricultural colonies in Siberia. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise termed Warburg and group "Soviet dupes" and prophesied the project would be a failure, which indeed it turned out to be. Wise was angry with these arrogant, snobbish German potentates, as he thought of them, because they would not get behind the Zionist Movement with equivalent zeal.

Each of Felix's sons inherited various of his traits, so that collectively they added up to a portrait of their father. They had his lively, witty manner, his engaging personality, his splendid sense of fun. When asked about the two middle initials of his name, Edward would explain that they meant "More Money". Actually they stood for "Max Moritz". It was this Edward who inherited Felix's sense of social responsibility toward Jewish philanthropy.

Eddie's lifelong interest in art started at Harvard, where he roomed with Franklin D. Roosevelt's son Jimmy, and the following year established the Society for Contemporary Art, concentrating on fresh, bold, rebellious artists such as Picasso, Braque, Matisse and Brancusi. Later, he was one of

the founders of the American Ballet Theatre and the Museum of Modern Art. He taught art appreciation at Bryn Mawr after arranging to make a contribution to the college equal to his year's salary. And he often told a remarkable story about his personal acquisition of Picasso's "Blue Boy" in Berlin. The painting showed a pensive, downcast figure, which somehow appealed to Eddie, and he paid \$7000 for it. On the trip home he worried about his father's reaction and decided to reduce the amount he had paid by half. Upon arrival in the U.S. he told the customs officer that he had paid \$3500. the man gasped. "You mean you actually paid that much for this? Sonny, I'm going down to the dock, and when I come back, you change that to \$1000." His brother was present to add comedy to the scene. "You see", said Piggy (brother Paul), "the family find it cheaper to let him do this than to keep him in a mental hospital." Decades later Eddie sold the "Blue Boy" for one million dollars.

In addition to a will distributing his material goods, Felix also left ethical wills, advising each child as to the best charitable work to pursue. Shortly after his death, Frieda summoned her children to a meeting and parceled out responsibility for continuing Felix's pet charities. Carola was given health care; Freddy, education for black children; Gerry, music and the arts; Paul, civic duties; and Eddie, all the Jewish causes. Having already visited Palestine several times, he picked the Joint Distribution Committee, of which his father had been chairman for a dozen years, and proceeded to double that figure, serving as President from 1941 - 1965. He married a non-Jewish woman, lovely Mary Currier, yet retained his own strong Jewish identity through the 50-plus years of that marriage, until his own death.

By the end of WWII, in which he enlisted as a private, because he wanted no special attention, and rose by his own merit to the rank of captain, landing in the Normandy invasion on D-day + 7, he served as an officer in the European Theatre. Eddie Warburg signed more affidavits of support than he could remember to help refugees come to America. This was often at the request of Alfred Barr of the Museum of Modern Art, which helped many artists escape to the U.S. Everyone knew that Eddie could be counted on to find jobs for them as high school teachers or other professional occupations. His cousin Bettina enabled more than 200 people in her field of psychoanalysis to reach America. Eddie once received a drawing from Marc Chagall inscribed "with thanks". When he asked

"thanks for what?", he learned that the Chagalls were among those whose papers he had personally expedited.

Something Eddie had learned in the safe confines of his mother's sitting room may have given him special compassion for European Jews. One day in the mid-1930's, when Frieda was upset because of Hitler's progress, she told Eddie there was something important she had neglected to tell him - namely, that he was the only one of her five children who had been "made in Germany". Whatever its source, Edward Warburg's empathy and sense of obligation to rescue Jews exceeded that of his siblings.

When he spoke at public meetings about the refugees, or of Palestine, he did so with a conviction and intensity which reached his audience and moved them to action. One of his early listeners was the author John Hersey. Inspired by Warburg's account of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, Hersey began research for a short piece for the New Yorker magazine. Warburg led him to various sources and invited him along as a guest on his next trip to Israel, the outcome of which was Hersey's book "The Wall". He felt that such results plus all the money he raised for Israel and Jewish needs worldwide through the Joint, made all the effort worthwhile.

He became General Chairman of the UJA in 1950, following Henry Morgenthau, and served until 1955, diverting time away from the Joint, whose President he was simultaneously. No leader, before or after, carried a double load of such magnitude. He assumed tasks which were basically distasteful, such as face-to-face solicitations, but performed them with the grace and style which characterize nobility. The phrase *noblesse oblige* was an authentic description of his attitude. He was shy, in a way, except when telling a joke, and then his friendliness poured over the audience. They were awed, in a certain sense, because they recognized he was one of the handful of Jewish aristocrats, and he tried to make them comfortable by digressing into some self-deprecating story. One such story he told me was that the original family name in Italy in the early 16th century was "DelBanco", because they ran a small bank which made loans to impoverished feudal barons. When circumstances caused them to flee Italy, they went far to the north, to a little village outside of Hamburg, Germany, whose name was Warburg. As in so many other cases, the family took the name of the

townlet, and started from the bottom all over again. Such a story put him on the same level as his audience full of self-made men.

When I came to the UJA as the CEO in May 1955, he was the Chairman. We were not strangers, having met time and time again on the campaign circuit, during the previous half-dozen years. We admired each other and became solid friends. His room at the UJA was right next door to mine. We saw each other constantly. In July there was a pogrom in Morocco, occasioned by the departure of the French from their colonial perch, and the handing over of independence to the Arab Istiqlal party and the return from exile on Madagascar of the Sultan Mohammed V. As the French flag came down, and their troops departed, the Arab sense of freedom exploded in a major riot in Casablanca against the Jews. The football field was covered with hundreds of wounded. I explained to Warburg that I had to go there, to see for myself, to analyze, to predict the events of the next few months, to gather an emotional feeling, so that I could relate to the Ashkenazic Jews of America how these Sephardic Jews who had been living in Morocco for centuries were in shock. The phrase "All Jews are brothers" did not include these darker people who constituted the forgotten million living in Arab lands of Northern Africa and Western Asia. Aside from Holocaust survivors, these Sephardim were the first new species of endangered Jews, and their needs now required center stage of American Jewry's attention. Warburg understood all this intuitively because of his years of exposure to the work of the Joint in Africa and Asia. He said to me very simply that I should go.

During the trip back home, I devised the strategy to be undertaken, and the two of us fine-tuned it. We would call a national assembly of hundreds of local community federation leaders to convene in New York, in October, right after the High Holidays. In the chair would be Gov. Herbert Lehman; the two speakers would be Warburg and myself; the proposition to be approved by the assembly was the creation of a Special Rescue Fund for \$50 million, on behalf of Moroccan Jewry. This Fund was above and beyond the regular annual campaign of 1956, soon to be launched, and this Fund was not to be shared with the local federations, as was the regular annual custom. The overwhelming needs of this suddenly beleaguered community of almost 400,000 souls had to be given top priority. Then Warburg and I concocted the interweaving of our two speeches. I, the passionate zealot for

Israel, was to say that all the money raised had to be dedicated only for use in Morocco through the Joint; and he, the President of the Joint, was to make the plea that we could not forget Israel, even in this emergency, because many of these wounded Jews would recover and decide they no longer wished to stay in Morocco, but would prefer the safety of Israel. Thus Israel would need some of this money to absorb them. It was a real switch, which worked like a charm. The audience recognized in the two of us the ability to transcend our personal ideologies, and to advocate the larger good.

It worked. The assembly approved the Special Fund. We did not raise the additional \$50 million, only half of it. But a precedent was set - i.e. when circumstances demanded, when it was *force majeure*, a non-divisible Special Fund could be set up. And this happened several more times in the coming decades. But the most important lesson was that the General Chairman had to be a person of great humanity and breadth of vision. Warburg passed that test brilliantly. I came to have an even stronger affection for him, and while I saw him less after he left the office, still we continued to campaign together now and then, or met in Israel or Paris or wherever. We remained life-long friends, almost soul-mates, and I was honored when, upon his death, Mary asked me to participate in a memorial event, called "A Celebration of his Life", which was held in the old family house on Fifth Avenue, now the Jewish Museum.

C. WILLIAM ROSENWALD

William (Bill) Rosenwald was a son of Julius Rosenwald of Chicago, owner of Sears Roebuck & Co., one of the great entrepreneurs and philanthropists of the 20th century. Bill established his own organization, called American Securities Co., and made his own very large fortune, in addition to the inheritance received from his father. Julius contributed nine million dollars in the 1920's to an agricultural project set up in Siberia on behalf of Jewish farmers by the Joint Distribution Committee. Julius contributed scores of millions in building universities for Negro (as they were called in those days) students, such as Howard, Tuskegee and several others. Julius built and endowed a great museum in downtown Chicago. Julius certainly set an example of constructive philanthropy for his son. And

Bill certainly absorbed and lived by that lesson all through his long life which lasted into its tenth decade.

He was another of the aristocratic American Jewish families of German origin who accepted the burden of leadership, carried it with dogged conviction, set new heights of achievement, was strict in his definition of duty, and inspired his colleagues by the relentless manner in which he drove himself, thus expecting from them the same attitudes and demands he made upon himself.

He came to the General Chairmanship of the National UJA from a long prior period as president of the National Refugee Service, many years before the UJA was even created. Actually, he was one of the three persons who signed the original document which merged the three founding organizations into one united campaign in November 1938. So, when he arrived at the peak of the UJA in 1955, he had already been on active duty for more than 20 years. He was strong, resolute, tireless and clear-headed as to the goals. He remained General Chairman, the most onerous job in the entire American Jewish establishment, for five years, carrying through one war, numerous waves of immigration, settlement building and assorted crises with calm self-confidence and enthusiastic bearing.

Some years after our family moved to Israel, a professor at the Hebrew University's Institute of Contemporary Jewry conducted several sessions of oral interviews with me, and one of the items in which he seemed most interested was an analysis of the General Chairman, for he well understood the crucial nature of that position, and he asked many questions about Bill Rosenwald. Let me excerpt portions of that interview. Professor Menachem Kaufman is "Q" and I am "A".

Q.

What is the relationship between you and the Chairman?

A.

I tried to have a good relationship with every chairman, to give him the respect which was due him as the lay leader. I was the professional. He was the volunteer, and senior to the professional. The two of us must work together in a very delicate balance. There must never be confrontation as to

who is the "boss". The whole secret of a successful operation lies in the ability of these two officers to work out a common agreement on policy and execution. When they work well together, the organization can reach for the skies, with high morale from the top down through every level.

Q.

It seems like the British Government. The professional is like Her Majesty's Permanent Undersecretary, and the lay chairman is like the Minister. Due to politics, scandals, fatigue, or whatever, the Minister is the one who changes, whilst the Permanent Undersecretary is just that. He/she stays. Is that a good comparison?

A.

Yes. I always felt that I should think ahead as to what new policies or initiatives or methodologies were needed, then suggest them to my chairman, and try to convince him of their usefulness. Of course, there were times when he came in with an idea or a plan that seemed to offer progress in our work, and then he would try to convince me. But more often it was the former situation, simply because I was on the job night and day, and had much more time than he did to do creative thinking. And after we had agreed on the plan or the policy, then once again the moves required for the successful execution were mine to perform, with my staff, or the outside factors which had to become involved.

Q.

Rosenwald was convinced that he was a specialist in fund-raising and knew better than anyone else in the UJA how to run the business. Is that accurate?

A.

Not really. He was very good at fund-raising, because he had been doing it for many years, and he had a very strong personality so that he came across to you as someone completely self-confident and knowledgeable. But he never displayed superiority over others. He simply asserted what he believed and argued for his point of view.

Q.

How would you compare him to other chairmen?

A.

It's impossible to answer that question, and I'm not avoiding or trying to be diplomatic. Each individual is absolutely different in approach, style and technique. If you were to interview his predecessor Edward Warburg, for example, the latter would say - 'I don't really know anything about fund-raising. I never asked a man for one dollar in my whole life. I would only tell a fellow what our problems are and then I'd leave it to him to decide how much to give. Am I a good fund-raiser or a bad one?'

There are no rules in this game. I think, and I do my solicitations this way, that it is much better if you ask the prospect for a specific sum rather than leaving it to his conscience. People need guidelines, with a reference to last year's contribution, followed by a request for this year's. Rosenwald agreed with me, disagreed with Warburg, and always entered a solicitation with a specific figure, which he asked for, holding an alternate figure in the back of his mind for which he was prepared to settle, if necessary. Warburg couldn't negotiate like that if his life depended on it. His strong suit was charm, wit and story telling. Rosenwald is a person who took himself very seriously, made no small talk, got down to business right away, like the business-man he was in private life, and handled a solicitation as he would an ordinary business deal. Pinchas Sapir, Israel's legendary Finance Minister, who was reputed to be a phenomenal fund-raiser, never asked anyone for a specific sum. I used to have intense arguments with him, accusing him of missing great opportunities. His answer was - 'I can't do it. I'm sure the fellow I just talked to will do the right thing. You go follow up with him, and let me know what he gives'. Heavy-set, bull-necked, intense Sapir was another Warburg. Direct fund-soliciting is an art, not a science.

Q.

So how would you decide whom to send, when it was a question of making a very important large solicitation?

A.

I would send Rosenwald, firstly, because he would ask directly for the sum we had agreed should be the target; and secondly, because he was a hard worker. He would give all the time necessary to listen to a detailed briefing on the prospect, then would go home, study the material we gave him, do his homework. He had an uncanny ability to memorize, and at the crucial time to repeat the stuff in a most natural-sounding manner. Whatever he was told to talk about, he knew intimately, whether it was about the new immigrant development towns, or the security situation, or the economic condition of Israel. Our research staff did its homework, and gave him a

long profile on the prospect, including psychology, background, interests, hobbies, club memberships, family, business. He studied it all, and amazed the prospect as he dropped bits and pieces during the conversation. Bill Rosenwald was totally credible to the prospect, and totally dependable.

Let me give you an example of how he worked. He agreed to solicit one of the bellwether contributors in the West, Mr. Herman Taubman of Tulsa, Oklahoma, whose example would have a major effect on many of his peers in that part of the country. Thus, it was not only the Taubman gift at stake, but a wider circle of other gifts as well. Bill and I met Herman in his suite in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York. The breakfast table was set, and the conversation flowed easily for we all knew each other well. After coffee, Bill got down to brass tacks. The numbers used in such intimate settings were in a shorthand familiar to everyone. \$100,000 was spoken of as "a hundred". \$250,000 was referred to as "a quarter" (of a million). At that level, single digits, i.e. 5, could mean \$500,000 or even five million. Rosenwald asked Taubman if he remembered his last year's contribution, and received the reply, "Yes, it was a quarter." Bill then made his request for 5 this year, and to make certain he was being clear, added "I would like you to raise to 'a half'". The two of them went back and forth for a short while, Herman asking questions why so much more was needed, and Bill replying from his endless reservoir of data. Finally, Herman turned to Bill and played his own card (for Herman was a skilled solicitor himself), saying, "OK, I'll tell you what I'm going to do - I'll give 5 if you give 5." Without any change in demeanor, and after a short pause for reflection, William Rosenwald of Sears, Roebuck fortune, turned to me and said, in the same tone and manner as though he were still negotiating with Taubman, "Well, Herb, it looks as though you're going to have to give 5 also, in order to make this circle complete. Herman will go to 5 if I do, and I'll go to 5, if you do." I was stunned, caught completely by surprise, tried to comprehend what my 5 was supposed to represent, and a flash of insight told me that Bill was fulfilling the role of consummate chairman. He was signalling Herman that every Jew was required to participate financially. My 5 was \$5,000 which was equivalent to their \$500,000. I said yes, with my heart in my mouth, for that sum was 20% of my annual salary. We finished the breakfast with a champagne toast - all of us feeling very good - and that was Bill Rosenwald at his very best.

D. PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK

With the passage of the great names, Lehman, Morgenthau, Warburg and Rosenwald, the era of aristocrats came to an end, and the UJA began its search for "ordinary Rabinoviches", as Baron Edmond de Rothschild characterized the Jewish bourgeoisie. But there were many gradations of "ordinary", and it was preferable for the organization to have as its head a person who could be a symbol to the Jewish community nationwide, and to the general American community as well. Thus, someone with a newsworthy name, whose prominence would add honour to the cause and renown to the world at large, and who, at the same time, possessed strong qualifications of leadership and cogent commitment to Judaism and Israel, was to be sought and mobilized.

At that time, 1960, when Rosenwald stepped down, there were no Jewish presidents of universities (today 4 of the top Ivy League schools have elected men of that ancient heritage of scholars) to be pursued as potential UJA chairperson, so I looked next into the ranks of government service, and one man stood out above all others. A prominent Chicago attorney and businessman, Philip Klutznick devoted much of his life to public service in both domestic and international spheres. By the end of his public career, he had served in various Federal Government posts under seven Presidents, from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Jimmy Carter. He was U.S. representative to UNESCO, with the rank of Ambassador, and a member of the American delegation to the United Nations General Assembly. He was vice-chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, dealing with economic problems in the Third World. He served on the President's Committee for Indo-Chinese Refugees, assisting in the resettlement in the U.S. of scores of thousands fleeing South-east Asia. He was Commissioner of the Federal Public Housing Authority. These were some, not all, of the top posts, and there were also numerous less weighty boards and commissions spread across many decades. And in 1979 he was named by President Carter to be Secretary of Commerce.

His career on the Jewish side was just as massive. To name just a few, he was President of the World Jewish Congress, and later President Emeritus; International President of B'nai Brith, and later Honorary President; President of the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture;

Chairman of the American Committee for Beth Hatefusoth, the Diaspora Museum in Israel. He was an officer of the UJA, the Israel Bond Organization, and many other Israel-connected organizations. He was one of the major builders of the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel, as well as a prime planner of the deep water port of Ashdod and its industrial center. He could perform such feats as these because in the business world his skill lay in the field of real estate development. Many years after the Israeli projects, he conceived and led the development of Chicago's Water Tower Place, a 74-story building that contains the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, 40 floors of condominium apartments, a seven-level shopping mall, offices, theatres and restaurants.

He was just the man possessed of the characteristics, experience and reputation to maintain the credibility of the UJA and the humanitarian work it performed. He and I started a series of conversations, dealing with the job analysis, what would be expected of him, what kinds of things he would never find time for, in view of all the other ongoing commitments detailed above, what the foreseeable crises might be, in Israel, and in the danger zones of the Diaspora, and a small multitude of other technical questions. During these conversations, I grew increasingly enthusiastic about the quality of his potential leadership. His feelings for the Jewish people and for Israel were emotional and deep. His organizational skills were impressive and the oratorical ability had been polished for some decades of public speaking. I was happy at the thought of working with him; made the formal request that he accept the General Chairman's position; and awaited his reply. He asked for time in which to analyze his other obligations, but knew we had a deadline, which was the first week in December, when our annual National Conference took place with an attendance of 3000 people from communities throughout the entire country. At this gathering, the new incoming Chair was presented to the delegates.

In a very short time, he came back with a positive answer, based on one condition. He expressed humble gratitude for having been invited to this prestigious position; promised to work hard; had obtained the acquiescence of his wife and five children; and had a good feeling about offering his strength to Jewish survival. The condition was that President Kennedy at that very moment had Klutznick's name on a short list for a high governmental post, and, if indeed the President were to tap him for

such a position, he felt he would have to accept. Therefore, if I wanted to announce Philip as our new Chairman, taking a gamble that no offer would be coming from Kennedy, Klutznick was willing to go along with that, since there would be no conflict. I thought it over carefully, and decided to take the chance, for the qualities of leadership which he could put at our disposal were too superb to turn down.

To wide-spread public acclaim, he was installed at the National Conference in December, made a stirring inaugural address, and we began to work on the plan for the 1961 campaign. In February 1961 I lost the gamble. Kennedy appointed Adlai Stevenson as U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., and Philip Klutznick as Deputy, with the rank of Ambassador to the Economic and Social Council. Klutznick had previously worked closely with Stevenson, when the latter was Governor of Illinois, and the combination of Kennedy and Stevenson importuning him to get on the team was too much to resist. So, Philip was the Chairman of the UJA for 3 months, the shortest administration in what is the almost 60-year life of the organization. We parted company, but remained good friends and I saw him many times in the years ahead, and worked with him on several projects of mutual interest. But, at that moment, I was in trouble, without a partner.

E. JOSEPH MEYERHOFF

When a risk, once taken, cannot be reversed, and results in a loss, as was the case with Phil Klutznick, the whole organization struggles to overcome the first emotion which sets in - namely, fear. The symbol of leader is missing; the role played by leadership; the contribution of ideas and challenges which the leader brings is absent. Fear translates itself into worry, which, in turn, leads to a sense of desperation, whose consequences are errors in planning and timing. Even if there is present a chief executive officer whose professional hand is on the helm, whose charisma can exude strength, whose vision can fuel the engine, still the absence of the top lay leader results in a large drop in morale. Who could assume the mantle quickly? A few of us huddled - a very short list emerged - there were not many persons in the entire country who could match the calibre of the distinguished list of predecessors. Joe Meyerhoff was on the list, and as we continued to compare and evaluate and judge, it became ever more clear to me that he was the best.

The more I thought about him, the more I realized that I had really made my judgment of him ten years earlier, at that meeting in Jerusalem in September 1950, when the Israel Bond Organization was born. There was an infant government, just finished with a dreadful War of Independence, which had taken the lives of one out of every hundred citizens; now confronted with a prediction that the financial contribution of the Jews of America would dwindle to a meaningless amount; and seeking to find a new avenue of economic support - namely, to offer the Bonds of the Government for sale on the world market. Would it work? Could leaders be found? Would the UJA fight the new organization? Would the local communities cooperate? The discussion went into its third day, with uncertainty and fatigue taking their toll. All through the arguments and speeches, Joe and I and a relatively few others kept stressing the point that the two ventures should function in parallel, dividing up the calendar and the staunchest of Israel's supporters in each community. The UJA need not wither and the new Bond Organization could grow. Israel could have them both, if we kept our nerve and used our brains.

Then Joe Meyerhoff stood and volunteered himself as proof that this theory was correct. He offered to be the chairman of the local UJA/Federation campaign in his home city of Baltimore; and some months after that was completed, to assume the chairmanship of the first Bond campaign in Baltimore. Thus he would demonstrate the legitimacy of both efforts; defuse any opposition from the Federation side; prove that there was enough manpower to fill the ranks of volunteers in both campaigns; and provide an almost constant focus on Israel's needs throughout the entire year, instead of just the few months of the heretofore single campaign. It was a master stroke on his part, for the pall of doubt and uncertainty fell away. The issue was settled. Here was a brilliant example of the true meaning of leadership. One man, with an idea, and a willingness to carry it to reality by his own effort, made all the difference, at a crucial moment in history. A year later, in 1951, when Mr. BenGurion came to the United States to launch the Bond Drive, Joseph Meyerhoff turned his earlier Jerusalem promise into Baltimore action. That year he chaired both campaigns, setting an example for other courageous lay leaders in the country to emulate.

Looking to fill the empty chair at the beginning of 1961, Meyerhoff loomed in my mind as the very best. When invited to become the General Chairman of the UJA, he responded in typical fashion - quickly and affirmatively. In a matter of days he took command, and immediately there was a surge of confidence in the staff and lay committees. His business career had been a brilliant success because of these personal attributes - decisive-ness, farsighted-ness, stubborn-ness mixed in with idealism, compassion and financial generosity. This was an awesome combination of characteristics. When some special need compelled a resolicitation of already top givers, he started off setting an example and asked others to follow. When a mission to Israel or some concentration camp site was planned, he announced from the beginning that he would personally lead it.

Joe's attitude toward Israel was based on an ideology in his family stemming back to his father, Oscar, who had travelled with a small group from his shtetl in eastern Europe to Palestine in 1892 to investigate the possibility of settling there. The poverty, backwardness, filth and poor health conditions turned them off. A brother-in-law died of typhus. The survivors returned to Russia. And the family migrated to the U.S. in the huge movements at the turn of the century. As Joe grew to maturity the Zionist effort to establish a Jewish state won his whole-hearted support. A gathering in Joe's home in 1947 of the very largest contributors in the city was addressed by Moshe Sharett, later to be Israel's foreign minister and then prime minister. A paragraph in a portrait written about Meyerhoff two decades later summed up his philosophy of life and philanthropy: "To Joe it seemed that everything had come together with the establishment of the State of Israel: the religious interests of his father and mother; the social and cultural concerns of his wife and himself; the desire of the Jewish people for a return to their homeland. Much of Joe's largesse on behalf of his fellow Jews now had a tangible focus, for the highest form of charity was to enable someone to become self-sufficient as an individual or as a people among the nations of the world. There was also his family connection with the ancestral land as he remembered his father's valiant effort."

His concept of giving away large sums of money was essentially simple and straightforward. His own words describe it best: "My motto is: the more you give, the more you make. Nobody ever went broke from giving. One fellow told me, 'Because I made all those pledges, I went into

projects that I would never have gone into otherwise, and I made a lot more money than I pledged.' If you believe in the cause deeply enough, if you think it's important enough, then you do what you can. If you believe in certain things, then you either put up or shut up. Fortunately, I have had the means to put up."

He performed so well during his four-year stint that the UJA actually reversed a downward trend and raised the annual contributions. The greatest tribute any chairman could receive was that which a previous chairman was willing to bestow. At a dinner on December 12, 1964, which closed Joe's regime, William Rosenwald, no less, said the following: "We knew you as a congenial companion, as a respected and resourceful businessman, and as one consecrated to the ideal of working for your fellow man. But it was only after you showed us how good you really are that we realized that, high as our opinion of you had been, you had exceeded our expectations. You have travelled unstintingly across the length and breadth of these United States and abroad. You have set a challenge by your generosity. You have inspired our confidence by your wisdom and judgment. You have enlarged the number of our leaders and welded the UJA into an even more effective team."

Joe and I worked very effectively together. The chemistry was just fine, and I came to know his wonderful family, who have maintained his traditions, and even expanded them. His son and daughters have made their own marks. Harvey (Bud) built the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum on the Mall in Washington, and we have remained close to this day. Two years after Joe left the chair, he returned as the second president of the Israel Education Fund, a special branch of the UJA, and performed brilliantly. As his own contribution, he accepted my recommendation to build a chain of free public libraries throughout Israel, and did so happily, knowing how this would help elevate the educational standards of the country.

When he died, at the age of 85, his funeral service filled Meyerhoff Symphony Hall, which had been his gift to the City of Baltimore. Twelve hundred mourners, including the Governor, Mayor, Senators and many of the craftsmen who had worked with him in earlier years, came to pay their last respects. I was invited to give a eulogy and based it on the passage in 2 Samuel 3:38, in which King David wept at the grave of Abner, his beloved

general. And David said to his soldiers: "You well know that a great Prince in Israel has fallen this day." Joseph Meyerhoff was a great prince in Israel, a civil servant of world Jewry, and we shall remember him with love.

E. MAX M. FISHER

He was born in 1908 in Salem, Ohio, a small town 62 miles west of Pittsburgh, originally founded by Quakers, which contained 18,000 souls, including 5 Jewish families. His father was a poor Russian immigrant who started as a peddler, and after a year had sufficient money to bring his wife to America, who, after another year brought their son into the world. The story is so typical of three million immigrants who flooded this country between 1881 and 1914 as to be absolutely unexceptional. But that word does not apply to the Fisher boy, who became one of the most exceptional Jewish leaders of this century.

Max's Jewish environment was minimal. There was neither synagogue nor Hebrew school, so he had no Bar Mitzvah, and learned nothing of basic Judaism. His father conducted a family Seder for Passover, and his mother lighted candles on Friday night. The fundamental commandment of charity was represented by the traditional blue-white tin box of the Jewish National Fund standing on the kitchen shelf, into which a coin was occasionally dropped to plant a tree in Palestine. And yet it was clear to everyone in town that the family was Jewish. In the high school yearbook, the designation under Max's picture was "Rabbi", not intended to be pejorative in any manner, but simply a matter of identity. He was tall and husky, played center on the football team, and quite popular, which was unusual for a young man naturally shy and retiring.

One June day almost 50 years later, Max returned to Salem for a high school reunion celebration at which he was given the award as outstanding alumnus. Following the banquet Fisher was called upon to speak. His biographer Peter Golden has written: "By then Max had given hundreds of political and philanthropic speeches, yet he still was not a natural speaker; every pause and inflection was noted on his script. He concluded: 'It occurred to me one day as I stood in the city of Jerusalem that I had only come from my boyhood Salem to the original city of Salem. Jerusalem: City of Peace. Salem: peace. I can only hope that some of the

things I have been privileged to do since my high school days have added a little to the cause of 'Salem', of peace, of *shalom*. And I am delighted to be able to come back here to a place that in a sense I never left, where I learned that people are important, and say *shalom* again.' The audience rewarded him with a standing ovation."

The family moved, first to Cleveland and ultimately to Detroit, where Max prospered and took his place among the community leaders, both Jewish and general. He rose in the ranks and in 1957 was appointed chairman of the Jewish Welfare Federation of Detroit, the central organization in the city. He had earned this top position through diligent attention to the details of the many member agencies, as well as successful fund-raising. At the same time he came to the attention of the United Foundation, the general community's umbrella organization, whose leaders learned from Max the Jewish community's secret of "card calling" as the best route to handsome campaign results. Soon Max became chairman of the United Foundation.

As he rose in prominence in his home town, he soon became known to me at National UJA headquarters, and an interesting episode occurred accidentally. He and I met at New York's Idlewild Airport (later renamed John F. Kennedy) enroute to London. We were booked on the same airplane, a Pan-American Flying Clipper, whose configuration included two private bedrooms, at a price of \$500 above the first-class fare. Max had engaged one of them, and I was seated back in the coach section. Once aloft, after an appropriate time, I went forward to visit briefly with him. We talked in detail about his Detroit experiences, his impulses to work for the good of his fellow-human and fellow-Jew, the satisfactions, the nervousness of speech-making, the concept of the leader's personal generosity as a stimulus to other givers, and on and on about the business of fund-raising. Hours went by, and gradually the conversation shifted from Detroit to the national scene. I began to weave the story of how the national UJA campaign was organized, how the single most important element was lay leadership, how I was always seeking new talent, how crucial it was for a national leader to have local roots, so that many other local leaders could be encouraged to expand into national work, and thus came to the climax of my request that he, Max, should think of enlarging his stage and moving into the wider American arena. Almost the whole night went by, and in later

years, whenever we would think of that fateful evening and where it had led him in his public career, he would sum it up by saying that it had cost him \$500 to lose a night's sleep listening to my seduction. But it worked, and from that moment Max was launched on the way to the premier position in Jewish public life, both in America and in Israel.

Even though the State of Israel was already established, there was still a considerable level of discussion in the U.S. on the subject of dual loyalty - i.e. could one be loyal to a foreign country (Israel) or tied to it through any combination of emotion, religion, historic memory, while at the same time one was a citizen of another country (United States). Was there not a fundamental conflict? Could this not be a possible cause for anti-semitism? Dual loyalty was the banner flown by the sharply anti-Zionist and anti-Israel organization called "The American Council for Judaism", whose leader was Lessing Rosenwald, the brother of UJA's own William Rosenwald. The two brothers, incidentally, agreed never to talk about this subject, for their disagreement was fundamental and irreconcilable.

There were many distinguished American Jews who were not haunted by the charge of dual allegiance. Louis Dembitz Brandeis, for one, the first Jew to sit on the Supreme Court, raised in Louisville, Kentucky, graduated from Harvard, totally assimilated into American culture stated that his approach to Zionism was "through Americanism...To be good Americans we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews we must become Zionists. Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed...unless there be established....a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future."

Said the biographer Golden, "Fisher, like Brandeis, was bicultural, at ease among Jews and Gentiles. Where Brandeis's views of the compatibility between Zionism and American ideals sprang from his philosophical bent, Fisher the utilitarian, the businessman, grounded his belief in the realpolitik. By the time he became general chairman of the UJA, he was convinced that the policies of Israel were not only in harmony with U.S. foreign policy, but complemented it."

"Jews would come", recalls Fisher, "and argue with me. They used to say: 'If the U.S. attacked Israel, what would you do?' That's silly. The United States is not going to attack Israel. There's no hang-up there. I can be a good citizen of the United States and be a supporter of Israel at the same time. Israel is something that I love. It's something that the Jewish people have dreamt about; they wanted a homeland. Where's the dual allegiance."

Conflict erupted periodically between the UJA and one community or another over the allocation of the joint campaign proceeds. I have explained this in sufficient detail in an earlier chapter. Fisher's abiding theme was unity. He would say that there is more that unites us than divides. He knew that the emotional tug of Israel and other emergencies for endangered Jews in various countries around the globe produced the larger gifts to the campaign. He stated often that if you asked a \$10,000 giver to the old folk's home for an increase, you might get another thousand or two. But if Israel were in some kind of trouble, or a big exodus of Jews from some country was underway, the \$10,000 giver might well be persuaded to contribute \$50,000. So, he admitted that the UJA pull was by far stronger than the local needs pull. Yet, he said, unity was the most important principle, for it preserved the group, and compromises were the valuable tool to reduce conflict. When he saw me coming close to a serious argument with a given community, he would always ask me to remember that peace was preferable to war. Although we sometimes disagreed, Max and I never went to war.

Because of his coolness, experience, and political clout, Max moved to the peak of every major organization in an unprecedented manner. Abraham Karp, in his history of Jews in America entitled "Haven and Home", wrote: "Fisher came to national leadership through activity as president of the Detroit Jewish Welfare Federation. He went on to become president of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds after serving as chairman of the United Jewish Appeal. Later he became chairman of the reconstituted Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, as well as chairman of the executive of the American Jewish Committee. He thus held leadership positions in all the power bases of the American Jewish community. He was ubiquitous. No major policy decision was made without him. Someone titled him the Dean of American Jewry.

As a final word, let it also be said that he held enormous political power in the U.S. Government, through his influence in the Republican Party. Beginning with President Eisenhower, whom he invited to a UJA National Conference in 1955, and resuming with Presidents Ford, Nixon, Raegan and Bush, he was the #1 Jew in the U.S. with whom the top officials wanted to consult when there was a matter involving the Jewish people or Israel. His weight permeated every level - Cabinet Secretaries, Chiefs of Staff, top bureaucrats in Departments of State, Defense and Treasury. Max Fisher gave all the time and energy needed to serve his people and the Holy Land. No higher compliment can be given.

G. SUCCESSIVE CHAIRMEN

Following Max Fisher, there have been 14 chairmen, each serving a two-year term. Every one of these persons deserves a much more detailed accolade than space permits, for each gave tremendous contributions of time, energy and devotion, all of which the job demanded and all of which they supplied without hesitation. Medals are not bestowed by the UJA, but perhaps they should be, for these men served far above and beyond the normal call of duty. Let me, at least, record their names for posterity.

<u>Edward Ginsberg</u>	1968-71	Lawyer, Cleveland
<u>Paul Zuckerman</u>	1972-74	Businessman, Detroit
<u>Frank R. Lautenberg</u>	1975-77	U.S.Senator, New Jersey
<u>Leonard R. Strelitz</u>	1977-78	Businessman, Norfolk
<u>Irwin S. Field</u>	1978-80	Manufacturer, Los Angeles
<u>Herschel W. Blumberg</u>	1980-82	Real Estate, Washington
<u>Robert E. Loup</u>	1982-84	Real Estate, Denver
<u>Alexander Grass</u>	1984-86	Rite-Aid Drugs, Harrisburg
<u>Martin F. Stein</u>	1986-88	New York City
<u>Morton A. Kornreich</u>	1988-90	Insurance, New York City
<u>Marvin Lender</u>	1990-92	Bakery, New Haven, CT.
<u>Joel D. Tauber</u>	1992-94	Investments, Detroit
<u>Richard L. Pearlstone</u>	1994-96	Aspen, CO.
<u>Richard L. Wexler</u>	1996-	Lawyer, Chicago

WOMEN'S DIVISION

Chapter 9 Section 7

In a major article I once wrote for Moment Magazine on the structure and functioning of the UJA, I urged that women should be promoted into the very top leadership. It was incomprehensible to me that educated, motivated and experienced womanpower should be left to function on a single-gender slice of the total population, instead of being mobilized into the widest possible multi-gender pool of potential contributors. Let me quote a paragraph from that article:

“Women have figured prominently in UJA and local Federation work from the beginning, when the national chairperson of the women’s division was Adele Rosenwald Levy. Women have also risen to the top as chairpersons of campaigns and presidents of local federations in the largest Jewish communities in the country, including New York and Los Angeles. And women have organized a National Women’s Young Leadership Cabinet independent of the Men’s Young Leadership Cabinet, which had been formed years earlier.

The notable gap in this record of women’s achievements lies at the apex of the national UJA structure. Not one woman has been invited, in more than a half-century of work, to serve as National Chair of the UJA, or chief executive officer, or president. This cannot be explained by lack of ability or inadequate commitment. Women’s divisions over the decades have raised more than \$2 billion. The UJA must bring more women into the executive committee, other key committees and thus into the top positions of general Chair and president of the Board.”

In an effort to delve into the nuances of this strange situation, and to understand in depth what was really happening, I assembled a trio of the most knowledgeable and devoted women, whose total experience covered almost the entire span of existence of the UJA, two of whom had been National Chairs of the Division at different periods, and the other a long-time professional director of the Division. They were possessed of all the skills in soliciting face-to-face, organizing missions abroad, speech-making,

training, inspiring new recruits, and above all else, calmness, grace and self-confidence. Matilda Brailove, the Women's Chair in the early 1950's; Harriett Sloane, Chair in the 1980's; and Nan Goldberg Greenblatt, professional over several decades, gathered in my office, around a tape recorder, for many hours one spring day, and we conducted a free-wheeling round-table discussion, focussed around nine questions I had previously given them to stimulate their thoughts.

The trigger questions were:

1. How did the Women's Division first get started?
2. How much money has the Division produced on average per year, or the total over all the years?
3. What is the rationale for a separate women's campaign? Isn't it simply the same money coming from the same family pocket (with the exception of business and professional women who earn their own money)?
4. Why has there never been a woman General Chair of the National Campaign (as has occurred in many local Federations and in the National Council of Federations)?
5. Is there any feeling that women are discriminated against in the various policy-making boards and committees of the UJA?
6. Tell some anecdotes of major achievements in women's division history.
7. How is women's fund-raising conducted? Are there dollar level meetings? Wealthy widow meetings? Face-to-face solicitations?
8. What is the success of women's division missions to Israel?
9. Do you have any new ideas which have not yet been tried? Do you have any suggestions for changes and improvements?

The form of our meeting was quite simple - really just a conversation in which everyone spoke naturally and easily, with myself occasionally asking

a question to prod a particular thought along. Therefore, what follows is not a verbatim report, rather a flow.

Q. 1 - How did the Women's Division get started?

A. After the war, when the shattering facts of the Holocaust became widely known, and the gradual accumulation of the survivors into displaced persons camps made it possible to visit them, Adele Rosenwald Levy, the sister of William Rosenwald who was one of the three founding officers of the UJA, was the first woman to go to Europe, especially Germany and Austria where most of the DP camps were situated. She came back, filled with electricity and energy, determined to go all over America speaking to women, arousing their sympathy by describing what she had seen, and urging them to hold meetings to raise money to alleviate hunger and suffering.

A. (another voice) American women during the war had gone into war work, either in factories or into various organizational efforts such as selling Liberty Bonds, staffing USO canteens, volunteering in hospitals for wounded veterans, or the like. Suddenly, after the war, Jewish women who had grown accustomed to community service, were now called upon to organize on behalf of the surviving remnant overseas. And they responded beautifully. By 1946, a wide-spread operation was in full swing.

A. (another voice) It was decided to base the campaign on luncheons with a \$100 minimum contribution per person. That was a lot of money for a woman in those days. And in that first year, with Adele Levy speaking at scores of luncheons, we raised about \$12 or \$14 million. The total campaign for that year was \$102 million, so the women's share was over 13%. That was a tremendous beginning.

A. (another voice) Yes, especially since there was some opposition to our effort. The major Jewish women's organizations already in existence for some years did not want another competitor on the block, no matter how valid was the new cause. And the men's division of the UJA thought a separate women's appeal would interfere with the proceeds of the regular campaign. There were times during the first few years when it faltered in spite of the strong beginning, and it looked as though it would not go

forward. But it stabilized because we had a lot of history going for us - the 1947 UN vote for the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States, and the War of Independence in 1948 - and also because I determined, just having become the National Women's Chair in 1949, that I was not going to preside over our disappearance from the stage. We overcame and went on to a magnificent future..

Q. 2 - How much money has the Division produced on average per year, or the total over all the years?

A. Because the data were kept differently in various cities, and even in the UJA headquarters, where Women's money was credited to different divisions, we can only make approximations. But our very best guess is that during the 45 years of work (1946-1991), we raised \$1 billion in the first 35 years, and another \$1 billion in the next ten years. That kind of acceleration was due to the increased efficiency of our operation, as we learned better techniques and worked harder. These figures represent the actual dollars as far as we could trace them.

But we know we are responsible for large amounts of additional money which never show up in Women's Division totals, simply because these are new men's gifts which are brought in by women and credited to various men's divisions. We may have been responsible for garnering even more contributions from men than we did from women. We know, from innumerable conversations with our officers and workers, how it happens. The woman sits at the family dinner table and tells about her day - what she did for the campaign that day. Her enthusiasm and the radiations of good feeling she has about herself as a result of what she is doing reach out to her children and husband. And this subtle stimulus is often demonstrated at fund-raising meetings when the husband, responding to his name being called, rises and announces that he had planned to contribute X, but his wife has influenced him to give Y. So, we women do our own direct fund-raising, but we also have a wider effect on the men as well, and there is no way to keep track of the amount we raise in that area.

Q. 3 - What is the rationale for a separate Women's campaign?

A. - The reality is that in very many Jewish households a woman has disposable income of her own. Either she earns it herself, or she manages the household budget, and makes many financial decisions herself. Admittedly, there is a point of view which says that, even though there may be two earners in a family, there should be only one contribution to the campaign - a joint family gift. This argument states that we do everything as a family, handle all our finances jointly, and this policy should also prevail regarding our philanthropies. I think it is a great loss, not only in some dollars to the UJA, but also to the quality of Jewish life in that family.

A. (another voice) - Some years ago, in Tampa, Florida there was a case which illustrates this issue. A young couple, both good earners and both well disposed to the campaign, still insisted on the joint family single gift approach and lobbied for the dissolution of the separate Women's Division. By the end of three years, the total campaign had dropped so precipitously that the Women's Division was re-instated, and within one year the results came back to previous levels. The determining factor was the number of volunteer workers. Without the stimulation of a women's organization, large numbers of women workers gradually drifted away from participating in the campaign, leaving all the work to the men. When the women's division was restored, many flooded back to the system.

A. (another voice) - In my opinion, the whole clue to successful campaigning is the philosophy that every individual Jewish person, man, woman and child, is responsible and commanded by Jewish law and tradition to make his/her personal contribution to the welfare of the entire Jewish people. It's like in olden days, when every Jew in the world was expected to contribute 1/2 shekel per year to the Temple in Jerusalem. In today's world, young adults often inherit large sums from a parent or grandparent, and they must be educated in the principle that they themselves must make suitable contributions. The same policy certainly applies to widows who inherit large sums. If, all their married lives they had simply left it to their husbands to make a joint family gift, they would not have developed the necessary emotional and intellectual comprehension of their personal Jewish responsibility. Had they been making their own annual gifts, then at the time they sadly were alone and possessed of a large inheritance, they would have been able to understand when an appeal would

be made to them for an appropriately large gift. Individual giving is the clue to a stronger total Jewish community.

A. (another voice) - I would like to offer an additional piece of evidence to the thesis Harriett has stated. When Project Renewal was started some years ago, to link individual donors to individual projects being undertaken in urban slum areas in Israel, the Women's Division initiated the idea of awarding to every woman who made an extra gift of \$2500 (payable over 5 years) an unusually handsome calligraphed scroll testifying to that woman's personal commitment to the people of Israel. Those scrolls were prepared in our office and sent to the communities requesting them for their local women donors. We sent out close to 10,000 such scrolls, which represented a total of \$25 million. Through examples such as this, and through the constant educational work we do, we can sense how well the caring women have learned the joy of giving, the joy of sharing. I see every day that women who work on campaign have made important personal growth. They learn a psychological truth about themselves and their abilities, as well as a financial truth about their independence and judgment.

Q. 4 - Why has there never been a woman as General Chair of the UJA?

A. - I think there is a total lack of consideration, perhaps even a denial of the value of women as top leaders. There is even neglect of placing women in top roles at national conferences or any opportunity to show women off as successful campaigners. They briefly considered one woman as a possible Chair, but quickly dropped the idea. The JDC later selected that woman as their world-wide Chairperson of the Board.

A. (another voice) In my opinion, the UJA officers have simply thought of the Women's Division as an autonomous constituent group which runs itself very well, and which they leave alone. They don't really think of us very much, and the good side of that is they don't interfere with our organization. We have our staff which has never been touched; we have no restrictions; we create and execute our own programs and ideas. We just keep getting better, our structure gets stronger and we're somewhat recognized. Some women, including myself, have been appointed National Vice-Chair, of which there are about 75 persons, and among them about 10 women. We're not given high praise or visibility, but when a general meeting of all officers

is called, there are several women to be seen. In the local Federations, women rise to the very top positions because they are quickly recognized as efficient, devoted and idealistic. In the national UJA it's different.

(another voice) Oh, those men haven't gotten out of the Dark Ages yet. (another voice) Well, perhaps it's just benign neglect. I don't know.

(another voice) We don't protest. They leave us alone to do our work, and we leave them alone. Perhaps we should make some sort of revolt.

(another voice) We're searching for an answer, and we're not coming up with one.

(H.A.F. intervenes) - So, why don't you wake up? I think that if the men are indifferent or thoughtless or denying or neglectful or whatever you want to say, either mildly or critically, forget about trying to analyze them. Look at yourselves. Analyze yourselves and determine whether you have pushed hard enough. You might find that you would be pushing through a reasonably easy door to open. I don't know, but I do know that without an effort on your part it won't happen.

(another voice) - Before we leave this subject, I (Nan) want to relate a marvelous experience which illustrates our problem. They were writing up a campaign plan booklet this year, about 70 pages, to be published in a beautiful blue binder, to be distributed nation-wide, and I was sent some material for my comments. There was a very long section on major gifts, detailing the various kinds of major gifts functions being planned. In the Women's Division we have four different kinds of major gifts events, at the levels of \$5000, \$10,000, \$18,000 and \$25,000, and not one of these was listed. I protested vigorously and demanded an explanation. The explanation was that major gifts was in the portfolio of one of the Assistant Vice-Presidents, and he doesn't supervise the Women's Division, so there is no reason for any of the Women's events to be included in that section. I was told we could list our events in our own separate corner where all the other Women's material was gathered. How about that!

Q. 5 - Is there any feeling that women are discriminated against?

A. - If there is such a feeling I (Matilda) will be damned if I want to fight my way through that feeling in order to get to the top. I like my friend Golda's crack - "nobody can liberate me; I have to liberate myself." Well- I

just don't feel, with my record, that I have to fight to be recognized. I'll just stay in my little cocoon.

A. (another voice) Is it possible to reword the question? It's the word "discriminate" that I have trouble with. I just think they are insensitive. Why don't we just leave the question, and go forward.

Q. 6 - Relate some anecdotes of major achievements in Women's Division history.

A. - Well, there is one good story when Marilyn Brown was the Chair. I forget the year, but it was when the subject of Project Renewal came up for discussion at the UJA Executive Committee. This was a multi-hundreds-of-millions program to repair slums in Israeli cities, to strengthen immigrant towns, and to match American-Jewish communities with sister cities and neighborhoods in Israel. It was proposed by Prime Minister Begin, some say as a gesture to win political support from the masses of Sephardic immigrants, but objectively speaking, to improve the housing of an underprivileged class. The Committee was arguing as to whether this new project was too big to handle, or might hurt the regular annual campaign, or was too complex to mobilize scores of American communities, etc., etc. Marilyn got up and said, in essence: Gentlemen, if it frightens you, or you don't think you can make a go of it, or whatever, just give it to us. I will take the responsibility of saying that the Women's Division will undertake it all alone. Then they decided that the UJA ought to try it. She truly acted as a leader.

A. - (another voice) Tell the story of the Lion of Judah, Harriett. You're the one who brought it about.

A. - (another voice) Well, the Lion of Judah was created by the Miami Women's Division more than 20 years ago as a device to shore up a sagging campaign. It was to be worn as a pin, a piece of jewelry, signifying that the wearer had contributed \$5000, and could be worn so long as the woman continued to contribute that amount annually. Seventy of these pins were sold in the first year. By the next year, sales went into the hundreds. And as word of this spread to other cities, the idea was suggested that we should take it over as a National project. Our Executive Committee had a

heated discussion, with both sides, pro and con, equally passionate. Then Miami said that if the UJA didn't want to take it, perhaps they should give it to the Federation system. That turn caused us to rethink, and we offered to help with the promotion and monitoring, but would not "own" the idea.

This continued for a few years, and as the pressure grew it was obvious that the pin had great appeal, was an outstanding fund-raising device, and that we should take it over as a National insignia, with a National logo inscribed on it. Then it developed a life of its own, with some communities suggesting that diamond chips should be added and the price raised to \$10,000, while the further addition of a ruby eye in the New York community jumped it to \$25,000. Well, at that point, I, who had resolutely refused to wear the pin (even though I was contributing annually much more than that) put on my Lion of Judah, and agreed that we should try a national meeting in Washington at the \$25,000 level. We had 60 women come from all over the country. Today thousands of women wear the Lion.

When I appeared before the New York City executive committee to seek their formal approval to undertake a city-wide promotion, the discussion degenerated into the "piece of jewelry" argument of several years earlier. My answer was clear and unequivocal. I refused to talk about the quality of the gold pin. Instead I described it as a medal worn for outstanding conduct, an emblem of commitment. Lo and behold, it passed by one vote. Today it is very popular, and actually helps women who are embarrassed to do face-to-face solicitation, to use the pin as a more subtle device by which to ask another woman to make a contribution of that size. All anyone need do is to answer the inevitable question, "What is that pin you are wearing?"

The Lion of Judah has been adopted by Canada, Mexico, Argentina and many other countries, and has really become an international symbol of women's major contributions.

A. - (another voice) Let me tell an anecdote about Elaine Winik who was Chair of the Division in 1973. She pushed for a women's mission to go to Israel immediately after the Yom Kippur War concluded, and got it organized very quickly. Speed in seizing a historic moment is one of the crucial aspects of leadership, and she possessed it. The men were furious, complaining that they should be going first, but they were nowhere near ready, so we went. What do you think we took? What mothers would take: handmade woolen helmets, warm sweaters and warm socks, because we had

heard that troops would be remaining on Mt. Hermon above the Golan Heights at least through the winter and it was freezing cold up there.

The mission was tremendously successful. Our people were shocked and inspired; the Israelis were so happy to see us; we gathered material for future speeches; we geared up for a huge campaign to start as soon as we got home. Just before leaving, Sylvia went to dinner in Jerusalem at the house of friends, a general and his wife. The wife asked what we had brought, and Sylvia told about one woman who had brought eight dozen pairs of worm socks. The general said, that woman is smart and ought to become the National Chair of the Women's Division. Sylvia said, she's already been.

Q. 7. - How is women's fund-raising conducted? Are there dollar-level meetings? Wealthy widow meetings? Face-to-face solicitations?

A. - Let me (Nan) answer this:

1. We have a very extensive training program for all our major gift workers, and during the session on soliciting, we do role playing, but it's not pseudo - it's real - i.e. real soliciting is taking place, which means that our major workers are making their own gifts first.

2. We have a process called suite solicitation, in which one of our Board members goes to a community, which has been selected in advance, for lots of preliminary work must be done, and she is joined by a local woman who has also been well trained. The two of them work in a hotel suite, to which women prospects are brought every half hour, and are individually solicited for their current gift. All persons involved do participate willingly. They understand the importance of what they are doing. They are leadership, and they know that their gifts must be registered first and with the largest possible increase, for the timing and size of their contributions will set the pace for the entire local community's Women's Division. The first prospect brought in is the local Women's Chair, and she remains for all the subsequent prospects to see and hear what she has done. In two days time, about 20 major gifts can be solicited, hopefully for increases of as much as 25 to 30%

3. There is a special mission to Israel for 8 days to which we invite the Woman's Chair and women's professional director of the 40 largest Jewish communities in the U.S. We bring along two of our Board members who have had specific training and can lead workshops in

soliciting, speaking, allocations, campaign planning and other subjects of value to us. And we help the two community leaders to plan their local schedules, according to their local problems. Thus we can gather data on what they will need from us, and we can plan how best to serve them in the months ahead. And, of course, we try to solicit all 80 of them during the eight days in Israel. Lastly, they gather stories, vignettes, future speakers whom they wish to have brought to their communities, and general background information about the critical needs of that moment in Israel's history.

4. Another method of solicitation is called caucus, which is an open meeting of a group of people, either the members of a particular committee, or a Board, or returnees from a mission - any group with a high degree of commitment, or high state of emotion (such as mission returnees). Such a group does not wish merely to make an announcement publicly of their gifts. Rather do they want to talk, briefly or even at length, about their feelings, motivations, thoughts - about what moves them, what gets under their skin, why they work and give. It is sort of like a therapy session, in which they pour out their innermost thoughts and emotions. Having indulged in this catharsis, they sometimes find themselves giving more money than they intended in the first place. The caucus is most successful in Israel itself, best held after four or five days of intense experiences, and a day before the end of the mission. We learned from experience that you must leave enough time for everyone around the table to have the opportunity of unloading their feelings. If you have 25 people, you might need as much as four or five hours. But its worth it, because the giving is phenomenal.

5. There is the classic method of calling the cards. We do this at larger meetings, and particularly at our National Palm Beach event in the winter. It consists of calling the name aloud of every woman in the room, one by one, and she stands in response to the call, to announce her gift. Once again, this is a voluntary action, for she knows in advance that this is the methodology and by attending, she agrees to be part of it. There is one caveat as far as this method is concerned. There must be a substantial effort to achieve individual solicitations days in advance of the meeting. The person at the podium calling the cards must be skillful in arranging the cards, so that three or four people in a row are called, whose gifts are known to the caller, and they show good increases, which the caller emphasizes. Then one or two cards are called which have not been pre-solicited, but it

usually works out that such a person falls into line, and having heard several gifts being announced with X% increase, there is a good possibility that the next person will go along with that subliminal suggestion. As a rule of thumb, at least one-third of the attendees must be pre-solicited, and one-half would be even better.

6. The best method of all is the face-to-face solicitation. It is the hardest thing to do, not a very natural thing to do, even the most devoted workers don't like to do it, but it is absolutely the best, because there is the opportunity to uncover grievances, to rebut the usual excuses, to sell the case with more detailed arguments, and to use the ultimate power, which is the personal friendship prevailing between the solicitor and the prospect. The trouble with this method is the paucity of campaign workers who are both willing and able. It takes great self-confidence, easy charm, even charisma, lots of knowledge about the world-wide condition of Jews and Israel, verbal skill and a thick skin so that a refusal from a prospect doesn't incapacitate you for the next prospect. We have a pool of about 80 good solicitors whom we can send, not only to prospects whom they know, but to strangers in far-off cities. I don't think the Men's Division has that number of top solicitors.

Q. 8 - What is the success of Women's Division missions to Israel?

A. - When we run them, they are all very successful, from the point of view of both inspiration and financial results. The problem is that the numbers we get are less than in previous years. We have to work far harder to recruit the number we would like to have on a mission, whether it's a \$10,000 mission, or a general mission, or our Board mission. The major reason is that the number of opportunities for people to go on missions keeps expanding. In the beginning, it was only the UJA which pioneered with the mission concept and was capable of arranging the logistics. Now almost every Federation in the country runs its own community mission, as do the regional organizations. And both of these sponsors accept husbands and wives, which we do not. Synagogues run missions for families, and the UJA itself runs family missions, as do the Young Leadership Cabinets, both Men's and Women's. Imitation is the best form of flattery, as the saying goes. Therefore, with the proliferation of missions, and the number of participants ranging between 8 to 10,000 persons per year, we must be satisfied with the three or four missions we do per year, with an average of

70 persons on each. And we are certainly satisfied with the reactions which our missions do generate.

Q. 9 - Do you have any suggestions for changes and improvements?

A. - Regionalization. We need to create in the nine (9) regions of the U.S. a mirror image of our national structure. For this we must find the proper people - intelligent, devoted, deeply caring Jewesses who will work hard learning the necessary skills. This will be an enormous task, but it will pay great dividends. For example, in Fanny Schaenen's vast Texas-Southwest region (she is a former National Chair) there is only one member of our national Board. Actually we should have two dozen qualified leaders who could do training, teach soliciting skills, organize missions and all the other basic work of campaigning. From such a number, we could always have a flow of the very best being promoted to our national Board. Failing this, what we do get are nominations to the Board from the various communities, who send us largely unqualified people whom they are trying to "honor" but who don't do us very much good. If we could duplicate our national structure all over the country, with perhaps 100 women, the campaign would raise millions more.

Women who have inherited wealth.

We have tried a variety of methods, plans, ideas to reach these widows, in whose hands 60 to 70% of the wealth of America rests. Here and there we have had some success, but it has been haphazard. We have never devised a system which operated methodically and consistently. This failure is our greatest frustration.

Reduce the overall structure of the National UJA.

The Board, Cabinet and Vice-Chair lists are all too large and therefore relatively useless. They give a turgid feeling to the organization and cannot serve as vehicles for sharp discussion. A National Vice-Chair consisting of approximately 75 persons cannot decide anything. It is merely a list on the letterhead. Marvin Lender, one of the most effective of recent General Chairmen, had a kitchen cabinet of seven men. All major policy decisions were made by this group. Tightening up the structure would be an invigorating act which would create a higher energy level.

UJA should return to being a fund-raising organization.

We have become largely a management center, cooperating with local Federations, offering them services such as speakers, advertising, an occasional film, a few national missions into which they can feed their local people, and various other campaign aids. All of this is good, but it is not direct fund-raising, which is left to the local Federation. The UJA must run exciting, glamorous, national events which can capture the imagination of all the Federations, raise huge sums at such events, which can enthuse the local campaigns to follow. The UJA once held center stage with its annual December Conferences, which attracted thousands of people to a three day affair, which were usually built around events in history, and which provided opportunities for small fund-raising functions where tens of millions were raised. There was once a small fund-raising lunch at the "21" Club, where the minimum gift, openly printed on the invitation card, was one-quarter million dollars. The UJA seems to have lost some of this sense of excitement, and given up on center stage. The old image must be recaptured.

The UJA must run its own separate campaign in any city where the allocation from the local campaign has fallen too low.

This is a very hard question to face, and indeed suggests a revolution of major dimensions, but there has been such a deterioration in the division of funds, as between the local and overseas shares of the joint campaign, that some sort of drastic action is almost mandatory by now. Historically there existed a general understanding that a 50-50 split represented an honorable expression of the local-overseas relationship. Some communities (Washington, D.C. particularly) very proudly offered 70 overseas-30 local. They preferred to express their devotion to the upbuilding of Israel in this fashion, which fact the UJA advertised widely in an effort to induce other communities to follow suit. Some cities slipped into a reverse pattern, and a slide started, to 40-60, in favor of the local. When Los Angeles lowered the ratio to 35-65, in the late 1950's, the then-Executive Vice-Chairman, Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, flew to a special meeting of the L.A. Federation Board, to state that this was unacceptable to the UJA, and unless remedial steps were taken to reverse this trend, he would recommend to the UJA that it should separate from the Federation as amicably as possible, and run its own campaign for Israel and the JDC in Los Angeles. He made his plea on the basis of the needs of the new State, its recent second war, and the huge

influx of immigrants every month. Los Angeles backed off, gradually readjusted its allocation process, and slowly raised the overseas share. The immediate crisis between the community and UJA was averted, but in recent years the problem has grown even more acute, with L.A. reducing its share to approximately 20%. Incidentally, Rabbi Friedman had a similar experience with Chicago, a few years after the L.A. confrontation, and again suggested a withdrawal from the Federation. Once again, the earnestness and seriousness of the UJA position prevailed; and the allocation percentage improved. Happily, the situation in Chicago continued to improve and over the years the Chicago campaign became one of the most successful in the country and the allocation to overseas needs remains totally fair

Today the UJA does not struggle with the communities over the allocation process. It might not want to go so far as to suggest separation from the joint campaign, but at very least it should take a much more vigorous posture, and should argue, in advance of a given annual campaign, what the UJA share will be. Such a stronger attitude and negotiating position would produce millions of more dollars.



Re-do first paragraph,
according to Francine's
recollections

SETTLING IN - FIRST JOBS

Construction of the house in Caesarea was well under way, and we even had a ^{hypothetical} ~~theoretical~~ move-in date of Chanukah 1971. The boys were gradually adjusting to the school routine, and Francine was starting her work with Maskit. Her integration into a new society, culture, language, etc., was the best of anyone in the family. She had friends, a challenging career lying ahead, and an aptitude for running the Jerusalem apartment with elan and efficiency.

Thus, it was time for me to settle into whatever was to become my routine. The alteration of my original concept of running the UJA from Israel was to reach its climax in New York in December, as described in Chapter 9, Section 4 above. I remained in my lovely office in the Jewish Agency building, with the memories of its earlier occupant, David Ben Gurion, sending shivers up my spine every time I walked through the door. But all my previous years of having been so thoroughly engaged at the heart of the state-building activity made it impossible ~~for me~~ simply to sit in that historic room and think about glorious actions of the past. What should I be seeking to do now? The answer shaped up in a very natural manner.

Over the previous years I had grown very friendly with Pinchas Sapir, the Finance Minister of the government, and Louis Pincus, the chairman of the Jewish Agency. The connections between us were organic, deriving from my function in UJA to raise money and their function to spend it for the immigrant absorption and social welfare needs. The three of us enjoyed a closely interwoven pattern of actions which bonded us in a web of mutual reliance. When I learned that the chairmanship of the World Keren Hayesod was open, due to the death (I think) of the previous incumbent, it seemed the most natural solution in the world for me to offer myself as the most qualified candidate in the world.

The World Keren Hayesod was the global counterpart of the UJA in the United States, and much older, having been proposed among the very first of the panoply of organizations suggested at the First Zionist Congress in Basle, Switzerland in 1897. The campaigns of the W.K.H. extended

throughout South America, all the countries of Western Europe, many in Eastern Europe, Australia and South Africa. While there existed, of course, individual offices in the capitals of all these countries, still the world-wide Headquarters was established in Jerusalem and the Chairman was located there, albeit traveling constantly throughout the constituencies. The annual fund-raising results varied considerably, depending upon the energy and creativity emanating from the Headquarters. I felt I could do the job credit, having in mind the many innovative methods I had developed in the U.S., which I knew were not in use ~~of~~ⁱⁿ many of the K.H. countries, and which I could introduce to them.

Therefore, I felt quite at ease in suggesting to Sapir and Pincus that here I was, now living in Jerusalem, with all the previous experience in fund-raising, and available as a candidate for the K.H. chairmanship. Further, I had met some of the country directors in England, France and Austria, as well as South Africa, where I had visited three times to assist them in their campaigns. And I knew a fairly wide cross-section of the top lay leadership in England and South Africa. With all of this knowledge about these countries, and with some ideas in my head of the improvements which I had observed as being badly needed, I presumed to predict to my two friends that I could triple the K.H. income within the next three years. They were delighted at the prospect, very appreciative of the advantages in bringing UJA skills to K.H.

After several days, we met again and they raised the question, with some embarrassment, of my Zionist Party affiliation. I explained, quite casually and without any real understanding of the implications behind the question, that I was not a member of any party, that I was a non-political Zionist - i.e. a person who had supported and worked for the creation of an independent sovereign Jewish State since early youth, but had little interest in the political party aspect of my Zionist idealism. Further, I had been completely turned off to this aspect during my years in post-war Europe working with the Aliyah B, where I had witnessed the ugly in-fighting between the parties on such matters as dividing up the available places on immigrant ships. Each party demanded the number of places to which it was "entitled" according to the party key that determined the relative strength of each party to every other party. I had been dealing with the rescue of human beings, and the party politicians were dealing with people only as future

supporters in the future State. I was delighted that I had always maintained my loyalty to an ideal, above and beyond the pettiness of party.

My colleagues were visibly disturbed by my reply, and explained the facts of life. High positions in the Zionist apparatus "belonged" to various parties, according to arrangements negotiated by an intra-party-key committee, and the position of Chairman of the K.H. belonged to the Confederation of General Zionists (which was the capitalist party, in opposition to the labor party). Since I was not a member of that party, I could not have the job. Professional qualifications, skills, experience, zeal or any other of the normal prerequisites simply did not ~~apply~~^{count}. The main barrier to be hurdled was party loyalty. Sapir and Pincus were upset about losing me, but were themselves bound up in the party system, and could do nothing about circumventing it. Thus did I learn another lesson about the politicization of Israeli society. Months later the position was offered to a very nice gentleman, Ezra Shapiro, who migrated from Cleveland with the proper background of long membership in the Confederation. He moved in to an apartment around the corner from us, and we became friendly, although never talked about the K.H. Decades later I came to know his son Dan, a charming, capable leader, who became President of the UJA/Federation of New York, the very top position.

After these two setbacks with the UJA and the K.H., I left the world of fund-raising and gravitated to the earlier world of my career, namely, the Reform Movement. A former president of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, based in Cincinnati, Ohio, who was simultaneously a world-famous archeologist, Dr. Nelson Glueck, had established a branch in Jerusalem. In order to obtain the necessary building permit (which would have been fiercely opposed by the Orthodox Establishment if it ~~had been~~^{was} openly described as a Reform seminary), the institution was defined as an archeological museum and study center. The branch was situated on a premier plot of land facing Jaffa Gate on one side and King David street on the other. This was the very heart of the city. When I saw it for the first time, there were two buildings, flanked by a large wooded garden and much empty land for future expansion. On the other side of the empty space stood the Papal Biblical Institute and the French Consulate.

The two buildings were extremely handsome in their Jerusalem stone construction, dignified and impressive. The first contained a chapel (where various Presidents of Israel were happy in future years to receive honorary degrees); several classrooms (where Reform rabbinical students came from the U.S. for their obligatory first year of study, and later, Israeli students wishing to enter the reform rabbinate were trained); a library; and workshops (for the technical archeological work). The second building, named for Mrs. Rosalie Feinstein of Philadelphia, contained additional classrooms, a social hall, offices and an outdoor amphitheatre for ceremonies and performances. I was given an office in that building, which became my base for the next three years. Orthodox protests against the institution gradually disappeared.

Housed in an office next to mine was Rabbi Richard Hirsch, a life-long friend going back to the original Denver days, ^{when} ~~where~~ he had occupied my pulpit after I left for the Army Chaplaincy. We never lost touch during all the intervening decades. His career had taken him through various positions in the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), and finally a return to Israel, where he had once been a student at the Hebrew University, to serve as President of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ). In that capacity, he travelled the world helping to establish new and strengthen old congregations linked to the reform or liberal movement. And a recent addition to his duties included the development of the Jerusalem campus into an enlarged center for the World Union. Here our paths were once more linked. For the job into which I entered was precisely to help with that development. Dick and I henceforth worked very closely together.

Architectural plans for the various buildings being contemplated were drawn by world-famous Moshe Safdie. Those drawings and models based thereon became the raw material for a handsome brochure I designed and wrote, which we titled WORLD EDUCATION CENTER for PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM. That brochure accompanied me in my travels, as I explained the concept and sought the funds, mainly in the U.S. and U.K. Another aspect of the work was to unify the three elements of the reform movement in the U.S. - Union of congregations, Rabbinical seminary, and Conference of Rabbis into one solid support apparatus for the Jerusalem Center. That hope never crystallized. The Union of congregations could not

seem to garner enthusiasm and its top officers seemed preoccupied with their work in the U.S. Similarly, the Conference of rabbis never conceived of itself as possessing the power to direct its hundreds of autonomous members into one concentrated project. But a real source of strength and full-scale participation in the concept and its execution was found in the President of the HUC-JIR, Rabbi Alfred Gottschalk. He and his Board Chairman, Richard Scheuer, played extremely active roles. They not only developed plans for more classrooms and a large museum of archeology, but actually financed their construction. An apartment was prepared on the top floor of the main Gleuck building, so that Dr. Gottschalk could personally live on the campus during his frequent visits to Israel.

Those three years were happy and productive. I was involved in the planning of the whole project, helping to spread word of it during fund-raising trips, and still having time left over to be of service in many other ways. When the World Union felt that it should establish its presence in Israel, not only by founding congregations, but also by establishing archetypal native Israeli institutions such as *kibbutzim*, I was able to help realize that objective. The director of the Agricultural Settlement Department of the Jewish Agency was Raanan Weitz, a far-seeing visionary and good friend of mine. It took only one long serious conversation for Raanan to grasp the value to Israel of this group of Anglo-Saxon new immigrants being eager to replicate the country's oldest model of social organization. And when he offered 750 dunam (almost 200 acres) of land in the far south of the Negev desert, the World Union accepted it with enthusiasm. The kibbutz Yahel was born and we were all delighted. It should soon be celebrating its 25th anniversary.

I also had time to serve in a volunteer capacity for the Foreign Ministry. Whether the Minister was Abba Eban, Yigal Allon or Golda Meir, all friends from the very earliest years of the State's existence, or their successors, whenever the Ministry was overwhelmed with visitors from abroad, and the key staff needed additional help, they sometimes called on me. If it was necessary to spend an hour or two with some official visitor, who was forced to wait between appointments, I could answer questions or give some historical background information or explain the nuances of some tricky current problem or just drive the visitor around to some interesting spot which was not included on the official itinerary. Other

occasions might require a whole day, with more travelling, and a more detailed briefing. It was never my responsibility to discuss Israeli Government policy matters, but rather to fill in the necessary background so that the Senator or Congressperson could better understand the issues which would later be discussed with higher governmental figures. I enjoyed these opportunities, and from the feedback which reached me, apparently so did the visitor and the Ministry.

Another advantage of being situated in that building was the opportunity of meeting with the first year rabbinical students. They were all college graduates, smart, devoted to an ideal, concerning which they still had an enormous amount to learn, and not really very clear about the nature of the rabbinical profession upon which they were embarked. I invited them, in groups, to my office, to talk informally about the profession. I tried to explain some of the various areas of work:

1. Congregational rabbi - where they would have to be preacher, school principal, social worker, community worker, pastor, counsellor to individuals, hospital visitor, and servant to hundreds of members who felt they had the right to call on the rabbi for any of their religious needs. The primary qualification for service in a congregation was an unusually thick skin.

2. Hillel rabbi - where they would be working with students on the college campus, in an effort to create strong Jewish identity feelings among a population which would be largely indifferent and uneducated, Judaically speaking. Here the qualification would be creativity and a keen sense of mission, for these students were the determining factor in the future of the Jewish people in a permissive America, where assimilation was all too easy.

3. Educational rabbi - where they would be working in the area of day schools, or congregational "religious" schools which needed major changes in order to be effective, e.g. increasing the hours of instruction from the current 2 or 4 per week, to at least 10 per week. This would take enormous skill and heaps of political savvy.

4. Organizational rabbi - where they would be working in a policy-making and/or administrative capacity, at least to begin with, and lots of opportunity for advancement if they found the goals of the organization to be compelling and consonant with their own personal philosophy of Jewish life and destiny. Here there is a possible sense of making important contributions to the strength of the total Jewish community.

5. Military rabbi (chaplain) - where they would be working with young Jewish men and women who had voluntarily entered the armed forces, and who needed not just the religious presence of a rabbi, but perhaps more importantly the role model figure of the Jewish officer in uniform on the same level as the Catholic and Protestant. This fact balanced out the other fact that the number of Jewish personnel in any given unit would always be a small minority. The Jewish chaplain provided every Jewish soldier with a feeling of total equality. As for the chaplain him/herself, there are some excellent lessons to be learned and qualities to be developed which will be useful through an entire lifetime, after leaving the service, such as: orderliness, timeliness, self-discipline, responsibility, helpfulness to those younger and weaker, voluntariness and many similar virtues.

I tried to get the notion across, in these informal discussion hours, that the rabbi, especially in the non-orthodox world which these graduates would inhabit, would not be called upon to serve as halachic experts (although they should learn as much as possible about Jewish law), but should think of themselves as civil servants of the Jewish people, in the broadest sense possible. Their task may begin within the four walls of their synagogue, but certainly should not end there. They must inspire and lead the entire community, when it comes to the question, for instance, of building a communal day school, or day/high school. Should that issue arise in the community, for example, you, the rabbi must immediately jump into the position of advocate, for more education is the only antidote we have to the ignorance and indifference which marks so many of our people today. You must speak for it, work on the curriculum committee, take part in the fund-raising. And above all, get involved in the financial structuring of the new school, to the end that tuition must be as low as possible, even merely token, ~~if possible~~, by devising all sorts of ingenious financial solutions. This is holy work, and you must be part of it. Or, take another example. If a situation develops anywhere in the world which results in a wave of migration to Israel, and large numbers of lives must be saved, the affluent Jews of America must immediately mobilize behind the UJA, and you must take the lead in public speaking, writing, TV appearances urging all the Jews in town, not just the members of your congregation, to raise the necessary funds for the rescue operation. And you yourself have to volunteer as a solicitor, taking your share of names to ask for their

contributions. You are a civic leader of the whole community, and you must act according to the demands of that role.

These discussions in the office were always very spirited, for there were arguments pro and con, which reverberated for days afterward. This was very satisfying, for I was trying to open their minds to a wider horizon, and by taking strong positions I would provoke strong debate. I felt this was useful for them, and I enjoyed it very much.



Chapter 10, section 2

YOM KIPPUR WAR

In 1972, a year and one-half before the war, three meetings took place between Israel's Prime Minister, Golda Meir, Defense Minister, Moshe Dayan and Jordan's King Hussein, sometimes accompanied by his Prime Minister, Ziyad Rifa'i. The first was in March, the second in July, the third in November. As diplomatic meetings go, and especially in view of all the other demands on these very top people, the pace of the Israel-Jordan negotiations was quite rapid and concentrated. These meetings, as well as others held after the war, were described in detail by a senior editor of the newspaper *Ma'ariv*, Moshe Zak, who seems to have had access to an actual transcript of the meetings. His story was published in English for the first time in the *Jerusalem Post* International Edition of October 12, 1991, and is attached as an appendix, at the end of this chapter. It offers a thrilling and chilling inside view of the mood and issues of that time.

The following basic matters surfaced during those meetings:

1. Israel proposed a basic structure consisting of a Confederation between Israel, Jordan and the West Bank Palestinians. Jordan was not particularly interested in any relationship with the Palestinians.

2. Israel proposed a narrow corridor from Jordan to the West Bank, and again Jordan refused.

3. Instead, Jordan proposed that Israel withdraw from the Jordan River to a distance of 15 kilometers, which would give Jordan broader access than just a narrow corridor, while at the same time promising not to introduce the Jordanian Army into the Valley. Israel refused.

4. Israel suggested that she and Jordan should enter into a mutual defense treaty, wherein each would come to the defense of the other in case of an attack. (Just two years earlier, in 1970, Israel had come to Jordan's defense, when Syria attempted an invasion from the north in support of the PLO. America had requested Israel to intervene and she did. When the Syrians sensed the Israeli intentions, they turned tail and withdrew.) There was some conversation on this subject, but no decision.

5. Finally, Israel requested that Jordan not join any attack that might be mounted by other Arab forces. Hussein did not give an

unequivocal commitment, but the series of meetings ended with an agreement that both sides should continue a joint search for other issues to discuss. And indeed, Jordan did not join Egypt and Syria in their perfidious attack in October. Almost immediately after the war, in January 1974, Meir and Dayan met again with Hussein to resume discussions.

6. Dayan tried to threaten Hussein, saying that if talks with Jordan were deadlocked, then Israel might have to deal directly with the Palestinians. Hussein didn't seem to feel very threatened by that, saying he was against a tiny Palestinian state, but Dayan could do whatever he wanted.

One remarkable event did occur in the spring of 1973, which showed that the continuous talks, even without specific results, did create a mood of good will which was advantageous to Israel. King Hussein whispered his opinion to Henry Kissinger that the very extensive military preparations currently underway in Syria and Egypt were **not** manoeuvres.

In April there was a serious air battle over the Sea of Galilee between Syrian and Israeli fighters, with ___ Syrian planes shot down. It started over an argument about the rights of fishing boats on the lake. Not knowing how this might escalate, Dayan ordered a partial mobilization, costing many millions of dollars. Nothing happened, probably because the Syrians preferred to continue their preparations for what they had in mind as a large war later in the year. Dayan ordered a stand-down, but did issue an instruction to the IDF General Staff on May 21, 1973: "The IDF must prepare, by end of summer, for Egypt and Syria launching war against Israel, without Jordan." A grievous error in judgment was made by IDF Intelligence in September when they issued an official report stating that the chance of war was negligible. That report made life for Meir and Dayan vastly more difficult when they had to decide what to do on the eve of Yom Kippur just a couple of weeks later.

Suddenly, another crisis intervened. The steady flow of immigrants from the Soviet Union, which had started two years earlier and continued at a very welcome pace, had developed a smooth travel pattern. The Moscow-Vienna train arrived daily at the South Station, with the Jewish refugees concentrated in the last two cars. The Jewish Agency and JDC officials who met the train knew exactly where to stand on the platform in order to gather

the travelers and their luggage, to shepherd them to the busses waiting outside, and to bring them to a hostel known by the grand name "Schonau Castle". The procedure was quick and quiet. After a few days of sorting and registering, the few who were headed for destinations in the West were taken to the seaside town of Ostia, outside of Rome, to await visas; and the great majority going to Israel were taken aboard El Al Boeings for direct flight to Ben-Gurion airport.

On October 1st the Moscow-Vienna train was attacked en route by Arab terrorists, causing casualties to immigrants and to Austrian personnel servicing the train. This latter fact triggered a large media protest that Austrian citizens should be endangered because of some Middle East struggle, and demanded that Vienna not be used as a way-station. Chancellor Kreisky, himself a Jew, but favorable to the PLO position, responded to public demand and threatened to close the train route and close Schonau Castle.

Inconceivable as this may sound, Prime Minister Golda Meir herself, fully aware of the pending military crisis at home, nevertheless flew immediately to Vienna, in order to dissuade Kreisky. One theory has it that the attack on the train was precisely a feint to divert her attention and take her out of Israel at a fatal moment. If so, the Arab plot succeeded. Her impulse was noble, based upon her humane attitude toward rescue of Jews and her larger demographic considerations regarding this flow of precious well-educated immigrants who would add to Israel's strength. But perhaps she should have sent someone else to negotiate with Kreisky. At any rate, she did succeed in obtaining an agreement that the train stoppage would be temporary, to allow public opinion to cool down, and once resumed, the immigrants would be taken to a different hostel, in another part of town. She returned to Israel late Wednesday night, October 3, or early Thursday morning, October 4, thoroughly exhausted, and went immediately into a Cabinet meeting to resume discussion of the impending war.

Thursday and Friday, October 4 and 5 were spent in endless consultations with Cabinet, Defense Ministry, General Staff and Intelligence services in an effort to evaluate Arab intentions and determine Israeli policy. On Friday afternoon, just before the Sabbath, she adjourned the Cabinet, but asked all ministers, especially those who were religiously

observant, to remain close and not to scatter to their homes all over the country, which was customary for the Sabbath, and this year poignantly so, for this Sabbath was also Yom Kippur, the holiest day in the entire year. She explained that she might need to convene them, should anything extraordinary occur.

Friday night, October 5, everything came to a head in Golda's kitchen. Present were the Prime Minister (making tea for her guests), Defense Minister Dayan, Chief of Staff David Elazar, Minister Israel Galili, one of Golda's oldest and most trusted advisers, and the American Ambassador Kenneth Keating, a former Senator from New York, and a well-known friend of the Jewish people and State. The four key Israelis listened to the American's report. Pentagon and State Department had become aware of the Arab intention to strike at 6 p.m. the following day - Yom Kippur. Henry Kissinger, speaking for President Nixon, had instructed the Ambassador to inform the Israeli Government that it would be in their own best interest to absorb the first blow, so that it would be patently clear that the Arabs were the aggressor, thus giving Israel the moral and public relations advantage, and permitting Israel to seek full U.S. support and re-supply of equipment, should that be necessary later on.

Now the heart of the dilemma was openly on the table. Heated discussion ensued. Mindful of the false-alarm costly mobilization of the previous April, Dayan ruled against a full mobilization, and agreed only to a small symbolic call-up of troops. General Elazar pointed out that by this time, late Friday evening, the radio and TV were on Sabbath skeleton staff and full mobilization would be impossible anyhow. Regular IDF units had already dismissed personnel for the Holy Day, and the almost half-million reservists could only be reached by emergency broadcasts, not now available. Elazar did point out, however, that the Air Force was always on full alert and could be activated immediately. He asked for permission to order a massive pre-emptive bombing of all 25 Arab airfields and their aircraft, to start at first light (6 a.m.). Since it was now known that the Arab attack was scheduled for 6 p.m., this would give the Air Force 12 hours to work, during which time he was certain he could blunt the Arab capability.

Golda and Dayan conferred and decided to deny Elazar's request. They made the decision to go along with Nixon's reasoning, and the most

important factor in their decision was the matter of re-supply. No estimates were possible of Israeli loss of aircraft, tanks, heavy ammunition, etc. but whatever the loss, the ability to obtain quick delivery was crucial. Keating was present through the entire discussion and was pleased with the decision. Then Golda turned to him and urged him to convince Kissinger to convey to Egypt and Syria Israel's decision not to pre-empt, and further to urge them not to resort to war, but to employ diplomatic means to achieve whatever objectives they might have. Kissinger made both calls, with no success. The two Arab leaders then spoke by telephone (which was overheard by U.S. intelligence capability) and agreed that, since the Israelis were expecting to be hit at 6 p.m., the attack should be moved up to 2 p.m., in the middle of Yom Kippur day. Half the country would be in synagogue; the other half at the beach. A nation at prayer or at rest would be easy prey. During the morning the radio and TV were activated, the emergency mobilization calls started, trucks began to rumble, picking people up at street corners. At 2 p.m. the air raid sirens began to be heard throughout the land.

By the end of Sunday, October 7, Egypt had crossed the Suez Canal and was deep into the Sinai Peninsula. Syria had crossed the Golan Heights and was at the western edge, looking down on the Upper Galilee, having halted because of shortage of gasoline and ammunition. By Monday, October 8, the legendary Moshe Dayan panicked. "The situation is desperate. Everything is lost. We must withdraw. This is the end of the Third Temple." Israel called its first nuclear alert and began arming its nuclear arsenal.

An excellent account has been written entitled "The Samson Option", subtitled 'Israel's Nuclear Arsenal and American Foreign Policy', authored by Seymour M. Hersh and published by Random House in 1991. Mr. Hersh is a veteran journalist, who has worked for many years on the New York Times, after service with UPI and AP both; has won a dozen major journalism prizes, including the Pulitzer; and was the recipient of the National Book Critics Award for a book on Kissinger and Nixon. In a chapter called "Prelude to War", Hersh wrote the following paragraph:

"Israel wasn't ready when Sadat attacked across the Sinai and Syria invaded the Golan Heights on Saturday, Yom Kippur, October 6, 1973. The first days were a stunning rout. Israeli soldiers were being killed as never before. Five hundred tanks and forty-nine aircraft, including

fourteen F-4 Phantoms, were lost in the first three days. In the Sinai, Egyptian forces, equipped with missiles and electronic defenses, blasted through the Bar-Lev defense along the eastern bank of the Suez Canal and soon had two large armies in the Sinai Desert. The initial Israeli counterattacks by three tank divisions were beaten off. On the Golan Heights, Syrian forces, bolstered by fourteen hundred tanks, rolled through Israeli defenses and moved to the edge of Galilee. Only a few Israeli tanks stood between the Syrians and the heavily populated Hula Valley below. Haifa was just hours away.

"The extent of Dayan's panic on Monday, October 8, has never been fully reported but is widely known among Israelis. There was talk in a meeting later that day of appeals to world Jewry, distribution of antitank weapons to every citizen, and last-ditch resistance in the civilian population centers. It was Israel's darkest hour, but no withdrawal was ordered.

"Instead, Israel called its first nuclear alert and began arming its nuclear arsenal. And it used that alert to blackmail Washington into a major policy change."

On Tuesday, October 9, Israel was out of heavy calibre ammunition (175 mm. and 155mm.), and had suffered heavy losses in tanks and aircraft. In addition, very heavy losses in soldiers killed and wounded, plus low morale in both the army and civilian populations, constituted threats to the country's ability to fight back. The kitchen cabinet made three critical decisions on that day. Mr. Hersh's next chapter, called "Nuclear Blackmail", continues: "The Israeli leadership resolved to rally its collapsing forces for a major counterattack; to arm and target its nuclear arsenal in the event of total collapse; and, to inform Washington of its unprecedented nuclear action - and unprecedented peril - and demand that the U.S. begin an emergency airlift of replacement arms and ammunition needed to sustain an extended all-out war effort....The kitchen cabinet agreed that the nuclear missile launchers, as many as were ready, should be made operational at Hirbat Zachariah and deliberately left in the open for American photographic planes to spot them. Also eight specially marked F-4s were at 24-hour alert at Tel Nof, the air base near Rehovot. The initial target list included the Egyptian and Syrian military headquarters near Cairo and Damascus. It could not be learned how many weapons were armed, although the Dimona Reactor was known to have manufactured more than twenty warheads by 1973.....Soviet Intelligence warned Mohammed Heikal,

editor of the leading Egyptian newspaper and *eminence grise* to Nasser and Sadat that the 'Israelis had three warheads assembled and ready.'....

"There was widespread rage inside the Israeli cabinet at the Nixon White House - aimed especially at Henry Kissinger - over what was correctly perceived in Israel as an American strategy of delaying the resupply in an attempt to let the Arabs win some territory, and some self-respect, and thus set up the possibility of serious land-for-peace bargaining. Kissinger made no secret of his initial strategy, telling James R. Schlesinger, the secretary of defense that his goal was to 'let Israel come out ahead, but bleed.'....

"Kissinger described in his memoirs a series of urgent telephone calls from Simcha Dinitz, the Israeli Ambassador to Washington, beginning at 1:45 a.m. on Tuesday, October 9, and again at 3.00 a.m., demanding to know what was happening with the resupply...Kissinger, accompanied by Peter Rodman, his longtime assistant, and Dinitz, accompanied by General Mordecai Gur, the Israeli military attache, met at 8:20 a.m. in the Map Room of the White House, where Kissinger was told of the desperate situation and the need for more tanks and aircraft....At one point Dinitz insisted that he and Kissinger needed to be alone. Dinitz's message was that Golda Meir was prepared to come to the United States for an hour to plead with President Nixon for urgent arms aid. It was a request that Kissinger, according to his memoirs, 'rejected out of hand..such a proposal could reflect only either hysteria or blackmail.' By that evening of October 9, Kissinger wrote, 'Israel had been assured that its war losses would be made up. Relying on this assurance, it stepped up its consumption of war materiel, as we had intended.' "

Leaving the documented, journalistic accuracy of Mr. Hersh, and turning to the more lurid descriptions to be found in the narratives of those who participated in the dramatic events, as well as the street gossip which inevitably leaks after such historic encounters, there are some tidbits which the reader deserves to hear. Particularly sharp is the story that Mrs. Meir's call to Dinitz, ordering him to put the heat on President Nixon, included two injunctions: that Nixon was to be reminded of his promise via Ambassador Keating on the evening of October 5 that if Israel took the first blow she would receive American aid; and if he didn't remember that, she intended to fly over herself and remind him very forcefully, as well as appearing on American television to recite the whole story to the American public. Those

who knew Mrs. Meir personally will recall that it is quite consistent with her style and personality for her to have done exactly as she threatened.

Another story has to do with the fog surrounding the basic question of who was responsible for the delay in shipping the materiel. Was it Kissinger or was it Schlesinger? Kissinger's own description of his basic strategy would seem to place the blame on him. On the other hand Schlesinger had said at one point that the Defense Department's calculations indicated Israel had sufficient supply for at least seven days of fighting, and here it was only the fourth day and already they were screaming for help. This would place the blame on him. No one really knows. But there is an apocryphal story which tells that when the matter came to Nixon's personal attention during that tense day, he is said to have exploded - "Which one of my two damned Jews is responsible for this delay - Kissinger or Schlesinger? Get that materiel loaded and on the way immediately!"

By that same evening, at Langley Field, Virginia, the huge transport aircraft, C-5A's and C-130's, were being loaded, while frantic efforts were underway to secure landing rights for refueling, since these heavily loaded planes could not fly non-stop to Israel. No one had thought for a moment of that problem, but irony of all ironies, that problem made all the previous *sturm and drang* pale into insignificance. England and Germany refused, even though there were American bases in both countries. Spain refused, even though there were four American-owned bases in that country. France followed suit. Reasons were never stated publicly, but privately the explanations were all the same - nobody wanted to offend the Arabs by taking Israel's side. And, God forbid, supposing the Arabs actually won?

Israel's very existence, America's reputation, political morality and a world's conscience were all rescued by one great and powerful democracy - Portugal - which offered its base on the Islands of the Azores. The lumbering transports set down, refueled, took off immediately, while long lines of trucks and tank transporters waited at Ben-Gurion airport, where the precious cargo was instantly shipped north and south to the main fighting fronts. The Yom Kippur war was finally won after 18 days of the hardest fighting Israel had ever endured. What started so badly ended with a bold victory, a tribute to the men and women whose hearts were brave and hands were skillful.

Golda, Dayan, and King Hussein:

Golda Meir and Moshe Dayan met with Jordan's king several times after the Six Day War, trying to achieve mutual defense arrangements and agree on border revisions. Moshe Zak has the inside story

the untold story

AT A MEETING in July 1972, the late Moshe Dayan offered King Hussein a commitment to rush to Jordan's aid should it be attacked, in return for a promise from Hussein not to join a belligerent coalition against Israel.

This hitherto unknown fact contradicts the myth that Dayan refused to meet with Hussein. The myth arose from a single sentence attributed to Dayan: "The war is over; now we are waiting for a phone call from Hussein" (June 12, 1967, in a BBC interview).

In fact, only a week later the expected phone call from Hussein did come (by way of Washington) and, without publicity, the then defense minister authorized a July meeting between the late Dr. Ya'acov Herzog (then director-general of the Prime Minister's Office) and the Jordanian king in London.

The numerous meetings Dayan had with Hussein and his advisers negate detractors' contention that he was strongly opposed to such talks. The detractors also allege that Dayan refused a request from then premier Levi Eshkol to join Abba Eban and Yigal Allon in a London conference with Hussein, claiming "nothing will come of these talks." In truth, his refusal was based on his unwillingness to play second fiddle in the negotiating team.

He himself later wrote: "Even though no agreement was reached in those talks, I think there was much benefit from them...."

These remarks were not published in his autobiography because the committee supervising the release of ministers' and civil servants' memoirs censored them. It similarly deleted the sentence: "Jordan conducted high-level contacts with Israel with the objective of reaching a peace settlement and thus resolving current problems. Sometimes understanding was reached over small matters, but on the main issue - a permanent peace accommodation between the two countries - nothing was achieved."

THE "SMALL" problems of which Dayan spoke involved establishing the means of attaining border quiet as well as channels for continued contact between Jordan and the Palestinian population of Judea and Samaria. The two outstanding arrangements settled by Dayan with Jordan were traffic over the Jordan River bridges (1967) and evacuating 70 sq. km. of Israeli-held territory southeast of the Dead Sea

Dayan institutionalized his local improvisation for moving agricultural produce from the territories to Trans-Jordan, and dispatched Hamdi Kanan, mayor of Nablus, to King Hussein with a proposal for joint Israeli-Jordanian repair of the bridges, which were damaged in the war. Hussein's reply was that the Jordanian Army would put across two Bailey bridges. Dayan agreed, but when the operation began, the Jordanian soldiers needed help from the Israeli Army.

It was more complicated to organize IDF withdrawal from the security zone (As-Safi) southeast of the Dead Sea. Negotiations on this went on for months. Dayan would not order a pull-back until Hussein positioned an army unit to inhibit terrorist activity against Israel, especially by Katyusha rockets aimed at the Potash Works at Sdom.

Hussein sent a message to Israel (through the U.S.) that he could not do this because of the tension along his border with Syria. There was a sharp debate in the cabinet, and eventually Dayan's view was accepted: in direct talks with Hussein, the latter agreed to station an army unit in the sector.

At meetings between Israeli and Jordanian military commanders, arrangements were agreed for switching the garrison at As-Safi; the IDF was to evacuate the sector at 6 a.m. on April 8, 1971, with the Jordanians moving in at 7. But the Israeli local commander decided on his own to withdraw an hour earlier - to his good fortune, because shortly after that the Jordanians bombarded the building housing the Israeli command.

An official Jordanian communique at the time boasted that their army had carried out an attack on IDF positions in the As-Safi sector and expelled the Israeli forces, with King Hussein personally observing the action. There was, in fact, no such "battle." Dayan merely expressed satisfaction that "the king of Jordan decided to take matters into his own hands and order his forces to clear the border of terrorists."

DAYAN SHOWED no enthusiasm, in the September 1970 crisis, for responding to Hussein's request to ensure Israeli intervention should Syrian tanks continue to advance on Jordanian territory. But the IDF's border deployment, which contributed to deterring Syria, would not have been carried out without the defense minister's consent. Furthermore, he later tried to

context of the September events; the overture was made in the meeting between King Hussein and the late premier Golda Meir in March 1972, when the following dialog occurred:

Golda: In your confederation plan, you totally ignore our existence. It speaks of liberating all the territories; are you perhaps referring also to Tel Aviv?

Hussein: I'm sorry I didn't notify you before its publication; there was a slip-up. I meant a settlement with the Palestinians after reaching one with Israel.

Golda: I see ... You're not ready for substantial border changes. Let's look for temporary arrangements.

Hussein: Let me operate among the Palestinians in the West Bank.

Golda: That's a complicated matter; it could arouse illusions among the Palestinians concerning the territorial accommodation.

Hussein: Don't despair; there's a Jordanian interest to prevent control over the Palestinians by the Syrians and Iraqis.

Golda: We must search for a way to practical arrangements: (a) that Jordan will not participate in an Eastern front; (b) that Iraqi and Syrian armies should not be stationed in Jordan; (c) contingency plans if things change...

Hussein: I'm interested in an arrangement enabling me to engage in activity among the Palestinians.

Golda: We'll bring a concrete suggestion to the next meeting.

WHEN THAT meeting occurred in July, Golda brought Dayan to detail the concrete ideas.

Dayan: Israel has no more authoritative leadership than Golda, nor any statesman more amenable to moving towards you. But even Golda will not agree to a settlement without border changes. In the absence of a settlement, the danger of war grows. The question is: Will Jordan join in that war if Egypt launches it? Israel is ready to commit herself to rushing to Jordan's aid - perhaps the U.S. will, too - if Egyptian pressure on the king increases because of his non-participation in a war.

Hussein: I hoped you'd come with new ideas.

Dayan: Why not conclude a defense treaty with us? Let's put aside the Palestinian problem. It's worth your while to reach a deal with Golda; she will be easier on you than I.

Ziyad Rifa'i (then Jordan's premier): Let's skip this; let's talk about action against terrorism.

So the Israeli proposal for a defense treaty didn't come up for discussion at the meeting in November 1972. Then, the question was raised regarding what guarantees Hussein would give that the Jordanian Army would not cross the river.

Golda: I'm not detailing what border changes we suggest; but clearly they must be significant. They will involve mainly unpopulated areas. I assume I have a cabinet and Knesset majority to support this stand, though the Gahal Party and the religious will oppose it; but I do have a majority.

Hussein: You are sticking with the Allon Plan, and it's out of the question....

DAYAN DID not get an unequivocal commitment from Hussein to stay out of a warlike coalition against Israel, while Golda got no agreement in principle from him for significant border changes. But nevertheless, agreement was reached to engage in a joint search for issues to discuss.

And indeed, in 1973, the meetings were resumed at a high level. Dayan was not directly involved, though one issue did impinge on his function: the danger of war, which came up in the political talks as well as in parallel economic-cooperation discussions.

That spring, Hussein whispered to then U.S. secretary of state Henry Kissinger that Syria's and Egypt's military preparations were too comprehensive to be dismissed as maneuvers. On the basis of this information, Dayan instructed the General Staff (May 21, 1973): "The IDF must prepare, by the end of summer, for Egypt and Syria launching war against Israel, without Jordan."

"The Jordanians... the war; and when they sent a unit to help the Syrian Army in the Yom Kippur War, this was no surprise," Dayan wrote after the war. He knew Hussein had sent a brigade to the Golan to avoid a head-on confrontation with Israel - which Egypt and Syria were demanding. But he estimated that if the Syrians got the upper hand, Jordan could be dragged into the war. So Dayan told the General Staff:

"We must maintain quiet on the Jordanian front. For that, we must take deterrent action to keep Jordan out of the war. If Syria is not beaten, Jordan might be drawn in and open an additional battlefield."

After the war, Syrian President Assad confirmed what Israel knew during the fighting. In an interview with a Lebanese newspaper he said he had "tried to convince those in command in Jordan to open this [third] front, and said to three of the men I met with: 'The road to Jerusalem is open, what are you waiting for?'"

HUSSEIN'S behavior on the eve of the Yom Kippur War in warning Kissinger of its onset, and his restraint during the war, made no small impression on Dayan, and affected their subsequent conversations. In Dayan's autobiography, he praised Hussein.

The first postwar meeting between the two, in January 1974, gave rise to the following dialog concerning a separation of forces:

Hussein: If you agree in principle to my proposal for an Israeli withdrawal from the Jordan River to a depth of 15 km, enabling me to establish a Jordanian civil administration in this strip, we can move on in stages to its implementation. It will help us distance the Palestinians from the PLO.

Golda: It's possible to find other ways of separating [forces] through a corridor connecting you to the Palestinian population.

Hussein: We refuse to be confined to a narrow corridor to the West Bank; and there will be no progress without your withdrawal from the Jordan Valley.

Dayan: This means the IDF must pull back from the entire valley?

Ziyad Rifa'i (then Jordan's premier): Yes, definitely. But we shall not introduce a Jordanian army there.

Dayan: And what about Jewish settlements in the Jordan Valley?

Rifa'i: They must be totally removed.

Dayan: If so, what will your final border be?

Rifa'i: Identical with the 1967 lines. We are ready to achieve this in stages.

Dayan: But the Palestinians with whom I've spoken want a separate Palestinian state.

Rifa'i: It's clear there's no future for a separate, tiny Palestinian state.

Dayan: We need security and the right to settle anywhere. We are not interested in ruling the Arabs of Nablus, but *do* need military installations. In the interim period, we shall not withdraw finally from the [current] lines, but Jordan will accept responsibility for the civil administration.

Rifa'i: And all this without your moving from the lines?

Dayan: Yes. Look, the valley is not populated, and the Kingdom of Jordan can deal with the Arabs in places where they are located.

Golda: It's doubtful whether anyone in Israel would agree to retreat from the River Jordan to the 1967 borders. But it's possible to mobilize a majority for the proposal for a corridor - though we'll have a hard struggle in the Knesset.

AS THE discussion continued, Dayan raised a suggestion regarding Jordanian-Palestinian relations.

Dayan: Your influence could be strengthened by issuing passports to Gaza's Arabs, though I don't agree to handing Gaza over to Jordan.

Hussein: Jordan cannot agree to [Israeli] settlements; even moderate Palestinians haven't the courage to agree to concessions.

Rifa'i: Does Israel seriously expect that Jordan will handle the civil administration for it?

Dayan: Yes.

Hussein: Perhaps, nevertheless, a spot separation [of forces] is feasible?

Rifa'i: Withdrawal cannot begin with a corridor.

Golda: You are asking for an evacuation of the army and settlements, and not just for territorial contiguity.

Rifa'i: We need "frontage" along the entire Jordan River. If the Allon Plan is Israel's goal, there's no prospect of a settlement.

Golda: We are ready to discuss how to get a Palestinian rapprochement with you.

Rifa'i: Only if this embodies a territorial dimension.

Hussein: Even if there's no agreement, we could continue with our good relations.

THE KING was consistent in his wish to maintain the dialog with Israel. As for Dayan, he stuck with two principles which had impelled him all along: Israeli strongholds and Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria as an essential condition for any accommodation.

This was also his approach in conversations with Hussein and Rifa'i in March 1974. He then went as far as to propose a recognized status for Hussein in the entire West Bank except for Jerusalem, in exchange for Jordan's agreement to Israeli outposts and settlements in Judea and Samaria.

At the March 1974 meeting, the following exchange took place:

Golda: What would happen if, following an IDF withdrawal, the Palestinians declared a state of their own?

Hussein: We shouldn't fear that; it would be somewhat "sandwiched" between us.

But Dayan kept on pressing for Jordan's agreement to Israeli forces in Judea and Samaria in the form of settlements and military outposts. Rifa'i stubbornly refused to discuss the subject. Dayan then threatened:

Dayan: If you're not willing to accept our settlements and military strongholds, perhaps Hikmat el-Misri [of Nablus] and Rashad a-Shawa [of Gaza] would agree to that. We'll pay them taxes for the land and water.

Rifa'i: They won't agree.

Dayan: We'll either work toward a settlement with the Palestinians or you will agree to significant border changes.

Rifa'i: At the moment, we are discussing a separation of forces.

Dayan: If you want your own military outposts and installations on our side as well, by all means...

Golda: We have a strong historic and religious connection with Hebron and Nablus. But we are ready to make concessions. I would regret it very

much if, despite all this, your reply to our proposal were negative.

Hussein: We don't believe in borders, but we can't make concessions.

Dayan: What's wrong with 30 outposts in the Jordan Valley? Each will cover just one dunam. Why should they be uprooted?

Hussein: If terrorists get into those outposts, who is responsible for thwarting their actions?

Dayan: The outposts are not against terrorists; you will deal with those.

MOSHE DAYAN had placed Israeli military strongholds along the mountain ridge to the west of the Jordan River in order to ensure that no foreign army - Iraqi, Syrian or Jordanian - would be able to cross the river.

The conversation continued:

Hussein: The Germans have a military base in Spain. If you agree in principle to restore our sovereignty over the West Bank, including Jerusalem, we could discuss your request later. But first you must agree to the principle.

Dayan: We have interests involving settlement and security. Let us not start with Jerusalem, but with Nablus. I like it!

Golda: You say, "Give us back everything." The question is, do you accept our right to be there? Let's move forward, therefore, step by step, and not withdraw in a manner that obligates total retreat at the end of the road. The separation of forces with Egypt did not sunder us from Sharm el-Sheikh, yet you are demanding our severance from the Jordan River. Why is what I'm proposing so unacceptable to you?

Hussein: The reasons are psychological. You created a psychological obstacle with the Allon Plan.

IN THAT conversation; Dayan tried to get a message across to Hussein that Israel had another option; namely, a deal with the Palestinians. There's no certainty he really believed this option was viable. In 1967, Dayan had drawn encouragement from the fact that "the Palestinians of the West Bank were not partners in the war. Whether or not they wanted war, in retrospect it was not their war."

Based on this conclusion, he tried to forge new relations with the Palestinian population. At a later stage, he despaired; but he nevertheless went on to encourage the Palestinian leadership in Judea and Samaria. He explained to the IDF's coordinator for the territories, Shlomo Gazit, that this encouragement was meant to augment his maneuvering capacity vis-a-vis Hussein.

When he went to meet Hussein in 1974, he certainly no longer believed in the Palestinian option; but was thinking of the Israeli settlements and strongholds. For a moment, he did think Hussein was inclined to reconcile himself to their existence. (At the time,

there were only 3,000 settlers.)

Meanwhile, however, Golda's cabinet had fallen, and the discussion was suspended.

Three years later, Dayan traveled again to London for a meeting with Hussein, this time in his capacity as foreign minister in the Begin cabinet; he preceded his trip by telling the directorate of the Foreign Ministry when taking up his post in June 1977: "There will be no foreign rule west of the Jordan."

At the August 22, 1977, meeting, Hussein told Dayan he was not inclined to initiate any move regarding the Palestinians; nor did he want to confront the Arab states or the PLO. They should handle the Palestinian issue without him if they didn't want him. He, for his part, had no interest in territorial compromise.

The king was in low spirits after the death of his wife Alia; his mourning generated indifference to Dayan's arguments.

Nevertheless, Hussein asked to see Dayan the next day. But he said nothing new, and Dayan wondered why he had requested that meeting. He didn't imagine that the invitation itself was a hint of Hussein's willingness to continue the conversations, even without any immediate benefit.

But Dayan had no time to spare simply for talking, since he had seen a glimmer of light at the end of the "Egyptian tunnel." With Begin's encouragement, he started promoting the approach which ultimately led to the Camp David Accords.

But even at Camp David, Dayan did not forget Hussein. At his initiative, 14 "openings" were provided for the king to climb onto the bandwagon in the interim arrangements projected in the accords for Judea and Samaria.

However, Hussein chose instead to mount the rejectionist wagon driven at the conference summoned by Saddam Hussein to oppose Anwar Sadat's peace with Israel.

(The writer is a senior editor of the daily Ma'ariv.)

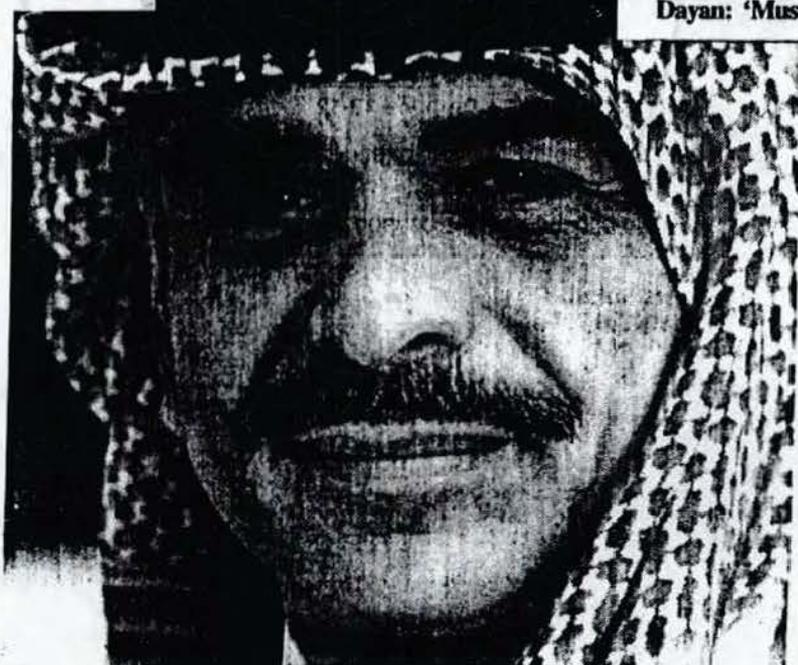
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Golda: 'We have a strong historic and religious connection with Hebron and Nablus, but we are ready to make concessions.'
(Moshe Levin)



Dayan: 'Must the IDF pull back from the entire Jordan Valley?'



Hussein: 'We don't believe in borders, but we can't make concessions.'
(Camera Press)

Chapter 10, Section 3b

JERUSALEM ACADEMY

I had a simple but sublime idea to build a school in Israel which was to be called The Jerusalem Academy. The motto to be emblazoned on its shield was found in chapter 1, verse 2 of the Biblical Book of Proverbs, written by Solomon, the son of David, King of Israel:

“For learning wisdom and discipline;
For understanding words of discernment”

In Hebrew, the first line reads - “l’daat chochma v’musar.”

According to the commentary on this verse in the British Soncino edition, “*wisdom*” - “daat” is not abstract learning or philosophical speculation, but rather “an understanding of the principles which control and direct human living at its highest and best.” Combined with the next term, “*discipline*” - “musar”, it corresponds to ethics or moral philosophy.

In his more recent widely-acclaimed commentary, Rabbi Gunther Plaut wrote: “The Book of Proverbs makes the basic assumption that knowledge leads to proper behaviour. Modern psychologists will agree, if knowledge includes self-knowledge.

Wisdom (chochma) refers to a knowledge of basic principles.

Discipline (musar) came to stand for practical morality, and referred essentially to instruction in the shaping of character.

To create a knowledge of basic principles, and to develop character through values: this is the stated aim of the Book of Proverbs.”

And this was the stated aim of my dream to build in Jerusalem a school of excellence for a carefully selected body of gifted and talented students, half from Israel, half from the Diaspora, young men and women with bright futures as leading figures in the Jewish and general communities, wherever they lived. To achieve this, some preliminaries were required. Here they are:

In March 1977, The Jerusalem Society for the Advancement of Education and Culture was registered with the Israeli Ministry of the Interior as a non-profit Ottoman Society (based on old Turkish law.)

Today such a body is called, in Hebrew, an Amuta, simply an Association. The co-founders were Herbert A. Friedman, chairman, and Hertzal Fishman, deputy chairman. Other members of the society included (in alphabetical order):

Mrs. Ayala Zaks Abramov, Governor, International Museums
 Mr. Avraham Agmon, Director-General, "Delek" fuel oil Co.
 Dr. Avraham Avichai, Chairman, World Keren Hayesod
 Amb. Walter Eytan, First Director-General of Foreign Ministry
 Mr. Erwin Frenkel, Editor, "Jerusalem Post"
 Hon. Teddy Kollek, Mayor of Jerusalem
 Lt.Gen.(res) Chaim Laskov, former Chief of Staff, I.D.F.
 Hon. Yitzhak Navon - resigned, when elected President of Israel
 Mr. Israel Pollack, owner and Director-General of "Polgat" Industries
 Mr. Eliezer Shavit, representative of Israel Education Fund of UJA
 Maj.Gen.(res) Aharon Yariv, Director, Jaffee Institute for Strategic Studies

Another body was formed, called INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC COUNCIL, to serve in an advisory capacity, with respect to curriculum, student regulatory policies, faculty qualifications and similar major matters. Its members included (in alphabetical order):

Raymond Aron (France) Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
 Saul Bellow (U.S.A.) Nobel Laureate in Literature, University of Chicago
 Abba Eban (Israel) former positions: Deputy Prime Minister; Foreign Minister; Education Minister; President of Weizmann Institute
 Henry Rosovsky (U.S.A.) Dean, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University
 Eugene Rostow (U.S.A.) Dean, School of Law, Yale University; former UnderSecretary of State
 Theodore Sizer (U.S.A.) Headmaster, Phillips Andover Academy
 John Thorn (England) Headmaster, Winchester College

The Jerusalem Society was established with the enthusiastic endorsement and encouragement of the Minister of Education, Mr. Aharon Yadlin. He formally requested The Israel Lands Authority to allocate, on

reasonable terms, an area of 450-500 dunam (112-125 acres) of land for the school. These terms subsequently resulted, after serious negotiations and top-level interventions, in a total cost of \$1.8 million for the entire 49-year lease. Thus our yearly rent for the property was \$36,700. Successive Ministers of Education, Zevulun Hammer and Yigal Allon reaffirmed their wholehearted support for the project.

Situated on a hill-top in the Judean mountains, 25 kms from the center of Jerusalem, at the head of the Valley of Elah, where David fought Goliath, in the heart of our Biblical homeland; and 35 kms from Tel Aviv, with a stunning view of the sea to the west on a clear day, the campus would be a world unto itself. Surrounded by trees, rock outcroppings and a boundless sky, a small village would rise containing dormitories, study halls, laboratories, faculty apartments and houses, libraries, synagogue, sport fields, amphitheatre and a main street comprising the spine of the complex. Outdoor sculptures, fountains, green grass would abound. The buildings would be built of red brick and tawny Jerusalem stone.

The Academy was to be a residential, co-educational secondary school for 480 pupils, half from Israel and half from the Diaspora, seeking gifted and talented students, and basing admission on rigorous criteria, including exams, essays, interviews and recommendations. It would seek to develop in its students sound scholarship, desirable moral character and self-reliance, as well as a commitment to work for the good of the Jewish people and all mankind. The creation of a strong sense of Jewish identity in each student, based upon the twin foci of the State of Israel and the meaning of Judaism, would be a fundamental factor in the school's philosophy. The students would become immersed in a total atmosphere enabling them to understand and to love the heritage of their people and its contribution to the human race.

All of this, of course, would be in addition to the secular courses of study required for admission to any of the great universities of the world. The British standards of "A" level; American standards of SAT scores; Israeli standards of Bagrut; similar standards for the French Sorbonne or the leading German universities would all have to be met, and not just minimally, but at the most advanced level. The intermingling of Jewish and general studies in a common high-level curriculum is a natural framework

for students of high intelligence, who would matriculate into top universities and gradually evolve into leaders in the Jewish and general worlds.

I prepared a brochure for parents and contributors which contained a description of student life. Two relevant paragraphs follow:

“Each student will belong to and live in one of eight dormitory clusters. Each cluster will house 60 students and 4 faculty families. Student accommodations will consist of a self-contained apartment for 4 persons: two bedrooms, living room, kitchenette, bathroom. Each bedroom will house two students, one Israeli and one Diaspora. They will learn each other’s language, psychology, cultural habits, and hopefully will become life-long friends, whose families will visit back and forth as the years go on. Some aliyah will result, but at very least Israeli-Diaspora relations, not very healthy today, will improve based on mutual understanding. The 4 faculty persons living with their families in the cluster will each act as counselor to an assigned group of 15 students, offering the personal touch, for which there is great need at the crucial teen-age years. Accessible in the dormitory, in the classroom, at athletics and extra-curricular activities, at meals and in the evening, these teachers will offer strong support and often act in loco parentis.

Athletics will figure prominently in the day’s schedule. At least 2 hours every weekday afternoon will be devoted to individual or intramural sports. There will be plentiful tennis courts, various large fields for ball games, outdoor and indoor gymnasiums, swimming pools, etc. A full program of social events will be interspersed - movies, dances, concerts, plays. There will be frequent trips throughout Israel, as well as trips to Europe, particularly to learn about Greek and Roman civilization, in addition to the major modern nations. The Sabbath will be a major institution at the Academy. It will be spent in prayer, song, Torah study, ceremony, recreation. Guest speakers will come. Celebrations will be created. The Jewish traditions and holidays will be honored. The dietary laws will be observed.”

As conceived, this school would offer unique advantages. It would provide the high standard of general education which the student could receive at any of the very best private secondary schools anywhere in the

world, plus the full, rich Jewish education and personal experience in Israel he or she could not get anywhere else, other than at this school, plus an emphasis on commitment and service to the Jewish people, which may, in the long run, be the highest educational gain of all. For this Academy would shape the students' Jewish identity and performance on behalf of the Jewish people and the Jewish State for the balance of their lives and their next generation of children.

IF THE IDEA WAS SO GOOD.....WHAT HAPPENED?

The Jerusalem Academy was never built, in spite of the fact that Zvi Toren, the architect, and I worked very hard. He drew hundreds of pages of blueprints; met with the Regional Council Mateh Yehudah many times, to solicit enthusiasm for the project, to persuade them to grant the maximum land allocation, to accept red brick (an innovation) as a building material, to convince the neighboring moshavim and kibbutzim to accept us; met with the National Planning Council to obtain their overall building permit; came with me to the U.S. for a tour of several boarding schools and colleges to check his ideas and obtain new ones. He was endlessly patient, as he and I went over the plans again and again in specific detail, right down to deciding the width of corridors and the type of wood for staircase railings. He was a tower of strength, in professional and personal terms. I loved working with him.

I worked on the political level in the U.S. to explain the concept to the Senators and Congresspersons on the relevant appropriations committees whose votes were necessary in order to obtain the grant from the State Department which I had requested. There were about 20 individuals to be seen, and I pursued them from New Hampshire to New Mexico, back and forth from Washington to their home locations, making appointments and losing them and remaking . It was an awesome effort which took me finally to the topmost Administrator of ASHA (American Schools and Hospitals Abroad), Mr. Peter McPherson. He became increasingly interested in the Jerusalem Academy as a vehicle which would produce graduates who, in the years ahead, would grow into positions of responsibility in both the U.S. and Israel, and who would understand each other's mentality, as old school friends, to the advantage of improving relations between the two countries, in conformity with American policy to

maintain tight links between two allies. He promised one million dollars toward the first stage of construction, knowing that four stages were required for full completion. He knew I would be back with a similar request for each stage, and his attitude toward continuation of support encouraged me mightily.

I worked with the Internal Revenue Service and engaged a law firm, Willkie, Farr and Gallagher, to obtain tax-exempt status, which was mandatory if we were to raise money. We received the affirmative letter on 19 August 1977.

I worked on raising funds, large and small. Hiring lawyers in the U.S. and in Israel, buying airplane tickets, hotel rooms and food, took constant amounts of small money, while maintaining the office in Jerusalem on Abarbanel St. took larger, and supporting Mr. Toren in his work took still larger. The process of fund-raising was endless.

In Israel, I worked organizing the non-profit basic structures of Society and Board. This required explaining the plan in detail to each individual whose support we wanted. Most of them were very busy public figures, yet gave me the necessary time very graciously, and almost all became fascinated by the pioneering nature of the project, agreeing to lend their names and reputations. Only one person ever resigned, and he was Yitzhak Navon, who was elected as President of Israel, which made it impossible for him to serve on any private Boards. He told me he would return to us when his term in office was finished.

In Israel, the U.S. and Europe, I worked to form the International Advisory Council, consisting of seven world-famous personalities who agreed to help the Jerusalem Academy because they believed in its goals, philosophy and methods. This task consumed time, energy and money, but I felt that mobilizing such a prestigious list added to the potential success of the whole operation.

It is impossible to enumerate the people seen, the problems discussed, the details solved, the advances achieved - all without staff and without any personal salary over a three-year period. I had to arrange speech-making tours in the U.S. to earn a very modest income.

And so - the key question remains. With this huge outlay of effort on the part of Zvi Toren and myself - with approximately \$7 million pledged or paid toward the \$10 million needed for the first stage; with all permits in hand (an incredible victory over the Israeli bureaucracy); with administrative, legal and tax status all in order; and with the first borings on the site yielding a favorable report that heavy blasting of rock would not be necessary - what happened, why was the Academy not started? I have tried hard to analyze the complex variety of reasons, which will be offered below, but the bottom line is: I closed it down of my own free will, without pressure from any person to do so, thus there is no one to blame except myself.

In retrospect, I feel that the following five factors all played a part in my decision:

1. Personal fatigue and loneliness.

After working seven years on the project, from mid-1975 to mid-1982, largely alone except for Toren, I was simply tired, broke and discouraged. Our family returned to the U.S. in 1978. I rented a small office at 75 E. 55th St. to continue working on the Academy. (A remarkable coincidence found me many years later 50 meters westward on the same street opening the Wexner Heritage Foundation office.) I had one assistant, Hon. Moshe Leshem, an old friend, a former Ambassador in Israel's Foreign Ministry, now living in New York. Gradually, I couldn't afford even his humble salary, and went to that office every day, sat alone, working the phone, trying to raise the money to keep going. The harder job was to keep my own spirit alive and my own morale from cracking.

2. Inability to establish a functioning organization.

I was a one-man show, without staff, and this was just not sufficient to build an organism, lay and professional, which could advance systematically toward creating the living reality. I needed a strong group of lay leaders to canvass the list of major contributors, and did not have such a group. Nor did I have anyone working on publicity, so that news of the school-in-planning could be widespread. Nor did I have staff to contact the educational systems in the major communities in the U.S., bespeaking their cooperation. Nor did I have a committee of lay leaders approaching families whose children we would hope to attract. In short, nothing substantial was done in the areas of fund-raising (beyond my personal effort), publicity or

student-recruitment. Working alone, I could not simultaneously create the volunteer lay leadership structures, nor pay a staff so badly needed.

3. Insufficient Funds.

We did manage to raise about three-quarters of a million dollars in cash and more than six million more in pledges (to be paid during the two-three years of construction time). Three gifts of \$1 million each came from ASHA, Charles Schusterman of Tulsa and Harvey (Bud) Meyerhoff of Baltimore. Stanley Sloane of New York was chairman of the American Friends group, and he was a most sincere and devoted lay leader who tried hard to inspire others. His gift was in the six-figure range, as were those of Leonard Strelitz of Virginia and Alex Grass of Harrisburg. Scores of friends replied in the four-and-five-figure range. All these contributors responded because they believed in the concept, and were expressing respect for me. But even this was not enough. We simply did not have sufficient funding to continue.

4. Decision Not to Ask for Agency or Government Funds.

This was a unique decision on my part, for a very basic reason. The Academy had to be totally free and independent of any bureaucratic interference. Compliance with the plethora of regulations and criteria fashioned by government, or directives from sources which might not agree with our philosophy and operation, would not only be annoying, but would consume time and energy better employed in keeping our internal engine running smoothly. Of course, I intended to work in close cooperation with the Ministry of Education, would ask for advice and would welcome suggestions. But that was different from accepting public funding which would obligate us to adhere to rules and regulations that would be imposed and might inhibit or even prevent us from doing what we thought was in the best interest of our school. And, of course, we would welcome inspection by the Ministry. After all, this school was not being built on the moon, and half its student body were Israeli youngsters. But freedom and independence were crucial - hence no public funds - only private contributions.

5. Building Smaller Would be Unfair to the First Class of Students.

It was suggested that we did have enough money to start by building half of the planned first stage - i.e. build for 60 students instead of the proposed 120. This would require only one dormitory complex instead

of two, one classroom building instead of two, smaller dining hall, fewer faculty houses, etc. Such a "compromise" sounded reasonable to many friends on the Board. After very careful thought, I decided against this solution for pedagogical and psychological reasons. I felt it might turn out to be unfair to the first 60 students whom we would admit.

I was afraid that if we started in this weak financial position, we might remain there, unable to gather momentum, condemned to a stunted school with no future, thus prejudicing the status of the 60 pioneers. We could not carry them through to graduation four years later, for we would not be able to maintain the faculty and superstructure necessary to nourish their growth through the increasingly demanding advanced years, with admission to universities as the end goal.

On the other hand, if we built for 120 entering students, and suffered the bad luck of becoming stalled at that level, we would have enough faculty to carry the 120 all the way through without harming their future. And then, if forced to, we could close down. The basic question was a moral one, and I felt there was only one answer.

In addition to the reasons given above, there are two afterthoughts, concerning possible strategic errors.

1. Putting the Conference Center in Second Place.

The original plan contemplated building a Conference Center on the grounds of the Jerusalem Academy. This type of institution includes residential facilities as well as educational, thus the factors of symbiosis and synergy made it quite logical to place the Academy and the Center together, for several reasons. First, the Center could serve as an Inn for families visiting their youngsters at the Academy. Second, the Center could serve individuals seeking private study who would be attracted by the academic environment of the campus. Third, the Center could serve as a base for missions and groups coming from abroad, by offering them all the technological infrastructure for lectures, workshops, seminars, videos, as well as computers, fax machines and cell phones.

Twenty-five or thirty years after Hertzl Fishman first started talking about such a Conference Center in Israel, and since there is, until today, no such state-of-the art facility in the entire country, his idea is correct and still to be realized. It is clear that skillful marketing to UJA,

Federations, congregations whose rabbis bring groups every year, and all national organizations throughout the Diaspora which hold assemblies of their members in Israel on behalf of universities, Bonds, hospitals and museums would produce a steady stream of customers. All this from the outside, does not take into account the whole spectrum of associations inside Israel, including business, military, academic, medical, legal, etc., who are constantly seeking locations for meetings, and have no recourse except hotel ballrooms. A Conference Center which is a commercial success, making a profit, would become an additional source of funds for the Academy.

In my enthusiasm for the school, and with the fierce competition for my time and energy, I did not concentrate on the Conference Center at all, postponing it as a good project to be undertaken some years down the road. That might have been a mistake. Perhaps I should have searched for one or two individuals and focussed them on building the Center, which would have been completed a year or more before the school was ready to open. And that, too, might have accelerated fund-raising for the school. Large groups, coming to the campus frequently, and seeing the school buildings emerging from the ground, might have been very useful in spreading publicity and themselves developing enthusiasm which could turn them into potential contributors. Who knows?

2. No Market Research.

It was often suggested during our many discussions on fund-raising that we should make an effort, through market research, to determine whether we would, indeed, be able to find enough admissible students in the Diaspora whose parents would be willing to let them go so far away to boarding school at such a relatively tender age. I kept postponing a decision on this suggestion, for a very simple reason. I knew that I personally could not undertake such research at this juncture, in addition to the load I was already handling, nor did we have the funds to hire a professional firm to do the job.

I thought of the student-raising matter in terms of the same methodology as a fund-raising matter - i.e. that it was best done by a one-to-one approach with a pre-selected list of families, to be obtained from a variety of sources (rabbis, lower school principals, federation executives, local bureau of education executives) capable of making recommendations.

The canvassing of these sources was in itself a massive task, for it would involve personal visits to all these people, in all their cities. Armed with the list of families, a second similar round robin all around the country would ensue, and I could easily envision the elapse of a year or more.

I knew the effort had to be made, and I was quite prepared to undertake it; as a matter of fact I looked forward to it, for the enrollment of students of a certain quality was the key to the reputation of the school. But the schedule of so doing, in my mind, was during the period of actual construction, when I could be absent, for I had complete faith in Toren's ability to supervise the building contractor. During the period of the 2-3 years it would take for construction, I could be out raising more funds and recruiting students.

In retrospect, that might have been an error. Perhaps, if I had been more insistent from the very beginning that the few lay leaders we had must do the first fund-raising, instead of my doing it, that would have freed me to go searching for students and faculty. Possesion and publication of an actual list of students who intended to apply for admission might have been a strong force to prove that the idea of the Academy was viable, and that fact might have assisted in the fund-raising process. Who knows? We see here a circular, but possibly accurate, line of reasoning.

When a great dream falters, struggles, rises and finally falls, the people most closely affected by the drama are left shattered. Recovery is often slow, and can be abetted by an immediate plunge into another acitivity. That therapy was available to me and I seized it.

But true therapy is the hope that the great dream might be realized by a later believer. And that hope has truly sustained me. The plans are carefully preserved in tall aluminum tubes standing in the architect's cellar, and the land in the Judean hills is still there - vacant. I hope I live to see the dream re-activated, as I am certain it will be, since the essence of it is so correct.

WEXNER HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Birth and Growth

Leslie Wexner is a remarkable person: very bright, friendly, soft-spoken, idealistic, non-aggressive, often described as shy. Yet, in combination with these characteristics, there lies a powerful entrepreneurial spirit which has propelled him into the front rank of America's merchants. He has achieved this status through his singular skills - building the empire himself, laying block upon block, risking, almost failing, recovering, always planning very carefully, expanding with an eye on the future. Several talents have brought him to the heights, including a remarkable sense of fashion and design, an almost painful attention to detail and the ability to see far forward.

On the non-business side, he has a beautifully developed feeling of social obligation to a wide span of areas: his local community of Columbus, Ohio; his university, Ohio State; his Jewish identity, which extends to Israel and world Jewry. He serves these causes with genuine devotion, even though the personal participation which he can contribute to any specific project is often limited by the fierce competition for his time.

After a long career as a bachelor, he recently married a lovely, intelligent, beautiful younger woman who has borne 3 children within 3 years, and this family now commands his utmost love and attention. His chief hobby is architecture and interior design. As he draws plans for a new house, or boat, or airplane, and moves from place to place, checking and re-designing, the whole family, with retinue of staff, moves also. He delights in their presence and they in his. On a recent flight from Columbus to London in the private Boeing 727, he was seen rolling around on the floor of the plane with a 2-year-old, both laughing and hugging. It was a pleasure to see the human side of the titan.

I describe this man with deep affection and admiration because his vision is so large and long, his heart so big, his purse so generous. He is unique in that he eschews the conventional acts of accepting titles, sitting on committees, chairing endless dinners, speaking formulaically. His

leadership is felt by remote control and role modelling. Only when he is starting something new is there heavy concentration on the details of the project, as, for instance, with Operation Exodus of the UJA, whose purpose was to assist in the massive move of Russian Jews to Israel and the United States during the 1991-95 period. Only when satisfied with the structure of the project, does he remove himself to a more distant position, thus freeing his time for the next item demanding attention.

We met first in the winter of 1983. The intermediary who brought us together was Gordon Zacks, a very longtime friend and one of the first chairmen of the Young Leadership Cabinet. Gordon lived in Columbus and was also a close friend of Wexner's. Gordon called to report that Leslie had an idea of inviting several local Jewish young men of extraordinary promise as his guests on a four-day mission to Europe on his private jet, a Gulfstream IV, with the hope that they would be inspired to contribute their personal efforts to improve the Columbus annual Federation/UJA campaign. Wexner asked Zacks to recommend someone who had the experience, vision, energy and contacts to arrange an itinerary which would expose the group to current Jewish history, and result in an emotional impact. The purpose of Gordon's call was to persuade me to undertake the formation of an agenda, contact the key personalities abroad, and actively lead the group. At that time I was fully engaged as President of the American Friends of Tel Aviv University, but decided that it was worth taking four days off to have a change of scenery and perhaps even produce a new bunch of young leaders. So I said yes to Gordon and the as yet unknown Mr. Wexner.

The plan was to fly from Columbus on a Thursday at 4 p.m. and to touch down upon return at 4 p.m. on Sunday. This was the week of Chanukah, so I took a pocket menorah, some candles and a song sheet. There were ten of us aboard. In the blackness of the night, over the Atlantic, we could see the lights of another aircraft some near distance from us. I requested that our interior lights be darkened; then we lighted the candles and hoped that they, in the other plane, would be touched by the magic of seeing our tiny lights across the black sky. Reciting the blessings, singing the songs, telling the story of the Maccabees, we, a full minyan, felt the finger of history in that very special setting.

We landed in Vienna; met with the Israel Ambassador for the inside story of the Austrian flirtation with the PLO, and the simultaneous Austrian permission for Israel to use the capital as a staging area for the Russian migration. This paradox was typical of the Viennese reputation as the espionage center of Europe. In the afternoon we went to the South Station to witness Russian Jews who were passing daily through this city on the train from Moscow. We walked to the very end of the platform, for I had learned that the Jews gathered in the last two cars. As they descended and assembled luggage we had a chance to exchange greetings in Hebrew, Yiddish and English. They were taken by bus to a hostel for a few days of processing, and then continued to Tel Aviv by El Al planes which came at night. It was exciting to feel the pulse of a large wave of migration. That night we had dinner with Simon Wiesenthal, the famous Nazi-hunter, in the Imperial Hotel. Again, we had the feeling of brushing against a historic figure, whose life was a roller-coaster of emotions, involving great successes and tremendous frustrations and horrendous fights over claims he made about having uncovered such-and-such a top Nazi which were disputed by others, including Israeli officials. We knew our guest was a man of fantastic devotion to his cause whose life had not been easy. Though he lived in Vienna, his monument was in Los Angeles, where an impressive and important center carried his name. All of this, so far, and only a day after leaving Columbus, which seemed on another planet. We slept in the Imperial Friday night.

In the morning it was a short flight to Linz, still in Austria, the city of Hitler's birth. From the airport, a quick bus ride deposited us at the storied gate of Mauthausen, one of the notorious Nazi camps, where scores of thousands were worked to death in the quarries and other multitudes were gassed and burned. The stone ramparts, cruel and fearsome, froze our hearts, as the December cold and snow froze our bodies. We circulated through the buildings, from chamber to chamber, furnace to furnace, saw the rooms where experimental operations were done, where gold teeth were extracted from corpses, where unspeakable torment was invisible to the outside world. And then, silently, walked across a frozen field to a small monument where we finally laid our wreath, said our Kaddish, and walked to the bus in silent sadness. The Angel of Death was in the air and we actually felt the touch.

Again, a short flight to Munich in southern Germany, the city in which Hitler tried his putsch from the beer hall in 1923, the city where he grew his movement into millions of Brown Shirt storm troopers and Black Shirt Gestapo killers, the city from which he went to Berlin in 1933 to become Chancellor of the Third Reich. Only ten years, of which a portion was spent in prison in nearby Landsberg where he wrote "Mein Kampf", between being a ranting mystic lunatic to becoming the all-powerful leader of a rapidly re-arming dangerous nation. For those ten years his power base was this city of Munich. We went to see his brown house, from whose balcony he drew thousands to listen to his harangues against the Jews. Around the corner was a large public building in which the infamous meeting with Neville Chamberlain took place. Czechoslovakia was sold out and Hitler knew that the western world was afraid to fight him. Not far from his house was the Konigsplatz, a great open square where the huge fiery rallies were held. Imagine 100,000 men in uniform, standing in solid ranks, arms outstretched, shouting Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil, as Hitler marched to the podium, then singing "Deutschland, Deutschland, Uber Alles". They were going to conquer the world, and on the way exterminate the Jewish vermin who poisoned the planet. I knew Munich well, for I had lived there in 1945, after the war ended, and worked with the JDC on forming several displaced persons camps all around the city. And as we walked from place to place, I poured out all the history and the memories. The group was overwhelmed by the scope of what they had seen and heard. Before leaving Munich we went to a typical beer cellar, full of Germans singing lustily, drank our ritual liter, and left with that last impression to the airport.

The flight from Munich to Paris was less than one hour.(How wonderful to have one's private plane serving, more or less, as a taxicab.) We went straight to the Hotel Crillon, next door to the American Embassy, right in the middle of town, at the bottom of the Champs Elysee, and changed quickly for our next appointment. This was sheer pleasure, for it was a reception at the home of Baron David de Rothschild, son of the senior Baron Guy, who would someday inherit his father's positions as head of the Consistoire (the governmentally recognized Jewish religious establishment for France). David was about the same age as our young leaders, which fact created an immediate rapport in the palatial residence. Our group felt at ease, and this made for a wonderful evening. Dinner followed at the Pre

Catalan restaurant, one of the most renowned in gourmet Paris, located in the heart of the beautiful wooded Bois de Boulogne. The kitchen had been properly prepared so that the Grand Rabbi of France could join the party, as well as the Israeli Ambassador and other local notables. There were 12 guests and 10 of us, hence 22 waiters were required, one standing behind each chair. So it goes at the height of formal society. We slept well at the Crillon that Saturday night.

Sunday morning we drove to Belleville, a crowded suburb of Paris, populated heavily by Sephardic North African Jews, who had migrated here in the 1960's. Most of their relatives from Morocco and Tunisia had chosen Israel as their new home, while most of the Algerians had elected France. We went to their synagogue and participated in a joyous singing Chanukah service and party, tasting the spicy latkes and sugary sufganiot (jelly doughnuts). Talking with the people in a mixture of languages, we got an inkling of their experiences in the Arab countries from which they had fled. A quick bus ride to Orly Airport, wheels up at 12 noon local time, wheels down at 4 p.m. in Columbus.

The trip was truly incredible. The experiences had penetrated deeply. The hours on the flight home provided plenty of time for the group to huddle closely, ask questions, obtain answers. It was an enormous success. The seven invitees were all super-charged - eager to get to work in the community. With the exception of one person who moved away, all six have made extraordinary contributions in a variety of activities over the past decade and more. Les Wexner was very pleased, as were Gordon and I. The example of this kind of intense exposure to the vagaries of the Jewish condition in the real world left an impression on Wexner. The effects of the trip reverberated in many of our future conversations

Throughout 1984 he and I enjoyed a series of luncheon meetings. He wanted to explore ideas related to one basic question, namely: what was the most important thing he could do to strengthen the American Jewish community. I gave my opinion that the single most important objective was to create a cadre of specially selected lay leaders who would be specially educated and imbued with the desire to improve the communities in which they lived. A program would have to be crafted which would pay serious attention to the two words "educated" and "improve". If we were skillful

and creative, those words would explode into actions destined to "strengthen" the national Jewish polity.

Decades earlier I had conceived the same idea, called the Young Leadership Cabinet, based upon the premise that the indispensable prerequisite for successful fund-raising was a program for "people-raising". No matter how valid the cause, and in the late 1950's rescuing endangered Jews plus building a strong Israel to absorb them was the most valid of causes, without an adequate pool of motivated manpower the fund-raising capability would be weak. Looking back at the demands we made upon those selected for the prestigious Cabinet, I can see how narrow was the focus. The minimum requirement was to solicit ten cards in the campaign of each one's home city; make one trip per month to solicit similarly in another city; read one book we sent them every month; and join one mission to Israel per year. The focus was almost entirely campaign-oriented, and while I have just labelled that as narrow, in retrospect, it was at that time so broad, so innovative, so aggressive, that its model and even its name were copied by every organization in the entire Jewish world. It served its purpose, sustained the campaign during and between wars and waves of immigration, and many of its graduates today, now in their late 60's and early 70's, are the veteran leaders in their communities.

Today's world, with its more attenuated American Jews, is different, and when Les and I were having our philosophical discussions about creating a new generation of leaders, I was thinking of a different agenda. I was concentrating not primarily on fund-raising, although that ingredient is an unavoidable element in any program designed for progress and change, but related rather to a strong injection of background knowledge for those whose early Jewish education had been so thin and fragmentary. If we provided a corpus of information, based on texts; if we stressed a set of priorities for their communal action; if we offered a firm conviction that day school education for their children was crucial; and if we issued an urgent call for them, as parents, to expand the areas of ritual and religious participation in their family life - all these elements would go very far toward strengthening Jewish identity in this free country which provided so many temptations to assimilate.

We debated the theoretical question as to whether leaders were born, or could be made from conventional clay. Could ordinary mortals, with high IQ's and strong backbones, somehow be educated and inspired to function as leaders, whether or not they were born with and innately possessed the charisma, charm and ambition which marked the Churchills of history, or the lonesome driven magic of the Lincolns. Wexner's opinion was that leaders of the first caliber could only be born. My position was more pragmatic. I agreed with him, if we were speaking of a certain scale, but the contemporary weakening condition of the Jewish people could not wait for the occasionally genius to appear. Rather, we had to search for the best human material we could find and mold it into a leadership frame of mind, which would demand certain actions of them. Our discussion was fascinating and intense. Finally he said, "Let's try it". In 1985, the Wexner Heritage Foundation was born.

During July and August of that year, Gordon and I met with Les at his home in Columbus for many hours every Sunday, working out the principles and rules of operation for the new project. When this was done, we spoke about a starting point, and I suggested doing 4 cities in the midwest simultaneously. Les humored me, and said that when he planned to open a new type of store, he started with one, honed and polished it, ironed out all the inevitable wrinkles, and when satisfied, was willing to open 40 in the following year. I took his meaning immediately, and recommended Columbus, which was his intention all along. So, I commenced with the selection of students, and by the end of September we had 16 of the very best people (including several who had been on the 4-day super-trip two years ago) sitting around the large boardroom table at the Community Center. I was the entire faculty, and flew from New York to Columbus every two weeks for the entire academic year. During the middle of the year, we had to make a decision about the cities for next year. Les was extremely pleased with the feedback he was hearing, and asked me which 4 cities I had in mind. These were Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee and Minneapolis. He approved and ahead we went, full steam.

The Purpose and Structure of the Wexner Heritage Foundation is a six-page computer-produced document, and is the only paper describing what we are. Since the entire venture is a singular act of philanthropy on Leslie Wexner's part (which has no counterpart in the entire Jewish world),

there is no need to raise funds, and therefore no need for brochures, advertising, dinners, staff.

1. The Purpose of the Wexner Heritage Foundation is to educate Jewish community activists of a certain age (32-42) in the history, thought, practice and nationhood of the Jewish people through a program of intensive study and discussion. These leaders must constantly seek to improve their performance by deepening their knowledge of Judaism, Jewish uniqueness, and the reborn State of Israel.

The program is holistic, since it conceives of a community in its totality, and thinks of leaders as persons who serve any and all aspects of communal life.

The purpose of the program is to raise people. It will offer a balanced presentation of material, helping members form an ideology or point of view. The ability to engage in objective critical analysis will assist them in policy and decision making. Making decisions, while avoiding community collisions, is the special responsibility of leadership.

The pursuit of this knowledge will bond the participants into a group whose dedication will yield wonderful improvement for their communities, as well as for themselves.

2. The Members are admitted to the program through a rigorous process of nomination, screening by questionnaire, and finally by personal interview. Candidates do not apply through their own initiative. Nominations are solicited from a wide network of professional and lay leaders in the community, who are informed of the profile of the type of person, man or woman, we are seeking. These nominees, often hundreds in number, are invited to complete a 10-page questionnaire, which are then carefully evaluated. The most promising, usually 50 or 60 persons, are granted personal interviews, which are held in their community. One or two staff persons travel to these interviews. This is not easy, but selection of the right candidates is the single most important element in the program. This highly personal approach creates the reputation of the program as being very serious and elite. And it gives us the proof we seek that the candidates accepted are truly committed to the future of the Jewish people.

A seminar group is limited to 18-20 individuals. This is the largest number feasible to be seated around one large table. It is explained during

the personal interviews that our discipline is rather strict, in the interest of deriving the most from the resources of money and time being invested. If one is selected for admission, it is expected that attendance at the bi-weekly seminars will be timely and obligatory. Each seminar will require the reading of 50-75 pages of material which will be sent in advance. Seminars are held from 5.30 to 9.30 p.m., with a light supper provided at 7 p.m. during which the discussion is expected to continue. There are 19 seminar sessions held during the ten months of September-June. If, for some reason, it is not possible for the member to attend a session, notice should be given in advance to the Foundation office (obviously, medical or other emergencies are exceptions).

Denominational affiliation is not relevant. The Foundation believes in religious pluralism, and is therefore multi-denominational in its orientation, faculty and student body.

Members, men or women, are selected individually. Spouses do not attend the bi-weekly seminars because of space limitations, but we encourage members to share the readings and discussions with their spouses. Further, spouses are invited to attend retreats and institutes at their own travel expense. All other spousal expenses are subsidized by the Foundation.

3. The Faculty consists of leading scholars, rabbis, educators and lecturers. All are engaged in public life and deeply aware of the nature and condition of present-day American Jewry. Many are specialists in particular fields. There are 51 who are currently, or have been in the past few years, permanent teachers. They are all employed elsewhere in demanding professions, and we are grateful that they carve out time to be available to the Foundation. In addition, we have enjoyed the company of 45 Israeli lecturers, some of whom we have invited to the U.S., most of whom have appeared before Summer Institutes held in Israel. The very top of the Israeli hierarchy has responded, including Presidents Navon, Herzog and Weizman; Prime Ministers Rabin, Peres, Begin and Netanyahu; Cabinet Ministers Eban, Beilin, Sharansky and Sneh; Mayors Kollek, Olmert and Lahat. We have also had, with great pleasure, two Israeli Arabs, Hashim Mehameed, a member of Parliament, and Newwaf Masalha, a deputy minister of health; and two Palestinians, Elias Frej, mayor of Bethlehem, and Saib Erekat, deputy to Arafat and head of the PLO negotiating team.

The members are constantly impressed, sometimes overwhelmed, by the quality of the faculty, who are rotated 3 or 4 times during the academic year, to give the members a fresh face periodically. The Foundation can be justly proud of such an assemblage of talent.

4. The Curriculum is divided into four large subject areas:

a) Basic Judaism - this is covered in a summer session of five or six days, after the members in a given city have been selected, and before they start their year one seminars in September. They are exposed to theology (God, Covenant, Messiah, etc.), rituals, holidays (meaning and observance), and similar subjects.

b) The History of the Jewish People - this is covered in Year One in 19 sessions, from Abraham (ca. 1750 B.C.E.) down to the very present. The members obtain an overview, obviously without a great deal of detail, but at least they get the main events that occurred along the road. They learn how we were formed and how we got to where we are today.

c) The Thought of the Jewish People - this is covered in Year Two in 19 sessions, and contains a study of the major texts and ideas which have been the intellectual and legal foundations of our basic philosophy. This is harder than Year One, because the texts, including the Bible, are unfamiliar, but they struggle through and appreciate the effort. What is hard to digest is all the more appreciated.

d) Contemporary Issues - these are covered in the Summer Institutes, which are six to eight days and held in resort conference centers. Locations have been Snowmass and Aspen, Colorado; Lake Tahoe, California; Snowbird, Utah; Caesarea and Jerusalem, Israel. Using a combination of plenary sessions and workshops, bringing in many outside lecturers and experts, working seven hours daily, plus evening speakers, we explore the complex challenges facing Israel and American Jewry today. Some of the issues dealt with include: a Constitution for Israel?; Arab citizens of Israel - are they second class?; can the conflict between religious and secular Israelis be compromised?

5. Miscellaneous

a) In addition to his financial generosity, Les also extends personal hospitality. Whenever the Foundation holds a Basic Judaism or a Summer Institute in or near Aspen, sometimes involving hundreds of people, he invites the entire assembly to his stunning ranch home in Aspen for a late afternoon barbecue, with music, out on the terrace facing the western range of mountains. He has done this on three occasions, the most recent in 1996, when the Basic and the Summer were held back-to-back, so he tendered two such parties, one on Thursday and the other on Sunday. There is such a swell of affection and appreciation for this "over and beyond the call of duty" as to leave everyone floating in a cloud of euphoria.

b) At the end of Year Two, for the number of cities which have completed that curriculum, we conduct a "graduation" during the Summer Institute. This is quite simple, yet touching. The members are called to the platform, to the tune of Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance", given their diplomas individually by Mr. Wexner, which permits the photo to be snapped, and the whole ceremony takes 20 minutes. Les sometimes makes a short speech, sometimes not. Then the whole class performs a funny sketch or song, usually "roasting" the staff. Possession of the diploma and photo is the highlight for each person. The mood is high and so is morale. The text of the diploma is modest, alleging no extraordinary achievement. It is herewith appended.

c) In September 1997, Los Angeles, the final city in this continental round, will begin its Year One and the Foundation will be faced with a cross-roads decision. Where do we go next? I see four possibilities:

1. U.S. - round II, start again, because there is a new generation of the right age, and we could spend the next 10-12 years covering the same cities over again.

2. Canada - Toronto is certainly worthy of the program, and possibly Montreal and Vancouver.

3. Israel - where we made probes 3 and 4 years ago, but decided then to complete round I in the U.S. before going abroad. However,



This is to recognize that
Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman
הרב צבי בן ישראל ורחל
 has undertaken a Course of Study
 in the traditions, literature, and history
 of the Jewish People
 and in so doing has enhanced
 his ability to serve as a leader
 in the Jewish Community

Leslie H. Wexner

Leslie H. Wexner, Chairman

Herbert A. Friedman

Rabbi Herbert A. Friedman, President

6 July 1987

Nathan S. Laufer

Rabbi Nathan Laufer, Esq.,
 Director of Programs

Israel needs this program very badly. And the mood in that country would welcome it now, because everyone is aware that the Jewish identity of modern secular Israelis is just as weak as that of assimilated American Jews, paradoxical as this may sound.

4. Former Soviet Union - after 75 years of communism and 5 years of confusion, even after the huge migrations to Israel, it appears that there will be a remainder population of a million plus who are now aware of their Jewish heritage but have no knowledge of any elements of the Judaism which now defines them. There is a small but growing infrastructure in formation of synagogues, schools and community centers. An educated leadership, by our criteria, does not exist. It must be created from scratch. Several cities are candidates: Kiev, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Khabarovsk in far Siberia come to mind immediately.

Hopefully, we will shortly arrive at a decision as to which road to take.

6. A Few Exceptional Results

So much has happened in so many cities as a result of the insights gained and motivations aroused by the Wexner program in the large pool of talented people, that there is no way, within the limits of space, to list everything. But a glimpse is possible.

a) Chicago - a new synagogue, Aitz Hayim, has been created in the northern suburbs of the city by two members and their spouses, whose personal energy and funding, with a strong assist from one faculty person, are the parents. Some two hundred families have joined them. Their holiday celebrations are innovative, seeking to duplicate the environment and atmosphere of Biblical times, using nature outdoors instead of a building indoors. They write study pamphlets explaining every event. They invite first-class scholars to spend a week-end several times during the year. They cooperate grandly with the Federation during campaign time. It is a joyous, creative, intelligent model of a new synagogue without a building, but with a school.

b) Atlanta - two new day schools have been created, one elementary, which is up and functioning, to the third grade already; and the other a high school, whose organization is proceeding apace, with a headmaster and administrative director already secured. The former is the personal project of one member and spouse, whose extended family, long-time socially prominent Reform leaders, have backed him nobly. The second has a lay chairman and several board members from the Wexner group, working enthusiastically and rapidly.

c) Long Island, New York - a Solomon Schechter High School is up and running, with four Schechter elementary schools serving as feeders, so that a constant flow of students is assured. They are in the third year of operation, and several Wexner members are among the strongest leaders.

d) Boston, Denver, San Diego, Ft. Lauderdale - are in various levels of planning high schools, all with Wexner people acting as prime or secondary movers. This is quite remarkable, in view of the fact that prior to this new spurt of activity, there existed fewer than a dozen Jewish high schools in the entire country, outside of the Orthodox yeshiva network.

e) Columbus - has an elementary day school, long established, with a traditional orientation. Several Wexner members felt the need for a communal school, and now, after some years of discussion, have concretized their objectives and are now in the active planning stage.

f) Manhattan, New York - not one, but two new Community Centers, as these institutions are known throughout the country, but in New York are called YMandWHA, or just Y's for short, as in the very famous 92nd St. Y, have been established, both with strong Wexner input. One, down on 14th St., has a member as the executive director. This is a remodeled building, with UJA/Federation participation, and she runs the whole operation. The second, on the Upper West Side, is constructing a large new facility, and operating meanwhile in various rented spaces. The key lay personnel are Wexner graduates, determined to shape an institution which will display a program of Jewish identity-formation among the scores of thousands of Jews living on the West Side.

g) Boca Raton, Florida - a large campus, with an elementary school, old folks home, and community center, has been created during the past several years, and is already planning an expansion onto new land, to serve the rapidly growing Jewish population. Wexner people are among the leaders driving this momentum. In addition, an interesting phenomenon has developed - namely, a thrust toward political office. Two Wexner members have scored in the recent election. One has become a U.S. Congressman, and another has become a State Senator. Both men have strong and open Jewish personalities, and will go far in politics.

7. SUMMATION

The testimonials are endless. The phrase "this program changed my life" is not a cliché. Scores of graduates entered their own children in day schools in their communities; altered their family's lifestyle with regard to Shabbat and holiday rituals; continued their Jewish studies into years three and even four at their own expense; entered into heavier workloads at their Federation and synagogue; joined community missions to Israel. As the years go on, the cumulative effect of their enhanced Jewish consciousness and their understanding that actions must flow from their deepening feelings about their own identities will help to achieve the long-range goal which Les Wexner put in his very first question to me years earlier - "What can I do to help strengthen the American Jewish community?"

That single question has resulted in a dozen years of work, most ably assisted by Rabbi Nathan Laufer, whose dedication and skill have elevated him to the presidency, from which I recently resigned to become founding president emeritus. He will continue to lead with enthusiasm and devotion. The work involved the enormous intellectual and emotional input of more than 100 educators and lecturers, producing more than 1000 graduates in 30 cities, from coast to coast, of the very finest men and women who have accepted the responsibility of serving their people and their faith at home and in Israel.

That single person possessed a vision as wide as a planet, whose continuous benefits in the century ahead cannot yet be imagined. Undeterred by material considerations, trusting me to shape and administer

the program for him, he asked the question, accepted the answer and committed himself. He will live to see these and future graduates and their communities make the strongest efforts to offset the saddening tendency toward a mindless diminution of the American Jewish sense of its identity. Knowledge is power, and the knowledge his graduates acquire through his legacy will empower them to alter the Jewish future in this country to the good.



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AMERICAN JEWRY
A FOUR-CENTURY SAGA

BEGINNINGS - 1654

The fascinating story of the very beginning of a community destined to become the most powerful Diaspora in all of Jewish history is told by Dr. Howard M. Sachar, Professor at George Washington University, in his 1000-page magisterial volume "A History of the Jews in America", published in 1992. It is written in an engrossing style, combining narrative with detailed fact.

He begins with the large colony of Sephardic Jews living in Recife, Brazil, on the Atlantic coast. This was a Dutch colony which had offered a haven to Jews displaced from Spain and Portugal a half-century earlier under the impact of the Catholic Inquisition and two politically-minded monarchs. The Jews prospered under the Dutch, until Portugal, one of the most powerful nations in the world of that time, conquered Brazil and introduced the Inquisition to the new world. This was the signal for the Jews to flee once more.

In early September 1654, a French barque, the Ste. Catherine, carrying 23 Jews (or fewer, some think) sailed into the Hudson River in North America, hoping to land at the tiny village of New Amsterdam, whose very name evoked the hope of a friendly reception.

If the small group, including 4 men 6 women and 13 children, had hoped for a friendly welcome, they were sharply disappointed. They arrived penniless, having been stripped earlier in the voyage by Spanish pirates of all their possessions except clothes and furniture. Then, at New Amsterdam, unable to pay the captain of the vessel for their passage, they lost their furniture to him at public auction. Finally, the Dutch governor, Pieter Stuyvesant, already hostile to Jews because of a previous experience in Curacao where, as Governor, he had argued with local Jews over their aversion to farming and preference for commerce, now resisted their settling in New Amsterdam. He wrote to the board of the Dutch West India

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Company in the Netherlands, asking for permission to expel these refugees, since Jews were notorious for "their usury and deceitful trading with Christians."

The minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Amsterdam supported Stuyvesant and added his own letter saying that "as we have here Papists, Mennonites and Lutherans, also many Puritans and Atheists and various other servants of Baal among the English, who conceal themselves under the name of Christians, it would create still greater confusion if the obstinate and immovable Jews came to settle here."

The obstinate Jews had contacts of their own back in Holland, among them being several important stockholders in the West India Company, to whom the refugees appealed. These individuals reacted immediately, reminding the board of the Company that the fugitives had "risked their possessions and their blood in defense of the lost Dutch colony of Recife" and that Jews brought economic benefits wherever they settled. The board instructed Stuyvesant to allow the Jews to remain, to worship and to trade in New Amsterdam provided "the poor among them shall not become a burden to the Deaconry or the Company, but be supported by their own nation."

The group settled in, working as butchers, importers, peddlers, metal workers, fur traders and retailers. Though at the beginning they were not allowed to bear arms, still within a year they were sharing in the defense of the village against the enemies without, namely Algonquin Indians and British. When it was felt necessary to build a wall across Manhattan Island, on the northern side of the townlet, from the Hudson to the East River, the Jews assisted in the construction work along what is today called Wall Street.

Within a few years it became obvious that the British intended to capture the small town (which they were to rename New York) for they had larger colonies all around it. Gradually most of the Jews sailed off, some to return to Holland, others to various Caribbean Islands and in 1663, nine years after their arrival the last group carried its Torah Scroll back to Holland. Of the pioneer Jewish settlers, only Asser Levy remained.

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SEPHARDIC WAVE - 1600's to 1700's

Curacao, an island in the Caribbean, was seized by the Dutch from the Spanish in 1634. Samuel Coheno, interpreter for the Dutch naval commander, was the first Jew to set foot on the island. In 1651 Joao d'Yllan, also a secret Jew who had lived in Dutch Brazil, led a small group of Jews from Amsterdam to Curacao. That same year, these adventurers started Mikve Israel synagogue, the oldest in the Americas. For centuries Curacao Jews have scattered sand imported from the Holy Land on the floor of the synagogue. A cemetery, whose earliest tombstones date from 1668, possesses 5500 graves. Curacao had the largest and most vibrant Jewish community in the Americas until the early 19th century, and still today has a vigorous Jewish population of about 500. Hebrew words have crept into the native language and beautiful old colonial homes in pastel colors stand as reminders of a once affluent center of 2000 which extended financial support to other Jewish groups in Jamaica, Panama, St. Thomas and Newport, Rhode Island

In addition to Curacao, Dutch Jews who had been re-admitted to England in the mid-1600's, started migrating to British colonies in Jamaica, Barbados, Nevis and others, soon reaching a population of more than 2000. They lived full and open Jewish lives. Jamaica had five synagogues by 1776 and Alexander Hamilton was a student in Nevis' Jewish school, having been denied admission to the Anglican parish school because he was an illegitimate child. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College in Connecticut, wanted to learn Hebrew, since the new college had been founded as a divinity school, and all students for the Protestant ministry were expected to know Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Hence, the president himself took Hebrew lessons from Rabbi Haim Carigal, who had migrated from the Caribbean to Newport, Rhode Island. Stiles later preached the baccalaureate sermon in Hebrew for the next eleven years. The Yale seal is emblazoned with two Hebrew words, Urim v'Thummim, and their Latin equivalents, Lux et Veritas.

A small migration back to New York resumed from Amsterdam and the Caribbean. By the end of the 1600's, 250 Jews had settled there. The first Sephardic synagogue, Shearith Israel, existed without rabbinical

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leadership. Not a single ordained rabbi came to America during the colonial period. In 1685 a layman, Saul Pardo, arrived in New York to serve as cantor (chazzan) and adopted the title "Reverend". In 1718, when they were preparing at last to build their first permanent structure, the elders of Shearith Israel appealed for financial assistance to the Bevis Marks synagogue in London, as well as to synagogues in the West Indies.

Philadelphia possessed 100 Jews; close behind were Newport, Savannah, and CharlesTown. Sachar writes: "Not a single law was enacted in British North America specifically to disable Jews...They were free not only to engage in any trade, in any colony, but also to own a home in any neighborhood. In New York and Rhode Island Jews could attend university...By 1776 the 2000 Jews of colonial America unquestionably were the freest Jews on earth."

In the Revolutionary War, many Jews sided loyally with the British, but many more assisted the colonists. Haym Solomon of Philadelphia brokered fairly useless Continental currency in exchange for Dutch and French stable currencies, enabling the Continental Congress to buy goods in Europe that were shipped back to New York in Jewish-owned vessels. Solomon died insolvent, owed more than \$600,000 by the Congress, which was never paid to him or his family. He was, however, honored with the title "Broker to the Office of Finance of the United States." Approximately 100 Jews performed military service for the Continental Army during the Revolution. Additionally, Jewish ship owners were blockade-runners; others were suppliers of goods and services, manufacturers of rifles, and surgeons to the Army.

Upon George Washington's inauguration as first president, several Jewish congregations sent congratulatory letters. He replied to the one in Newport, Rhode Island with a letter which became famous, for it established officially the status of religious freedom for the Jews in the United States of America. Written in the ornate style of that era, he stated:

"It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it were by the indulgence of one class of people that any other enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance,

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requires only that they who live under its protection demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support. May the children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree and there shall be none to make him afraid."

ASHKENAZIC WAVE - 1800's German and Central European

By the early 1800's America was absorbing millions of immigrants from many countries in Europe. Their brawn and brains assisted in feeding the voracious manpower needs of a nation looking westward across a continent for the taking. The Louisiana Purchase by President Jefferson had acquired millions of square miles of land, from the Gulf of Mexico almost to the Pacific Ocean. The millions of buffalo thundering across the midwestern plains would be converted to food and clothing only by millions of Scandinavians, Poles, Scotch and Irish, Italians and Germans. Between 1815 and 1875, three million German-speaking Europeans arrived in this burgeoning land, among them Ashkenazic Jews. These represented the second wave of Jewish migrants, different from the Sephardic first wave in language, culture, religious practice and occupational skills.

By 1847, for example, it is estimated there were about 50,000 German Jews in the U.S., of whom about 15,000 flowed into the various trades connected with the clothing industry, especially into the peddling trade. This was a uniquely Jewish phenomenon, based upon a chain-letter-like operation. Jewish manufacturers of clothing in Eastern centers (New York, Rochester, Philadelphia and some others) sold their products to Jewish wholesalers in mid-western cities (Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago) who supplied local Jewish retailers in many small towns, who provided goods on consignment to Jewish peddlers, who fanned out throughout the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri River valleys reaching isolated villages and farm families. Thus, the stream flowed from the main arteries down to the smallest capillaries.

The peddler worked fiercely hard, often carrying 50 to 80 pounds on his back, walking miles every day, never knowing exactly when he would

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eat and where he would sleep. The best solution was a friendly farmer's offer of supper and the barn. After years of husbanding his meager profits, the peddler would acquire a horse and cart, easing his physical burden and enlarging the inventory of goods he could sell. After more years of criss-crossing his territory, he would hopefully arrive at the financial capability of renting a small store at a highly travelled cross-road, and there the wandering would cease. R.H.Macy and Co., the world's largest department store, in its heyday, started as a tiny retail store in Talbotton, Georgia, founded by Lazarus Strauss, an erstwhile peddler.

By 1880, the Jewish population of the U.S. (largely German) had reached one-quarter million, of whom one-third was located in New York City. Department stores had begun to flower all over the land: Garfinkle in Washington; Thalheimer in Little Rock; Goldsmith in Memphis; Sakowitz in Houston; Rich in Atlanta; Kaufman in Pittsburgh; Gimbel in Philadelphia, later in New York, and, of course, R.H.Macy in New York. Lazarus Strauss' son Isidore had purchased a crockery business in a building owned by a retired whaling boat captain, R.H.Macy. Later the Strauss family bought the whole building, and then a still larger building on 34th Street, where the store today sits astride the entire square block, the whaler's name now known all over the world. Between 1860 and 1880 the manufacture, distribution and sale of clothing throughout the U.S. was the pillar of the German-Jewish economy. These immigrants were successful because they arrived with some formidable qualities. Whether originating in small towns or large cities, they were the beneficiaries of a good education, possessed personal bearing of proper manners, a sense of Ordnung (orderliness), and the prevailing 19th century philosophy of rationalism, scientific inquiry and mercantilism. Add to this the Victorian habits of dress and behaviour, and a picture of the typical German immigrant emerges as a person seeking to live as an emancipated citizen in a free country in the modern world.

Another avenue emerged, in addition to clothing, as a strong economic factor in the acculturation of this wave. Investment banking began to develop as a highly successful industry. The great names, still familiar today, started to appear: Seligman and Co.; Heinrich Lehman; Marcus Goldman and Samuel Sachs; Abraham Kuhn and Solomon Loeb; Jacob Schiff; the Warburgs; Meyer Guggenheim; and many others.

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And then the arts and sciences: Joseph Pulitzer; Oscar Hammerstein; Leopold Damrosch (father of Walter); Dr. Simon Baruch (father of Bernard); and many others.

In spite of George Washington's letter of a century ago, bigotry, while not sanctioned, nevertheless still existed, and a social rejection of these German-Jewish parvenus manifested itself in many ways. One of the most shocking examples occurred in the summer of 1877 involving the banker Joseph Seligman, a personal friend of President Grant, a government adviser of the inner ranks, who had been offered the position of Secretary of the Treasury and had refused. He was the most prominent Jew in the United States. He and his family arrived in Saratoga in upstate New York, which was the major resort area of the country's high society, expecting to be accommodated in their usual suites at the Grand Union Hotel. The desk clerk greeted them with a prepared statement: "Mr. Seligman, I am required to inform you that Judge Hilton (the hotel's administrator) has given instructions that no Israelite shall be permitted in the future to stop at this hotel."

Seligman sent a scathing letter to Hilton, released it to the press, where it made front page news and organized a boycott of the Stewart department store, whose owner was also the owner of the hotel. There was a huge outcry, with many prominent persons taking Seligman's side. In rebuttal, many other top-scale hotels instituted similar restrictions, going so far as taking newspaper advertisements saying "Hebrews need not apply" and "Jews excluded". The war spread to social clubs. Jesse Seligman, brother of Joseph, both of whom were founders of the celebrated Union League Club in New York, suffered a terrible rebuff when his son Theodore, an attorney of renown, was blackballed for membership. The natural result was the formation of Jewish clubs, such as the Harmonie in New York, the Standard in Chicago, the Concordia in Atlanta, and others. Ironically, these very clubs, in later years, discriminated against the Russian and Polish wave of immigrants, in an imitation of the snobbishness which had previously wounded them.

One of the striking features of the Jewish drive toward emancipation in Germany in the mid-19th century was the revolutionary change in the

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practice and theory of Judaism. This process had really started a century earlier when Moses Mendelsohn translated the Bible into German so that Jews could learn and adopt that language as one method of achieving acceptance by the majority among whom they lived. The assimilatory process was so (tragically) successful that, even though Moses himself was a traditional observant Jew, the Mendelsohn family produced zero Jewish descendants - assimilation, intermarriage and baptism having taken their toll.

The religious reformers of the 19th century had no such radical results in mind. They advocated a shortened liturgy, introducing music and some prayers in German; eliminating references to rebuilding the Temple with its animal sacrifices, or rebuilding Jerusalem; seating men and women together; and other minor changes. Their motive was to reduce the differences between Jews and non-Jews in matters visible. If non-Jews entered a synagogue, heard some prayers being spoken in German (as well as many in Hebrew), saw men and women dressed normally, sitting together normally, heard musical instruments and hymns being sung, it would all appear similar to their own Lutheran church.

Reforms in religious practice were accompanied by an intellectual movement among academicians called "Wissenschaft des Judentums", meaning a scientific study of Judaism. This involved a search for answers to questions which traditional Jews would consider heretical to ask. For instance: the question "who wrote the Bible?" stimulated critical literary analysis which eventually resulted in a theory that there were four authors. This answer was based on the discovery that two different names were used for God in various books of the Bible, and two different sacerdotal castes were also used in other books. These facts suggested different authors, who were then designated by initials: a J author used the name Jehovah for God, and an E author used the name Elohim; also a P author, for Priestly and a D author, for Deuteronomist, dealt with various sacred laws and rituals in different ways in different books. These and other types of efforts, to submit the entire structure of Judaism to cold rational academic analysis, were based on a typically pedantic German approach. The changes in ritual and the scientific study came to be called Reform Judaism.

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Naturally, it was to be expected that a reaction to all this would come from those who believed that any accommodation to modernity was dangerous and destructive to basic Jewish values which had endured for thousands of years. A new term came into vogue in opposition to Reform. The traditionalists called themselves Orthodox and organized themselves into a separate movement. Thus, two new denominational structures were created, one after another, within a few years of the 19th century, where nothing similar had occurred during the past 19 centuries.

As though this was not exciting enough, and potentially troublesome, for the rift between Reform and Orthodox opened up serious ideological and communal conflict, a third way was shortly born, a compromise which called itself Conservative. This group made some concessions to modern life, yet insisted that it did not utterly disregard the authority of the Halachah (Talmudic law), as Reform had done. The three movements, so familiar to American Jews today, were all born in Germany less than 150 years ago. Today there are more than 2000 synagogues in the United States, representing four organized movements, the latest being the Reconstructionist, founded in the U.S., serving a niche between the Conservative and Reform.

During the Civil War about 10,000 Jews served - almost 6000 in the Union Army and over 3000 in the Confederate, with 8 Jewish generals in the Union and 4 in the Confederate. Yet there was anti-Jewish sentiment in the ranks. Judah P. Benjamin served in Jefferson Davis' cabinet as attorney-general, secretary of war and finally secretary of state. Even he became a target. Vice-president (later President) Andrew Johnson put a price on his head and he had to flee for his life to England. Howard Sachar says: "No Jew would occupy as exalted a position in American public life until Henry Kissinger, and no Jew in government would endure as ferocious a campaign of abuse."

On December 17, 1862, General Grant issued his famous Order No. 11 expelling all Jews from the Military Department of Tennessee (which included Mississippi and much of Kentucky) - 2500 persons in all - within 24 hours. Again to quote Sachar: "Until the internment of Japanese-Americans in 1942, no comparable treatment would be meted out to any ethnic bloc of U.S. citizens." President Lincoln ordered Grant to cancel the

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Order. Later, President Grant changed his colors completely. The Government of Roumania issued harsh anti-Jewish regulations and encouraged mob attacks against Jewish populations in various cities. Grant listened to requests from prominent American Jews and intervened in the matter, appointing the president of B'nai Brith as U.S. ambassador to Roumania with the following message: "The United States, knowing no distinction of her citizens on account of religion, naturally believes in a civilization the world over which will secure the same universal views."

Following the Civil War, most German Jews welcomed the new Republican Party, the party of free soil, free men and vigorous business enterprise. And in that spirit, the solidly established, financially secure German-Jewish leadership started to organize the network of charities which would fortuitously be in place in later decades when the overwhelming wave of East European Jews would begin to inundate these shores and would badly need the help offered. There was the Educational Alliance, Jewish Welfare Board, Hebrew Free Loan Society, Burial Society, and individual city Welfare Funds (the first was in Boston, more than 100 years ago) and many others. To extend the philanthropic hand overseas to individuals and communities in need, Felix Warburg created the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (popularly known as the "Joint"). This has been the premier organization bringing material assistance, professional personnel and medical aid to Jews and non-Jews world-wide, suffering from hunger and disease, from natural disasters and man-made pogroms.

The German philanthropists were schizophrenic, in a way. They felt Jewishly obligated, on the one hand, to aid the newly arriving masses of brethren from Poland, Russia, Ukraine, Galicia and the Baltic States; yet they were basically repulsed by these Ostjuden, loudly speaking their Yiddish jargon, wearing unfashionable black garments, bereft of manners and civilized behaviour, practicing an antiquated religion, marked by long earlocks. One of the motives for offering help was truly idealistic; another was to Americanize these folk as quickly as possible.

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ASHKENAZIC WAVE - 1881 to 1914 East and North European

That flood began in 1881, when Czar Alexander II of Russia, a "liberal" man by the standards of that day, was assassinated. His successor was quite the opposite. Alexander III encouraged anti-Jewish pogroms, sending brigades of peasants rampaging through the Pale of Settlement. This was the primary area between Poland and Russia, where hundreds of thousands of poverty-stricken Jews had been compressed into tiny villages called "shtetls". The peasants roamed from shtetl to shtetl, burning, looting, killing, maiming. The Jews had no means of defense. By year's end, thousands were killed, 20,000 were homeless, and scores of thousands fled southwestward toward the border of Galicia, then under the control of the German Habsburg monarchy.

In May 1882, the new Czar promulgated a series of emergency regulations, which were to remain in effect until the Russian Revolution of 1917. Under these "May Laws" no Jew was permitted to settle in any rural area, even within the Pale, or to purchase a house or land there. Small towns were reclassified as rural settlements, thus closing them off to Jews. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were thus forced from the countryside into the congested city slums, where there were no jobs for country bumpkins without skills. Hunger, disease, despair overwhelmed the masses. Policies instituted by the Czar's chief adviser, Konstantin Pobedonostsev, and the minister of the interior, Dimitri Tolstoy, indicated that the Jewish question was to be solved by a neat formula: 1/3 of the Jews should be forcibly converted to Greek Orthodox Christianity; 1/3 should be killed; 1/3 should be pushed to emigrate. The Jews quickly decided that the latter option seemed the best. No one waited to be converted or killed. The large majority of Jews in the beleaguered areas chose the road of migration. In spite of the pain, terror and hardships involved, more than 2 million came to the U.S. between 1882 and 1914, when Atlantic Ocean shipping diminished due to German submarine attacks. The "Goldene Medina" (the golden land) of America was the ultimate goal.

Families fled, most in panic, others fortunate enough to make planned departures, all with a sense of urgency. Multitudes left shack or tenement

behind and walked, sometimes pulling a loaded cart filled with bedding, some food, children and prized books of photos or prayers. Others were lucky enough to buy a horse and wagon, so that women and old people could ride, and some clothing or even some sentimental piece of furniture could be salvaged. A few left in style, by train, to pre-selected destinations beyond the reaches of the Russian Czar, where they could rest and plan their futures. Many such families chose to settle in Western Europe - Germany, France or England.

All forms of flight, whatever the status of the emigrant, were traumatic in the extreme. There was danger on the road, either bandits seeking serious loot or peasants overturning carts for food or clothing. The daily problems of eating, sleeping, personal hygiene and safety were daunting. Disease and even death were hard to avoid. But the pulsating columns kept moving, animated by fear and anxiety about the unknown next day, and pushed by the emotion-riddled throng behind.

The great flood headed toward a town named Brody, which was on the border between what is today the Czech Republic and Germany. This was the narrow end of the funnel, and hundreds of thousands of weary travellers had to push through. Some had primitive papers of identification, others had nothing, a few had proper documents.. The border officials could not control the surging crowds and soon abandoned the effort altogether. Once across, the streams of refugees split into several branches. One river flowed to the North Sea ports of Hamburg and other smaller points. Another headed toward Berlin, with the intention of going no further. And the third aimed for Liverpool, which entailed the longest journey, but offered the cheapest "Schiffskarte" (transatlantic ticket) at \$29 per person, steerage class. A similar sailing from Hamburg cost \$39.

The scene at each port was chaotic. Huge crowds milled around; selling items they had dragged across Europe in order to buy the tickets; screaming for children lost in the shuffle; searching for kiosks to buy food and water; no toilets; enduring long lines at the registration tables where ship's personnel were trying to make lists of passengers; schemers appearing, waving tickets for sale, urging weary migrants not to wait in the lines. Most of these tickets were false and purchasers were refused

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boarding at the gangway; then more screaming for help in getting their money back; no police available to help. Frustration; fear; tears.

At the train station in Berlin, officials of the Jewish relief organizations offered food and water, but then tried to persuade the migrants to return from whence they had started, or to continue further west and not remain in Germany. The proud and proper German Jews did not want these motley ragamuffins to infiltrate their society, affecting the status and reputation of the native Jews. Nor did they want the burden of subsidizing these unskilled Ostjuden, who would never get decently-paid work, and would have to be supported for years until they acclimatized to German standards.

The ocean voyage itself was excruciating. Two weeks or more were spent below decks, in steerage, packed like sardines. Sometimes there were planks for beds, and sometimes not. People slept on each other, curled up in fetal positions. The air was fetid. Lines for the single feeding of the day snaked all through the holds and it took hours of waiting until one reached the food station, only to receive some stew slopped into a bowl. Most of the vessels, carrying several hundred passengers each, were outfitted with only two toilets. When the seas became rough and seasickness overtook most of the passengers, vomit spewed from all sides over each other. There was no reaching an upper deck, where one could find relief over the rail. Your neighbor became the rail.

At the entry ports in the U.S., whether Castle Garden and Ellis Island in New York harbour, or Baltimore or Galveston, there was somewhat more order. Names were altered by inspectors who could not pronounce the spelling of complicated Polish and Russian names: so, Aronowicz became Aaronson (my mother's maiden name) and Frydmann became Friedman (my father's name). Health officials focussed particularly on examining eyes and lungs. Any suspicion of glaucoma, cataracts or tuberculosis resulted in the immigrant being rejected and deported on the very next departing vessel.

American Jewish relief agencies tried to diminish the large numbers settling in New York ghetto areas, by sending volunteers to the hinterlands and particularly to the midwest. While these migrants were themselves not

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skilled farmers, still most came from shtetls in rural areas and were passably familiar with agricultural life. In addition to trying to move their largely unwilling clients to distant towns, the agencies started wholly Jewish agricultural settlements - 16 all told - of which only one succeeded, in Toms River, New Jersey. My uncle Meir learned chicken-culture there, became quite expert, and migrated to Palestine in the early 1920's to join Kibbutz Merchavia, where another member was his fellow-American, Golda Meyerson, more famously known as Golda Meir.

The first decades were the hardest for the immigrants - living in crowded tenements, seeking work, learning English, absorbing new habits, accomodating to an economic and social system totally different from their previous places of existence. As the 20th century expanded industrially, so did the "greenhorns" adjust. Many went into the sweatshops and factories, there to make the natural move to membership in the newly forming trade unions, where Jews were prominent as organizers and recruiters. The social justice ethic expressed by the ancient prophets, which had been bred into the Jewish soul and consciousness for millenia, made it easy for these hungry newcomers to gravitate into union membership which promised to strengthen the poor and weak, to provide for the widow and orphan.

Many others preferred the mercantile route, and opened small shops, selling every manner of basic household needs, working unconscionable hours to make a few pennies of profit. Mothers, and often children, struggled to keep such a business alive. Often the venture would crash, but sometimes a success would emerge and a larger store in a better location would become the base for the family's financial stability. And then would come the progress into all the other possibilities - wholesaling, distributing, manufacturing. Gradually the housing improved, children's education brought joy to the parents and the sense of being strangers in a strange land slowly diminished. The appetite for a higher standard of living replaced the previous hope that they would merely survive.

The climb out of crowded urban quarters became an American phenomenon in which the Jews participated avidly. In the decade after the end of World War I the trek toward the suburbs began. Developers and builders quickly responded to the urge. Small projects emerged at first, slowed down during the Depression years, and restarted vigorously after

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Roosevelt's New Deal began to repair the economy. Major cities acquired adjuncts: Levittown in Long Island and upscale Scarsdale in Westchester, both near New York; Shaker Heights in Cleveland; Glencoe in Chicago and Beverly Hills in Los Angeles. Hundreds of other subdivisions grew, as the automobile production expanded, and whether modest or extravagant, all were attractive with green grass and trees.

The first generation of Jews born in the U.S., children of the immigrants who spoke no English, reached out for higher education, strongly encouraged by their parents. The value placed on education in the average such family was fierce, stemming from two sources: the traditions which labelled us "People of the Book"; and the feeling that only education could accelerate the long road to acceptance in society and finally economic independence. A high school diploma was already a commonplace goal in the 1930's and a college degree was equally common by the 1960's. The fourth generation born in this country, hard at work today, is almost entirely professional in character, possessing second and even third academic degrees. Free professionals of all sorts, not just doctors and lawyers, but architects and accountants, computer engineers and programmers, artists and journalists, authors and musicians, scientists and politicians, professors and researchers, financial managers and investment counsellors, environmentalists and botanists, and on and on, in hundreds of specialities, make up the ranks of today's American-Jewish active breadwinners. It is an explosion, a revolution, which places the average Jewish family relatively high on the socio-economic scale. and this makes it relatively easy for them to become friendly with the non-Jewish neighbors on the same street or in the same office, because they share so many things in common. Bagels are as familiar on the American breakfast table as doughnuts. Assimilation to a secular American life-style is an easy path, especially as the Judaization of America continues, with the Hanukah menorah as a familiar companion to the Christmas tree in TV shows and newspaper ads.

The highest jump has also been made by now, that is, entry into the American intellectual world. Jews write books and sit at the top of companies which publish books. Jews own newspapers, and not only the New York Times. Jews sit as owners and presidents of the major TV networks in the country. Jews have dominated the cinema industry almost from the beginning a studio owners, producers, directors, writers, musicians

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and even some actor stars. Jews have built great art museums; have performed as some of the most famous musical soloists of this century; have been among the leading dramatists and producers and directors of the legitimate theatre; and have penetrated deeply into the academic world, achieving the presidencies of several of the most prestigious universities in the land and providing more than 50,000 individuals for the professorial ranks of academe.

Where great-grand-father worked in a clothing sweat-shop or rolled cigars for \$2 per week, lived in two rooms with 4 or 5 other people, and barely spoke the language, but kept going with a deep hope for the future, and retained his strong sense of Jewish identity through ritual observance, kosher diet and some religious practice; today's great-grand-son has earned a master's degree in business administration or civil engineering, enjoys a six-figure income, lives in an eight-room house in a leafy suburb, attends synagogue a few days a year, if at all, contributes something to the UJA, talks about visiting Israel, but hasn't made it yet, and loves his non-Jewish daughter-in-law. This overly tight summary describes the odyssey of the East European migration from the beginning to the end of this 20th century.

During the last decade of this century about 400,000 new Jewish immigrants from the FSU (former Soviet Union) have entered the United States and more will continue to come in the several years ahead. Not enough is yet known about their adjustment, economic status, Americanization, geographic distribution, religious education, participation in the Jewish community, etc., to provide an accurate profile of this new contingent. The main Jewish agencies responsible for their absorption into this country have made valiant efforts to integrate them into the Jewish community as well as attending to their material needs of housing, jobs and language. Jewish day schools and synagogue supplementary schools have offered free tuition and memberships, and community centers have done the same. Since all Jewish professional personnel are aware of the drain (sometimes called hemorrhaging) of the total population through drifting away and intermarrying, this injection of large new numbers is a very welcome happening. It is urgent that as many as possible be quickly integrated into an enveloping Jewish environment in the cities where they are settling. These ex-Russians, on the whole, are intelligent, well educated, and make rapid adjustments. The speed with which they master English is

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amazing. They become American citizens as soon as the law permits. Within that same five-year period can they also become knowledgeable, identifiable proud American Jews? If so, then the process of losing total numbers, so dreadfully feared, might be slowed down.

Thus has the miracle of the birth and growth of the American Diaspora during the past 350 years taken place, As tectonic plates crack and shift in the earth's mantle, altering the shape of continents over geologic time, so do Jewish population shifts occur, but in the blink of an eye. Think of the amalgam of tribes and languages and cultures which compose the American Jewish polity of today. This great and generous body of Jews and Judaisms began with the Sephardim, expelled from Spain and Portugal 500 years ago, settled in hospitable Amsterdam (often called the Dutch Jerusalem) and friendly Istanbul, wandered into the Dutch and British Caribbean, of all places, and finally hit the shores of colonial America. Within 100 years their roots were deeply planted and George Washington himself guaranteed their rights.

Within another 100 years Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Nuremberg disgorged their scores of thousands, and even though there was still not a political entity called Germany until 1871, we designated all these central Europeans by the name Germans. They brought their high culture, reformed religion and civilized behaviour. By the post-Civil War decade they had added their Ashkenazic population to the original small Sephardic wave for a total group of about 300,000 Jews.

Then, almost immediately on their heels came the third crashing wave of several million more Ashkenazic Jews of Eastern Europe, mainly from Russia, Poland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, who are the progenitors of the vast majority of today's American Jews. The Spanish and German waves have been overwhelmed by the Russian-Polish. A show of hands by fourth-generation American-born Jews today regarding the ancestry of their families will yield a 90% majority in favor of Russian-Polish.

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AMERICAN JEWRY:
At its 400th Anniversary - 2054

Proverbs 29:18

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

When a vision, accompanied by its necessary concrete action plan, is absent, the future slides into decline, and the people may perish. American Jewry today appears to be heading in that direction. The American era has produced the most powerful Diaspora community in the entire 3700-year history of the Jewish people. There has never been anything comparable in all these millenia.

Yet there exists a paradox, for this American Jewish polity seems to have two faces, two facets, two definitions for itself. One is strong, vigorous, thrusting forward to new creative heights; while the other is weak, indecisive, eroding, stumbling toward a self-inflicted disappearance.

The strong face has many features, among them a few examples:

1. Departments of Jewish Studies functioning in more than 200 colleges and universities in America, with tens of thousands of students, Jews and non-Jews alike; with the largest of these departments existing in the very heartland of this country, the University of Indiana, of all places.
2. Two Jewish members of the Supreme Court, 10 Senators, 25 Congresspersons.
3. A Reform Jewish day school in Los Angeles embracing more than 3000 students in grades K-12.
4. A synagogue in New York welcoming thousands of excited members in two overflow services every Sabbath evening and morning in a great singing and dancing congregation, which meets in a nearby Methodist church because its own building is too small.
5. A fund-raising philanthropy, the UJA, which last year was rated as the fourth largest public charity in the entire country, just behind the United Way and the Red Cross, and this year ranked again in the top six.
6. National organizations, to the tune of 385, in the varied fields of culture, lower and higher education, community relations with

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other groups, overseas aid, Israel-related projects, religion, and social welfare; not to speak of the central Federations in hundreds of cities together with all their allied local agencies. It would appear that the tiny Jewish community, still listed at 6 million souls or 2% of the total U.S. population, is thriving magnificently in its political, social, cultural, material and religious affluence.

Yet the other face is equally impressive in its own negative way:

1. A careful sociological study of the Jewish population a few years ago indicated that more than 50% of Jewish marriages in this country are between Jews and non-Jewish partners.

2. Only 38% of the Jews in this country are members of synagogues at some point in their lives.

3. Only 25% contribute to Jewish charities.

4. The rate of ignorance of Judaism is incredibly high.

5. The number of children in Jewish day schools (outside of the orthodox network) is incredibly low - a mere ~~33,500~~ 33,500.

6. The number of Jews who have ever visited Israel during the almost 50 years of its existence is only around 10% of the total Jewish population.

7. The number of those who are considered hard-core "caring" Jews, participating in all aspects of the community's existence, is estimated at only 25%.

These two faces appear to offer an amazing contradiction. They give a paradoxical view of the future of this American Jewish society. On the one hand it is filled with strength, commitment, achievement, and influence presaging a brilliant century ahead. On the other hand it is exhibiting a state of erosion in numbers at such a rate as to permit a Harvard demographer to predict that the Jewish community, by the third quarter of the coming century, would consist of fewer than one million souls, virtual disappearance as the population of the country will have crossed the 300 million mark. We would have become less than .03% of the total. With the possible exception of a few large urban concentrations, we would not constitute in any city in the country a sufficient number of Jews to provide support for the most basic communal infrastructure.

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The Orthodox community believes that its observance of ritual, obedience to the ancient unchangeable code of law (halacha), and emphasis on a parochial school education of minimally 12 years for its youngsters will guarantee its survival, no matter what happens to the other 90% of the American Jewish population. In a recent article in the Jewish Spectator entitled "American Jews: An Endangered Species?" this position was articulated very clearly in the opening question: "Is the Orthodox Jewish day school the magic bullet that will lead to Jewish survival?...Research indicates that a stronger commitment to a higher level of Jewish education and observance leads to a lower likelihood of intermarriage (not more than 2%) and assimilation....Choosing Jewish ritual observance is likely to lead to choosing Jewish education, which in turn is likely to lead to choosing a Jewish spouse, which is likely to lead to providing a stronger educational and ritual base for one's children, who then perpetuate the cycle."

This explanation may well be accurate for the Orthodox world, but does not describe the huge majority of non-Orthodox who have chosen alternative life-paths. There is validity, no doubt, in the argument that the minimalist educational structure now prevailing for the great majority of Jewish children receiving any form of Jewish education is hopelessly inadequate and must be radically reshaped. There are faint signs that this point of view is beginning to be more widely accepted among the communal leadership. There is developing a general feeling that we are at a cross-roads which demands major policy decisions.

Will the American Jewish diaspora, due to its own indifference and ignorance permit itself to fade into oblivion through an almost total assimilation into the permissive American environment of freedom and acceptance?

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, who doubles as a brilliant scholar and a community activist, offers in his recent volume "The Jews in America - Four Centuries of an Uneasy Encounter", the following trenchant observation: "American society no longer forces assimilation into a dominant culture. It is possible in this new age of America to evaporate out of being Jewish without making a decision to be anything else. In fact, the drift of life in contemporary America is toward free association. The older generation of Jews still finds most of its friends among other Jews; the

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young do not. They remain 'proud to be Jews' but they are less and less likely to live their lives within the ethnic community."

Or will there be the opposite outcome - a resurgence of will-power by the leadership committing itself to a huge communal funding of Jewish elementary and high schools, summer camps, Centers for Jewish Life on college campuses and programs for a transformative Experience in Israel, raising the UJA to new heights to pay for all this, and making all of it relatively tuition-free to parents and students. Such national funding would connote a sense of national responsibility for the Jewish identity-formation which is the only real solution toward blunting the rush to extinction.

If the national organizations, UJA and CJF, understood the deadly danger and mobilized all the strength they possessed in both money and manpower, it might be possible to alter the course of this war of attrition and erosion which faces us. The American Jewish public, including its youth has always been galvanized by crisis and emergency. The verb galvanize is defined as "to rouse forcefully, especially by shock or excitement." If the top leadership, national and local, were to accept the premise that a possibly terminal illness is threatening our very existence, and if they called for a two-generation-long emergency program, in such terms as would shock the followership into a full realization of the danger, I'm convinced that the future could be altered.

A vision, translated into an action plan, is the electricity which would galvanize. Hundreds of schools must be built; thousands of talented teachers must be found, for children and adults alike. Tuition must be absolutely token (even free). Every college campus on which more than one hundred Jewish students reside must have a fully-staffed Center for Jewish Life (a.k.a. Hillel) to provide constant stimulation. Every early teenager should be exposed to a Jewish summer camp for several summers of his/her life, again at a token cost. And every American Jewish youth should be saturated with an Experience in Israel, whether junior year in high school or college, at total communal expense.

The dimensions of such a program are so huge, so unprecedented, so demanding, so expensive, that it would be impossible for any person to remain unaffected by its scope. This is big enough to awaken everyone

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from the sleepy pace of today's communal activity. Fifteen billionaires could trigger off the fund raising and set the appropriate level; 150 federated communities, currently sitting on more than \$3 billion of endowment or foundation funds which they have accumulated in the past twenty five years, could open those up to use as collateral to borrow ten times as much. I can visualize how the funds would be quickly gathered, to establish momentum for this vast educational enterprise. The reservoir of academics in all the hundreds of Departments of Jewish Studies in this country's colleges and universities is large enough that personnel would be immediately available for whatever was needed.

The UJA could organize all this, if its leadership grasped the vision. If not, a new organization could swiftly be put together. Never forget what happened in 1938. When Kristallnacht occurred in Germany on one night of November 9-10, three large organizations in the U.S., which had been fighting each other for years over ideological differences and fund-raising competitiveness, came together immediately, transcended their differences, and created one instrument - the UJA - which united them in a common cause. The campaign started within five weeks. On January 1, 1939, the first UJA campaign was launched and has been going for almost sixty years. When it is clear that the time has come for history to be faced and conquered, the necessary action follows. I believe strongly that the time has come for the American Jewish organized community, in all its massive strength, to make its declaration to mobilize totally in this war to create the tools to ensure its future.

In addition, the Federation system must join with the American synagogue system to engage in a thorough-going renovation, to fill the pews and classrooms with a new generation seeking Judaism through inspiring education and spirituality. Such a total approach toward new programs, backed by all the necessary funds and the creative genius of the best lay, rabbinical and professional minds could well provide the knowledge, enthusiasm and commitment of a larger number of new members to work for the continued existence of this most powerful Jewish community outside of Israel.

If its life in the U.S. can be invigorated and strengthened, there is no limit to the creative potential of a Jewishly-inspired total community, both

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for its own existence and for the larger world, including the possibility of aiding America itself to regain the moral values it so desperately seeks. The mission of the people of Israel to offer a vision of ethics and morality can only be fulfilled if that people continues to exist. Thus, the ability to overcome a mindless assimilation becomes the major task of the next two generations of American Jews. In an optimistic vein we can hope and pray that the leadership will understand, will respond to the challenge, will make the plans and mobilize the funds to spark the renewal and give birth to the renaissance.

But let one point be very clear. The weakening or diminution or even withering away of the American Diaspora would not have a fatal effect on the continued existence of the Jewish people as a whole. A long look at Jewish history, studying the rise and fall of previous strong Diaspora entities in Babylonia, Egypt, Spain, Iran, Poland, to name a few, teaches us that, even as old locations erode, new seeds have earlier been planted in other lands and continents. These seeds grow and flourish to produce a new Jewish environment in time to absorb the wandering fugitives from their prior home-countries.

Should the spectacular American Diaspora come to a self-inflicted tragic end in the coming century, those remaining Jews, Orthodox and all others whose self-identity is strong enough to require a majorly Jewish environment, will fortuitously find a more populous Israel, strong and capable of welcoming them to a new home whose seeds had been planted two centuries earlier. Such is the magic of this hitherto unbreakable chain. The song "Am Yisrael Chai" (The People of Israel Lives) embodies the conviction that the people, as a whole, is immortal, even if some of its limbs and branches wither and disappear.