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THE UJA - NOBLE PAST:FUTURE CHANGES

Thoughts for the 90's

by

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Common wisdom states that American Jewry, for a variety of reasons, was silent during the six years (1939-1945) when the six million were murdered. If, by silence, one refers to absence of mass protest demonstrations, mass demands on western governments to intervene, mass pressure on the media to keep the Holocaust constantly on the front page, ceaseless pressure on individual Congressmen to find back channels for negotiations with the Nazis to rescue Jews - yes, American Jewry was largely silent. Rabbi Stephen Wise managed to promote one large anti-Nazi rally of 20,000 persons in Madison Square Garden in April, 1933, and even this was opposed by some organizations on the theory that public protest might worsen the situation for German Jews, especially if one believed that Hitler was a passing phenomenon, better ignored than given the publicity which a mass protest would engender. While there are some historians who have attempted to mitigate the seriousness of this charge of silence, by citing cases, here and there, where protest efforts were made, still the indictment is largely true for the critical years of the Holocaust.

Yet we should look back to the earlier years, when the good instincts of an even smaller and less well organized Jewish

community in the U.S. to work on behalf of endangered Jews abroad did manifest themselves in creating concrete programs of assistance. The Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society (HIAS) was organized in 1884 to assist immigrants with shelter, loans, legal protection and reorganized in 1954 into United HIAS Service (UHS). The Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) was born in 1914 to provide assistance everywhere in the world that Jews were in trouble or danger. During these earliest decades in the century the Zionist movement also began to stir and in the 1920's the campaigns for settlement in Palestine began with visits to the U.S. by Albert Einstein and Chaim Weizman, establishing the Keren Hayasod, Jewish Foundation Fund. These various early efforts worked independently of each other, and sometimes even antagonistically because of ideological differences. The JDC, for example, supported the Russian Birobidjan proposal for creating a Jewish "homeland" in Siberia, while the Zionists argued that all that money and effort should be devoted to the only true homeland in Palestine.

When Kristallnacht burst like a black thunder-cloud in November 1938, the shattered windows of synagogues and storefronts in Germany also shattered Jewish disunity in America. The fission which marked decades of separate fund-raising by the three major organizations (HIAS - Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society; JOC - Joint Distribution Committee; and UPA - United Palestine Appeal) was replaced by a fusion in only six weeks. A new instrument was forged with the signatures of three Reform Jews -

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Jonah Wise and William Rosenwald. The United Jewish Appeal was born and started its first campaign on January 1, 1939. For more than a half-century now this major creation has performed the twin miracles of uniting American Jewry while serving the noblest causes of rescue throughout world Jewry and rebuilding the Third Commonwealth of Israel.

True, little could be done during the black years of the Holocaust. The united campaign functioned, with some organizational spluttering in its first few years; not much money was raised; and nothing significant could be done even with the small funds available, because of the political and military inhibitions imposed by the war. Roosevelt and Churchill both turned down demands for the bombing of Auschwitz with the reply that all strength had to be devoted to winning the war. Beating Hitler was the only way to stop the murder machine which was destroying Jews. No diversions were to be allowed. So - only a few millions were raised each year, and the campaign total for 1945, the last year of the war was a mere \$32 million. But the unity held, waiting for the moment when an explosion of useful energy could replace the agonizing years of frustration. That moment came in December 1945, at the annual Conference of the UJA in Atlantic City.

The war in Europe had ended in May, and the remnant of Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe was gradually being gathered into a series of Displaced Persons camps in the American and British

zones of occupied Germany and Austria. The Haganah was operating in a plan designed to bring as many survivors as possible from the East (Russia, Poland, many other countries) to the West (American Zones of Germany and Austria). Various border crossings and clandestine routes were organized in order to assemble the refugees for organized relief - food, shelter, medical care, search for relatives and movement to Palestine on the illegal ships. This was to mark the next three years. The DP population, first tens, then scores and ultimately hundreds of thousands in 64 camps in Germany and Austria was fed by the American and British armies, supplemented by the JDC, and received many other services from the Jewish Agency, ORT and other social welfare organizations which quickly mobilized personnel and supplies to assist in camp life. A self-government sprang up in the form of Central Committees in each zone - the one in the American Zone actually receiving official recognition from the United States Supreme Commander in the European Theatre.

Henry Montor, the dynamic hard-driving director of the UJA, understood intuitively that the moment had arrived to confront American Jews with evidence that at last something could be accomplished with money to alleviate the suffering and pain of the survivors. He decided to bring from DP camps in Germany two persons to speak on behalf of the remnant left alive, and selected Dr. Zalman Grinberg, the first president of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in Bavaria and Yosef Rosenzaft, chairman of the camp committee in Bergen-Belsen, the former from

the American Zone and the latter from the British. These men spoke in Yiddish to the thousands of delegates at the UJA Annual Conference, pouring out the pain, agony, frustrations, and sorrows, the trembling fear and black despair of the years of fire and gas and decimation. The words flowed as did the emotions and tears. There flowed also a sense of relief, and relaxation, for the speakers knew that at last the link was being established with the free Jewish world which could help their fellow survivors. The audience wallowed with them in waves of grief, rose in billows of exaltation, sank into pits of icy fury as the irreversible fact of the slaughter sank home, and rose again in the fierceness of determination to aid the remnant. Human sentiments to send help mingled with the rapidly developing understanding that the only real and permanent help was political - i.e. the establishment of a homeland. The Zionist movement developed a sense of terrible urgency then and there, for suddenly it became clear that a Jewish sovereignty was the permanent solution. The meeting was filled with tears and joy, tension and relief, thunderous applause as a tribute to the DPs and a tribute to themselves, the delegates, for the strength they were now exhibiting in their response to the call for action. They voted to raise 100 million dollars in 1946 (in contrast to the \$32 million of 1945). They actually succeeded in raising \$102 million. A new energy was born, and the UJA was finally on the way to fulfilling its destiny. In its more-than-half-century of existence it has provided more than \$8 billion of no-strings-attached philanthropic aid to Israel and endangered Jews

world-wide.

Having served longer than any other chief executive officer in the UJA's history, I will presume to express some long-held thoughts concerning directions, methods and goals which might usefully be considered as a new administration takes shape under Rabbi Brian Lurie. My ideas have usually been different, innovative and some would say radical. I truly believe that organizations of great strength and duration, embracing historic causes dear to a wide constituency, owe it to themselves constantly to refurbish, consciously to resist comfortable ruts, always to find new paths and make changes which are not merely administrative tinkering but represent seminal alterations. With this approach to its long-term future existence may I offer to the UJA's new administration some suggestions which I hope will be profitable.

1. Dissociate from the Jewish Agency - Disband the UIA - Spend the money directly in Israel.

The UJA should disburse the funds allocated for Israel directly instead of through an intermediary agent. Two reasons are usually offered as to why the Jewish Agency is necessary: tax-deductible contributions for legitimate social welfare work among populations abroad cannot be given directly to foreign governments; and a "link" organization is required to represent Jews all over the world who are not citizens of Israel. Neither

one of these reasons is valid any longer, if they ever were.

The Jewish Agency grapples constantly with its own problems of definition, and the Knesset Resolution of 1952 granting it Special Status was simply a postponement of the basic question concerning its existence once the State had been established. There are more voices inside Israel than in the Diaspora questioning the existence of the Agency. Be that as it may, the internal decisions of the World Zionist Organization and its Agency are the legitimate concerns of the members of the W.Z.O. The two major efforts of the Jewish Agency, in 1929 and 1972, to broaden and reconstruct itself, to include "fund-raisers", as well as "Zionists", were well-intentioned but not altogether smooth or effective. There is too much history and too many personalities to analyze these matters in depth in this article. Whatever other reasons might be adduced by any parties interested in continuing the existence of the Jewish Agency, the two adumbrated above, are no longer valid, and have not been for a long time.

Gad Yaacobi in a recent volume entitled "Wanted - A New Course" wrote: "The time has come for a new definition of the Israel-Diaspora relationship, based less on a one-way provision of support and charity and more on the direct participation of Diaspora Jews and Jewish communities in business, civic and cultural life in Israel. It will require the establishment of direct ties between local

communities, scientific institutions and business in Israel and the Diaspora, rather than the current circuitous and tortuous organizational structure of relations."

The UJA should disburse its funds directly in Israel by establishing several operating foundations to perform the functions it now supports, or others it might wish to add. There would be at the present time six such foundations, one each for immigrant transportation, including baggage; first year absorption costs, including Hebrew instruction and vocational retraining; housing; youth care; education, in all areas not mandated by government legislation, from pre-kindergarten to university; cultural and scientific projects. Each of these foundations would be staffed with the smallest possible number of employees and a small governing council of laymen - both Israelis and Americans. There would be a lay volunteer chairman and professional salaried vice-chairman for each foundation. The amount to be spent by each would be determined by a Foundation Board in New York, consisting of a similar mix of key leaders and professionals from both the national UJA and the local communities. There would be no need for all the other intermediary apparatus which has grown like Topsy over the years, such as the UIA and its representative offices in Israel.

From the point-of-view of tax-deductibility, the two most significant operative IRS words are "control" and "conduit". The former is legitimate. The latter is not. The American

organization which raises the money must direct and control its use, and not serve merely as a conduit handing that money over to another organization. I was intimately involved, in my capacity as UJA chief executive, in the negotiations with IRS resulting from an inquiry by then Senator Fulbright as to the propriety of UJA's control, or lack thereof. The result of the discussions with IRS was the structuring of the UIA into a small control office, whose American Board would vote how funds were to be used in Israel, would transmit those funds with instructions as to their use to the Jewish Agency, and would physically establish a person in Israel to monitor the Agency's compliance. I seconded a person from my staff to live in Israel and fulfill that monitoring function. All this was quite satisfactory to the IRS as representing "control". If all the intermediary apparatus were eliminated, and the UJA directly spent what it raised, that would be the very best form of control.

Furthermore, a precedent exists in the UJA family for exactly this procedure - namely, the direct operations of the JDC. Their Board decides on how much money should be spent on each project in each country in which they work. One of their salaried employees is the country director, resident in that country, with a small staff. In many cases, the director decides to "contract out" specific tasks to local purveyors, or other organizations, or "rents" a local facility to perform a specific service (a kindergarten or a soup kitchen, etc.). It is more efficient, entails smaller overhead, reduces administrative

headaches, and get faster results. There is direct contact between the director and the purveyors of services. There is no reason whatsoever why UJA operations in Israel cannot be conducted exactly as JDC operations in Morocco or Rumania or anywhere else on the globe.

As for the second argument indicated above - that the Jewish Agency is the "link" between the Diaspora and Israel - my experience over long decades tells me that the Diaspora Jew relates to the people and the State of Israel not to the Jewish Agency. The emotions of pride, loyalty, excitement, even love are directed to the flag, the army, the president, the Wall - all the symbols of sovereignty and power. This is the homeland, whose ministers and ambassadors, generals and poets, academics and new Russians come to the Diaspora to speak at the meetings, where the Israeli flag flies and the vocabulary is about Israel, not the Jewish Agency.

Zalman Shoval, speaking recently at Israel Independence Day celebrations at Washington Hebrew Congregation, said:

"I feel myself ambassador of the Jewish people to the Jewish people."

Ambassador + Independence Day are the "link".

American Jewish leadership knows about the Agency, but the majority of the people at the meeting or rally or parade never heard of it nor had the occasion to meet anyone connected

with it. And within the leadership, the attitude toward the Agency, as is well known, is marked by a mixture of respect for its many accomplishments and resentment against the size of its bureaucracy, its sometimes inefficiency, its difficulties in coordinating with the equivalent government ministries. With all the good-will in the world and earnest efforts of various chairmen and department heads over the decades, still the Agency is characterized as a cumbersome apparatus which performed brilliantly in the pre-State days but should now be put into honorable retirement.

One of the better Agency performances in recent times was its role in the spectacular 36-hour evacuation of 14,000 Jews from Ethiopia. The Agency's role in the planning stage, months earlier - and in the actual reception stage, as the planes landed, one after the other, was meticulously executed. Hundreds of buses were on the spot, hotels booked, and myriad details properly organized. More power to the Agency for its brilliant share in Operation Solomon. But it is not a detraction from that performance to note that the flag of the sovereign state of Israel flew overall. The Prime Minister appointed a person to conduct the necessary diplomatic negotiations; the U.S. President was personally involved; the Embassy in Addis Ababa was the collecting point; the planes were provided by the Israeli army and the government airline; the Deputy Chief of Staff of IDF personally supervised the take-offs from Ethiopia. The Agency's share in the glorious achievement entitles it to well-earned

praise, but the reality must be faced that the organization in recent years has suffered a loss of confidence.

This latter attitude, incidentally,, has an effect on fund-raising, for it is not uncommon to meet resistance on the part of donors who, first of all, are wary of putting their contributions into a large anonymous pot (regardless of what they are taught about the Maimonidean preference for anonymity between donor and recipient); and even more displeased that their funds are being handled by an organization whose reputation suffers from continuous attack. Large donor skepticism would be reduced if they felt they knew with more precision, where their money was going. Clear reports from each operating foundation, under the new system I am proposing, would certainly help to improve donor confidence.

On balance, when all is said and done, I feel that the UJA would be better off if it set up its own direct operation in Israel.

2. Broaden its Conception of Fund-raising, to Include Direct Investments in the Israeli Economy.

This is the right time for American firms to establish production facilities in Israel, for three very specific reasons: the availability of an ever-increasing pool of highly educated workers with a variety of technical skills among the new Russian

immigrants and the Israeli university graduates; access to the European Community free trade market from an Israeli base, which is a very important economic consideration; a growing domestic market within Israel as the general population grows into the 6-7 million range within the next 25 years.

The acceleration of investment will not take place, in spite of the obvious advantages suggested above, without a radical change in Israel from its centrally-controlled economy to a genuine free-market economy, and every effort must be made to encourage that change. The so-called "capitalistic" Likud party is just as laggard as the older Labor party in failing to make the necessary reform moves. The UJA could establish a separate department through which business leaders could assist in pushing for this change by making concerted efforts to mobilize prospective manufacturers who would invest large sums into the Israeli economy if they had reason to believe that this economy would operate under the free-market conditions they understand. Bringing such serious investors to the attention of the Israeli government might be the very catalyst needed to effectuate the change.

On a connected point, UJA business leaders might also be able to assist in the privatization program which has been spoken about in government circles for the past three years, without a single implementation having yet taken place. There are many billions of dollars available by selling to the private

sector, both domestic and foreign, (either to companies or the public through the stock market) all or part of the government-owned assets: land; airline; railroads; electric, water and telephone utilities; chemical and heavy-metal industries; banks; and scores of similar properties. The government could be awash in cash with which to finance properly the Russian immigrant absorption of the next few years.

These fundamental changes must be decided by the Israeli government and people, but a determined approach in this direction, galvanized by a concentrated UJA campaign among top industrial and business leaders in America, Jewish and non-Jewish, could result in gaining many actual investors as well as purchasers of assets. This is a natural extension of UJA's capability, and would result in the sea-change of Israeli economy which so many experts, beginning with Milton Friedman, have urged for so many years.

3. Develop a Major Educational System

Although exact statistics are uncertain, the basic fact is known that only a small percentage of the total Jewish population in America contributes to the UJA. Estimates vary from city to city, with the larger communities reaching a smaller percentage of their residents and the smaller communities achieving a higher percentage of contributions - but the average across the nation appears to be in the range of one-fourth to

one-third of the estimated Jewish population of the U.S. Those who do contribute are loyal and dedicated. Among them, the largest contributors are incredibly generous. The remarkable results of the campaign each year, and especially in those years where there exists a special or emergency need, such as Operation Exodus or Operation Solomon, are due almost entirely to this tiny cadre.

Whenever the campaign leadership, both national and local, speculates on this vexing question of "broadening the base" by obtaining more contributors, all suggestions lead to the conclusion that "education" is the only solution. By education is meant the creation of a value system throughout the Jewish community whereby a few basic beliefs are deeply implanted, so that a response occurs when the need for funds is presented. These few beliefs must include responsibility of all Jews for all Jews; recognition of Israel as the heartland of the entire Jewish people and the homeland for the majority (which will become a statistical fact before the end of the century); acceptance of the obligation, the mitzvah, of Tzedakah, even if the amount must be small; and a commitment that the continuity of the Jewish people is the single highest goal of Jewish conduct. In order to maintain and increase the fund-raising results, the UJA must constantly devote energy and ingenuity to the spreading of this value system to an ever-widening number of people. When anyone asks me how to raise money, my answer always has been that we must first raise people, who will then raise money.

Since this truth has been demonstrated during a half-century of experience, it should be exploited much more vigorously, embracing all age groups, in imaginative formats - particularly as each new generation is subjected to the centrifugal force of assimilation which can easily tear a person away from the basic beliefs enunciated above. As the UJA faces the future, it must spend more thought and energy on developing a broad educational system, containing some of the elements enunciated below. There are those who will say that these functions are not the UJA's business. My opinion is that they are exactly the UJA's business, and the UJA can do them well if it so desires.

- a) Tenth grade high school students should spend that year in Israel.
- b) Junior year college students - ditto.
- c) Hillel programs on college campuses must be immeasurably strengthened, by major investments of money for personnel and programs.
- d) Wexner-type intensive seminars for carefully selected lay leaders, over a two-year period.
- e) CLAL-type, less intensive, for larger groups, stressing the same values.
- f) A nation-wide program for teaching modern Hebrew, in high schools, colleges, and for adults. Bring hundreds of teachers from Israel, or recruit them among Israelis now living in the U.S.

In addition, the UJA should establish an Institute or College, for its own staff, and to supply fund-raising personnel to the communities. It should be an accredited, degree-granting institution, specifically designed for men and women who wish to enter the fund-raising profession. There are thousands of jobs available in the national organizations, the local Federations, individual agencies, synagogues, community centers, etc., as well as all the Israel-related universities, museums, hospitals, etc. Persons entering this profession on an executive level must become thoroughly grounded in Judaism, not only in the specific fund-raising skills needed, in order to spread the basic beliefs and commitments to an ever-widening constituency. The maddening search for qualified executive personnel must be alleviated by a substantial increase in both the quality and quantity of people available. Graduates of such an Institute or College would be quickly commandeered throughout the Diaspora, as well as by Israel itself. The UJA would be performing a valuable service for world Jewry.

4. Broaden and Improve the Overseas Mission System, to Europe and Israel, Through Establishing an International Conference Center in Israel.

Evidence repeatedly proves that the single experience most responsible for "turn-on" is the mission to Israel. It creates the emotional reaction which ignites admiration, respect, and empathy with Israel and its people, thus generating the

understanding that the American's duty is at least to be liberal with his money, since he does not share the Israeli's duty to army and state.

One of the significant instruments capable of making the mission program even better is to build in Israel a Conference Center where all missions could start. Two days in residence at the center, going through a carefully crafted curriculum, would provide the visitor with Israel's pioneering history, an overview of the geography, knowledge of the growth of 21 neighboring Arab states, comprehension of the wars, understanding of the political system - and an introduction to the basic problems in the areas of immigrant absorption, economy, electoral reform and religious pluralism. Through a balanced use of speakers, films, small workshops and light reading the visitor would be prepared and briefed to face the upcoming days of travel and experience.

Incidentally, such a Conference Center would very likely be self-sustaining, for its facilities could be rented by the UJA to all other organizations sponsoring trips to Israel. They would quickly recognize the benefits to be derived from such an initial indoctrination at the start of a visit. Thus, tens of thousands of American Jewish visitors who might not be contributors to the UJA would be exposed to the UJA message.

New ways must be found to enable more people to go on

missions. Credit might be offered to enable the cost of the airfare to be paid out over time. Perhaps frequent flyer points could be accepted. The Ministry of Tourism might subsidize hotel costs in Israel to some extent. A separate Travel Enabling Fund could probably be raised from a small number of major donors who recognize the tremendous value of the mission experience. Creative brainstorming would produce many more suggestions. Funnelling thousands more American Jews through the mission process is a prime objective.

5. Provide New Plans for Ear-marked Giving

In the endless discussions on how to improve fund-raising, there is one subject which re-appears constantly - i.e. the preference of some contributors to know exactly where their overseas money is going, rather than the sense of remoteness which characterizes the anonymous communal treasury. This is a real subject, not theoretical, nor simply the whim of some few temperamental or egotistical heavy hitters. The validity of the subject derives from the success of two ventures promoted by the UJA in past years in which ear-marked giving was officially sanctioned and diligently sought. These were the Israel Education Fund, started in 1964; and Project Renewal, started in 1979. Both projects were fruitful, in spite of strict rules which were introduced to protect the "regular" campaign. In the case of the I.E.F., no donor was allowed to contribute to the Education Fund (whose minimum gift was set at \$100,000) without

first increasing his annual regular gift. Similarly, in the case of Project Renewal, it was clearly stated that any contribution to this project was to be over-and-above the person's normal regular contribution. These protective devices worked; and fears gradually disappeared that the ear-marking opportunities, wherein the gift was attractively personalized even to the extent of naming a facility, would cause an erosion in regular giving. The UJA approach of anonymous giving is undoubtedly correct, yet the occasional opportunity for personalized giving is also valid. The proof lies in the relatively large amounts realized through the latter method.

Results of the Israel Education Fund
from Inception in 1964 to the Present

Total dollars	-	\$145,682,000	
Total buildings		732	
High Schools	-		127
Sport Facilities			25
Community, Youth and Cultural Centers			92
Libraries			29
Pre-Kindergartens			304
Day Care Centers			155

Results of Project Renewal
from Inception in 1979 to Present

\$201,768,000

New ideas should be developed to re-invigorate the concept of ear-marked contributions.

6. Promote Women into Top Leadership

Women figure prominently in many aspects of UJA and local Federation work, and have done so from the very beginning, when the first national chairperson of the newly organized Women's Division was Adele Rosenwald Levy, the sister of the perennial and predominant UJA leader William Rosenwald. Women have also risen to the very top, as chair of the campaign, and even president of local Federations, in the largest Jewish communities of America, including New York and Los Angeles, plus many others. And women have formed their own National Women's Young Leadership Cabinet, which resists merger with the Men's Cabinet, preferring its independence.

But there is one notable gap in this sterling record of women's achievements, which includes, inter alia, the fact that the women's divisions have raised the remarkable total of more than \$2 billion over the decades. The gap lies at the apex of the national UIJA structure, where not one woman has been invited, in more than a half-century, to serve as national chair

or president. How can this possibly be understood? Oversight? Benign neglect? Certainly not on the basis of lack of ability, or inadequate commitment, or insufficient passion, or paucity of caring. Women have proven themselves in all these areas. Whatever the reason - it must be corrected. The UJA must consciously and deliberately bring more women into the executive committee, other key committees, and finally into the positions of general campaign chair and president of the Board.

7. Test the Feasibility of a Mass Campaign

The perplexing question of whether a mass campaign could be successful is often discussed, is often on the UJA wish-list, and has never been thoroughly planned or executed because it simply has seemed problematic and not worth the effort. I have been as guilty as anyone in years gone by, but perhaps a real test should be made in order to know, once and for all, whether substantial gains could be made in securing large numbers of new contributors.

The following plan has gone through my head, only one of many which could be devised:

1. Select a target area in a large city (not New York), where thousands of Jewish families are concentrated - such as Brookline in Boston, or Shaker Heights in Cleveland, or several of the North Shore communities in Chicago, or Ten to Fifteen Mile

Road in Detroit. Use every possible means to identify Jewish families and their specific home addresses in the target area. Check the Federation computer, to make certain they are not contributors.

2. Mobilize a large army of solicitors to visit hundreds, if not thousands of homes. Such an army is to be found only among the college student population, and a year-long effort might be necessary to find them in the colleges adjacent to the target area. They must be recruited, inspired, indoctrinated and given an identification card with photograph. Then they can be sent out on selected Sundays during their winter or spring holiday breaks.

3. Create a conducive environment through extensive advertising. Radio, newspapers, TV spots must saturate the public, announcing the dates the student solicitors are coming, explaining how they have volunteered, and how they should be received. Urge the public to stay home on the selected Sunday and to open their doors to those who identify themselves properly. The media message to prepare the targeted public should have a tone such as: "Think of these students as though they were your own sons and daughters - idealistic, courageous - asking you to do your duty. Respond to their request - and be proud of what they are doing to serve the future of the Jewish people."

4. Prepare rallying points to which the students return at the end of the day's work to report their results. Greet them with enthusiasm, gratitude and appreciation for whatever they have collected, since anything is a gain.

5. Award prizes liberally to those who secure the most addresses, recruit the most students, obtain the most new contributions, work on the myriad other details. The prizes should reflect the values of life-saving and nation-building implicit in the fund-raising, such as trips to Israel, or the Israeli Embassy in Washington.

6. A careful analysis will help determine whether this test was worthwhile. If the decision is affirmative, then the mass campaign approach could be expanded to more cities, gradually improved and after a few years would have spread nationwide. There is a huge pool of Jewish college students in America (almost a half-million by some estimates) and an even larger pool of prospects (millions). The trick is to secure the addresses, mobilize the students and get the doors open.

8. Merging the UJA and CJF into One Organization Gains Nothing

Rumblings, suggestions, musings on the subject "why do we need two major national organizations" have been part of the corridor-gossip of the Federation world for a long time. The common impulse is to say: "The UJA is not needed because the

funds are raised in the local community, and what function does the UJA really perform anyhow? Further, there could be a great saving of public money if the two overheads were reduced to one."

The real question is one of function, and it seems clear to me that two separate and distinct functions are continuously executed. Ignition sparks an engine, and the cylinders keep it running. The UJA is the spark and the almost 200 federated communities, are the cylinders. Only an engine with 200 cylinders could achieve the incredible results of raising more than a billion dollars in 1990, or running the motor at high speed for more than a half-century. Cooperation and coordination between the national UJA and the communities (themselves organized into a national organization) is mandatory or the engine will not run. What good is the spark if there are no cylinders, and what good are they if there is no spark to ignite them. Both are indispensable.

Let's look at the implied suggestion that the UJA is not truly indispensable. Can its function be dispensed with? I think not. The spark starts and maintains the following process:

1. Presentation of the needs - the particular urgent needs of a moment in time. These needs must be refined, distilled, costed-out and then a picture presented as to how they will be met.

2. Packaging of that picture, so that a group of responsible people (from the communities, which will raise the money, and from the organizations which will spend that money to alleviate the need) can be gathered to see the big picture, and buy-in to the solution. This process is not purely bureaucratic, but must be inspirational.
3. Methodology by which to achieve the goals, such as missions, fly-ins, officers and cabinet members soliciting big gifts, speakers, conventions, printed material, star-studded events where needed, and all the other techniques.
4. Back-room work, the massive volume of keeping track, billing, accumulating lists, information-gathering to assist in the rating process, paper-work to push for cash collections, recording results of telethons and many similar operations. I could go on outlining many other steps indispensable to the igniting and servicing of a great nation-wide campaign, but the above are sufficient to show the magnitude of what I mean by ignition.

Can a fund-raising department in the CJF office do the job? It would soon be adding staff to provide advertising, speakers, videos, etc. to the communities and it would have to develop overseas offices to gather inspiration and factual data,

to establish contacts with Israeli officials and to set up links with key Jewish populations in sensitive parts of the world (Russia, France, Eastern Europe, Argentine). And could it ignore setting up a CJF mission department? Would all these necessities be any smaller than their UJA predecessor? In short, a campaign manager is required, a total system whereby a goal is determined, a calendar created, arguments devised for raising the maximum funds and methods mobilized. All of this, both strategy and tactics, must be agreed upon by those lay leaders, national and local, who will go forth to the battlefield in harmonious dedication. The UJA is that manager, initiator, spark - or whatever other word or metaphor you choose.

Adding these UJA functions to the enormous agenda which the CJF already undertakes would result in creating a larger behemoth, which, in theory, would be touted to be more efficient and cheaper, but which, in practice would be neither and would stumble all over itself, sacrificing focus for overweight. We should tighten the relationship between the two organizations and their constituencies, national and local; increase the flow of information; expand the areas of joint decision-making; reduce friction or tension; do everything possible to merge the policies and their execution without merging the organizations. There is nothing to be gained and lots to be lost.

9. Preparing a Major Inspirational Conference (or two)

The UJA is an instrument of history, reacting to events of great negative import through efforts to alleviate suffering; and assisting in processes of positive impact, through building the very State of Israel itself, as well as communal infrastructures (such as will soon be necessary in the various Soviet republics). The powerful emotions let loose by shattering historic episodes such as wars, or the euphoria induced by magnificent rescue operations such as Addis Ababa and Entebbe are the raw material out of which great fund-raising campaigns are constructed. For the major component in every successful campaign is the inspiration which translates raw emotion into considered action. Inspiration is the quality in a speech or film or a leader's personality which makes the historic moment become a real part of the listeners' concern, moving them to react in the desired manner. Interpreting huge historic sweeps into a dimension to which individual humans can relate is the primary task of the UJA.

Thus, a search for those historic moments which could serve as occasions for powerful celebrations capable of recapturing a mood of inspiration, leads us to two dates in the near future. One is May 1995 - fifty years after the defeat of Hitlerism and the liberation of mankind; the other is May 1998 - fifty years after the declaration of Israeli statehood. Perhaps both should be planned and prepared - advertised in advance as a

twin-recognition of the two seminal events of this century - and orchestrated to make the ancient history come alive to all persons younger than 50-55, to stir their blood, race their adrenalin, remind them of the incredible victories achieved.

Gather the leading figures in all the relevant worlds: the political - President of the United States, Prime Minister of Israel, President of the Soviet Union, grandson of the liberator Eisenhower; the Jewish; the intellectual and scientific; the artistic and cultural. The totality of these people's presence and presentations could become an affirmation of the universal human spirit in its conquest of evil, its commitment to equality and freedom, its dedication to the improvement of society; and an expression of the particularistic Jewish spirit with its sense of messianic mission.

The two events (or either one) could yield an enormous feeling for the danger and drama of the Death and Rebirth in those excruciating years in the 40's; as well as great thanksgiving for the rebuilding and reconstruction since; as well as an exposition of the opportunities given to today's generation to act with equal heroism in the face of present-day challenges to Israel and the Jewish people. Such periodic injections of new inspiration to stimulate new response in a new generation are part of the on-going saga. History moves ceaselessly; its interpreters are always playing catch-up with a new audience.

Thus, the UJA must always be changing, always alert and inventive, always trying to anticipate the twists and turns in the historic road, or, at least, to react very quickly when some new episode erupts. The fumbling and imprecision which marked the course of the 1989 campaign was replaced almost instantly by the brilliance of the 1990 effort. Those examples should ever remain fresh in the minds of the new administration. I feel confident that passion, persistence and creativity will prevail, that when the leaders call, the people will respond, and the safety and continuity of American Jewry and Israel will be well served.

